

A park waiting to explode

By Vaiju Naravane HO-17

PRISTINA MARCH 31. The Kosovar capital is a dirty city devoid of trees, choked with un-cleared garbage and long snarls of noisy, polluting traffic. Earlier, on Sunday afternoons, families would head for Grmja Park, one of the few green corners in Pristina. Not anymore.

"It's a lovely park with a row of fine trees which ends in a little wood. Grmja Park is close to town and you could get a breath of fresh air into your lungs. Many of us would picnic there on weekends. It's now been cordoned off. Cluster bombs. Too dangerous," says Mr. Sunil Narula, Information Officer with the U.N.

A Yugoslav army installation stands at the edge of the woods. NATO forces dropped cluster bombs on the site. The park has now been declared a danger zone but despite the restrictions, children continue to play there. "Summer is approaching and people would want to go out on weekends. Grmja is particularly

INSIDE KOSOVO — III

dangerous because that area was hit by up to 20 cluster bombs. That means there are up to 400 unexploded cluster bombs — enough to kill a lot of people," Mr. John Flanagan, Programme Manager of the United Nations Mine Action Coordination Centre (MACC) told *The Hindu*.

Grmja Park is only one of several hundred dangerous sites in Kosovo harbouring cluster bombs, anti-tank or anti-personnel mines and other unexploded ordnance. Almost a hundred people have been killed and over 350 injured by mines, cluster bombs and other unexploded ordnance in Kosovo. "We have a huge problem with NATO cluster bombs. A cluster bomb can kill you anywhere up to 50 metres away. It's designed to destroy tanks, armoured vehicles and it has a fragmentation device to kill people in the open. It's not just a fragmentation bomb. It's got what we call a shaped charge in that it is designed to penetrate the hull of a tank. A person standing near by stands no chance at all," Mr. Flanagan said.

There are an estimated 65,000 cluster

bombs in Kosovo. They are mainly of either British or American make and are distinguishable by the blue or yellow markings they carry. Mines laid by the Serbian Armed Forces (VJ), police and paramilitary forces in at least 616 places pose a major problem in Kosovo. The mined areas lie principally along the borders with Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In addition, there are defensive minefields in the interior and what the U.N. calls "nuisance mines" placed in and around villages and essential infrastructure.

NATO has provided the location of 333 cluster bomb strike locations, on which some 1,392 bombs were dropped. But the problem is more complicated than that. "NATO may have provided us with the locations of the sites but they are often inaccurate and we are still trying to localise some sites. A lot of the bombs have been buried. So we have to use metal detectors to clear the area. If we don't do that farmers ploughing the land risk being blown up. These bombs are extremely sensitive, anything can set them off — even a shadow falling on them can do that. Most of the accidents occurring today are avoidable," says Mr. Flanagan.

The U.N. Mine Action Coordination Centre is finding it difficult to get people to follow its advice. Warning fences do not help. People walk under the fences and go into the danger zones. Worse, they steal the fences leaving other people vulnerable. "If you look at the land area which is unused, then the minefields are the culprits. But if you look at the number of casualties, then the cluster bombs are responsible. Either way, it's a bad situation. Cluster bombs are packed in a container which are then loaded on to planes for use in air strikes. Our answer to the problem, besides clearing out minefields and exploding or defusing cluster bombs is to create awareness," says Mr. Flanagan.

The U.S. and U.K. Governments have sent special teams to clear their unexploded ordnance but the number of people working is nowhere near that required. The planting season is fast approaching and the casualty figures are expected to increase sharply because people will be busy in the fields.

THE HINDU

- 1 APR 2000

Yugoslavia returns to UN fold after eight years

United Nations, Nov. 2
(Reuters): Declaring the event a
"bright moment in history," Yu-
goslavia's presidential envoy
watched Belgrade's red, white and
blue flag hoisted in front of the UN
compound after sundown yester-
day.

A UN honour guard took down
and carefully folded the banner of
the late Josip Broz Tito's Socialist
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,
the World War II leader and a
founding member of the UN in
1945. It was same tricolor flag but
with a large red star in its centre.

The ceremony followed admis-
sion by the General Assembly of
the Federal Republic of Yu-
goslavia as a new UN member,
eight years after Belgrade was
cast into the diplomatic wilder-
ness following the breakup of the
old Yugoslav federation.

"This is a very touching mo-
ment for everyone living in the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,"
said Goran Svilanovic, who came
on behalf of new President Vo-
jislav Kostunica. "Thank you very
much for this bright moment of
history in our country," he said,
speaking without notes.

With UN Secretary-General
Kofi Annan by his side, Svi-
lanovic paid tribute to those killed
in the Balkan wars over the last
decade. "Unfortunately I have to
mention tens of thousands of peo-
ple have died for high principles
they were bearing in their hearts.
Too many of them did not live long
enough to see this historic mo-
ment," he said.

But Svilanovic, expected to be
named foreign minister, called on
the world to help his region build
a stable future for the sake of its
children. "This is what they de-
serve and this is the promise we
have to keep and really be proud
to say that our kids in the region
will have a warm welcome all over
the world," he said.

THE TELEGRAPH

3 NOV 2000

Yugoslavia ends Socialist monopoly

FROM GORDANA FILIPOVIC

Belgrade, Nov. 5 (Reuters): Yugoslavia's parliament has appointed a new government backing reformist President Vojislav Kostunica, bringing the curtain down on decades of Socialist-dominated administrations.

The formation of the new government was a key element in reformers' efforts to cement their position in power after the mass uprising last month which forced Kostunica's predecessor Slobodan Milosevic to admit defeat in presidential elections.

Zoran Zizic, the new prime minister, pledged his government would rejoin the international community after years of isolation under Milosevic, who was ostracised by the West for his role in four Balkan wars over the past decade. "We have very difficult and hard work ahead of us," said Zizic, who also promised to introduce pro-market reforms and bring Yugoslav legislation into line with European Union legislation with a view to eventually joining the bloc.

He also struck several notes likely to be less well received in the West, criticising the work of Nato and the UN in Kosovo and stating that cooperation with the international war crimes tribunal was not a priority. The pro-reform alliance backing Kostunica defeated Milosevic's Socialists, successors to the communists who ruled Yugoslavia for four postwar decades, in federal parliament

elections and is the senior partner in the new government.

But the government also includes members of the Socialist People's Party of Montenegro, until recently allies of Milosevic, including Zizic. Montenegro and much larger Serbia are the two republics remaining in the Yugoslav federation.

"The federal government will pursue a policy of opening our country to the world and actively resolve disputes and outstanding issues that burden Yugoslavia's international position," Zizic told parliament. Mending ties between Serbia and Montenegro, stretched to breaking point under Milosevic, was also a priority.

Saturday's parliament session was held in Serbia's parliament building because the federal equivalent was damaged and set ablaze during the mass uprising which toppled Milosevic. Zizic said a UN Security Council resolution stating Kosovo is part of Yugoslavia should be strictly observed.

The province has been under international control since last year's Nato bombing to end repression of its ethnic Albanian majority. "The current situation and the behaviour of UNMIK (the UN Mission in Kosovo) and KFOR (peacekeeping forces) are in complete contradiction with this resolution," Zizic said.

The federal administration has relatively little power but does have a leading role in fostering international relations.

THE TELEGRAPH

6 NOV 2000

The going is good, for now

YUGOSLAVIA'S NEW President, Mr. Vojislav Kostunica, was undoubtedly the star of the just-concluded Balkan summit held in the Croatian capital, Zagreb. But while his star continues to rise both at home and among European leaders, he could quickly become a victim of his own success, especially if he fails to meet the very high expectations his election has created within Yugoslavia.

At home, Mr. Kostunica is currently the hostage of the former President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) which has refused to allow the sacking of Mr. Rade Markovic, head of Yugoslavia's secret services, believed by many to be involved in several high-profile, gangland-style killings in Serbia and Montenegro over the past two years. In his attempt to govern by consensus, Mr. Kostunica has created a Government which is by definition paralysed and which will be unable to either draw up a programme of urgently-needed reform and reconstruction or take any kind of emergency measures to improve Yugoslavia's extremely precarious economic situation.

The new transition Government of the Yugoslav federation is essentially composed of three elements. They are the 18-party alliance known as the Serbian Democratic Opposition (SDO) which brought Mr. Kostunica to power, the SPS which, by extension also includes the Montenegrin Popular Socialist Party or SNP, and the Serbian Renewal Party (SRP) led by the maverick politician, Mr. Vuk Draskovic.

The four key Ministries of justice, interior, information and finance are jointly run by the three parties so that there are effectively three Interior Ministers, three Justice Ministers and so on. The SDO has nine of 16 Cabinet posts. The post of Prime Minister and six other portfolios have gone to the SNP, but the real power, if any, is exercised by Vice-Prime Minister, Mr. Miroljub Labus, a close aide of Mr. Kostunica. But, as always in Yugoslavia, there is much more than meets the eye.

While the SPS quickly gave in to demands for the resignation of the Chief Justice and the Chief Prosecutor, both of whom were accused of trying to fudge the election results in favour of Mr. Milosevic, it has remained firmly against the sacking of the chiefs of police and the secret service. Mr. Kostunica's supporters claim that in the weeks preceding the legislative elections scheduled for December 23, Mr. Milosevic's supporters are further tightening

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Vojislav Kostunica's star continues to rise both at home and among European leaders. But, he could quickly become a victim of his own success, especially if he fails to meet the high expectations in Yugoslavia, writes VAIJU NARAVANE.



Mr. Vojislav Kostunica... rising star.

their hold over the police and the judiciary.

All three Ministers must agree for a decision to be taken. Mr. Bozo Prelevic, Interior Minister from the SDO, who is theoretically in charge of the secret services openly admitted that he had no power to stop the secret service chief from destroying sensitive files. "I am responsible for the SDB (Yugoslav secret service) but I am powerless to replace the police generals."

Mr. Markovic has reportedly threatened SDO and SRP Interior

Ministers after they attempted to order an enquiry into the murder of a noted opposition journalist, Slavko Curujva, in April 1999. Mr. Markovic is widely believed to have been involved in the killing. He was also allegedly responsible for the kidnapping of the former Serbian President, Mr. Ivan Stambolic, on August 25.

The SDO and SRP Ministers, faced with SPS intransigence, have threatened to boycott Government proceedings saying the socialists should henceforth be held responsible for "any problems which might occur". But Mr.

Kostunica would like to move slowly, at least during the month prior to the legislative elections. "The hasty firing of persons at the head of the Serbian police and army are undoubtedly contrary to the interests of the state because they will inevitably destabilise the country's institutions," he said.

Croatians are particularly incensed by the fact that European Governments, which sanctioned them because of President Franjo Tudjman's despotic 13-year rule, refusing much-needed E.U. development aid, are treating Mr. Kostunica like a prodigal son. Sanctions against Yugoslavia have already been lifted and the E.U. has promised several million dollars in aid.

However, despite the warm welcome reserved for Mr. Kostunica at the just-concluded Balkan summit in Zagreb, the E.U. message is clear: the war crimes question cannot be evaded *ad infinitum*. The French President, Mr. Jacques Chirac, who inaugurated the summit as the E.U.'s rotating president-in-office said that the future of the Balkan states lay within Europe. However, he underlined, as did the final declaration of the conference, that it was in everyone's interest to bring war criminals to justice. Yugoslavia has yet to hand over a single war criminal. Its three leading wanted personalities are Mr. Milosevic, and the Bosnian Serb leaders, Mr. Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

Mr. Kostunica faces a difficult task. Tensions in the province of Kosovo are again on the rise with growing crimes against Serbs and other minorities. Blame is being laid at the door of extremist Kosovar Albanians who fear that with Mr. Milosevic gone, their hopes for independence might evaporate. The new President will have to address the question of Serbian guilt in Kosovo. He will also have to build new bridges not only with the tiny republic of Montenegro which was on the brink of rebellion until Mr. Milosevic's defeat but with his other immediate Balkan neighbours. And he will have to address the formidable task of rebuilding Yugoslavia's shattered economy. Mr. Kostunica is known to be a conservative nationalist. Until today, he has managed to make the right noises. Will his inherent nationalism allow him to travel the road to reconciliation?

documents. — AT

Yugoslavia admitted to OSCE

VIENNA (AUSTRIA), NOV. 27. Yugoslavia's new Democratic President on Monday strongly denounced the United Nations and NATO for their stewardship of Kosovo after Foreign Ministers welcomed his country into Europe's leading security organisation.

Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, who came to power last month after the collapse of authoritarian ruler, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, signed documents affirming his Government's commitment to international values.

It marked a formal entry into the influential Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe — the latest step in Yugoslavia's return from political isolation imposed after Mr. Milosevic fomented ethnic wars that broke up the Balkan country in the last decade.

However, Mr. Kostounica's remarks to the group's Foreign Ministers underscored difficulties that linger in relations between

the West and Yugoslavia. Western Ministers also made clear that they would not wait indefinitely before Mr. Milosevic and others stand trial for war crimes allegedly committed during the former regime's crackdown in Kosovo.

Mr. Kostounica snubbed an offer for a private meeting with the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, ostensibly because of scheduling problems. Reports say Mr. Kostounica was reluctant to meet Ms Albright because of her role in bringing about last year's NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, Ms Albright congratulated Mr. Kostounica and called his rise to the presidency "a stunning example of democracy's power to achieve change." Kosovo, a province of Yugoslavia's main republic Serbia, has been under international control since the end of the NATO bombing in June 1999. That campaign was launched to halt Mr. Milosevic's

crackdown on ethnic Albanian minorities.

The conflict flared up again last week when Albanian militants of the "Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac" attacked Serb positions in the Presevo Valley to unite the area with Kosovo.

"The situation in Kosovo and in the south of Serbia is becoming increasingly tense," Mr. Kostounica told the Ministers. "We are talking about a bid to implement by sheer force a political solution that does not have support of the people." He claimed ethnic Albanian "terrorists" were trying to intimidate Serbs and Albanians alike and that NATO and the United Nations "failed to do their job properly" by curbing Kosovo militants.

Mr. Kostounica said the crisis in Kosovo "could set the whole region ablaze" and scuttle attempts to restore stability to the southern Balkans.

THE HINDU

28 NOV 2000

Tensions still run high in Balkans

By Batuk Gathani

40-16
28/11

BRUSSELS, NOV. 27. NATO officials said on Monday that Albanian separatists had turned over the bodies of three Serbian policemen to the KFOR force in Kosovo. The policemen were killed in clashes between Serbs and ethnic Albanians in the so-called "ground safety zone" in south-eastern Serbia earlier last week.

The exchange of bodies was conducted with the help of the Red Cross and KFOR command within the parameters of "military technical agreement" between NATO and the Republic of Yugoslavia.

The sad irony is that five years after the Dayton peace agreement and six weeks after the fall of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic and the advent of a democratic administration headed by the President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, the rising ethnic violence and widening chasm of divide between ethnic Albanians, mainly Muslims and Orthodox Christians, poses many questions about peace in the Balkans.

Western powers are still trying to secure the arrest of Mr. Milosevic, whose shadow, despite the collapse of his power and authority, has — according to Western analysts — "menacing tone" over the Balkans. What the Western analysts fail to understand is that Mr. Milosevic still personifies Serbian national aspirations and his popularity has not diminished.

At the weekend party congress of the Socialist Party which comprises former hardcore Serb communists and nationalists, Mr. Milosevic was greeted with long applause and re-elected the party's leader, after he accused his political opponents of being Western stooges.

Western commentators find it hard to believe that the leader who has lost three wars in the Balkans, devastated Yugoslavia's economy and made himself an

international outcast, was re-elected leader of his party. The pro-Milosevic Serbian nationalists argue that he, like the Iraqi President, Mr. Saddam Hussein, and the Cuban leader, Mr. Fidel Castro, is a mere victim of Western conspiracy.

The current spectre of rising political extremism and violence between ethnic Albanians and Serbs is again causing concern as it poses challenges to the new leadership in Yugoslavia. The ground reality, according to the peacekeepers, is that the ethnic divide and hatred between senior politicians is as wide as ever.

Last week, Mr. Kostounica, in a letter demanded that the NATO-led peacekeeping force in Kosovo curb violence and political extremism unleashed by ethnic Albanians, who are demanding a separate Muslim state in the region which can be merged with Albania to create "Greater Albania". The NATO powers, Serbs or the Russians cannot accept such an arrangement as there is little willingness all round to ensure that post-war boundaries in the Balkans are not disturbed. But tension remains high in the region despite last year's peace deal which ended NATO's arbitrary bombing of Yugoslavia. Kosovo's ultimate political status remains unresolved with sporadic eruption of ethnic violence.

European Union Governments are watching the unfolding scenario in the Balkans generally and Kosovo particularly. Kosovo, with an area of 4,203 sq.miles, is almost the size of Tripura. Kosovo has a population of over 20 lakhs, which is predominantly of Albanian origin. There is also a prosperous and influential minority of less than one lakh Serbs. When Yugoslavia was a federation of communist states, Kosovo enjoyed the status of an autonomous province within the Serbian republic.

THE HINDU

28 NOV 2000

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Strikes, rallies across Serbia

BELGRADE, SEPT. 30. Tens of thousands of people rallied on Friday night throughout Serbia, trying to pressure on the Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, into accepting electoral defeat, as shops, factories and universities started to close down in a nationwide strike.

In Belgrade, an evening rally followed another in the afternoon by just five hours, which tens of thousands attended. At the afternoon rally, Mr. Zoran Djindjic, a top leader in the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), said the Opposition planned to put pressure on the Yugoslav army, Serbian police, the Federal justice system and the state-controlled media to remain neutral in the struggle for the presidency.

But the army ruled out discussions with Opposition parties to resolve the tense post-elections crisis and criticised Opposition leaders' "aggressive statements" and "dangerous manipulations".

DOS proclaimed a first-round victory for its presidential candidate, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, in Sunday's national elections, but the Federal Election Commission said he fell short of the absolute majority by 1.04 per cent. The commission, dominated by Mr. Milosevic's appointees, has ordered a runoff on October 8. The Opposition has rejected the runoff and has held demonstrations since its announcement.

Friday night's rallies ended without incident and with the police maintaining a low profile. According to Belgrade media reports, around 20,000 people demonstrated in Nis and 15,000 in Cacak, where local Opposition leaders announced plans to block a key Serbian road for two hours. The same road, connecting Belgrade with the southwest and Montenegro, was already blocked earlier by protesters in Uzice,

Preljine, Ljig and Krusevac.

About 10,000 demonstrated in Novi Sad, 7,000 in Subotica and several thousand in Vranje, Leskovac, Sabac and Mr. Milosevic's hometown of Pozarevac.

DOS also called for a general strike for Monday, but many firms and institutions began before the weekend, including the huge Kolubara mine in Lazarevac, where 7,500 workers said they wouldn't start the machinery while Mr. Milosevic was in the office. In Uzice, nearly all of the shops, banks and restaurants were closed, reports said, while most of the larger, state-controlled companies have shut down in Krusevac.

Most Serbian theatres also were closed in protest on Friday as well as most high schools and universities, banned radio B2-92 said via a satellite broadcast.

Meanwhile, the Government fired six technical staffers at the Novi Sad outlet of RTS, Serbia's state television, after they refused to run programmes prepared in Belgrade. B2-92 also reported that Belgrade television station Studio B, taken over by the Serbian Government as "subversive" this summer, refused to broadcast RTS news if it was not allowed to run information from different sources as well.

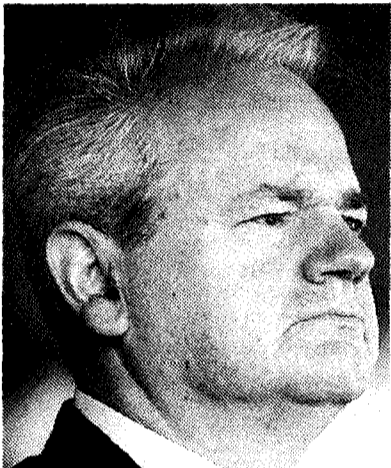
The post-election crisis prompted Montenegro republic to undertake "special measures" to prevent possible provocations from Belgrade authorities from growing into a conflict, the Montenegrin Foreign Minister, Mr. Branko Lukovac, said. "We took those steps because the solution after the elections is nowhere in sight and the (Belgrade) regime has no intention of accepting the electoral will of the people", Mr. Lukovac said in Sarajevo, while on a visit to the Bosnian city. — DPA

THE HINDU

SEP 30 2000

Milosevic sticks to stance, rejects Russian mediation

to be done
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BELGRADE, Oct. 1. The Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, appeared determined to cling to power, dismissing Opposition complaints over election results and rejecting a Russian offer to send the Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, to mediate in the dispute.



Slobodan Milosevic

Demonstrations and strikes were taking hold across Serbia, even in towns where Opposition activities have been little visible until now. Just hours after Russia offered to mediate in the stand-off that threatened to plunge the country into post-election chaos, the United Nations's human rights rapporteur for the Balkans, Mr. Jiri Dienstbier, said that Mr. Milosevic had "refused

HO-17
mediation" by Moscow to end the impasse.

The Yugoslav Electoral Commission has called a run-off vote for October 8 because it says that neither Mr. Milosevic nor the Opposition challenger, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, secured an absolute majority of the vote. But the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) insists that Mr. Kostounica beat Mr. Milosevic outright. The commission, however, rejected a complaint from the DOS yesterday over inconsistencies in the official vote results as "baseless".

In Moscow, the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, said he was ready to send the Foreign Minister to Belgrade "for consultations with all the participants" in the election, warning Western powers against escalating the crisis.

Seeking to bring an end to the crisis, the U.N. rapporteur has called for an internationally-monitored recount of votes cast in last weekend's presidential polls, echoing Opposition calls.

"The truth must prevail and in this respect, it would be fine if both sides were to accept a proposal from friendly countries to organise a recount of votes to discover the truth about the elections," Mr. Dienstbier said.

Asked to elaborate on his statement that Mr. Milosevic had "refused" a Russian offer to mediate in the electoral dispute, Mr. Dienstbier said: "We have to wait." He said he would not meet Mr. Milosevic during his stay in Yugoslavia.

— AFP

THE HINDU

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Anti-Milosevic uprising in Belgrade

Parliament building, TV station set ablaze • Clinton, Blair tell President to go

AFP and AP
Belgrade, October 5

YUGOSLAV OPPOSITION
demonstrators seized control of the Yugoslav Parliament and state television as police defences crumbled in the face of more than 3 lakh people determined to topple President Slobodan Milosevic.

Black smoke billowed from a burning Parliament building today as police fought demonstrators after security forces drove off mobs trying to storm it. Clashes spread throughout the capital as tear gas filled the air and stun grenades echoed through the streets. Dozens of people were injured. Opposition leaders attempted to rally the crowd and continue what appeared to be the biggest protest ever against Milosevic's 13-year rule.

More than an hour after smoke was first sighted coming from parliament, small fires continued to burn within. Some demonstrators, who managed to break into the building, heaved pictures of Milosevic through windows on to the streets. Nearby streets were thick with clouds of tear gas.

Flames licked the entire basement and ground floor of the Serbian state television (RTS)

building while the left wing of the federal parliament was damaged in the blaze.

The pro-government TV station Politiika fell in the hands of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), broadcasting news covering the latest events in Belgrade.

Another station, TV Pink, controlled by Zeljko Mitrovic of the neo-communist Yugoslav Left (JUL), stopped broadcasting "because of events in the streets of Belgrade." JUL is allied with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist party.

TV Kosova, run by Milosevic's daughter Marija, also halted the broadcast.

Opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica, who claims victory in the September 24 Presidential election, made a call for calm to protesters. Kostunica also reaffirmed his claim to the Yugoslav presidency, saying "I am proud I was elected". A party colleague said Kostunica would address the rally "from inside" Parliament.

Western leaders called on President Milosevic to go. "Your time is up," said British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Blair appealed to Milosevic to avoid bloodshed and told the Yugoslav people the West stood ready to help with reconstruction



Riot police line up in front of the Parliament building in Belgrade on Thursday. Photo: AFP

once the president had left. "Don't wait until there has been more death and destruction," he told Milosevic.

In Washington, President Bill Clinton said: "All we want for the Serbian people is what we want for the people everywhere — the right to choose their own leaders." The

to mediate between Milosevic and Kostunica.

On Thursday, the chairman of the Constitutional Court, Mihutin Srdic, was quoted as telling Radio Free Europe that the court had opted for a re-run before Milosevic's mandate expires in July 2001.

Mob takes over Yugoslav Parliament

ASSOCIATED PRESS
BELGRADE, Oct. 5. — Demonstrators took control of Parliament today, hurling pictures of President Slobodan Milosevic into the streets as police fought them amid clouds of tear gas. Hundreds of thousands of people swarmed Belgrade to demand that Mr Milosevic accept electoral defeat.

Amid what was the largest anti-Milosevic protest since his 13-year rule began, fires burned inside the Parliament building and the state-run television headquarters, one of Milosevic's propaganda mainstays. Demonstrators who stormed Parliament quickly wrested control of the building, with police fleeing or surrendering.

Protesters said dozens of police at the state TV building and at federal Parliament had joined crowds taking control of both buildings.

Shots were heard outside the TV studio. A bulldozer appar-

US SUPPORT FOR PROTESTERS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 5. — President Bill Clinton today expressed solidarity with demonstrators in Belgrade, saying they were "trying to get their country back." He predicted they would prevail in forcing Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to accept electoral defeat. It would be inappropriate for the USA to intervene militarily if Mr Milosevic's forces cracked down on the demonstrators, he said. "I don't believe that it's an appropriate case for military intervention and I don't believe that the United States should say or do anything which would only strengthen Mr Milosevic's hand," he said. — AP

ently commandeered by demonstrators then broke into the building, and demonstrators poured inside. Police fled.

Later, the first channel went off the air, leaving television screens black. The second channel was interrupted in the middle of a quiz show with the frame frozen.

Meanwhile, clashes spread through the streets of the Capital, which echoed with the sound of stun grenades and tear gas fired to break up the crowds. Dozens of people were injured, according to witnesses, and the Beta news agency

reported that "several dozen" were admitted to emergency wards.

The melees erupted at the start of a huge rally the Opposition had called to force Mr Milosevic to accept electoral defeat in the 24 September election. Hundreds of thousands of people had assembled in Belgrade, and tens of thousands more were seen streaming into the city.

The main Opposition bloc, fighting for official recognition of its candidate's victory in 24 September, filed criminal charges against Mr Milosevic

today for ordering vote rigging, reports Reuters. The move followed reports that the Yugoslav constitutional court had annulled the elections and ruled a new ballot would take place some time in the future, by 23 July, 2001, four years after Mr Milosevic was last elected.

By late afternoon, Opposition supporters who had been inside the Parliament building were climbing through the windows and onto the complex's balconies, waving flags as the crowd roared below. Inside the building, chaos reigned. Gangs of young people, many of them drunk, were roaming the building, smashing furniture and computers and looting the rooms. Documents were strewn on the floor, along with pictures of regime officials in broken frames.

But police offered little resistance and the clashes ebbed. Later, crowds of demonstrators, some drunk and brandishing handguns, roamed the streets.

Court annuls election

REUTERS

BELGRADE, Oct. 5. — Yugoslavia's political crisis went into freefall yesterday after the constitutional court annulled part of the recent controversial presidential election.

The official Tanjug news agency reported that the court had decided to annul part of the presidential poll, without making clear if that meant a partial or total re-election, or just a recount.

The head of the Yugoslav constitutional court, Mr Milutin Srdic, said the disputed election should be held again after the expiry of President Milosevic's mandate. His term ends in mid-2001.

The decision came just hours after the Opposition gave President Slobodan Milosevic and the state-run election commission until Thursday to concede defeat and announce the 'true' results.

EU & USA condemn move: The EU condemned the court decision as a bid to deny the Opposition's victory.

"The only aim of this decision is to deny the victory of Vojislav Kostunica in the September 24 poll," a statement issued by the French presidency of the EU said.

"Slobodan Milosevic, after trying to rig the poll and hold a fraudulent second round, is trying again to steal victory in a stubborn rearguard battle," it said.

US secretary of state Ms Madeleine Albright said the decision was an effort to "thwart the will of the people."

"It is very evident to us that an absolute majority of the Yugoslav people voted for Kostunica for president," she added.

THE STATESMAN

5 OCT 2000

Russia won't deny asylum, if Milosevic asks

DEUTSCHE PRESS AGENTUR

MOSCOW, Oct. 4. — Russia will not extradite Mr Slobodan Milosevic to the West to face war crimes charges, if the Yugoslav leader seeks asylum on its territory, a senior official in the parliament in Moscow said today.

Calls to this effect by the US state department were "hypocrisy", the head of the Duma committee for foreign affairs, Mr Dmitry Rogozin, told reporters.

The Russian President, Mr Vladimir Putin, has urged Mr Milosevic and his election rival Mr Vojislav Kostunica hold talks in Moscow this week to prevent the escalating conflict.

As a UN member, Russia is obligated to hand Mr Milosevic to authorities in The Hague to stand trial for atrocities committed by Yugoslav forces in Kosovo if he enters its territory.

"The West on the one hand is secretly

calling upon Russia to use political dialogue to influence Yugoslavia," Interfax news agency quoted Mr Rogozin as saying.

"On the other hand, it is being publicly demanded that Mr Milosevic be arrested and put on trial."

Washington is insisting that the Mr Milosevic is detained if he tries to enter Russia, according to media reports in Moscow.

In an almost unanimously adopted declaration, the Duma today called on governments to stop pressuring a Yugoslav authorities to recognise a first-round win by Mr Vojislav Kostunica over Mr Milosevic, and lift economic sanctions imposed on

Belgrade, Interfax reported.

This would enable Yugoslavia to assume "a worthy place" in the international community, the deputies said.

All disputes following the contested first-round polls of 24 September should be resolved "in a civilized fashion in the framework of the law and on the basis of established and documented facts".

The Opposition claims that counting was rigged to allow Mr Kostunica in a run-

off vote on Sunday. The Duma stressed that the new leader of Yugoslavia should be elected "in a democratic manner", and stated its support for Mr Putin's proposal of



Mr Slobodan Milosevic

Milosevic to face

off vote on Sunday. The Duma stressed that the new leader of Yugoslavia should be elected "in a democratic manner", and stated its support for Mr Putin's proposal of

talks.

Mr Putin, who is currently on an official tour of India, discussed the crisis by telephone with the UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan, the Russian news agency Interfax reported.

The deputy chief of Mr Putin's staff, Mr Sergei Prikhodko, said in New Delhi that the Russian leader was "continuing intensive contacts with those persons for whom peace in Yugoslavia is not unimportant".

The Kremlin has been talking to both Mr Milosevic and Mr Kostunica, who has presented figures showing he won last month's election.

The Russian newspaper today printed an interview with Mr Kostunica in which he said: "I am very much interested in President Putin's proposal (of talks)".

Mr Putin was due to return to Moscow tomorrow evening. A date after that would be available for a meeting, Kremlin staff said.

THE STATESMAN

5 OCT 2000

The countdown to Belgrade uprising

Belgrade, October 6

WITH BELGRADE in chaos since Thursday as protestors stormed the Yugoslav Parliament and state television station, it appeared that President Slobodan Milosevic's gamble in calling early presidential elections had fatally backfired.

Following is a chronology of recent events in Yugoslavia.

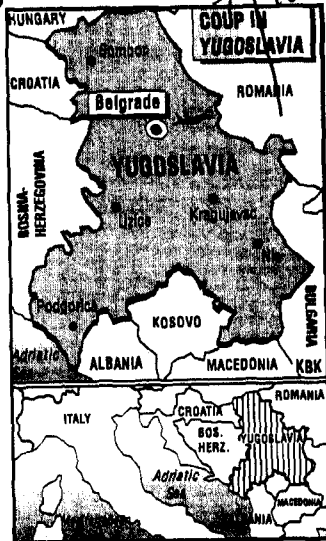
September 24: Yugoslavia holds presidential and parliamentary elections. Late on polling day, the Opposition says its candidate Vojislav Kostunica has won an absolute majority with 57 per cent of the votes against 33 per cent for Milosevic. The regime issues contradictory figures, with 44 per cent for Milosevic and 41 per cent for Kostunica.

September 25: 40,000 Opposition supporters rally in Belgrade to "celebrate victory". Western leaders accuse Milosevic of manipulating the results.

September 26: The Federal Electoral Commission gives Kostunica 48.96 per cent of the votes against 38.62 per cent for Milosevic and says there will be a second round of voting. Kostunica accuses the regime of "stealing votes" and rejects the run-off.

September 27: Kostunica tells a rally of 200,000 supporters in Belgrade that "there will be no bargaining".

September 28: The Electoral Commission



September 30: The Electoral Commission rejects the Opposition complaint and insists on a second round of voting. Russian President Vladimir Putin offers to mediate by sending Foreign Minister to Belgrade.

October 2: A nation-wide campaign of civil disobedience gains momentum. Parts of the state-run media say they back the Opposition. In a first public appearance, Milosevic accuses the DOS of "wanting to place the Balkans under the control of the Western powers". Putin says he is ready to meet Milosevic and Kostunica in Moscow to resolve the crisis.

October 3: The government warns it will "prevent and punish" subversive activity as strikes and demonstrations continue to spread.

October 4: The Opposition sets an October 6 deadline for Milosevic to acknowledge Kostunica's victory. The Constitutional Court, controlled by Milosevic supporters, announces the cancellation of the presidential vote. Opposition denounces it as a ploy to buy time for the regime.

October 5: Yugoslav Opposition demonstrators seize control of the Parliament and state television buildings in Belgrade as police defences crumble in the face of more than 300,000 people determined to topple Milosevic.

announces a presidential run-off on October 8. Opposition leader Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) responds by calling for a nation-wide campaign of civil disobedience. Montenegro, the Orthodox Church and Serb nationalists all recognise Kostunica as the winner.

September 29: Kostunica claims he has won over 52 per cent of the vote and demands a recount. The DOS lodges a complaint with the electoral committee. Demonstrations spread throughout Serbia.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

37 OCT 2000

The Hindustan Times

21-10 The last castle 2/10

THE STORMING of Parliament by Yugoslav demonstrators is the concluding image of an 11-year long film that began with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall. The swift and sudden collapse of Slobodan Milosevic's regime means the fall of the last East European holdout to the open society of the West. Appropriately, the curtain is being drawn on Mr Milosevic's regime by the thousands of ordinary Serbs who spontaneously turned a street rally into a popular uprising. Mr Milosevic was a canny survivor of the collapse of communism in Europe. He shed his Marxist straitjacket for the costume of a tribal leader, complete with warpaint. Feeding on the mix of confusion and grievances experienced by Serbians following the Cold War's end, Mr Milosevic threatened to bring back communal conflict to Europe in the 21st century. He helped trigger three wars. But the ultranationalist fires he fanned only consumed the Serbs themselves.

The conflicts led to Yugoslavia's international isolation, its economic impoverishment and the eviction of Serbians from the land they had lived on for centuries. Mr Milosevic's flag-waving was initially popular. He was twice elected to office. But as his message and his policies bore only bitter fruit, he was forced to use more and more repression to stay in power. When the Milosevic cronies in the election commission and the constitutional court tried first to tamper with and then put aside last month's election results, the Yugoslav public's patience ran out. The democratic Opposition, led by Vojislav Kostunica and claiming he had won 57 per cent of the vote, began a programme of civil disobedience. In the past few days, as even Mr Milosevic's hand-picked special police units have melted away, his regime's authority has been reduced to a pretence.

Mr Kostunica was the perfect candidate against Mr Milosevic. Mr Kostunica has been a strident critic of the West's military intervention in Kosovo and its bombing of Yugoslavia. However, he is not linked to the failure of Mr Milosevic's demagoguery. Mr Kostunica is a nationalist but one who recognises that the Serbs cannot progress through ethnic sentiment, that they need to rejoin the European mainstream. Mr Kostunica's official spokesperson derided Mr Milosevic as a "petty Balkan tyrant". Mr Milosevic was much more than that. His concept of nationhood defined by ethnicity rather than values, threatened the liberal vision of a common European homeland. If he had succeeded, it is likely other East European leaders would have hoisted the banner of ethnic populism. The Yugoslavs have done more than free themselves. They have freed Europe of the fear that his example would turn half the continent into a battleground reminiscent of the 17th rather than the 21st century.

Lament of mohajirs 2/10

IT WILL never be known whether Jinnah really said on his deathbed that Partition was the biggest mistake of his life, but there is no surer indication than Pakistan's present plight of how its founder's objective has turned into a nightmare. The latest group to voice concern about the country's fate comprises the so-called *mohajirs* who represent the Muslims who went to Pakistan from India in 1947. Some of them have banded together with the Pathan, Baluch and Sindhi nationalists to form a Pakistan Oppressed Nationalities' Movement (PONM) to voice their disenchantment. It might have been easy to dismiss such groups as typical of frustrated would-be rebels who can be found representing various countries in different world capitals. The fact that both the MQM, the party of the *mohajirs*, and the PONM operate from London will lend substance to such a cynical assessment.

But if the view that the *mohajirs* are in a "worse position than ... when we migrated to India", as expressed by a member of an MQM delegation currently in India, rings true in the context of Pakistan's abysmal human rights record relating to the minorities, then it is a matter of deep concern to India. For what is apparently happening is that Pakistan is facing a second partition. After the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 had buried the two-nation theory, Pakistan is now coming increasingly under pressure from various restive communities. It is a problem which other countries also face. The difference in Pakistan, however, is that its lack of democracy, flirtation with fundamentalist elements and dependence on the military make it nearly impossible for it to control civil unrest.

It is well known even in Pakistan that the army's brutality was responsible for fuelling the liberation movement in Bangladesh. What is less well known is that the first spark was lighted in Dhaka way back in 1952 when the local people demonstrated against the imposition of Urdu. The insensitiveness evident then and in 1971 has now been compounded by the *jehadis* who are taking Pakistan back to the medieval ages. To what extent such bigots under a military dictatorship portend ill for the entire region can be gauged from the deep anxiety that is being expressed by various groups from Pakistan itself.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

7 OCT 2000

Do not leave Yugoslavia, says brother

FROM NIKOLA PAVLOV

Moscow, Oct. 6 (Reuters): Yugoslavia's ambassador to Russia said today Slobodan Milosevic had no reason to leave his country and rumours he would flee were being spread to portray the veteran leader as demoralised after an opposition uprising.

President Vladimir Putin sent foreign minister Igor Ivanov to Belgrade to talk to Milosevic and opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica, whose supporters control the city after a protest yesterday over annulled elections they say they won.

German Chancellor Gerhard

Schroeder — whose country is Russia's biggest creditor and trading partner — spoke to Putin by telephone about Yugoslavia, a subject that dominated talks when he visited Moscow the day after the disputed September 24 vote. There were no immediate details of today's conversation.

US President Bill Clinton has urged Russia to help resolve matters by persuading Milosevic to quit. Belarus, like Russia an Orthodox Christian ally of Yugoslavia, said it would consider giving Milosevic asylum but had not been asked.

The Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow, who is Milosevic's brother,

er, told Reuters Television that the Yugoslav President was not planning to go anywhere.

"Why should he leave the country? Half the population openly supports him. He is the leader of a major party," said Borislav Milosevic.

"There are absolutely no reasons to leave the country. These are rumours being spread to give credence to rumours about him being demoralised."

The ambassador said Milosevic was still in Belgrade and would soon meet Ivanov, who will also meet the opposition.

The Kremlin chief has called for calm but did not say whether

Russia — which has had good ties with Milosevic — recognises Kostunica as the new Yugoslav leader.

In the Kazakh capital Astana, Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov told reporters the question of asylum for Milosevic in Russia "has not been raised and is not being discussed."

Milosevic has been indicted as a war criminal by a UN tribunal in The Hague. Moscow as a UN member, and permanent member of its Security Council, would be expected to hand Milosevic over if he arrived in Russia.

Earlier, Russian news agencies quoted Dmitry Rogozin, the

head of the state Duma's foreign affairs committee, as saying Ivanov's task was to help calm the situation in Belgrade.

"Ivanov's visit to Belgrade will be very short. His task is to contain the situation as far as possible and assist in making sure it does not get out of control," Itar-Tass news agency quoted Rogozin as saying.

Putin returned from a three-day trip to India late yesterday and met senior aides at the airport. He then reiterated Russia's offer to mediate in the crisis and said he hoped Yugoslavia would remain united, end its international isolation and develop on a democratic path.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

7 OCT 2000

Russia recognises Opposition leader Kostunica as President

Jon Boyle
Moscow, October 6

IN A stunning U-turn, Russia today recognised Yugoslav opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica's historic presidential election victory over Slobodan Milosevic after almost two weeks of stalling.

Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov announced the policy shift after talks with Kostunica in Belgrade, where he had been dispatched Friday for consultations by President Vladimir Putin.

Ivanov handed over a letter from the Russian president and was later filmed holding discussions with Milosevic at an undisclosed location.

It was not clear if Ivanov had also transmitted a personal message from Putin to the beleaguered Yugoslav leader, whose 13-year rule of the Balkan state appeared doomed.

After their meeting, Ivanov quashed rumours that Milosevic could be preparing to leave the country, saying he wanted to

remain active in Yugoslav politics as head of the country's main party, the Socialist Party of Serbia.

"As the leader of the biggest party, he wants to keep playing a role in the political life in the coun-

New Delhi happy

NEW Delhi on Friday congratulated 'President-elect' Kostunica and wished the people of Yugoslavia well. The MEA said: "It is the (Indian) Government's view that with a successful conclusion of the electoral process, peace and stability must return in Yugoslavia. It is also hoped that the hardship faced by its people over the past years will now immediately end."

HTC, New Delhi

try," Ivanov said in an indication that much political maneuvering remained to be done.

In his letter, Putin told Kostunica that he hoped "you, as leader of the democratic forces, who have taken on the responsibility for the future of our brother Yugoslav

people, will manage to do all you can to overcome the current crisis."

Addressing him as "Dear Mr Kostunica," Putin and consciously avoided any reference to the Opposition official as president. But he pledged to continue Moscow's support for the country's territorial integrity, code for its fierce opposition to any secession by the UN-run province of Kosovo from the Yugoslav federation.

Russia's about turn came less than a day after Putin repeated his offer to mediate in the escalating crisis, which saw massive crowds yesterday storm parliament and state television.

The popular uprising left in tatters Putin's policy of talks, studied neutrality and insistence on a run-off ballot. For two weeks, Moscow has studiously ignored mounting Western calls for it to join the chorus of condemnation of Milosevic, mindful of the vociferous Leftists and Nationalists in parliament who back his policy of challenging Washington's lead role in world affairs. (AFP)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

7 OCT 2000

People's power has asserted itself in Belgrade. President Slobodan Milosevic, who lost the recent elections but still would not quit office, has had to flee after half a million protesters thronged the streets and stormed Parliament. When the security police joined the crowds, the fate of Mr Milosevic was sealed. With the instalment of Mr Vojislav Kostunica, who won the recent election, Yugoslavia completes the process that began with the demolition of the Berlin wall in 1989. The change of leadership in Belgrade means that sanctions on Yugoslavia are likely to be lifted by the US and the rest of Europe. Now the whole of the Balkans will be fitted into the framework of the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Hopefully, this development will help to promote peace and stability in the region and preserve the integrity of the Yugoslav federation, as it exists today, with Kosovo continuing as an autonomous region within it. With their commitment to promote pluralistic, multicultural and multiethnic states, this will be the acid test for the US and the EU. The Yugoslav problem was not so much an ideological issue, in the Cold War sense, as an outbreak of intense national chauvinism and ethnic and religious separatism. Though the break-up of Yugoslavia was initially encouraged by the western powers, they eventually realised the high cost of fanning the flames of secessionism.

Yugoslavia's tragic story traces its roots to the Communist regime of Tito, who was a Croat-Slovene. Under him, the majority Serbs felt alienated. The breakdown of Yugoslavia was accompanied by a backlash of Serb chauvinism. It was exacerbated by the dubious secession of Bosnia and the blatantly partisan role played by the West against Serb aspirations for self-determination within Bosnia. Similarly, in Serbian perception Kosovan secessionism was fanned by external forces. Mr Milosevic rode the crest of Serbian chauvinism, uniting them behind him through a shared sense of injustice. He took advantage of his protector image to promote crony capitalism and private militias. The progressive alienation of vast sections which had earlier supported him was inevitable. His recent amendment of the constitution to enable him to be elected yet again fuelled the anger against him, resulting in 16 opposition parties uniting behind Mr Kostunica to fight him in the presidential election. The US and Europe came out openly against Mr Milosevic, promising to lift sanctions provided he was voted out. Unfortunately, since the Hague tribunal had indicted Mr Milosevic for war crimes in Kosovo, his continuing in office became essential for him. In the election held on September 25, Mr Milosevic, according to the official count, polled 41 per cent and his opponent 49 per cent. In the popular view, the latter won an absolute majority and, therefore, was entitled to the presidency straightaway, instead of having to go through a second round of polling as required by electoral law. The last straw was the setting aside of the poll result by the constitutional court to enable Mr Milosevic to complete his current term of office. This brought the population into the streets, and forced Mr Milosevic to flee.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

27 OCT 2000

YUGOSLAVIA OPPN. FORMS CRISIS PANEL; EU SET TO LIFT CURBS

Russia backs Kostunica; Milosevic goes into hiding



BLOWING THE WHISTLE ON MILOSEVIC: Wearing a police hat, a girl blows a whistle as she joins flag-waving crowds surging across central Belgrade to celebrate the toppling of Yugoslavia's strongman.

BELGRADE: Russia joined the international outpouring of support on Friday for the forces that toppled Yugoslav dictator Slobodan Milosevic, stripping the disgraced regime of its key backer and helping Yugoslavia's new leaders solidify their control.

Russia's foreign minister Igor Ivanov flew to Belgrade and said he was conveying the congratulations of Russian President Vladimir Putin to Vojislav Kostunica, the opposition leader already being hailed by Western heads of and even Yugoslav state media as the 'president-elect'.

Russia was the last major European nation to withhold support for Mr Kostunica as the winner of the September 24 elections. Mr Ivanov's statement removes the last possibility of any important international backing for Mr Milosevic. Mr Ivanov also planned to meet Mr Milosevic in his hiding place, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported.

The whereabouts of Mr Milosevic and his family were not known although opposition

leader Zoran Djindjic said the former was believed to be hiding outside Bor near Yugoslavia's borders with Romania and Bulgaria. The governments of two Balkan neighbours, Bulgaria and Romania, ordered their armed forces to remain on the alert for any attempt by Mr



Milosevic or his allies to slip out of Yugoslavia.

In Brussels, the European Union said it would start lifting its sanctions against Serbia from Monday when its foreign ministers meet in Luxembourg. "The timetable is very clear," EU high representative for foreign policy Javier Solana told BBC World

Service Radio in a live interview on Friday.

"On Monday, there will be a general affairs council and at that meeting, the sanctions will begin to lift," he said, using the formal name for the EU foreign ministers' meetings.

Meanwhile, Mr Kostunica and his supporters continued to consolidate their control. Worries eased about Mr Milosevic launching a military counter-attack. Most police commanders have joined the groundswell behind Mr Kostunica. The victorious Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) set up a crisis committee to run the country before new elections and to "perform key functions in coordination with Kostunica", one of its leaders told the Independent Beta News Agency.

The committee has branches reaching into the army, the police, supplies, the economy and other vital functions of government, said a senior DOS member, Velimir Ilic. (Agencies)

► See Edit: Milosevic's Exit, Page 12

Balkan snakepit can do without West's hypocrisy

The fall of Slobodan Milosevic began with an election that he called and then denied, spurring the electors to demand that the army respect their decision and protect their sovereignty,

writes SIMON JENKINS

NO, it was not the bombing, the sanctions and the posturing of Nato politicians. It was not the "fall of the last Communist dictator". It was certainly not the British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, endlessly lecturing the Serbs on "what they should do" and "what we want to create in Yugoslavia". Nor is the Yugoslav question answered. It will begin again.

Despite Nato's efforts to bomb Slobodan Milosevic from power, indeed to kill him in his house, he was toppled by a self-inflicted, democratic miscalculation. Tony Blair presented him as a dictator akin to Hitler. But Mr Milosevic was elected President of Serbia in 1989 and as President of Yugoslavia in 1997.

He corrupted government, censored the media, killed enemies and perverted justice, like many "good friends of Britain" round the world. But his elections were contested. Opposition candidates cam-

paigned and Yugoslav local government has been solidly anti-Milosevic since 1996. Sanctions helped to ruin the Serbian economy, though not as much as Communism and the mafia. They exasperated many citizens of Belgrade.

But they strengthened Mr Milosevic and made his family one of the richest ruling houses in Europe, leaving potential opponents in the Serb middle class isolated and impoverished.

Mr Milosevic's mistake was to bring forward 2001's scheduled presidential election. Only when he refused to accept the result did provincial Serbs join urban radicals on the streets of Belgrade. Only when the army and police denied their support to the President's annulling of the election result did street protest prove overwhelming.

The geography of central Belgrade is perfectly fashioned for the photogenic "revolution of the crowd", with parliament, broadcasting and government offices within easy walking dis-

tance of each other. Streets and squares are hard for soldiers to isolate. But the mob needed the election to win legitimacy in the eyes of the true arbiters of power, the army.

As Jonathan Eyal pointed out in *The Times* on Friday, this was not a street revolution so much as a military coup to protect a democratic decision.

Mr Milosevic was a popular rabble-rouser turned autocrat. He rose to power by defending Serbs against Albanian atrocities in Kosovo and orchestrated the expulsion of non-Serbs from much of Bosnia and Kosovo. In doing so he committed what are now considered "war crimes" and besmirched the name of his country and people. But his greatest ally was the hypocrisy of the West, which feted his partner in Balkan Fascism, Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, a blatant partiality bitterly resented by Serb opinion.

American collusion in Tudjman's murderous "cleansing" of 250,000 Krajina Serbs and Nato's current supervision of the KLA's "final solution" to the Serbs in Kosovo enhanced that paranoia. Serbs will never forget this. Visitors to Belgrade in 1999 found antagonism towards Nato no less ferocious than antagonism towards Mr Milosevic.

One of the most articulate critics of Nato action was the man whom the West is now eulogising as another Lech Walesa or Vaclav Havel. Vojislav Kostunica is a dull, old-style Serb nationalist who opposed Mr Milosevic's signature of the Dayton accords as capitulation. He has never criticised Serb



Opposition supporters wave a Serbian flag during the pro-Opposition rally in front of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade on Friday. — AP/PTI.

ethnic cleansing and called the Kosovan conflict "America's private war". Like Mr Milosevic in 1989, he has been elected to restore his country's pride and good order. Mr Kostunica has no more accepted Serb defeat than did Mr Milosevic.

He may be a moderate, an intellectual and a passionate democrat, but he dare not be less of a Serb if he is to survive in the snakepit of Balkan politics.

Yet since "my enemy's enemy must be my friend", the West's dumbed-down diplomacy has taken Mr Kostunica to its heart. He will reciprocate. He will expect Nato to honour its promise for Serb troops to police Kosovo's frontiers and holy places those Orthodox churches that have not yet been demolished or desecrated under Nato "protection".

Mr Kostunica owes his power to a fiercely nationalistic army. He is also host to the largest concentration of refugees in Europe, possibly half a million Serbs and Gypsies driven from Croatia and the Nato/UN protectorates of Bosnia and Kosovo. These people are squatting in schools, hospitals and office blocks. Mr Kostunica will want them repatriated and guarded, or an open border could send them in a vast diaspora westwards.

Whatever was the mess left behind by Communism, it has

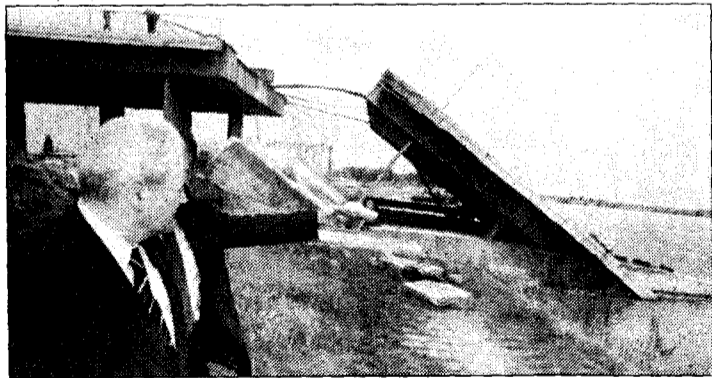
been made worse by intervention. From the end of the 1980s, Balkan realpolitik demanded repartition as the only path to long-term stability. This was bound to involve nasty conflicts. Nato's actions escalated the nastiness, prolonged the resolution and increased the cost.

The flames this week in Belgrade could yet rekindle the fires of Kosovo. Whether or not Mr Milosevic might have fallen sooner had he not been propped up by Nato bombing, that intervention ensured that Mr Kostunica must be a Serb nationalist first and foremost.

At the very least, outsiders such as Mr Cook should stop rewriting history to their own gain. They did not topple Mr Milosevic. They did not bomb democracy into the last Communist dictatorship in Europe. They merely blocked the Danube and sent Serb politics back to the Dark Ages of autocracy. It was not sanctions that induced the army to switch sides; generals did well from the black market. The fall of Mr Milosevic began with an election that he called and then denied, spurring the electors to demand that the army respect their decision and protect their sovereignty.

For that, Yugoslavia's democracy deserves the credit, not Nato's Tomahawk missiles.

— *The Times, London*



President Slobodan Milosevic inspects a bridge downed by Nato airstrikes, over the Danube River in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia on 14 June 1999. — AP/PTI

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END OF MILOSEVIC

A huge triumph for the vox populi \$10

THIS eventful century about to end in less than three months has been distinguished by the inability of tyrants and despots to accept that although the details may vary, it is no longer possible to pretend that what they do not allow to publish or broadcast, does not happen. Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia is merely the last in a long series to acknowledge this truth. It is also true that the *vox populi* can no longer be denied, no matter what repression is unleashed upon the people in the name of *democratic centralism*, in the case of the followers of the century old-dogma discredited in its mother country, or just plain brutality as in the case of Milosevic. It was hard to believe what one saw on television screens; in the space of less than forty eight hours, a mighty repressive machine humbled in Belgrade, its parliamentary building stormed and set on fire by unarmed civilians who had had enough, the police siding with the demonstrators, the army too frightened to stir out of their barracks, television stations taken over and President Milosevic sent packing; no one in a mood to listen to his wish that he continue to head his discredited Socialist party, which translates as pleading for protection against charges of crimes against humanity for which he is wanted at the International Court of Justice at the Hague. Even Vladimir Putin, the former head of the dreaded KGB in Soviet Russia and now the democratically elected President of the new Russia had to fall in line and lend his weight to prising Milosevic out of Belgrade. The tyrant lost heart earlier than may have been expected but he tried to hold on. His court handed down an order, which seemed to give aid and comfort to the pretence that the electoral verdict was less than decisive and perhaps a runoff would be necessary. Putin initially made confusing noises. Yugoslavia does not have a tradition of a free press or an independent judiciary; Marshal Tito saw to that and for far longer than he might, because he was also the nationalist standing up to Stalin in Moscow and earned the appropriate brownie points. Next day the court reversed itself and recognised the victory of Vojislav Kostunica for what it was — decisive with a lead of over ten per cent of the vote. It may be noted in passing that the court was not handing down a learned judgment based on first principles or a long list of precedents, they were recognising reality and for this relief much thanks.

It is not as though the victor in the election, whom Milosevic steadfastly refused to acknowledge until it was too late, is a dyed in the wool democrat. He too is a Serb and comes out of a roughly similar corner but unlike Milosevic he is an academic and a respected figure in the country. He did not win the election, Milosevic lost it. As President Clinton shrewdly observed, any American intervention would have been counterproductive but he was careful to add that the Americans stood by the Yugoslav people and they had American support. He struck just the right note.

Kostunica's task is only now beginning. Rapid progress towards democratic institutions should not be expected but the direction is clear. The lesson for the time being is that crimes do not pay and respect for the human worth and personality must be ensured. Kostunica must allow for the fact that the people are roused and expectations will be high. And as of now Milosevic will be waiting in the wings for him to make a mistake. Despite the caveat, a word of praise and admiration for the Yugoslav people.

THE STATESMAN

8 OCT 2000

Pressure by Moscow turned the tide?

710-16

8/10 By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, OCT. 7. In a dramatic turnaround Moscow intervened in the Yugoslav crisis, recognising Mr. Vojislav Kostunica as the country's new leader and persuading the President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, to step down without a fight.

During his blitz visit to Belgrade on Friday, the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, congratulated Mr. Kostunica on his election victory and handed in a message from the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, which left no doubt that Russia recognised the victory of the Serb Opposition leader.

For two weeks after the Presidential elections in Yugoslavia, Moscow had carefully avoided taking sides, insisting on the need for a run-off vote and saying that only Yugoslav courts could declare a winner. The Kremlin's fence-sitting stand came in for strong criticism from Russian media and analysts, who said Moscow was losing its last chance to retain influence in the Balkans.

However, after returning to Moscow from India the Russian President swiftly dispatched his Foreign Minister to Belgrade with a letter of congratulations to Mr. Kostunica. "I hope that you as the leader of the democratic forces in Yugoslavia, who has assumed responsibility for the future of the fraternal Yugoslav people, will be able to do everything possible to overcome the internal political crisis," Mr. Putin said. "I am convinced that you and your supporters, being adherents to democratic values, will do everything necessary so events develop within a legal framework and the necessary conditions are created to strengthen the legitimate basis of the legislative and executive branches of power," the message said.

Moscow snatched victory from the jaws of defeat in Yugoslavia, Russian media said. "At a last moment Moscow has corrected its mistake and made probably the most painful change in its foreign policy (by dropping support for Mr. Milosevic)," the authoritative *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* said on Saturday. Russia's intervention helped insure a peaceful transfer of power in Yugoslavia.

After meeting Mr. Milosevic in Belgrade, the Russian Foreign Minister said the Yugoslav President had agreed not to use force to retain his position. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Milosevic met the victorious Opposition leader and went on television to concede his defeat. "Moscow helped secure safety guarantees for Mr. Milosevic from the new Yugoslav leader," Russian State television said in a report from Belgrade.

In a recognition of Moscow's role in resolving the potentially stand-off the television showed Mr. Kostunica praising Russia's role in Yugoslavia at a joint press conference with Mr. Ivanov in Belgrade. "The Russian Federation has been giving assistance to Yugoslavia in resolving many complicated problems, such as the NATO aggression last year and the struggle for lifting sanctions," the Yugoslav President-elect said. "Russia has also helped settle political crises in Yugoslavia linked to different interpretation of election results, whether it were municipal elections in 1996 or Presidential elections in 2000." Mr. Ivanov quoted Mr. Kostunica as telling him that he wanted to make his first foreign visit to Russia.

THE HINDU

- 8 OCT 2000
11

U.S. may lift sanctions

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, OCT. 7. The United States has, not surprisingly, welcomed the fast-paced developments in Yugoslavia and the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, has held out the prospect of an early lifting of sanctions now that Mr. Slobodan Milosevic has been shown the door.

"Now is not the time for the United States or its allies to retreat from the Balkans in complacency. Now is the time to stay the course and stick with the people who have won their freedom, the time to build the economic and civil institutions that will allow democracy to endure, reconciliation and cooperation to develop and the economy to grow", Mr. Clinton said at the White House.

For an administration that has been demanding that Mr. Milosevic must meet his fate and future at the hands of the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague, Washington had also made it known that should the former Yugoslavian strongman managed to carve a role for himself in the emerging scheme of things, the lifting of sanctions could be difficult.

But now this is not the case as Mr. Milosevic has finally conceded the elections and perhaps only negotiating where he and his entourage may be heading. This too

is problematical in the sense that the Clinton administration has been demanding that Mr. Milosevic should be handed over to The Hague as there is an indictment turned in.

The U.S. has been especially sharp in its statements on this subject as it was thought that Mr. Milosevic might land up in Russia to "negotiate" a way out of the political mess of his making. Rejecting any asylum for Mr. Milosevic, the White House spokesman said, "We are not proposing a deal, we are not encouraging a deal and we would not endorse or support any such deal."

There are two broad sets of sanctions against Serbia which will have to be acted upon.

The American and European sanctions include an oil embargo, a ban on commerce with Yugoslav firms that were believed to be controlled by the Milosevic Government, the denial of visas for high level officials and denial of full rights at the United Nations including at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other lending institutions.

The other set of sanctions, including an arms embargo, has been imposed by the United Nations which can be removed only by a Security Council resolution.

THE HINDU

7-8 OCT 2000

Yugoslav allies could become rivals

MISHA GLENNY
THE TIMES, LONDON

BELGRADE, Oct. 7. — Mr Vojislav Kostunica has said he intends organising elections for a constituent assembly in a year or so, but before then he must overcome some very awkward political obstacles, not least the fact that he has allies who are likely to become rivals quickly. The movement that destroyed Mr Milosevic is a broad front in which cracks are already appearing.

The new President is overwhelmingly the most popular figure in Serbia but he could not have swept aside Mr Milosevic without the assistance of several key figures. The most important of these is Mr Zoran Djindjic, whose Democratic Party was the backbone of the protest movement. Insiders say the two men distrust each other and both have real political ambition.

The suave and attractive Mr Djindjic played the key role in organising the general strike and people's protest on Thursday that eventually brought Mr Milosevic down. A born politician, he has built up a very forceful political machine that controls many regions at the local level.

A former student activist and left-winger, Mr Djindjic has had a successful career both as a businessman and in politics. Many say his ambition knows few bounds, but his decision

not to seek the Opposition's presidential candidature, stepping aside for Mr Kostunica instead, was crucial for the success of Thursday's revolution and a sign that Mr Djindjic is prepared to sacrifice his ambition for the common good. With the Democratic Party under his control, however, he will not make life easy for Mr Kostunica.

Mr Kostunica will also have to beware two other snakes in the grass. One is Mr Vuk Draskovic, the maverick opposition figure who was suspected by many of being in Mr Milosevic's pocket. The other is the arch-nationalist Mr Vojislav Seselj, the most troublesome of all. His Radical Party is in a coalition with Mr Milosevic's Socialist Party.

Though Mr Kostunica's overwhelming popular support gives him considerable political capital for the moment, he may well find that his old friends will start to make life very difficult for him, as he tries to make sense of the constitution, tackle the country's chronic economic problems and reconcile Yugoslavia with the Balkans and the West.

It is Yugoslavia's great fortune that Mr Kostunica is a constitutional lawyer. The constitutional order with its multiple parliaments is a shambles, made exceptionally complicated by curious relationship between Serbia and its tiny sister republic, Montenegro.

THE STATESMAN

8 OCT 2000

China denies Milosevic gold rush

REUTERS

BEIJING, Oct. 7. — China, among the staunchest supporters of Mr Slobodan Milosevic, has strongly denied reports that the defeated President was trying to fly Yugoslavia's state gold reserves to Beijing.

"We resolutely deny this," the foreign ministry spokesman, Mr Sun Yuxi, said. "This is absolutely untrue," he said of a warning yesterday by leading Serbian economist Mr Mladjan Dinkic that an overnight plane bound for Beijing might be stashed with an estimated \$ 150 million worth of gold.

Mr Dinkic, a backer of the President-elect, Mr Vojislav Kostunica, said he received the information about the plane from an Opposition supporter working among the Yugoslav flight control crew.

Mr Dinkic said they had informed the head of Belgrade police, Mr Branko Djuric, but subsequent checks found nothing out of the ordinary.

A witness said that after being halted for two hours and searched by police, the plane took off towards the east, on its regular route via the Ukrainian capital, Kiev.

A regular Yugoslavia Airlines DC-10 flight from Belgrade was scheduled to arrive in the Chinese capital today according to China's official timetable.

Mr Milosevic, in a national television address yesterday, conceded defeat to Mr Kostunica, and vowed to stay on in Yugoslavia to spearhead political opposition.

In its first official Chinese comment since Mr Milosevic's defeat became appar-

ent, China said yesterday it was "seriously concerned" about the situation in Yugoalavia.

But a terse statement by foreign ministry spokesman which Sun published repeated Beijing's long-standing policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. Sun said Beijing "respected the choice of the Yugoslav people."

"China calls on all ethnic groups and political forces in Yugoslavia to give priority to the fundamental interests of the state and people in order to properly deal with the current situation through peaceful means and prevent armed conflicts and maintain national stability," a Chinese foreign office spokesman said.

Diplomats said Sun's guarded comments indicated Beijing was taking a wait-and-see attitude to events in Yugoslavia.

THE STATESMAN

• 8 OCT 1997



Kostounica all set to take oath

BELGRADE, OCT. 7. Yugoslavia's parliament began a meeting today that will formally end 13 years of rule by Mr. Slobodan Milosevic and usher in what has been hailed as a new era of hope under the new President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica.

The 178 newly-elected members of the two Houses began separate sessions, mostly to take care of formal protocol. They will then gather for a joint session to witness the swearing in of Mr. Kostounica.

Mr. Milosevic was not present despite having said he wanted to retain a political role.

India greets new leader

India today congratulated Mr. Kostounica and hoped that the hardships faced by people in that country over the past years would now end immediately. — Reuters, PTI

Milosevic quits: Page 16

THE HINDU

8 OCT 2000

State unity tops Kostounica's agenda

BELGRADE, Oct. 8. The new Yugoslav President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, has said his first priority as President would be to resolve problems between Yugoslavia's two remaining republics, with the former strongman, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic's future low down on his list of priorities. Speaking to Reuters television minutes after being sworn into office yesterday, an exhausted-looking Mr. Kostounica said he was relieved to have taken power relatively peacefully.

"I must say that I am moved," he said.

Mr. Kostounica triumphed in last month's presidential elections, but only managed to take office after massive nationwide protests over the past week forced a reluctant Mr. Milosevic to stand aside.

"It is...important that change and the transfer of power occurred...in a peaceful way," the 56-year-old constitutional lawyer said, speaking in English.

There was violence, but thank God that violence was kept under control so that I think we are really starting a new era in our political life and in our lives generally."

Placed by a palpable sense of fury around the country, security forces loyal to Mr. Milosevic caved into people power on Thursday as crowds stormed the federal Parliament building and state television offices in Belgrade.

Asked what his priorities now were, Mr. Kostounica said: "Everything", before adding that he first needed to settle long-standing differences between Serbia and its tiny sister republic Montenegro — the final partners in rump Yugoslavia after a decade of ethnic conflict that shattered the state.

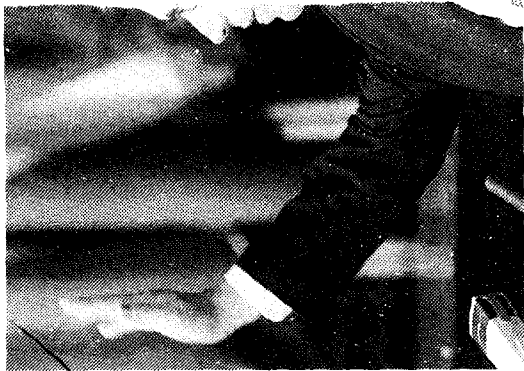
"The first priority must be keeping together the state we are living in. The first priority must be the relations between Serbia and Montenegro," he said.

Montenegro, which distanced itself from Serbia in protest at Mr. Milosevic's rampant brand of nationalism and forged close ties with the west, has repeatedly said that it might seek independence and boycotted the September presidential ballot.

In his first decision after taking the oath of office, Mr. Kostounica on Saturday lifted a Serbian economic blockade on Montenegro and scrapped customs duties introduced two years ago in response to the sister republic's decision to introduce the German mark as an alternative currency.

Given the immediate problems facing him, Mr. Kostounica said he was not thinking about what should be done with Mr. Milosevic.

"Really, I have too many things to think about without thinking about Milosevic and his future plans," Mr. Kostounica said. — Reuters



The Yugoslav President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, was sworn in, in Belgrade.

THE HINDU

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E.U. to lift some curbs on Belgrade

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11/10

PARIS, OCT. 8. The French Foreign Minister, Mr. Hubert Vedrine, today confirmed that the European Union would partially lift sanctions on Yugoslavia on Monday as the first step toward reintegrating that nation into a democratic Europe.

to Europe

"We are going to put our promises to work. We are going to keep our commitments," Mr. Vedrine said on France's Europe 1 radio. France currently holds the EU's rotating presidency, and Mr. Vedrine is to travel to Belgrade on Tuesday.

The French Minister confirmed reports that the EU would remove a ban on all commercial flights to Yugoslavia and lift an oil embargo imposed on Serbia during the 1999 Kosovo war.

The EU had also frozen the financial assets of those linked to the regime of the former President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, and placed a visa ban on Mr. Milosevic's entourage.

It is "very important for the future of Serbia that it is the Serb people themselves who got rid of Milosevic," said Mr. Vedrine. "The relationship with Europe is establishing itself on a healthy basis."

The German Foreign Ministry has already announced that it was

freeing up a million euros (\$870,000) in aid to Yugoslavia. "Germany is giving a signal, through this bilateral plan and as a member of the European Union, of its wish to help Yugoslavia," the German Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Andreas Michaelis said. — AP, AFP

Kostounica's agenda: Page 16

Gopal awaiting Veerappan's signal

By Our Special Correspondent

CHENNAI, OCT. 8. The official emissary, Mr. R. R. Gopal, is still awaiting "clear signals" from the brigand, Veerappan, for leaving on his fifth mission to the forests to negotiate the release of abducted actor, Mr. Rajkumar, and two others held hostage. Till late in the night, he had not received any message.

However, the emissary and 'Nakheeran' editor, Mr. Gopal has been receiving "some indications" for the past three days from the Veerappan gang on resuming talks, the journal's associate editor, Mr. A. Kamaraj, said.

Mr. Gopal is ready to leave anytime once he obtains a clear signal.

THE HINDU

9 OCT 2000

40-16 YUGOSLAVIA / LAST-MINUTE BID TO RETAIN POWER FAILS

Milosevic concedes defeat, quits

BELGRADE, OCT. 7. The Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, bowed to people's pressure and accepted defeat by announcing his resignation in an address broadcast on the state-owned TV station Yu Info on Friday night.

"I congratulate Vojislav Kostounica on his election victory and I wish our nation success over the next term," Mr. Milosevic said in a brief recorded statement. "I've just got official information that Vojislav Kostounica won the elections," he said, adding his Socialist Party would be a strong political opponent to the new administration.

"I intend to rest a bit and spend some more time with my family, and after that to help my party gain force and contribute to future prosperity," he said.

The statement followed an hour-long meeting between Mr Kostounica, hailed by the West as Yugoslavia's new President, and Mr. Milosevic. They were reported to have shaken hands.

It appeared to signal that Mr. Milosevic has abandoned hopes of blocking Mr Kostounica from taking his oath as President, and instead will try to carve out a role in Yugoslav political life.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Milosevic, heavily guarded in his Belgrade villa, greeted the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, with a confident presidential handshake and indicated ominously that he was intent on maintaining a "political role".

Mr. Milosevic, a master of political manipulation, appeared to be playing for time in the hope of turning back, or at least diverting, the revolutionary tide. But his Friday night statement appeared to throw in the towel — though his record of survival suggests he could still be a dangerous player



People display leaflets reading, "He has to go" referring to the outgoing Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, during a rally in front of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade on Friday. Thousands of people gathered in the capital to celebrate the Opposition's victory. — AP

on the political scene. It was an abrupt turn-around as Mr Kostounica strove to consolidate the popular uprising in Belgrade and pre-empt any attempt by Mr. Milosevic to reclaim power.

Yugoslav Television earlier reported a statement from Mr. Milosevic's office denouncing "the violence and destructive disorder ... endangering the functioning of the state and weakening it, which is only in the interest of its enemies".

With Belgrade close to anarchy and no police to stop sporadic looting, Opposition leaders tried to establish control of the country.

They held talks with army com-

manders, who made no attempt to stop thousands of protesters from storming the Federal Parliament on Thursday, to ensure that soldiers remained in their barracks and backed the transfer to power.

The Constitutional Court formalised Mr Kostounica's position by upholding an Opposition complaint that he had won the first round of presidential elections last month.

The European Union has promised to lift most economic sanctions when Foreign Ministers meet in Brussels, while the French President, Mr. Jacques Chirac, invited Mr Kostounica to attend the E.U.'s Biarritz summit

next Friday. — ©Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2000

Son headed for Moscow

Reuters and AP report: Mr. Marko Milosevic, the hated son of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, boarded a plane for Moscow today along with his wife and child, witnesses at the airport said.

A friend and business associate of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic was shot and killed outside his home in Greece early today.

Vladimir Bokan, 40, who had been under police investigation for charges of money laundering and smuggling gasoline and arms, was shot several times by gunmen. Bokan was then getting out of his car, police said.

THE HINDU

- 8 OCT 2000

Kostunica under siege as workers rush for power



Mr Vojislav Kostunica

MISHA GLENNY
THE TIMES, LONDON

BELGRADE, Oct. 11. — The authority of Yugoslavia's new President is under siege as angry workers, acting in his name, rush to seize businesses, assets and lucrative senior jobs in an uncontrolled raid on the power of the old regime.

One Western diplomat in Belgrade said yesterday: "There is a danger that unelected forces are amassing considerable power and these could turn President Vojislav Kostunica into little more than a figurehead."

If Mr Kostunica is not decisive enough, he could be popular but effectively powerless as his rivals seize the initiative, warned the diplomat.

The President yesterday received Mr Hubert Vedrine, the French foreign minister, and other foreign dignitaries. Just 48 hours after being sworn-in, with a tiny inexperienced staff around him, Mr Kostunica is struggling to deal with international issues as disparate as the International Monetary Fund and Serbia's complex relationship with Montenegro.

But the domestic turmoil is more challenging. Since Monday, workers have been storming the offices of factories, banks, universities and the civil service and using threats and force to expel their bosses. Directors of most big companies are reported Milosevic supporters and their employees are bent on revenge.

Over the weekend, activists wrested control of the National Bank, the Serbian police and the Customs' office. Alarmed, the leaders of Mr Kostunica's political backers, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia, yesterday distanced themselves from the sackings.

Mr Zarko Korac, a leading DOS member, said a crisis meeting was held late on Monday to discuss the issue. "Many people are hiding behind our name," he said. But he admitted that the DOS was involved in some of the dismissals.

Mr Kostunica's greatest threat may come from the radical wing of the coalition backing him, headed by Mr Zoran Djindjic, his closest ally but a potential rival. Djindjic supporters have claimed they felt they had no choice but to install their own people in key posts, for fear of a backlash by pro-Milosevic forces who, they claim, are still active in the army and secret services. Even Mr Zoran Sami, a leading member of Mr Kostunica's own party, admitted that the DOS had ordered the takeover of key state institutions.

THE STATESMAN

12 OCT 2000

No puppet this one

149-20
THE BALKANS have been retrieved from the grip of Europe's last fascist dictator, but it is doubtful if the region has finally put its past behind, a past that has remained soaked in blood and tears for more than 600 years.

From the early pronouncements of the new man in Belgrade and the speed at which his benefactors in the West are rushing to his rescue, it is difficult to divine the answers immediately to the two questions: will the Balkans, with a deserved reputation as the ethnic cauldron of Europe, see an era of peace, of peaceful co-existence among its antipathetic ethnic communities? Will the people's revolution in Yugoslavia which toppled Mr. Slobodan Milosevic signal also that Europe has finally said goodbye to the Age of the Dictator?

The stunning electoral victory of Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, relatively unknown abroad, certainly guarantees a break with the recent past, a return to more civility in public life and political plurality in the place of the stifling ruthlessness of Mr. Milosevic and company. But can he provide the healing touch and bring balm to the wounds inflicted during a decade of senseless civil war and abhorrent ethnic cleansing? Will he refrain from exploiting Serbian nationalism which is rooted in a deep sense of grievance stretching back to the defeat in the 14th century in the Battle of Kosovo at the hands of the Ottoman Turks? That defeat has never been avenged and continues to poison the region.

A monarchist, avowed anti-communist, and a nationalist in a region that has had a surfeit of this emotion, Mr. Kostounica has been

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 & Europe
However tightly the West seeks to embrace him, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica may prove politically nearly as thorny as the man he has ousted, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic.
K. V. KRISHNASWAMY
on the changeover in Yugoslavia.

sending contrary signals. However tightly the West seeks to embrace him, he may prove politically nearly as thorny as the man he has ousted. He has sounded in some respects as dangerously nationalistic as Mr. Milosevic. He supported the Serbian cause during the crises in the federal provinces of Bosnia and Kosovo when Mr. Milosevic was waging his ethnic war to wipe out the Muslim population. He was a fierce critic of American policy in the Balkans which he said trivialised their cause by keeping its focus exclusively on a personal war against Mr. Milosevic in which, according to him, the Serbs became the principal victims. He was equally strong in his refusal to recognise the legality of the war crimes tribunal in The Hague which has sought the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Milosevic for crimes against humanity. He has just announced himself against grant of independence to Kosovo and Montenegro, the first still nursing the grievous wounds inflicted by Mr.

Milosevic and the second eager to wriggle free from Belgrade's hold.

As for his benefactors in the West, isn't there a hint of panic in the way they have begun flooding the country with financial and material assistance — apparently as an insurance against a reversal of the tide and a return of the dictator? Compounding their worry and in a strange twist of political circumstances, Mr. Milosevic has decided to remain in the country and fight to get his power back.

It must under these circumstances be premature to hail the people's revolution that toppled Mr. Milosevic as the beginning of the end of the region's agony. But there must be immense satisfaction that democracy has prevailed yet again over a bloody, vicious dictatorship. Eleven years to the month after the fall of the Berlin Wall, one had come to anticipate such scenes of popular protest in capitals where these would have been unimaginable during the sterile days of the Cold War.

Even so, the swiftness with which the anti-Milosevic demonstrations gathered strength came as a surprise. In fact, the week-that-was in Belgrade had a brimful of suspense and tension till the final happy denouement. If the unthinkable happened in the September 24 election when Mr. Milosevic, the ruthless, undisputed leader, was pushed to second place despite an all-out effort to hijack the poll, the unbelievable happened within hardly a week when people, rising in revolt, forced the dictator to respect the verdict and leave. That no dictator has yielded power gracefully or voluntarily enhances the value of the near bloodless coup that the people of Yugoslavia have staged.



In the end, the will of the people prevailed where relentless bombing by the Western military alliance and the economic embargo that followed the Kosovo war had failed. Mr. Milosevic, like Washington's long-lasting *bete noire*, Mr. Saddam Hussein, had survived their bombing-cum-blockade campaign and was still in saddle in Belgrade, cynics had begun to remind Western nations. It was then that he discovered that the majority Serbs who had enthusiastically accepted him years ago had had enough of him. Defeat in the battle of the ballot rendered him suddenly defenceless — and more vitally, he found himself friendless at home and abroad. His main prop had been Moscow but the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, pledged support for the electoral victor rather than the old ally from the Slavic stable. With no refuge outside his country to escape the wrath of the people — save Russia and perhaps China, no other destination could have saved him from the long arm of the international court — he took the only option available: stay at home and try to gain his political rehabilitation.

Mr. Kostounica is unlikely to hand him over to the international court to stand trial for war crimes at The Hague and the West can only undermine his authority if it pushes his regime on this count. The sort of stridency that Washington displayed over this issue can have the disastrous counter-productive effect of playing into the hands of Mr. Milosevic. Nationalism is a tried and tested weapon in the Balkans and ancient hatreds based on history and religion can be easily whipped up in that unstable region. Catholic Croats, Muslim Bosnians and Orthodox Serbs — once part of the Yugoslav federation stitched together after World War II by that master strategist Marshal Tito — can all speak the same language of violence and killings.

History provides no pointer. After two world wars, communism and Tito effected a pause in the blood-letting which resumed once the ideological underpinning of the world order vanished with the Cold War. If the current peace is to become permanent, the West and Russia must help the new rulers in Belgrade shoulder their awesome responsibility.



THE VICTOR AND THE VANQUISHED: The new Yugoslav President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, and (right) the man he dethroned, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, and his hated son who fled to Russia, Mr. Marko Milosevic.

Milosevic paid back in his own coin



Vojislav Kostunica : Miles to go

Vojislav Kostunica
and the new
leadership in Belgrade
face an enormous
task in trying to heal
wounds. The
constitutional order
with its multiple
parliaments is a
mess, says
MISHA GLENNY

FROM the minute I saw the workers and peasants of central Serbia march down Knez Milos Street, I knew that these enraged men with arms like legs of mutton would not be leaving Belgrade before they finished their job. Many of them were carrying weapons. If the order to shoot had been made, both the police and the army would have found themselves with a real battle on their hands.

These men knew how the day would end. But on Friday morning, most other Serbs could scarcely comprehend how deeply their lives had been changed by the 12 hours that saw them seize back their dignity and their future that languished in Slobodan Milosevic's dungeon.

Many were convinced that he would wrongfoot the Opposition at the last moment. It was not until I talked to the most senior Opposition leaders on Thursday morning that I realised they had broken a psychological barrier. "We are going to storm the parliament," Cedomir Jovanovic of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) told me, "and take key state institutions."

Mr Milosevic's opponents had at last understood that they would bring him down only by using his favoured political currency, naked force. They would not be able to sustain the general strike and the extreme pitch of people's anger for more than a few days. On Thursday, it was do or die.

Serbia's revolution has come 11 years after those in Eastern Europe. Leaving aside the mayhem he provoked in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo, Mr Milosevic has inflicted unimaginable damage on the Serbian state. He gutted its judiciary and filled its civil service and education system with witless sycophants.

The state-run media earned a special place in the Serbs' misery as it daily regurgitated the mantras of Mr Milosevic's anachronistic authoritarian ideology. The police and the military did not guarantee citizens' wellbeing, but was the ultimate sanction of one man's power. The economy is corrupted to the point of collapse, serving only the hugely powerful mafias whose influence will now wane.

All this was made possible by Mr Milosevic mobilising a rancid, bullying nationalism that became the main motor of destabilisation in the Balkans. Far from achieving his proclaimed national goals, his policies saw Serbs driven out of areas in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo where they had lived for centuries.

Vojislav Kostunica and the other members of the new leadership in Belgrade face an enormous task in trying to heal those wounds. The constitutional order with its multiple parliaments is a complete mess. Serbia's relationship with Montenegro is profoundly confusing. Solving this conundrum is not helped by the fact that Mr Kostunica's relationship with the Montenegrin President, Milo Djukanovic, is cool at best.

If that wasn't enough, Mr Kostunica's actual powers as Federal President are quite limited and Mr Milosevic's coalition is the most powerful force in the federal parliament. For that reason, Mr Kostunica and his allies are wooing the SNP, which used to support Mr Milosevic in Montenegro, in an attempt to block the influence of Mr Milosevic's alliance in parliament.

Mr Kostunica's Opposition Movement is a broad front in which cracks are already beginning to appear. The new President is overwhelmingly the most popular figure in Serbia. But he could not have swept aside Mr Milosevic without the assistance of several key men. The most important of those is Zoran Djindjic, whose Democratic Party was the backbone of the protest movement. According to insiders, the two men, both ambitious, distrust each other. Those are the two figures upon whom the Serbs will depend to solve their most pressing problem.

The nationalism that led to war in Yugoslavia was fashioned for the sole purpose of winning power for Mr Milosevic in 1987. Thirteen years later, many Serbs have conveniently forgotten how they supported his project in the first place. They have suffered for their mistake.

There has been much uninformed criticism in the West about Mr Kostunica's nationalism. That criticism is based largely on his opposition to US policy in the region and to the Nato campaign over Kosovo in particular. Expressing approval of the Nato campaign within Serbia brings to mind turkeys voting for Christmas. But it is also Mr Kostunica's legitimate democratic right to criticise US policy (everybody else does). The key point is he is a democrat. He will attempt to solve any problems through negotiation and not violence.

The rehabilitation process will still be difficult. Serbs will have to address the issue of the war crimes committed either by them or in their name. A more public recognition by the West of the crimes committed against Serbs would move the process along. Western Europe must be deeply engaged in assisting the reintegration of this confused, traumatised country.

An unstable Serbia blocks the regeneration of the Balkan peninsula; an undemocratic Serbia can always threaten to destabilise Bosnia and Kosovo. There is now a democratic Serbia, but it is by no means yet stable. Thanks to the people's uprising in Belgrade, however, this country and the Balkans at last have a real chance.

— *The Times, London.*

49-20

Justice will come for Milosevic: Kostounica

16/10

GENEVA, OCT. 15. The Yugoslav President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, has said that "justice will come" for Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, but suggested that somebody in NATO should be held accountable for civilian victims of last year's bombing of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Kostounica, speaking at a news conference in Geneva yesterday after talks with the Swiss President, Mr. Adolf Ogi, reiterated that Belgrade would cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

But the priority remained democratic reforms and recovery, said Mr. Kostounica, who took office just a week ago.

The tribunal has indicted Mr. Milosevic for alleged atrocities by his security forces against ethnic Albanians in Serbia's Kosovo province, and is seeking to widen the indictment to cover events in Croatia and Bosnia by the end of the year.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will cooperate with all the international institutions, including the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia," Mr. Kostounica said.

"Of course, when I am saying that, I have in mind the necessary obligations...Obligations that have been taken by Mr. Milosevic at the Dayton (peace) Conference.

"One day or another justice will come for Milosevic, somebody else maybe — somebody in NATO that was responsible for some of civil (civilian) victims," he said, without being more specific.

"But at this moment we are thinking about normal democratic life, normal relations with our neighbours, with Europeans, the United States, the Russian federation — that is our priority."

Yugoslavia was reeling from eight years of sanctions, from years of suffering under a "totalitarian regime" and from a ruined economy, he said, adding that it had finally been "destroyed by NATO bombing last year."



The Yugoslavian President, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, addressing newsmen in Geneva on Saturday. — AP

"We have so many other problems with democratic institutions to be formed. We are having so many problems before cooperation with (The) Hague tribunal. There are many things that are dubious about the Hague tribunal, but obligations are obligations — international documents are international documents," he said.

Mr. Kostounica, a constitutional lawyer and self-professed Serb nationalist, made a two-hour stopover in Geneva on his way back to Belgrade from attending a European Union summit in Biarritz, France. — Reuters

THE HINDU

16 OCT 2001

Kostunica clinches Serbian deal

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JOHN PHILLIPS
THE TIMES, LONDON

BELGRADE, Oct. 17. — The President of Yugoslavia, Mr Vojislav Kostunica reached a power-sharing agreement yesterday with former supporters of Mr Slobodan Milosevic to form a transitional Serbian government ahead of elections to be held on December 23.

The accord appeared to end a power struggle between supporters of the new democratic head of state and his old guard opponents in the Serbian Parliament. The power struggle had threatened to undermine the fragile new political order created by the overthrow of Mr Milosevic last month.

Under the deal, the Prime Minister of the Serbian government will be from Mr Milosevic's Socialist Party. Nominees from both the Socialists and the former opposition, the DOS party, will share key posts in the most important Serbian ministries that includes police, finance, justice and information.

Each will reach "consensual" decisions on key policies before the upcoming elections, according to political sources.

Those to be appointed as min-

isters will be named formally at a session of the Serbian Parliament to be held in Belgrade on Friday. The Legislature will then be dissolved to conform with constitutional rules under which new Serbian parliamentary elections can be held.

(Mr Vojislav Kostunica travelled to Montenegro today, seeking crucial support from the smaller Yugoslav republic's pro-Western leadership for the federal government he wants to form, adds AP from Podgorica.)

(He first met with Mr Milo Djukanovic, the President of Montenegro, whose government declared last month's federal elections in Yugoslavia illegal and has refused to recognize Mr Kostunica as the new Yugoslav President.)

Mr Kostunica is pressing on with talks aimed at forming a new Yugoslav federal government and is expected to appoint Mr Predrag Bulatovic, the Montenegrin Socialist leader and a former Milosevic supporter, as federal Prime Minister.

(The 24 September elections triumph did not affect the composition of governments in the two Yugoslav republics of

Serbia and Montenegro, adds AP).

The pro-Western Montenegrin President is looking increasingly vulnerable since Mr Kostunica said last weekend at a summit of European leaders in Biarritz that he would allow Montenegro to have a referendum to decide on independence from Yugoslavia.

Some commentators fear that the meeting between the two Balkan politicians could call the bluff of the Montenegrin leader and lead him to consider declaring independence unilaterally from Yugoslavia in a move that would save his face in Montenegro but that also could ignite conflict between Podgorica and Belgrade.

Milosevic: Slovakia's daily *Pravda* quoted Mr Eduard Kukan, Slovak foreign minister and UN special envoy to the Balkans, as saying that the extradition of Mr Milosevic was unrealistic, adds Reuters from Bratislava. Mr Kukan said that the international criminal tribunal for former Yugoslavia in the Hague's decision to indict Mr Milosevic for alleged atrocities in Kosovo must be respected. But he said there were other political realities in Yugoslavia to contend with.

THE STATESMAN

18 OCT 2000

Kostunica, Milosevic allies share power

REUTERS
BELGRADE, OCT 25 96

YUGOSLAVIA took another step out of the shadow of Slobodan Milosevic on Tuesday when the Serbian Parliament appointed a power-sharing government to run the country's dominant republic until early elections.

The new government shares power between the ousted Yugoslav president's Socialists, who dominated the old administration, and reformist allies of his suc-

cessor Vojislav Kostunica.

Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia also looked certain to be excluded from a new Yugoslav federal government. The Yugoslav federation is composed of Serbia and much smaller Montenegro. Forming the federal government is important to allow Yugoslavia to receive aid and conclude other international agreements with Western governments who have rushed to offer assistance since Milosevic's downfall.

The main seat of power

Kosovo genocide

NEW YORK: Vojislav Kostunica admitted on Tuesday for the first time that his predecessor Slobodan Milosevic had committed "crimes". "I am ready to accept the guilt for all those people who have been killed," he told a TV news magazine. "For what Milosevic had done and as a Serb, I will take responsibility for many of these crimes." Kostunica said the former president, whose 10-year rule was replete of wars and massacres, would have to one day answer for his actions, but refused to specify when and under what conditions. —AFP

inside the country, however, and his supporters.

As part of the deal, Serbian government, Tuesday's Parliamentary elections will take place on December 23, when the Kostunica

camp has high hopes of sweeping the Socialists from power. The formation of the new government will be welcomed by the West, which shunned Milosevic for his role in four Balkan wars and wants to see the network of power he dominated for more than a decade dismantled as soon as possible.

Under the power-sharing deal, Socialist Milomir Minic, regarded as a relative moderate, becomes prime minister. But he can make decisions only in consensus with two deputies from

groups previously in Opposition. "The time of this government is limited and so are its tasks," Minic told Parliament. "Its two main missions are to stabilise economic policy and urgently address the economic needs of the citizens." International sanctions, mismanagement and corruption have ruined the Yugoslav economy, once fairly prosperous by Socialist standards. Reformers said the new government was far from perfect but should at least arrest Yugoslavia's decline.

Another destabilising force emerges

By Vaiju Naravane

DOBROSIN (KOSOVO-SERBIA BORDER), APRIL 4
The modest board outside the door reads *Keshilli I Te Debuarve Nga Bujanou, Presheva, Medvegja* or The Council for Banished Persons from Presevo, Buganovac and Medvedja — Albanian majority villages located within Serbian territory.

I am to meet Isuf Bajrami in the southern town of Gnjilane and travel with him to Dobrosin for a meeting with Shefket Musliu, the chief of the UCPMB or the Liberation Army of the Presevo valley. This is a new formation along Serbia's border with southern eastern Kosovo and could prove to be a destabilising force in Kosovo.

There is some confusion, tension, a conference in hushed but urgent tones and Sa-cir, a balding 35-year-old former KLA fighter now in a dapper charcoal grey suit rushes out, furious. He does not want journalists there, much less in Dobrosin. The whispered tension confirms suspicions of a rift within the new military formation.

The road from Gnjilane soon peters out to become a dirt track, the car jolting over its dips and bumps. Isuf Bajrami, my guide, also a former KLA fighter talks about his dream for Albania, his love for Mr. Enver Hoxa, "the President of my fatherland". I remind him that Mr. Enver Hoxa deliberately kept his country in ignorance and

poverty, cut off from the rest of the world. Isuf spouts a primary Marxism totally at odds with developments around him. "We are still not a country. The work is not complete. But one day we will all be united." We talk about the Karmapa, Gandhi and Tito. He respects Gandhi but feels his tactics of non-violence would never work with the Serbs.

The 5 km neutral zone is approaching and as the road climbs, I can see the black silhouettes of KFOR tanks, their turrets doing a slow pirouette, surveying the countryside. We are stopped and body-searched. This is the American sec-

INSIDE KOSOVO — IV

tor. The soldiers are polite but very thorough, going through the car with a fine tooth comb. "We are searching the car for weapons", the soldier on duty says. The driver has taken care to leave his identity papers at a village a few kilometres earlier. We are squeaky clean.

The village of Dobrosin is much like any of the other Kosovar villages — a hodgepodge of shoddily built houses. The entrance to the tiny road we are to take is guarded by men wearing uniforms which look like German army fatigues with insignia carrying the black Kosovar eagle on a red background. The house itself is a

heavily guarded detached, whitewashed villa with a terrace running around it.

Shefket Musliu, leader of the UCPMB is unavailable. Sacir, the angry young former KLA fighter has preceded us here and Musliu has left, leaving his cousin Jonuz Musliu, President of the UCPMB's political council to face the us. The room is on the first floor, small and shuttered. An AK-47 rifle is propped against the door. We are surrounded by fighters, one of them wearing a dirty white bandage on his hand. Jonuz Musliu, mild, grey haired and fortyish said that there have been more incidents with the Serbs. "They are breaking into homes, attacking people and cars, harassing the population. In Koncule village, Serb special forces attacked a car carrying an entire family. There are two fresh graves in our village. We do not want confrontation. But the Serbs must withdraw from special checkpoints, remove special forces. We cannot respect the agreement under such conditions," Musliu says.

Leaders of the UVPMB — the Liberation army of Presevo, Medvedja and Buganovac, made up mainly of fighters from the now dismantled KLA had agreed to end its insurgency in southern Serbia in a meeting with senior U.S. officials. The UCPMB which announced itself to the world on 26 January this year met US officials, including Christopher Dell, head of the US mis-

sion in Kosovo and Hashim Thaci, the former KLA commander and publicly renounced violence last Thursday.

A tough bearded fighter, obviously a chief, who refused to give his name, said: "The agreement was inconclusive because the Serbs were not a party to it. We were hoping there would be more pressure on Serbia as a result of our discussions with the Americans. There are over 100,000 Albanians living here who could be forced out of their homes. The newspapers talk of a deep division within the UCPMB. That is not correct. We are beginning exercises and manoeuvres and training," he said.

NATO forces have confirmed that the Serbian army crossed over into the 5-km neutral zone along the border with Serbia on March 25 violating the peace agreement which prohibits the military and special police forces from entering the area. Over 5,000 ethnic Albanians have fled the area in recent weeks alleging harassment by Serb special forces.

Western military and diplomatic officials believe the group has little popular support but that it contains some elements, including supporters of Greater Albania, that are determined to continue the armed struggle against Serbia. A fresh guerrilla conflict could draw in huge sums of money from Albanian communities in western Europe and the USA.

HO-17 2/2

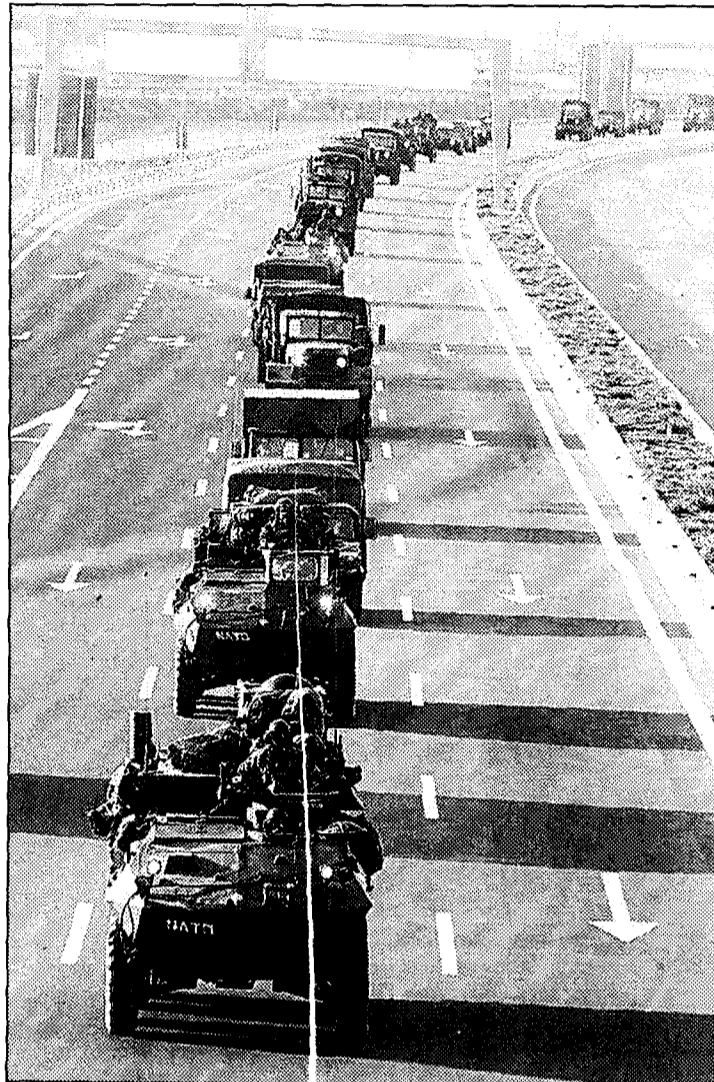
Chaos in Kosovo

Albanians see the arrival of NATO forces as the first step towards total independence from Yugoslavia. The Serbs look upon NATO and the U.N. as "occupying forces" and are unwilling to join any initiative.
VAIJU NARAVANE on the situation in Kosovo.

"T HIS IS not the place you visited two years ago. This is a completely new country. In fact it is not yet a country," Mr. Avni Spahiu, Director of Radio and Television Kosovo (RTK), says with an ironic smile. He reminds me of the day in his office at Rilindja when he talked of the exploits of Skanderbeg, the legendary Albanian who fought the Ottoman Turks several centuries ago, of the difficulties involved in bringing out an Albanian daily in the face of constant Serb harassment and censorship and the inevitability of an armed uprising in Kosovo. "Our concerns now are so very different. Now I think of pollution, dust and garbage collection; of democratic institutions and the crime rate. Then we thought of survival," he says.

Kosovo with its 1.8 million people is the size of a large Indian district. Pledges for reconstruction and development for the province now total upwards of \$1 billion and the military hardware concentrated on this tiny patch of the earth is astounding. A year after it launched a 78-day bombing campaign to stop Serbian repression in the province whose population is overwhelmingly Albanian, the international community is determined to make Kosovo into a success story — a turn of the century Marshall Plan.

Dr. Bernard Kouchner, one of the founders of *Medecins sans frontiers*, the Nobel Prize-winning humanitarian organisation, has been given a "Mission Impossible" by the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan. As his Special Representative for Kosovo, Dr. Kouchner has wide-ranging executive powers and is something of a Viceroy in this U.N. protectorate which is governed by Security



A NATO military convoy heads towards Kosovo... simmering tensions.

Council Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999. The Resolution simultaneously guarantees the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia made up of the Serb and Montenegrin Republics while promising substantial autonomy to Kosovo. The resolution also speaks of the return of an appropriate number of Serbian police and armed forces to the province. The United Nations Interim Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has a year's renewable mandate and is expected to administer the province, while Kfor peacekeepers are to protect the civilians, guard the frontiers, carry out demining operations, and ensure the return of refugees.

As the head of the UNMIK, Dr. Kouchner also supervises the work of the other three "pillars" of the civilian administration — the European Union, the Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe and the U.N. High Commission for Refugees. Together they are supposed to build institutions, hold elections, en-

sure the return of refugees, create infrastructure, jump-start the economy, provide services such as policing, sanitation, health, education, transport, water, electricity and telephones. While the return of some 900,000 refugees can be claimed as a success, UNMIK faces formidable challenges.

"The problems here are enormous. We have to start from scratch. There are no institutions, a very high crime rate, the economy is not working. We have to start a new phase, go from the aid phase to investment — in agriculture, infrastructure, services, small businesses. Seven months after UNMIK was created, there is still no commercial bank. People have to rely on cash transactions, keep their money in pillowcases. And at the moment the only person investing is the mafia," says Mr. Spahiu.

The U.N.'s already difficult mission is being made even more arduous by criminal activity. The Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) was dismantled and 5000 of its

22,000 recruits have been absorbed into the Kosovo Protection Force, a body somewhat on the lines of the Home Guards. However, there are 17,000 battle-hardened young men who are unemployed and in need of a livelihood. A number of them have been drawn into organised crime, running brothels and extortion rackets. "The problem here is political, not one of reconstruction," says Dr. Kouchner who has repeatedly called on the international community to define what is meant by "substantial autonomy". Albanians see the arrival of NATO forces as the first step towards total independence from Yugoslavia. They feel NATO and the U.N. will knock Kosovo back into shape and then hand it over to them as a free country, something that the U.N. Resolution expressly rules out. The Serbs look upon NATO and the U.N. as "occupying forces" and are unwilling to join any initiative by Dr. Kouchner.

The divided city of Mitrovica where the Serbs continue to receive their salaries and pensions from Belgrade is the symbol of these irreconcilable positions. Another flagrant example is that of a spanking new clinic built by the U.N. for the Serb community in Gracanica. The Serbs have rejected this well-equipped, modern facility, preferring to drive three hours to the hospital in Nis or six hours to Belgrade. Dr. Kouchner's real success so far has been the creation of the Joint Interim Administrative Council (JIAC) with the participation of three Albanian leaders (the moderate Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, the nationalist Mr. Rexhep Qosja and the radical Mr. Hashim Thaci), which the Serbs have refused to join. The setting up of the Council permitted Dr. Kouchner to obtain the disbanding and disarming of the KLA (although many weapons still remain hidden), and the dissolution of the provisional Government proclaimed by the KLA leader, Mr. Hashim Thaci.

Preparations are now under way for municipal elections to be held next October and UNMIK plans to launch a series of discussions in April on the question of "substantial autonomy".

Says a commentator, Mr. Veton Surroi, "This place has to be a state, viable politically and economically. I am not saying internationally recognised, but with classical state functions. Now it is more an anarchic or chaotic non-governmental organisation. We need to be bolder in tackling the question of reform."

Widespread fear of army crackdown

By Vajju Naravane

PARIS, SEPT. 23. As the federal republic of Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro, goes to the polls on Sunday, there is a growing apprehension that a defeat for Mr. Milosevic could lead to an army crackdown and perhaps even a civil war.

All the polls indicate that the Opposition candidate, Mr. Vojislav Kostunica, is holding a steady lead over Mr. Milosevic, though his side dismisses these predictions as "Western-funded ploys" to create insecurity within the country.

Many Opposition members, fearing a police crackdown, say they are planning to leave the capital as soon as they cast their vote. Western diplomats say the atmosphere in Belgrade is increasingly tense. On Friday, several telephone exchanges in the capital went mysteriously dead.

Journalists in Belgrade reported that the elite Special Forces or the Fifth Brigade had been called in and that police forces placed on high alert. "The para troopers have not been pressed into service because Mr. Milosevic is not sure of the loyalty of these forces," an Italian journalist told *The Hindu* over telephone from Belgrade.

A poll carried out by the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade gives Mr. Kostunica 48 per cent of the vote, against only 38 per cent for the outgoing President.

"Mr. Milosevic is a desperate man. He cannot and will not admit defeat. He is a product of the power machine and lives only for power. He has been a semi-dictator until now. The time has come when he wants absolute power. He knows that he has been indicted for war crimes by the West. The European Union and the NATO have promised to lift sanctions against Yugoslavia if there is a leadership change. The people are tempted and Mr. Milosevic knows that if he loses, as he is sure to do, and admits defeat, his career is finished and the future will be bleak indeed. There is no way he can afford to give up power; it is a question of survival. So I very much fear an army crackdown in the aftermath of the elections," the writer, Mr. Vidosav Stefanovic, who has just published a new

biography of the Yugoslav President told *The Hindu* in an exclusive interview.

As far as the legislative polls too are concerned, the JUL or the Yugoslav United Left party led by Mr. Milosevic's wife, Ms. Mirjana Marovic, is tipped to win only 35 per cent of the votes as against the 41 per cent that the Opposition is expected to win.

The tiny State of Montenegro, which along with Serbia makes up the rump Yugoslavia, has said it will boycott the elections. Converted to Western-style reform three years ago, the Montenegrin President, Mr. Milan Djukanovic, is in open conflict with Belgrade. With the slogan "I don't want to vote. My choice is Montenegro." He has called for a boycott of the vote which he describes as illegal. The new voting system was adopted by the federal Parliament without consulting Podgorica and is allowing Mr. Milosevic yet another term. He has already served as President of Serbia and of the Yugoslav federation. He can re-run for office only because of the new electoral laws he pushed through Parliament.

The Yugoslav Government today expelled Western journalists from France, Britain, Sweden, Belgium, Norway and other Western countries. Ukrainian and Japanese journalists were also expelled.

AP reports:

Independent election monitoring is severely curtailed, so the Opposition is urging the citizenry to gather in squares on Sunday evening and await results, which are expected to start coming in a few hours after the polls close at 8 p.m. local time.

The Opposition apparently hopes to repeat the experience of 1996, when three months of big protests against fraud in municipal elections forced Mr. Milosevic to back down and hand over power in major cities. The election is a battle between two visions: the go-it-alone nationalism of Mr. Milosevic, appealing to ancient Balkan pride and humiliations vs. the message of normalcy transmitted by Mr. Vojislav Kos-



Residents of the Montenegrin capital of Podgorica pass by an election poster for the Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, sprayed with a swastika sign. The independence-minded leadership of Montenegro is boycotting the Sunday's Yugoslav presidential and parliamentary elections, arguing that Mr. Milosevic violated the constitution by calling them. — Reuters

tunica, mild-mannered law professor who raced to a 10-point lead over Mr. Milosevic in opinion polls. Mr. Kostunica's promise to turn Yugoslavia into "a normal European democratic country" is a seductive one for a nation mired in isolation from the West, watching from the sidelines while other former communist countries like Poland and Hungary set out to join a peaceful, borderless European Union.

Mr. Kostunica's appeal is in his no-frills style. Where Mr. Milosevic is assertive, Mr. Kostunica is soft-spoken; where Mr. Milosevic is imperious, his rival is unassuming; when Mr. Milosevic was rising through the communist party ranks, Mr. Kostunica was fired for being an anti-communist.

Countering Mr. Milosevic's shrill denun-

ciations of his foes as "rats and hyenas" in thrall to the West, Mr. Kostunica stresses his own Serbian patriotism and strongly deplores last year's NATO bombing of his country. Most important, perhaps, Mr. Kostunica is untainted by the scandals and corruption surrounding the Milosevic entourage.

His campaign poster simply reads: "Who can look you straight in the eyes?" This image has rallied 18 Opposition groups around him. But will it win power? Charges of cheating have dogged Mr. Milosevic in previous elections. Local and foreign-based monitoring organisations have recorded flagrant violations during Mr. Milosevic's rule, first as President of Serbia, then of Yugoslavia.

Questions over vote fairness

By Vaiju Naravane

PARIS, SEPT. 24. Yugoslavia's 7.8 million voters went to the polls today to choose their President in an election that could change the course of Yugoslav history.

Western fears about a possible military crackdown through which the President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, would attempt to hold on to power increased yesterday after the authorities expelled several foreign journalists and alleged that the Opposition was planning to declare victory and set up a pro-western government in the republic of Montenegro.

The Montenegrin government led by the pro-western, Mr. Milan Djukanovic, has asked voters to boycott the election which he has described as illegal, since his Government in Podgorica was not consulted about the vote and the decision to allow Mr. Milosevic to run again.

Mr. Milosevic has a great deal at stake in these elections and there are fears that he will attempt to rig the vote.

Pre-election polls have consistently given Mr. Milosevic's main rival, Mr. Vojislav Kostunica, a strong, 10-point lead over him.

Mr. Kostunica, backed by a coalition of 18 opposition parties, has made an impression not just in Belgrade and other large towns but also in the countryside which is Mr. Milosevic's traditional base. He is also a nationalist and is not seen as a threat or a sell-out to the West by the nationalist conservatives.

Polls close at 8.00 pm local time and early results will be available almost immediately. If no candidate wins outright tonight, a runoff will be held in two weeks' time.

Parliamentarians to the country's two houses will also be elected today. In addition, Serbia is holding a vote for local administrators.

Clashes were reported from the U.N.-controlled province of Kosovo between supporters of Mr. Milosevic and members of the Serbian Radical Party which has fielded its own candidate.

The Albanian majority has decided to boycott the elections saying they do not recognise Belgrade's sovereignty over the province.

"We are really afraid of what will happen tomorrow. I have asked my daughters not to step out of the house as of tonight. We are all afraid of the 'morning after syndrome'. Several of our friends have decided to go to Bosnia or Hungary immediately after hav-

ing voted. I do not have the means to do so. So we will barricade ourselves indoors. I really fear the worst and am convinced we will be slipping into a civil war," said Ivana, a schoolteacher on the line from Belgrade.

For Mr. Milosevic the stakes are high. He is wanted for crimes against humanity by the international criminal tribunal at The Hague and defeat would almost certainly mean arrest and extradition.

The European Union has promised an end to sanctions and massive development aid if Mr. Milosevic is removed from office. For him, this vote is a struggle for survival.

For the people of Yugoslavia, this election has become a referendum for or against Mr. Milosevic who has been in power for the past 13 years. He was first elected President of Serbia and in 1997 became the President of the Yugoslav federation made up of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

Serbia now has 8 million inhabitants (not counting the U.N. controlled province of Kosovo) while tiny Montenegro has 600,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Milosevic's present mandate which comes to an end in 2001 was not renewable under the constitution. But a special amendment passed by Parliament which he controls has allowed him to run for another term.

Two months ago, his re-election appeared to be as easy as pie for Mr. Milosevic, a piece of cake. But the Opposition for the first time, showing some responsibility decided to put their quarrels aside and opt for a single candidate.

Mr. Kostunica does not have exceptional charisma. But he has a reputation for honesty and is known to be a nationalist. His party, the Serbian Democratic Opposition (SDO) is also tipped to win the legislative elections.

Mr. Milosevic controls the police, a force whose number has gone up from 16,000 in the early eighties to over 100,000 during his 13-year reign. Special forces belonging to the 7th battalion have reportedly been placed on high alert. In the wake of the Kosovo conflict, Mr. Milosevic decorated several army generals and while the majority of the army top brass is likely to support him, the army is not uniformly loyal to him. There are very real fears of a coup d'etat and risk of civil war in Yu-

Korean defence chiefs to meet for first time

SEOUL, SEPT. 24. Ever since the 1950-53 Korean war, the armies of South and North Korea have trained on the assumption they might engage in another fratricidal conflict. This week, for the first time, their Defence Ministers will meet to talk about peace.

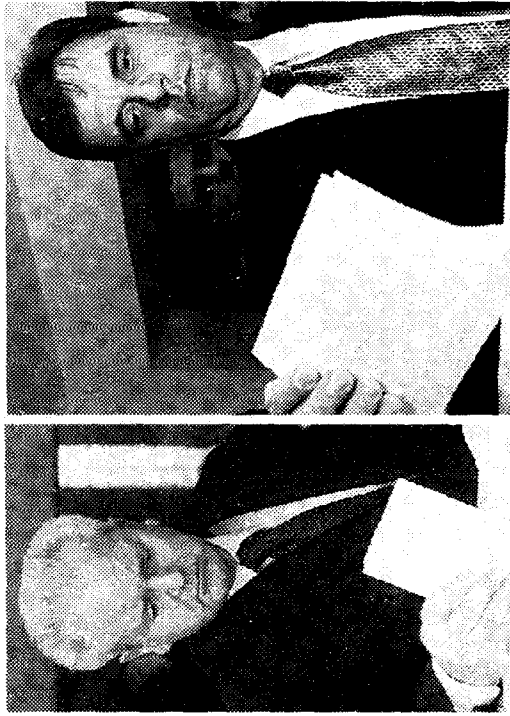
The volcanic cones and tangerine groves of the South Korean resort island of Cheju will serve as the setting for the talks on Monday and Tuesday, which are one of the most significant steps toward rapprochement since a June summit of the leaders of both Koreas.

The agenda has not been fixed and some South Korean officials doubt whether sweeping measures that will ease tension across the Korean peninsula can be achieved at a first round of negotiations. Military cooperation is one of the trickiest issues facing the two sides. But even the symbolism of goodwill meetings between two men whose tank-and missile-equipped armies face each other across the Demilitarized Zone, or DMZ, is bound to infuse the peace process with fresh momentum.

Mr. Kim Il chul, Minister for the People's Army of communist North Korea, along with four deputies, walked through the truce village of Pannunjom on Sunday, becoming the first Northern defence chief to cross the heavily guarded border since the war.

The Northern delegates, all in their olive green uniforms, were escorted to a Seoul military airport and then flew to Cheju off the southern coast aboard a South Korean military transport plane.

"The military should take the lead in implementing the historic agreements of the June 15 summit talk," Mr. Kim told Mr. Cho Sung-tae, South Korea's Defence Minister, at Cheju airport. The two shared a car for the 80-minute ride to a plush hotel. — AP



The Yugoslavian President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic (left), and his main rival, Mr. Vojislav Kostunica, casting their ballots at polling stations in Belgrade on Sunday. — AP

USA doubts Milosevic victory

We've won, claims Yugoslav ruling party

REUTERS

BELGRADE, Sept. 25. — The spokesman for the Yugoslav Left, part of the ruling coalition led by President Slobodan Milosevic, today said that the coalition had won yesterday's crucial elections.

Asked for a comment, Mr Ivan Markovic said: "What can I say? we've won."

He did not elaborate and when asked why the party had not declared its victory formally, he said that things had to be done in some kind of order.

The ruling parties gave their last estimates of the results of the key presidential election last evening.

Mr Milosevic's Socialist Party said the President was leading by 44 per cent to 41 per cent with more than 10 per cent of the votes counted.

This morning, the main Opposition bloc had said that its candidate, Mr Vojislav Kostunica, was ahead by 54 per cent to 34 per cent for Mr Milosevic, based on votes from half the polling stations.

Earlier, Mr Markovic told reporters who had gathered for a Press conference that a joint

statement would be made with coalition partners, the Socialist Party, at around 3.00 p.m. (1.00 p.m. GMT) and invited them for a drink.

"I am also inviting you all for a drink, because we have reasons for it," he said.

Washington sceptical

The USA said it doubted Mr Milosevic could make any "credible claim of victory" because of public support for the Opposition and voting irregularities.

"They haven't announced any election results at this point but the reliable information coming out of Yugoslavia suggests that the Opposition has done very well," the White House National Security Council spokesman, Mr P. Crowley, said.

Germany, Britain, the European Union and other international bodies all declared that Mr Milosevic had lost in Sunday's vote.

"In our view, given both the public support for the Opposition and the irregularities that we did observe, it will be very difficult for Mr Milosevic to make any credible claim of victory," Mr Crowley said.

THE STATESMAN

25 Sept 1997

Milosevic, Opposition claim victory

By Vajju Naravane

PARIS, SEPT. 25. Amid large scale allegations of fraud and vote rigging, supporters of both the Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, and his main rival, Mr. Vojislav Kostounica, claimed victory in Yugoslavia's crucial presidential election.

However, no official results were released by the Election Commission which suspended its work overnight following a row between government and opposition representatives.

There was total confusion in Serbia as leading politicians and parties gave conflicting figures of the preliminary results. A candidate needs over 50 per cent of the vote to score an outright win.

Failing which, the two leading candidates will face a second round run off in two weeks' time.

Supporters of Mr. Milosevic said he had been elected outright in the first ballot with a little over 50 per cent of the vote.

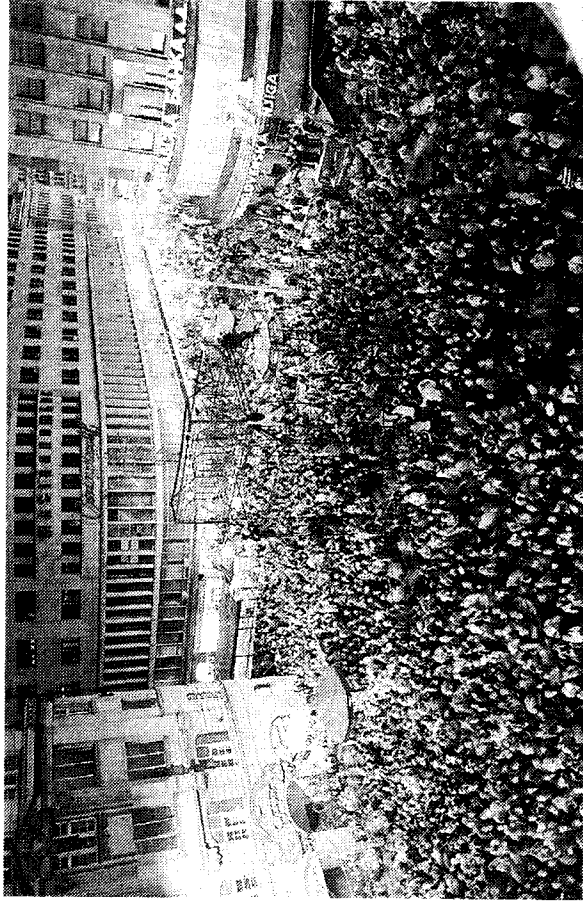
The JUL or the Yugoslav United Left Party led by his wife, Mrs. Mirijana Markovic, went so far as to claim victory with 57 per cent of the vote.

By mid-morning, however, it had acknowledged that the President had failed to win an absolute majority and admitted there would be a second round run-off with Mr. Kostounica.

In Belgrade, Mr. Kostounica said that faced with widespread electoral fraud, a second round run-off would in itself constitute a kind of victory.

Addressing jubilant supporters at a rally in downtown Belgrade on Sunday he called for a redefinition of his country's borders, goals and ambitions and said he would like to see more normality and less ambition.

He would like to see Yugoslavia take its place in the international community of nations once more, Mr. Kostounica reported.



Thousands of Opposition supporters gather in downtown Belgrade late on Sunday in reaction to the election results. — AP

edly said. "Dawn is coming to Serbia. I'm excited.... Milosevic has to seriously understand the judgment of history and not gamble anymore. He has to recognise the defeat. It seems this is the end of his career."

The Democratic Opposition of Serbia which supports Mr. Kostounica's candidature said that he was leading with 53 per cent of the vote.

But this lead, if it is true, is likely to shorten as results from the countryside come in. Mr. Kostounica's main support lies in urban areas.

In a surprise development, the ultra-nationalists of the Serbian Radical Party led by Mr. Vojislav Sesjel, an estranged mem-

Djukanovic, had asked the population to boycott the elections, only 25 per cent of the population voted. Not surprisingly, they cast their ballots in favour of Mr. Milosevic.

The Montenegrin vote however accounts for just six per cent of the total vote. In the U.N. administered province of Kosovo too, Kosovar Albanians totally boycotted the vote. A majority of the province's 60,000 Serbs (of the 200,000 who originally lived there before NATO's bombing campaign) voted for Mr. Milosevic.

A French Foreign Ministry spokesman in Paris said that the European Union was ready to "react to all eventualities" in the Yugoslav elections. "We do not know how the situation will evolve since there are no journalists or independent observers there," he said, adding that France, which currently holds the six-month rotating E.U. presidency was in touch with its European partners.

The Vienna-based Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), said that claims of victory emanating from Mr. Milosevic's camp "are not credible". It said it had received reports of large-scale fraud and intimidation.

It is feared that Mr. Milosevic will attempt to hold on to power even if the Opposition wins a clear victory.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Robin Cook, describing Mr. Milosevic as a "beaten, broken-backed President" said that all reliable evidence suggested "a massive majority" of people in Yugoslavia voted against the President. "My message to him is to be honest with your people, don't cheat them, get out of the way and let Serbia out of the prison into which you have turned it," Mr. Cook said. He was attending the British Labour Party's annual conference in Brighton.

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27/9

Accept verdict, West tells Milosevic

By Vaiju Naravane

PARIS, SEPT. 26. Nearly 48 hours after polling stations closed on Sunday in Yugoslavia's Presidential, legislative and local elections, the situation remains utterly confused with both sides claiming victory.

Opponents of the outgoing President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic who voted massively for his main rival, the 56-year-old law professor Vojislav Kostounica demonstrated in major Yugoslav cities for the second consecutive day, claiming victory.

Downtown Belgrade was crammed with over 50,000 demonstrators on Monday. There were demonstrations in support of Mr. Kostounica in the towns of Nis and Novi Sad as well.

Mr. Kostounica says he has won with 55 per cent of the vote, as against Mr. Milosevic's score of between 35 and 37 per cent. Mr. Milosevic's Socialist Party claimed that will little less than 50 per cent of the votes counted, he had won 45 per cent of the vote as against Mr. Kostounica's 40 per cent.

Afraid that Mr. Milosevic will attempt to steal its victory, the Yugoslav Opposition today gave the national

election commission until Wednesday morning to declare the results. "If that is not done, we will proclaim results, never mind what the Government thinks", an Opposition spokesman, Mr. Cedomir Jovanovic said in Belgrade. The head of the election commission, Mr. Borivoje Vukicevic insisted the elections had allowed voters to express themselves "completely, freely and without control" but declined to say when official results will be announced.

With counting still underway, the tense stand-off between the Opposition and Mr. Milosevic's supporters continues. In the absence of official results, the President's left-wing coalition insisted that he was ahead in the vote count.

But while they had earlier attempted to lay claims to an outright, first round victory with over 50 per cent of the vote, the President's supporters now say he will face a run-off in two weeks.

The Opposition is, however, is so sure of its victory that it has rejected outright any suggestion of a second round run-off.

Opposition victory claims are based

on reports from its poll watchers stationed in polling stations.

The leader of the ultra nationalist Serbian Radical party, Mr. Vojislav Sesjel, today sent a letter to Mr. Kostounica recognising him as the new President. "Despite my efforts to stop you winning the elections, you have won. Please accept my congratulations."

A host of European nations, the European Union and the United States declared that Mr. Milosevic had lost the election and called on the Yugoslav President to accept the verdict handed down by the people. The Swiss Ambassador in Belgrade reportedly said he had strong evidence of a Milosevic defeat.

The U.S. in a stern statement said it would not accept fraudulent results and promised to lift sanctions against Yugoslavia if the Opposition came to power. "Apparently, according to the vote count, the people want Mr. Milosevic out and certainly the international community would welcome that result," the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. William Cohen said. Britain warned Mr. Milosevic not to use "naked power" to stay in office.

27 SEP 2000

Serbs pull out of Govt. in Kosovo

By Vaiju Naravane

PARIS, JUNE 5. In another critical development in the Serbian province of Kosovo, moderate Serbs today decided to suspend their participation in the U.N.-led interim Government in protest against the inability of NATO-led peacekeepers to protect them from continued Albanian attacks.

Following a meeting at the Serb orthodox monastery of Gracanica, some 20 km from the Kosovar capital of Pristina, the Serb National Council decided to suspend its cooperation with the United Nations, saying it would express its fears and demands directly to the United Nations Security Council. Eight Serbs were killed in organised attacks by the Albanian community last week and tensions have spiralled since. Father Savan Janjic, a spokesman for the Serbian National Council, said they would

send a delegation to the Security Council and a decision to rejoin the interim Government in Kosovo would be taken only after the delegation's return.

The decision by the Serbian National Council is a major blow to the U.N. administrator, Mr. Bernard Kouchner, who had personally prevailed upon the moderate Serbs to join the interim Government.

He has been urging the U.N. to hold elections in the province next October but the recent upsurge of violence in the province could jeopardise those plans.

The attacks against Serbs in the province include incidents of shootings, hit and run accidents and the explosion of land mines.

Last week, a gunman opened fire with an automatic weapon in a vil-

lage store killing a four-year-old boy and his grandfather.

"What we have in Kosovo is not only individual acts of revenge but attempts to organise the expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo." The Kosovars claim they will accept nothing short of total independence from Serbia, a possibility not envisaged under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 which brought a halt to NATO's bombing campaign against Serbia.

The Resolution clearly calls for Serbia's continued territorial integrity. Thousands of Serbs have fled Kosovo since fighting stopped over a year ago. Serbs continue to live under heavy KFOR guard, in fear of their lives. Hardline Serbs in the divided northern city of Kosovska Mitrovica have militated against joining the interim Government and now feel vindicated by the turn of events.

THE HINDU

6 JUN 2000

NATO discovers largest cache of illegal arms in Kosovo

KLECKA (Yugoslavia): British-led peacekeepers have brought to light the largest cache of illegal weapons found in Kosovo since fighting in the province ended just over a year ago.

Two massive underground bunkers were discovered during a multinational weapons search in the village of Klecka, a former KLA stronghold west of the provincial capital Pristina, on Friday afternoon. Two more were found on Saturday morning.

By Saturday afternoon just one of the bunkers—a concrete structure ten metres long and three metres wide—had been emptied, yielding tripod-mounted heavy machine guns, hundreds of rifles, mortars, rocket propelled grenade launchers, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines, flak jackets, large quantities of ammunition and communications equipment.

The discoveries are seen as an important step towards NATO's aim of disarming Kosovo, where shootings and mine explosions, mainly against the Serb minority, are hindering efforts to stabilise the province.

The weapons and ammunition were manufactured in a number of sources including Albania,

Yugoslavia, China and the United States. The bunkers were found just one km from the wartime headquarters of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) General Agim Ceku. Gen. Ceku and Hashim Thaci, the political leader of the now-disbanded KLA, were not available for comment.

But Brigadier Richard Shirreff, commander of the British forces leading the operation, told reporters at the scene. "This is very significant find. This represents a major weapons haul. It is almost certainly entirely Albanian, all evidence we got here suggests that it is former KLA material."

Finnish, Norwegian and Czech units of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) also took part in the operation. Sources among them said some of the weapons had been placed there recently and that a list of individual owners of rifles had been found, indicating that they had hidden them there rather than hand them over to KFOR. "This is a degree of non-compliance," Shirreff commented. "This is probably a wartime bunker which was subsequently covered over and if you look at the way that spoil has been removed (it appears to have)

been relatively recently removed."

An officer at the scene told reporters that between the initial discovery on Friday and the resumption of the search on Saturday morning, unknown people had scattered spikes on the approach road to hinder operations. A NATO ambulance had its tyres blown out by the spikes, but there were no injuries. KFOR spokesmen denied unofficial reports that they had been acting on a tip-off, saying the first bunker had been found when a British soldier with the search operation, named as Sergeant Wayne Toon of the Second Fusiliers, spotted it through binoculars from a distance of 1.5 km.

KFOR vehicles and a bomb disposal team arrived on the scene and after investigation blew the steel doors off the first two bunkers. Major Simon Marr, commanding Toon's unit, said the emptying of the bunkers was being done cautiously. The second contained more weapons, the third was empty and the fourth had so far unidentified materiel wrapped in plastic. With what had already been found, he said, "you've got enough here to start a small war." (Reuters)

THE TELEGRAPH

19 JUN 2000

Kosovo, and the first to get it right

WHAT an anniversary that was! The first birthday marking Nato's bombing of Yugoslavia brought forth a torrent of articles both pro and against. Yet not one came close to matching, for lucidity and perceptiveness, delivered in an icily ironic style, the essay penned at the time of the war by former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt in the cerebral British monthly, *Prospect*.

Bildt, who is at present the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for the Balkans, is a man of political leanings, if elections are anything to go by, too far to the right for most of his countrymen. His instinct is to support Nato, to be close to America, to wind back the welfare state and to argue the case for the use of force and intervention. But something happened to him on the road to Belgrade.

"The Baby Bombers", as the editor headlined the piece, was a wake-up call for the baby-boomers, now in the higher reaches of Western political power, "who have never learnt about war and power the hard way" and who, with their

"smart wars — high rhetoric, high altitude and high technology; smart bombs for smart politicians", believe there is a "third way in war".

Bildt wrote of meeting Gerd Schmueckle, a retired German general who was wounded six times on the Russian front during World War II, but then served in the highest positions inside Nato. Perhaps, said the general, it is a question of generations. While the war veterans are losing their hair and teeth, the new generation suddenly has a different attitude towards war.

"For Schmueckle, war was associated with horror beyond imagination, leaving deep psychological scars on individuals and nations. Bombs, he said, do not create peace; instead they breed hatred for years, perhaps for generations."

A year on we can see the truth of this in Yugoslavia. The bombing did not forestall ethnic cleansing, it appeared to precipitate it. And it has bequeathed a cauldron of mutual hatred and a political potage that no amount of Nato and UN policing and Western economic aid can clear up, even if it were forthcoming in some-thing like the quantities promised — another example of the war time rhetoric that misled the public.

Reading the public statements of Bernard Kouchner, the UN man responsible for the recon-

struction of Kosovo, and General Klaus Reinhardt, the local Nato commander, is to sense that they are often close to despair.

Aficionados of Carl Bildt now have the chance to pursue his thinking, one year after the bombing, in the new issue of *Survival*, the quarterly journal of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This is a much more lengthy discourse on the limits of force, and looks not just at Kosovo but at

unforgivable lull in Western diplomatic activity. Neither the European Union nor the USA were willing to launch any serious diplomatic initiatives to head off the brewing crisis in Kosovo.

Albanian opinion inside Kosovo, once more fluid and open to diplomatic options, was allowed to harden, leading to the birth of an armed insurrection and driving the population into the embrace of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

The West, misreading the lesson of Bosnia, tried to head off Serbian repression with the threat of air power. Thus when diplomacy failed — and the Rambouillet agreement demanded much more from Slobodan Milosevic than the "peace agreement" which ended the war — the West had little choice but to make good on its threats.

The air operation, however,

could not prevent a major humanitarian disaster. Whether triggered it, Bildt more cautious than I, just says it "will remain a subject of debate". But he adds scathingly that "despite all the talk about a revolution in military affairs, Kosovo brutally demonstrated that the axe remains the superior short-range-precision-guided weapon when it comes to one man killing another; there is very little that increasingly long-range and high-tech weaponry can do about it".

A year on, we have to live with the now seemingly insoluble Kosovo problem handed over to the UN, to the world. Poor old rest of the world. (That was its reward for kicking up a fuss about the UN Charter being abused by the West's unilateral decision to bomb.) The UN is supposed to find the peace that Western bombs could not deliver, even though, in Bildt's view, "there is no agreed framework for either the internal or external order of Kosovo".

What the West needs if it is to progress, never mind Kosovo, and grow out of its baby-bomber lifestyle, is a little less Bill Clinton and Tony Blair and rather more Carl Bildt. His two essays should be their compulsory reading before, once again in some new *imbroglia*, they are tempted by the quick but elusive fix of air power.

WORLD VIEW

BY JONATHAN POWER

Bosnia before. It's essence is to challenge what has now achieved the status of conventional wisdom — the idea of the supremacy of air-power.

Bildt argues that the Dayton agreement that brought an end to the fighting in Bosnia was "far more a victory for diplomacy than a victory for force". He certainly doesn't exclude that the Nato air operation, initiated on 30 September 1995 "had a significant psychological impact during its first few

ND-17
2/15

Gun law

The continuing slayings illustrate the growing lawlessness in Serbia and highlight the murky connections among Government officials, the underworld and the police.
VAIJU NARAVANE reports.

THE LIST reads like a macabre Who's Who. Bosko Perosevic, chief of the Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist party in Novi Sad — shot in the head on May 13. Zika Petrovic, Head of Yugoslavia's national airline, JAT, gunned down on April 27. Pavle Bulatovic, former Yugoslav Defence Minister, shot dead in a Belgrade restaurant on February 7. Zeljko Raznatovic, better known as Arkan, underworld don and Serbian warlord, shot dead on January 15. Dragan Simic, colonel, Yugoslav secret police, killed July 8, 1999. Milorad Vlahovic, colonel, Yugoslav secret police, killed March 11, 1999. Zoran Todorovic, aka Kundak or the Rifle Butt, secretary-general of the Yugoslav United Left, the party led by Mr. Milosevic's wife, Ms. Miriana Markovic, shot dead in 1997. Vlada Kovacevic, another businessman and close Milosevic friend, shot dead in 1997. Radovan Stojic, Serbia's deputy interior minister and close Milosevic aide, shot dead in April 1997. The list goes on. Dead men tell no tales.

These continued and daring slayings illustrate the growing lawlessness in Serbia and highlight the murky connections among Government officials, the underworld and the police.

Mr. Milosevic is a President under siege. His close aides are being picked off one by one, killed in public in broad daylight. There have been almost no arrests (except in the case of Arkan) and the Government, despite a ruthlessly efficient secret police, seems incapable of stopping the killings. Long papered over, the cracks in the regime are now beginning to show and Mr. Milosevic is now fighting with his back to the wall.

There are over 500 unsolved murders in Serbia, the dominant Yugoslav republic since 1990. The crime surge has kept time with Yugoslavia's successive military defeats — in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and now Kosovo.

The country is reeling under the pressure of U.N.-imposed economic sanctions and the economy is in tatters. With living standards dropping steadily — salaries are now worth \$ 45 a month — a hired killer is available for as little as \$ 300.

Mr. Milosevic and his wife have alleged that these gangland-style shootings have been carried out by NATO countries and their allies within Serbia. Mr. Milosevic

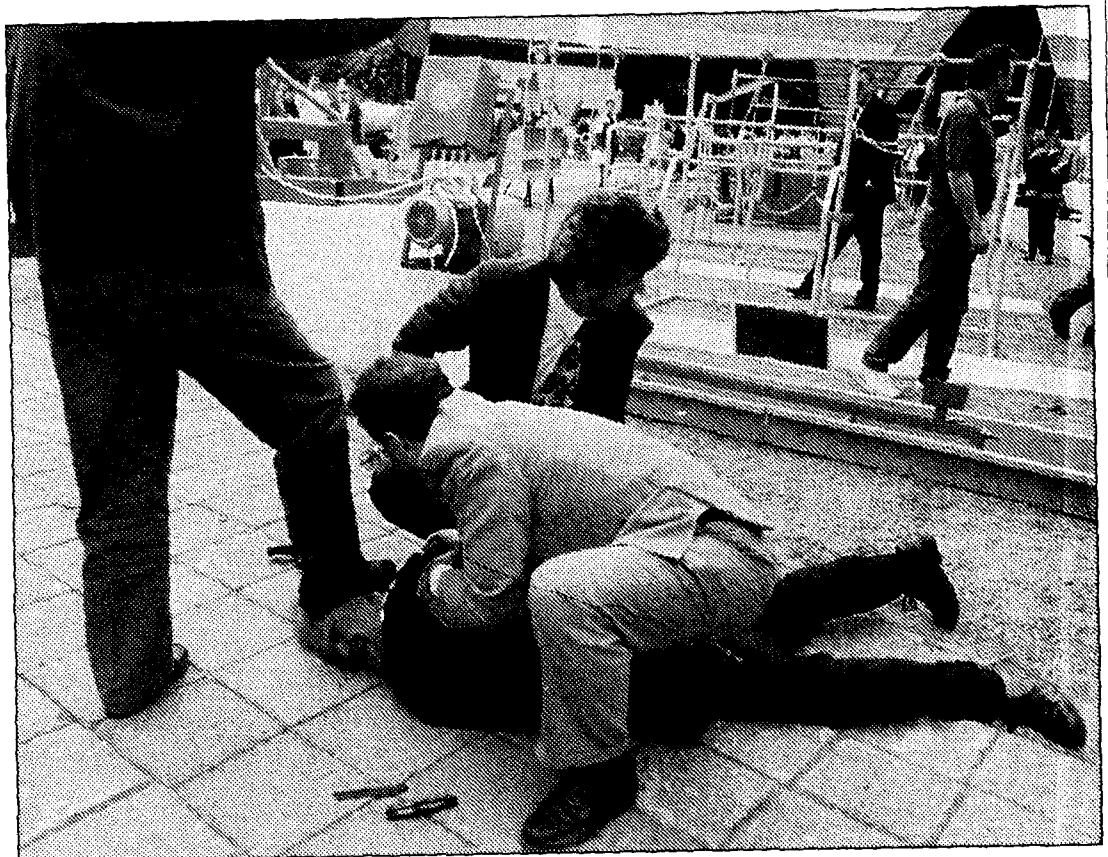
has now used these arguments to justify his crackdown on independent media and the country's divided Opposition.

On Wednesday night, masked Serbian police took control of Studio B television and its radio station Radio B2-92, both owned by the Opposition-controlled Belgrade city council. In addition, on

terrorise the population, defang the Opposition and eliminate the free press. He is making it clear that he will not leave peacefully. He does not want to risk losing elections. So the logic is to create an atmosphere of fear, lawlessness and incertitude to justify a crackdown," he said.

However, there appears to be

week ago of Perosevic, who headed the Socialist party in the northern Vojvodina province. Elections are scheduled in a year's time and Mr. Milosevic is now attempting to crack down on emerging Opposition political formations in order to head off a defeat. Although Perosevic's killer was caught, police have detained sev-



Serbian policemen capture the man who allegedly shot Bosko Perosevic, head of the President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist Party, in the city of Novi Sad... rampant lawlessness.

Thursday, policemen firing tear gas charged the stone-throwing protesters in Belgrade and other cities. Angry crowds beat up ruling party MPs and protesters shouted: "Kill yourself Slobodan and save Serbia".

Mr. Vuk Drascovic, former Deputy Prime Minister under Mr. Milosevic and now maverick leader of the Opposition, has now called for "total disobedience and defiance". However, the Serbian Opposition has always stopped short of really taking on the regime and mass demonstrations often launched with great fanfare have usually petered out.

But this time around it may be different, says Mr. Aleksandar Tijanic, a respected political analyst. "Milosevic now wants to

little public will to rid the country of a leader who has successively lost four wars and who continues to look for military solutions to his country's problems. "What can we do? Life is so hard, survival is so difficult that people have little time for political action. You can be pushed into apathy by circumstances and I think the Serbian population is suffering from accumulated fatigue. The NATO's bombing of Kosovo has solved nothing. We are poorer than before, more dispirited and more subjugated from within," says Ms. Dana Pusic, a college lecturer who has stopped going to Opposition rallies.

Dozens of opposition activists have been detained by Mr. Milosevic's police since the killing a

eral student activists from the recently-formed Otpor or Resistance movement. Otpor, whose symbol is a clenched fist, is becoming increasingly popular as Serbs lose faith in a forever-bickering Opposition.

Last Monday, the Serbian Prime Minister, Mr. Mirko Marjanovic, described the Opposition as "ordinary traitors, foreign mercenaries, killers and criminals". The brutal repression of peaceful demonstrations earlier this week indicated that the Government fully intends to treat the Opposition as just that. However, the Milosevic era will not come to an end that easily. Since he came to power in the late 80s, Mr. Milosevic is the only communist leader still clinging to power.

Serbian Opposition draws flak

10-16
29/5
BELGRADE (YUGOSLAVIA), MAY 28. Some 10,000 people showed up on Saturday for an anti-Government rally, a relatively low turnout reflecting popular disappointment with the leaders of the political Opposition here.

They heard Mr. Vuk Draskovic, the head of the main Opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, describe a city and a country "paralysed by fear, despair and a feeling of helplessness" in the face of the power of the President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic. But Mr. Draskovic, in a wandering speech, seemed unable to articulate a clear strategy to alleviate that paralysis, other than a united push for early democratic elections.

Mr. Zoran Djindjic, head of the Democracy Party, the main element of the Alliance for Change coalition, preached unity, patience and collective self-defense. "We can't checkmate Milosevic in one move," he said. "We have to pressure him, surround him and drain out his political life drop by drop."

Mr. Milosevic "is most afraid of 3 million people who will come to the polling station and say, 'We don't want you,'" Mr. Djindjic said. Unlike previous rallies, this one heard only three Opposition leaders speak — not all 16 — and there were more speakers from other parts of Serbian society, including academics, women's activists and the spreading student movement, Otpor, or Resistance.

The idea, said Mr. Zarko Korac, a political leader in the alliance, is to present a wider social front of solidarity against the Government. "The Opposition right now is not capable of making a very consistent, clear program," Mr. Korac said. "It's not just that the big parties are not up to the situation, but what you need is a wider front to confront the dictatorship."

Mr. Ognjen Pribicevic, a Draskovic adviser, said: "We are doing what we can at the moment. And we are more united than you think, especially the big parties." Officials said the Opposition would concentrate more on meetings and retail politics in the countryside,



An unidentified Serb, holding the picture of the Opposition leader, Mr. Vuk Draskovic, blows a whistle at central Belgrade's Republic Square on Saturday during an anti-government rally. — AP

where feelings run higher than in Belgrade. But an Otpor speaker, Mr. Nemanja from Krusevac, criticised the politicians for disunity and squabbling. "For seven days, dear leaders," he said, "you were wasting time on useless meetings." He said Otpor had drawn up a plan for hunger strikes, then tried to give it to Mr. Draskovic, who kept his hands to his side. Mr. Djindjic finally took it.

With declining numbers — a rally in mid-April drew more than 100,000 people, but one on May 15 drew only about 25,000 — this rally is likely to be the last of its kind for now. It followed a dispiriting 10 days for the political opposition here.

On May 17, the Serbian Government seized control of the Belgrade television station Studio B, controlled by Mr. Draskovic's party. But fearing a wider crackdown on all Opposition-run cities and independent media, Mr. Draskovic urged other Opposition leaders not to attempt outright confrontation with the Government, bringing accusations that he was capitulating without a struggle.

Otpor in particular has been urging a programme of civil disobedience, but at the same time, nightly rallies here for Studio B have shrunk to fewer than 500 people. To blunt Otpor, the Government closed universities a week early. — *New York Times*

Croat General gets 45-year term

By Vajju Naravane

PARIS, MARCH 4. The United Nations War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has handed out its longest sentence so far to the Bosnian Croat General Tihomir Blaskic, condemning him to 45 years in prison. The sentence demonstrates that the U.N. court is, for the first time, frontally addressing the issue of command responsibility, a question that has dogged war crimes prosecutors since the Nazi trials in Nuremberg.

General Blaskic was condemned for atrocities committed by members of the militia he commanded during the Bosnian war from 1992 to 1995. He was convicted on all counts and pronounced guilty of war crimes, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1948 Geneva Convention on the protection of civilians.

General Blaskic's troops conducted a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Muslim villages north east of Sarajevo. Several hundred Muslims were killed and thousands fled the area as a result. The village of Ahmici was the scene of some of the worst slaughter, with over 100 Muslim men being killed. The judges said the fact that the General had not personally carried out the killings did not matter at all "since the chain of command" had been satisfactorily established.

The sentence could affect Croatia's efforts to fully cooperate with the tribunal. Croatia's new Prime Minister, Mr. Ivica Racan, described the sentence as "very harsh". He said it would have to be reviewed through the appeals process. Several members of the Croa-



Gen. Tihomir Blaskic

tian Government condemned the sentence as being too harsh, especially given the fact that the General had not personally taken part in the killing.

Under the former President, General Franjo Tudjman, Croatia had adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the tribunal. The new Government came to power promising to cooperate with the U.N. special body. This sentence will, however, strengthen the position of nationalists within Croatia who have always agitated for non-cooperation with the court.

Croatians are feeling particularly bitter about the ruling given the fact that General Blaskic gave himself up to the tribunal. Mr.

Zlatko Kramaric, who leads the Liberal Party, a member of the ruling coalition, said the General "ended up as a pawn in the play where others pulled the strings."

Mr. Racan expressed dismay that such a sentence was handed down against a Croat General while the worst perpetrators of war crimes in the Balkan conflict, Mr. Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, continue to remain at large. "When they are brought to The Hague we will be able to give an overall opinion of the tribunal's work," the Prime Minister said.

The sentence indicates that the tribunal's new chief prosecutor, Switzerland's Carla del Ponte, is determined to adopt a tougher line against alleged war criminals in the former Yugoslavia.

The tribunal depends on the cooperation of local leaders and U.N. peace-keeping troops to capture and hand over suspects or persuade them to give themselves up. Gen. Ratko Mladic, the notorious Serbian military leader, who was responsible for the killings in Srebrenica and the former Bosnian Serb leader, Mr. Radovan Karadzic, continue to remain a thorn in the side of both the SFOR peace-keepers and the tribunal.

Officials at The Hague tribunal say they would like SFOR and NATO to play a more proactive role. Carla del Ponte has been insisting on the need to create a special task force that could work anywhere in Bosnia. However, SFOR officials are afraid of reaction from local populations, particularly the Serbs and have been reluctant to carry out arrests.

Bosnian rape camp accused appear in war crimes trial ✓

MARTIN FLETCHER
THE TIMES, LONDON

22/3 57-19 Europe
THE HAGUE, March 21. — Three Bosnian Serb soldiers became yesterday the first men to stand trial for using rape and sexual enslavement as weapons of war. Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac and Zoran Vukovic appeared before the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague in a case that makes legal history because it is the first time that extreme and systematic sexual abuse alone has been prosecuted as a crime against humanity.

The tribunal heard how, early in the Bosnian conflict, Muslim women and girls from the town of Foca were rounded up by Bosnian Serb soldiers, imprisoned in a school and sports hall, enslaved, tortured and constantly raped or gang-raped in de facto "brothels" over a period of nearly a year from April 1992.

The prosecution graphically described how the rapists threatened their victims with murder, mutilation and beatings if they resisted. They raped them "vaginally, anally and orally". They taunted them by saying that they would bear Serb children. They forced them to dance naked on tables with guns pointed at them. In one instance a 12-year-old girl was raped almost daily for 35 days before her "owner" sold her to a fellow soldier for 63 pounds. She has never been seen again. Dirk Ryneveld, the prosecutor, said that the so-called "Foca rape camp" trial was not like rape cases in national jurisdictions. "This is a trial about the crimes of a policy of ethnic cleansing unleashed by the Bosnian Serb leadership on the non-Serb civilian population. These crimes were committed during an armed conflict and were widespread and systematic. What happened to the Muslim women occurred purely because of their ethnicity or religion and because they were women." He acknowledged that they were small fry not the leaders who hatched the "diabolic policy" of ethnic cleansing but continued: "There would have been no ethnic cleansing if there were not individuals willing to turn on their neighbours, to unleash terror and hatred, to turn multi-ethnic communities into homogeneous communities." The court would find it "difficult to fathom the depths of despair and horror that these victims went through", he suggested. "They were unprotected, captive, afraid for their lives. The laws available to protect them were repeatedly violated. The structure of their lives had been shaken, turned upside down and demolished by the events that overtook them in 1992. They had seen friends and family members beaten and killed. Their Serb captors seemingly had power to do with them what they wanted. Their humiliation was complete."

The defendants between them face more than 50 charges of crimes against humanity and maximum sentences of life imprisonment if convicted. Mr Kunarac, a 39-year-old reconnaissance unit commander nicknamed "Dragan", allegedly turned his headquarters into a "rape house" for his men, raped one woman repeatedly for two months, and after gang-raping another woman tormented her by saying she would not know which of the rapists would be her baby's father. As Mr Ryneveld spoke Mr Kunarac tapped notes on a laptop or peered through the bullet-proof glass that divides the court from the public gallery. He surrendered voluntarily to UN peacekeepers in 1998 and pleaded guilty, but later retracted his plea.

Mr Kovac (38), a paramilitary leader seized by French and German peacekeepers in Foca last August, allegedly kept victims in an apartment where they were forced to dance naked at gunpoint and beaten for resisting sex. It is he who is said to have sold the 12-year-old girl as he and his colleagues drank and fired guns through the window. He is also said to have sold two other women for 160 pounds each. Mr Vukovic, a 44-year-old paramilitary leader, who was seized by peacekeepers in December 1999, sat still and impassive as Mr Ryneveld described his participation in numerous individual and gang rapes. On one occasion he is said to have been the sixth man in succession to rape a woman, pinching and biting her until she bled and fainted from the pain. The tribunal has indicted eight men for the atrocities perpetrated in Foca. Four of the other five remain at large. The fifth was shot when French peacekeepers tried to arrest him in January 1999.

Disappointed with the deliverers

The situation in Kosovo is so explosive that an estimated 6,000 policemen are needed to establish some kind of law and order. The Kosovars who initially welcomed U.N. officials as saviours now dismiss their ability to provide any concrete help, writes VAIJU NARAVANE.

EVER SINCE NATO forces "liberated" the Albanian-dominated Serb province of Kosovo, the international community has been shirking its responsibilities. Generous pledges of aid in both cash and kind have not been followed up with action. As a result the situation in Kosovo and in the border zones with Serbia is rapidly deteriorating.

Dr. Bernard Kouchner, U.N. administrator in Kosovo, has been pleading with U.N. member-states and the European Union to make good on promises already made and provide him with more policemen and judges and more money for development and rehabilitation projects. Dr. Kouchner is passionate about his job. He is one of the founding members of Medecins sans Frontiers, the humanitarian organisation which won the 1999 Nobel Peace Prize, and has been France's Minister for health and humanitarian action. He is also pragmatic and plain-speaking. The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, could not have chosen a better qualified person to lead the transitional administration in Kosovo.

And yet, Dr. Kouchner is having to beg for the basics. The European Union had promised to meet most of the costs and had pledged a cash contribution of \$45 millions in addition to \$340 millions for reconstruction. Eight months after the administration was established, that money is still "in the pipeline". The situation in Kosovo is so explosive that an estimated minimum of 6,000 policemen are needed to establish some kind of law and order. The international community in its collective wisdom scaled down that estimation to 4,800 but has sent less than half that number. And France is the Government which is dragging its feet most in

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this respect. Dr. Kouchner has been least persuasive with his own political family — the ruling left-wing coalition in France.

Kosovo needs everything — teachers, doctors, schools, hospitals, shops and businesses, power stations, telephone lines, roads — the list seems endless. Most U.N. agencies have established offices there but a chronic shortage of funds for concrete projects has meant that many U.N. staffers remain under-used. Kosovars who initially welcomed U.N. officials as saviours now dismiss their ability to provide any concrete help. In the newly-belligerent Kosovar vocabulary, NATO is just an acronym for "No Action Talk Only". The news from the areas around Serbia's border with Ko-

lages in Kosovo. Villagers say they have been subjected to harassment. But Serbian authorities say this may be another attempt to take away more territory from Serbia. "Between 60,000 and 70,000 ethnic Albanians still live in the Presevo valley. Ethnic Albanians fleeing across the border from Serbia register at the town of Gnjilane." But we feel the estimate of 6,000 is too low because not everyone registers with the UNHCR," said Mr. Kris Janowski, spokesman of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

The UCK makes no secret of its real ambitions. The Kosovo Liberation Army, which is the only real political force in Kosovo, and certain leaders from ever-chaotic Albania dream of a "Greater

stamp out guerrilla activity. There are several conflicting interests operating in the region, creating a no-win situation for the international community. Serbia would like nothing better than for U.S. forces to retreat. This could be brought about by inflicting heavy casualties on U.S. forces through guerrilla attacks. The Kosovars would like nothing better than for the Serbs to create another situation like the one which culminated in NATO strikes against Serbia. They would then use that to lay claims to independence and plead the case for a greater Albania.

Mr. Kouchner, addressing the U.N. Security Council last week, asked the international body to speedily define what it meant by



The U.N. administrator in Kosovo, Mr. Bernard Kouchner (right), looks on as a Serb representative speaks to the media... charges of inaction.

sovo is bad. Despite repeated claims to the contrary, the Kosovo Liberation Army, the UCK, has not laid down arms. There is now a regular traffic of arms and guerrillas into the southern, Albanian-dominated villages of southern Serbia.

The village of Dobrisin, just inside Serb territory, has become another flashpoint with shootouts between Serbian police and armed Albanian villagers. The UCK has formed a new armed group, called the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac, and is reported to be forming strong guerrilla networks. Almost 6,000 Albanians have fled from Albanian-dominated villages within Serbia to towns and vil-

lages in Kosovo. Villagers say they have been subjected to harassment. But Serbian authorities say this may be another attempt to take away more territory from Serbia. "Between 60,000 and 70,000 ethnic Albanians still live in the Presevo valley. Ethnic Albanians fleeing across the border from Serbia register at the town of Gnjilane." But we feel the estimate of 6,000 is too low because not everyone registers with the UNHCR," said Mr. Kris Janowski, spokesman of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

But the U.N. Security Council seems reluctant to address these issues. Europe has failed to keep its promise in terms of payments, while the U.S. is more concerned about avoiding casualties among its forces in Kosovo. U.S. soldiers operate from reinforced, heavily-armed camps, going out on patrol in armoured vehicles. They are reluctant to carry out secret operations to flush out arms caches or

"substantial autonomy" for Kosovo. He would like to see the holding of elections this year in a bid to install a legitimate civilian Government in Kosovo. That would, he feels, reduce the legitimacy of the UCK as the only political force in the province.

The situation is deteriorating not just in Kosovo but in the entire area including Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. The NATO commander in Kosovo, General Klaus Reinhardt, said "We cannot support any adventurism which might lead to new atrocities." But his attempts to internationalise KFOR troops in the Mitrovica area were foiled by a Pentagon order forbidding U.S. troops to operate there.

Ethnic violence still haunts Kosovo

By Batuk Gathani

HD-16
23/3

BRUSSELS, MARCH 22. Exactly a year ago, NATO launched its 'just war' against Yugoslavia and the reign of the President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, over its alleged 'ethnic cleansing' pogrom in Kosovo.

Technically, Kosovo is a province of Serbia, which is part of the Yugoslavian Federation. It has a population of over 20 lakhs, which is predominantly of Albanian origin. There was also a prosperous and influential minority of some two lakh Serbs, who regard Kosovo as the 'heartland' of Serbian culture and heritage. In the heydays of the Yugoslavian Federation, Kosovo enjoyed the status of an autonomous province within the Serbian republic but 13 years ago when Mr. Milosevic came to power, he partly revoked Kosovo's regional autonomy.

The Albanians of Kosovo province are predominantly Muslims and their political demands have varied between full independence to restoration of regional autonomy. Prospects for a peaceful settlement in the region became bleaker with Serbs killing ethnic Albanians, when the Kosovan Liberation Army (KLA) — a guerilla group — stepped up pressure on Serbian security forces in the area. Since the NATO war, the KLA has technically been disarmed by the NATO forces but the reality may be different.

In the post-NATO year, the minority Christian community of Serbs and the majority ethnic Albanian Muslims have not been able to co-exist.

On the pre-NATO intervention period, fuelled by intense ethnic hatred the Serb Christians and the Albanian Muslims plunged the region into an orgy of ethnic violence and atrocities.

The Secretary-General of NATO, Lord Robertson, has now released a background report of NATO's involvement, activity and achievements and challenge, one year on. In Kosovo, NATO hopes to raise the level of its peacekeeping force (KFOR) back to 40,000 men. The KFOR may have curbed ethnic violence but it has not vanished. Today it is tempting for analysts to conclude that "NATO may have already lost the peace after having so recently won the war against the Milosevic Government in Belgrade."

The spectre and parameters of 'ethnic cleansing' have now been reversed. Neutral observers point out that against the return of some eight lakh Albanian refugees, some two lakh Serbs have left the region. The Serbs live fearfully under KFOR guard or aggressively in Mitrovica, which is the only metropolitan area in Kosovo with a sizeable serb population.

NATO went into Kosovo to create a multi-ethnic society and democracy. All that today remains a utopia. Mr. Milosevic has not only survived in power but his admirers even claim that his personal popularity in Serbian region cannot be challenged at this stage.

The KLA, which received moral and armed support from Islamist theocratic governments, may be technically disarmed by KFOR peacekeepers but manages to continue its guerilla activities and last week, American peacekeepers tried to dislocate their secret arms supplies. The Albanians have a quest to merge Kosovo with Albania to create a greater Islamic Albania. This is not acceptable to European powers including Russia and major Balkan states and China. All these countries have problems of ethnic and religious minorities and the so-called independence for Kosovo may have a cataclysmic effect all round.

It is argued that the ethnic Albanians will only negotiate with Belgrade only when Mr. Milosevic's Government either falls from power or is destabilised. The NATO powers intervened in Yugoslavia ostensibly to 'hit military targets' and nullify the military capability of Mr. Milosevic and thus hoped to trigger a collapse of his Government. There is an element of strong personal feelings against Mr. Milosevic.

At a NATO press conference, Lord Robertson felt convinced that the Serbian leader will fall from power. Kosovo now functions as a United Nations and NATO protectorate. The ethnic violence is a living reality and the law and order is rated as a 'borderline' case. On the economic front, the region has collapsed and crises have been compounded with the exit of entrepreneurial Serbs. For local criminal gangs, it is a field day for smuggling, extortion and abductions of women and children.

West commitment to Kosovo flagging?

303 By Vaiju Naravane 40-16

PRISTINA (KOSOVO), MARCH 29. Dr. Bernard Kouchner, the U.N. Secretary General's Special Representative in Kosovo, on Monday, admitted that international commitment to the U.N. administered territory might flag. Already, the number of international troops deployed in the region had come down from 42,000 to 37,200 and some countries were planning to further reduce their presence here. "I hope that will not happen. We need both more troops and more policemen. I have been promised another 370 policemen including from countries like India, Pakistan and Jordan," Dr. Kouchner told *The Hindu* in an interview here, a year after NATO began its "humanitarian intervention" through a 78-day massive bombing campaign against Yugoslavia.

The depth of hatred, which exists between the Serb and Albanian communities, has complicated the mission of the U.N. in Kosovo — to establish peace, enforce law and order, set up institutions and administer the province. "Reconciliation or even co-existence is going to be very long in coming and we have to face that," Dr. Kouchner said. "In the meanwhile we are going ahead with preparations to hold local

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elections in October. One of our achievements has been the disarming of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the (KLA), and its transformation into a civilian organisation, the Kosovo Protection Force."

Elections in Kosovo and the province's autonomy were the main subjects of discussion between the six members of the Contact Group on Kosovo which met in Paris on Tuesday after a year. The meeting ended without any specific date for a Ministerial meeting, a negative development, according to highly-placed sources here. The Russian envoy to the meeting expressed concern that despite U.N. Resolution 1244 which guarantees Yugoslavia's territorial integrity with substantial autonomy for Kosovo, "the situation is developing differently." He warned that Kosovo's independence would lead to a move towards establishing Greater Albania (with Albanians from the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro and from Macedonia, which would in turn, unleash demands for a Greater Serbia. Kosovars reject U.N. resolution 1244 saying they can now accept only total independence. The U.N. administration here plans to start off a series of round-table discussions on the political

future of Kosovo which will attempt to define substantial autonomy.

A year ago, NATO had certain clear objectives when it decided to intervene in Kosovo — to stop the repressive spiral against the province's Albanian majority set in motion by Mr. Slobodan Milosevic's government in Belgrade, put an end to ethnic cleansing and ensure that human rights were not violated. However, the international community also hoped to usher in a multi-ethnic society, establish law and order and ensure the return of refugees. Now a year later, the world watches helplessly as vicious attacks against minorities (mainly Serbs and Roma gypsies) continue, organised crime flourishes and the institutional void created in the aftermath of the war remains.

The Serbs have become virtual prisoners living in little protected enclaves guarded by Kfor troops, unable to go out unescorted even to buy bread or milk. Mitrovica, cut into two by the Ibar river, is a city divided between the Serbs and the Albanians and there are new rumblings along Serbia's south-eastern border with Kosovo, where a renascent KLA, now known as the UCPMB is raising its head. The U.S. State Department has expressed its disappointment at the UCPMB's decision not to lay down arms as agreed but to fight on for the "liberation of Eastern Kosovo" — Albanian majority villages which lie within Serbia's borders.

The law and order situation in Kosovo remains fragile and tenuous. On Tuesday, a powerful bomb exploded near the NATO headquarters downtown while several other incidents were reported from Mitrovica, Dragas, Cernica and Gnjilane. There are about five murders a week and countless, ugly incidents of intimidation and violent aggression. There have been allegations that the "disbanded" KLA has, in fact, regrouped into smaller criminal gangs running prostitution and extortion rackets. An internal report detailing such activities was leaked to the press last week. However, Dr. Kochner brushes that aside as "unsubstantiated and exaggerated." The United Nations Security Council today decided to send some of its own ambassadors to Kosovo in late April to inspect the implementation of the U.N. Resolution on Kosovo. A year after NATO's air war against Serbian control over Kosovo, a controversy appears to be building up around the person of Dr. Kouchner himself. Press reports talk of friction between Dr. Kouchner, largely seen as being pro-Albanian and the French units of Kfor who have been accused of being pro-Serb.

UN mission to visit Kosovo

BY ANTHONY GOODMAN

AA-5 30/3
United Nations, March 29: The Security Council decided on Tuesday to send a council mission to Kosovo toward the end of April to see how the UN administration there is functioning and to press for an end to ethnic conflict, the council president said.

An invitation was extended by Bernard Kouchner, the UN special representative in the mainly ethnic Albanian province of Serbia, when he briefed the council on March 6.

A council-authorized UN interim administration and a Nato-led force entered Kosovo last June after an 11-week Nato bombing campaign to force Yugoslavia to halt the repression of the ethnic Albanians and secure the withdrawal of Belgrade's troops and police.

There have been repeated clashes in recent months between Albanians and the remaining Serb minority, particularly in and around the northern flashpoint city of Mitrovica.

Mr Kouchner has complained of a shortage of UN

civilian police, as well as of money and other resources needed to help restore normal life in Kosovo.

Council president Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh told reporters that participants in the council mission would visit Kosovo "toward the last few days of April."

Its mandate would be to study "the implementation of the UN resolution on Kosovo, the operations of the UN Interim Administration Mission In Kosovo, to see what are the difficulties faced by UNMIK, and to take a strong message of the council to the parties concerned ... to end hostilities and engage in the restoration of civic life in that territory."

Mr Chowdhury did not say which members of the 15-nation council would take part in the mission.

Russia, which strongly opposed the Nato bombing of Yugoslavia but has troops serving with the Nato-led force, has been particularly angered by ethnic Albanian attacks on Serbs, its historic allies. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

30 MAR 2000

A river keeps the hatred apart

By Vaiju Naravane

MITROVICA (NORTHERN KOSOVO), MARCH 30. The Ibar is not a particularly impressive river even in spate, and Mitrovica, the grey and grimly provincial town that straddles it, is unlikely to make it to the pages of a tourist guide book. And yet, Mitrovica has hit the headlines, with the swift-flowing little Ibar becoming a symbol of ethnic cleansing and communal hatred, dividing the town into two bitterly hostile camps.

The town's Serb population lives to the north of the river while its Albanian residents are massed at the southern end of the city's two bridges, guarded at either end by a barbed wire fence, KFOR tanks and foreign soldiers wielding Kalashnikovs. The three tower blocks located just off the main Mitrovica bridge are run down. Some former shops fronts have been burnt, others vandalised. French KFOR troops keep a 24-hour vigil outside to protect the 234 residents of "September Apartments" who were brought back to live here under heavy army escort on March 3.

Artan Ibrani is a 14-year-old dressed like teenagers elsewhere

in the world 2 jeans, sneakers and a baseball cap. At the entrance to block I, he replaces his identity card back on the hook, smiles at the sergeant on duty and leads me upstairs. The Ibrani apartment looks out on the Ibar where French soldiers are building a small footbridge so that "September" residents can visit the southern part of the city without having to cross through Serb-held sections near the main bridge. The flat is simple but com-

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fortable, a cheap but richly patterned wall-to-wall carpet dominates. "My parents were well-off before," explains Artan. "My father was an engineer in the Trepca mines while my mother ran an export-import business. But now look at us," he trails off. "Life is much easier for us now. We feel safe. But the soldiers will have to remain for a long time," says Artan's mother Fikrije.

Sipping lemonade and biting into a piece of Turkish delight, I feel I have dropped in for a quiet, neighbourly afternoon chat. The illusion ends when Fikrije talks of

her old father's death at the hands of extremist Serbs. "They shot him and he bled to death. There was no where we could go for help. We were surrounded. It took him 22 hours to die and he died the day NATO stopped bombing. These are things that we can never forget. Or forgive," she says. "Twentytwo persons from these buildings were taken by the Serb army when they withdrew. Of these, only three have returned. And they are all traumatised, still frightened," says Artan.

The older boy supports the family. Both Fikrije and her husband lost their jobs after 1989, when Kosovo was stripped of its autonomy by the Serbs. Their neighbours are Albanian but the tower block also houses Serbs, Turks and Bosnians. "We are only on nodding terms with the Serbs. It is difficult to go beyond that at the moment," she says. Every time they have to go out, KFOR provides an escort. The children play within the heavily guarded compound. Stepping out is still dangerous. The families live here in a gilded prison.

On my way out, I am roundly abused by a toothless Serb grandmother. "The decision to bring these families back here was not appreciated," says Lieutenant Eric Bouysson, a rangy French officer with a gentle smile. French KFOR General Pierre de Saqui de Sannes was criticised for "fomenting more tension" when he brought the residents back and now the Captain commanding the area says there is ground for cautious optimism. I remain sceptical. I would not like to go to the corner shop to buy bread and milk in a heavily guarded armoured jeep.

The three towers are part of what has been dubbed the "confidence zone" — a cordoned off area where binoculars, two-way radios and firearms are prohibited. The idea is to promote "multi-ethnicity." The experiment is being repeated in the district of "Little Bosnia" on the other side where again the population is

mixed. However, I see no strollers out for a constitutional in the confidence zone.

The road curves steeply to the right in the Serb part of the city. Olivier Ivanovic of the Serb National Council, which represents the Serbs of northern Kosovo is out so I talk to his assistant. There have been many attacks against Serbs by Albanian grenade throwers and murderous mobs. They live in fear for their lives, he says. The Serbs here want guarantees and increased KFOR reinforcements. They are afraid the Kosovars will attain independence and that they will be booted out of a land they have inhabited for centuries. The Serbs will never feel safe unless there are links with the mother country. They have been calling for safe corridors linking Serbian enclaves directly to Serbia.

In the streets there is palpable tension and hostility. Leather jacketed young men swagger around carrying two-way radios.

The Albanians describe them as agents of the Serbian President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic. Government workers continue to receive their pay and pensions from Belgrade. And while everywhere else the myth of the Serbian province of Kosovo is being exploded, here it is laboriously preserved.

"If I see a clear chain of command and Motorola walkie talkies with hints of intelligence information and cross border communication with policemen, I don't need more information. The former structure with Milosevic continues to function," says Vetton Surroi, publisher of the Pristina daily *Koha Ditore*.

Victim blows lid on Serb rape camp

MARTIN FLETCHER
THE TIMES, LONDON

THE HAGUE, March 30. — A rape victim offered some of the most harrowing testimony yet presented to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague yesterday as she recounted the atrocities inflicted on her as a 15-year-old slave in a Bosnian Serb rape camp.

Breaking her silence for the first time in eight years, the young woman sobbed as she said that she was raped almost nightly, and so frequently that she lost count.

"There are no words that can describe my feeling. It was the worst that could happen to me," she told the hushed court.

"It's not easy to speak today, but I want everyone to know."

From behind a screen she said Serb soldiers held about 50 Muslim women in a sports hall after they took control of the town of Foca in south-eastern Bosnia in 1992. Every night they would select their victims, pointing with their fingers and shouting: "You." "You." "You."

She and her mother were both raped. On one occasion ten soldiers took turns raping her and two other girls. On

another she was imprisoned in an apartment for three days by a former neighbour who used her as his personal sex slave.

On yet another a soldier threatened to gouge a crucifix in her flesh, forced her to drink alcohol, and made her assume a Serb name as he raped her.

"He was so terrible. He did such horrible things that I cannot explain them," she said.

The woman, identified only as Witness 50, was testifying in the trial of Dragoljub Kunarac, Radomir Kovac and Zoran Vukovic, the first men to stand trial for using extreme and systematic sexual abuse as a weapon of war.

Kunarac (39), scribbled on a notepad as the woman told the judges: "He was very forceful. He wanted to hurt me. But he could never hurt me as much as my soul was hurting."

International donors opened a two-day conference in Brussels that they hope will raise more than \$ 1 billion to help to rebuild the Balkans after the Bosnian and Kosovo conflicts. Mr Keith Vaz, Britain's Minister for Europe, promised 100 million pounds over three years in addition to funds already contributed through the EU.

THE STATESMAN
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More NATO troops for Kosovo

By Batuk Gathani

BRUSSELS, FEB. 25. The 16 NATO Ambassadors, who met today to discuss the recent spate of violence in Kosovo, decided to deploy more peacekeepers in the region to quell any renewed clashes between Muslim Albanians and Christian Serbs in the divided northern Kosovo town of Mitrovica.

Meanwhile, two senior NATO Generals have warned the Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic of fresh air strikes if he did not "comply fully" with his commitments on Kosovo. Though Mr. Milosevic's response is not known at this moment, Western leaders feel that given the recent hardline statements from Belgrade and the alleged military offensive by Serbian forces in Kosovo, the Yugoslav leader is not likely to back off easily in the face of such threats.

It is also a fact that NATO cannot immediately launch another aerial offensive against Yugoslavia because of logistical reasons. Also, about 800 international monitors have to be evacuated from Kosovo.

The Western leaders have repeatedly said their strategy is to either oust or topple Mr. Milosevic's

Government and have made appeals to the Yugoslav people "to rise" against their President. In response, Mr. Milosevic's supporters have staged huge rallies in Belgrade and other cities.

The Serb minority in Kosovo is uncertain about its future in the Muslim Albanian dominated Kosovo. A local Serb leader said about 200 women and children were recently moved out of Mitrovica to safety following the recent violence. Gen. Wesley Clark, the Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe, recently told a visiting panel of U.S. House of representatives that NATO troops in the region would remain though on a reduced strength until Mr. Milosevic was replaced.

Mr. Milosevic has a traditional ally in Russia. Recently, Serbia's Deputy Prime Minister, during a visit to Russia, made a sensational appeal for a "Slavic union" of Russia, Yugoslavia and Belarus. Little is as yet known about the Russian Acting President, Mr. Vladimir Putin's strategy in the Balkan power game.

A great deal about the future course of events in Kosovo and in the Balkan region will depend on how the NATO-led peacekeepers contain the challenges posed by racial extremists in the region.

THE HINDU
26 FEB 2000

Keeping the peace in Kosovo

“WE NO longer talk of reconciliation but rather about the first step towards co-existence,” the U.N. Secretary-General’s Special Representative in Kosovo, Mr. Bernard Kouchner, told a crowd in Pristina at the start of the new millennium. His words were cautious and measured: “Our mission is to help as needed, not to impose anything that the population is not ready for.”

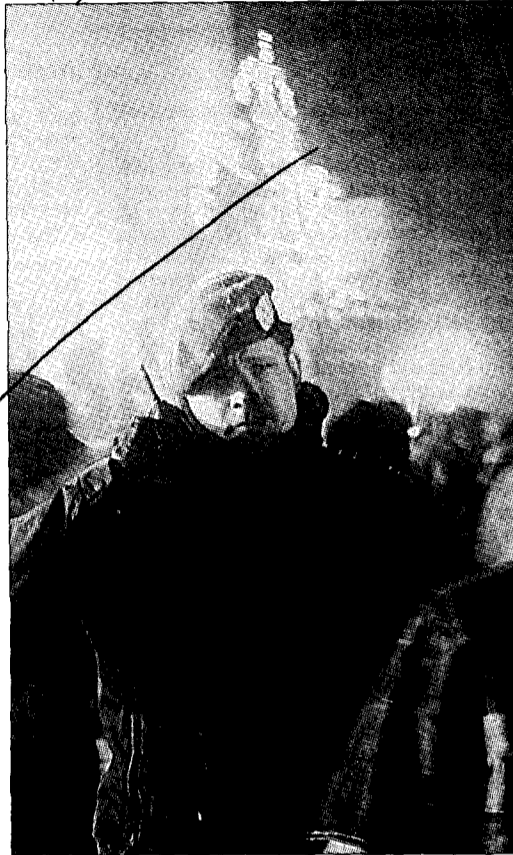
Six months into its mandate, the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo is beginning to realise the enormity of the task it faces. For, as the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, himself admitted, “the level and nature of the violence in Kosovo, especially against vulnerable minorities, remains unacceptable.”

There is a gaping divide, made up of mutual distrust and hatred, that separates Kosovo’s Albanian and Serb communities with the Albanians displaying a terrifying thirst for revenge. Almost every day there are new murders, acts of vengeance and savage exactions against the Serbs and the gypsies in Kosovo. The Serbs now live in terror, grouped together, totally reliant on U.N. peacekeepers.

“We have all expressed a sense of revulsion at these acts. It is true that in the past weeks we have seen an increase in the number of killings. I attribute that to frustration, to the lack of sufficient policing and to the difficulty of putting in place a whole new administration. The real question is that of the Serbs. They must understand that Belgrade’s domination has come to an end. And if their reclusion in a handful of ghettos is to be decied, they must understand it is for their own security,” says the Kosovo Albanian leader, Mr. Ibrahim Rugova.

Mr. Ismail Kadare, Albania’s most eminent writer, is sharp in his criticism of the United Nations and its rapporteur, Mr. Djiri Diensbiert, whom he accuses of siding with the Serbs. A people, which has been subjected to un-called for, and unjust violence cannot regain its serenity of spirit unless justice is done. And that is now the responsibility of the international community, claims Mr. Kadare.

Under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 of June 10, 1999, the international community has in fact created a protectorate in Kosovo. This resolution calls for the immediate and verifiable cessation of all violence and repression, the withdrawal of military, police and paramilitary forces, the deployment of U.N. peace-



A member of the U.N. peace-keeping force in Kosovo. (At right) A victim grieves.

keepers and the setting up of a civilian administration, the return of refugees and their continued security, free access to humanitarian organisations, the establishment of substantial autonomy for Kosovo while respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the economic development and stabilisation of the province.

The U.N. administration led by Mr. Kouchner and the KFOR, led

the problem of “unofficial law-enforcement actors” operating in the province.

These past six months have highlighted the contradiction between KFOR and UNMIK’s avowed aim to create a multi-ethnic, democratic and stable Kosovo and the anarchy and violence which have contributed to a massive exodus of Serbs. Last month Mr. Kouchner admitted, “the international community has failed to protect minorities in Kosovo,

men to help restore order and protect minorities. But so far only 1800 have been deployed. It’s a drearily familiar scenario with U.N. member-states making grandiose promises and then forgetting to keep them.

What is also hampering U.N. efforts in Kosovo is the Albanian determination to win independence. “The best solution for all Kosovars will be independence. In 1991 we held a referendum on independence like all the other ex-Yugoslav republics but we were an occupied territory then. A peaceful, free and democratic Kosovo, well integrated in Europe would bring peace to the Balkans. And the sooner it happens the better,” said Mr. Rugova who is part of the recently-formed Interim Administrative Council which unfortunately has been rejected by the Serbs.

The future of Kosovo is unclear and it is not certain that the international community will want to pick up this hot potato for a while. A great deal will depend upon the future of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Montenegro is already making secessionist noises. The regime of Marshal Tito did not manage to instil a truly multi-ethnic culture in the Balkans and populations continue to be walled in by ancient nationalistic passions.

The United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo is beginning to realise the enormity of the task it faces, says VAIJU NARAVANE

by General Michael Jackson, face a double problem. The first is the elaboration of their mission with Yugoslavia and Serbia of which Kosovo is still formally a province and the second is their authority vis-a-vis the population and the Kosovo Liberation Army or UCK.

Immediately after the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo, the UCK placed its men in key positions in the province — in municipalities, state-owned companies and other public entities. Mr. Annan in his latest report to the Security Council on the situation in Kosovo said a “strong response” was needed to address

particularly the Serbs. There have been over 400 murders in the province but only four trials.” He attributes this lack of justice to the Kosovar “law of silence”. Judges and prosecutors in Kosovo refused to apply legislation which they said was Serbian. The UNMIK has attempted to overcome this problem by “reviving” the penal code in force before Serbia annexed Kosovo in 1989 when the province was an autonomous entity.

The UNMIK and the KFOR have scarce means at their disposal. The U.N. initially planned an international force of 6000 police-

Arkan murder accomplice

arrested

Belgrade, Jan. 18 (AP) — Police have caught an accomplice in the assassination of Serbia's most notorious warlord, newspapers close to the government reported today.

The state-run *Politika* and the pro-government *Vecernje Novosti* dailies claimed without giving details that this represented a major breakthrough in determining the motive behind the killing of Zeljko Raznatovic, known as Arkan, at a plush Belgrade hotel on Saturday.

Politika said the man was seriously wounded during a shootout in the lobby of the hotel. He was only "helping" Arkan's assassin and the killer was on the run, the paper said.

It also said the unidentified accomplice underwent surgery in a Belgrade hospital and was still unconscious and unable to give statements. A spokeswoman for Belgrade police refused to confirm the accounts.

Opposition parties have said the killers would never be caught because Arkan may have been killed to prevent him from testifying against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic at the war crimes tribunal at The Hague, Netherlands. *Politika* claimed the detention of the accomplice refutes this argument. "All the versions about a planned liquidation ... because of Arkan's engagement in the wars and activities by The Hague tribunal no longer hold water," *Politika* said.

Raznatovic, who had been indicted by the international war crimes tribunal for atrocities committed by his dreaded Tiger militia during wars in Croatia and Bosnia, was believed to have had close ties to Milosevic's security services.

THE TELEGRAPH

19 JAN 2000

Serbs in solemn adieu to Arkan

EVE-ANN PRENTICE
THE TIMES, LONDON

S. Europe
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BELGRADE, Jan. 21. — Only the sound of pigeons and a three-volley rifle salute broke the silence yesterday, as thousands braved sub-zero temperatures to watch the assassinated Serbian warlord, Arkan, lowered into his grave. An air of sadness permeated the air at the funeral in central Belgrade, in contrast to a commemoration service on Wednesday, dominated by large crop-haired men and glamorous, heavily made-up young women. The majority of those present at the new cemetery were ordinary Serbs, many carrying modest bunches of flowers to lay at the grave.

Many came from the Bosnian Serb republic, where Arkan's Tiger militia were accused of massacres, and Montenegro, his family's native republic. "It was probably the biggest funeral in Belgrade since Tito's in 1980," one mourner said. "People were so quiet you could hear the pigeons cooing." There was no sign of the police or any members of the Yugoslav regime, which some Serbs suspect of having ordered the killing of Arkan — real name Zeljko Raznatovic — at the Intercontinental Hotel in Belgrade last weekend.

Before the burial in the family plot, dominated by a gold cross on black marble, relations and close friends attended a Serbian Orthodox funeral at the small chapel in the cemetery. Weeping could be heard from within by the silent crowds outside as hymns were sung by a choir. After the service, which lasted nearly two hours, Arkan's eldest son, Mihajlo, 21, emerged behind the black coffin carrying a cross. Arkan had nine children by three wives and the last, the folk-rock singer, Ceca, looked pale and drawn.

Supporters of Arkan's Obilic football team also joined the mourners, dressed in winter football kits. A huge floral tribute in blue, the team's colour, was laid at the grave by club members.

After a plaintive trumpet dirge by the graveside, Mr Borislav Pelevic, president, Serb Volunteer Guards, repeated the eulogy he made at Wednesday's service, hailing Arkan as a "warrior, sportsman and humanitarian." "Arkan was accused of being a war criminal," he said, "because foreign powers were afraid he would spoil their plans for Kosovo."

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