

# IT IS HEROISM TO TELL THE TRUTH – EXAMPLES OF HONEST SWISS ARCHIBALD REISS AND DICK MARTY<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Numerous atrocities were committed against Serbs by the Austro-Hungarian Army and its allies. A Swiss criminologist Archibald Reiss, Ph.D. documented them. He did not only make the expertise of the crimes, but also informed the world about the crimes and the perpetrators by publishing papers in the Western press of the period almost simultaneously when they happened. No advertising machinery could manage to oppose the truth that Reiss presented. The paper attempts to establish a historical vertical of Reiss's struggle for the truth about the Serbian people with the report of another Swiss – Dick Marty, Ph.D. Less than a century from the World War I, he submitted the report to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe about the crimes against the kidnapped Serbs by the so-called “Kosovo Liberation Army” and trade with human organs just after the end of the NATO aggression to FRY in 1999 and establishing of the UN protectorate over that part of Serbia. Dick Marty published the book about it “A Certain Idea of Justice” (2018/2019).

**Keywords:** Archibald Reiss, World War I, war crimes, KLA, NATO aggression on FRY in 1999, Dick Marty, historical parallel.

## INTRODUCTION

Actions of two Swiss regarding the atrocities against Serbs are presented by implementation of the document content analysis in the paper: the criminologist Archibald Reiss, Ph.D. and the lawyer, former cantonal prosecutor, then the member of the Swiss Council of States and the reporter of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Dick Marty. The former reported about the crimes during the World War I, just at the time when they happened. The latter presented to the world public just a part of atrocities over Serbs committed in

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<sup>1</sup> The paper is the result of the research within the scientific research project III 47023 *Kosovo and Metohija between National Identity and Euro-integrations* financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia

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Kosovo and Metohija by the so-called KLA<sup>3</sup> after the end of NATO aggression in 1999. Although their roles were historically different, it is certain that both of them deserve credit regarding the cognition of the Serbian suffering.

## REISS'S RECORDS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

Friendships from war last forever. It is understandable: a fellow soldier keeps the head of his friend. However, an unusual friendship, even more than that, was born during the World War I between one man and one whole nation. The Swiss of German origin Rudolph Archibald Reiss (*Rudolph Archibald Reiss*, 1875-1929) came to Serbia, on invitation of Pasić Government, to investigate Austro-Hungarian atrocities on the front in Macva and Pocerina. Reiss is the father of criminology as a scientific discipline, the founder of the Institute for Criminology in Lausanne and such a request was a professional challenge for him. Besides, by giving a professional report and its publishing, he would contribute to acknowledgement of the truth about the actions on the front in Europe and in the world. Describing his first meeting with Nikola Pasić in his memoirs *What I Saw and Lived in Great Days*<sup>4</sup>, Reiss wrote that by the end of war he remained “the official and neutral investigator of Serbian government and army”, but also when he saw “at front all the atrocities suffered by Serbian people from their cruel enemies, when I heard enemy’s bullets and shrapnel whistling around my head and I could not respond due to my neutral position, I soon left that position and became a Swiss volunteer of Serbian Army, a friend of magnificent warriors of Sumadija, Danube, Morava, Drina, Timok and Vardar. However, this new position never made me to abandon my objectivity of a professional and sworn investigator in front of the courts of my country and elsewhere. I made an oath to tell ‘the truth, nothing but the truth’. Now, ten years after the end of the war, I can say that I have not failed” (Reiss, 1997: 24). The first invitation to Reiss was to make a “questionnaire” about the atrocities of Austro-Hungary against Serbs in the summer of 1914. It should be noted that in methodological sense Reiss did not implement just a standard questionnaire, but rather an investigation method, the interview technique (see Milosavljević, Radosavljević, 2000: 506; Šuvaković, 2000: 102-113). However, considering the quoted memoir of Reiss, one might say that he implemented another sociological method that gave much deeper results when used correctly, just in the way Reiss did, which is – observation with participation “in the role of scientific observer” (s. Milić, 1996: 440). Of course, Reiss completely mastered the criminology techniques, so that he opened tombs, exhumed corpses, examined the abused and his reports based not only on sayings of others (captives, witnesses, wounded, soldiers, field marshals...), or on what he personally could see, learn,

3 In Serbian - “Ослободилачка војска Косова” (OBK), in Albanian - “Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës” (UÇK)

4 The first edition of this book, translated from French by Veljko Milićević, was published at the beginning of 1928, a year and a half before the death of Reiss in Belgrade. Reiss put the signature on the front page of the book: “R. A. Reiss honorable captain of Serbian army”

notice, feel, and he documented the allegations about the committed atrocities. "I was not pleased with investigations of hundreds of Austrian captives and hundreds of witnesses; I went to venues, sometimes in the middle of grenades, in order to report on everything that was possible to determine. I opened tombs, examined corpses and wounded, visited bombed cities, entered houses and performed a technical questionnaire according to the most scrupulous method; in short, I did everything in order to determine and check the facts displayed in this paper" (Reiss, 2014a: 37). Remaining in the Serbian army throughout the war, he made a complete report – a case study about the atrocities of Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Bulgarians (see Krstić Mistredželović, 2014) throughout the war. His records were used as findings of a professional about the atrocities of occupants in Serbia and their violation of the Hague Convention and the international Law of War at the peace conference in Paris. However, he did something else, something unusual regarding the expertise. Understanding the scale of atrocities performed by occupants and conquerors against the Serbian people, he immediately informed the world public. "Reiss was not waiting to submit an official report, but he, as the war correspondent of the already mentioned magazines, informed the world about the atrocities as soon as he acquired the knowledge about them. In this way, by informing the world, he tried to act preventively – if atrocities were revealed, maybe systematic commitment would stop" (Suvakovic, 2016: 7-8).

Reiss did not write only about the committed atrocities, he also reported on the discoveries as regards the ways atrocities were committed, and the attempts to endue them with a legal form of defending the Austro-Hungarian army from, for example, falsely accused Serbian villagers near Kosovska Mitrovica to be "Serbian Komitadji" allegedly having weapons, which was strictly forbidden and the punishment was – shooting. An Albanian local battalion excelled in such imputations for "justifying" atrocities (Reiss, in Pršić, Bojković, 1997: 276). It is evident from the reports that Reiss sent to Nikola Pasic on that occasion that this veracious Swiss was horrified by the atrocities committed against the Serbian civilian citizens, even disguised by giving them false legal forms. Actually, such actions supported at Kosovo and Metohija by one foreign force – the war enemy of Serbia<sup>5</sup>, were just a precursor of the contemporary concept of *ethnic cleansing* (see Šuvaković, Rakić, 2017) that Kosovo Albanians systematically committed against the Serbs living there in continuity from the return of Kosmet to Serbia in Balkan Wars until today (Šuvaković, 2011; Šuvaković, 2014).

However, Reiss did not just document the most severe crimes – those including murders, persecutions, rapes, bombing civil objects and similar, but determines the smallest infringements of the international law, especially of the international

<sup>5</sup> In the Reiss's era these were Austro-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania and Italy, during the World War II these were Germany, Italy and Albania, while in the last decade of the last and the first two decades of this century it is NATO guided by America. Therefore, foreign patrons of Albanian atrocities over the Serbian citizens changed in accordance with the changes of international circumstances, but the continuity of the atrocities has remained, as well as the constant protection of the perpetrators by powerful forces, with the aim of destabilization of Serbia and this part of Europe.

law of war (s. Surlan, 2016), trying to sustain them not only by declarations of witnesses, but also with material evidence. For example, when performing his “questionnaire” he faced the statements of citizens of Palanka and Grocka that the Serbs from former regions of Austro-Hungary, “who have become Serbian citizens, as well as the Serbian refugees from the other side of the Sava and the Danube, were recruited to Austro-Hungarian army”, which represented an infringement of the international law of war, more precisely of the Hague Convention on laws and conventions of war ashore (Art. 23 Item 2 of the Convention) (s. Knežević-Predić and others, 2007: 311). He established from a discovered Austro-Hungarian document dated 19 January 1918 that a shepherd Paso Oglu Idris was recruited in a platoon of Austro-Hungarian army, from the canton Kosovo, and concluded: “Canton Kosovo is Serbian from 1913 and Paso was recruited in 1916. Therefore, there is no doubt that this Austro-Hungarian document tacitly recognizes recruiting of a Serbian citizen to army of the enemy. Since people from Vienna and Budapest acted in the same manner with Serbs from Kosovo, since Paso surely was not the only one that was recruited to the army of the late Dual Monarchy, the statements of witnesses from Palanka and Grocka are surely also true” (Reiss, in Pršić, Bojković, 1997: 304). Reiss also indicated to confining of civil citizens, with example of Prishtina that was “immediately divided into Bulgarian and Austro-Hungarian part, with the river running through the city as the border. Then they started to confine citizens, especially clergymen, not leaving even one... A notable Turk, H..., told me that he mourned Serbian authorities, since they never acted like Germans and Bulgarians” (Reiss, in Pršić, Bojković, 1997: 244).

Portraits given in a special part of his memoirs titled “Serbian Chiefs” about King Peter, Regent Alexander, the dukes Putnik, Misić, Stepa Stepanović and Bojović represent a special part of Reiss’s documents. However, it is not everything: he also wrote about the general Sturm, in the “Letters from Serbian-Macedonian Front” in which he described the funeral of the duke Vuk with undisguised admiration the spirit of Serbian people, etc. illustrating Serbian leadership, stressing the peasant origin that he highly appreciated, he naturally saw them as leaders of the people in a great epic. According to his conclusion, they “saved Serbia and created the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. Civil chiefs could not do that, it must be said, because they could never completely forget their quarrels of party politicians, and in order to save the country from the terrible situation in which it was, a complete unity was required to sacrifice everything to a single idea: salvation of the country” (Reiss, 1997: 263).

What is obvious is that Archibald Reiss did not write anything about the Albanian Golgotha. He presented the following explanation for that in his memoirs: “I am very sorry, but I had to exclude the terrible, but yet so glorious drama of the retreat through Albania. That subject is too big, so deep, it is impossible to speak about it in a necessarily limited chapter of a work comprising the whole war. If the circumstances allow, I will dedicate a whole book to this great event” (Reiss, 1997: 11). Unfortunately, Reiss had died before he wrote this book, so we have no data from him about this epic of the Serbian army and the people, except for frag-

mentary data, still expressing his estimation of that event. "Attacked from Austro-German forces, supplied with all the contemporary war instruments, Serbia was occupied and its army, followed by numerous citizens, was retreating through the cold and hostile Albania. I will describe in a special book how terrible this retreatment of a whole army and whole people was, who lost their country, but were not defeated" (Reiss, 1997: 110). Obviously polemicizing with someone who criticized retreatment through Albania, he wrote the following on 14 June 1917: "It is true, Serbia is still today under the occupational yoke, but I am sure that tomorrow it will be free, due to the victims of the retreat through Albania. Some reproached to the Headquarters for not performing this retreat with less victims. It is easy to criticize now, but was it not the performance of this retreat a miracle? Could other armies perform it? I do not believe. And, regardless the moral characteristics of Serbian people, was it not that the work of the Headquarters managers that contributed a lot to this miracle?" (Reiss, 1997: 213). Therefore, although he did not write the "report" about the Albanian Golgotha, as he did it regarding the other sufferings of the Serbs in the World War I, Reiss gave a doubtless historical evaluation of this historical foray, being the participant himself.

We present here the examples of testimonies that the honest Swiss left as the evidence about the atrocities committed during the World War I. However, they had at least three important functions: except for a) fulfillment of the basic duty of Reiss, which was to establish crimes as a sworn witness and criminology expert, their volume, infringement of the international law of war, etc. and b) representing the legal (peace conference in Paris) and historical source (for all researchers, primarily in the field of historical, but also other sciences), they had another, not the least important function: c) counterpropaganda<sup>6</sup>. Namely, already with the beginning of the World War I, for which in the serious historiography the Vidovdan assassination in Sarajevo is considered the *occasion*, Serbia was accused by the Central Powers to be *the offender* and *the cause* of the outburst. Unfortunately, such accusations are actualized again, approaching to the centennial of the outburst<sup>7</sup>. Archibald Reiss, without any doubt, parried such accusation more than a century ago. He took over the duty of a war correspondent for the magazines published in Switzerland, France and Holland: *Gazette de Lausanne* (Lausanne), *Le Petit Parisien* (Paris) and *De Telegraaf* (Amsterdam). Performing the duty of a war correspondent was equally important for the "Serbian cause" as the criminal expertise he was performing. Namely, the war propaganda was at that time, as well as a century later, against Serbia and Serbian people. It was necessary that someone with a serious authority in the public opinion of western countries testify about the truth, confirm that it was not as Austro-Hungarian and German

<sup>6</sup> Issue of propaganda in war, using media for mobilization of "ours" and spreading defeatism to "theirs" is very actual in contemporariness. It is considered that Fuller's theory of warfare was the one that "for the first time seriously considered the importance of media war and propaganda as the integral part of warfare" (Sekulić, 2011: 141; see also Jevtovic, Aracki, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Clark, professor of history at the University of Cambridge, published in his book the most famous revisionist allegations (2012).

media of that period were presenting it. Reiss was the perfect person for such an attempt. He published 108 articles just in the Lausanne magazine *Gazette de Lausanne* in the period September 1914 – October 1918 (Reiss, 2014b). Their value was in their immediate publishing, they represented reports from the first lines of front, opposing the war propaganda of occupying powers. In that sense, it is important to point out that it is surely brave to tell the truth, but it is even bigger if it is announced timely. This is the great importance of Reiss's attempt. In his letters he did not write only about atrocities against Serbs during the war; he also gave a genesis of the conflict. For example, in his public polemic with Dr. Turtulis, Reiss explained the relationship between the Serbian and the Albanian states and indicated that great powers were constantly using Albania as instrument against Serbia, testifying also about Kosovo Albanians using as instrument: "The bloodiest conflicts that the Third Serbian Army fought near Ferizovic (later Urosevac, near Kosovo), as well as the Ibar Army near Novi Pazar, were just against Albanians" (Reiss, 2014b: 103, 105). Other than the relationship with Albanians, he explained in his letter the ethnogenesis of Dalmatian citizens, presented the interview with Nikola Pasic, described the visit to King Peter, eagerly polemicizes and keenly presenting facts. Everything in the period when things were overtaking each other. "He was describing crimes, explaining situation in Serbia, mutual relations between Serbia and allies, future of South Slavs, relations between Serbia and Albania, but also between the states – participants in Balkan Wars that were extremely complex" (Subošić, Zec, 2017: 483).

## NATO AGGRESSION IN 1999 AND SERBIA WITHOUT REISS

A little more than a century after the outburst of the World War I, Serbia is struggling again for the survival. Extortion of a part of its territory is at stake – the Autonomous Province Kosovo and Metohija, where the local Albanian separatists unilaterally declared the so-called "independence" in 2008. Of course, it was just a part of the process of breakup of Yugoslavia, which started in the nineties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Šuvaković, Stevanović, 2018), and unfortunately still lasts (Šuvaković, 2012). However, Serbia did not have Archibald Reiss in that period, who would place the truth about the local events to the world. Indeed, there were journalists trying to do this, but their information – which was later confirmed to be truthful – was very soon buried with piles of propaganda lies published in *main stream media*<sup>8</sup>. Even when Serbia alone was managing to excel the enemy propaganda by placing only the truth – the television broadcasting of the "results"

<sup>8</sup> As known, the so-called massacre in Racak was the *cassus belli* for the NATO aggression on the FRY. However, the French journalists Christophe Chatelot (Le Monde) and Renaud Girard (Le Figaro), as well as the team from AP TV that was making the film – anti-terroristic action of the Serbian police in Racak, witnessed that there was no massacre in Racak. However, the statement of William Graham Walker already went around the world and took title pages of main media, so that their reports remained unnoticed.

of NATO aggression in 1999 - the western aggressors decided to stop that. They did it in a drastic, criminal way – by rocketing the building of the Radio Television Serbia, killing 16 employees there. After establishment of the new authorities on 5 October 2000, they managed to avoid responsibility for those who ordered the crime, but for the general manager of RTS because he did not “evacuate the building”. It is forgotten, of course, that the headquarters of a television station cannot be a military target<sup>9</sup>, as well as it could not be the passenger train in Grdelica canyon that was rocketed, together with its passengers, killing on the spot 13 passengers, with an explanation that it was a “collateral damage”. A target could not also be little Milica killed in Batajnica while she was sitting on her chamber pot. Practically, there was no foreign reporter during the NATO aggression that would dare to testify about crimes, let alone a criminalistic expert who would document them all<sup>10</sup>. Even worse: the verdict was brought in front of the district court in Belgrade for the atrocities committed during the 78 days of the NATO aggression against the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance and member states, establishing the responsibility, among others, for killing at least 546 killed soldiers of Yugoslav Army (YA), 138 policemen (members of Ministry of Internal Affairs - MI) and 507 civilians<sup>11</sup>, 1191 people in total. However, the DOS authorities after

9 Trying to revise the history, NATO promoters in Serbia spread various disinformation, in order to try to justify the crime of rocketing the building of RTS. One of them, Zoran Ostojić, recently contended that members of the Yugoslav Army were in the building of RTS, which made it the target for NATO (sic!). See <https://www.balkaninfo.rs/emisija/aktuelno-istina-o-zlocinima-i-izdaji-srbije-zoran-ostojic-i-uros-suvakovic-24-3-2019/> 1:02:17 - 1:02:23 (approached on 13/04/2019). Unlike him, the organization Amnesty International immediately published the report indicating that the rocketing of RTS was a war crime, antithetical to the provisions of the Article 52 (2) of the Protocol I of Geneva Convention (see AI, June 2000). After the terroristic attack on the Parisian satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo (Charlie Hebdo) in 2015, the professor Noam Chomsky compared that crime, condemned by the whole world, with NATO rocketing of the RTS building, which was almost concealed: “The reason has to do with the concept ‘living memory’, a category carefully constructed to include Their crimes against us while scrupulously excluding Our crimes against them -- the latter not crimes but noble defense of the highest values, sometimes inadvertently flawed” (Chomsky, 2015)

10 Not only that there was no one who would *truthfully* testify about atrocities against Serbs, but also experts were found who were forced at that time to support in their reports the false accusation of William Walker regarding the “massacre in Racak” committed by Serbs. The Finnish pathologist Helena Ranta testified in her memoirs that she had succumbed to such a pressure. Her remorse, of course, came too late. In the context of scientific explanation and creation of the typology of American war propaganda, the uncommitted “massacre in Racak” is determined by researchers as “mythical bloodshed” (see Herman, Peterson, 2010: 95-101; Barbulović, Jevtović, Popović, Lakićević, 2004: 113-122).

11 The verdict K. No. 381/2000 of the District Court in Belgrade. This verdict implied the atrocities in the period 24 March 1999 – 10 June 1999 committed by NATO and/or KLA, since the court considered that this terrorist organization during the aggression had actually the role of NATO infantry. Namely, NATO was not only giving a logistic support to KLA (arming them, training their members in military camps in Albania, etc.), but also was giving a fire support in their clashes with regular forces of the YA and MI, making their actions actually – the armed concurring. The verdict integrated all the atrocities for which it was possible to perform investigation (which means until 10 June 1999 when Serbian bodies were precluded to perform investigations at the territory of AP K&M), and regarding the category of civilians those who were killed on the spot were integrated, so that the number did not comprise

the 5 October 2000 terminated this verdict, in order to cover the number of deceased and provide amnesty for the responsible.

## A SWISS AGAIN TESTIFIES ABOUT ATROCITIES AGAINST SERBS – DICK MARTY’S REPORT

The consequences are horrible: accused of crimes that were not committed systematically, Serbia had to accept protectorate of the UN over Kosovo and Metohija (K&M); the thing it did not need to do, but it did under the pressure of the West, was the surrender of the whole state, military and police leadership to the so-called Hague Tribunal, where they were prosecuted for defending their country. Regarding the crimes of Albanians against Serbs, during a centennial period, and especially during the NATO aggression and just after it when around 250000 Serbs and non-Albanians were deported from the territory of the southern Serbian province –there was silence. The silence was interrupted again by a Swiss, Dick Marty (Dick Marty)<sup>12</sup>, a senator in his country and the Special Rapporteur of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. In his Report “Inhuman treatment of people and illicit trafficking in human organs in Kosovo” at the end of 2010, adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe at the beginning of 2011, he connected detentions of a great number of Serbs and “disloyal” Albanians (regarding the so-called KLA) with extraction of human organs, sustaining allegations that these were taken in the territory of Albania and sold to rich clients; he connected the leaders of Kosovo Albanians with this and oth-

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those who died from wounds e.g. few days later. The number of killed established by the court DID NOT COMPRISE: a) members of the YA and MI killed during the antiterrorist struggle against KLA from the 10 February 1998 to 24 March 1999. Therefore, if those victims are added, the number is 1002 killed, only the members of the YA and MI forces of Serbia and FRY (Milošević, 2000: 8). In that case, the number of killed would be 1509. b) civilians registered as missing persons, in most cases without any knowledge about them even today, 20 years after the NATO aggression, so that it can be established that they were killed. There are 1398 kidnapped and missing civilians in the period 1 January 1998 – 1 November 2011, and 43 members of the YA and MI. It is interesting to notice that the greatest number of civilians was kidnapped after the arrival of the international forces to Kosovo and Metohija (K&M), even 82.6%, (the Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2001). c) Numerous victims should also be added to this, suspected to be victims of the consequences from radiation caused by effects of the ammunition with depleted uranium, which is the subject of a parliamentary investigation in Serbia; d) finally, this number does not comprise killed terrorists, members of the so-called KLA – citizens of Serbia, whose death as a rule was not reported to our authorities. As later investigations showed, more soldiers and policemen were killed in conflicts with the so-called KLA, than from the impacts of NATO forces that, on their side, killed more civilians, even more morally disqualifying the North Atlantic Alliance (Stevanović, 2019: 106-107).

12It should be admitted that, before him, Carla del Ponte (Carla del Ponte), the Chief Prosecutor of the so-called Hague Tribunal (ICTY), in her book of memoirs “Madam Prosecutor” (2008), after termination of that international function, revealed the initial doubts and data about the crimes regarding the organs sale, committed by members of KLA. However, while she was the prosecutor, when she had the power to do something regarding the disclosure of committers and punishment, she did not do it.

er committed war crimes, as well as other criminal activities (drug trafficking, among other things). His conclusion was that it was necessary to investigate and punish those crimes (Marty, 2010). According to Marty, collecting data for his report was more than hard, confronted with numerous obstructions, threats and messages: "It was told to me between the lines that there was no interest to dig into those old cases and that it would be good not to reveal some aspects from the past. Serbs are evil and it must not be changed: it may jeopardize even the stability of the region... The quest for witnesses was very difficult, much more difficult than during the investigation regarding the CIA prisons. In addition, it was more dangerous... among the witnesses we met, one of them confessed that he participated in crimes. Due to his testimony, we could describe how organs, primarily kidneys, were extracted from the bodies of killed Serbian prisoners" (Marty, 2019: 247, 256). The investigation was conducted on basis of Marty's analyses, primarily by EULEX mission, since Marty's report was not similar to a criminalistic report, but contained only clues and directions for some future investigation. However, the fact that he had the experience of the prosecutor in his country and legal knowledge surely helped him in performing the tasks imposed on him by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Marty himself indicated that he had performed interviews with a great number of witnesses when he was preparing the report, claiming that those were "direct witnesses of events, who were able to testify about what they saw and heard personally" (Miloradović, 2011). However, anxiety for the safety of the witnesses of those crimes arises from this and other interviews of Dick Marty.

Establishing of an *ad hoc* court that should elucidate these crimes was initiated only in 2014, while in the middle of 2017 "conditions were acquired" for this court to start working. The first requests for KLA commanders to give their statements were sent at the end of 2018. An impression is irresistibly imposed that enough time is left for discovering identity of witnesses, so that they can be removed. An accusing fact illustrates the obstruction of international scale, again displayed by Dick Marty himself, that evidence about organ trafficking performed by the so-called KLA in K&M and in Albania, collected within the investigation of the so-called Hague Prosecutor's Office, the so-called Hague Tribunal destroyed<sup>13</sup>.

It is possible to notice that this report has arrived with a great delay. Dick Marty truthfully resented what he acknowledged, but eleven years later, when many traces of crimes were removed and witnesses disappeared (Surlan, 2016: 22). The guilt is not his, but of the so-called international community that evidently tried to relinquish Albanian atrocities against Serbs at K&M to oblivion with the passage of time. "The time goes against the research for the truth. With good reason

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<sup>13</sup> "Evidence, collected on the assumed crime scene, was simply thrown away to garbage... According to the official explanation, TPY was not authorized to perform investigation on basis of these crime accusations. They happened in Albania, therefore outside the court's jurisdiction. Even more, events happened allegedly after 15 June 1999, the date after which possibly committed crimes were not under jurisdiction of the International Court. Therefore, it is not our business!" (Marty, 2019: 257)

we ask ourselves if this is what is wanted” (Marty, 2019: 261). There was no political will of powerful Western countries that supported the so-called independence of Kosovo to face the public of their own states with crimes committed by their wards from the so-called KLA. Therefore, his report did not even try to flush the blemish that Western media had fathered on Serbia as perpetrator for all events in the Balkan region, especially at K&M<sup>14</sup>. In a way, he was trying to establish a symmetry between those that were destroying the country for the secession of a part of its territory (even supported by the most powerful military alliance in the world at that time) and those that defended it, proving the thesis that there were crimes on both sides, but not realizing that there were crimes also on behalf of the so-called KLA and NATO even before 10 June 1999. He investigated only the period after the official cessation of NATO aggression. Indeed, it should be noticed that the greatest part of missing persons disappeared just in the period of establishing the UN protectorate on K&M (see footnote 8).

In his book, according to his saying written at the moment when he had doubts how much time he was left due to the illness, he wanted to record his acknowledgements. Marty exposed some other important attitudes, conclusions and suspicions regarding Kosovo: the NATO aggression to FRY in 1999 was “contrary to international law” due to absence of the competent decision of the United Nations Security Council (Marty, 2019: 252); geostrategic aims of the NATO intervention “requested by USA” – “Balkan is in the crossroads of gas pipelines... NATO obviously has tendency to expand to the East” (Marty, 2019: 253); he established that there was a suspicion that Camp Bondsteel near Urosevac “served as a secret CIA prison within the war against terrorism” (Marty, 2019: 254)<sup>15</sup>; KLA is financed by racketeering Albanian diaspora or the funds “originated from drug trafficking and prostitution” (Marty, 2019: 254); Hashim Thaci was “engaged as the agent of French intelligence service” (Marty, 2019: 254); he indicated to the systematic corruption and economic interests of the highest American officials, like Madeleine Albright, for whom he said that it was “discovered that she had economic interests in the former Serbian province, especially in the Kosovo telephone company” (Marty, 2019: 264), the American ambassador to K&M Christopher Dell, who provided the construction of highway to American company Bechtel “which will provide for him a well paid function” (Marty, 2019: 248), the American general Steven Schook, UNMIK Deputy Chief, who became an advisor for Ramush Haradinaj (Marty, 2019: 248). He does not disguise the contempt for

14 In his report, quoting its parts also in his latest book, Marty wrote that “population of Albanian ethnic origin has suffered terrible violence, which was the consequence of the crazy politics of ethnic cleansing ordered by the dictator from Belgrade of that time” (Marty, 2019: 252). Therefore, he has no doubts about the media *main stream* version, according to which the guilt is on Serbia and president Milošević, but he accepts that as the starting premise. Simply, he does not want to discuss that he wants “neutrally” to find reasonable evidence for committed crimes against Serbs, as well after 10 June 1999, which was the task accredited by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Therefore, Marty’s focus is just on that, outside the complete context of the event and its revision.

15 Author of this paper expressed this suspicion even in 2014 (Šuvaković, 2014: 104)

Thaci and the so-called Drenica Group, indirectly suggesting their responsibility for the crimes for which he submitted his Report to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which he quotes in his book: “Indicators of the collusion between crime and persons with political responsibility and institutional functions are too numerous and serious to be ignored” (Marty, 2019: 259). These observations from his book – that are similar to Reiss’s observations other than the main course of investigation – still indicate that he is aware what the so-called “Kosovo independence has brought”, how and why this project was created. However, he writes about it only at the moment when he expects to depart from his life; almost a decade before writing his memoirs, he just fact-oriented indicated to the evidence of atrocities for which he should submit a report.

## CONCLUSION

Historical parallel between Reiss and Marty is necessarily imposed: it is a heroic act to tell the truth, even late. If Marty’s report results in convictions for the crimes committed after June 1999, it is certain that we shall not wait long to ask questions about the crimes of the so-called KLA before this date and indisputably the main question is whether the “right” (to secession in this case) be based on the crime. Legal theory gave an answer to this question a long time ago. However, establishing the relation of ethnic imperatives between the two Swiss, there is no doubt that Reiss’s is much higher. Marty acts bureaucratically, legally; there is no attempt in his report for a critical consideration if Serbs were victims and in which period and, if they were, to show solidarity with them. He deals just with one special case, submitting the report about it, but not disputing the lies that preceded that crime against Serbs, but records them as truthful and – goes on. Indeed, in his memoir book he mocks proponents of the so-called “humanitarian interventions” like Kouchner and Bernard-Henry Levy, expressing his attitude against the so-called “Kosovo independence”, again explaining that by legal reasons, without entering the merit of the Kosovo issue – that it is the region of the essential importance for the existence of the Serbian national identity. Reiss with no doubt bespeaks “neutrality is not possible in front of the crime”<sup>16</sup>. However, from the ethnical point of view, Reiss’s moral imperative does not leave a possibility for comparison with anybody’s actions before or after him. He does not act like a clerk, which he is not, nor like a scientist of positivist orientation – which he is, but like a man with a clear attitude based on the principles of humanism, announcing the attitude immediately, at the moment when the conflicts takes place. If the complete mechanism of international community, incarnated in the so-called Hague Tribunal and its Prosecutor’s Office, has taken Reiss’s ethical imperative, perpetrators of atrocities against Serbs and other nations during 1999

<sup>16</sup> Archibald Reiss started his lecture with this sentence at Sorbonne, on the theme “About behavior of Austro-Hungarians in Serbia, where they interposed”, held in the beginning of 1916. See Rudolphe Archibald Reiss, *What I have Seen and Lived in Great Days* (Belgrade: Mladost turist, Itaka, 1997) 68.

and later, when our southern province got under protectorate of the UN, would be processed and convicted a long time ago. Instead, international community was very biased in this situation (as well as in many other issues during the Yugoslav crisis regarding the relation with Serbia and Serbs), showing unconcern, soft-spoken, for the atrocities committed against Serbs. Therefore, the act of Dick Marty, regardless the referred limitations of his Report, is sublime. He had enough strengthened will to establish a) that such a monstrous crime of organ trafficking from the kidnapped Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija was performed, even in an organized manner, b) that it was performed by the so-called KLA and with the knowledge of the leaders of that organization, who are now civilian leaders of Albanians at K&M, c) that the territory of the adjacent state – Albania was also used for the commission of the crime. He managed to d) make the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe accept such the Report and all his recommendations, which created the basis for criminal prosecution of perpetrators by other bodies of the international community. Finally, e) publishing his memoir book in 2018 in Switzerland and the Serbian translation in 2019 which represents an important supplement of that report, both from the aspect of remembering the atrocities against Serbs committed by KLA and the aspect of understanding the “achievements” of NATO regarding the so-called “Kosovo independence”. In the atmosphere of stigmatization of Serbia, it is a great and heroic act.

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