

Current Concerns

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10 years after the war against Yugoslavia

It Began with a Lie – and the Lie Continues

An International Conference in Belgrade on the Tenth Anniversary of the Nato-Aggression

by Erika Vögeli

On 24 March 1999 the sirens wailed in Belgrade – and the Nato-aggression against a sovereign state had begun with its first bombardments. The consequences for the country and its population have been visibly and tangibly devastating, up to this day. In Serbia, this day with its dead and wounded and its dire consequences was memorised on its tenth anniversary with various events. Amongst these was the well-attended international conference “Nato aggression – Never to forget” hosted by the Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals”, whose President, Zivadin Jovanovic, former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Yugoslavia, also chaired the conference.

The numerous participants from Serbia and various other countries – Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Germany, France, Greece, Italy, Canada, Russia, Switzerland, the USA, and others – analysed the events of 10 years ago and their consequences from their different perspectives – yet they all condemned this war decidedly and clearly, by which, as Professor Mihajlo Markovic put it, “the power of law was supplanted by the law of power” and international law suffered a tremendous blow. All the Serbian delegates, in spite of their great diversity, placed the said aggression into the greater geo-strategic context and recalled all the steps and aspects of these catastrophic events – events that destroyed the country, contaminated it, exposed it to the “free market”, and fabricated an opportunity for US-strategists to establish their military in the region.

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The Website www.mtsmondo.com/news indicates Serbia's direct casualties as 1002 dead soldiers, circa 2000 dead civilians (among them 88 children) and circa 6000 injured.



More than 8 years ago, on 8 February 2001, the German ARD program broadcast a documentary of the West German Broadcasting Corporation (WDR), entitled “Es begann mit einer Lüge” (It began with a lie). For the first time after NATO’s 78-days-war of aggression against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, had started on 24 May 1999, a broader public in the German-speaking countries realized that this war of aggression had been justified with gross lies, and that obviously there had been quite other motives for this war, completely different from the ones officially proclaimed.

Expectations, however, that now the truth would gradually come to light, were not fulfilled. Even prior to 9/11, NATO and the West aligned themselves with the US war power, backing ever more exclusively on war propaganda and actual censorship.

The situation today is that the West confronts the rest of the world with the intolerable arrogance of warlords and colonial rulers and at the same time is deceiving their own people daily; with arrogance and a rhetoric of lies, which unfortunately culminates in the behavior of the new US-American President.

The larger rest of the world, however, is no longer ready to accept this behavior. Therefore, there is great danger that the West, striving to maintain its past supremacy in the world at any cost, is no longer willing to pursue an honest compromise. It strives for the “final victory”, and thus resorts to ever tougher means to exercise its power. So the worldwide conflicts continue to escalate and political solutions are becoming ever more difficult.

Since 1999, the states and governments of the West have totally failed. They could have corrected the serious mistake of 1999, if they had really wanted to. Instead, they increasingly showed their contempt of international law – the foundations of a peaceful and equal cooperation of the states and their peoples – and the western violent politics spread onto the whole world. Oppression and discrimination of the Serbian people continue until this very day.

This special issue on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of NATO’s war on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its violation of international law is an attempt to confront lies and violence with the truth. This will happen with the full conviction that even the people in the western states will no longer tacitly accept the havoc their political classes as well as their economic and social “elite” are causing all over the world, as soon as these people are really informed and feel addressed.

This special issue is also an expression of a deep respect for an European people that has been brought to its knees by all other European states with all vicious means of exercising power – brutally and without any concern for the victims.

Last not least this special issue is a reminder to Germany and German policy. In the 1990s, Germany was one of the main warmongers against Yugoslavia. Since 1990, a dangerous hubris has seized the German “elite”, leading again to Germany’s pestering and molesting other countries and peoples. That too, may end in a disaster one day, if no countermeasures are taken – for the world and for Germany as well.

Sanja’s Last Day

What a Serbian girl might say about the war

by Jürgen Elsässer

It happened that one night a small crazy star in the high heavens left its constellation and began to fall and to fall and to fall and to fall through the whole disorderly cosmos.

And as it fell, it came into the solar system and landed by chance on the planet earth, on a continent that was called Europe, in a city on which no star had ever fallen. Thus, it was a wonder.

A man, who was lighting the street lights, wanted to capture it so as to be able to light his lantern.

A general wanted it to pin it on his chest as a medal.

But the star would have none of it, and fell straightaway into the maternity ward of a hospital on the edge of the city... exactly at midnight, when a girl named Sanja was being born...

On her left knee, the star turned into a lovely little beauty spot...

(Momo Kapor, Sanja)

Sanja Milenkovic was born on 30 November 1983 in the central Serbian town of Krusevac. At the time of the NATO attack, she was 15 years old and 1.8 meters tall. Her brown eyes sparkled in the golden sunlight, her shoulder-length hair was parted on the left. Sometimes she left a few impish strands hanging across her high forehead. She wore unostentatious jewelry – a thin chain with circular clasp, a ring with no stone, small round earrings. What was most outstanding in her face was her mouth, an arched upper lip and full lower lip. When smiling, her brilliant teeth shone forth, and the corners of her mouth stretched almost to her ears. As a matter of fact, she had a small beauty spot, but not on her knee, on her arm.

To put it briefly, one might say, she almost looked like a female version of Leonardo Di Caprio. A poster of him hung in her room. Sanja and Leonardo would have been a dream couple. Why did an iceberg have to come between them and ram the Titanic? Sanja was romantic, she read romance novels through

and through, and she enjoyed music by Whitney Houston, Luna and Hari Mata Hari. She always sang along: “Znam pricu o scrici – I know a story of happiness”

Mileva Maric, who, together with Einstein, discovered the theory of relativity

Yet Sanja soon forgot love and heartache when it was a matter of figures and calculations, algebra, logarithms, binomial formulas. Who, after all, was Leonardo de Caprio compared to Albert Einstein? And didn’t the theory of relativity conquer time and space and thus make it conceivable that in some parallel universe the Titanic had not at all gone down? Besides, it was a Serb, Mileva Maric, who as Einstein’s first wife had discovered the theory of relativity with him. Why shouldn’t she, Sanja, also achieve something similar? At least, her passion for mathematics was there from the outset, perhaps gleaned from her father, Zoran, a mathematician. In

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Karl Müller

"An International Conference in ..."

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Together with representatives of the present Serbian government – Deputy Prime Minister *Ivaca Dacic*, Prof. *Slavica Djucic Dejanovic*, President of the Serbian National Assembly, and representatives of the Serbian army – former diplomats, professors and other government representatives – participated in the conference, where representatives of several other states expressed their solidarity with the Serbian people and with former Yugoslavia. Amongst these were former US Attorney General *Ramsey Clark*, who had already travelled to Belgrade for the same reason in March 1999, the Russian ambassador *Alexander Konuzin*, as well as members of Parliament from different countries and the president of the "World Peace Council" *Soccoro Gomez* from Brazil.

There were experts in different fields like the Canadian economist Prof. *Michel Chosudovsky*, who placed the disruption of Yugoslavia in the context of a global economic war and the strategy of disbanding nation states in favour of privatisation or, more specifically, the confiscation of state property, the Belgian commentator on politics and current affairs *Michel Colon*, whose topic was the disinformation spread by the media and an appeal to step up the exchange of information and the removal of language barriers, the French general *Pierre Marie Gallois*, who, in a video presentation, classified the strategy

that was employed to dismember Yugoslavia as planned well in advance by Germany, whose interests converged with the United States' geostrategic interests at the beginning of the 90's, the French publicist *Louis Dalmas* – his topic was the ideological distortion of different concerns like international self-determination, minority rights, the demand for justice. Under the primacy of power, all these claims were distorted into their opposite and turned into causes of war. Looking forward to the future, German author *Jürgen Elsässer* demands that Europe rethink and disengage from the dependency on the US to establish a European perspective in association with present-day Russia.

The well-known Swiss ecological crusader *Franz Weber* used emphatic words to speak about the catastrophic effects, namely the contamination of Serbia and Kosovo, by the use of several weapons, particularly uranium ammunition. To make amends for this destruction of natural resources and the livelihood of humans and animals the country is entitled to the reparation of 500 billion dollars, he said. Moreover, he demanded the installation of a special tribunal in Geneva for the suppressed and the non-aligned countries, to bring the truth to light, a fair and moral trial conducted by the citizens of this world. The participants of the conference were unanimous in their estimation that this war was, although geographically restricted, yet of tremendous global import, and that it had introduced a new era in many respects:

"For you our agonies are vanities, you throw our beads of tears into the dust. But your morning redness will flow over them, with which I fell in love, merrily and young."

(*Milos Crnjanski, Elegy on Belgrade*)

"I don't want to go home, mummy, now that I have just settled down!" – "You have to, it is too dangerous!" Half a year later, in October 1998, Vesna Milenkovic took her daughter back to Varvarin, again. NATO had issued an ultimatum on Yugoslavia, had activated its Air Force. The first bombs would hit the large cities, this was clear. Sanja complied with her mother's wish. In Varvarin they walked hand in hand along the roads, just like in former times, despite the fear. Then the 'all-clear' signal: The American *Holbrooke* had come to an agreement with *Milosevic*. Once again they had come away. Sanja returned to Belgrade. In January 1999, an interview with her was published in the pictorial *Nada Nova*. "Nada Nova" means "new hope", this was also Sanja's point of view, she continued to hope for her luck.

She fetched Sanja from Belgrade

She hoped in vain, however. "The number of those, who believe that a military commitment may become inevitable in Kosovo, does not only increase in Brussels", German Defense Minister *Scharping* wrote in his diary on 17 January 1999. The news about the negotiations at Rambouillet did not sound well. In the newspapers, one could see photos, which said more than the wordy communiqués: The American Secretary of Defense embracing *Hashim Thaci*, a terrorist wanted for arrest by the Belgrade administration. The German Minister of Foreign Affairs clenching his fists towards *Milan Milutinovic*, the Serbian president. When she was visiting a friend in Paracin on 23 March, Vesna heard in the news that the state of emergency had been proclaimed. Together with her mother she drove to Belgrade that very evening and put Sanja into Grandpa's old Mercedes with all her bag and baggage. On 24 March at 1 a.m. they had stowed everything and drove off. It was just in time; a few hours later the sirens howled in Belgrade, the bombers roared above the city, the supersonic F-16 and F-18, the allegedly invisible F-117, the slow warthogs of the A-10 type with their uranium ammunition, the German ECR Tornados, indispensable for the elimination of the Yugoslav air defense. For the first time since the end of World War II, the Germans as well threw bombs in con-

junction with the others, and for the third time in the 20th century, they waged a war of aggression against Serbia. On her return from Belgrade to Varvarin Vesna held her daughter in her arms. "Now you are safe, my little daughter", she comforted Sanja.

It was irrevocably clear that we would not return to our beds that evening and that we would not go back to school tomorrow, that we did not know, who of our relatives were still alive, who of the schoolmates, the teachers, the neighbors, playmates from one or the other quarter. Shapes and trains obscured in the ascending smoke and the sinking darkness. Aircraft engines hummed in our ears, our joints trembled with the explosions, the air strikes were transmitted underground, dust was whirled up, followed by the roar of destruction, which erupted from the underground rooms. ... No better thought could arise in the mind of a child eyewitness than – to run away, to flee from this terrible race, which followed everyone like the gloating tail of a dragon which one cannot escape from. For the first time we felt complete defenselessness, a feeling of being at the mercy of evil, which the fragility of our bodies was unable to cope with, no other choice but break or run away. Whoever was able to read the signs understood that Satan had got the upper hand."

(*Miodrag Pavlovic, Usurpatoren des Himmels*)

So far war had only grazed the place

Satan was far away from Varvarin. In fact, there was no better place of refuge. The town with its 4,000 inhabitants is situated about 160 kilometers southeast of Belgrade. This war had so far only grazed the place: A policeman from Varvarin had been shot in Kosovo by Albanian terrorists on 8 January – in a village named Racak, which should later become the synonym for murder in the West, however not for the murder of Serbian policemen; nobody was interested in Serbian policemen in the West.

Most inhabitants work as farmers, there are some shoemakers and tailors and bakers, a few physicians and pharmacies, some pubs, the Plaza Hotel. No industry had settled there, apart from a small textile enterprise, which produced floor mats for the Zastava passenger car. In the town and its surroundings there were no military plants, the nearest was 22 kilometers away, an airfield in

No less clear and determined did the representatives of the Serbian-orthodox and national groups present themselves at another commemoration event in the evening of 24 March organized by the Serbian cultural magazine *Dveri Srpske*. The congress centre was full to the brim, as representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, of politics, culture and art recalled the aggression – dignified, moving, but equally clear and determined.

The war has inflicted serious damage on the people, their health, their environment, their natural resources, their economy, infrastructure and much more. It has temporarily supplanted the truth. But truth will not allow itself to be suppressed for long. As general *Slobodan Petkovic*, specialist for NBC-weapons, said, "And where does the truth lie? Unfortunately, our population experiences this truth the longer the more. It lies in the increasing incidence of cases of cancer and other diseases." As manipulated as the reports and as thick as the veil may be, the facts will not remain shrouded permanently. Europe would be well advised to comply with Franz Weber's demand for a moral tribunal in support of truth and to stand by Serbia – and all the other people afflicted – in their quest for coping with the effects of this war as equal-ranking nations in a world of equals. If we are too late, we will be punished by history. •

¹⁾ The *Belgrade Forum* will publish a complete list of speakers together with a congress bulletin.

²⁾ See also Heinz Loquai, «Milestone en route to war», page 7

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school in Varvarin she was always the best, always with a perfect grade in math. And in math she was anything if not a regular workhorse. "You are my lazybones," her mother Vesna always used to say when she contrived to get out of doing housework. "One day, I'm going to build a machine," Sanja would answer, "and then the whole kit and caboodle will be polished off at the touch of a button." But in school she was diligent. And as in January 1998, at the end of her eight years of primary school, the mathematics competition began, she crammed late into the night in the kitchen. Her mother had to sit up with her and often fell asleep at the table. Sanja woke her only when she had solved an especially tricky problem. In between times, the two of them did exercises together. Sanja thought, like every teenager, that she should lose weight. She was so successful at the competition that early in 1998 she made it into the university prep high school, and not into just any one but into a "mathematics high school" in Belgrade. She was accepted without taking an entrance exam. Just think! A mathematics high school! In Belgrade! Without taking the entrance exam! All her dreams seemed to be coming true. "Zam pricu osreci – I know a story of happiness."

Every day she called home

The first week in Belgrade was hard. The resident supervisor of the girls' residence where she lived, "Jelica Milanovic", sometimes heard her cry and talked with her and cheered her up. Every day, she called home. That helped while she was settling in. Besides, she liked the program. Nobody whispered anymore behind her back, for the "nerd" knew everything, as had occasionally happened in Varvarin. Sometimes, she did not know everything, not at all. The other students, math geniuses like herself, helped her.

And after school, she enjoyed herself in the city, street by street, strolling and eating ice cream in the pedestrian zone Knez Mihailova – just what she needed after the stress. If only she had a few more dinars in her pocket to buy all the fashionable things she yearned for – Armani, Versace, Scada, there was simply everything. Then there was the Kalemegdan, the old Turkish festival – up on the wall, one could still see a gallows where they used to hang the rebellious Serbs. Downright horrible!

Finally, downhill along the Franciska and into the musicians' quarter of Skadarlija, where the Tamburasi sometimes played on their mandolins in the afternoon – what a pity that mummy had warned her to be at the hostel early.

Cuprija. The only combat in the history of Varvarin had taken place in 1810, when the Turks proceeded against Serbian rebels. Even World War I and II had spared the small town. Only in 1944 the Nazis destroyed the bridge across the Morava, in order to make the Red Army's advance more difficult. The inhabitants were warned one day before. It had been completely different in the nearby Kragujevac: Between 18 and 21 October 1943 units of the German armed forces had executed 7,000 "Communists, Jews and Serbs" there, as they called them in their jargon, 100 for each German soldier that had been shot before. Among the massacred people, there were 300 high school students and 15 children between eight and twelve years old. The memorial museum opened in 1976 has been visited by five million visitors until now.

*It happened and is true,
That on one day in a country
On the hilly Balkans
A bevy of pupils
Died the martyr's death.
Only fifty minutes
Before they died,
The pupils sat
On their benches,
Had work to do, think:
How far does a hiker get with a companion,
If he ... for five hours ... he is to ... and so on.
The heads full
Of series of numbers,
And in the booklets, in the folders
Many pointless
Ones and threes.
The bags fully packed
With the same dreams
Of love of the homeland and of friends,
As pupils dream secretly.
And everyone believed,
He had something ahead,
Infinitely ahead
A large field,
In order to finally solve
all the tasks of the world.
It happened and is true
That one day in a country
On the hilly Balkans
A pupils bevy died the martyr's death.*

(*Desanka Maksimovic, Bloody Legend*)

The fact that the world wars had spared Varvarin does not mean however that they had spared its inhabitants. From 1914 to 1918,

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The Criminal Nato Attack on Yugoslavia

by Brigitte Queck, political scientist foreign policy

When on 24 March 1999 the NATO states started bombing the sovereign state of Yugoslavia, this unbelievable and brutal aggression had been preceded by a just as unbelievable and fabricated propaganda warfare in radio, press and TV, initiated by the powers of the West. This propaganda is still going on today.

Even today, many western books and other publications on this period describe the so-called "Racak Massacre" of 15 January 1999 as the trigger for the NATO war against Yugoslavia. The US government had installed the US diplomat William Walker as head of the OSCE in Kosovo. Before, he had managed the dirty business of the US in Latin America, supporting regimes friendly to the US, especially in El Salvador. It was this OSCE who had appointed the Finnish dentist Helena Ranta as head of the forensic investigation commission which was to investigate the Racak Massacre. Before the investigations had even started, W. Walker declared in front of a TV camera that this cruel massacre had been committed by Serbs. Years later, on 16 October 2008, Helena Ranta explained herself in the "Helsingin Sanomat", explaining that she had been under an overwhelming pressure from W. Walker and the western media who wanted her to confirm Walker's statement regarding the Serbian mass murder.

Racak was the greatest strategem

Danica Marinkovic, at the time examining magistrate of the regional court in Pristina-Kragujevac, commented the Racak event on 28 October 2008 in the "Glas Javnosti": "Racak was the greatest strategem." At the time [of the alleged "massacre"], there had been a classical combat between the Serbian police and UÇK terrorists. The OSCE had been informed about this in advance by the Serbian police.

Asked about the victims' examination, she declared: "All were wearing civil clothes, but many wore military shoes or boots [...]" 37 of the 40 victims had gunshot residue on their hands indicating that they had been involved in combats before they were killed. Both the Belarus and the Finnish forensic specialists who had carried out the autopsies came to these conclusions.

Asked whether she had talked about this to Helena Ranta or W. Walker, she said: "During my first meeting with Ranta, I could not find a way to communicate with her and I never saw her again. It was obvious that it was her political mission to accuse the Serbs. But she was neither an expert nor a professional. I also did not talk to Walker because it was clear that he was supporting the UÇK."

In other words: After the so-called "Racak Massacre", which was actually, as we know now, the result of a clash between Serb police units and UÇK troops, who had been trained in logistics and warfare and were financed by the [German secret service] BND and the US American CIA, these victims were "converted" into civil victims and thus presented a pretext for a war – just like Hitler fabricated a trigger for World War II when he had the German radio station in Gleiwitz stormed by KZ inmates clad in Polish uniforms. It was converted into a massacre – even genocide, committed by Serbs against Kosovo Albanians!

Appendix of the Rambouillet Accords (Annex B) kept secret

In consequence of Racak, the western states initiated the Rambouillet negotiations starting on 6 February 1999 in France. They had been started by the Balkans Contact Group which had been founded in 1994 to coordinate the international reactions to the war in Bosnia. The terms of the negotiations contained ten non-negotiable fundamental principles for the future cooperation between the Yugoslavian government and the Kosovo Albanians, including proposals for an autonomous Kosovo and stationing NATO troops in Kosovo.



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According to the official communication – and all western media complied with this – the Rambouillet negotiations were merely about a greater autonomy of the Kosovo that was to be demanded by Milosevic. In this context, one should be aware that, from 1974–1989, the Kosovo had enjoyed an autonomy that was unique world-wide. The Kosovo Albanians had their own language, their own universities and schools and received enormous support from all Yugoslavian republics. But this status of autonomy had also permitted vetoing any legislation in Serbia. In 1989, the Yugoslavian president had merely reduced this status of autonomy to the international standard by putting the federal state (Yugoslavia) in charge of the police, the judiciary and the legal institutions. Under pressure in Rambouillet, Milosevic was eventually willing to grant the Kosovo Albanians again wider concessions to their autonomy.

But the Kosovo-Albanians, encouraged by the unconditional support of the West and its media mouthpieces, who would blame Milosevic for a failure of the Rambouillet negotiations, insisted on a full independence of the Kosovo from Yugoslavia. In the negotiations, the Kosovo-Albanians were represented by Hashim Thaci, a mass murderer sentenced to 22 years of jail in Yugoslavia. When Thaci, at the end of the Rambouillet negotiations, finally had signed the agreement written by the West, and Milosevic refused his signature, the Yugoslavian President was suddenly pushed into the role of the scapegoat unwilling to compromise!

But the appendix of the Rambouillet agreement (Annex B), which could not have been signed by any head of state in the world as it would have meant the surrendering of his country's sovereignty was kept secret from the citizens of the Western European states. It included "freedom of movement of NATO forces in all Yugoslavia, including Yugoslavian airspace and the sea as well as the full immunity of NATO soldiers and their administration."

Only the members of parliaments of these countries were permitted to read Annex B, but they were obliged to keep their silence.

Neo-colonial subjection agreement

They cowardly kept their promise and since the Yugoslavian President Milosevic could not sign this agreement, which might have correctly been labeled "neo-colonial subjection-to-NATO agreement", the war was mapped out!

After the NATO had attacked the sovereign state Yugoslavia, including the Kosovo, illegally without declaration of war and violating international law, it went on to bomb it for 78 days in succession from an altitude of 8000 meter. This was justified by western politicians, including former left-wing politicians like German Chancellor Schröder, German Foreign Minister Fischer and Defense Minister Scharping, with the unbelievably

perfidious lie: "We had to prevent a second Auschwitz!"

The NATO aggression destroyed Yugoslavia's complete infrastructure, including all factories, the chemical plant in Pancevo, railways and bridges. If the Yugoslavian workers had not reacted and dumped the poisonous solutions of various containers in time, the Pancevo region would have been rendered uninhabitable by the bombings. But also residential areas, schools, kindergartens and hospitals were bombed with weapons banned by international law like radioactive bombs (DU), graphite bombs and other illegal weapons.

Various sides exerted pressure on the Yugoslavian President Milosevic to give in, in order to prevent a NATO ground offensive and an even more complete destruction of the country, and finally the Yugoslavian Government and the Serbian Parliament accepted a so-called peace plan, proposed by the EU special emissary Ahtisaari and the Russian special emissary Chernomyrdin.

The plan decreed that the Kosovo should remain an integral part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. All hostilities in this area should cease and all refugees should be permitted to return to their homes. Additionally, the plan included an immediate withdrawal of Yugoslavian security forces from the Kosovo and an international peace keeping mission with substantial support from NATO. This plan came into force on 10 June 1999 when it was passed by the UN Security Council under resolution no. 1244.

UN resolution 1244: Integral part of Serbia

The Serbs kept their word. They withdrew their troops from Kosovo. But in the following months, there was sheer chaos instead of the peace promised by the so-called international community. Arbitrary murders increased by a factor of 20 under international control, compared to times of war when Kosovo was occupied by Yugoslavian troops. The reason for this was that the UNMIC converted the UÇK to a supposedly civil organization, the Kosovo Protection Corps and even paid it with UN money. If some optimists had really believed that things in Kosovo might change for the better with the entry of "international" troops (they were really mostly NATO troops), they were bitterly disappointed.

Thousands of Serbs, Roma and other groups, including Kosovo Albanians, fled from their native land which they no longer recognized as their home. Soon the Serbs in Kosovo – which they used to call the cradle of their nation – were just members of a minority who had to fear for their lives every day, restricted to enclaves guarded by international troops.

Two further developments kept the Serbian refugees from returning to their former homes in Kosovo: The expulsion of some

230,000 refugees (Serbs, Roma and not a small number of Kosovo Albanians hostile to the UÇK) from Kosovo, which was not prevented by the so-called international troops, and the 2004 pogrom on the Serbs who had remained in Kosovo, in which many Serbs lost their lives, hundreds of them were injured and 4,500 Non-Albanians were expelled, 700 houses and numerous cloisters were rampantly destroyed.

Today, after the unilateral declaration of Kosovo's independence in February 2008, without approval by the UN, and after the recognition of the Kosovo by numerous – also western European – states as a sovereign state, which violated international law, many states and western politicians who had supported the military strive of the Kosovo-Albanians for independence, do not like to be reminded of UN resolution 1244 which declared the Kosovo an integral part of Serbia.

Mineral resources worth over 10 trillion dollars

There was good reason for [carving the Kosovo out of Serbia]: the inexhaustible natural resources of the Kosovo: 77,302,000 tons of coal, copper, zinc, lead, nickel, gold, silver, marble, manganese, iron ore, asbestos and limestone – to name but a few.

The value of these mineral resources is estimated to be over 10 trillion dollars and these extremely valuable resources in the hands of the local workers represented the real reason for the military interference of the West in 1999 with the controversy between the Yugoslavian army and the UÇK. Additionally, the UÇK had been trained for years and supported with millions of dollars and German Marks by the West through its secret services CIA and BND, trained for this war, which is still misleadingly called a "civil war in Yugoslavia".

During the NATO war against Yugoslavia, the whole infrastructure of the country was destroyed, but the Trepca mines in Kosovo were spared from the bombings. Of course, the mines should continue to make a profit after the war – but then in private hands.

To lay one's hand on this complex which was guarded by the workers, in the year 2000 two blatant lies were purported:

- The Serbs were accused of having killed and burned 1,500 Kosovo Albanians in the region, so the matter had to be investigated.

- The Trepca mines were reported to present a severe health risk for the population.

The thousands of radioactive DU bombs dropped in Kosovo, of course, have never been mentioned to this day! So it happened that on 14 August 2000, helicopters brought 900 British, French, Italian and Pakistani KFOR soldiers, armed to their teeth, to the Trepca mines. Workers who tried to defend their factory, were beaten up brutally and in

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some cases severely injured by tear gas and plastic bullets. Then factory managers and resistant workers were arrested. In UN papers, this still reads as "induction of the process of democratization in Kosovo." But in reality this attack made it possible to start selling off the Trepca mines to private foreign groups.

The murderer of Serbs in Krajina, *Čeku*, who is still wanted for his crimes, was Prime Minister of the Kosovo until January 2008 and was head of both the ICMM created by *Unmic* and the *KTA*; both organizations that are responsible for privatizations in Kosovo! *Čeku* had been trained as a killer in Virginia for the American military contractor *MPRI* and was held responsible for the murder of 669 Serbs, mainly in Krajina, by a Yugoslavian court.

OTPOR trained by the CIA

After the Kosovo was put under international supervision – that is, under a neo-colonial administration – the Serbs had to be forced under the dictate of market economy, as well. In 2000, parliamentary elections were held in Yugoslavia. A while before the elections, leading NATO politicians had warned that, if Milosevic was elected again, another bombing of Yugoslavia could not be excluded! In addition, both the western media and the Yugoslavian opposition – which had been supported

by the West for months in advance – claimed that Milosevic was going to manipulate the elections. It was also due to this pressure from outside that over 50% of the Serb population did not vote in these elections.

In the first ballot, Milosevic was 700,000 votes short of a victory. But also the *DOS*, with *Kostunica* as their candidate, supported by the West, did not reach the necessary majority. Since both the West and the opposition were not willing to risk a run-off ballot, the fight was transferred from the ballot box to the streets where the opposition closely cooperated with the student organization *OTPOR*. *OTPOR* had been launched by the West and, as we learned later, trained by the CIA in Sofia. After 78 days of NATO bombing, this organization did not denounce the aggressor, but the President of its own country instead, with wordings coming from NATO think tanks. Sprayed all over were slogans that read: "He [Milosevic] is finished!"

When the opposition hauled in a group of 4000 men with busses from Cazak who stormed the parliament where another counting of votes was under way, the staged coup culminated. And when, unfortunately, some previously influential supporters of Milosevic, including the former head of the secret service *Jovica Stanisic* and the former Chief of Staff *Momcilo Peristic*, changed sides, the opposition did not think it necessary to adhere to parliamentary rules. There was no

run-off ballot between Milosevic and *Kostunica*! After this illegal election, *Kostunica* was proclaimed President of Yugoslavia. Afterwards, the US Secretary of State *Albright* called out delightedly: "Now, finally, the last bastion of socialism in Europe has fallen!"

In gratitude for their contribution to the system change in Yugoslavia, the student organization *OTPOR* received the *Human Rights Award 2001* of the German *Friedrich Ebert Foundation* a year later.

Comments to article 87a of the *Grundgesetz* [constitutional law] of the Federal Republic of German state:

Majority of the population in poverty

"In case of tension, the armed forces can protect civil objects [...] and be active in battling organized insurgents [...]" But this is true only for the political and economical system in Germany and in other western countries. For countries with other political systems, as we saw in the example of socialist Yugoslavia, other rules apply!

In summary: Ten years ago, socialist Yugoslavia ceased to exist. Decisive for this development were bombings over months, but also political and economic pressure, lies and the bribing of collaborators within the country, with millions of dollars, coming from well-known organizations of NATO countries aiming to introduce a capitalist market economy into this country.

They succeeded. The former Yugoslavian President Milosevic was taken to trial before the International Criminal Court in Den Haag, an executive organ of NATO, but also by way of treason by his own followers. In Den Haag he bravely defended his views and his country. It is the power of the capital and the hate of all that is remotely reminiscent of socialism which is to blame for Milosevic's death.

Today, in Yugoslavia, as in the former GDR, there is a high rate of unemployment. Corruption is in the millions. Only a few have access to education and arts. There is poverty for the majority of the population and affluence for the chosen few, a high crime level, prostitution, trade in drugs and people – all these were unknown in times of socialism. In addition, there is the concern for our sons, daughters and grandchildren.

The world did not develop towards reconciliation between the systems of socialism and capitalism as many of the naïve politicians in the former socialist states expected. Instead, the number of wars was increased world-wide.

Weapons are the largest branch of trade – and for this to remain as it is, wars have to be planned and carried out. Just like the NATO war against the flourishing Yugoslavia. But it is up to us, the peoples of the world, to change this social system, which cannot be our choice. •

"Sanja's Last Day"

continued from page 2

2,000 citizens died, i.e. every second inhabitant. During the German occupation after the invasion in 1941, 2,000 of them fled into the forests, to the partisans, 500 were shot or hung by the Germans. During the recapturing of the region in 1944, the *Fourth Proletarian Montenegrin Brigade* played an important role, its commander *Blazo Jankovic* is still a freeman of Varvarin. But even that fell into oblivion; the *Milenkovic* family had never heard about this freeman. The Proletarian Brigade was something for veterans. Nazi Germany was past. The war was history. This is what everybody thought before March 1999.

The place is strategically insignificant with regard to military and traffic

When the war started on March 1999, Kragujevac was bombed at once. One of the first aims NATO destroyed there was the monument for the Nazi victims of 1941. In Varvarin, however, the situation remained quiet during April and May. The place is strategically irrelevant with regard to military even to traffic: People who want to go in direction Kosovo or generally to the south, drive around the place, since they don't want to lose time. The motorway E 75 runs further east via Nis, the E 761 further west via Krusevac. On 30 May 1999, there was a hot, blue sky over Central Serbia, the best flying weather for NATO bombers. Already in the morning, coming from the Adriatic Sea, in high altitude they had dashed over Varvarin and drawn their loops. Like on the days and weeks before, they certainly were on their way to Novi Sad, Nis or Belgrade. At nine o'clock, the sirens howled: air raid alarm. Most of the people shrugged. Routine! As a matter of fact, nothing happened. Vesna worried all the same. In fact, two days before the news agency *Tanjug* had reported that Milosevic had agreed upon the fundamentals of the G 8 peace plans – i.e. the conditions set by the seven most powerful Western industrial states and Russia after nine hours of negotiations with the Russian envoy *Tschernomyrdin*. But on 27 May the *War Crimes Tribunal* in Den Haag had released its indictment against the same Milosevic. Apparently there were forces in the NATO who did not want a peace treaty with Yugoslavia, because with whom should they sign it if not with its president?

"Don't be silly, Mum, who is to attack such a small village?"

"My dear, look well after yourself and don't come home late!", was the advice Sanja's mother gave her daughter that morning. Both of the other girls giggled, waved, their mothers had said the same words, mothers always say these things. "Don't be silly, Mum, who

is to attack a small village? And moreover on a Sunday?" Sanja pouted. The three girls had dressed up well, had backcombed their hair with some gel and hair spray, Sanja had pinched some lip stick and eye shadow from her mother. The blue T-shirt, the white corduroys and white sneakers suited her well. Perhaps she would meet the boys from her former class again? There was always something going on at such a church festival, even now, at war, because the war was far away, and on top of that it was summer.

* * *

This summer "will remain in the memory of those who lived it here as the most brilliant and beautiful summer since ages, because in their consciousness it glitters and shines against a huge and dark horizon of death and disaster extending up to the infinite. And this summer began really well, better than so many years before."

(Ivo Andric, *The Bridge on the Drina*)

* * *

The way to church led the girls to the bridge crossing the Morava. It had come after the Second World War from Germany as reparation for the one the Nazis had blasted. Indeed, the Germans had not sent this reparation themselves – it had been the Soviets who had dismantled that bridge in their zone of occupation and had given it as a present to their Yugoslav sister nation. It was bolt upright and had only one lane, the horizontal rested on concrete blocks, in fact nothing special, no wire-rope construction, no vaulted arches or marbel balustrades, no lanterns and no banks. The bridge had only little resemblance with its audacious sisters in New York or the romantic ones in Paris or with the "Bridge on the Drina" in Visegrad, which Ivo Andric described in his famous book. Though it was a bridge, and this is always a bit exciting, because there is a here – "at our place" and a there – "at their place". Sometimes, teenagers met there. The boys whistled after the girls, the girls tapped their forehead. The lovers hid in the river banks or behind the willow trees, the leaves of which were caressed by the water and covered the sight.

When Sanja and her girl friends Marina and Marijana crossed the bridge at around 10 o'clock in the morning, the Morava was whooshing under them as usually. The many years of embargo had destroyed the industry and made the people jobless, but now it was possible to bathe again. Yugoslavia had become poor but the fish were happy that the factories were decaying and produced only small amounts of sewage water.

Every Sunday, there was market in Varvarin, and additionally on this Sunday there

was the celebration of the Holy Trinity, the orthodox Pentecost, on the square in front of the church above the river. Even from far away, Sanja could see the hustle and bustle, heard the calls of the traders, the bargaining of the customers. As usual, the farmers offered potatoes and fruit, travelling hawkers offered fancy clothes, sneakers, all kinds of tools. 3000 people shoved to and fro between the Plaza Hotel and the river banks, perhaps even more. At first, the three girls went to Church, Sanja donated a candle. The priest was preaching how the Holy Ghost came down on Pentecost: When 50 days after the resurrection of Christ had elapsed, a roaring noise had started from heaven, meanwhile the apostles had been gathering like one soul in their prayer. Tongues of fire appeared and sat down on each of them. That way they were filled with the Holy Ghost. The girls liked to hear that, but they knew it already. After Mass went to see a girl friend and drank some fruit juice.

Two military jets flew north above Varvarin

"Come on, we must go home, I have to prepare something for granny, I want to bake a cake for her", Sanja was keen to get going. "Oh why, it is not even one o'clock", Marina answered indignantly. But they were friends and stuck together. Perhaps they could return to the celebration in the late afternoon. From the church to the river, it was only a stone's throw, perhaps 150 meters. On the bridge the girls dawdled, making jokes about the other pedestrians, a boy spat into the river from the railing, and that looked really crazy. They were talking nonsense and did not realize what happened: Two military jets flew north above Varvarin, disappeared and turned behind the horizon, flew over the small town again, this time coming from the south, turned eastward, completed the turn to a loop heading south. They returned!

The church clock struck one. Sanja's parents were working in the kitchen making preparations for the banquet the next day. Suddenly they heard an enormous explosion. Zoran assumed an impact in *Cuprija*, but Vesna thought it was nearer, much nearer. She ran to the telephone, dialed a number of someone living in the town center – the line was dead. That could mean that the bridge was hit, because the phone cords were running underneath. Vesna could hardly breathe, she felt like choking, Zoran had to hold her, or else she would have collapsed. What should they do? Down into the cellar, which they had furnished as provisional shelter? Impossible, not without Sanja. Since Zoran had ruined his legs playing volleyball, Vesna ran to the neighbor, Marina's mother. Sometimes it is difficult to start a car when the hands tremble, but this time it worked, and with screech-

ing tires, the two women drove off towards the Morava. On the way, they examined each face, coming towards them, there were many children among them, but no Marina, no Marijana, no Sanja. Shortly before Varvarin people passing by confirmed that the bridge had been hit, and they had seen girls on it, when it happened. Vesna felt sick, but she ignored it and stepped on the gas. Now, don't you think, she said to herself. Change gears, couple, and press down the pedal. It all depended on seconds. At the river, there was an eerie silence; and above the water it was dark, because of the clouds of smoke after the explosions. The mothers called the names of their dearest ones: Marina, Marijana, Sanja.

* * *

That wonderful area... suddenly it was pushed aside like a thin and deceitful curtain, and in front of her stood the wolf with sparkling eyes, tail, rolled up and teeth snarling to a grin, which was even more terrible than her mother had ever described it to her. Aska's blood froze, and her legs became stiff like wood. It occurred to her that she should call for help, she even opened her mouth, but there was no voice. In front of her was death, invisible and unique and omnipresent, cruel and unbelievable in its cruelty.

(Ivo Andric, *Aska and the Wolf*)

* * *

They see two combat jets racing directly towards them

The shaky cars on the bridge are rattling, therefore the girls hear the airplanes when it is already too late. At 13:01, they have reached the centre of the bridge and see two combat jets racing directly towards them. Where should they go now – back or forward? Sanja's mathematical brain has forgotten about everything; even Einstein would not have succeeded in calculating the trajectory and the contact angle of the projectiles. God does not throw dice. Maybe he helps? Oh God, help me! The pilots are 300 meters away, 100 meters, in this distance and clear weather they are definitely able to see everything, the market, the church square full of people, the cars on the bridge. They fire two AGM 65rockets. Sanja remembers the sermon in the church: "And suddenly there came from the sky a noise like a strong driving wind, and it filled the entire house in which they were. Then there appeared to them tongues as of fire, which parted and came to rest on each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." But that was not the Holy Spirit.

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Warmongers Have Been Setting the Tone for 10 Years now!

The example of Richard Holbrooke

by Willy Wimmer, member of the German Parliament (CDU/CSU) and former secretary of state of the German Defence Ministry

The appointment of *Richard Holbrooke* as the special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan by President *Obama* was a clear signal. After experiences with Mr Holbrooke prior to and during the war in Yugoslavia we are justified to say: Wherever Richard Holbrooke is to be found there is war. Justifications of a war à la Holbrooke are probably randomly chosen. However, they have one single objective, namely to occupy the public's attention until the real target set by US American policy has been accomplished.

Anyhow, everything started so beautifully with the war in Yugoslavia. In the last 10 years we have reached really deep into the slip box of possible justifications ranging from the 'humanitarian intervention' on the Balkans following the British example from the first half of the 19th Century, via the weapons of mass destruction à la Iraq, to the war on terror modelled on Afghanistan, only to accomplish – alone or some bounded states following in the wake – the American triumphal march from the Balkans to Bulgaria and Rumania, the Caucasus and the Iraq, reaching out to Afghanistan-Pakistan-Kashmir, to Tibet, Burma and the Thai southern provinces, to the South Chinese Sea and to Philippine Mindanao. For all this Richard Holbrooke is our man. Because of the reluctance that had been built up against Obama's predecessor *George W. Bush* in the past years, we easily forget one thing: the possessive manner of America's global policy was started under *Clinton*, *Albright* and Holbrooke. Initially, Bush seemed to promise relief and a renunciation of the war policy of his predecessor – until he started to grab and grasp firmly. Why should this be different with Obama, who is obviously willing to use this world's Holbrookes in order to enforce America's policy? One cannot be sure about the dimension of imminent surprises. At the latest, when we see Mr Holbrooke all familiar in a friendly round with Taliban fighters, repeating his own procedure with his Kosovo UÇK allies, we might understand the dimensions of his tricks. Why should he not sit down with the Taliban, as they came into existence by creation of the Democrats in cooperation with the Pakistani and Saudi friends during Clinton's first presidential term?

The pattern underlying the American policy in Yugoslavia and on the Balkans suggests



The bridge of Varvarin. (photo Hans Wallow)

a first step of reaching out and grabbing globally and this might determine the future: The allied states of the new dimension, allies against the will of their inhabitants, were bound to NATO's new strategic concept as an intervention machinery. This occurred quietly, passing by all parliaments, with the resolution about a new NATO strategy in Portugal in September 1998.

Next was the ceasefire agreement with Yugoslavia in October 1998, which had two particularities by which it could be undermined or better exploited:

1. While Yugoslavia stuck to the agreement, Kosovo's UÇK were let off the leash and able to commence fighting against the Yugoslavian troops.

2. For conferences of the NATO council in Brussels the ceasefire agreement concluded between President *Milosevic* and US emissary Holbrooke was provided with an automatic component of air raid attack, which could be applied on 24 March 1999 breaking the well known international law.

When Holbrooke was approached by the Yugoslavian side because of this "Actord" by the NATO Council, he is reported to have said something like that "this was the only way to keep the allies in line." The consequences are well known, except the fact that there was a significant deployment of Israeli forces in Kosovo, and that UÇK and Rugova followers who had allegedly been killed by the Yugoslavian army afterwards appeared in public in Tel Aviv.

The events in Racak and the pseudo negotiations of Rambouillet were only further steps to implement what had always been the objective: to exploit the relation between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo or better to exploit the non-existence of it in order to rectify *Eisenhower's* mistake in 1944, as was declared by official American representatives at the Balkan Conference in Bratislava in 2000. Eventually American ground troops had to go to the Balkans and from there the deployment could be extended and they could be stationed further east.

With his coup à la Holbrooke President Obama has at least decided on the extension of the South Asian war area from Afghanistan to Pakistan.

(Translation by *Current Concerns*)

Civilian Objectives Were Meant to Be Hit

The NATO doctrine of assault in the 1999 air war against Yugoslavia violated international law

by Jürgen Rose *

If you want to understand the process of the 78-day air war waged by the NATO over Kosovo and against Yugoslavia, it is indispensable to cast a glance at the US Air Force doctrine of air war. This was written down by US Air Force colonel *John A. Warden III*, who was later promoted to be commander of the *Air Command and Staff College* at *Air University, Maxwell AFB, Alabama*, following the preceding considerations from the twenties and thirties of the last century, as presented by the Italian *Giulio Douhet*, the British *Hugh Trenchard*, the American *Billie Mitchell*, or the German general of the Army of the Reich (Reichswehrgeneral) *Walther Wever*. These ideas made their breakthrough in the 1991 war against Iraq; and until today they have shaped the prevailing US doctrine of air war. This latter doctrine was also at the base of the concept for the air war operations against Yugoslavia in 1999, against Afghanistan in 2001/2002, and once more against Iraq in 2003.

The concept of the five rings

The concept of the five rings is the quintessence of Warden's strategic approach: starting from a systemic point of view, the former Air Force Colonel describes a potential enemy as a system of concentric rings the strategic relevance of which decreases from the middle outwards. Warden defines this system of con-

centric rings, as applied to an enemy state, as follows: In the centre you find the political and military leadership. Around them the key industries are grouped, primarily power generation plants, water supply installations, the petrochemical industry and, interesting enough, the financial sector of a state, the transport infrastructure as the third ring, next the civilian population and as a last one, on the very outside, the military services.

The order of target priority can be derived from the importance of these elements for a state's capability for survival and from the targets' vulnerability under air attack. It must be pointed out that this doctrine of air war is quite deliberately aimed at the destruction of the livelihood resources of a state and of a society, and that it notably names the civilian population as an explicit target. The air attacks on the civilian population and their basis of existence aim at undermining their loyalty and obedience to their political leaders.

On the other hand, the enemy's military is moved to the farthest end of the list of target priorities. The reason that Warden offers for this order follows ice-cold rationality: "Contrary to Clausewitz, destruction of the enemy military is not the essence of war; the essence of war is convincing the enemy to accept our position, and fighting his military forces is at best a means to an end and at worst a total waste of time and energy."

The salient point, however, is the fact that a strategy of war which deliberately and pointedly targets the civilian population blatantly overrides all humanitarian law. The reduction of the inhibition level regarding the choice of target swiftly leads to the reduction of the inhibition level regarding fighting strategies. It would seem that in the reality of modern air war, basically any means is permissible, if it leads to victory, be it laser-controlled precision bombs on apartment buildings, cluster bombs on villages, ammunition made from depleted uranium, "fuel-air-explosives" (aerosol bombs that abruptly generate an enormous excess pressure and annihilate any life in close vicinity to the explosion), or even white phosphorus against "soft targets", as they are cynically referred to in the jargon of the air war planners.

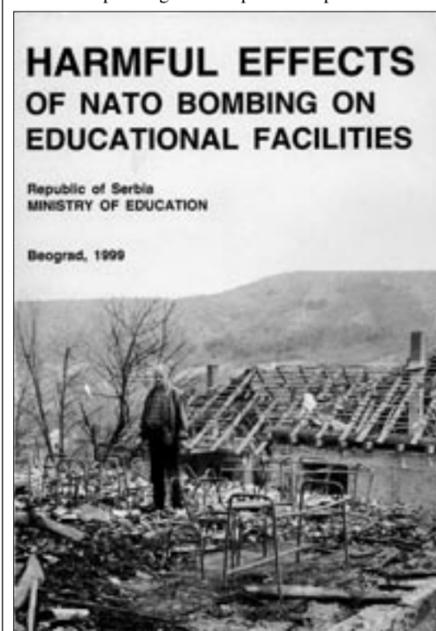
Civilian population is the target

Now such methods of waging war are plainly breaking international law according to the 1949 Geneva Convention including the supplementary provisions of 1974 to 1977 and also the *Convention On Certain Conventional Weapons (Ccw)* of 10 October 1980. By now, the number of civilian casualties – usually euphemistically called "collateral damages" – consistently exceeds the military losses of the alleged "surgical war" many times over.

Source: This text is a short excerpt from a lengthy article published in the newspaper "junge Welt" on 3 April 2009.

(Translation by *Current Concerns*)

* Jürgen Rose is a qualified pedagogue and lieutenant-colonel of the German armed forces. In this article he is expressing his own personal opinion.



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"Sanja's Last Day"

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it here, Sanja thinks, this is hell. She hears a whizzing, and then a dreadful impact tosses her through the air. She feels herself burn out, a terrible heat. Suddenly she is completely light, floating in the air.

The laser-steered bombs cut the bridge in half near the center; it collapses, the girls fall into the abyss, they faint. After two or three minutes Marina comes to, at first she sees her bleeding hand. Her right leg is completely smashed below the knee, the lower leg connected with the body only by some lumps of flesh. Where are the other two? Marijana is groaning, calls for help. She tries to pull herself up at the railing but then she notices that a bone protrudes from the upper arm and she has no power. Sanja holds her hand to her chest, her eyes are open, she breathes heavily, wants to say something, but she cannot. She leans to the railing with her back; an injury is not to be seen.

After five minutes someone screams: "They are coming back!" Sanja looks upward, sees the vapor trails and the two missiles, which come hissing directly towards her, tumbling as if drunk. That is the laser steering mechanism, but Sanja does not know that. The remainders of the bridge are hit again. The second explosion is even more violent than the first one and can be heard in Krusevac which is 16 kilometers away. A piece of concrete of the bridge, as large as a tank, is hurled up into the air and about 100 meters into the cemetery on the other side of the church. Sanja slips deeper and her head is hanging down, only a few inches above the water surface. She feels an iceberg mounting within her body. The pelvis, the belly, the intestines are already frozen. Now the cold creeps higher towards her heart. It must have been like that, when the Titanic sank, shortly before the polar circle. Where is the life raft? Suddenly she sees Leonardo di Caprio. Yes, it is he. He will save her. Sanja smiles. Znam pricu o sreci, I know a story about happiness.

Marina crawls towards Sanja, crawls with the help of her elbows – she can no longer use the smashed legs. Then she is holding the head of the fainted girl, so that she cannot sink below the water surface. She gets a bottle of mineral water from her backpack, and sprinkles some water on Sanja's face. Marina stands in the water, but the current is so strong and pulls so heavily at the remainders of her thigh that she is afraid, her leg will be torn away. Anyhow, the leg is swelling because of the load and hurts like hell. Marina must get out of the water, she pulls herself back on the remnants of the bridge above her. She and Marijana call for help, wait. Nothing happens. Finally, they hear voices, their mothers' voices.

Some hours later – it is still bright daylight and warm weather – eight lifeless bodies lie in the morgue of Varvarin, nearly all of them terribly mutilated. Vojkan Stankovic, his limbs are twisted, perhaps broken. Zoran

Marinkovic's leg is severed from the pelvis, someone has neatly put it over his left shoulder, the brightly polished shoe still tied to the foot. Milan Savic's lower leg is torn off and lies across his abdomen. In Dragoslav Terzic's head gapes a hole. Milivoje Cyric has no head, because a flying metal part has cut it off. Seven of the eight dead died in the second attack. Among them is the above-mentioned Milan Savic. He wanted to help the three girls in the river, a friend warned him: "They will come back, they always do, friends from Belgrade told me." Milan shouted back: "You are a coward, we must help nevertheless!" Those were his last words.

*Embrace me now,
as strongly as you only can,
and do not hand me over to the
black bird,
no, do not worry,
it will pass within the next instant.*

*...
The gloss of the millions of lights
frightens me,
when the sky is ignited.
Where is there an end,
for whom did they dig the deep grave?
Do human beings solve a problem at
all,
or are we only here
for the equilibrium of the stars?*

(Djordje Balasevic, Slavic Song)

Sanja is not among the dead in the morgue. After her mother has found her at the river, she is laid on a board and slid into an ambulance. Vesna gets on the coach too. Her child is unconscious, although her eyes are moving and her mouth remains opened. "Be strong, I will stay with you", Vesna says. And to the doctor: "Do something, please, turn her on her back. I cannot look on how my child is dying under my very hands." After five minutes Sanja slowly closes her eyes. The doctor orders the driver to change direction and to head towards the next outpatient clinic. There Sanja is given an Adrenalin injection, her eyelids flicker, she opens her eyes again. Vesna changes cars and the ambulance with Sanja and the doctor speeds up and races to the Krusevac hospital. When Sanja's mother arrives there a little later she sees a doctor coming out of a sickroom pulling off his gloves. Like in a movie. Vesna instantly knows everything. "I want to see my child". "No, the doctor says, this is not your child, it is a bigger girl, go and look for yourself. Vesna rushes into the sickroom, somehow between fear and hope, but the terrible foreboding is affirmed: The lifeless body in the green cloth is her daughter Sanja. Vesna throws herself on top of the body, feels something like a throb. "Doctor, her heart is still beating, she is not dead." The doctor gently pulls her away, looks into her flickering eyes, casts down his eyes: "Yes, she is!"

Some time later Vesna is sitting in the car, on the rear seat, Sanja in her arms, just like on 24 March, when they came from Belgrad, but now everything is different. Sanja has a wound on her left hip, running from her back to her leg and a shrapnel in the back part of her head. Small parts of the bridge have entered her body everywhere: in the back, the legs, even the toes. All inner organs are injured, above all the lungs. Looking from the front the body seems unscathed. Zoran gets a white coffin. Vesna takes out Sanja's favourite dress and puts it on her. "I don't know what I will do without you", Vesna says.

*"Pilot: I am now leaving the clouds.
I still do not see anything.
Basis: Continue your flight. Direction
North 4280
Pilot: I am under 3000 ft. Below there
is a convoy of vehicles, some kind of
trucks. What does that mean: I demand
instructions
Basis: Where are the tanks?
Pilot: I see tractors. I don't think the
Reds disguise their tanks as tractors.*



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Basis: What kind of crap is this? What a bummer! Sure it's the Serbs behind that. Destroy the target!

*Pilot: What is it I am to destroy? Tractors? Usual vehicles? I repeat: I don't see any tanks. I demand more information.
Basis: This is a military target. Destroy the target! I repeat: Destroy the target!"*

This extract from the radio communication between cockpit and NATO command station were recorded by the Yugoslav air defense in another air strike. Whether the situation was similar in Varvarin we don't know. The official NATO version is poor: "Two F16 attacked the bridge with four laser-steered 2000 kilo bombs following one another quickly. The first attack destroyed the middle part of the bridge, the second attack destroyed the rest of the bridge." Lieutenant Colonel Michael Kämmerer, responsible for the German press at the public relation centre of the NATO headquarters Europe in Mons, South Belgium, at least discloses that Varvarin had been a "secondary target". In other words: The target that had been chosen was already destroyed, therefore one was looking for a substitute.

In the Western public there was some criticism because of the collateral damage of 30 May. NATO justified the attack speaking about a "legitimate attack on a main supply route of the Serbian army." NATO press spokesman Jamie Shea called Varvarin "a chosen and justified target".

Who chose Varvarin as a target for bombing? NATO refused to let out the names of the pilots towards Reiner Luyken of Die Zeit. Even their nationality was not disclosed. Sanja's grandfather is convinced that a German aviator killed his granddaughter. Military expert John Erickson believes it was a US-pilot, since only US-pilots had "the operative competence to fire laser-steered weapons." And who gave the orders to the pilots? The lists of targets were determined by the NATO planning staff and were approved of by the political heads of the NATO states – Clinton, Jospin, Blair – and Schröder. It is known that in some cases the French government successfully vetoed against the bombing of civil targets, e.g. of some Danube bridges. In the war diary of Minister Scharping we can read that the choice of targets was a permanent item on the agenda of the NATO Council. Since the NATO Council takes its decisions unanimously it would have well been possible for the German Government to veto certain targets.

Secondary targets, however, were determined without a check by the political side, said Lieutenant Colonel Kämmerer. According to Paul Beaver, author of the magazine Jane's Defense Weekly the coordinates of these substitute targets were told the pilots from the Awacs aircrafts, these are flying NATO command centers, with German experts and officers on board as well. In 1994, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)

had still tried in vain to have the participation of German military forbidden by the Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitutional Court).

NATO press spokesman Shea was full of praise: "Never in history has there been an air mission, that damaged the enemy's military to such a great extent and spared the civilian population as the present one [...]. " Shea's German partner General Walter Jertz, expressed his opinion that NATO conducted the most carefully targeted bombings in history? Fantastic precision? War with the most carefully targeted bombardments in history? Within 78 days NATO destroyed merely 14 Yugoslavian tanks, but 48 hospitals, 74 TV stations and 422 schools. 20000 cluster bombs are hidden in the earth as unexploded ordnance even today – they may explode any day. The remainder of uranium-hardened ammunition is going to emit radiation for many thousand years to come. More than 2000 civilians died, one third of the victims were children.

After the war the bridge of Varvarin was rebuilt. It was funded by Serbs in Switzerland. The former Belgrad government founded a Sanja-Milenkovic-Foundation, an institution that promoted mathematically gifted children. For a long time Vesna slept in the bed of her dead child. When she visited the grave she could not weep. She went into Sanja's room for weeping. When the sun was shining she was not glad, it reminded her of the sunny 30 May, 1999. When she heard one day that her parents had had a very bad accident, she stayed completely calm. If they are dead, they will be with Sanja, she thought.

For Marijana and Maria life went on, somehow. They still have splinters in their body that cannot be removed. For Schröder and Fischer life goes on as well. Clinton, Albright, Scharping and Naumann are enjoying their pension.

Serbian victims of the NATO aggression, surviving dependants and injured people from Varvarin finally filed a suit against the German government, in order to obtain at least some material damage compensation for something that could never be compensated. They received support by a small German group of activists around the Berlin businessman Harald Kampffmeyer and his wife Cornelia who in order to finance the trial pawned their belongings. Such whistleblowers are not liked in the country of the war profiteers, the media always reported disdainfully about the man.

The lawsuit of the Serbs was repelled by three courts, by the Bundesgerichtshof (Federal Court of Justice) in Karlsruhe at the latest. What has been achieved up to today? The dead girl and the other nameless victims of the bombings were not forgotten as long as the trial lasted. A constitutional complaint is not yet decided on.

But is this all there is? Is there no school council, no teaching staff that will fight for their grammar school bearing the name of Sanja Milenkovic? Is there no catholic or protestant priest who will read a Mass for her on 30 May and organize a collection to help paying the legal costs? No employee representative of the IG Metall (Metal Workers Union) or Verdi who will vote for a work stoppage or at least a minute of silence? Shall a girl be forgotten that had to die only for one reason: Because she was Serbian? Shall the Serbs be forgotten who three times in one century were in the way of German plans? Does nobody dare to talk about the rope in the house of the hangman?

In that case the Serbs lament in the words of their poet Miodrag Pavlovic is justified:

*Beautiful cities will no longer be in our
country
We wish for long nights and deep forests
Where one can see without the eyes
Let us sing and memorize ourselves
The others have forgotten us.*

(Translation Current Concerns)

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Milestone en route to war

A sketch of the Kosovo conflict

by retired Brigade General Dr. Heinz Loquai

German shoot-ahead

Facing the violent struggles in Kosovo, the NATO in Brussels dealt with the conflict. In the meeting of the NATO council on May 14, 1998 the German representative advocated a position causing concerned enquiries from other NATO-partners. The German position: "It is not sufficient to investigate supporting measures, but also measures that attack the Kosovo problem from its root." It sounded like Germany was advocating a military intervention in Kosovo. "Several colleagues approached me after the meeting, asking me if we really wanted to intervene in the Kosovo itself [...]. [The British NATO ambassador] voiced his surprise about our far-reaching proposals." (Report of the German NATO embassy, May 14, 1998).

What counts in Washington

Report of the German embassy from Washington, dated October 2, 1998:

"Assessment: It remains unsaid that the administration sees some advantages in the proposed quickening of the pace, unconnected with the matter itself: Distraction from the Lewinski affair through a foreign crisis; hope for a rally-around-the-flag effect timed with the mid-term elections; proof of a continuing American leadership in the international system. Less importance is placed on the costs: The US are willing to accept resistance by an economically and politically weakened Russia. In case the American shoot-ahead should derail the Red-Green coalition negotiations, this would produce only crocodile tears in Washington."

Regime Change

Session of the Deutsche Bundestag on October 16, 1998.

MP Joseph Fischer: "But the problem is not just the humanitarian catastrophe, as bad as it may be. The problem is that the policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [...] creates a permanent risk of war in Europe. It is this risk of war which we cannot accept."

A political solution in sight?

Intense political efforts to stop the conflicts between the Yugoslavian state and the Kosovo-Albanian insurgents, bordering on a civil war, led to the following agreements:

- Yugoslavia withdraws its special police units and its army from the Kosovo. Both sides maintain a ceasefire and negotiate a peaceful settlement of the conflict under international supervision.
- The NATO implements permanent air surveillance with airplanes and unmanned aerial vehicles.
- The OSCE supervises the ceasefire in Kosovo with a mission of up to 2000 officials.

A refugee camp for the media?

Report of the German embassy in Belgrade, October 25, 1998:

"Personally, we have not detected any troops except those of the Pristina Corps. The UÇK is returning, exploiting the withdrawal of the Serbian security forces, redeploying its troops unbroken in its will to fight until full independence is achieved. It makes use of refugee camps for protection and as a safe harbor. The UÇK tries to enforce a NATO intervention by carrying out attacks and provoking reactions from the Serbian security forces.

The author, however, found the refugee camp in the vicinity of Kisna Reka, which is controlled by the UÇK, completely non-typical. In view of the claim that these refugees have been dwelling in the mountains for over two months, they seemed very neat, well-fed and balanced. The author cannot avoid the impression that the UÇK is using these refugees (their number went down from over 3500 to less than 100) as a political security and also as a model camp for the media. Some of the journalists present were equally skeptical."

"Spoilsports"

Retired general Klaus Naumann in the German TV (ZDF) program "Chronicle of a War



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Foretold. A résumé of the Kosovo conflict", September 21, 1999.

"The UÇK was basically playing a role that spoiled the success of the fall of 1998. It filled the vacuum created when the Serbs withdrew and spread in a way that would probably not have been accepted in any of our states. I cannot imagine that Germany would have accepted if some group, thinking it has to revolt against the state, started erecting checkpoints and border posts and wearing uniforms..."

The fox as geese-keeper: The American "diplomat" W. Walker

A decision which was crucial for the further development of the conflict was made by the American Secretary of State Albright. She got the Polish Foreign Minister Geremek, always compliant towards the US, to appoint the US diplomat W. Walker as head of the OSCE mission in Kosovo. This decision violated all OSCE rules. Walker proved to be a most partial and anti-Serbian OSCE representative who proclaimed and practiced an aggressive behavior against the Serbs. Instead of building up the mission, he impeded the employment of more personnel.

In addition, on January 1, 1999 Norway took over as chairman of the OSCE in Vienna. The Norwegian Foreign Minister Vollebeek acted as the right-hand man of NATO in the OSCE structure.

James P. Rubin, former US State Department spokesman, said that the NATO war against Yugoslavia had been a very personal war, "Madeleine's War" – a war of the American Secretary of State Albright. ("Financial Times, September/October 2000)

Competing truths at the "turning point"

Joseph Fischer says, "Racak was the turning point for me. 45 civilians were liquidated on January 15, 1999 in this village in Kosovo". (Gunter Hofmann, How Germany got into the war, in: Die Zeit, May 12, 1999)

"OSCE experts have supposedly found both proofs for a massacre and manipulations on the scene of the crime. It is said that they have detected alterations on the scene. Only a part of the victims may have been killed on site. [...]" (G2/A2 day's news, January 25, 1999)

Atrocity propaganda

"Moreover, many victims were mutilated, their skulls broken, faces destroyed by bullets, eyes poked out. One man had been beheaded." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Jan. 18, 1999).

"The head of one of the bodies had been cut off; the eyes of others were poked out, the face shot away." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Jan. 20, 1999).

"Six of the victims had sustained postmortem damage, most likely inflicted by animals.

No signs of post-mortem mutilation were present." (Finnish forensic scientists, in: Forensic Science International, 2000)

"I have underlined the central message of the Report [of the OSCE regarding Racak], that only a full forensic investigation can produce a full picture of what really has happened in Racak." (Report of the German OSCE representative on March 18, 1999)

A struck balance

A meeting of the NATO defense attachés in Belgrade came to the following conclusions:

- The UÇK relies on the media effect of the Racak Massacre even though many details are still not clear.
- The UÇK used the three months pretty well which the OSCE needed to become operative and improved its starting position while the Serbian security forces had been generally cooperative.
- The UÇK takes it for granted that only a few targeted provocations are necessary until the NATO will intervene and is sure that it will soon reach its goal.
- All participants question the meaningfulness of NATO air strikes.

(Report from the German embassy in Belgrade, January 21, 1999)

The media are setting the course for war – the situation before the beginning of the war

OSCE mission:

March 17, 1999: "The general situation throughout the region remains tense but quiet."

March 18, 1999: "The situation throughout the region generally remains tense but quiet."

Bundeswehr Office for Intelligence:

March 22, 1999

- The beginning of a coordinated large offensive of the Serbian-Yugoslavian forces against the UÇK in Kosovo can [...] not be confirmed [...].
- "Tendencies towards ethnic cleansing cannot be detected."

March 23, 1999

- Contrary to media reports, no large offensive of Yugoslavian security forces in Kosovo can be detected currently [...].
- "New information regarding deployment of substantial reinforcements cannot be confirmed now. The intensity of the conflicts is not exceeding the currently known level of violence."

Staff department FüS II, German Ministry of Defense: March 24, 1999

"The Serbian-Yugoslavian forces are not yet capable of performing a large-scale operation against the UÇK throughout the Kosovo. To reach this level, significant re-

inforcements in infantry units would be needed [...]

In the following days, we have to expect more local and short-term operations against the UÇK. The UÇK itself will continue trying to provoke the Serbian-Yugoslavian forces with the well-known hit-and-run attacks and to goad them into massive reactions, hoping that these would reach a level in destructions and number of refugees which leads to immediate NATO air strikes."

Foreign Office, SO-BOS-HUG:

The humanitarian situation against the backdrop of violations of the Holbrooke-Milosevic agreements:

March 19, 1999

"All ethnic groups in Kosovo are equally affected by eviction and destruction. Some 90 villages formerly inhabited by Serbs are now deserted.

Different from fall 1998, currently no supply disaster is imminent [...]. KVM is speaking now of a distribution problem, not of a supply problem."

The media coverage is showing a stark contrast to the observations of the Foreign and Defense Ministry experts. The tendency can be demonstrated by citing the headlines: "Large Serbian Offensive in Kosovo" ("Die Welt", March 23, 1999), "Serbs on the advance" ("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", March 23, 1999), "After the Paris Conference, a new cruel round of fighting and evictions has commenced" ("Süddeutsche Zeitung", March 22, 1999), "Serbs start new offensive in Kosovo" ("Frankfurter Rundschau", March 22, 1999), "Serbs advance with 40,000 troops and heavy arms" ("Die Welt", March 22, 1999)

Two German ministers: Holocaust exploiters and relativizers

Since March 24, 1999 the NATO had bombed Yugoslavia with support by the Bundeswehr in a war not sanctioned by the UN. The goal was to protect the population of the Kosovo. During a Bundeswehr visit to Auschwitz, Defense Minister Scharping said: "The Bundeswehr is operating in Kosovo to prevent a new Auschwitz." On April 7, 1999 the Foreign Minister Fischer declared: "I not only learned: No more wars. I also learned: No more Auschwitz."

"The Nazi victims have to consider the parallel between the Kosovo and Auschwitz as a new form of Auschwitz denial because is the denial of the singularity of the crime and the violation of civilization. It was an exploitation of Auschwitz for other purposes." (Arno Lustiger, An Auschwitz survivor speaking, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", January 27, 2007)

What Kind of Security Order for Europe?

Lectures from the Kosovo war

by Reinhard Mutz, Institute for Peace Research at the University of Hamburg

When on the 24 March, 1999 NATO attacked what had been left over from Yugoslavia after years of violent conflicts in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, it was sure of victory. With some vigorous air strikes the matter was yet to be completed. It didn't work out, instead the war lasted 78 days. In the end, the most powerful military apparatus of history, that kept nearly half as many soldiers under arms as Serbs actually lived in Serbia, defeated a small state. To this end he needed more than 37,000 sorties with bombs and rockets on streets, bridges, factories, refineries, radio stations – for seven days per week and twenty-four hours per day. The fact that in the eleventh week of war *Slobodan Milosevic* finally hoisted the white flag, awarded him the gloriol of a responsible statesman. Because “otherwise NATO would have continued to bomb”, said its commander in chief *Wesley Clark*, “pulverized its infrastructure. We would have destroyed the food industry, the power stations. We would have done everything that was necessary.” This was the war scenario for which a special new label was invented: “humanitarian intervention”.

History and result of the war illustrate the shortcomings of the European security order. Sustainably containing an ethno-national conflict highly virulent of violence requires the whole range of instruments capable of success: political crisis prevention, arbitration and mediation, civil settlement of disputes as well as economic aftercare. Without doubt, Europe commanded all these instruments and, in addition, a wide inventory of positive as well as of negative sanction means. Nevertheless, at the threshold of the new century – apart from the powerful western alliance – neither the UN nor the OSCE nor Russia pos-

sessed authority and independent scope of action as a member of the Balkans contact group. And NATO disposed only of one single means, this, however, in abundance: military power. It is an alliance, it thinks and acts as an alliance according to the criteria of an extremely effective fight of a destined opponent. However, it had neither competence nor experience in political conflict mediation that would have required perseverance and a sense of proportion. As a top authority of crisis management in Europe it was a miscast.

For NATO, the management of the Kosovo crisis came down to military mission planning, more or less. In June 1998 it undertook air manoeuvres over Macedonia, in August combined sea, air and land exercises in Albania. On the Italian air force bases it reinforced its fight squadron, in the Mediterranean harbours it concentrated its war fleets. Between September 1998 and March 1999 it increased the mobilization status four times. A dictated course heading so determinedly towards military action raises the question: Was conflict solution in Kosovo really the aim as was officially propagated? In contrast to all official protestations, there were plenty of political alternatives to warfare. They remained



The bombed out gynaecological hospital in Belgrad. (photo ev)

state and heads of government agreed on their strategic concept that is valid till this day. It replaced the bounding to law by the category of interest. International law, however, does not authorize states or state coalitions to attend their interests at discretion. It does not give them leave to do as they like. Above all it does not approve of taking up arms at one's own discretion.

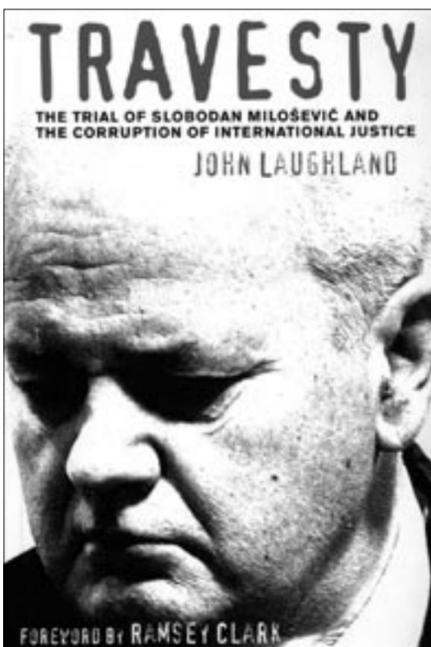
How can a military alliance call on other political actors to renounce violence and stick to the rules and give itself leave not to do the same? International law marks the degree of civilisation achieved by the state system. It is a good not less precious as is the constitutional state of law in democratic societies. Without being anchored in inter-

national relations European security will remain a torso. It is unimportant whether NATO really wanted the war against Belgrade or whether it finally did not know how to avoid it because it wanted to save face. It planned, prepared, threatened with it ad nauseam and finally waged the war. That is what counts. The message that nobody failed to understand was: Who in Europe issues an ultimatum and whose instructions must be obeyed. The noble resolution to renounce war as a means of politics was shred.

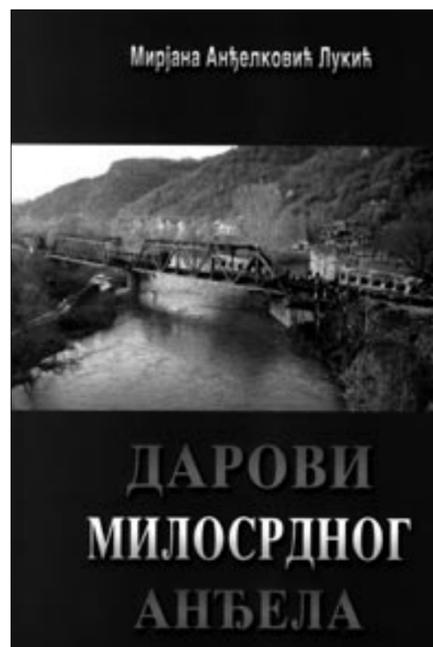
At the height of the bombardment, on 24 April 1999, in Washington, NATO heads of

national relations European security will remain a torso. It is unimportant whether NATO really wanted the war against Belgrade or whether it finally did not know how to avoid it because it wanted to save face. It planned, prepared, threatened with it ad nauseam and finally waged the war. That is what counts. The message that nobody failed to understand was: Who in Europe issues an ultimatum and whose instructions must be obeyed. The noble resolution to renounce war as a means of politics was shred.

(Translation by *Current Concerns*)



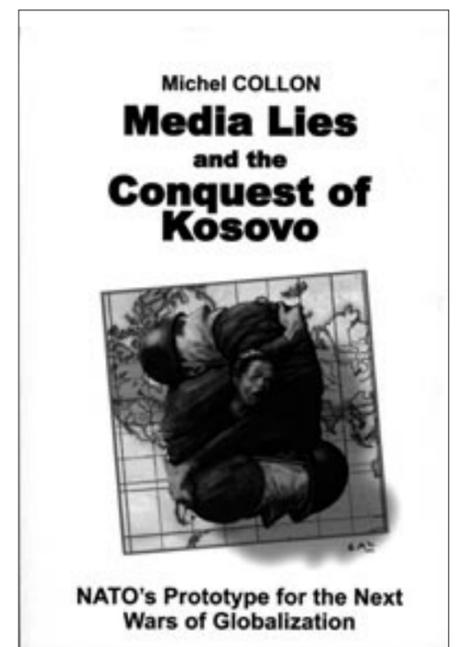
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“Milestone en route to war”
continued from page 7

Patrick Bahners, The creeping venom, the Kosovo war as a test case for pragmatism set loose, “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”, April 20, 2001: “It sounds a joke when Scharping declares he had become more composed. In his historic moment, he was all but composed. For his rhetoric intoxication, the hallucination of a second Auschwitz, he has never done penance.”

“Auschwitz relativizers Scharping and Fischer” (*Christoph Albrecht*, “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”, August 27, 2001)

Balance of a “successful” war

• It can hardly be denied that the NATO war against Yugoslavia marginalized the opposition against the Yugoslavian president Milosevic. At the beginning of the war, Milosevic was run out politically. His

support in the population was between 20 and 25%. The war raised this number to 80%. “Without the Kosovo war, the dictator would have been toppled long before October 5, 2000.” (“Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung”, January 19, 2001)

• The NATO air strikes were mainly directed against the civil infrastructure of Yugoslavia. *Gernot Erler* listed as damaged or destroyed: 200 factories, 1909 schools, 50 hospitals, 5 civil airports, numerous dwelling houses and farms. (IFDT, p. 19) The first commander of the NATO KFOR units, the German general Dr. *Reinhardt* confirms that these destructions were meaningless, even from a military standpoint: “For many bridges which we had to repair with our engineers, my specialists and myself could not understand the strategic and operational value of their destruction from the air. This was even more the case for the many destroyed overhead power cable pylons to Macedonia or Albania. Their re-

pair caused an immense effort. Much of the infrastructure urgently needed later by the KFOR mission had been destroyed by our own air strikes.” (IFCT, p. 19)

• “In the last months alone, the alliance has successfully performed intense air operations on the Balkans. [...] The only goal of the air operations was to reverse the horror politics of ethnic cleansing pursued by the Belgrade regime.” (Javier Solana, Secretary General of NATO, in: NATO-Brief, No. 2, 1999)

A democratic discourse

In the German Bundestag, the ministers Fischer and Scharping characterized those who criticized their politics as “naïve”, “stupid”, “malicious” and “malignant” (Deutscher Bundestag, 97th session, April 5, 2000). In March 2001, *Dieter Lutz*, the renowned professor for peace studies and his co-worker Dr. *Mutz* urged the parliamentarians to come to terms with the Kosovo conflict (“Two years after the Kos-

ovo war: more problems than solutions, more questions than answers”). The response by the state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, *Gernot Erler*, was a rude reprimand: “[Should] the parliamentarians you have thus attacked help you erect the arenas where you let out your tendency towards public tribunals [...]. We can do very well without self-declared public prosecutors and chief investigators.”

War heroes

The German press celebrated its war heroes, the German Minister of Defense Scharping and the Foreign Minister Fischer who outshined everybody else. In the *Zeit* we learn that it was Fischer who “not only conjured up the moral dimension of the war [against Yugoslavia], but made it a “European” war and brought the Balkans to Europe with bold strategic foresight.” (*Manfred Geis*: Fischer, the War and the Vision, “Die Zeit”, September 27, 2001).

(Translation by *Current Concerns*)

Measurement of Radioactivity in Soil Samples from Serbia

Mainly the children are the ones that will have to bear the grave effects of the NATO bombardments of spring 1999: Leukemia in a very young age and other cancers have been heavily on the rise in Serbia for a long time now. On top of that it is an act of utmost barbarism to make the children, the future of the country, grow up in places contaminated by the poisons of radioactive-chemical-toxic weapons potentially causing diseases, infirmity and death.

NATO is responsible for all that. Current Concerns protests against this destruction of the next generation. The concern of the Serbian population about the health of their children have prompted us to commission a study, the result of which we present here.

The editorial staff of Current Concerns

What really matters is that we should all of us realize that we are guilty of inhumanity. The horror of this realization should shake us out of our lethargy so that we can direct our hopes and our intentions to the coming of an era in which war will have no place. (...)

Whether peace comes or not depends on the direction in which the mentality of individuals develops and then, in turn, on that of their nations. This truth holds more meaning for us today than it did for the past.

Albert Schweitzer, 1954

Source: http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1952/schweitzer-lecture-e.html

In August 2007 *Zeit-Fragen* has critically analysed a study by GSF¹ that dealt with the health consequences of the use of uranium ammunition on German soldiers and the civilian population in Kosovo.

The criticism pointed at the incomplete recording and documentation of the radiating elements and at the missing investigation of their dispersal in the soil and dust. The discus-

¹ See article page 3 „Critical Review of a Recent Study on Health Effects due to the Contamination with Depleted Uranium“

sion of the measurements that was presented by GSF was incomplete, mainly with respect to the acute and the delayed incorporation.

In September 2007 *Zeit-Fragen* has presented two soil samples from Serbia (sample 1, sample 2) to a group of experienced scientists and asked for the measurement of their radioactivity. Since February 2008 results and assessments are available, an abstract of which is reported here:

1) In the untreated original samples (each ca. 200 grams) the gamma ray spectrometry for uranium 238 revealed activities up to 141 Bq/kg and for thorium 232 up to 104 Bq/kg (excerpt see table 1). In the decay chain of the uranium there is no equilibrium.

For the sample 1 concerning the uranium- and the thorium-decay chain, including potassium 40, Caesium 137 and Beryllium 7, the total activity was 2430 Bq/kg with a beta/alpha relation of 1 (provided that there were no other, unidentified activities besides the above mentioned radiation sources).

2) Out of 50 grams of the sample 1 sample fractions with different mass, grain size and density were produced by sieving, washing, sedimentation and stratification. These fractions were morphologically analysed under the microscope and their alpha and beta activities were measured.

The picture shows as an example sample fractions of stratified material (see pointer) and separated particles.

Table 2 shows the peculiarly high activity (7500 to 10500 Bq/kg) and the unexpected relation of beta-/alpha-activity of 30 to 60.

3) The conclusions can be summarized as follows:

- a. The methods of measurement applied can be reproduced and they are absolutely essential as guidance for an appropriate radiation protection. Without fundamental research like that mass spectrometry research to the point is only possible if all nuclides are identified.
- b. In one soil sample inhomogeneously allocated radioactivity was found to be related to certain morphologically distinct, highly radioactive particles dispersed throughout the sample. The high proportion of beta-ra-

diation can by no means come from uranium, thorium or other natural sources.

c. Due to the inhomogeneity of the radioactivity an assessment of the biological risks can under no circumstances follow the limited rules of radiation protection. "Hot spots" must be taken into consideration.

d. It is recommended to conduct an extensive measurement-program in cooperation with several universities to determine the nature of the radioactivity and of the concentrates, especially in a bigger number of soil samples. In this way the duty of precaution can be fulfilled.

May 2, 2008

Dipl. Ing. H.W. Gabriel
Dr. D. Schalch

International and humanitarian law prohibits weapons which are incapable of distinguishing between civilians and combatants and which cause unnecessary suffering

Art. 78 of the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice entitled "Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons":

"The cardinal principles contained in the texts constituting the fabric of humanitarian law are the following. The first is aimed at the protection of the civilian population and civilian objects and establishes the distinction between combatants and non-combatants; States must never make civilians the object of attack and must consequently never use weapons that are incapable of distinguishing between civilian and military targets. According to the second principle, it is prohibited to cause unnecessary suffering to combatants: it is accordingly prohibited to use weapons causing them such harm or uselessly aggravating their suffering. In application of that second principle, States do not have unlimited freedom of choice of means in the weapons they use.

The court would likewise refer, in relation to these principles, to the Martens Clause, which was first included in the Hague Convention II with Respect to

the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 1899 and which has proved to be an effective means of addressing the rapid evolution of military technology. A modern version of that clause is to be found in Article 1, paragraph 2, of Additional Protocol I of 1977, which reads as follows:

"In cases not covered by this Protocol or by other international agreements, civilians and combatants remain under the protection and authority of the principles of international law derived from established custom, from the principles of humanity and from the dictates of public conscience."

In conformity with the aforementioned principles, humanitarian law, at a very early stage, prohibited certain types of weapons either because of their indiscriminate effect on combatants and civilians or because of the unnecessary suffering caused to combatants, that is to say, a harm greater than that unavoidable to achieve legitimate military objectives."

Source: Francis A. Boyle, *The Criminality of Nuclear Deterrence*, Atlanta 2002, p. 186f

Fractions of stratified material (see pointer) and separated particles

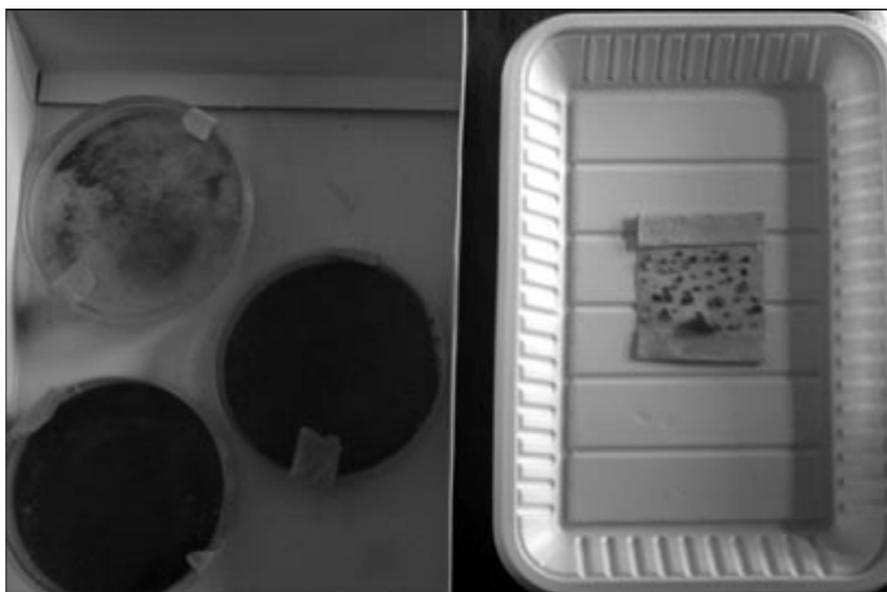


TABLE 1:

Soil samples: gamma-spectrometry (excerpt)

ISOTOPE		ACTIVITY (Bq/kg)	
		sample 1	sample 2
U 238 chain:	Th 234	94	90
	Pa 234m	141
	Bi 214	76	48
	Pb 214	84	52
	Pb 210	58	26
U 235		4,2	3,5
Th 232 chain:	Ac 228	104	51
	Bi 212	117	56
K 40		465	327
Be 7		12
Cs 137		13	10

measurement error < ± 20%

TABLE 2:

Alpha- and beta-activity (Bq/kg) of different fractions of sample 1

fraction	mass (grams)	beta-activity	alpha-activity
original soil	50	560	12
sieve-fraction < 1 mm	34,7	966	34
sieve-fraction > 1 mm	11,6	10312	172
wash-sediment, light	1,6	3066	625
wash-sediment, heavy	0,7	7140	228
grains > 1 mm	0,3	6600	1600

measurement-error < ± 25%

Measurement of Radioactivity of Soil Samples from Serbia, Part 2

A court in Florence has sentenced the Italian Ministry of Defence to pay a veteran to compensate for his health problems caused by exposure to uranium ammunition during his military service in Somalia. The judges based their decision on a legal-medical opinion. This in turn took into account material provided to the court by socialist member of parliament Falco Accame. He is president of the organisation "Anavafaf", which represents soldiers on active duty with high efficiency. Falco Accame refused from the beginning to accept the official lies about the alleged harmlessness of NATO uranium ammunition. Already after Israel's Lebanon war of 1982 he had experienced the health problems of Italian soldiers after their contact with similar shells in Lebanon.

The decisive argument for the positive verdict in this trial – before a civil court – was the fact that the Italian ministry of de-

fence failed to provide sufficient ABC protection gear to their soldiers, neither in Somalia 1993 nor during the Balkan war, although being aware of US directives about proper handling of uranium.

From Documents:

"The main hazard associated with depleted uranium is the harmful effect the material could have if it enters the body. If particles are inhaled or digested they can be chemically toxic and cause a significant and long lasting irradiation of internal tissue."

Source: Document as of 20.12.1984, AWS 330, signed by Robert Beard, States assistant secretary general for defense support 1984 -87.

In a research paper about the use of uranium containing weapons from 1977/78, performed by the Airforce Armament Laboratory, Eglin Air Force Base Florida, it is

promised that their results will be provided to military personnel involved in testing or handling such weapons on the battlefield for their protection.

In a memorandum from 1993 it is clearly pointed out that "when soldiers inhale or ingest DU dust, they incur a potential increase in cancer risk".

Source: Department of the Army, Office of the Surgeon General, 5109 Leesburg Pike, Falls Church VA. Memorandum for headquarters U.S. Army Chemical School. ATTN: ATZN-CM-N, Fort McClellan, AL 36205. Subject: depleted uranium (DU) safety training, 16.8.1993

These documents prove that Italy and all other NATO states probably as well were fully aware of the consequences when they bombarded Serbia with tons and tons of these substances during the Balkan wars.

Current Concerns had asked two experts in the beginning of last year to conduct thor-

ough investigations of soil samples from Serbia. The results were published in Current Concerns in June 2008. They are frightening. Now it became apparent from the investigation of additional factors that the term "depleted uranium" may well be deliberately misleading. On 9.2.2009 Zeit-Fragen reported under the title "Little Hiroshima..." about the research of the Serbian expert Mirjana Andjelkovic-Lukic – about the bombardment of Serbia in 1999. The hypothesis that the damage was caused by "little Hiroshima Bombs" is now backed by results of measurements performed by these two German nuclear physics experts. After several years of work they were able to find "hard" measuring methods for the detection of small remnants left behind by such little nuclear explosions.

The editorial staff of Current Concerns

Part 2: gamma ray spectrometry, energy of beta radiation sources, study of changes in the natural isotope proportions

In Current Concerns No 6 2008 we reported about the results of measurements of radioactivity of two soil samples from Serbia.

In the meantime the changes in the natural isotope proportions could be established with gamma ray spectrometry and chemical engineering analysis of special elements in four more samples. With one sample with high beta activity it was possible to establish the maximum range of beta radiation in aluminium and the maximum energy and the classification of isotopes respectively.

1. Gamma ray spectrometry

The findings in the four new samples (NS-15, NS-40, Pa-290g, Av-370g) are summarized in table 1.

Peculiar is the sample Av-370g:

- The relationship of uranium 238 / 235 points to "enriched uranium".
- The concentrations of uranium, thorium and potassium 40 are high in comparison to other samples.
- 2976 Bq/kg of potassium 40 correspond (in a natural proportion of isotopes) with an unusually high content of potassium of 9,5 percentage per weight.

2. Changes in the natural isotope proportions

The high concentration in the activity of potassium 40 arises the suspicion of a change in the natural isotope proportions due to radiation. Natural potassium: K 39/93,94%, K 40/0,0117%, K 41/6,73%.

The change can be established by determining the overall concentration of potassium with the method of chemical engineering and by determining the proportion of potassium 40 with gamma ray spectrometry.

Table 2 shows the respective results of three samples from Serbia and one matching sample from a far away country: The samples from Serbia show an increase of the concentration of potassium 40 by significant factors between 7 and 132.

Alterations like this, for example in the nuclear reaction Ca 40 (n,p) K 40, only happen in a neutron fluence like in nuclear explosions.

3. The maximum energy of the beta radiation sources

The maximum energy of the unknown pure beta radiation sources has been determined by measuring the maximum range of electrons in aluminium. Peculiar drops in the absorption curves are found in the area of 30 mg/cm² (0,156 MeV) and 180 mg/cm² (0,55 MeV). These energies can be assigned to carbon 14 and beryllium 10. Both isotopes originate for example in (n,p) reactions from nitrogen and boron 10 respectively.

Beta radiation with energies above 0,15 MeV can cause monochromatic (blue) Cerenkov-radiation in water. Radiation like that has been observed in bodies of water in Ser-

bia in 1999. The level of radiation in case of the occurrence of effects like these is considerable.

4. Conclusions from the perspective of radiation protection

The level of the inner exposure to radiation in a human being is up to now predominantly determined by potassium 40. It is about 0,2 mSv/a.

The increase of the concentration of potassium 40 by the factor 100 leads to a very critical level of contamination (20 mSv/a !!). Potassium has very important physiological functions in the human body.

In the "carbon" there must also have happened a shifting in the isotope proportions towards the radioactive isotope carbon 14. An increase of the level of radiation in this respect can only be estimated if specific C 14

measurements have been done, for example in the annual growth rings of trees.

Annex
table 1: gamma ray spectrometry, 2nd series, Serbia
table 2: changes in the proportions of isotopes of potassium in soil samples

February 17th, 2009
Dipl. Ing. H.W. Gabriel
Dr. D. Schallch

Table 1: Gamma ray spectrometry, 2nd series, Serbia

Nuclide	Energy keV	NS-15 570g		NS-40 470g		Pa 290g		Av 370g	
		Bq	Bq/kg	Bq	Bq/kg	Bq	Bq/kg	Bq	Bq/kg
<i>U-238-chain</i>									
Th 234	63,3	14,5	25,4	29,0	61,7	22,0	75,9	55,0	148,6
	92,6	23,4	41,1	31,0	66,0	33,3	114,8	66,0	178,4
Pa 234m	1001,0	27,0	47,4	32,0	68,1	23,0	79,3	44,0	118,9
Pb 214	351,9	17,0	29,8	28,0	59,6	27,0	93,1	49,0	132,4
Bi 214	1120,3	16,4	28,8	25,7	54,7	23,4	80,7	44,0	118,9
	1764,5	18,0	31,6	29,4	62,6	27,0	93,1	52,0	140,5
U 235	143,8			1,7	3,6	1,3	4,5	4,7	12,7
	185,7 corr.	1,3	2,28	2	4,3	3	10,3	6,1	16,5
<i>Th-232-chain</i>									
Ac 228	911,2	18,0	31,6	31,6	67,2	30,5	105,2	101,0	273,0
	1588,2	18,4	32,3	25,0	53,2	28,4	97,9	105,0	283,8
Pb 212	238,5	15,6	27,4	29,2	62,1	31,7	109,3	107,0	289,2
	300,1	17,7	31,1	32,2	68,5	33,1	114,1	107,0	289,2
Bi 212	727,3	19,0	33,3	33,0	70,2	34,8	120,0	107,0	289,2
	1620,5	50 ?		32,9	70,0	31,6	109,0	94,0	254,1
Tl 208	583,2	6,0	10,5	11,0	23,4	10,0	34,5	35,0	94,6
K 40	1460,8	367	644	489	1040	490	1690	1101	2976
Cs 137	661,7	1,5	2,6	1,7	3,6	7,7	26,6	11,3	30,5
	511 lps/kg		0,043		0,062		0,100		0,180

measurement error < ± 20%

Table 2: changes in the proportions of isotopes of potassium in soil samples from Serbia: Av 1, NS 1, Pa 1, matching sample: G 2/1206

Sample	Av 1	NS 1	Pa 1	G 2	Basis of calculation - Proportion of isotopes K 39: 93,258%, K 40: 0,0117%, K 41: 6,730% - Specific activity of potassium: 31 200 Bq/kg potassium 2976 Bq K 40 correspond with 11,1 mg K 40 - Effective cross section of the reaction Ca 40 (n,p) K 40: 0,2b Resulting fluence in a change of K 40 by the factor 100: 10 e 20 nvt
Overall potassium (mg/kg)	720	1500	1400	387	
Potassium 40 (Bq/kg)	2976	465	327	17	
Normal level K 40 (mg/kg)	0,084	0,175	0,163	0,045	
Found level K 40 (mg/kg)	11,1	1,7	1,2	0,06	
Change K 40 (comparison found level with normal level)	132	10	7	1,2	

Did They Intend to Contaminate These Seas with Uranium?

Statement by Professor Velimir Nedeljkovic, Faculty of Industrial Safety of University of Nis, Serbia (January 2006)

I am a specialist for energy issues and hydrotechnology. In my life I experienced two wars. I was born in 1942, and in 1999 there was the second war in my life. Worldwide there are many new types of weapons, especially to destroy heavy arms like tanks, to destroy shelters or something similar such as fortresses. Many years ago depleted uranium (DU) ammunitions were used in Iraq during the Gulf War. Afterwards this ammunition was used in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the Republic of Srpska, and 1999 in Serbia and "Kosovo and Metohija". From 24 March to 10 June 1999 Serbia was bombarded for 80 days with new types of arms, that means weapons that were loaded with DU ammunition.

Seven years later we had the opportunity to experience the meaning of that

Nowadays there is hardly any talk about this as if it was intended to cover or hush up the truth. This conversation must not be understood as a platform for anti-American or anti-European sentiment. In Serbia we wish very much to belong to the developed countries and to enjoy all the privileges of civilisation. Life expectancy is increasing worldwide, especially in high developed countries, for instance in Japan, where people frequently become 100 years old. At the same time people's lives in Serbia are likely to become shorter and shorter. The reason is the fact that the territory is contaminated with DU. Only wealthy countries can afford scientific methods and sophisticated technology to examine and prove the connection between the increase of malign tumours and the use of DU ammunition. At the moment we are not able to do that but what happened in 1999, we feel clearly on our skin. Both sides have admitted, I am thinking of the NATO and our country, to have used this ammunition at least 112 times in Serbia. A 107 times on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and 5 times in the south of Serbia, and once on the peninsula Lustica in Monte Negro.

The question is why Southern Serbia of all countries was bombed with this type of projectiles. Southern Serbia is considered an underdeveloped region, there are no fortresses and it is not densely populated. One of the targets that was destroyed was the TV – amplifier on Mount Plackovica near Vranje. After the 1999 war the military put a barbed wire fence around that area, which was later removed by farmers to put their cattle out to pasture.

It is very likely that already during the first war DU got into the soil and ground water and that due to climatic conditions, wind, rain and atmospheric processes DU was spread in a larger region.

These areas as well as other areas in Bratolac and Borovec near Bujanovac were not cleaned until 2004. Today, in 2007, which is 7 years after the bombings, there are still contaminated areas, which have not been cleaned yet. There is for instance Areljan near Presevo and I hope this place will be cleaned this year. Too much time has passed and therefore it is very likely that DU particles have been widely spread and have contaminated large areas.

The watershed

Since Southern Serbia is underdeveloped and bare of significant military installations, the logical question to ask is why this region was bombarded with this kind of ammunition. People with good geographical knowledge are aware of the fact that the geography of this region is marked by a "Bifurkation" (watershed), which means that there are two river basins. On one hand there are the rivers Pcijija and Melodimka which flow into the Aegean Sea via the river Vardar. On the other side the Sitnica near Urosevac flows via Juzna Morava, Velika Morava and Danube into the Black Sea. So two river basins were contaminated within seven years, as well as the Aegean Sea and Black Sea. It is common knowledge that DU projectiles are used for tanks, armoured vehicles and shelters, etc. in order to destroy them by means of their high temperatures. During the war there were no such objects in this part of the



"For example there is no reasonable explanation for having chosen a central target for bombardment with uranium ammunition: In the South, at the watershed of two rivers – why this target? No military establishment, no town, no factory, nothing that could have been of military strategic interest. According to estimates, about 15 tons of depleted uranium were thrown down in the surroundings of Urosevac. From here the rivers flow into the Black Sea and the Aegean. Did they want to contaminate these seas with uranium? Or plutonium?"

Source: Barbara Hug, Current Concerns, No. 12, 2007

Italian Ministry of Defense Sentenced to High Compensation for Damages

cc. When after the NATO war against Yugoslavia six Italian soldiers fell ill with leukemia and died shortly after their deployment in Kosovo. A connection with the use of DU weapons was refused point-blank. Completely irrational "explanations" like "cluster of leukemia illnesses among young people" were invented instead - and after a NATO conference at the beginning of 2001 the topic was made a media taboo. As the British physicist Keith Baverstock revealed, data in a report to the United Nations, stating that the employed DU weapons in some areas of the former Federal Republic Yugoslavia were carcinogenic and a danger to health, were even deleted. As the following reports from Italy show, the facts can no longer be denied – the number of deaths and sick people from the most diverse deployments is constantly increasing. An Italian court acknowledged the connection and sentenced the Italian Ministry of Defense to the payment of compensation for damages amounting to 500,000 euros.

Paolo Cariello of Taranto, Colonel in the Air Force, died two years ago. Until today we have not heard about his death. Two sick carabinieri in Sardinia, in the provinces of Sassari and Nuoro, and a Navy Colonel with Hodgkin lymphoma in the province of Venice – have fall-

en ill again after a recovery. These are the newest deaths, which can be attributed to uranium weapons. Falco Accame points out that the number of deaths remains uncertain; it varies between 80 and 160, and the number of people who fell ill varies between 300 and 2500.

Source: vittimeurano.com, 28 Dec 2008

Yesterday was the funeral of Giovan Battista Marica, a former parachutist, who died from the consequences of uranium weapons use. After a recovery phase he was again taken to the hospital of Santa Chiara di Pisa, since he had experienced complications after a viral flu. The body of the parachutist was already weakened by a Hodgkin lymphoma, which had been diagnosed after his return from Somalia in 1993. The whole municipality of Orbetello attended the funeral.

At the funeral there were also the lawyers, who had conducted the legal fight for compensation. This fight was terminated after 15 years by the ruling of the Florence court, which in December 2008 sentenced the Italian Ministry of Defense to a high compensation for damages for ignoring the principle of precaution.

Source: Vittimeurano.com, 13 March 2009

The watershed

"Since Southern Serbia is underdeveloped and bare of significant military installations, the logical question to ask is why this region was bombarded with this kind of ammunition. People with good geographical knowledge are aware of the fact that the geography of this region is marked by a "Bifurkation" (watershed), which means that there are two river basins. On one hand there are the rivers Pcijija and Melodimka which flow into the Aegean Sea via the river Vardar. On the other side the Sitnica near Urosevac flows via Juzna Morava, Velika Morava and Danube into the Black Sea. So two river basins were contaminated within seven years, as well as the Aegean Sea and Black Sea."

country. So the question is what were the real aims of the bombardments. Could it be that those two river basins were to be contaminated for a very long time, actually longer than eternity (it is known that the half-life of DU is 4.5 billion years)?

Serbia has the highest increase in malign cancer of the cervix

The developed countries must find the scientific proof for the correlation of DU ammunition use and the malign tumours increase. For us in Serbia it is evident that malign tumours cannot be prevented and that the increase of tumours worldwide has to be taken into account. However, statistically this increase is not the same everywhere. We have noticed an enormous increase in malign tumours. The other day it was stated that Serbia has the highest increase rate in malign cancer of the cervix, which mostly occurs in young women. This increase amounts to 1500 cases, 450 of which were lethal. We do not have the means to conduct permanent screenings to detect the disease at an early stage when it can be cured most effectively. The cases detected in our country are late cases the cure of which is difficult and the outcome uncertain. Presumably this is the reason why our mortality rate is among the highest worldwide. The world has to learn about that in order to show what really happened in our region in 1999. As a matter of fact this is ecocide (the fatal long term effects of the employment of combat agents), or if we want to express it more clearly, it was an unpaid for live experiment. Those who bombed us are meticulously following the results, i.e. the increase of malign tumours, which prove that the effects were not harmless or undamaging as was repeatedly stated at the beginning. Strangely enough our country remained silent at the beginning. The first to talk about it were the governments of the countries the soldiers of which served in the NATO-forces. The suffering from the Balkan syndrome and malign tumours was first detected in soldiers from Italy, Germany and Portugal. We all know about the compensation lawsuits for the families of deceased soldiers which are carried on at the present.

Violation of the Geneva Conventions

Specialists have testified in court that there is proof of a connection between the cause of death and the stay of soldiers on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija during the NATO's aggression against Serbia. [...]

It does not take a lot of intelligence to ascertain a simple fact. It is absolutely not right that DU ammunitions are harmless for our environment and people's health. What member states of the NATO emphasise is only partly true, which is the fact that DU ammunition does not belong into the nuclear category. It is true that there is no nuclear reaction and significant radiation accompanying nuclear reaction. If you look at it from that side DU munitions cannot be considered nuclear ammunition.

The Process of Destroying Serbia Has Not Yet Come to an End

Gap between puppet government and population has never been as deep as today

A conversation with former Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Zivadin Jovanovic



Zivadin Jovanovic

Current Concerns: How do you assess the situation in Yugoslavia/Serbia today, ten years after NATO's aggression against your country?

Zivadin Jovanovic: Unfortunately there are not too many encouraging developments in Serbia and the region around Serbia ten years after the aggression of NATO against Yugoslavia. First of all the whole economy is in a dramatic situation. First they privatized state and public ownership for nothing and this nothing that they received, was put to the budget and spent all through the budget. So the essence of the economy – production, services – have been eaten up by the government through the budget.

Second, as a consequence, the production went down sharply and day-by-day it is in even deeper difficulties. The trade imbalance is as high as never before in the history of Serbia. The foreign debt of Serbia has risen after the so-called democratic changes in October 2000 from 9 billion dollars to right now 35 billion dollars. And it is not only the question that this is not wise policy to have such indebtedness but the main question is: Where did the money from abroad go? Where was it invested? If so much money has been got through loans and if we add to this let us say 35 billion dollars of foreign debts donations from various sources than the inflow of foreign capital is very, very high. And the question is how people feel about this in Serbia's real life. Has employment gone better? Have living standards gone better? Are we having better health services, education and so on and so forth?

That is one question. And the other question is: Who and when will we be able to repay those debts. It seems to me that someone lent Serbia so much to indebted it in a way that it can never become independent, that it always remains tight and obedient to the creditors – or to the West. We have one of the highest unemployment rates in Serbia, it is around 30 per cent now, in spite of all new

methodologies which were meant to show – at least as a by product – that it is lower. But nothing helps. Serbia is loosing 10,000 work places monthly.

Every month?

10,000 a month, right now. Adding this rate of unemployment to the existing army of unemployed young people leads to nowhere. This is, let us say, the economical side. On a political or on a state level, after the 1999 NATO aggression, Yugoslavia was first destroyed. After that Solana and the Americans suggested to the then federal government: «It is not good that you continue with a strong centralized federal government. It is better to have a community of governments, to have something between a state and an organization of Serbia and Montenegro». So what has been Yugoslavia was transformed into a temporary organisation called «Community of Serbia and Montenegro». But this was only one step towards dissolving Yugoslavia in general. This was done on purpose by the United States and by the European Union or by those politicians in the European Union who blindly follow American interests in Europe. Instead of having one relatively medium sized state in the Balkans we now have two puppet states – Montenegro, separated from Serbia. This is not democratization, this is not the European Union helping the Balkan.

So ten years after the aggression on Yugoslavia there is no more Yugoslavia. It has been killed in stages: first bombs, then so-called democratic changes and then actual and formal dissolution. But the Americans and their friends in Europe have a strategy to weaken Serbia generally as a political factor in the Balkans and in Europe, to make Serbia absolutely irrelevant as a political subject, a political factor in this part of Europe. So they have not stopped. The dissolved, they destroyed Yugoslavia – first big Yugoslavia. Socialist Federal Yugoslavia was composed of six republics and two autonomous provinces, but then even the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia composed of Montenegro and Serbia they destroyed. And then they think that Serbia, remaining Serbia is still big and capacious not to correspond to their interests and their strategies in the Balkans and in Europe. So they continue to fragment Serbia. They took over Kosovo and Metohija by force. They were paying an alliance of terrorists during the aggression and on 17 February last year they illegally proclaimed the independence of Kosovo and Metohija. The very same states that bombarded Yugoslavia and Serbia during the NATO aggression in 1999 were the first to recognize the independence of Kosovo. So Kosovo was in a way stolen from Serbia, taken away by force. And even now I have

the feeling that this process of destroying Serbia has not come to an end.

In how far does this process continue?

They are encouraging separatists in the Sanjak or Rajka region, populated mostly by Muslims. This region is on the border to Bosnia, and they are also encouraging the Vojvodina leadership to weaken the central government by various demands.

This poses one question, the crucial question: How much smaller should Serbia be in order not to be big? And the process that they are encouraging – of which they do not recognize that nobody would agree – is to cover and disguise these destructive policies with democratic phrases like «regionalization is necessary», «decentralization» and so on. And they have now proposed a statute, a kind of highest law in Vojvodina, which says that Vojvodina is an autonomous province of Serbia and at the same time an European region. This European region is a first stage to relativise the fact that Vojvodina is only part of Serbia. No region in Europe, no country in Europe which is part of the European Union has such a provision in its constitution saying that part of its territory belongs to the state and part belongs to European regional movements, or regional associations and so on. Truly nothing prevents Vojvodina to have regional cooperation. But why include it in the constitution?

This should be put in the constitution?

In the constitution of Vojvodina. When they are authorizing Vojvodina to enact regulations with a law force, with the force of laws, while the constitution of Serbia says, all laws are passed only in the parliament of Serbia – laws, the other parliaments on a lower level including in autonomous provinces can enact other regulations, statutes and so on, but not laws. So they introduce this tricky formulation «regulations with the force of law». There are many institutions that they are introducing by constitution, by the statute of Vojvodina. For example Vojvodina's Academy of Science and Arts while now there is only the Serbian Academy of Arts in Belgrade. The major newspapers in Belgrade contain supplements on Vojvodina every week, which do not even refer to Serbia.

So they constitute a sort of a parallel structure, parallel institutions?

Exactly. They installed Vojvodina's representations in Brussels, in Paris, in Washington and so that they can open their own representations. And they say, well that is to care for the specific interests of Vojvodina and so on. But this is exactly the same method that was applied in Montenegro, before Montenegro seceded. Montenegro had representatives in Washington, in Brussels while it was part of Yugoslavia. These were the preparations. So I understand this tactic: step by step providing a process and then reaching the point of no return. And when they reach a certain quality of independence and sovereignty they would say, well now it is really only formality, why should we stay in Serbia, we simply go away and anyway we shall all be in the European Union, so why not go. This is indeed a very dangerous policy. And it is not only anti-Serbian, it is also anti-European. It is led – such a policy is led by the United States and Great Britain and is followed by politicians in Europe who in one way or the other are obliged to the United States and to Britain. But who ever did harm to Serbia in the past, in history, this



was in favour of destabilization and even wars. Wars. Serbia should be recognized as it is and be respected. But unfortunately we have no leadership at the moment with the courage to see reality and react on such a reality not permitting any further weakening of Serbia. Serbia is very weak now. And this weakening process should be stopped in the interest of Europe, in the interest of the Balkans. I am not exaggerating not only once in the history the destiny of Europe started to be shaped from the Balkan, from here. And I think there is not enough seriousness or enough wisdom in Europe to realize that Serbia should not be given the runaround. The majority of people of Serbia understand what this is all about. But they have their puppets on the top, and they think that these puppets reflect the whole feeling of the Serbian nation. That is not true. It's not true.

You have now mentioned various aspects of the economic and political situation in Serbia. I would like to ask you also about the situation in the education and health care system. Yugoslavia's reputation concerning its public health system and its educational system was very good. What does the situation in Serbia look like today?

Well, to tell you frankly, I think that education right now is taken care a bit better than so far, simply because we have one university professor being Minister of Education. He is a socialist and I think he is quite aware that modernization of education does not mean diminishing national history, national culture, national literature and it really does not mean listening or copying all advice of Bologna or whoever. The problem is that some of those who are pressing Serbia to accept so-called European standards in education – they have their own standards and they do not apply those – like in Britain. So this is a very hypocritical position, very dishonest position – something that is not good for Britain. Britain wants to impose here. Let us say this is only an example. I am not saying that Britain is exercising pressure concretely here. But it is definitely that Britain, France and some other European countries disregard the Bologna process. But they want Bologna and Bologna in certain aspects is brainwashing future generations. So this is about education. I hope that the leadership of education will be cautious and will not accept any recipes without critical analysis.

And what about the health situation?

“Did They Intend to Contaminate ...”
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Those weapons, however, kill toxically and indiscriminately and cause immeasurable pain in soldiers as well as civilians and are therefore banned by the Geneva Conventions.

Many conventions, international contracts and protocols have been violated since 1999. And the world does not take any notice.

[...]

Since the half-life of DU is 4,5 billion years...

Today mankind is permanently exposed to many kinds of radiation. The radiation emitted by the universe, the radiation of household appliances, of antennas, of mobile telephones, etc. DU, however, takes its effect as an ioniser. So I underline, I emphasise that the most terrible impact of DU on the human body does not derive from radiation but from the possibility of ionisation, i.e. the effect on the cellular structure resulting in a dysfunction of the cell. If the DU particle enters into the organism one way or the other, by inhalation, via the skin or via the

food chain, this will trigger problems for the organism, for these particles evoke a disturbance leading to dysfunction of the cells. The cell is no longer capable of communicating normally with the other cells, to go on reproducing itself and send signals to the other cells so these are the first indications of the disease. Of course, in the beginning this will not be noticed by the organism and that is why it is very hard to detect. Only when first symptoms of the disease or the dysfunction become obvious, the disease can be detected.

There is another fact: the greater part of these particles is excreted via the urine. During the first 100 days 90% are being excreted. However, a small part remains within the tissue, most of it in the soft tissue, e.g. in the lymph glands, in the brain, in the bone marrow, in the blood so that there is a permanent negative impact on human health.

Since the half-life of DU is 4.5 billion years, the best measure will be to clean up those regions which are contaminated and to permanently control the population's health.

Travelling into the Heart of Serbia – a Journey into Kosovo & Methochia

by Dr med Maria Winter and Rita Brügger, participants in a trip to the Serbian enclaves from 1 to 5 October 2008

Every war starts with a lie. So did the Kosovo war. To be able to control Kosovo as a strategic area, NATO needed a pretext for war. To serve that end the Serbs had to play the role of the villains. Today the goal to separate Kosovo from the Serbs has nearly been achieved by the unilateral declaration of independence. But what does it really look like in the northern territory of Kosovo where mainly Serbs are living and how did the ethnic minorities live previously in the Republic of Yugoslavia?

In October 2008 a small group of Swiss and Germans undertook a 5-day-journey to the Kosovo to get a first hand impression on site. This journey had been organized by the charity organization "KosMit e.V.", which supports ethnic minorities in Kosovo trying to improve their living conditions.

It is already night when we get stopped at the "border" of the UN district. At these checkpoints we have to pass several sentries. All passengers have to exit: electronic registration of the passports, lengthy waiting next to police, soldiers (UNMIK – United Nation Mission in Kosovo), Kosovo Police, KFOR = Kosovo Force, barred wire, tanks. Interdiction to take photographs! Finally, just prior to midnight, upon arrival at the college where we are logging, we are welcomed as heartiest as you can think of. Our host does not spare any expenditure to serve us best despite their very limited capabilities. The building belongs to the Prizren Technical University and had been relocated out of Prizren in 1998 because of frequent attacks against Serbian students and professors. Here in Zubin Potok the college has been rebuilt and is located in the Serbian enclave around Kosovska Mitrovica.

During breakfast next morning the concierge tells us that she had to leave her home



The river Ibar has become the separating line of Kosovska Mitrovica. Only one bridge left in the centre of the city connects the north with the south. KFOR and Unmik strictly control this passage. (photo)

10 years ago together with her family from Prizren and moved here to Zubin Potok. In 2004 her house had been burned down in the course of attacks against Serbs carried out by Albanian mob. She lost all her belongings. She was so shocked that she was unable to speak for a certain period of time. Today she is happy that she found a new job here in this place. She regrets that her family is still separated. Her husband lives in Novi Sad, her daughter has found work in Belgrade. The assault had been caused by the tragic death of two Albanian kids who died in an accident in the river Ibar. Claiming a Serb had set his dog against the children the Albanian population was instigated against their Serbian neighbours. There is proof that it was a tragic accident.

Kosovska Mitrovica, the divided city

It took approximately 20 kilometres on a newly built mountainous street to reach Kosovska Mitrovica. We would have been much faster if we had been able to drive through Albanian territory. But in order to do that we would have had to pass two checkpoints, an unpredictable risk for the Serbs in our group.

In Kosovska Mitrovica we were informed by the major about the city's actual situation; prior to war the inhabitants of the city, Albanians and Serbs had been living together, today they are separated. Attacks conducted by the Albanian population supported by the UCK (a paramilitary right wing group of Kosovo) under the eyes of KFOR

and UN the minorities had been expelled out of the southern part of the city. Into the empty houses Albanian families moved in and refused to accept the return of the owners. In the course of time the city as well as the Kosovo will experience a complete ethnic cleansing. In the northern part only a small number of Albanians live among the Serbian majority and other ethnic minorities. Many of them are refugees. The access to facilities in the southern part, for example schools or hospitals, is denied to them. The Serbian facilities in the north are open to everybody. The physician reports that in the hospital in the northern part, Albanians from the southern part of the city are treated in case it is necessary from a medical point of view.

The standard of the health system in the Albanian part is much lower because of the lack of specialists. The infrastructure in the north needs to be partly rebuilt. But there is no funding for this. The river Ibar has become the segregation line. Only one bridge in the centre of the city is connecting the northern part with the southern part. This checkpoint is strictly controlled by KFOR and UNMIK.

Unemployment, closed mines and natural resources

The unemployment rate in the city is close to 60 %. This is mainly due to the close down of the mines and the charcoal power station. A reason for the war coalition to render the Kosovo independent from Serbia is the presence of natural resources. You can find huge amounts of brown coal or copper here, as well as clues to the availability of gold in the Trepca mines, near Kosovska Mitrovica, or chromium at the border to Albania. As early as in March 2006 there had been reports, that Ko-

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"The Process of Destroying Serbia ..."

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The health situation – well day-by-day it is more difficult. First of all they play down the consequences of NATO aggression, the consequences of depleted uranium, of cluster bombs, or chemical weapons used during the NATO aggression. There is a shameful quietness in Serbia about the tragic consequences of this NATO aggression on the health of the nation. The number of people affected by cancer has steadily and sharply risen from 1999 until today especially from 2001 up to now. But the government plays this down and media censorship respects that this is not to talk about, this is not likeable by the masters from the United States, Britain, Germany and so on.

Generally the number of poor people who have become even poorer after the aggression and after the so-called privatization of the economy has grown and they eat less qualitative food. Sometimes, imported food from the West, which is forbidden over there is tried to be sold here because they prefer to get some money rather than throw this in the garbage. And this is affecting the health. With high unemployment and sharpening of these social and economic problems people can not pay for their medical and hospital care. It has become rather unbearable to pay for good care.

Now, all this is linked with corruption which even health services are experiencing. So health and to a great extent education is now a privilege only of a few rich people. Poor people, children from poor families, elderly, sick and all those who need medical or hospital care from poor strata can not afford treatment, can not afford buying appropriate medicine. And this is really very badly affecting the health of nation.

Now the others like Italians, Portuguese, and the others are openly exposing these tragic and dramatic effects of depleted uranium

on their soldiers while they served in Kosovo and Metohija and so on. But the government here seems not to care! Not to care. Why? It is not good for their American bosses and they

do not want to disturb the comfort of Americans and of Germans or whoever is responsible for this. So I am really worried about such a policy being practised. And these people in

«A Huge Damage Has Been Done to Us»

Atomic contamination through war

«A huge damage has been done to us by shooting at certain targets with DU weapons. We have already seen immediate consequences of these actions. We do not know a lot about future possible consequences, but we can already somehow feel them. [...] Those who took part in the bombing campaign [...] mostly claim that there is no damage or subsequent consequences and that if there are any in the areas where they could not be avoided, they are minimal. Even the World Health Organization, according to the British physicist Keith Baverstock crossed out the information from one report to the United Nations stating that DU weapons used in some regions of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999 are carcinogenic and harmful to health. [...]

And where is the truth? Unfortunately, our population is feeling this truth more and more. It is the growing number of carcinogenic and other diseases in these regions. Neither of the official state agencies is willing to analyze and publicly comment on this fact, yet. [...]

In the name of truth let's raise our voices and say clearly: During the bombing campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which joint Nato forces took part, we were exposed to threats to our lives and to health of people to

a larger extent and with long lasting consequences. According to some of its characteristics, radiological and chemical war was waged in these regions. [...] As for the effects of action, it is a highly toxic radioactive weapon of low activities harmful to living creatures, and as such it should have to be prohibited. [...]

After sampling, laboratory tests and measuring, as well as the nucleus analysis, it has been found that 238U with decomposition products, as well as 235U and those following them were dominantly present. There were also relatively low concentrations of iron, titanium, nickel, zinc, copper. By dosimeter measuring the presence of alpha, beta and gamma radiation has been found. By sampling of contaminated material from some locations, it has been found that specific activity of depleted uranium in some samples ranges from a few hundred to as much as 235 000 Bq/kg of the sample (over 1 100 times higher than the lower defined limit). [...] This major threat is increased by the fact that, apart from DU, in the process of sampling some traces of americium, neptunium, plutonium, technetium and 236U have been found.»

General Slobodan Petkovic (ret.), during the war Deputy Minister of Defence, head of the department for NBC defence of the Yugoslav army.

Serbian politics now they see that European Union is still in Kosovo, is taking Kosovo further away from Serbia through EULEX (European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo) and so on, but they nevertheless say: "We have no other alternative, European Union, Brussels is our only alternative." This is not serious; this is neither serious policy nor serious leadership. You do not say that you will accept someone, that you will be close to him whatever he is doing to you, how hard he is maltreating you. We need more courageous leadership here and more wisdom in establishing the policy, which is in comfort with Serbian interests.

Americans and the European Union or Americans and NATO have treated Serbia as a playground, as an experimental territory for experimenting various policies, tactics, and various armaments and so on.

I think it is advisable to contemplate, to think, to analyze the geo-strategic situation of the world at the time of aggression in 1999 and the situation in Europe and the world of today. Whatever would be the results, one thing is certain: The situation today is much more different, but the methods of the United States and NATO countries in Serbia, towards Serbia have remained the same, there is no change. They should notice that there is a growing gap in Serbia between the leadership and the people. That gap has never been as deep as now. The government officials who act as transmitters of EU, NATO and American interests in Serbia have never been so far away, so much separated from people as today. And those from Brussels and from Washington, from Berlin, from London who are manipulating the leadership in Serbia, should be aware that there will be some limits somewhere. I do not know where and when those limits will be on the scene. But definitely it can hardly continue like this forever. And I think using all the tricks and all the old methods today like in 1998 and 1999, may not be conducive to those interests of theirs.

The Historical Tradition of Anti-Serbian Prejudices

by Professor Dr. Jörg Becker

"The Serbs, whom the rest of Europe may have regarded as poor, give us delight with their rich poetry." (Jacob Grimm, 1849)

"Besides, I strongly practice Serbian, the songs collected by Vuk Stef. Karadžić." (Friedrich Engels, 1863)

The times of intimate and deep friendship between Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and the great Serbian philologist, language reformer and song collector Vuk Stephanovic Karadžić (1787-1864) have long gone. Instead, anti-Serbian prejudices have prevailed in Germany – and in a weaker form also in Austria – for many generations.

At the beginning of the 20th century, and particularly during World War I, polemical and racist jokes about Serbs appeared in German magazines. According to these jokes, Serbs are backwards and uncivilized, dirty and violent. The two enclosed pictures published in the satirical weekly newspaper *Simplicissimus* of 1909 are part of a two pages' cartoon sheet with altogether 12 pejorative cartoons about "habits and customs of the Serbs". On another page, there is a one-sided picture sheet with 6 likewise pejorative cartoons entitled "Some things about Montenegro". These 18 cartoons were all drawn by Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948), one of the founders of the magazine *Simplicissimus*. The magazine *Simplicissimus* united the then most important German authors and artists. It was considered to be the most important oppositional voice against militarism, civil double standards and the repressive Wilhelmine Prussian state. However, it was not free from the worst German nationalism – as these anti-Serbian cartoons by Heine show.

And since the Serbs are what they are, the apperception of them is often only half true. Egon Erwin Kisch (1885-1948), who for good reasons became world-famous later by his social reports, in 1930 wrote an article about his time as an Austrian soldier in the war against Serbia in the summer of 1914. Therein he vividly described many war events, but "forgot" to mention the numerous massacres of the Serbian population by the Austrian-Hungarian army in the villages along the Drina, although there is evidence that he had been in these very villages.

How virulent the agitation against Serbia was, is illumined by another small but most critical article by Paul Zöllner in Kurt Tucholsky's *Weltbühne* (world stage) of 4 September 1924. It reads: "After 1914 the German public had been sufficiently nourished by eager scribblers with contempt and abhorrence against the Serbs, so that Austria's predatory war was met with devoted enthusiasm and seen as a German affair – afterwards the so-commanded public opinion continued to exist in Germany. The Serb was a pig. And those, who did not believe it, were even bigger pigs. [...] However, those who visit Belgrade today discover to their amazement or satisfaction, [...] that they enter a flourishing, immaculate, rising city. [...] They remember Sombart's ridiculous gaffe of heroes and dealers. The same Sombart with his grotesque unawareness and eager assiduousness of a subject had called them rattrap dealers or so, thinking of the dumb imperial-royal seigneurs, who considered themselves to be so superior. Oh, so superior! [...] Shouldn't those bands of German secondary teachers who incessantly teach rubbish about foreign peoples to our children, get to know them before? For example: get to know the Serbs!"

The German fascists in the Second World War could well link to such selective apperceptions and anti-Serbian prejudice. When the Third Reich started its war of aggression against Yugoslavia in 1941, the national socialist propaganda magazine *Signal* spoke of a German "liberation" of Croatia and gave free reign to its hate against Serbia. *Signal* regarded the Serbs merely as "conspirators", "bandits" and "terrorists". The "Serbian people's character" was a "mixture of impenitence [...] nepotism and corruption". Even 82 years after the anti-Serbian caricatures in



Like all other soulful people the Serbs live in intimate relationship with their domestic animals. The newborn is breastfed by the mother pig. The Serbian mother breastfeeds the small piglets in return.



Another amusement of the Serbian people is to murder kings. Source: *Simplicissimus*, vol. 14, 31 May 1909, unpaginated p.22 and 23

the 1909 *Simplicissimus* had appeared, Marion Countess Dönhoff – the Grande Dame of German journalism after 1945 and often called a "liberal" publisher – insinuated a quasi-innate and natural aggression to the peoples of Yugoslavia. In 1991 she wrote in *Die Zeit*:

"Even the Soviets, who are often described as backwards, ready to subordinate and lacking every sense for democratic rules seem to manage to fit into new federal structures which offer sufficient room for autonomy. Why shouldn't the allegedly "western" peoples of Yugoslavia not be able to achieve the same? But if they absolutely want to act out their Serbo-Croatian hate, we should let them be."

It is so simple: Yugoslavs are aggressive by nature – it would be a good thing they killed themselves!

The language of a Wolfgang Petritsch towards Serbia is not different. But should we not expect a diplomatic and polite language of an important politician of the SPÖ (Socialist Party of Austria), a diplomat, Austrian Ambassador in Belgrade from 1997 to 1999, head of the European Union delegation with the Rambouillet negotiations in February 1999 and laureate of the European Human Rights Award (!) of the European Court of Justice in 2007. But in an interview in *Der Spiegel* dating from 8 February 1999 his mask slipped and he spoke in plain and completely undiplomatic language about the compulsive character of the Rambouillet conference, which had then just started:

"We do not bid for it any longer. 80 per cent of our ideas are simply steamrollered. Two things are definitely forbidden to the conflict parties: Press contacts and dropping out. They all remain detained like in a conclave. In the end, when it is either do or die, the final result will probably be a dictate. The Serbs will snarl and snort, but I can guarantee one thing: Before the end of April the Kosovo conflict will either be formally solved or NATO is going to bomb."

It is so simple: Let the Serbs snarl – it is us who decide on the bombing and no one else! Media are a mirror of society and a social player, simultaneously.

Therefore, today we must commemorate the murder of thousands of Serbian civilians during the war from 1941 to 1945 in Croatia.

The estimations on the number of Serbs murdered by the Croatian Ustascha – under German protection – vary substantially. The German genocide researcher Richard Albrecht estimates this number to be around 600,000, and the Serbian historian and Tito biographer Vladimir Dedijer speaks of 800,000 murdered orthodox Serbs. The numbers of Serbs murdered in the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac also vary strongly: They reach from 30,000 to 52,000. The two German air strikes on Belgrade on 6 and 7 April 1941, which were in many ways offensive of international law, and were ruthless and unheralded, cost an estimated number of 15,000 to 30,000 civilian deaths. After the Serbian surrender on 17 April 1941, approximately 350,000 Serbian soldiers were barracked in German prisoner-of-war camps.

One must know at least a little about this fatal connection between anti-Serbian pictures and the suffering of Serbs in World War II in order to be able to understand, why US-American PR-agencies could later successfully manipulate the world

press in the Balkan wars between 1991 and 2002. And as German scientists, we should possess some historical expertise in order to argue in a balanced and thoughtful way, not arrogantly or one-sidedly.

The Serbian mass murder of thousands of Bosnians in Srebrenica in summer 1995 can neither be defined away nor relativized, especially if we assume the victim's perspective: One cannot define away the personal suffering of a mother, whose son was murdered. At the same time one must (if not exclusively) look at the mass murder in Srebrenica in the context of the Serbian hard-luck story – as outlined here. In addition, we may not disregard that numerous moments of this murder are still judged extremely controversially and above all we may not mix up this mass murder with its political instrumentalization (by whoever).

"Serbien muss sterben" (Serbia must die): These dictums were written by Karl Kraus (1874–1936) in his five-act tragedy "Die letzten Tage der Menschheit" (The last days of mankind, 1915–1922). In this theatre play the author deals with the inhumanity and absurdity of World War I. It includes the following dialogue: "A Viennese: <The affair [...] is not a fair one, there is no alternative, and therefore I also say, Serbia – must die!> Voices from the crowd: <Bravo! That's right! - Serbia must die! - If they wanna or not! - Everyone must die!> The intellectual: <Who would have dreamed of how the times have changed and we have changed as well.>"

Who would have expected this to happen and how much have the times changed, that Germany starting from 24 March 1999, took part again in a war against Yugoslavia, respectably Serbia, thus violating international law, this time only poolry disguised as "humanitarian intervention"!

(Translation: Current Concerns)

How PR-companies lied the West into the war against Serbia

The PR-companies, which were active in the Balkan wars, are – as has been shown – predominantly powerful, socially (at least by the US society) accepted and trustworthy communication specialists. They are considered to be reliable sources and participants, in particular with regard to their personnel profile. They fulfill all conditions of an "independent messenger" as required for public diplomacy (Peterson 2002).

Thus the conditions in the Balkan wars were that war governments could transform their propaganda into reliable messages with the help of the PR-agencies' filters and their numerous communication channels. This resulted in a strong homogenization of public opinion in the USA (and in the western societies in general). The US Government, *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch*, *Freedom House*, the *United States Institutes of Peace*, the *Soros Foundation*, liberal intellectuals and large circles of conservatives, the *United Nations*, journalists, but also the governments in Zagreb and Sarajevo, the leadership of the Kosovo Albanians, the UÇK – with slight nuances, they all express an almost identical version of the Balkan wars.

In a slightly exaggerated short form it reads as follows: The Serbs lapsed into nationalistic madness and wanted to establish Greater Serbia; Slobodan Milosevic, an incorrigible communist, made himself their leader and attacked the non-Serbian republics and peoples with the Yugoslav People's Army. He let them commit mass rapes, eth-

nic cleanings and genocide; whereas the other ex-Yugoslav nations – the Slovenes, the Croats, the Bosnians, the Albanians and the Macedonians – were peace-loving, democratic peoples. (The Montenegrins had a divided image – as long as they identified with Belgrade, they were considered equally aggressive, but when they broke with Belgrade, they transformed themselves into a peace-loving people).

This is the picture of the Balkan wars, which the PR-agencies spread one-to-one. And it is congruent with the propaganda of the ex-Yugoslav, non-Serbian war parties.

Source: Becker, Jörg, Beham, Mira. *Operation Balkan: Werbung für Krieg und Tod*, ISBN 3-8329-1900-7, P. 35



For More Than 60 Years Now Serbs Have Been Expelled From Their Home Country

Dipl. phil. Vojislav Jevtimijevic, coordinator for refugee assistance for Serbian refugees from Kosovo

Kosovo was, is and remains the biggest problem for Serbia. The desire for dominance by a part of the Albanian population and the separation of the Kosovo's from Serbia has caused serious difficulties for the State of Yugoslavia – today Serbia – for many decades, now. All this has become a traumatic experience for the Serbian people.

By their one-sided and unobjective reporting and information policy many western media have contributed to the problem that the world knows only one side of the medal as to the conditions in Kosovo.

Back in the Second World War Kosovo was divided into two occupation zones and was mainly controlled by the fascist powers Germany and Italy. The largest part of the Kosovo Albanians fought on the side of the occupying forces against the Yugoslav liberation forces. Nevertheless, after the war they were granted all rights as free citizens in the country.

There was no threat to the Albanian population by the Serbs, as many prominent positions in the communist party KPY (the only one in Yugoslavia at that time) representing the Kosovo province, were held by Kosovo Albanians. Out of 43 representatives in the committee for the Autonomous Province Kosovo, 22 were of Albanian nationality. In the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia 55 representatives were elected for the Kosovo, 38 of them were Kosovo Albanians. The same was true for the Federal Parliament SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). 22 out of the 34 representatives for the province of Kosovo were of Albanian origin, there. In general, the Kosovo was predominantly represented by Albanians and not by Serbs in the government SFR. With such a large number of Albanian representatives in the government, the Albanians' oppression by the Serbs would have been impossible.

Expulsion of the Serbs and Albanian settling

In the Second World War, there were no significant or well-known fights against the oc-

cupying powers in Kosovo. Nevertheless, over 10,000 Serbs were killed by those Albanians, who cooperated with Germany and Italy. Another 100,000 Serbs were expelled from the Kosovo. That was only the beginning of further expulsions of the Serbs. At the time, when masses of Serbs fled by foot to Central Serbia, 70,000 people came from Albania, who moved into the houses and settlements left by the Serbs. Many were also political refugees, because they feared the Stalinist dictatorship of *Enver Hodscha* in Albania. In Yugoslavia, they were able to live without fear and were not pursued.

On 6 March 1945, after a resolution of the Yugoslav government, the Serbian refugees' return to their former homes in Kosovo was forbidden. Not one Albanian, however, had to leave Kosovo and go back to Albania. That was the continuation of the ethnic cleansings in Kosovo. Between 1945 and 1961, another 20,000 Serbs fled and left their houses forever. Between 1961 and 1971, there were more than 34,000 refugees and until 1981, under the pressure of Albanian nationalism and separatism, nearly 87,000 were added. Another 50,000 Serbian refugees were registered between 1981 and 1987. So, between 1945 and 1987, approximately 230,000 to 240,000 Serbs had "voluntarily" left Kosovo, the southern province of Serbia. Officially, Serbian sovereignty prevailed but actually Albanian communists were in charge. The reasons for the Serbs' 'voluntary' exodus from the country were that in Kosovo the Serbs were persecuted, offended, thrashed and the women raped. Their possessions were often willfully burned. Wells and sources of water in Serbian villages were poisoned; the power supply lines cut off and graves desecrated. In 1961, there were no more Serbs in 410 out of 1439 communities in Kosovo – and in 1981 there were 670 of them altogether "Serb-free".

The largest mass expulsion of the Serbs from Kosovo happened between 10 June and the end of September 1999, during the time, when Kosovo became a protectorate of UN and NATO. According to statistics, more than

230,000 Serbs had to leave their homeland – together with the Roma and other minorities they were 300,000. They have been on the run until today.

Between 1941 and 1990, 140,000 to 160,000 Albanians moved into the Kosovo. The birth rate, which is very high with the Albanian population, also contributed to the imbalance among the Kosovo population. During the war in 1999, again thousands of Albanians entered Kosovo with the NATO troops. All attempts of the Yugoslav government to stop these national "liberation" movements failed. The Western support of the Kosovo's secession was too strong. Here it becomes obvious who expelled whom from the country, no matter what the media falsely reported and still report.

Jihad in Kosovo

After the Dayton Agreement, the Islamic Jihad spread from Bosnia to Kosovo and was organized there. At the Islamic Conference in Pakistan in 1998, the Albanian separatist movement was generally acknowledged as Jihad, and the fight was directed against all the infidels, against the non-Islamic population. So fighters from many Islamic countries entered Kosovo. This process was being controlled by the secret services of the USA, Germany and Albania. This way it became possible that a group of 16 Mujahidin drove seven cars from Munich to Bari in Italy on 3 June 1998, from there to the port of Drac in Albania and from Albania into Kosovo. Not only NATO and many western countries supported the plans of Kosovo's secession from Serbia, but also eastern countries like e.g. Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Many Mujahidin came into Kosovo and fought there with the UÇK. They were all very well paid – between 3,000 and 5,000 dollar a month.

Abu Hamza from Tunisia was the commander of the Kosovo Al Qaida basis in Dulj, close to Prizren. When the Serbian police discovered this basis and liberated Prizren and Dulj, the Serbs found many beheaded civilians, natives from the Serbian villages of the

surroundings. This calls to mind the ritual murders, by which the Al Qaida members used to kill non-Islamic individuals.

The commission for human rights found *Abu Hamza* guilty of organizing the transport of Mujahidin into Kosovo, where they committed the most horrifying atrocities against Serbs together with the UÇK. Shortly afterwards, however, *Clinton* took the UÇK off the list of terrorist organizations. They were suddenly called "liberation army of Kosovo". In unison with NATO and western politics, Kosovo was almost "liberated" of the Serbs, and all this in an allegedly democratic process. All that was acknowledged by many countries, and ten years after the war, nobody talks about this inhuman and illegal war any longer.

Humanitarian disaster

It is the Serbs who are suffering from this injustice, from the many lies, which still haunt them. And – even worse – they are suffering from a sustained ecological and health catastrophe.

A severe grievance caused by the bombardment in 1999, are the hundreds of thousands of refugees. The UN Security Council resolution 1244 ruled that the return of all refugees must be secured, so that they can get back into their homeland without any inhibition. But that was only granted to Albanians, not to Serbs. The Serbs, who remained in Kosovo, are living under similar conditions as in camps. There are enclaves, in which they can hardly move. They survive only by the charity of others, particularly by that from Serbia and by some international humanitarian organizations. Those who have caused all that misery do not care about these fellow men. Most of the Serbs, who left Kosovo, are living in different centers in Serbia today, mostly in barracks, for example in Belgrade, Grocka and Smederevo. Once a day they receive a warm meal by the state; they live without electricity and water and – even after such a long time – they are still waiting in vain for help from the European countries. •

Translation *Current Concerns*

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sovo could only expect to receive credits by the IMF as an independent state as this would guarantee the economic stimulus for foreign investment. Only in that case – this was the obvious calculation – the remaining legal uncertainties would be diminished for the international investors and the Serbian properties of the province could be easier bargained away to foreign investors without any compensation.

The Trepca mines were closed in 2000 by the forced illegal appropriation of the NATO war allies. The Trepca mines, however, could have been a model to re-establish the coexistence between Kosovo Albanians and Serbs – if this had been the West's intention: Union members of both ethnic groups have been in regular contact to work for the reopening of production since the Trepca mines were closed.

Another reason for the high unemployment rate is the trade embargo that has lasted for ten years now and the high inflation rate as well as the many refugees from the south. Prior to the war 43000 Serbs lived in Pristina, a remainder of 80 are working there today. All together there are 254.000 displaced people in Serbia and another 27.000 in Montenegro. They all live in camps, mostly without any prospects. Shortly after the UN resolution 1244 (in June 1999, directly after the war ended), which claims the territorial integrity of Serbia and the autonomous status of Kosovo a huge wave of expulsion started under the eyes of KFOR, that so-called peace keeping force, while the UN and all NGOs retreated from their responsibility for these people.

Only the Serbian government, the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Red Cross maintained their aid.

Omnipresent: foreign military

In the streets of the northern part of Kosovska Mitrovica you see Albanian retailers running their small business. You also encounter trucks with German and Swiss company labels, transformed into shops or even gas stations. On the bridge, the only connection between the two parts of the city, we meet multinational KFOR military personnel. Most of them are standing around chatting and they enjoy being photographed with us. They keep warning us, that in case we crossed the bridge, they could not guarantee for our security. They warn us that in the northern part of the city a demonstration is planned to protest against the unilateral declaration of independence of the Kosovo and the interference of the European Union into the domestic Serbian affairs by EULEX, the European legislative mission.

Arriving at the market square we see approximately 1000 people gathering peacefully. With speeches and songs (Kosovo is Serbia) they name the injustice. A representative of "KosMit" speaks up spontaneously and expresses her sympathy. The people are enthusiastic and applaud. They are happy and grateful for the fact that somebody listens to them and is interested in them as they are left completely alone by the world.

Roma camp

Some time ago Roma were settling on the southern river side of the Ibar in Kosovska Mitrovica. In 2004 they were displaced in the course of the program. Due to that they were

Victors Are Totally Indifferent to Albanian Agenda

by Werner Pirker

Even Kosovo Albanians have to take note of the fact that the victors over Serbia are totally indifferent to the Albanian agenda. They attach, however, greatest importance to the fact that the secession of the Kosovo province from Serbia does not lead to the founding of an independent state. The Albanians have subjected the greater part of Kosovo under their ethnic hegemony, but "Albanian Kosovo" is directed from outside in such a way as it has never been under Yugoslavia's conditions. "Nowadays there are no less than four international missions", the Kosovar author *Beqë Cufaj* lists the powers which have turned his home province into a "stabilizing factor on the Balkans". "The *Unmik* Mission of the United Nations, who have administered Kosovo since 1999, has remained. They are led by

the Italian *Lamberto Zannier*. Of more importance now is the *International Civilian Office*, headed by the Dutch *Pieter Faith*, who is at the same time special emissary of the EU foreign affair policy chief *Javier Solana*. The *European Union Rule of Law Mission* in Kosovo *EULEX* is led by the Frenchman *Yves de Kermabon*, and we should not disregard the *OSCE Mission* under the Austrian *Werner Almhöfer*. Finally, this is directed from the background by the so called *Quint*, the body of the ambassadors of the US, France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy." [...]

Beqë Cufaj counts that 80 percent of the European taxpayers' money for Kosovo flows into the pockets of these colonial administrators.

Source: *junge Welt* from 21 Feb 2009

given a piece of land to build a barracks camp on it in the northern part of the city. They are lacking everything; electricity, constant water supply, clothing. Fire wood for heating and cooking is very expensive. The children, playing in the puddle on the clayey roads, look ill. We hear that most of them suffer from chronic lead poisoning. The camp that was previously thought as a provisional solution has existed for four years now. An end is not in sight. Despite the unhealthy and devastating circumstances the Roma prefer to stay in this camp. The children can go to school, and they have access to medical treatment and the

Serbian authorities guarantee a better protection than UN and KFOR in the south. Nevertheless, attacks are possible. A Roma, who once lived in Germany for some years, tells us that some time ago people came into the camp and shot two children. No one knows who they were. Nobody searches for the murderers, nor will they be punished.

Celebration

Still overwhelmed by this experience we arrive at the guesthouse and take our seats at

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a well-laid table. The daughter of the restaurant owner had once participated in a student exchange program in Germany together with other youth, invited by the charity organization "Freundschaft mit Valjevo", who together with "KosMit" is taking care of the interests of Serbs in Kosovo. As some of their representatives are members of our travel group the girl's father wants to express his gratitude. Despite his poverty our host offers the utmost to us to make our stay as agreeable as possible. Even Serbian songs are presented by an entertainer. We hear about the efforts and difficulties of the people. The doctor of the local hospital tells us that the incidence of cancer has increased by almost 30%, mainly leukaemia in children and lung cancer. The exact statistics are kept secret by the authorities to hide the real extent of the diseases. But the increase of carcinoma in Kosovo – as well as in the other bombed parts of Serbia – can no longer be ignored. (see ZEIT-Fragen No. 49, Dec.1, 2008, p. 3).

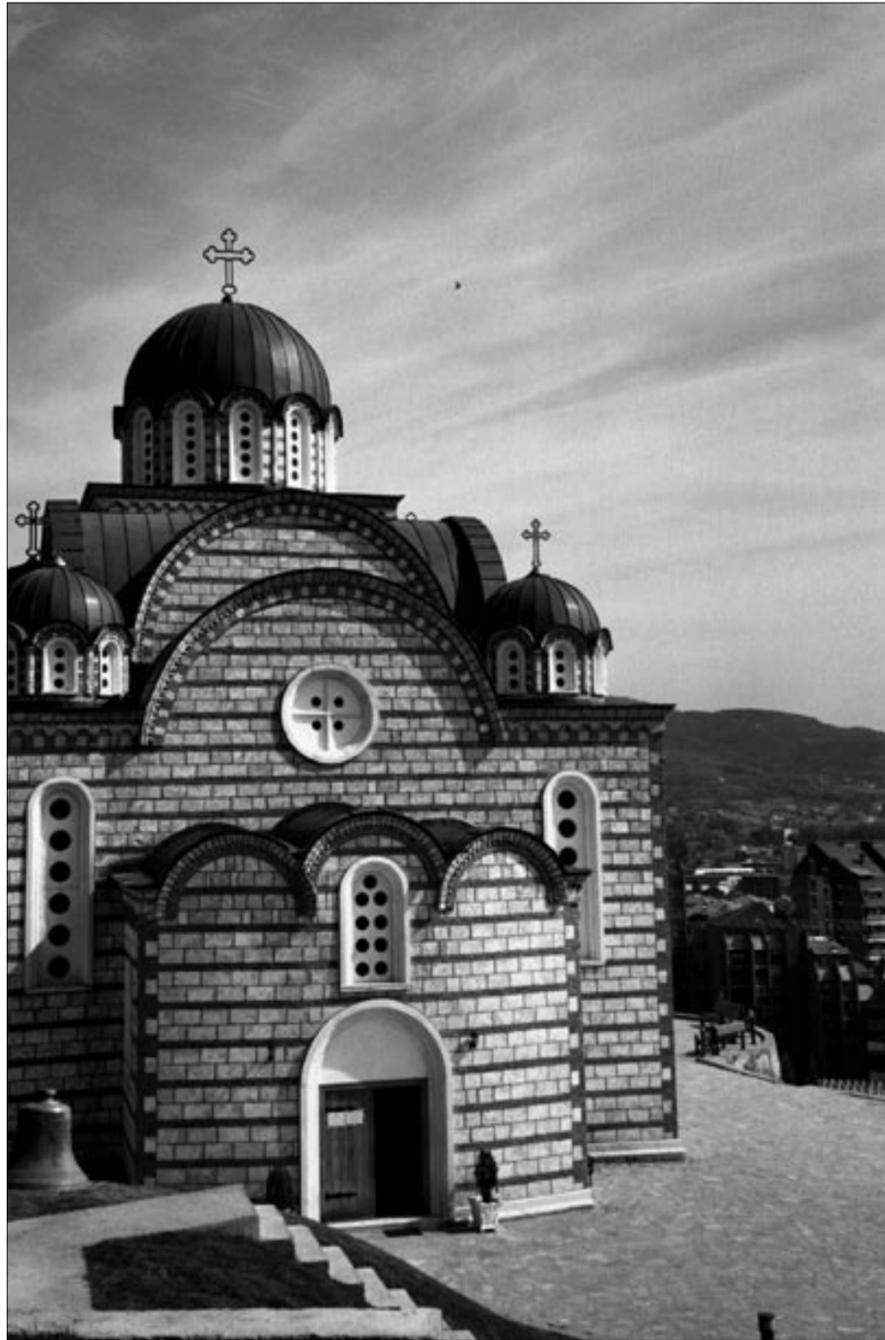
Red Cross duties and refugee camps

The Red Cross premises of Kosovska Mitrovica are cramped and old. With limited resources the local Red Cross manages its duties in cooperation with the headquarters in Belgrade although above all medicine and equipment are lacking. For example ethnic minorities in the refugee camps are backed with food programs. Moreover, searching for missed people has become vital because of the war. Especially first-aid courses are important for adolescents offering them a prospect. Therefore, benefit competitions are taking place, in which children and adolescents are actively involved in improving the situation by making money for the Red Cross.

Next stop is a refugee camp. In the transit camp the refugees have had at least a roof over their head for the first few nights. Due to their age and their mental health some of them are not able to make a new beginning. Therefore, they have been vegetating there for years in boxes of 5 m² divided by carton walls. They are cooking on a wood heated oven. People are helpless and totally depending on outside help. We give them flour, oil and sugar so that the distress can be relieved a little. The caretaker tells us that sometimes representatives of humanitarian organisations arrived taking people with them under the pretence to shelter them better. They mostly lose track afterwards. Given the flourishing organ trafficking the worst must be feared.

Serbian monasteries in Kosovo

Kosovo and Metochia are the cultural cradle of Serbia and the Serbian Orthodox Church. It was there, where the first monastery was founded in the 13th century by Saint Sava, son of King Steve I., who was influenced by the Greek monks of Athos. In the 14th century the first patriarchate evolved from there and Christianity expanded to the north. The Battle of Amsfeld in 1389 against the Turkish conquerors symbolizes the embodiment of resistance against the Ottomans for the Serbians. The Serbians are deeply religious and bound to their church. Kosovo is the province where most Serbian monasteries are located. Due to limited access to their historical roots and their most important religious sanctuaries, they feel deprived of their identity. The KLF hit this nerve, when destroying churches and monasteries. Therefore, the most important sanctuaries on the Unesco's World Heritage List are guarded by the KFOR, e.g. the famous monasteries of Pe and Deani. When visiting these monasteries, we had to pass the checkpoints and to leave our passports. The monks live in an isolated way, surrounded by Albanian territory. Many of them were displaced, came back and rebuilt destroyed sites with the help of financial support of the Serbian Orthodox and the Polish Church. The monastery complexes are maintained with loving care. Dignified and proud monks show us the valuable frescos and icons. As an honoring of our visit the coffin of Saint Steve is opened.



Kosovo and Metochia are the cradle of Serbia's culture and the Serbian Orthodox Church (photo Maria Winter)

Serbian enclaves

The Serbian residential estate Belo Polje is situated at the edge of the Pe. The power supply lines are cut off, many houses destroyed. A few, mostly elderly people have provisionally rebuilt their houses. They live in primitive circumstances and in permanent danger. Young people left the region. On the near cemetery most of the graves are ruined. The systematic devastation of Serbian cemeteries is part of the psychological warfare. If one can make out the inscription on a gravestone one can easily see that mostly young men have lost their lives – probably by the war.

The Serbian enclave Gorazdevac has got 1600 inhabitants. Not a single one has ever left the village during the war, although their lives have been made miserable in all respects.

Electricity supply is guaranteed only a few hours a day. The hospital ward is deserted. A Red Cross nurse shows up once a week. For visits to the doctor and major purchases people have to go to Kosovska Mitrovica. These rides are dangerous as car crashes frequently occur provoked by fanaticized Albanians. The inhabitants help one another. Neighbours share their belongings. Technical knowledge helps the people to be able to keep their houses in good conditions. But for the most part there is a lack of material. One mostly lives on what is grown. In a shop resembling a kiosk only the bare necessities can be bought. Money is tight. 240 children live in the village, children whom the adults would like to give a perspective. That is why people place great hope on a well-kept school. Plants are arranged everywhere with loving care. Everything is cleaned up spick and span, walls are brightly painted and decorated with children's drawings. None of the school desks is smeared with paint or scrawled. Outside youngsters

play on a football ground. At the back of the school villagers set up a public swimming pool, so that something which occurred in 2003 would not happen again: children, who went for a swim in the river, were shot in an ambush. People face their destiny with an admirable activity and creativity.

Great hospitality

In 1999 all residents of the village *Osojane* were forced to leave their houses. Afterwards the village was burnt down. Little by little some residents came back and renovated their damaged houses. People face problems as we see them everywhere now:

Unemployment, economic plight, lacking energy supply, isolation, grief over the loss of one's belongings. Yet, one notices people's will to tackle the situation. Not far from the newly constructed school we discover wooden sheds, which serve old people as makeshift accommodations – without any electricity, water or heating. They tell our tourist guide about their misery in their native language. We spontaneously buy some groceries in a nearby shop. It gives us great delight. Hard to believe: The euro is the Kosovar currency. Apparently, stability criteria and missing EU-membership do not matter.

In *Oprasko*, a place with 13 houses above *Osojane*, we are privately accommodated for the night. In the house our hosts, the mayor of *Osojane* and his wife welcome us warmly. Clean sheets were put on all beds available, an extended table in the eat-in kitchen was lovingly set. We move together closely so that everybody may join the meal. Candles are burning as there is a power cut. Again and again the big power plant near Pristina has had cuts. 8,500 Serbian employees have been expelled there so that the knowledge to operate the plant has been lost to a large extent. Despite linguistic obstacles –

our hosts speak Serbo-Croatian and only a few are able to translate – we are warming up to one another quickly.

The city of Prizren

On our way to Prizren, we pass beautiful landscapes. Many fields are lying fallow. Our guide and translator tells us that, before the war, Prizren was the most beautiful and cleanest city in Kosovo. Ten years ago, he had to flee from there, and now, accompanying us, he is coming back to his home town for the first time. The same applies to *Vera*, our host from *Zubin Potok*. She did not sleep the night before and took some tranquillizers, because she was so tense and agitated. This short "return" has only been possible by the protection of the Unmik. We meet with sinister glances when we step off the bus with the Serbian number plate. Our Serbian tour guide urges us to stay together. The townscape is characterised by minarets and church towers and, high above the houses on the hill, the town's landmark, the *Crkva Svetog Spasa*, the "Church of the Holy Salvation". On the side of the hill, houses have burnt out.

On the bridge, *Vera* stops. "Up there, that's my house!" She points it out to us. While we are still looking, an Albanian approaches her and asks, "Where is your house?" She is alarmed, afraid that he is about to deny her possession, but it turns out that he is a former neighbour who wants to know how she is doing. Many Albanians who have lived here for a long time and who used to get on well with their Serbian neighbours do not feel comfortable with the present situation. But if it became obvious that they had patronized Serbians, they would have to expect repressions. For they also are under the dictate of the ever-present and still de facto existing UCK. You can see pretentious UCK-monuments everywhere, also in Prizren.

In the main shopping street there is one jewellery shop next to the other. Prizren has always been famous for this. And between them the Austrian Raiffeisenbank! Kosovo is in the control of foreign enterprises and capital. This, too, is a high price they paid for their so-called independence.

A bit further on we see barbed wire and soldiers. This is the only way to protect the Serbian church from wanton and hateful destruction. Our translator is full of joy when he finds the snack bar which he used to visit as a student. He still knows the owner and the speciality still tastes the same. We have a cup of coffee at the restaurant next door. We are served zealously; business is not as good as it was before the war. No, times used to be better, says the landlord. He is still yearning for the old Yugoslavia.

The container village

We arrive in Gracanietwa in the dark. Here, Russians erected a container camp for needy fugitives in all haste, basically meant only as a temporary solution. Now people have been living here for more than five years, because there is nowhere else to go. A woman of over 60, whose husband is dead and whose family is scattered, has decorated her shack – you cannot call the dwellings by any better name – with flowers. Her bed is in the back, a small table with a chair in front of it, right in the front a small corner has been partitioned off for hygiene. The glasses with *ajvar*, a wonderful spicy paste which she has preserved herself, are on the rack next to the small stove. She gives us a glass as a present to thank us for our interest. Across the street a young family with two small children. You cannot call that life, she says. Homework, cooking, sleeping, all to be done in one small room, like in a mobile home. In winter, in the cold, they have to cross the street for the communal lavatory, the toilet. But what can they do? The Red Cross makes school attendance possible. The young wife decided to stay here, because her family lives nearby. There is not room enough in their house, but at least they are closer this way.

We return with a heavy heart because of all the misery we saw, but we are also very impressed by the great hospitality that we were fortunate to experience. •

(Translation: Current Concerns)