

## comittee for human rights leskovac

### 10 years of fighting



## We could not remain silent

All started in autumn in 1991 with the talk of a group having the same opinion, at the time when tanks of former Yugoslav Armv were roaring along former Yugoslavia, in a symbolic audio-visual way depicting the disintearation of the state and the most important, giving a background to sufferings, which would be the most tragic outcome in Europe after the Second World War.



Motivation to formalize the gathering of independent group of citizens who were linked and are still linked by the syntagma human rights, occurred by all founders and later activists (Committee never had member cards) from their incapability to make themselves heard and to say that not only the primitive horde of criminals existed killing and robbing at the south of Serbia and that apart from misled addicts to state television, there were also some decent people, ready to take a risk for maintaining their own consciousness and their personal dignity.

# We could not remain silent

From the request to the police to register every kind of the initial informal and then formal gatherings for subversive activities against the regime of Slobodan Milošević into the official state books as the Committee for human rights Leskovac, submitted in a regular way, according to all paragraphs of previous valid Act on association of citizens, until the piece of paper which had already passed into a sentimental, and by diction of some jurisdictional judgments and official history of actual civil society, six years of informative talks have passed, administrative obstruction (such a lovely syntagma for primitivism), special war based on non-winning Yugoslav State Security Service including threats and etiquettes (spy, hireling, gay).







All founders of this organization were exposed to warnings, threats, blackmails, friendly offers. None of them gave positive reply, considering that their motivation overcame the forcibility of their rather stupid and haughty regime exponents, appearing forms of life that despised all those, which we name with full right - civil population. Committee for human rights opposed - and such opposing would be also the essence of its existence ludicrous mobilization of Leskovac youth, on protests in front of Leskovac Military office, after which the president of the Committee ended in hospital and came out of coma two days later. There was not any coincidence; he was deliberately chosen to get a blow by police club into his head. That was civil attempt in preventing a huge evil. Unfortunately, it was unsuccessful.





War came to take its preys how it sounds magnificently. For all cowards, vultures, informers and robbers, as a poet would say..

No, vagabonds came to take their own, hiding themselves behind the idea of nationalistic apprehension of patriotism. For the first but not the last, he was persistent our friend Milo Vasi, the sanctuary of worthless fellows.

People from the Committee wanted to tell the public that there still had been left a piece of consciousness in the middle of the state living through RTS (Serbian Broadcasting Corporation), lies, frauds, spiritual poverty, megarobbery that would characterize the bloody disintegration of the country we used to live in.

Archaic and anti-civilized reply did not discourage the founders; Further, in spite of signs (why should we lie, we do know where your children go to school) they subversively gathered. As Herman Gering would say in Nuremberg, speaking about the number of survived Jews Somebody, obviously had not done his job! The quotation connects two totalitarian systems making only difference in a number of destroyed lives left behind them.

We work against nation and state without formal license until December 1996. For the first time in the history of Leskovac, the syntagma human rights would be verified by state ink, the one that would be a nightmare for numerous vagabonds, whose activity will devastate lives of million of people.

Under that syntagma, in the last decade of the twentieth century, despotic ideal of agreement with war crime and bare pillage would start breaking.

Инистирство унутрашьки послова Репиблике Србије, Секретаријат за унутрашње послове Лесковац, по заитеву Сибора, за зудење права Лесковац

эм улис друктвене организације-удружења грабола у Рогистар на основу кл.34 Закона о друктвеним организацијама и удружењима гре-Бана и чл.202,206 и 209 Закона о опитем упревиом поступку доноси

#### PEREBE

УППСУЈЕ СВ даном 13.12.1996. године под реднии бројем <u>326</u> рогистра, на страни <u>109</u> друзгвемих организација-удружења гравена, који се води код Секостаријата за унутрешње послове Десковен Олбора за дудела права Десковац

Основни садржај послова активностије: заптита грпђање по питанима граве на рад,права на минималну здра<del>вствеку заптиту,права</del> на

Зиштиту од насими свик врста, право на образовање и др.

Серкинг (с. м. <u>Посмовну у ул.Илије строло лам. 3 ст. 2</u> Подругије деловиње је и<mark>з спитина Лескован</mark>

#### Odpaszozene

почно о је замтев овож Секретаријату за учке у Регистар.

Во основи моднетот ээхтева,приложеног статута-самоуправног споэквулт в других списа,утврђено је да је другатове, организација - укрушене грађена о с к о в а в о не Скупатививин-Гонберенцији отличној дани 30-11-1996-годино и до статут-самуправни свергари у самаду са чи 21 Закона о дружитения организацијама и и поличения грајана,те је рожене коо у диспоритиру.

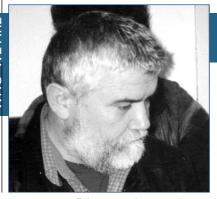
Крати овог осмена допунтено је пр-во самбе Министарству унутерити послова Републике Орбије у року од 18 дене ода дене урупом помења. Жалба со предаје преко овог Серветаријата истаковра од 3,00 динара преко уплатнице СПП.

Темен но терьброју 1 и 3 Закона о единичетовенным тексема у  $\exp(-cz_{\rm b})$  динере је наплавени.



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Decision on registration of the Committee



Dobrosav Nešić, was a founder, former and current president of the Committee for human rights Leskovac. He is an agricultural engineer in his profession and an engineer of work organization, an artistic photographer in his vocation, a profession he used to do for several years in Germany. He gathered a group of people with the same opinion as his own, having acted conspiratorially since 1991, and afterwards officially as the Committee. He established the first non-profit organization situated in the south of Niš, setting it up during the war in Croatia, mobilization and final disintegration of former Yugoslavia.

He is one of the founders of the Union of nonprofit organization in Serbia and the first president; he is also founder of Civil parliament, an association of non-profit organizations of Serbia, which directed its activities towards overthrowing the regime of Slobodan Milošević, with reference to protection of essential human rights and people who protect them. He is one of the originator and creator of the activity of the Committee net for human rights in Serbia (CHRIS).

He is the only editor of the party paper in Serbia, which was according to the notorious Act on informing endured prison penalty due to the sentence published in the

#### Dobrosav Nešić, President of the Committee for human rights Leskovac

newspaper The rights of a man in December 1998. He spent 30 days in Leskovac prison - refused to sign an appeal for lessening the penalty due to his good conduct. He was sentenced for verbal delict, and likes reminding the fact of his doing just that criminal offense: I made speeches, talked to thieves that their criminal offences were nothing in comparison to the crimes of Slobodan Milošević and his disciplined men.

On several occasions he was taken by force and questioned yes, it sounds like a police report, - but arrest and interrogation were benign penalties. On the eve of Milošević failure in July 1999, the members of State security from Uroševac entered by force into the premises of the Committee and beat him. With abusive language and insults they shouted and threatened him. The Committee continues with work.

His collaborators recognized a great energy with huge self-sacrifice. Courage, solidarity and the readiness to help other non-profit organizations and create their long-term netting have been pointed out by his colleagues from non-profit department. All those characteristics, he still contributes to his family, his wife Mirjana and his daughters Marija and Olivera, who survived the hardest burden of his engagement.

He says that he owes the energy for his engagement to his wife Mirjana, his daughters Marija and Olivera, his family, who have also suffered humiliation and threats for all those ten years.

To protect other peoples rights is not a job; it is something that has to be loved, - this is one of the starting ideas often emphasized by Dobrosav Nešić.

Dragutin Vidosavljević, legal adviser and the solicitor of the Committee for human rights Leskovac, was born in Vlasotince, where he lived until 1995. He graduated from the Law Faculty in Niš, starting his law career in the Municipal court in Vlasotince, first as a law clerk and an expert collaborator. Afterwards he worked as a magistrate in a correctional court within Municipal body for corrections in Leskovac until June 1996. Then he lived in Prizren where he worked as a judge in the Municipal court. He left Prizren and came to live in Leskovac, and since 1st April 2000 he has worked as the operative collaborator of YUCOM - Committee of lawyers for human rights from Belgrade and the Committee for human rights in Leskovac, on the cases of domination and discrimination of people, primarily on cases of police violence over people and victims of violence in a family and over women in general; he also has worked in campaigns of YUCOM and the Committee for recognition of the rights on objection of advice, when founding Resource centre in Leskovac and all works of those non-profit organizations oriented to affirmation and implementation of human rights in practice.

He left justice on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2004 upon his own request and devoted his work to the Committee. From 1990 to 1994 he became involved into politics. He was the member of Democratic party since its foundation, and in August that year he became one of the key person of Democratic party for Vlasotince and the president of the Initiating board for establishing the Municipal board of



Dragutin Vidosavljević, solicitor and operative collaborator of the Committee for human rights on implementation and affirmation of human rights

Democratic party in Vlasotince. He was the candidate for Parliament on the Democratic party list - dr Zoran Đinđić in 1993. He was elected for the first president of the Municipal board of the Democratic party in Vlasotince after the Second World War.

Dragutin Vidosavljević gave up his active work in politics in 1994, giving his place of the president of the Municipal board of Democratic party to his younger colleague from the party. His todays main occupation is work on affirmation of human rights and concrete contribution to its implementation in practice. He is a solicitor with the largest number of active cases of torture, and some of those cases reached the European court for human rights in Strasbourg.



Stojan Milić - Stole, 1952 - 2004
President of the assembly of the Committee for human rights

Sub-founder of the Committee, his Good Spirit, is not any longer with us: the first president of the Assembly of the Committee Stojan Milić - Stole died on 15th February 2004. We lost then tireless activist devoted to the idea of human rights, popularly said - a man who helped people. He mostly worked on distribution of humanitarian aid; our citizens who syntagma human rights, learnt from the state television and experienced it as a dangerous beast, were faced with a smiled man handing them bread in the centre of town. Something was not quite clear to them, for Stole told them that they should not pay anything, but they should think instead.

Distribution of all contingents of humanitarian aid that came to Leskovac through the Committee could not be imagined without Stole. Neither the everyday meetings whereby he knew exactly how to lower down high politics to the essence of our existence protection of human rights; to the biological fact that a man must eat every day and he just met people whose such right was jeopardized. The most difficult for him was the prohibition of the division of the humanitarian aid, police investigation for bread distribution, and that in sunset of Milošević ruling, when it was very difficult to find a bakery that would bake bread to trai-

tors and which would be further distributed to citizens.

Stole was uncompensated link of the Committee with people: something that could be found in the Rights of man that was distributed in the centre of town, he knew how to make closer to our readers in his own way, so that each top professional would envy him. Often learned, politically correct words do not have any sense, because they do not reach people; Stole did his best not to do so. You write, charged with numerous offences, and I say: Look what we wrote for this thief. And people read and distribute.

Thank to Stojan Milić, the Committee established friendly contact with citizens or Roma nationality that he was their neighbor and a friend. We helped them in establishing non-profit organizations in our efforts to realize some of their rights. Still as a young man, Stole had their trust and respect, then very flattering title Roma king and was the president of Football club Veternica in which the players were mostly of Roma nationality from his neighborhood.

We are left without faithful friend, a man without any obstacle to say what he wanted to say, a man who gave himself into the work of the Committee, who took risks, who worked; he even sometimes threatened, but we called him a doctor, for he used to say for himself that became a doctor of finance, making ends meet in order to survive.



Aleksandar Kocić, vice-president and one of the founders of the Committee for human rights.



Vesna Karanfilović, psychologist, endured a great burden during distribution of humanitarian aid, having always enough patience to explain to everyone who addressed for help to us, why it was not possible to distribute all the aid the citizens were waiting for. Vesna succeeded, with all courage and endurance, characteristic only for her, to make sensible our members and to present them the essence of our engagement.

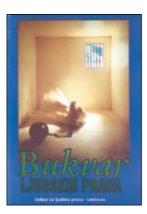
She used to provide psychological social aid to the victims of torture, because there were raped women among them, as well as young girls who were sexually maltreated. She was also engaged in establishing resource centre and the manager of teams of the Committee, which realized the questioning of public opinion before and after the Fifth of October.



Bojan Tončić, journalist, one of subfounders of the Committee, the first press representative since 2004, president of the Assembly. He edited and signed 50 issues of the party paper Rights of a man, the first independent party paper in Leskovac and on the south of Serbia. He works in Belgrade newspaper Danas, writes on human rights, war crimes and media. He was publishing in Great Britain, France, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia; he is collaborator of several media from former Yugoslavia and abroad. He is correspondent of London Institute for investigation on war and peace - Balkan investigation net (IWPR/BIRN) from Belgrade, publishing column Wrong coalescing in Kikinda newspaper, cooperates with Helsinki charter, magazine Right and justice during transition.

On two occasions he was the member of the Executive board of the Independent association of journalists of Serbia. He was awarded by *Danas* award Nikola Burzan for high achievements in journalism and Award Dušan Bogavac that Independent association of journalist of Serbia confers for journalist ethics and courage.

## Printed trace of different Leskovac



Half a century from making up to date non-disputable act of Declaration of the United Nations on human rights, the Committee prints the Spelling-book of human rights.

We did it on the occasion on which this publication comes to readers – on the Day of human rights.

It was not enough to remind that by such fundamental act on which modern civilization is based upon, that the state in which we lived does not respect fundamental human rights. War trumpets were blowing, Serbia was in informal war condition; the evil approached in which a lot of people from Leskovac, blindly believing to state propaganda like many did before, stained their hands with blood. Evil in which some would lose their lives, health and stability.

Some of them - parts of their bodies.

## PRAVA Čoveka

Nezavisne novine · Leskovac

#### APOKALIPSA, SADA! Dizenterijum se ke carolije iz dvorske namenske carolije iz dvorske namenske carolije iz dvorske namenske vlade... Sada po kelu Odborničke grupe Socijalističke namenske namenske prilikom brutalnog ie prilikom brutalnog i Dizenterijom se pripremaju stomaci dolazećih generacija za ziske čarolije iz dvorske kuhinje. Šta li će sve morati da progutaju... Srbije, potpredsednik opštinske vlade... Sada izveštaja niškog Instituta za zaštitu zdravlja) neko je kriv i trebalo bi da bude strogo kažnjen. Uobičajeno je, u Leskovcu pogo-Niko 1.44/2 vrticima odredo tovu, da bivši i sadašnji favoriti partije na vlasti gledaju na tešku krivicu kao na ele-Some year Shappions and year of the state of pokreni sunja mentarnu nepogodu. I da njihova stranka ne vanje preduzima ništa da ih udalji iz svojih redova, ili enterone slobed stamps Leskovac i Zokon o informisanju informisanja ili radost va prolinakang bisangu javnog života NORIVI čie u ruk o je granju javnog života PISATI KAO SAV NORIVI čie u ruk o je granju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života Deo lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara uporno nameće svoje anahrone i retrogradne ideje o Fisanju javnog života po lokalnih političara upor im omogućuje da i dalje uživai i priv-Leskovca ostale su i eventinica pliuske odgovornosti unutar rodina sopplinske odgovornosti unutar ustanove "Vukica Mitrovic". Nisu reage de le po odreda ienslipljujuće lečenje dece i širenje čaršijskih priča po kojima trag zaražene hrane vodi do krupnih zverki. Nakon osamnaestodnevne zabrane vrtici su proradili, a prema dosaiokanun pouticara uporno namece svoje ananrone i retrogradne ideje 0 ktyvaranju javnog zivi ovog grada u kolhoz, u kojem će unisoni horovi trudbenika milozvučno slaviti narodnu vjast. dašnjim javno saopštenim podacima ~ Leskovac i Zakon o informisanju su tek dve prekršajne priisneblagovremenoka marksizma. mrbližavajući nadobudnim polupismenim aktivistima "klasni karak Assured Sittle Roncentrisane diote stampe 1 sicue koncentisane idiola Videgodianji dri mentalnim orpadom sivor vane kvalitetne informacije", l leskovački socijalisti su konstatov sli da Zakon treba promeniji da bi se rovinari i urednici "zatitili od zlonamernih nrise rovinari i urednici "zatitili od zlonamernih nrivane kvalitette informacije ( leskovscki socijalprivatni trgovac Sada Stanković iz Leskovca se novinari urednici. Zatinili od zionamernih pri Strom is seth orono years Muzela stampe u Schill. annan te acu nanata Anna annecha aminin e acuniti ħ ca prestruje Radio Leskovac je zavredeo pozitivnu ocen er. atos caron o lashun mountanana nag java za prekršaje" SVE vladajuće partije ne odstupajući na agovanje bio je napis Ni 005 hio" ispod fotografije na papazjanije preturi i bez jedne gume -Anje Autor tek-CHIEF EDITOR OF elgrade January, 1999 FACES IN. M protests sternly at another case of cement of the botched regulation came from Radio $b_{toad_{Castinp}}$



In the first phase of the Committee, in the flat in the very centre of Leskovac, there was loud thinking about civil reply to the danger that came over the citizens of Serbia. A part of this story was surrealistic: we talked about the massacres, read worrying news, and from the plateau in front of the Department Store Belgrade a loud turbo-folk sounds could be heard. Bingo awards were distributed. In such a merry atmosphere, people waited for referendum by which majority of Serbia was going to reject the agreement from Rambueau and wait for NATO missiles that would change later history of Balkan. There was no doubt into its outcome.

The sentence of Dobrosav Nešić was something like the following:

Could we do anything, just to show that there were not only bare idiots right here?

There were some proposals among which the writing of graphites, under recipes No newspaper there are walls, as one of the citizen replied lucidly to the authorities upon shutting down the newspaper *Naša Borba*, *Dnevni telegraf* and *Danas* in October 1998.

After short discussion during which all suspiciously nodded their heads, it was decided: There are not any newspapers, but there they will be!

A week later, at first in the centre of Belgrade, and then in the streets of Leskovac, the first number of the paper *Human rights*, appeared and it was the only one under such name.







Rights of a man will be a new name; we changed it due to intervention of Vučić Ministry of information. Newsboys in the capital distributed our newspaper with independent press. We succeeded. A day later, with full conspiracy and help of our friends, such terrible printing reached the place of origin. Legally expressed, distribution has been done publicly and half-secretly, in the streets, in taxi cabs of Yellow taxi (Thank you!), from hand to hand. That historic publication will end in Leskovac National library, National museum, Home Office.

Red Leskovac experienced somewhat like a special civilization shock. On the front page of Human rights we

gave a strong comment of Danas editor - Jelka Jovanović under the title Government calls again to a senseless battle, with a photography on which it could be seen a wide open cannon of big caliber (by the author Aleksandar Stanković) and some wretched men in masked uniforms serving it. We passed the warnings of the opposing ones, which could neither be heard nor seen on state television. We were reminded of the extraordinary promotion of the documentary programme of the story Pictures and words of hatred in Leskovac, in which the author Lazar Lalić, in the club of Democratic party, spoke about monstrous mechanisms of mounting and forgery of the messages by picture.

## GOVERNMENT CALLS AGAIN TO A SENSELESS BATTLE

By the Decision of the national Assembly, upon the proposal of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milošević, the citizens of Serbia will make decision on 23<sup>rd</sup> April by referendum whether they accept foreign mediation in solving Kosovo crisis.

Six days later international community will make decision on imposing sanctions to FRY. If a new circle of isolation has been voted, that would be direct consequence of violation of human rights on Kosovo. Supporting point would be intervention of police in fighting with so-called terrorists, whereby the pregnant women, the old and children were victims...

In the same week governed by Arthur Wats, there is also new round of negotiations about division of the property of the Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. If it is to believe to the latest announcements from the highest circles of Yugoslavia – FRY will give up the continuation. As the day of disintegration of SFRY, 30<sup>th</sup> June 1991 is to be taken.

That practically means that Yugoslavia recognizes Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, as equal inheritors of former mutual homeland. Therefore the wars led "for keeping the entity of SFRY" by long-term postponed

movement by pen would be finally proclaimed as unnecessary and irrational.

Kosovo is a new phase for checking national politics, personified through Slobodan Milošević by decades. The citizens are expected to circle "no" and so give the legitimacy to the government for everything it had not done, and even more for everything it was going to do. One of the most serious threats is tinkling of weapons again in the name of "defense of territorial integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia"; thus, a new Balkan bloody battle, strengthened by the myth about the cradle of Heaven's nation starts on  $23^{\rm rd}$  April.

The Decision on referendum was accepted by the parties taking part in the government as the patriotic act, and state television and media close to the regime persistently named as traitors all those who do not come out to vote, circling "yes". Majority of the opposing parties considered referendum as an unnecessary act of shifting individual guiltiness (government) to collective one. Democratic party and Block of democratic parties, among which a part of parliamentary ones were also included, called citizens to boycott.

At the same time, Yugoslav committee of lawyers for protection of human rights initiated at the Constitutional court of Yugoslavia and Constitutional court of Serbia procedure for determination of constituency of the Decision of the national Assembly of Serbia about an official proclamation for referendum. The fact that the initiator of the referendum was the president of the federal state did not diminish its violation, because leading of international politics belonged into exclusive competence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but not Serbia. Republic, within constitutional authorizations may only maintain (or not) international relations. The right of the Parliament is to proclaim officially referendum, but not from the field that are defined by the question about participation of foreign observers into solving Kosovo crisis.

Disputable was also the change of the Law on referendum and national initiative, because the procedure of decision making or changing of specified act is in the same level as the changing Constitution.

All this can imply that the purpose for official proclamation for referendum was not making a decision by immediate expression of citizens' will, instead of authorized bodies, but providing formal government legitimacy by force and opening the way towards national dictatorship – was the conclusion made by Biljana Kovačević Vućo, a solicitor, on behalf of the committee.



A logical conclusion can be imposed that the essential question to which citizens give their answer on Wednesday is whether you vote for imposing sanctions or not? By circling "no" on referendum ballot paper everybody takes a risk for a small part of responsibility for more real new (self) isolation of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

One reminding might, also flash out the forthcoming referendum: when a few years ago the present and most serous candidate for the Hague Radovan Karadžić wanted to pass the responsibility for political decision to people by referendum, Slobodan Milošević sent him a message not to hide behind his people. Now Karadžić may give back the same advice to his political mentor.

Jelka Jovanović

Reactions of our citizens were perfect: we obtained a new confirmation that there were people who were not poisoned. But we also received the messages that were credited as calculated risk.

Serbia such 1998 avoided war, and the Committee published four additional numbers of newspapers that were asked for every month just. Both privately, and officially too. We experienced the first night bandit-like visit of State security with significant message, switched on computer, forgotten cigarette-ends and recognizable traces of search. Our comments were: Why did not ask nicely to open the door for them. One of the conclusions on such an occasion was in manner of Ilija vorovi, who will follow us up to now: They work publicly; just not to look they work secretly!

The atmosphere within national-socialists was moving towards the boiling point; after the editorial of Bojan Tončić in the fourth number of Rights under the title Wrong coalescing, according to the messages we received we could see that the local top government in the features of Milošević disciplined individuals, was going to cross the line of not noticing (our newsboy provided them regularly with their favorite papers that they were retelling with pleasure).

In the editorial a quotation was published from the diary book of Mira Marković due to which, for the citizens and authors health sake, in normal states was called the emergency, and it will have influence on the destiny of newspapers and Committee.



"In historic sense, time moves towards 21<sup>st</sup> century, and our entire reality towards far away centuries of early middle century", predictively concluded in her "Diary" Mira Marković on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1993 ("Night and day", BMG, Belgrade, 1994).

It is hard that anybody in Serbia could deny such estimation, in spite of certain charming uncertainty that was stated. It is all the same whether time moves in historic or chronological sense; Serbia has already been on its way backward by its experienced fears and torments through closing down independent newspapers and radio programmes, by chasing the university professors pursuant to paragraphs on "blowing into diplomas", arresting students because of written graphite "Death to fascism" and other numerous ways of implementation of its bare picture. All that goes with unnatural romance of brilliantly good-humored coalition partners from the radical Right and the Left and primitive spreading of crests of poltroons prose, known among Serbs as "patriotic journalism".

#### WRONG COALESCING

It was not, however, necessary to go back into far away middle century, considering that in the last regime variations on the topic of absolutism, still alive creativity of omniscient political commissars, somewhat with unlimited powers of leather coats "in the field", the scale of time flowing to the years of renewal and reconstruction. Poverty, as the inseparable part of this milieu, was the matter of habit of present citizen, disciplined regardless how morbid and sad it might seem.

This time and not without the reason, the politicians-like of rural and primitive provenance, whose insane egalitarian rhetorics was all the less a balm to the wound of a man wants to eat, were in charge of beautifying and spreading the ideology of mutual cauldrons.

His highness - Ordinary Citizen, plunged into a blessing peace emitted from the screens of state television, nearly masochistically enjoys in the way in which "the essence of deception has been brought to unrecognizable state". Fear of bombardment, mobilization, tax, criminals, darkness, light and many other things. Fear of everything that had happened to a man, hoping that it would not become worse. And ruling of nonfreedom sooner or later affects everyone, no matter whether he is interested in the independent media or university. It was constructed in such a way that it does not know the exceptions, unless we include criminals and their logicitics that was formally from this side of a law. There are bills for everything, one needs drugs but they cannot be bought, salaries and pensions were insufficient for surviving, but loyalty was very cheap because it was no longer choice but coercion. People trying to oppose to this fan of humiliation were exposed every day upon threatening and bare repression of regime apparatus. They listen to "Free Europe", aware of the fact that the country in which they live their gloomy lives far from the syntagma contained in the name of this denounced radio programme. In urban media, civil resistance was not extinguished, taking new, various forms, while independent media show courage and decision to emit their own contents even by smoke signals, which luckily were not mentioned in the Law on public informing.

During past eleven years, balances of Serbia are more like black chronicle, and at the moment, according to uncontrolled demonstration of power, it is certain that the circle started by the promise "nobody must not beat you" is slowly closing down. It cannot be precisely predicted the number of "years of disentanglement", due to several times proved imagination of destruction and readiness of ruling coalition to create catastrophic situations just to keep their power. Incorrigible optimists would find the encouragement in the fact that laws in Serbia are finally carried out, such those on informing and university. And that would be, quite certain for the country, which cannot boast of respecting law, capital for "historic" approaching 21st century. But legislators wrote "katul fermane" to civilizational norms that are prerequisite for minimum of communications in modern world. Bojan Tončić

Fifth number came out, prepared in secret, with the help of our technical editor, who did the job of making up into pages until late at night, taking part in their creation as well. The first number after the Law on informing of Šešelj - Vučić.

This is how telephone conversation sounded of the culprits for our paper that would excite Serbia and change destinies of the Committee members.

Bojan Tončić: Doci, everything is ready, I have texts, but we are in troubles, you know that one goes to prison for offence. This is awful, I twisted them round, they will cry.

Dobrosav Nešić: Dangerously?! Can you make it gloomier; tell them they are thrash and beasts, war criminals, cooperators of the last dictator in Europe, write the most terrible things!

B.T: Agreed, we are coming out.

The continuation of this conversation in the office of the Committee, appeared to be prophetic:

- Bojan, I saw everything, I will go to prison for this, you are too young. Sign my name as the responsible editor and yours as editor-in-chief.

Fifth number will bring all darkened: stomachs are being prepared by dysentery of forthcoming generations for new gastronomic delights from royal kitch-



en. What would they have to swallow Motive: reappearance of dysentery in Leskovac kindergartens and nobody took the responsibility for it; the star of SPS, former republic member of parliament and principal of preschool institution *Vukica Mitrović* Jovica Đorćević was not even warned. Leskovac was on his feet, or that was jus a subjective impression. We wished too much, but the parents from the genus of under Hisar *homo sapiens*, as we have already published, agreed that their youth be poisoned.

One more text would cause the precautions and recognizable servant-like behavior. In the article about Leskovac media, *Rights of a man* claims: Radio Leskovac deserved a positive mark of the ruling party by not stepping out from the tragically-comic mixture of being silent, making confusion and primitivism. The sentence that will go into all independent daily and weekly papers in Serbia and further into European newspapers. It will enter also the offence procedure.

At the press conference of the Socialistic party of Serbia, the head of Jablanički region will send the arrow and say that the paper Right of a man was financed from abroad (unfortunately incorrect, edit. note), so that he could not even see the opposition party in this country that would finance this paper. A step further a man who recognized the wish to be in power goes away director of Radio Leskovac Živko Ljubisavljević, who drifted by flattering, edits the most primitive medium with radio signals in the south of Niš (and competitiveness is huge).

State clerk in the correctional court Dragan Stanković initiates a procedure that would bring a part of the World into Leskovac. We are talking the whole day long with the friends from Belgrade, Niš, Vranje, Priština, Novi Pazar, Virzburg. We have their support, they advice us to endure, we have news from Jelena Šantić, Žarko Paunović, Miljenko Dereta, Center for antiwar action, editorial offices of Danas and Blic. We shall be defended by our friends Slobodan Stojičević, engaged by Nataša Kandić and Fund for humanitarian right. Unsuccessfully, of course. The verdict was that main and editor-in-chief go to prison for a month, unless they pay 70, i.e. fifty thousand dinars penalty for written texts.



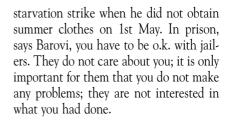








Christine Meindersma, observer of European Parliament, was astounded. The solicitor Nikola Barović, the observer of the United Nations, who defended cases in the whole former Yugoslavia, gave us advice for writing a complaint. Nevertheless, he was not optimist, telling stories about prison experiences of his defendant Mihajlo Mihajlov who went on



Nothing optimistic; we are asking him who does he support, but his answer was that he was only realistic.

Such supposition was only partial. The complaint of the main editor, written by him was indisputable; Bojan Tončić was released as an individual that cannot be responsible, according to the Law, and Dobrosav Nešić was sentenced for the second time, as lawyers said his punishment was confirmed; the punishment that would lead him behind the bars.



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Sudija Opštinskog organa za prekršaje u Leskovou Stanković Dragan u pe kršajnom postupku protiv Nezavisnih novina "Prava doveka" i slavnog urednika Tončić Bojana iz beskovca, zbog prekršaja iz čl.69. Zakona o javnom informisanju, a na osnovu 61.84, 118, 232 1 151 Zakona o prekršajima RS, dana 15.01.1999. godine, donod je šledeće: NI IL OF THE

#### SENJE OF THE LAND AND THE STREET THE C. S. PRIN. AT " ST "VI " PRINTED IN

oc 1 service oliv Ckr. Nezaviene novine "Prava čoveka" iz Leskovca, sa sedištem u Leskovcu ul. Bulevan Osloboujenja br.47/3 1 ion Teol to visio

2. OKr. TOHOTO Ivana BOJAN rodjen 7.5.1967.g. u teskovcu, završio srednju skolu, radnik Opitinske uprave, neozenjen, do sada prekršajno nije kaznjavan, nastanjen u Leskovou u ul. 21. bivizije broj 27 13/4 er out who

#### ODGOVORNI SU

u ciw o oni Zato sto su u listu "Pravo čoveka" br.5 od decembra 1998. godine na strani 6. u tekstu "Pisati kao sav normalan svet" objaviti neistinu "Radio Leskovad je zavredeo pozitivau ceemu vinde juće partije ne odstupajući od tragikomične papazjanije, prečutki-vanja, zamagljivanja i primitivizma... Time su narušili ugled i interes javnog preduzeóa Radio Leskovae,

- pa su na taj način přinili prekržaj iz čl. 69. Zakona o javnom informicanju za koji su odrovorni, - shou se na osnovu citirano i trenskoj propisa i vi. 37 (shoul v per-

kršajima Republike Srbije

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#### KAZN JAVAJU

1. List "Pravo čoveka" iz Leskovca NOVČANOM KAZNOM u iznosu od 100.000.00 (stohiljada) dinara, koju je dužan da plati u rokuod 24 (dvadesetčetiri) časa od prijema resenja, ukoliko to ne učimi isti će se naplatiti prinudnim putem.

2. Okr. Tončić Bojanu izriče se NOVČANA KAZNA u iznosu od 50.000.00 (pedesethiljada) dinara, koju je dužan da plati u roku od 24 (dvadesetčetiri) časa od momenta prijema rešenja, što ako ne učini novčani iznos od 1.800.00 (hiljaduosamsto) dinara će . mu se zameniti u kaznu zatvora u trajanju od 30 (trideset) dana, računajući svakih započetih 60.00 (šezdeset) dinarau 1 (jedan) dan zatvora, a ostali deo če se naplatiti prinudnim putem.

3. OBAVEZUJU se okrivljeni na plaćanje paušala prekršajnog postupka u iznosu od po 100.00 (sto) dinara, koji su dužni da plate u roku od 24 (dvadesetčetiri) časa po e prijemi rešenja, pod pretnjom prinudnog izvršenja.

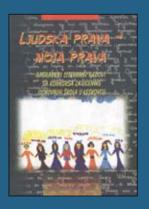
#### Obrazloženje Sprayers) excels 1 -- 2 come from

Zahbevom broj 3 od 14.1.1999.godine Javno preduzeće Radio Leskovac zatražilo je pokretanje prekršajnog postupka protiv lista "Pravačoveka" iz Leskovca i glavnog urednika Bojana Tončića zbog osnovane sumnje da su učinili prekršaj iz čl.61 Zakona o javnom informisanju, što je sudija prihvatio i zaključkom od 14.1.1999.godine isti pokre-

"U toku provedenog prekršajnog postupka utvrdjeno je da su list "Pravo čoveka" i glavni urednik ovog lista Tončić BOjan koji je i autor teksta "pisati kao sav normalan svet" iznošenjem neistine o redu javnog perduzeća Radio Leskovca napisavši "Radio Leskovca je zavredeo pozitivnu ocenu vladajuće partije ne odstupajući od tragikomične papazjanije, predutkivanja, zamagljibanja i primitivizma... "udinili prekršaj 1% dl.69 Zakona o javno o javnom informisanju za koji su odgovorni.

Decision on punishment of the newspaper and main editor Bojan Tončić and editor-in-chief Dobrosav Nešić







Among first activities of the Committee after its founding was composing and publishing the brochure about the Committee, in which the aims of the Committee work were stated with calling the citizens for cooperation.

It was the first "book" about future library under the name TESTAMENTS.

HUMAN RIGHTS – MY RIGHTS is the first collection of children's papers from the literary contest with the same name, whereby the children from Primary schools of Jablanički region took part.

The book was published in English language as well.

KOSOVO PROBLEM — TRUTH AND DELUSION Is the book containing the presentations of the participants of the round table, having the same name, held in Leskovac and Priština. During discussions about Kosovo crisis and possibilities of its solution Albanian and Serbian journalists and public persons took part.

#### from the book HUMAN RIGHTS - MY RIGHTS

I am not lonely any longer. Thin sun beams and this monotonous silence are now my best friends. My face is lit and warmed up by this spring sun. It seems to me that I can talk with it. We are talking about the districts, people and their happiness, sorrow, joy, loneliness, anger, fight... We are talking until I have to leave and go back to my everyday life where I do not even have the rights to fight for myself. Then, the sun continues its way, leaving to its pilgrimage around the world. It goes to comfort someone who feels just like me. It goes to distant places which I could only reach in my dreams.

I am going along the street... People, noise, all lonely, deeply closed in themselves, and yet their smiles are on their faces. Well, they might not be all lonely. I focused to a group of women having placards in their hands, shouting words that can be heard well for they are pronounced by many mouths. Each woman has a kind of fiery flame in the eyes, desire for fight, but woman's fight. They are asking for their rights. Women's rights. They are not lonely; they are keeping together and fighting for the same thing. I would gladly shout with them, the words I would try to fight my rights with. But the answer is no. I am only child.

I glanced over the heads of present people and stopped on a young couple. They are walking together, holding their hands, looking at each other, and then they look at the passers-by as if they wish to say: "You will never separate us!" And then they start holding their hands more tightly as if somebody wanted to separate them. And they have their fight and my heart is partly with them.

And then my look starts fading. I cannot see anyone. I start thinking of me. Thus expressed fights or those hidden forced me to think about my fight, about my rights. Those women have the right to be independent, a couple in love to be together. And me? Do I have the right to my independence, love, freedom of thinking, although I am still a child? Do I really? Or, am I only somebody who must not think about it? Can my spirit fly freely over the spaces, or will some shallow minds constantly bind it? Must I not be different from others, cleverer, more educated, having more freedom? Do I have those rights?

Too much questions. But I remember the fight I am carrying on every day, consciously or unconsciously. Something



undefined fulfils my body, my mind's tension stops, my heart starts beating stronger and I, half in anger but full of joy pronounce "YES!" Human rights are my rights too. I have the right to run, to laugh, to be free, to have the right to look at the leaves changing its color into yellow, to watch sunset, falling dark and lighting up the smaragdine tree crowns. Yes! I have the right to walk freely along the street, not to see hardships of people I like, not to see the cruelty growing every day. No matter that I wish to have my rights, I am still a child. It is my right to watch happiness instead of murder, joy instead of cry, rivers instead of blood. I have those rights and I will fight for them one day myself.

I talk to the sun again. It shines brighter this morning; it knows for my fight, it knows that I had wonderful, extraordinary feeling. I am not so much lonely, I have one more friend, deep down in me.

Feeling of more power, feeling that I have my own life, and the right to live.

TO MICE AND A PROPER CORLINCALE OF A STATE O

Trumpets are calling louder to Kosovo, for keeping Serbian nationality, by killing, crippling, raping, burning and robbery. In loyally too happy but dark and poor town, there is the first meeting of support to insane war game against the most powerful countries in the world, from which the head of Jablanički region Živojin Stefanović will utter these words: We shall defense Kosovo until the last soul!



NATO intervention will end with catastrophic consequences for Jablanički region; protests, initiated by Ivan Novković, editor on TV Leskovac, happened immediately upon return of reservists of the Army of Serbia and Montenegro of that period, from Kosovo. The Committee will give support and further directions.

In consequence, there will be more serious netting, engagement in the Union of non-profit organizations of Serbia, then in Civil parliament, participation in meetings in which all relevant non-profit organizations took part, efforts for passing the law that would regulate the work of non-profit organizations (it has not been passed up to now).

Nowadays the Committee helps the victims of torture, communicate with relative non-profit organizations, but also the parties address to us, recognizing thus their interests in our activities.

We strongly believe that citizens of Serbia need necessary facing the truth about the crimes committed on their behalf, legal department of the Committee has been working on revealing and proving of the details of Mačkatica case, one of the severest war crimes from Kosovo war and its concealment.





#### Humanitarian aid

One of the basic activities of the Committee for human rights in Leskovac is humanitarian work. It was not an easy job for people involved into humanitarian work until October 2000, both in our country and our town: problems concerned with import, custom clearance, inspections, prevention of distribution, even confiscating the whole lots of deliveries. Nevertheless, all that did not discourage our activists of the Committee to organize collection, dispatch and distribution of aid to impoverished citizens of the south of Serbia, whenever they had such opportunity. And there were not few such opportunities.

Only during 2000, the activists of the Committee distributed more than a hundred tons of food.







In January that year we distributed to socially impoverished co-citizens and refugees the aid in food, clothes, as well as school accessories. On that occasion, we obtained from the same donor, the ecological organization Ekopaks from German town Vircburg, the washing machine, which for principle reasons we did not give it to refugees in their collective accommodation, taking into consideration that the condition of the director was that the machine should be explained as a gift from SPS. In agreement with the donor, we gave the machine as a gift to the family Doderović, also in a state of needed social aid, and considering that the family has been taking care of abandoned and handicapped children with great love for years.















Committee for human rights • Leskovac

From the April 2000 to October 2000, the aid of 12 tons of food had been arriving, which we distributed to local socially impoverished citizenship. In September, the citizens of Leskovac were left without the most basic provisions, because the custom office, i.e. regime, confiscated the entire donation without any explanation. The truck drivers were told to be silent and be lucky that they were not deprived of their trucks as they were of their passports (temporarily).

Thanks to understanding of donors, we distributed a double quantity in October; 12 tons to impoverished citizens and 12 tons of basic provisions to Leskovac hospital, which was at the time in very difficult, almost dramatic situation.

Soon after that we distributed to refuges in collective centers new clothes trousers and shirts, as well as hygienic and baby packages for the families displaced from Kosovo, refugees and locally impoverished citizenship. It was the first distribution within the following six-month period (December 2000 - April 2001).

For Leskovac Health center we provided more than necessary drugs, medical supplies and equipment and other substantial means

For Gerontological center in Leskovac we have also secured substantial means. Totally gathered and distributed aid amounted to about 650.000,00 EUR and has been carried out up to October of the current year.

The above stated means the Committee provided with the help of the organization Ekopex from German town Vircburg, American organization USAID, Danish womens league for peace from Copenhagen and IAN from Belgrade.



#### Legal aid

Encountered with constantly growing repression of the dictatorial regime of Slobodan Milošević over the citizens of Serbia, the activists of the Committee for human rights Leskovac made their efforts from the founding of the Committee to help citizens of the south of Serbia, whose human rights were endangered.





## Put a stop to terror!







We ourselves, under permanent political and police pressure, succeeded in helping people who asked for help or advice by free legal advice, writing petitions to judicial and other state bodies, the United Nations and other international organizations for protection of human rights.

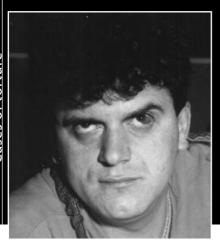
Since 1988 legal aid of the Committee for human rights has been carrying out on a higher level thanks to the cooperation of the Committee with Yugoslav committee of lawyers for human rights (YUKOM). The Committee permanently organizes the engagement of solicitors, who represent free of charge those citizens whose human rights were endangered, keeping precise evidence of all cases with gathered testimonies and other proofs on each single case.





In October 2000 the regime of Slobodan Milošević was knocked down, but changes in police and judicature have not been carried out yet. On managing and other important positions still remained the people who had been carrying on the terror over citizens until then, and all for the sake of keeping dictatorial power, and thus their positions as well. New government, incapable to reorganize police essentially, became in most cases a mute witness and copartner of the same behavior as the police.

Committee continues with providing legal aid to citizens.



One of the cases that was recorded as a paradigm of despotism of government in small environments in the interior part of Serbia, is certainly the case about which the newspaper has been writing a lot for the last two years, although it had happened much earlier, on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1997.

It is about Radivoje Janković, the owner of coffee roasting "Gringo" from Surdulica, and to who the inspectors for commercial crime Dragoslav Jovanović and Milan Dimitrijević took over 840 kg of coffee, regardless of the fact that he possessed all necessary documentation for it. They sold the coffee afterwards threatening to Janković to be silent about it. When he decided to seek justice in court, his life became a hell. He was summoned to be interrogated and the moment he entered the office he was severely beaten.

- They order me to stand up, and then ask me who gave me permission to do that, beating me even stronger. They ordered me to take off my shoes and lay down on my back and upon doing it, Jovanović started to strike the soles of my feet with a cudgel. If I gave any sound of howling he would sting my stomach by the top of the cudgel. He finally mounted on my lower part of a leg and continued to strike me. Whenever he raised the cudgel I thought my heart would stop.

When it all finished, they took me into other room with the walls stained with blood. They told me that it came from various deceased that were taken there by force and that would be my destiny too if only I went to see a doctor or report them, - described Janković his case to members of mutual team IAN — international net for help and Center for torture that exist with Yugoslav committee of lawyers for human rights. They visited last year all victims of torture in Leskovac, Surdulica and the village Vlasina-Rid on the Vlasina plane. The consequences of this case for Janković are still irreparable. His wife was pregnant then, after having been cured for six years for sterility. Due to a stress she had she was deprived of an offspring. The Janković family is still childless and he hardly avoided the prison punishment because Dimitrijević and Jovanović brought suit into court for false reporting and gained the case in the first instance procedure.

After five years of trial, it happened finally that the Supreme court of Serbia, due to criminal offense of taking statement by force, sentenced Dragoslav Jovanović, the inspector for commercial crime in Surdulica, to a prison for one year and six months, one of those two who maltreated Janković. Inspector Dimitrijević was promoted in his job and he is now working in Greece, securing some of Serbian representative offices as an employee of the police.



In one of the busiest streets in Leskovac, inspectors Dragan Cenić and Todor Cvetkovski, the inspectors of Leskovac Home Office, met and beat up Nenad Živković. His mother Grozda Nešić was abused in her house when she tried to move out the clerk of the police from Đakovica who, being informed by Cenić and Cvetković, had moved in illegally several months earlier.

In the minutes of the legal office of the Committee for human rights remained the written text that Cenic had pushed him out from his house saying: "What are you doing here, you son is a thief", striking him with the fist on his back and temple.

Then Todor Cvetkovski joined them with two young police officers, and after catching hold of her ear, started twisting it.

Her son Nenad Živković was stopped in Niška street, which is by the way one of the business one in town, opened the door of his car and started striking him with their fists on his head and then his chest and back. Nenad succeeded in escaping them and ran away towards his grandfather's house, where he fainted and heard later that his relatives took him to hospital. He supposed that the motive for beating him had been the intention of the

inspectors Cvetkovski and Cenić to use force and make him give back the debt to a women he had been living with for several years in an extramarital community; he also thought that she had paid to inspectors in order to take money by force.



The Committee would not exist with numerous activities of our organization without generous and timely help of Gradimir Nalić, Duško Ignjatović, Biljana Kovačević - Vučo, Igor Olujić, Dušan Janjić, Barbara Davis, Nikola Barović, Nataša Kandić, Sonja Biserko, Borka Pavićević, Rasim Ljajić, Petar Lađević and Goran Kostić.

We had a great help of other local and foreign non-profit organizations, diplomatic and consular representatives and media:

US-AID, SHC, International Danish League for Peace, Ecopax - Wirzburg, the embassies of Great Britain, Holland, the USA, Canada, Offices of UN for human rights from Belgrade, Westminster foundation, daily newspaper Danas.

I would like to express my special gratitude to my family: my wife Mirjana and my daughters Marija and Olivera, who have experienced various humiliation during all those past years and especially I thank them for their unlimited support in all activities of the Committee for human rights.

Dobrosav Nešić

# 10 years of fighting comittee for human rights leskovac • serbia

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