INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

CASE CONCERNING APPLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE FINANCING OF TERRORISM AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(UKRAINE V. RUSSIAN FEDERATION)

COUNTER-MEMORIAL ON THE CASE CONCERNING APPLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE FINANCING OF TERRORISM

SUBMITTED BY THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

VOLUME IV

(ANNEXES 156 - 268)

9 August 2021

The Annexes contained in this Volume are either true copies of the original documents referred to in the Counter-Memorial, or translations (marked accordingly) from their original language into English, an official language of the Court, pursuant to Article 51 of the Rules of Court.

Pursuant to Article 51(3) of the Rules of Court, some translations are confined to parts of the annexes, as indicated at the beginning of the respective annexes. In further compliance with this Rule, the Russian Federation has provided two certified copies of the full documents in their original language with its submission. The Russian Federation stands ready to provide more extensive partial translations or a complete translation of submitted documents should the Court so require.

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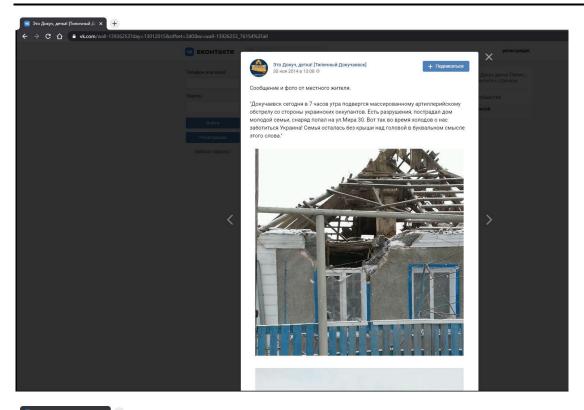
2A36 'Giatsint-B'"

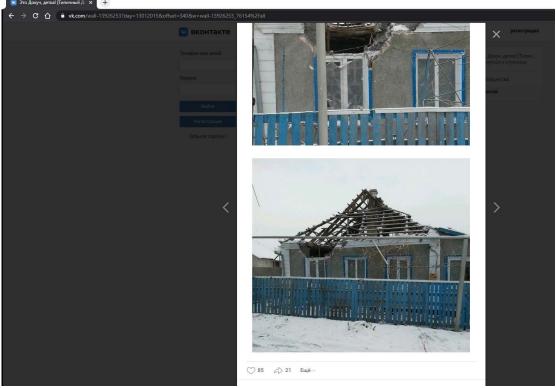
VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk], 30 November 2014

Translation

SOURCE: VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchaevsk] https://vk.com/wall-13926253?day=13012015&offset=340&w=wall-13926253 76154%2Fall

30 November 2014





Original text:

Сообщение и фото от местного жителя.

"Докучаевск сегодня в 7 часов утра подвергся массированному артиллерийскому обстрелу со стороны украинских оккупантов. Есть разрушения, пострадал дом молодой семьи, снаряд попал на ул.Мира 30. Вот так во время холодов о нас заботиться Украина! Семья осталась без крыши над головой в буквальном смысле этого слова."

Translation:

Message and photo from a local resident.

"Today at 7 am Dokuchayevsk was subjected to a mass artillery bombardment from the direction of the Ukrainian occupants. There is destruction, the house of a young family was damaged, a shell landed on 30 Mira Street. That's how Ukraine takes care of us during the frosts! A family is left without a roof over their heads, in the most literal sense of the word."





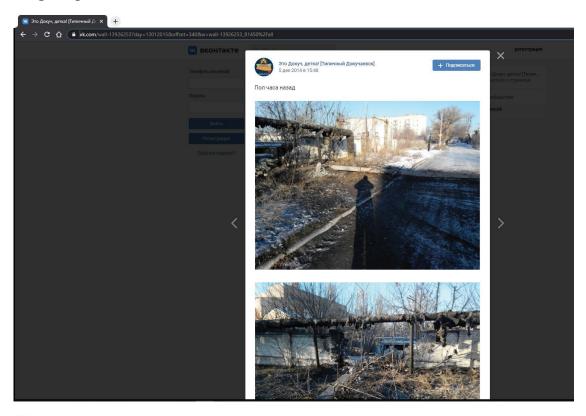
VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk], 5 December 2014

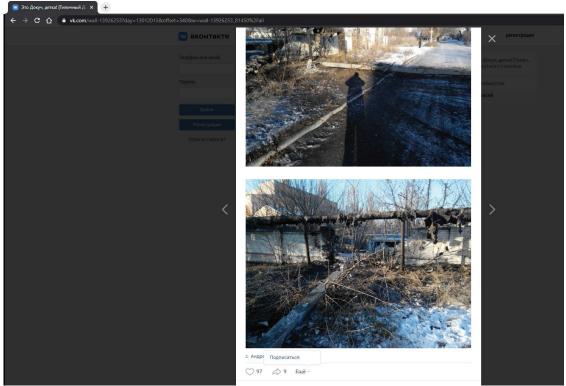
Translation

SOURCE: VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk] https://vk.com/wall-13926253?day=13012015&offset=340&w=wall-13926253 81450%2Fall

5 December 2014

Original post:





Original text:

Пол часа назад

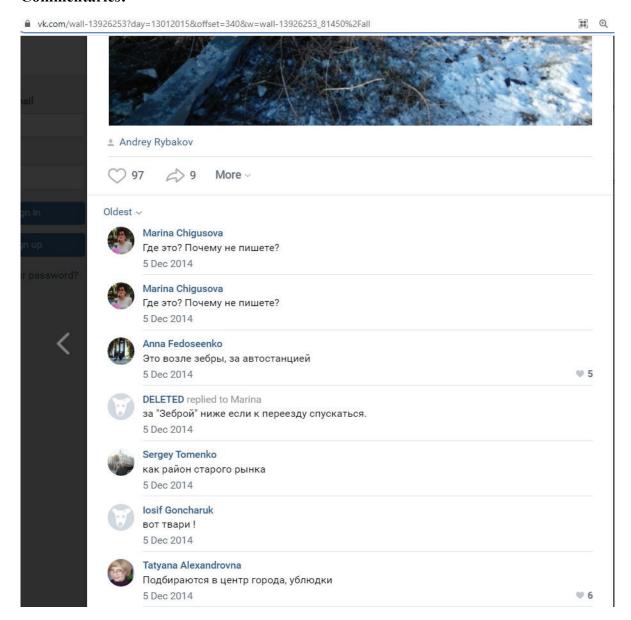
<u>Translation:</u>

Half an hour ago





Commentaries:



Original text:

Marina Chigusova

Где это? Почему не пишете?

Marina Chigusova

Где это? Почему не пишете?

Anna Fedoseenko

Это возле зебры, за автостанцией

DELETED replied to Marina

за "Зеброй" ниже если к переезду спускаться.

Sergey Tomenko

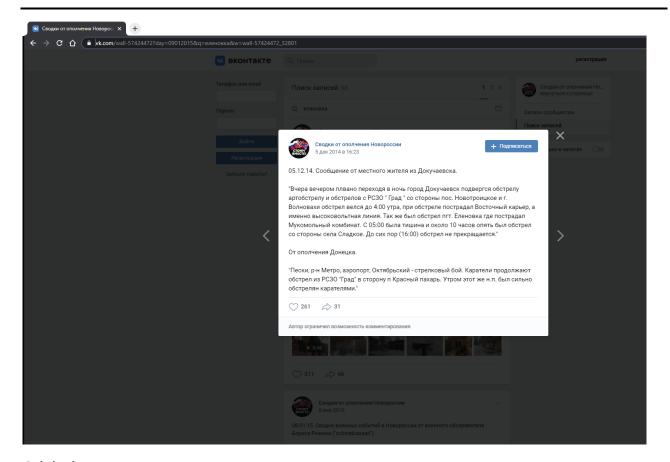
как район старого рынка **Iosif Goncharuk** вот твари! Tatyana Alexandrovna Подбираются в центр города, ублюдки **Translation:** Marina Chigusova Where did this happen? Why do you not specify? Marina Chigusova Where did this happen? Why do you not specify? Anna Fedoseenko It's near the Zebra [café], behind the bus terminal **DELETED** replied to Marina Behind the Zebra [café], if you go down to the crossing. Sergey Tomenko the area of the old market **Iosif Goncharuk** Those bastards! Tatyana Alexandrovna

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 5 December 2014

Translation

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=05122014&w=wall-57424472 32801%2Fall

5 December 2014



Original text:

05.12.14. Сообщение от местного жителя из Докучаевска.

"Вчера вечером плвано переходя в ночь город Докучаевск подвергся обстрелу артобстрелу и обстрелов с РСЗО "Град" со стороны пос. Новотроицкое и г. Волновахи обстрел велся до 4:00 утра, при обстреле пострадал Восточный карьер, а именно высоковольтная линия. Так же был обстрел пгт. Еленовка где пострадал Мукомольный комбинат. С 05:00 была тишина и около 10 часов опять был обстрел со стороны села Сладкое. До сих пор (16:00) обстрел не прекращается."

От ополчения Донецка.

"Пески, р-н Метро, аэропорт, Октябрьский - стрелковый бой. Каратели продолжают обстрел из РСЗО "Град" в сторону п Красный пахарь. Утром этот же н.п. был сильно обстрелян карателями."

Translation:

5 December 2014 Report from local resident of Dokuchayevsk.

"Yesterday, on the verge between evening and night the town of Dokuchayevsk was subjected to [conventional] artillery fire and Grad MLRS fire from the direction of Novotroitske settlement and Volnovakha; the shelling continued until 4:00 am, with the East Quarry, namely the high-voltage line, sustaining shelling damage. Also shelled was the village of Olenivka, where a flour-mill plant was hit. Since 05:00 it was quiet, and then around 10:00 there was shelling again from the direction of the village of Solodke. Until now (16:00) the shelling has not stopped."

From the Donetsk militia.

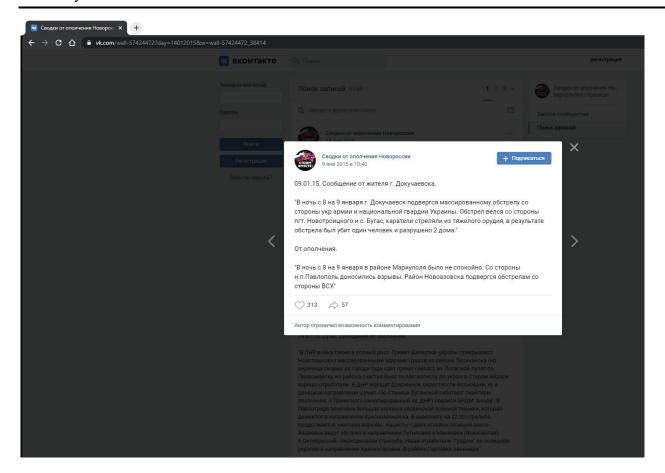
"Pisky, the district of Metro, the airport, Oktyabrsky — small arms fight. Punitive squads continue shellings with the use of Grad MLRS in the direction of Krasny Pakhar. In the morning, the same settlement was heavily shelled by the punitive squads."

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 9 January 2015

Translation

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38414

9 January 2015



Original text:

09.01.15. Сообщение от жителя г. Докучаевска.

"В ночь с 8 на 9 января г. Докучаевск подвергся массированному обстрелу со стороны укр армии и национальной гвардии Украины. Обстрел велся со стороны пгт. Новотроицкого и с. Бугас, каратели стреляли из тяжелого орудия, в результате обстрела был убит один человек и разрушено 2 дома."

От ополчения.

"В ночь с 8 на 9 января в районе Мариуполя было не спокойно. Со стороны н.п.Павлополь доносились взрывы. Район Новоазовска подвергся обстрелам со стороны ВСУ."

Translation:

09.01.15 Report from local resident of Dokuchayevsk.

"On the night of 8–9 January, Dokuchayevsk came under heavy fire of the Ukrainian army and the National Guard. The shelling came from the villages Novotroitske and Buhas, the punitive squads

fired heavy weaponry, as a result of the shelling one person was killed and two houses were destroyed."

From the militia.

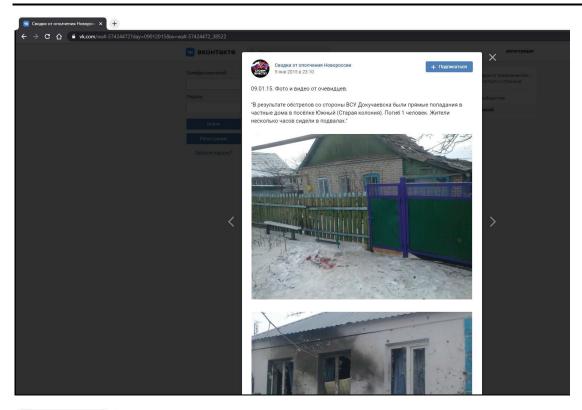
"On the night of 8–9 January, it was not quiet near Mariupol. Explosions were heard from the direction of Pavlopil settlement. The area of Novoazovsk came under the UAF fire."

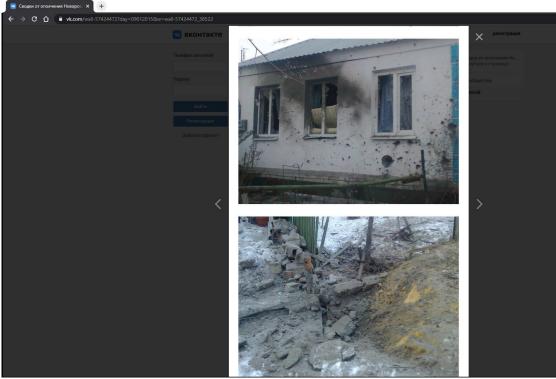
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 9 January 2015

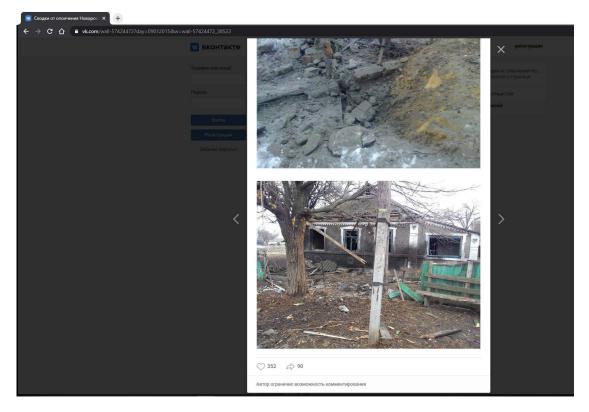
<u>Translation</u>

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=09012015&w=wall-57424472 38522

9 January 2015







Original text:

09.01.15. Фото и видео от очевидцев.

"В результате обстрелов со стороны ВСУ Докучаевска были прямые попадания в частные дома в посёлке Южный (Старая колония). Погиб 1 человек. Жители несколько часов сидели в подвалах."

Translation:

9 January 2015 Photo and video from eyewitnesses.

"As a result of the shellings of Dokuchayevsk by the Ukrainian Armed Forces, private houses in the village of Yuzhny (Stara Kolonia) suffered direct hits. One person was killed. Residents stayed in their basements for several hours."



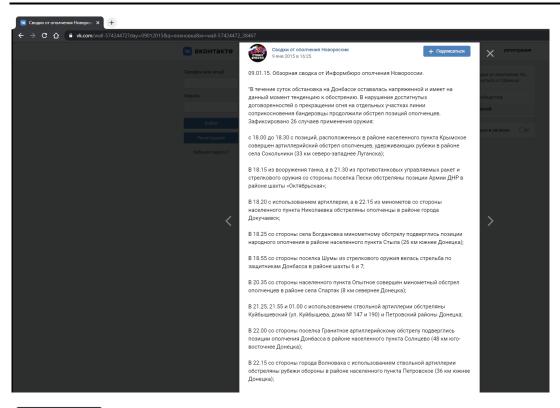


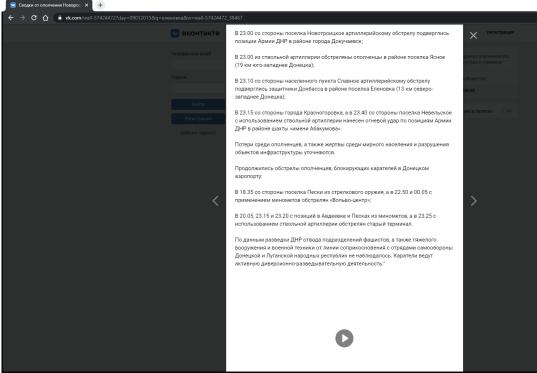


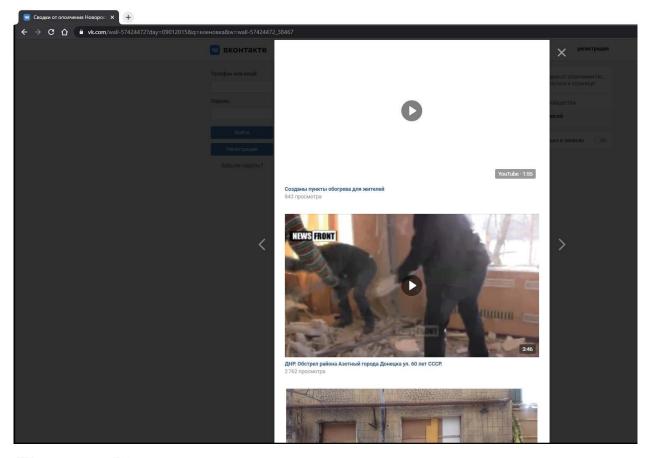
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 9 January 2015

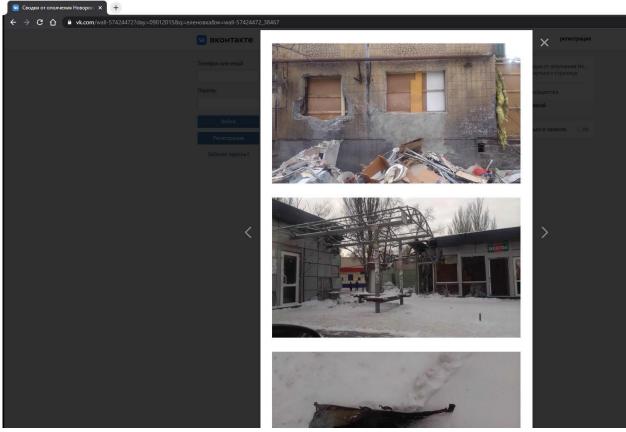
SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=09012015&w=wall-57424472 38467%2Fall

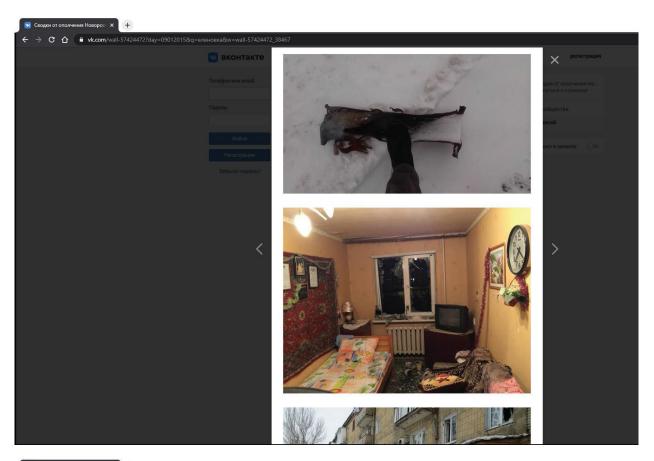
9 January 2015

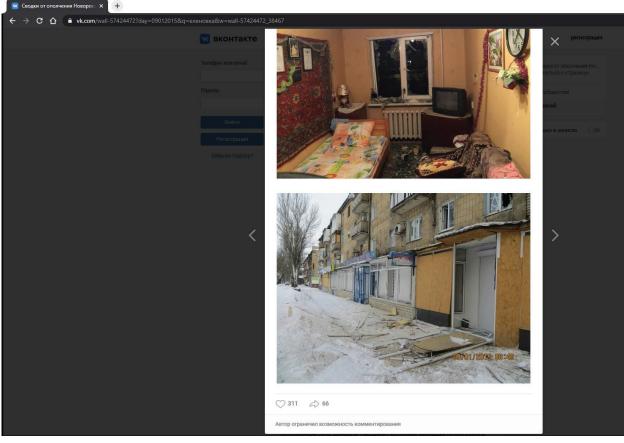












Original text:

09.01.15. Обзорная сводка от Информбюро ополчения Новороссии.

"В течение суток обстановка на Донбассе оставалась напряженной и имеет на данный момент тенденцию к обострению. В нарушение достигнутых договоренностей о прекращении огня на отдельных участках линии соприкосновения бандеровцы продолжили обстрел позиций ополченцев. Зафиксировано 26 случаев применения оружия:

с 18.00 до 18.30 с позиций, расположенных в районе населенного пункта Крымское совершен артиллерийский обстрел ополченцев, удерживающих рубежи в районе села Сокольники (33 км северо-западнее Луганска);

В 18.15 из вооружения танка, а в 21.30 из противотанковых управляемых ракет и стрелкового оружия со стороны поселка Пески обстреляны позиции Армии ДНР в районе шахты «Октябрьская»;

В 18.20 с использованием артиллерии, а в 22.15 из минометов со стороны населенного пункта Николаевка обстреляны ополченцы в районе города Докучаевск;

В 18.25 со стороны села Богдановка минометному обстрелу подверглись позиции народного ополчения в районе населенного пункта Стыла (26 км южнее Донецка);

В 18.55 со стороны поселка Шумы из стрелкового оружия велась стрельба по защитникам Донбасса в районе шахты 6 и 7;

В 20.35 со стороны населенного пункта Опытное совершен минометный обстрел ополченцев в районе села Спартак (8 км севернее Донецка);

В 21.25, 21.55 и 01.00 с использованием ствольной артиллерии обстреляны Куйбышевский (ул. Куйбышева, дома N 147 и 190) и Петровский районы Донецка;

В 22.00 со стороны поселка Гранитное артиллерийскому обстрелу подверглись позиции ополчения Донбасса в районе населенного пункта Солнцево (48 км юго-восточнее Донецка);

В 22.15 со стороны города Волноваха с использованием ствольной артиллерии обстреляны рубежи обороны в районе населенного пункта Петровское (36 км южнее Донецка);

В 23.00 со стороны поселка Новотроицкое артиллерийскому обстрелу подверглись позиции Армии ДНР в районе города Докучаевск;

В 23.00 из ствольной артиллерии обстреляны ополченцы в районе поселка Ясное (19 км югозападнее Донецка);

В 23.10 со стороны населенного пункта Славное артиллерийскому обстрелу подверглись защитники Донбасса в районе поселка Еленовка (13 км северо-западнее Донецка);

В 23.15 со стороны города Красногоровка, а в 23.40 со стороны поселка Невельское с использованием ствольной артиллерии нанесен огневой удар по позициям Армии ДНР в районе шахты «имени Абакумова».

Потери среди ополченцев, а также жертвы среди мирного населения и разрушения объектов инфраструктуры уточняются.

Продолжились обстрелы ополченцев, блокирующих карателей в Донецком аэропорту:

В 18.35 со стороны поселка Пески из стрелкового оружия, а в 22.50 и 00.05 с применением минометов обстрелян «Вольво-центр»;

В 20.05, 23.15 и 23.20 с позиций в Авдеевке и Песках из минометов, а в 23.25 с использованием ствольной артиллерии обстрелян старый терминал.

По данным разведки ДНР отвода подразделений фашистов, а также тяжелого вооружения и военной техники от линии соприкосновения с отрядами самообороны Донецкой и Луганской народных республик не наблюдалось. Каратели ведут активную диверсионноразведывательную деятельность."

Translation:

9 January 2015 Overview report from the Information Bureau of the Novorossiya militia.

"During the day, the situation in Donbass remained intense and currently tends to escalate. In violation of the ceasefire agreements regarding some parts of the line of contact, the banderites continued to shell positions of the militia. Twenty-six cases of the use of weapons were recorded:

Between 18:00 and 18:30, from positions located near the village of Krymske, artillery fire was opened against the militiamen who held ground near the village of Sokilnyky (33 km northwest of Luhansk);

At 18:15 using tank weapons, and at 21:30 using anti-tank guided missiles and small arms fire, positions of the DPR Army in the area of the Oktyabrska mine were shelled from the direction of Pisky settlement;

At 18:20 using artillery and at 22:15 using mortars, militiamen near the town of Dokuchayevsk were shelled from the direction of Mykolaivka settlement;

At 18:25, from the direction of Bogdanivka village, the militia positions near Styla settlement (26 km south of Donetsk) came under mortar fire;

At 18:55, Donbass defenders in the vicinity of the mines 6 and 7 were subjected to small arms fire from the direction of Shumy village;

At 20:35, the militiamen near Spartak village (8 km to the north of Donetsk) came under mortar fire from the direction of Opytne settlement;

At 21:25, 21:55 and 01:00, Kuibyshevskyi (houses at 147 and 190 Kuybyshev Street) and Petrovsky Districts of Donetsk were shelled using tube artillery;

At 22:00, positions of the Donbass militia near Solntseve settlement were shelled from the direction of Hranitne settlement (48 km southeast of Donetsk);

At 22:15, the defence lines near Petrivske settlement (36 km south-east of Donetsk) were shelled by tube artillery from the direction of Volnovakha;

At 23:00, the positions of the DPR Army near the town of Dokuchayevsk were shelled from the direction of Novotroitske village;

At 23:00, militiamen near the settlement of Yasne (19 km south-west of Donetsk) were shelled by tube artillery;

At 23:10, Donbass defenders near Olenivka settlement (13 km north-west of Donetsk) came under artillery fire from the direction of Slavne settlement;

At 23:15 from the direction of Krasnohorivka, and at 23:40 from the direction of Nevelske settlement, using tube artillery, a fire attack was carried out against the positions of the DPR Army near the Abakumov mine.

Militia casualties, as well as civilian casualties and damage to infrastructure, are being specified.

Shellings of militiamen who are blocking the punitive squads at Donetsk airport continued:

At 18:35 from the direction of Pisky settlement using small arms, and at 22:50 and 00:05 using mortars, the Volvo Center was attacked;

At 20:05, 23:15 and 23:20 using mortars, and at 23:25 using tube artillery, the old terminal was shelled from the positions in Avdiivka and Pisky.

According to the DPR intelligence, there was no withdrawal of fascist units, as well as heavy weapons and military equipment from the line of contact with the self-defence units of the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. Punitive squads are actively engaged in sabotage and reconnaissance activities."





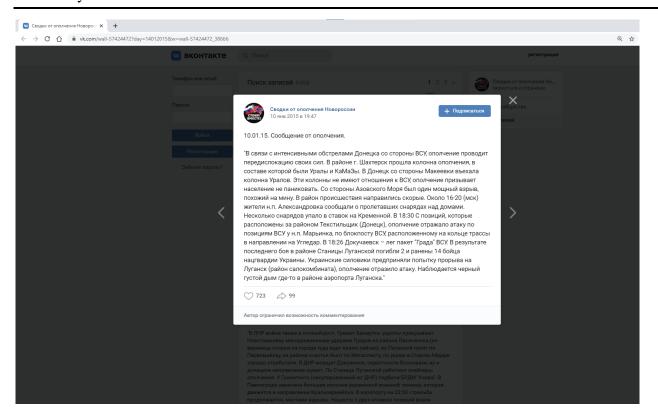




VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 10 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38666

10 January 2015



Original text:

10.01.15. Сообщение от ополчения.

"В связи с интенсивными обстрелами Донецка со стороны ВСУ, ополчение проводит передислокацию своих сил. В районе г. Шахтерск прошла колонна ополчения, в составе которой были Уралы и КаМаЗы. В Донецк со стороны Макеевки въехала колонна Уралов. Эти колонны не имеют отношения к ВСУ, ополчение призывает население не паниковать. Со стороны Азовского Моря был один мощный взрыв, похожий на мину. В район происшествия направились скорые. Около 16-20 (мск) жители н.п. Александровка сообщали о пролетавших снарядах над домами. Несколько снарядов упало в ставок на Кременной. В 18:30 С позиций, которые расположены за районом Текстильщик (Донецк), ополчение отражало атаку по позициям ВСУ у н.п. Марьинка, по блокпосту ВСУ, расположенному на кольце трассы в направлении на Угледар. В 18:26 Докучаевск — лег пакет "Града" ВСУ. В результате последнего боя в районе Станицы Луганской погибли 2 и ранены 14 бойца нацгвардии Украины. Украинские силовики предприняли попытку прорыва на Луганск (район салокомбината), ополчение отразило атаку. Наблюдается черный густой дым где-то в районе аэропорта Луганска."

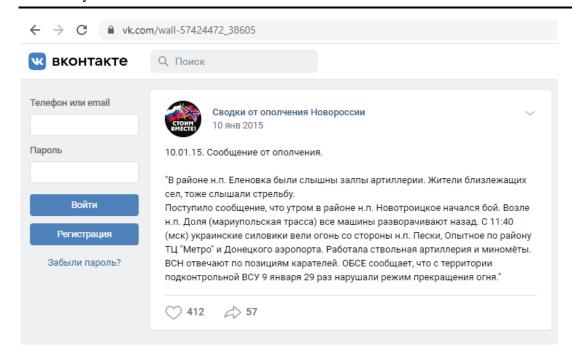
10 January 2015 Message from the militia.

"Due to the intense shelling of Donetsk by the UAF, the militia is redeploying its forces. A militia convoy, including Ural and Kamaz trucks, passed near Shakhtarsk. A convoy of Ural trucks drove into Donetsk from Makiivka. These convoys have nothing to do with the UAF, and the militia urges the residents not to panic. There was one powerful blast heard from the direction of the Azov Sea, resembling that of a mine's explosion. Ambulances were dispatched to the area. Around 16:20 (Moscow time), residents of Oleksandrivka reported shells flying over their houses. Several shells landed in a pond near Kreminna. At 18:30, from the positions behind the Tekstilschik area (Donetsk), the militia counterattacked against the UAF positions near Marinka and the UAF checkpoint located on the ring-road in the direction of Vuhledar. At 18:26, Dokuchayevsk — a volley of Grad shells fell. As a result of the latest battle near Stanytsia Luhanska, 2 fighters of the Ukrainian National Guard were killed and 14 wounded. Ukrainian forces attempted to break through to Lugansk (area of the salo-making plant), the militia repelled the attack. Black thick smoke is observed somewhere near the Luhansk airport."

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 10 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38605

10 January 2015



Original text:

10.01.15. Сообщение от ополчения.

"В районе н.п. Еленовка были слышны залпы артиллерии. Жители близлежащих сел, тоже слышали стрельбу.

Поступило сообщение, что утром в районе н.п. Новотроицкое начался бой. Возле н.п. Доля (мариупольская трасса) все машины разворачивают назад. С 11:40 (мск) украинские силовики вели огонь со стороны н.п. Пески, Опытное по району ТЦ "Метро" и Донецкого аэропорта. Работала ствольная артиллерия и миномёты. ВСН отвечают по позициям карателей. ОБСЕ сообщает, что с территории подконтрольной ВСУ 9 января 29 раз нарушали режим прекращения огня."

Translation:

10 January 2015 Message from the militia.

"Artillery volleys were heard in the area of Olenivka settlement. The residents of nearby villages also heard firing.

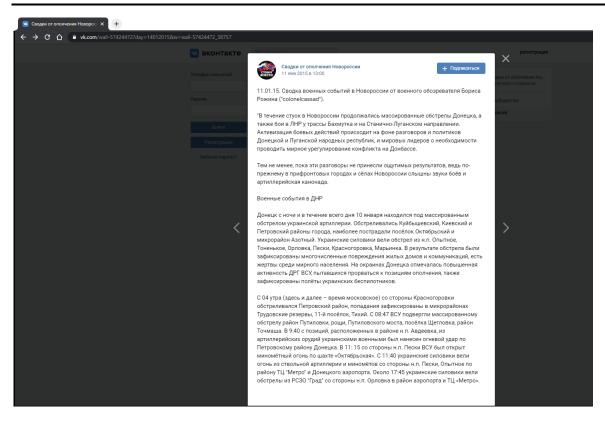
It was reported that a battle erupted in the morning near Novotroitske. Near Dolya settlement (Mariupol highway), all vehicles are being turned around. Since 11:40 (Moscow time) Ukrainian forces fired from Pisky, Opytne at the area of the Metro shopping mall and the Donetsk airport. Tube artillery and mortars were used. The Armed Forces of Novorossiya fire back at the positions of the punitive squads. The OSCE reports that, on 9 January, the ceasefire was violated 29 times from the territory controlled by the UAF."

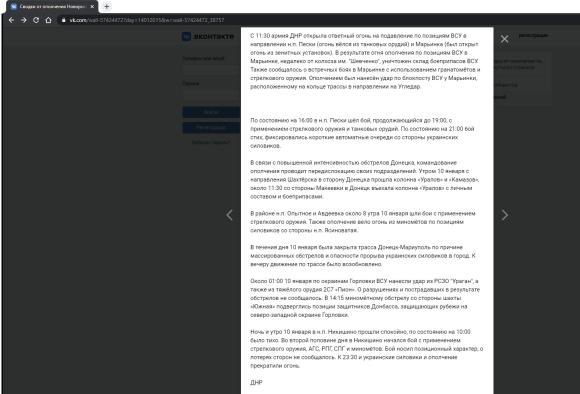
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 11 January 2015 (excerpts)

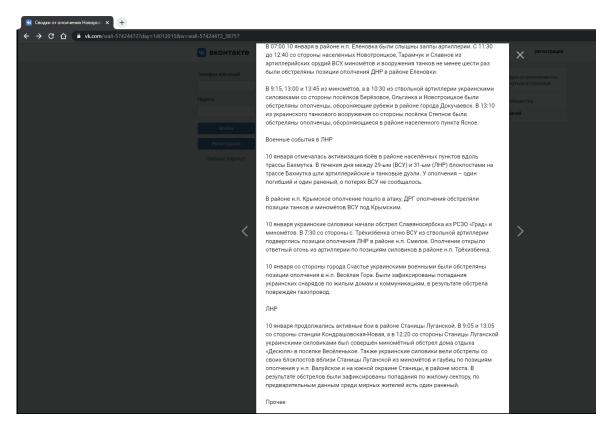
Excerpts

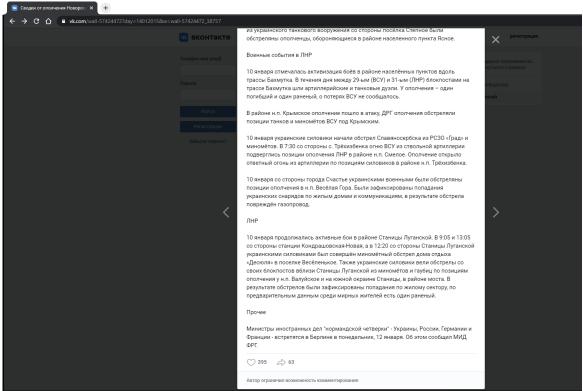
SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38757

11 January 2015









Original text:

11.01.15. Сводка военных событий в Новороссии от военного обозревателя Бориса Рожина ("colonelcassad").

[...]

Военные события в ДНР

[...]

В районе н.п. Опытное и Авдеевка около 8 утра 10 января шли бои с применением стрелкового оружия. Также ополчение вело огонь из миномётов по позициям силовиков со стороны н.п. Ясиноватая.

[...]

ДНР

В 07:00 10 января в районе н.п. Еленовка были слышны залпы артиллерии. С 11:30 до 12:40 со стороны населенных Новотроицкое, Тарамчук и Славное из артиллерийских орудий ВСУ, миномётов и вооружения танков не менее шести раз были обстреляны позиции ополчения ДНР в районе Еленовки.

В 9:15, 13:00 и 13:45 из миномётов, а в 10:30 из ствольной артиллерии украинскими силовиками со стороны посёлков Берёзовое, Ольгинка и Новотроицкое были обстреляны ополченцы, обороняющие рубежи в районе города Докучаевск. В 13:10 из украинского танкового вооружения со стороны посёлка Степное были обстреляны ополченцы, обороняющиеся в районе населенного пункта Ясное.

[...]

Translation:

11 January 2015 Summary of military events in Novorossia by military observer Boris Rozhin ("colonelcassad").

[...]

Military events in the DPR

[...]

At about 8 a.m. on 10 January, small arms fights took place near Opytne and Avdiivka settlements. The militia also opened mortar fire at the positions of the Ukrainian forces from the direction of Yasynuvata.

[...]

DPR

At 07:00 on 10 January, artillery barrage was heard in the area of Olenivka settlement. From 11:30 to 12:40 from the direction of Novotroitske, Taramchuk and Slavne settlements, the UAF artillery guns, mortars and tanks fired at least six times at the DPR militia positions in the area of Olenivka.

At 9:15, 13:00 and 13:45, the militia defending their lines near Dokuchayevsk were shelled by Ukrainian forces with the use of mortars and at 10:30 with the use of tube artillery from the direction of Berezove, Olginka and Novotroitske settlements. At 13:10, the militiamen defending near the settlement of Yasne were attacked by Ukrainian tanks from the direction of Stepne settlement.

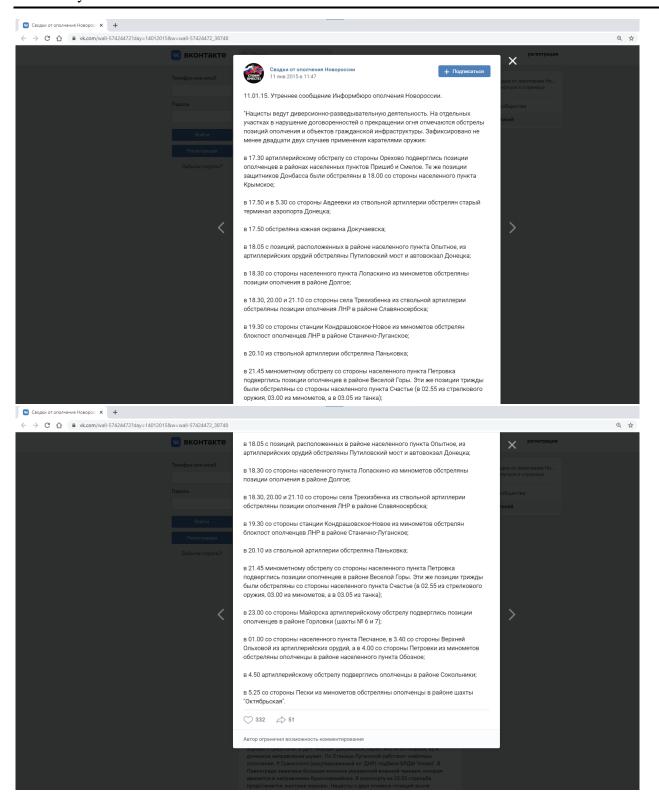
[...]

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 11 January 2015 (excerpts)

Excerpts

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38748

11 January 2015



Original text:

11.01.15. Утреннее сообщение Информбюро ополчения Новороссии.

[...]

- в 17.50 и в 5.30 со стороны Авдеевки из ствольной артиллерии обстрелян старый терминал аэропорта Донецка;
- в 17.50 обстреляна южная окраина Докучаевска;
- в 18.05 с позиций, расположенных в районе населенного пункта Опытное, из артиллерийских орудий обстреляны Путиловский мост и автовокзал Донецка;
- в 18.30 со стороны населенного пункта Лопаскино из минометов обстреляны позиции ополчения в районе Долгое;

[...]

Translation:

11 January 2015 Morning report from the Information Bureau of the Novorossiya militia.

[...]

At 17:50 and 5:30, from Avdiivka, the old terminal of the Donetsk airport was shelled by tube artillery;

At 17:50, southern outskirts of Dokuchayevsk were shelled;

At 18:05, the Putilovsky bridge and the Donetsk bus terminal were shelled by artillery from positions located near the village of Opytne:

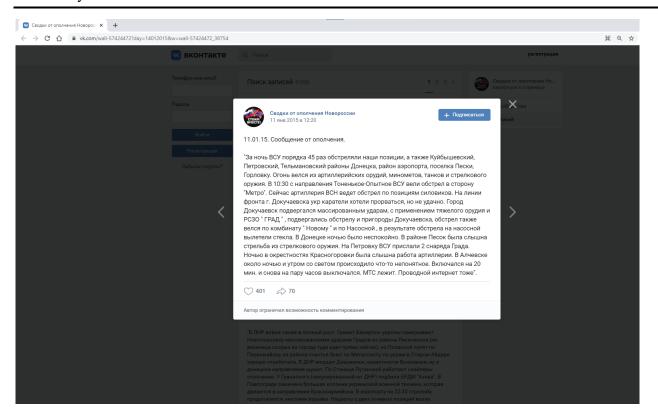
At 18:30, militia positions near the village of Dovhe came under mortar fire from the direction of Lopaskyne settlement;

[...]

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 11 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38754

11 January 2015



Original text:

11.01.15. Сообщение от ополчения.

"За ночь ВСУ порядка 45 раз обстреляли наши позиции, а также Куйбышевский, Петровский, Тельмановский районы Донецка, район аэропорта, поселка Пески, Горловку. Огонь велся из артиллерийских орудий, минометов, танков и стрелкового оружия. В 10:30 с направления Тоненькое-Опытное ВСУ вели обстрел в сторону "Метро". Сейчас артиллерия ВСН ведет обстрел по позициям силовиков. На линии фронта г. Докучаевска укр каратели хотели прорваться, но не удачно. Город Докучаевск подвергался массированным ударам, с применением тяжелого орудия и РСЗО "ГРАД ", подвергались обстрелу и пригороды Докучаевска, обстрел также велся по комбинату "Новому " и по Насосной, в результате обстрела на насосной вылетели стекла. В Донецке ночью было неспокойно. В районе Песок была слышна стрельба из стрелкового оружия. На Петровку ВСУ прислали 2 снаряда Града. Ночью в окрестностях Красногоровки была слышна работа артиллерии. В Алчевске около ночью и утром со светом происходило что-то непонятное. Включался на 20 мин. и снова на пару часов выключался. МТС лежит. Проводной интернет тоже".

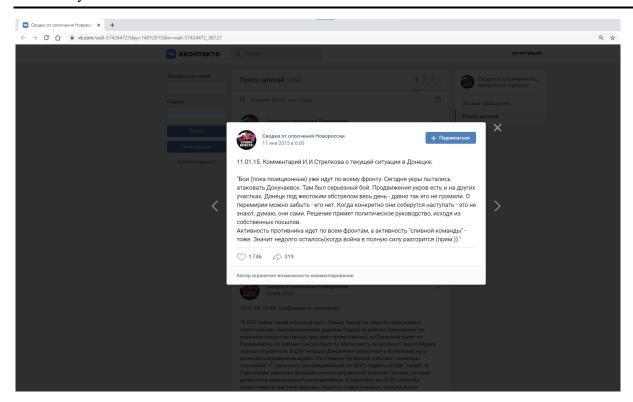
11 January 2015 Message from the militia.

"During the night, the UAF attacked our positions about 45 times, as well as Kuibyshevskyi, Petrovsky, and Telmanovsky Districts of Donetsk, the airport area, the settlement of Pisky, and Horlivka. Artillery, mortar, tank and small arms fire was used. At 10:30 from the direction of Tonenke-Opytne the UAF fired in the direction of the Metro [shopping mall]. Artillery of the Armed Forces of Novorossiya is currently firing at the positions of the Ukrainian forces. The Ukrainian punitive forces tried to break through the front line near Dokuchayevsk, but were unsuccessful. The city of Dokuchayevsk was subjected to massive attacks with the use of heavy artillery and MLRS "GRAD", the suburbs of Dokuchayevsk were also shelled, as well as the Novy plant and the pumping station, with windows of the pumping station being blown out as a result of the shelling. It was not quiet in Donetsk during the night. Small arms fire was heard in the area of Pisky. The UAF fired two Grad shells at Petrovka [Petrovsky District of Donetsk]. At night, artillery fire was heard in the vicinity of Krasnohorivka. In Alchevsk, near the night and in the morning, something strange was happening with the electricity. It was on for 20 minutes and then off again for a couple of hours. The MTS [telephone station] is not operating. The wired Internet, too."

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 11 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38727

11 January 2015



Original text:

11.01.15. Комментарий И.И.Стрелкова о текущей ситуации в Донецке:

"Бои (пока позиционные) уже идут по всему фронту. Сегодня укры пытались атаковать Докучаевск. Там был серьезный бой. Продвижения укров есть и на других участках. Донецк под жестоким обстрелом весь день - давно так его не громили. О перемирии можно забыть - его нет. Когда конкретно они соберутся наступать - это не знают, думаю, они сами. Решение примет политическое руководство, исходя из собственных посылов.

Активность противника идет по всем фронтам, а активность "сливной команды" - тоже. Значит недолго осталось(когда война в полную силу разгорится (прим.))."

Translation:

11 January 2015 Commentary by I.I. Strelkov on the current situation in Donetsk:

"Fighting (positional, for now) is already going all along the front. Today, the Ukrainians tried to attack Dokuchayevsk. There was an intense fight. The Ukrainians also advance in other areas. Donetsk has been under brutal shelling all day — it hasn't been attacked like this for a long time. We can forget about the ceasefire — there is no such thing. I don't think they know exactly when they are going to push forward. The political leadership will decide, based on their own ideas.

The enemy's activity is on all fronts, and so is the activity of the "underdog team". So it won't be long (till the war gets into full swing (note))."

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 12 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://archive.md/0SASD#selection-753.0-757.871

12 January 2015



Original text:

12.01.15. Сообщение от ополчения.

"Около 9 утра (по мск) из района Волновахи (со стороны поста ГАИ) производились залпы в сторону Докучаевска и Старобешево. Со стороны Сартаны и Кальчика противник ведет гаубичные обстрелы Талоковки. В Тельмановском районе (п. Гранитный), ополчением уничтожен блок-пост нацистов со складом БП, не менее полутора отделений убито. В Донецке и Красном партизане обстрелы на всех участках.В результате попадания снаряда в Червоногвардейском районе по ул. Агрономической, 1, разрушен дом и полностью уничтожен автомобиль ГАЗ 52. Погиб мужчина, 1974 г.р., девочка 2000 г.р. доставлена в детскую больницу с тяжелыми ранениями. В Горловке за ночь попаданий и взрывов вчера было сотни по всему городу. За всю войну так не падало как вчера. Пострадали все районы, а особенно - Бессарабка, Курганка, Комсомолец, Никитовка, их укры просто ровняли с землей Градами, минами и Смерчами."

Translation:

12 January 2015. Message from the militia.

"At about 9 am (Moscow time), volleys were fired from the Volnovakha area (from the traffic police post) towards Dokuchayevsk and Starobesheve. From the direction of Sartana and Kalchik, the enemy conducts howitzer attacks on Talakivka. In the Telmanovsky district (Hranitne village), the militia destroyed a Nazi checkpoint with an ammunition storage, at least one and a half squads were killed. In Donetsk and Krasny Partisan, there are shellings in all areas. As a result of a shell hit in the

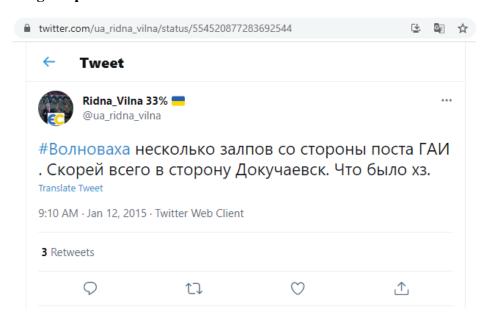
Chervonogvardeysky District on 1 Agronomicheskaya Street, a house was destroyed and a GAZ 52 car was completely wrecked. A man, born in 1974, was killed, and a girl, born in 2000, was taken to the children's hospital with serious injuries. In Horlivka, there were hundreds of hits and explosions all over the city yesterday. Throughout the whole war, [shells] did not fall as much as yesterday. All areas were affected, and especially - Bessarabka, Kurgan, Komsomolets, Mykytivka, these areas were simply leveled by Ukrainian Grads, mines and Smerch fire."

Twitter page "Ridna_Vilna 33%", 12 January 2015

SOURCE: Twitter page "Ridna_Vilna 33%" https://twitter.com/ua_ridna_vilna/status/554520877283692544

12 January 2015

Original post:



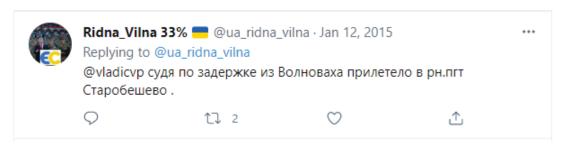
Original text:

#Волноваха несколько залпов со стороны поста Γ АИ . Скорей всего в сторону Докучаевск. Что было хз.

Translation:

#Volnovakha several volleys were fired from the traffic police post. Most likely in the direction of Dokuchayevsk. I have no idea what happened.

Commentaries:



Original text:

@vladicvp судя по задержке из Волноваха прилетело в рн.пгт Старобешево .

Translation:

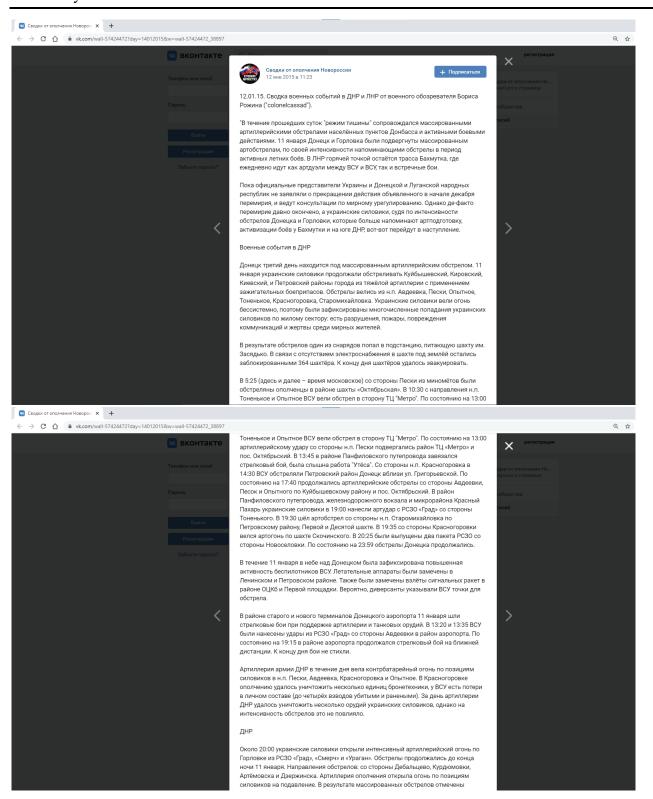
@vladicvp judging by the delay, the strike from Volnovakha landed somewhere in the vicinity of Starobesheve settlement.

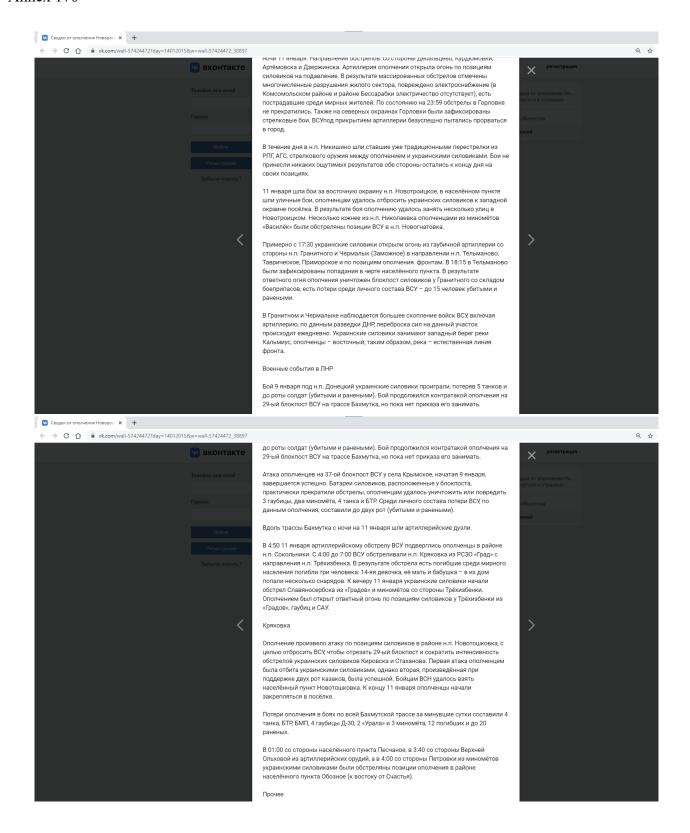
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 12 January 2015 (excerpts)

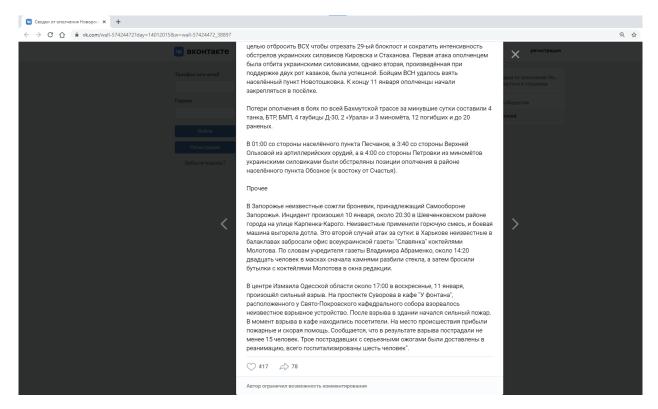
Excerpts

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 38897

12 January 2015







Original text:

12.01.15. Сводка военных событий в ДНР и ЛНР от военного обозревателя Бориса Рожина ("colonelcassad").

"В течение прошедших суток "режим тишины" сопровождался массированными артиллерийскими обстрелами населённых пунктов Донбасса и активными боевыми действиями. 11 января Донецк и Горловка были подвергнуты массированным артобстрелам, по своей интенсивности напоминающими обстрелы в период активных летних боёв. В ЛНР горячей точкой остаётся трасса Бахмутка, где ежедневно идут как артдуэли между ВСУ и ВСУ, так и встречные бои.

Пока официальные представители Украины и Донецкой и Луганской народных республик не заявляли о прекращении действия объявленного в начале декабря перемирия, и ведут консультации по мирному урегулированию. Однако де-факто перемирие давно окончено, а украинские силовики, судя по интенсивности обстрелов Донецка и Горловки, которые больше напоминают артподготовку, активизации боёв у Бахмутки и на юге ДНР, вот-вот перейдут в наступление.

[...]

ДНР

Около 20:00 украинские силовики открыли интенсивный артиллерийский огонь по Горловке из РСЗО «Град», «Смерч» и «Ураган». Обстрелы продолжались до конца ночи 11 января. Направления обстрелов: со стороны Дебальцево, Курдюмовки, Артёмовска и Дзержинска. Артиллерия ополчения открыла огонь по позициям силовиков на подавление. В результате массированных обстрелов отмечены многочисленные разрушения жилого сектора, повреждено электроснабжение (в Комсомольском районе и районе Бессарабки электричество отсутствует), есть пострадавшие среди мирных жителей. По состоянию на 23:59 обстрелы в

Горловке не прекратились. Также на северных окраинах Горловки были зафиксированы стрелковые бои. ВСУпод прикрытием артиллерии безуспешно пытались прорваться в город.

[...]

11 января шли бои за восточную окраину н.п. Новотроицкое, в населённом пункте шли уличные бои, ополченцам удалось отбросить украинских силовиков к западной окраине посёлка. В результате боя ополчению удалось занять несколько улиц в Новотроицком. Несколько южнее из н.п. Николаевка ополченцами из миномётов «Василёк» были обстреляны позиции ВСУ в н.п. Новогнатовка.

[...]

Translation:

12 January 2015 Summary of military events in DPR and LPR by military observer Boris Rozhin ("colonelcassad").

"During the past 24 hours, the ceasefire was accompanied by massive artillery shelling of Donbass settlements and active combat operations. On 11 January, Donetsk and Horlivka were subjected to massive shellings, which were similar in intensity to the shellings which took place during the period of active summer battles. In the LPR, the Bakhmutka road remains a hotspot, where there are daily artillery duels between the UAF and the militia, as well as meeting engagements.

So far, official representatives of Ukraine and the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics have not announced the end of the ceasefire declared in early December, and are holding consultations on peaceful settlement. However, the de facto ceasefire ended long ago, and the Ukrainian forces are about to go on the offensive, judging by the intensity of shelling of Donetsk and Horlivka, which are more resembling of artillery preparation, and the intensified fighting near Bakhmutka and in the south of the DPR.

[...]

DPR

Around 20:00 the Ukrainian forces opened intensive artillery fire on Horlivka using Grad, Smerch and Uragan MLRSs. The shelling continued through the night of 11 January. The directions of the shelling: from Debaltseve, Kurdiumivka, Artemivsk [Bakhmut] and Dzerzhynsk. The militia's artillery opened suppressive fire at the Ukrainian forces' positions. As a result of the massive shellings, extensive damage was done to the residential sector, the power supply was damaged (there is no electricity in the Komsomolsk area and the Bessarabka area), and there were civilian casualties. As of 23:59, shelling of Horlivka has not ended. There were also small arms battles on the northern outskirts of Horlivka. The UAF, covered by artillery, tried to break into the city, but without success.

[...]

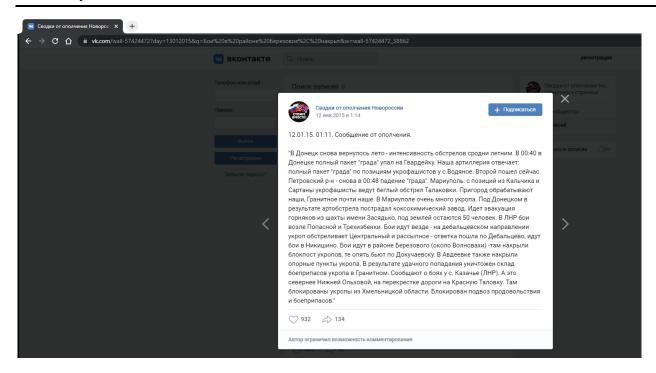
On 11 January, there were battles for the eastern outskirts of Novotroitske, fights took place on the streets, and the militia managed to push the Ukrainian forces back to the western outskirts of the settlement. As a result of the battle, the militia managed to seize several streets in Novotroitske. To the south of Mykolaivka, the militia fired at the UAF positions in Novohnativka using Vasilek mortars.

 $[\ldots]$

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 12 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=12012015&w=wall-57424472 38862%2Fall

12 January 2015



Original text:

12.01.15. 01:11. Сообщение от ополчения.

"В Донецк снова вернулось лето - интенсивность обстрелов сродни летним. В 00:40 в Донецке полный пакет "града" упал на Гвардейку. Наша артиллерия отвечает: полный пакет "града" по позициям укрофашистов у с.Водяное. Второй пошел сейчас. Петровский р-н - снова в 00:48 падение "града". Мариуполь: с позиций из Кальчика и Сартаны укрофашисты ведут беглый обстрел Талаковки. Пригород обрабатывают наши, Гранитное почти наше. В Мариуполе очень много укропа. Под Донецком в результате артобстрела пострадал коксохимический завод. Идет эвакуация горняков из шахты имени Засядько, под землей остаются 50 человек. В ЛНР бои возле Попасной и Трехизбенки. Бои идут везде - на дебальцевском направлении укроп обстреливает Центральный и рассыпное - ответка пошла по Дебальцево, идут бои в Никишино. Бои идут в районе Березового (около Волновахи) -там накрыли блокпост укропов, те опять бьют по Докучаевску. В Авдеевке также накрыли опорные пункты укропа. В результате удачного попадания уничтожен склад боеприпасов укропа в Гранитном. Сообщают о боях у с. Казачье (ЛНР). А это севернее Нижней Ольховой, на перекрестке дороги на Красную Таловку. Там блокированы укропы из Хмельницкой области. Блокирован подвоз продовольствия и боеприпасов."

12 January 2015. 01:11. Message from the militia.

"Summer has returned to Donetsk – the intensity of bombardment is now similar to that of summer. In Donetsk, at 00:40 a full 'Grad' cluster fell on Gvardeyka [Chervonogvardeisky district]. Our artillery responds: a full 'Grad' cluster [was sent] at the positions of the ukrofashists near the village of Vodiane. The second one went just now. Petrovsky district – again, a Grad strike at 00:48. Mariupol: from the positions at Kalchik and Sartana, the ukrofashists conduct quick shellings of Talakivka. We are shelling the outskirts, Hranitne is almost ours. There are a lot of 'ukrops' in Mariupol. Near Donetsk, as a result of a shelling, a coke plant was damaged. Evacuation of miners from the Zasyadko mine is underway, 50 people are still underground. In the LPR, there is fighting near Popasna and Trokhizbenka. There are battles everywhere - in the Debaltseve direction, 'ukrops' are firing at Centralny and Rozsypne – response fire went to Debaltseve, there is fighting in Nikishine. Hostilities are ongoing in the area of Berezove (near Volnovakha) – a checkpoint was shelled there that belonged to 'ukrops', who are again attacking Dokuchayevsk. In Avdiivka, Ukrainian strong points were also shelled. As a result of a successful hit, a Ukrainian ammunition depot in Hranitne was destroyed. There are also reports on battles near the village of Kozache (LPR). This is north of Nyzhnia Vilkhova, at the junction of the road to Krasna Talivka. 'Ukrops' from the Khmelnitsky region are blocked there. The supply of food and ammunition is blocked."

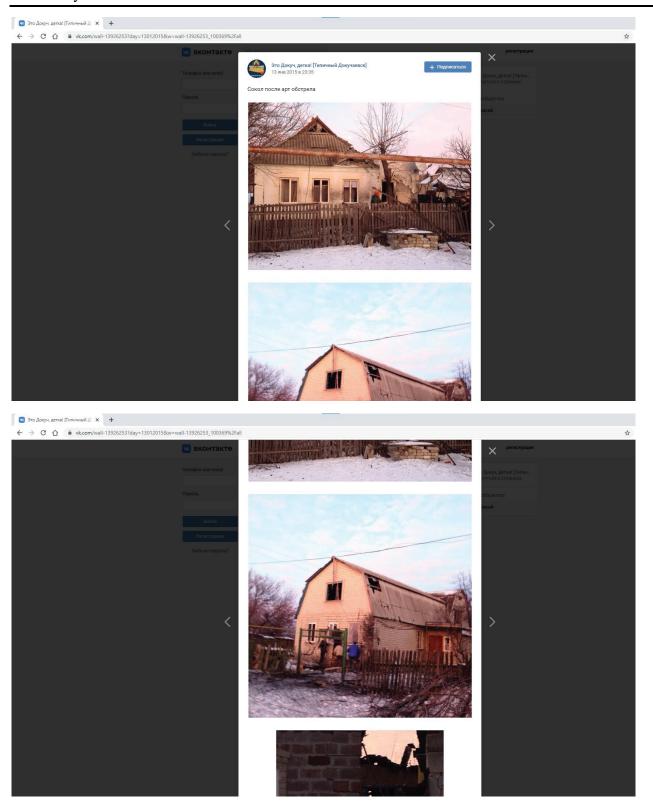
-

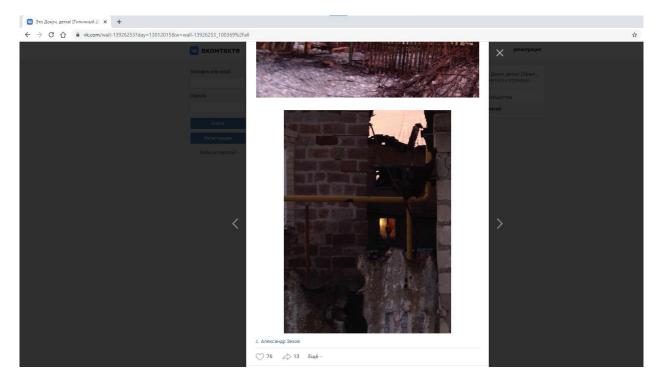
¹ Translator's note: derogatory term used to describe Ukrainian nationalists.

VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk], 13 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk] https://vk.com/wall-13926253?day=13012015&w=wall-13926253_100369%2Fall

13 January 2015





Original text:

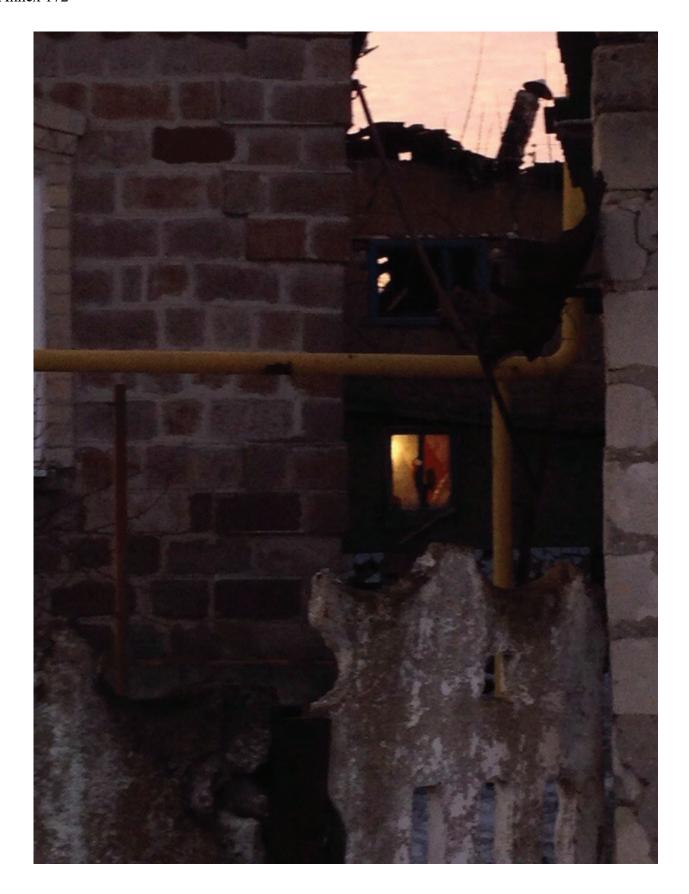
Сокол после арт обстрела

<u>Translation:</u>

Sokol [district] after the artillery shelling





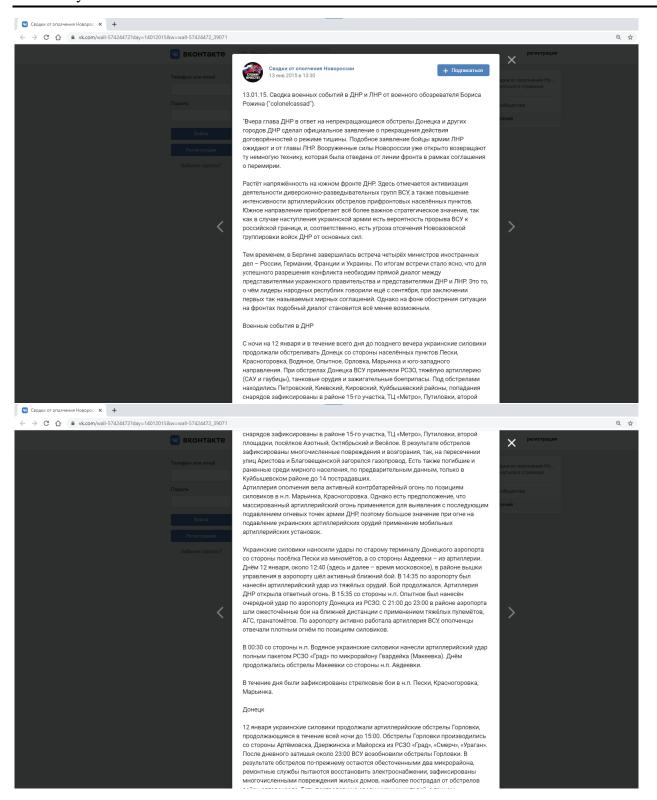


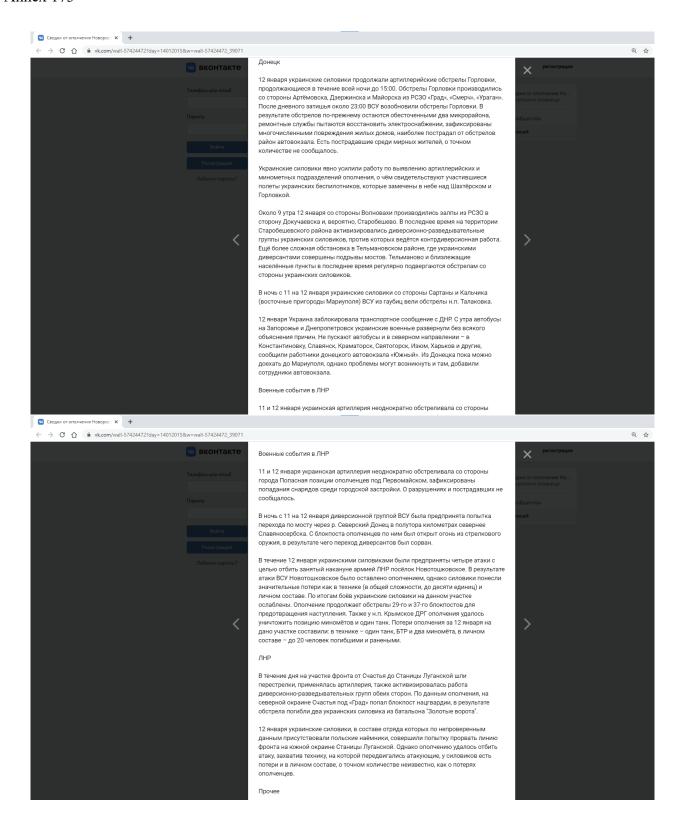
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 13 January 2015 (excerpts)

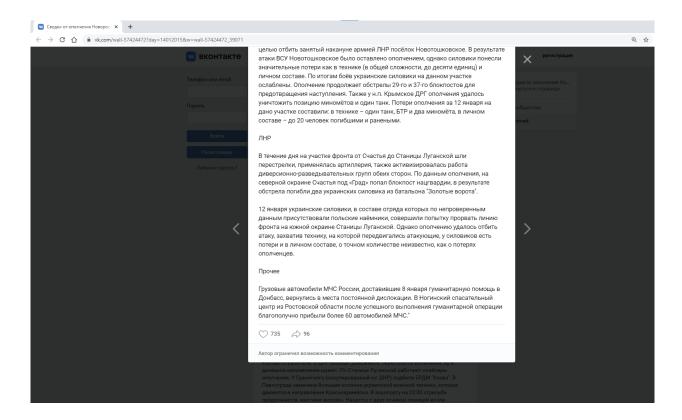
Excerpts

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 39071

13 January 2015







Original text:

13.01.15. Сводка военных событий в ДНР и ЛНР от военного обозревателя Бориса Рожина ("colonelcassad").

[...]

Донецк

[...]

Около 9 утра 12 января со стороны Волновахи производились залпы из РСЗО в сторону Докучаевска и, вероятно, Старобешево. В последнее время на территории Старобешевского района активизировались диверсионно-разведывательные группы украинских силовиков, против которых ведётся контрдиверсионная работа. Ещё более сложная обстановка в Тельмановском районе, где украинскими диверсантами совершены подрывы мостов. Тельманово и близлежащие населённые пункты в последнее время регулярно подвергаются обстрелам со стороны украинских силовиков.

[...]

13 January 2015. Summary of military events in DPR and LPR by military observer Boris Rozhin ("colonelcassad").

[...]

Donetsk

[...]

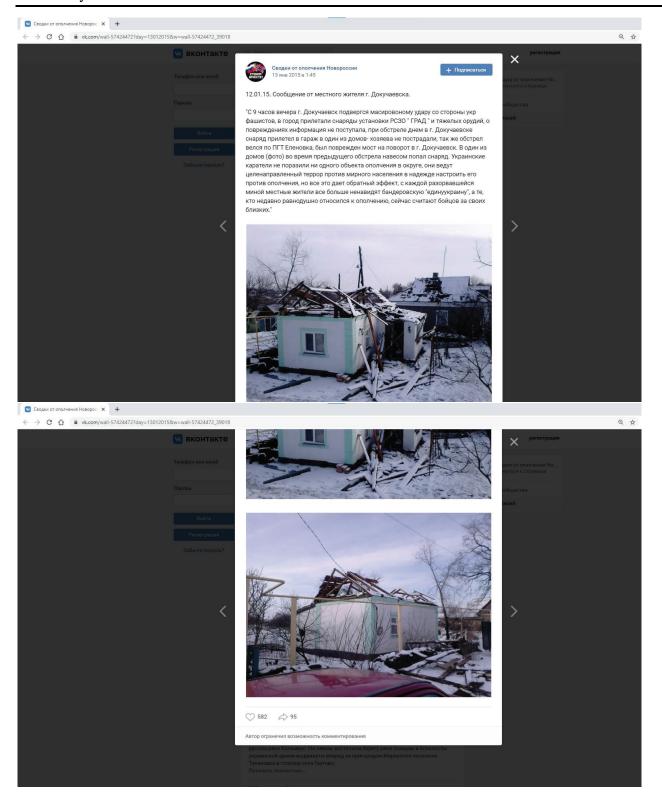
Around 9 am on 12 January, MLRS volleys were fired from the direction of Volnovakha towards Dokuchayevsk and, probably, Starobesheve. Recently, sabotage and reconnaissance groups of the Ukrainian forces have become more active on the territory of Starobesheve Region, countersabotage work is carried out against them. The situation is even more difficult in the Telmanove Region, where Ukrainian saboteurs have blown up bridges. Telmanove and nearby settlements have lately been suffering from regular shellings by the Ukrainian forces.

 $[\dots]$

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 13 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=13012015&w=wall-57424472 39018

13 January 2015



Original text:

12.01.15. Сообщение от местного жителя г. Докучаевска.

"С 9 часов вечера г. Докучаевск подвергся масировоному удару со стороны укр фашистов, в город прилетали снаряды установки РСЗО " ГРАД " и тяжелых орудий, о повреждениях информация не поступала, при обстреле днем в г. Докучаевске снаряд прилетел в гараж в один из домов- хозяева не пострадали, так же обстрел велся по ПГТ Еленовка, был поврежден мост на поворот в г. Докучаевск. В один из домов (фото) во время предыдущего обстрела навесом попал снаряд. Украинские каратели не поразили ни одного объекта ополчения в округе, они ведут целенаправленный террор против мирного населения в надежде настроить его против ополчения, но все это дает обратный эффект, с каждой разорвавшейся миной местные жители все больше ненавидят бандеровскую "единуукраину", а те, кто недавно равнодушно относился к ополчению, сейчас считают бойцов за своих близких."

Translation:

12 January 2015. Report from local resident of Dokuchayevsk.

"Since 9 pm, Dokuchayevsk was subjected to a massive strike by the Ukrainian fascists, the city caught shells from GRAD MLRS and heavy artillery, there was no information about the damage, during the afternoon shelling in Dokuchayevsk a shell landed in the garage of a house — the owners were not hurt, also Olenivka was shelled, the bridge at the turn to Dokuchayevsk was damaged. One of the houses (see picture) was hit by a plunging shell during the previous barrage. The Ukrainian punitive forces did not hit a single object of the militia in the area, they conduct targeted terror against civilians in the hope of turning them against the militia, but all this has the opposite effect, with each mine explosion local residents increasingly hate the banderite "United Ukraine", and those who recently were indifferent to the militia now consider the fighters for their close ones."

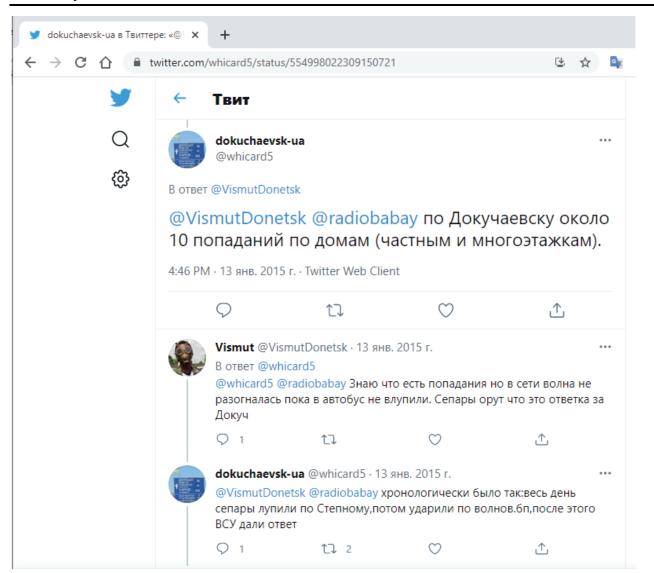




Twitter page "Dokuchaevsk-ua", local community social media, 13 January 2015

SOURCE: Twitter page "dokuchaevsk-ua" https://twitter.com/whicard5/status/554998022309150721

13 January 2015



Original text:

@VismutDonetsk @radiobabay по Докучаевску около 10 попаданий по домам (частным и многоэтажкам).

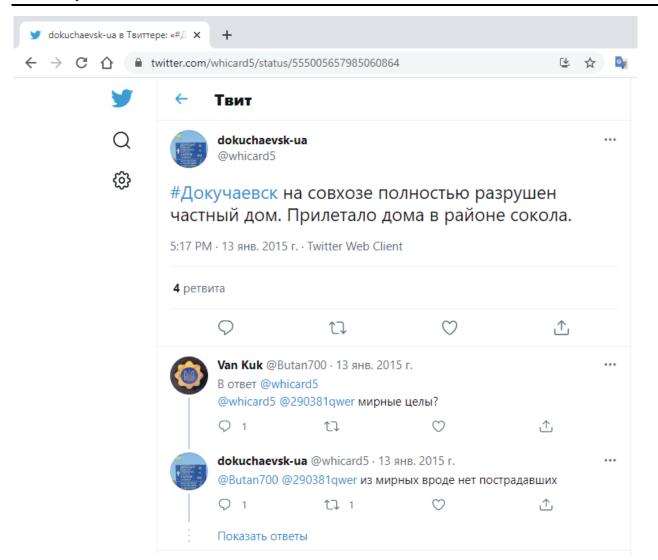
Translation:

@VismutDonetsk @radiobabay there were about 10 hits on residential houses (private and multistorey) in Dokuchayevsk.

Twitter page "Dokuchaevsk-ua", local community social media, 13 January 2015

SOURCE: Twitter page "dokuchaevsk-ua" https://twitter.com/whicard5/status/555005657985060864

13 January 2015



Original text:

#Докучаевск на совхозе полностью разрушен частный дом. Прилетало дома в районе сокола.

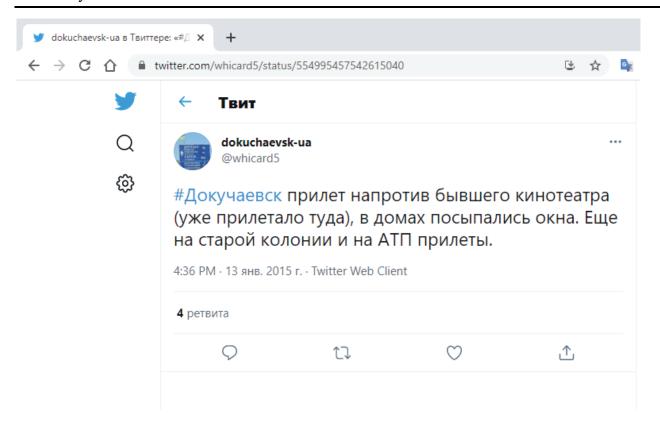
Translation:

#Dokuchayevsk a private house was destroyed at the Sovkhoz. There were also hits in the Sokol area.

Twitter page "Dokuchaevsk-ua", local community social media, 13 January 2015

SOURCE: Twitter page "dokuchaevsk-ua" https://twitter.com/whicard5/status/554995457542615040

13 January 2015



Original text:

#Докучаевск прилет напротив бывшего кинотеатра (уже прилетало туда), в домах посыпались окна. Еще на старой колонии и на АТП прилеты.

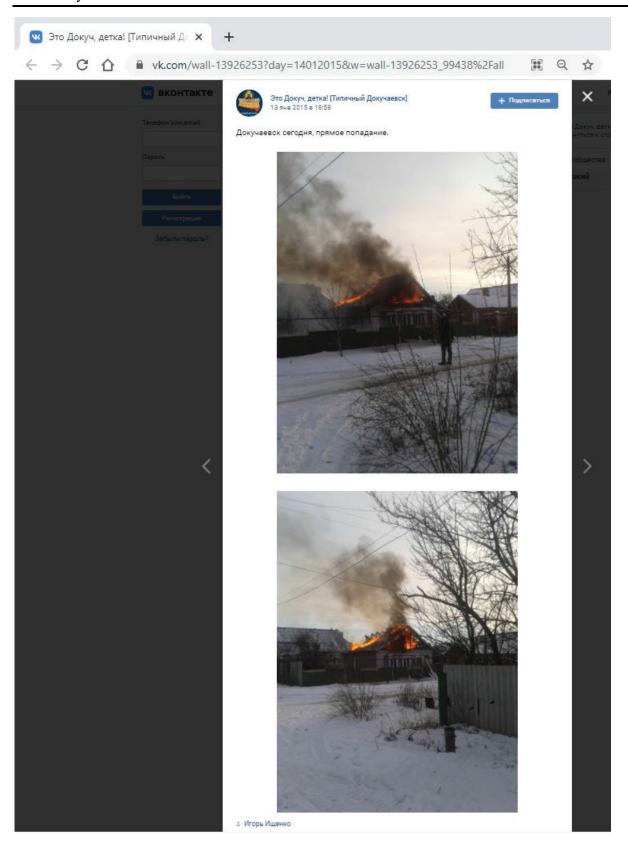
Text:

#Dokuchayevsk there's a hit opposite to the former cinema theatre (it's been hit before), windows in the buildings had crumbled. There were also hits in Stara Kolonia and in the ATP [a vehicle operating company].

VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk], 13 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk] https://vk.com/wall-13926253?day=14012015&w=wall-13926253 99438%2Fall

13 January 2015



Original text:

Докучаевск сегодня, прямое попадание.

<u>Translation:</u>

Dokuchayevsk today, a direct hit.



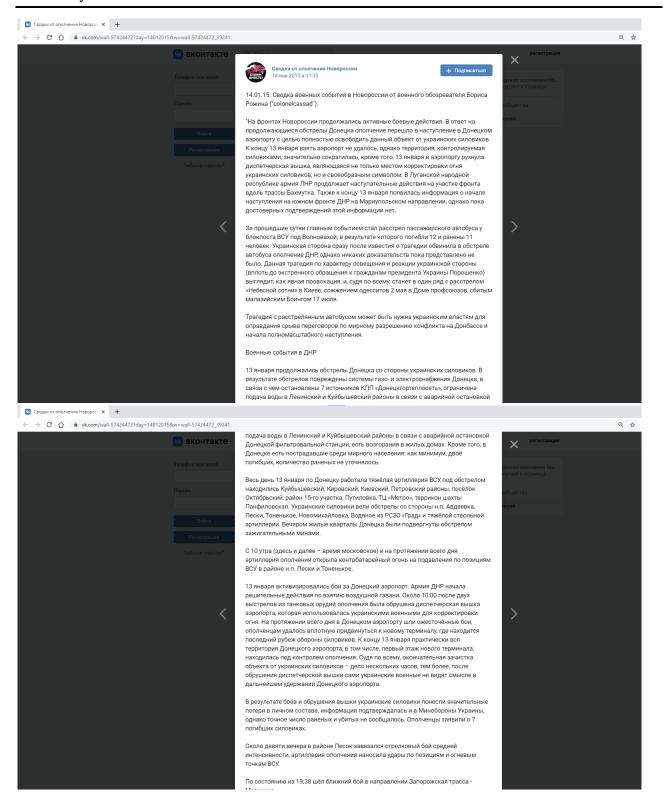


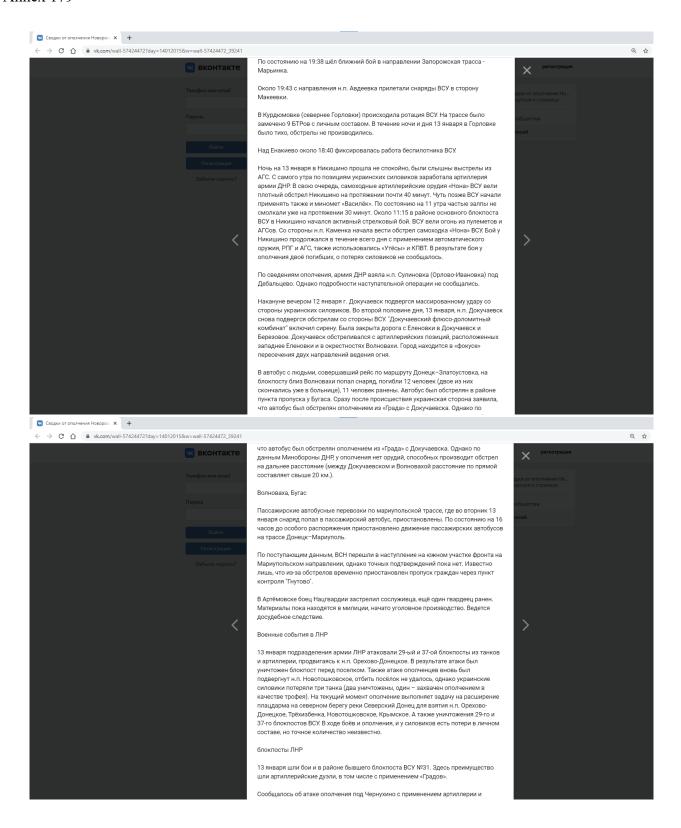
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 14 January 2015 (excerpts)

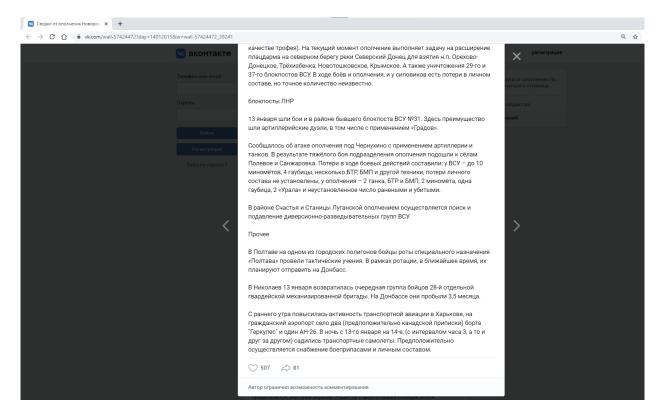
Excerpts

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 39241

14 January 2015







Original text:

14.01.15. Сводка военных событий в Новороссии от военного обозревателя Бориса Рожина ("colonelcassad").

[...]

Накануне вечером 12 января г. Докучаевск подвергся массированному удару со стороны украинских силовиков. Во второй половине дня, 13 января, н.п. Докучаевск снова подвергся обстрелам со стороны ВСУ. "Докучаевский флюсо-доломитный комбинат" включил сирену. Была закрыта дорога с Еленовки в Докучаевск и Березовое. Докучаевск обстреливался с артиллерийских позиций, расположенных западнее Еленовки и в окрестностях Волновахи. Город находится в «фокусе» пересечения двух направлений ведения огня.

[...]

Translation:

14 January 2015. Summary of the military events in Novorossia by military observer Boris Rozhin ("colonelcassad").

 $[\ldots]$

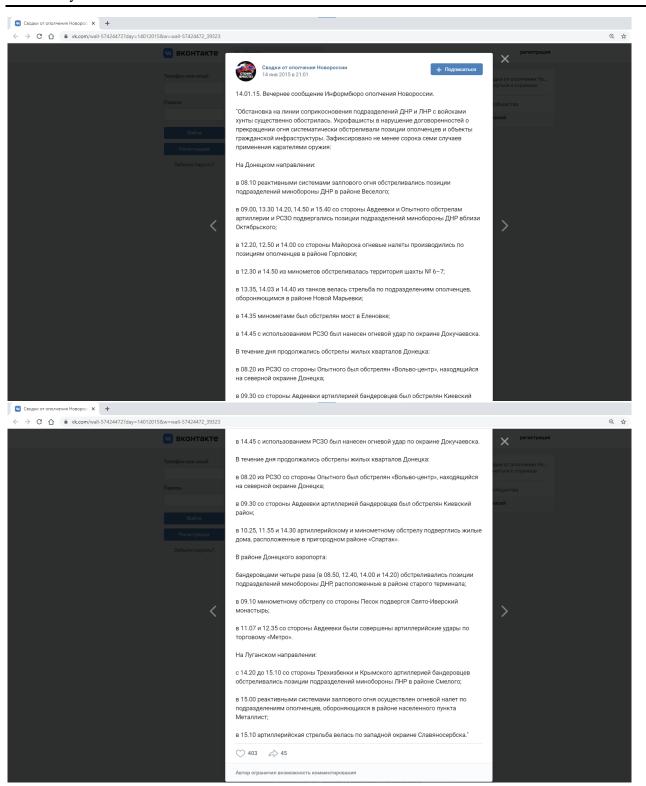
On the evening of 12 January, Dokuchayevsk was subjected to a massive attack by the Ukrainian forces. In the afternoon of 13 January, Dokuchayevsk was again subjected to shelling by the UAF. The Dokuchayevsk Flux and Dolomite Plant turned on its alarm system. The road from Olenivka to Dokuchayevsk and Berezove was closed. Dokuchayevsk was shelled from artillery positions west of Olenivka and from the outskirts of Volnovakha. The city is in the "focus" of the intersection of two directions of fire.

 $[\ldots]$

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 14 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 39323

14 January 2015



Original text:

14.01.15. Вечернее сообщение Информбюро ополчения Новороссии.

"Обстановка на линии соприкосновения подразделений ДНР и ЛНР с войсками хунты существенно обострилась. Укрофашисты в нарушение договоренностей о прекращении огня систематически обстреливали позиции ополченцев и объекты гражданской инфраструктуры. Зафиксировано не менее сорока семи случаев применения карателями оружия:

На Донецком направлении:

- в 08.10 реактивными системами залпового огня обстреливались позиции подразделений минобороны ДНР в районе Веселого;
- в 09.00, 13.30 14.20, 14.50 и 15.40 со стороны Авдеевки и Опытного обстрелам артиллерии и РСЗО подвергались позиции подразделений минобороны ДНР вблизи Октябрьского;
- в 12.20, 12.50 и 14.00 со стороны Майорска огневые налеты производились по позициям ополченцев в районе Горловки;
- в 12.30 и 14.50 из минометов обстреливалась территория шахты № 6–7;
- в 13.35, 14.03 и 14.40 из танков велась стрельба по подразделениям ополченцев, обороняющимся в районе Новой Марьевки;
- в 14.35 минометами был обстрелян мост в Еленовке;
- в 14.45 с использованием РСЗО был нанесен огневой удар по окраине Докучаевска.

В течение дня продолжались обстрелы жилых кварталов Донецка:

- в 08.20 из РСЗО со стороны Опытного был обстрелян «Вольво-центр», находящийся на северной окраине Донецка;
- в 09.30 со стороны Авдеевки артиллерией бандеровцев был обстрелян Киевский район;
- в 10.25, 11.55 и 14.30 артиллерийскому и минометному обстрелу подверглись жилые дома, расположенные в пригородном районе «Спартак».

В районе Донецкого аэропорта:

бандеровцами четыре раза (в 08.50, 12.40, 14.00 и 14.20) обстреливались позиции подразделений минобороны ДНР, расположенные в районе старого терминала;

- в 09.10 минометному обстрелу со стороны Песок подвергся Свято-Иверский монастырь;
- в 11.07 и 12.35 со стороны Авдеевки были совершены артиллерийские удары по торговому «Метро».

На Луганском направлении:

- с 14.20 до 15.10 со стороны Трехизбенки и Крымского артиллерией бандеровцев обстреливались позиции подразделений минобороны ЛНР в районе Смелого;
- в 15.00 реактивными системами залпового огня осуществлен огневой налет по подразделениям ополченцев, обороняющихся в районе населенного пункта Металлист;
- в 15.10 артиллерийская стрельба велась по западной окраине Славяносербска."

14 January 2015. Evening report from the Information Bureau of the Novorossiya militia.

"The situation at the line of contact between DPR and LPR units and junta troops has significantly escalated. In violation of the ceasefire agreement, the Ukrofascists systematically shelled militia positions and civilian infrastructure. At least forty-seven cases of the use of weapons by the punishers were recorded:

On the Donetsk front:

At 08:10, the positions of DPR Defense Ministry units near Vesele were subjected to MLRS fire;

At 09:00, 13:30, 14:20, 14:50 and 15:40, [conventional] artillery and MLRS fire from the direction of Avdiivka and Opytne was opened at the positions of the DPR Ministry of Defence units near Oktyabrske;

At 12:20, 12:50 and 14:00, the militia positions near Horlivka came under fire from the direction of Mayorsk;

At 12:30 and 14:50 the territory of mine No 6-7 was subjected to mortar fire;

At 13:35, 14:03 and 14:40 tanks fired at the militia units defending near Nova Marivka;

At 14:35 mortars shelled a bridge in Olenivka;

At 14:45, an MLRS fire attack was carried out against the outskirts of Dokuchayevsk.

Shelling of the residential areas of Donetsk continued throughout the day:

At 08:20, Volvo Centre located on the northern outskirts of Donetsk came under MLRS fire from the direction of Opytnoe;

At 09:30, artillery of the banderites shelled the Kyivsky district from the direction of Avdiivka;

At 10:25, 11:55 and 14:30 artillery and mortar fire was directed at residential buildings located in the Spartak suburban district.

In the area of Donetsk airport:

Banderites fired four times (at 08:50, 12:40, 14:00 and 14:20) at the positions of DPR Ministry of Defense units located near the old terminal;

At 09:10, mortar fire from the direction of Pisky hit the Svyato-Iversky Monastery;

At 11:07 and 12:35, artillery strikes were carried out on the Metro shopping mall from the direction of Avdiivka.

On the Lugansk front:

Between 14:20 and 15:10, artillery of the banderites shelled the positions of the LDR Ministry of Defence units in the area of Smile from the direction of Trokhizbenka and Krymske;

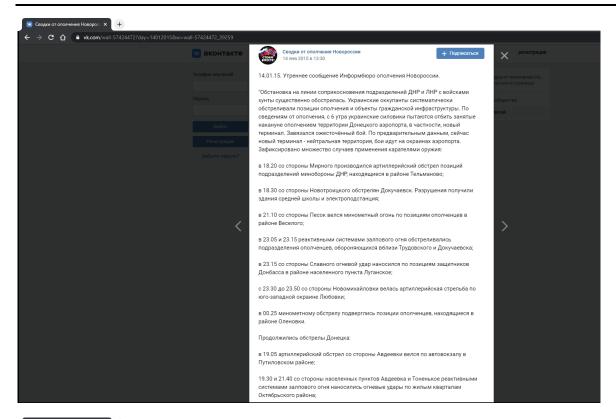
At 15:00, MLRS fire was opened against the militia units defending in the vicinity of the village of Metalist;

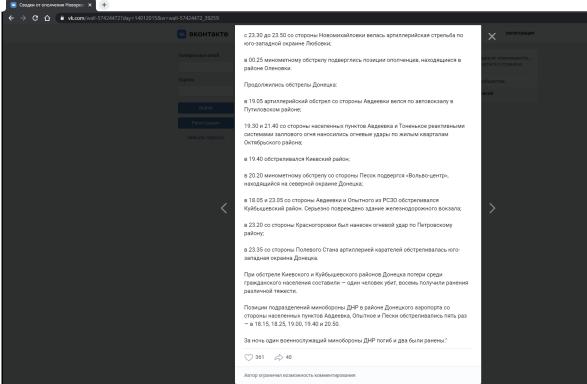
At 15:10, artillery fire was directed at the western outskirts of Slovianoserbsk."

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 14 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=14012015&w=wall-57424472 39259

14 January 2015





Original text:

- 14.01.15. Утреннее сообщение Информбюро ополчения Новороссии.
- "Обстановка на линии соприкосновения подразделений ДНР и ЛНР с войсками хунты существенно обострилась. Украинские оккупанты систематически обстреливали позиции ополчения и объекты гражданской инфраструктуры. По сведениям от ополчения, с 6 утра украинские силовики пытаются отбить занятые накануне ополчением территории Донецкого аэропорта, в частности, новый терминал. Завязался ожесточённый бой. По предварительным данным, сейчас новый терминал нейтральная территория, бои идут на окраинах аэропорта. Зафиксировано множество случаев применения карателями оружия:
- в 18.20 со стороны Мирного производился артиллерийский обстрел позиций подразделений минобороны ДНР, находящиеся в районе Тельманово
- в 18.30 со стороны Новотроицкого обстрелян Докучаевск. Разрушения получили здания средней школы и электроподстанция;
- в 21.10 со стороны Песок велся минометный огонь по позициям ополченцев в районе Веселого;
- в 23.05 и 23.15 реактивными системами залпового огня обстреливались подразделения ополченцев, обороняющихся вблизи Трудовского и Докучаевска;
- в 23.15 со стороны Славного огневой удар наносился по позициям защитников Донбасса в районе населенного пункта Луганское;
- с 23.30 до 23.50 со стороны Новомихайловки велась артиллерийская стрельба по юго-западной окраине Любовки;
- в 00.25 минометному обстрелу подверглись позиции ополченцев, находящиеся в районе Оленовки.

Продолжились обстрелы Донецка:

- в 19.05 артиллерийский обстрел со стороны Авдеевки велся по автовокзалу в Путиловском районе;
- 19.30 и 21.40 со стороны населенных пунктов Авдеевка и Тоненькое реактивными системами залпового огня наносились огневые удары по жилым кварталам Октябрьского района;
- в 19.40 обстреливался Киевский район;
- в 20.20 минометному обстрелу со стороны Песок подвергся «Вольво-центр», находящийся на северной окраине Донецка;
- в 18.05 и 23.05 со стороны Авдеевки и Опытного из РСЗО обстреливался Куйбышевский район. Серьезно повреждено здание железнодорожного вокзала;
- в 23.20 со стороны Красногоровки был нанесен огневой удар по Петровскому району;
- в 23.35 со стороны Полевого Стана артиллерией карателей обстреливалась юго-западная окраина Донецка.

При обстреле Киевского и Куйбышевского районов Донецка потери среди гражданского населения составили — один человек убит, восемь получили ранения различной тяжести.

Позиции подразделений минобороны ДНР в районе Донецкого аэропорта со стороны населенных пунктов Авдеевка, Опытное и Пески обстреливались пять раз — в 18.15, 18.25, 19.00, 19.40 и 20.50.

За ночь один военнослужащий минобороны ДНР погиб и два были ранены."

Translation:

14 January 2015. Morning report of the Information Bureau of the Novorossiya militia.

"The situation at the line of contact between DPR and LPR units and junta troops has significantly escalated. The Ukrainian occupants systematically shelled militia positions and civilian infrastructure. According to the militia, since 6 am, the Ukrainian forces have been trying to retake the territories of the Donetsk airport that had been occupied the day before by the militia, in particular the new terminal. A fierce battle ensued. According to preliminary data, the new terminal is now neutral territory, while fighting is taking place on the outskirts of the airport. Numerous cases of the use of weapons by the punitive forces were recorded:

At 18:20, the positions of the DPR Ministry of Defence units located near Telmanove were shelled from the direction of Mirny;

At 18:30, Dokuchayevsk was shelled from the direction of Novotroitske. A secondary school building and a power substation were damaged;

At 21:10, from the direction of Pisky, a mortar shelling of the militia positions near Vesele was carried out;

At 23:05 and 23:15, MLRS systems fired at the militia units defending near Trudivske and Dokuchayevsk;

At 23:15, fire from the direction of Slavne was directed at the positions of the Donbass defenders near the settlement of Luhanske;

From 23:30 to 23:50, artillery attacks were carried out on the south-western outskirts of Lyubivka from the direction of Novomykhailivka;

At 00:25, mortar shelling struck militia positions near Olenivka.

The shelling of Donetsk continued:

At 19:05, artillery fire from the direction Avdiivka struck a bus station in the Putylivka District;

At 19:30 and 21:40, from the direction of Avdiivka and Toninke settlements, MLRS fire struck residential areas of the Oktyabrsky district;

At 19:40 Kyivsky district was shelled;

At 20:20, Volvo Centre located on the northern outskirts of Donetsk came under mortar fire from the direction of Pisky;

At 18:05 and 23:05, the Kuibyshevskyi District was shelled by MLRS artillery from the direction of Avdiivka and Opytne. The railway station building was seriously damaged;

At 23:20, Petrovsky District came under fire from the direction of Krasnohorivka;

At 23:35, the south-western outskirts of Donetsk were shelled from the direction of Polevoy Stan.

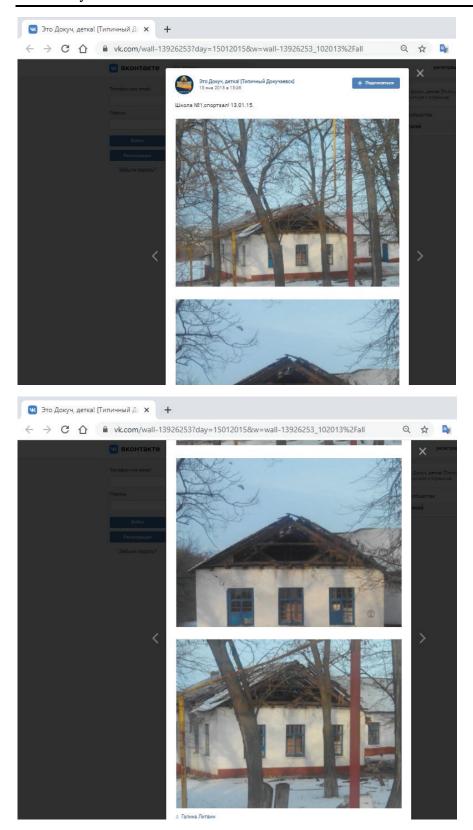
During the shelling of Kyivsky and Kuibyshevskyi districts of Donetsk, one civilian was killed and eight were wounded to varying degrees of severity.

Positions of DPR Ministry of Defence units near the Donetsk airport were shelled five times from the direction of Avdiivka, Opytne and Pisky — at 18:15, 18:25, 19:00, 19:40 and 20:50.

During the night, one serviceman of the DPR Ministry of Defence was killed and two were wounded."

VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk], 15 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "It's Dokuch, baby!" [Typical Dokuchayevsk] https://vk.com/wall-13926253?day=15012015&w=wall-13926253 102013%2Fall



Original text:

Школа №1,спортзал! 13.01.15.

<u>Translation:</u>

School №1, the gymnasium! 13 January 2015.

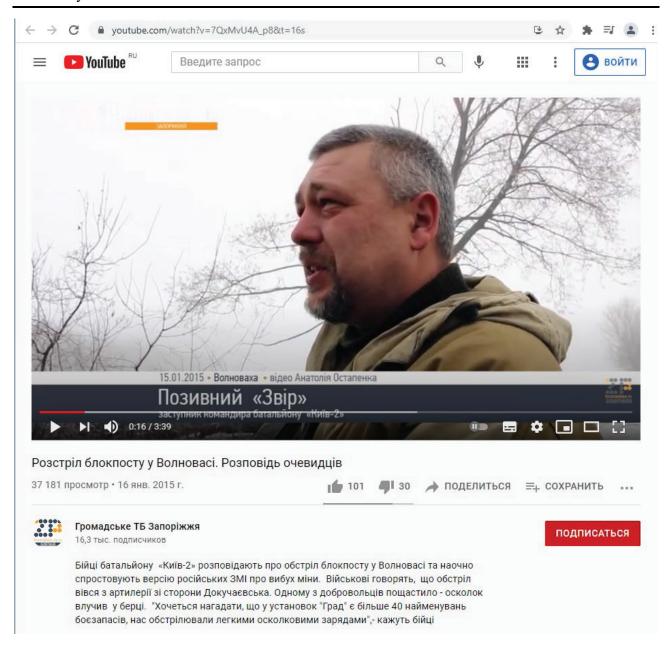






YouTube, Screenshot of the video "Shooting at the checkpoint in Volnovakha. Eyewitness account" from Hromadske TV Zaporizhya channel, 16 January 2015

SOURCE: YouTube channel of Hromadske TV Zaporizhya, "Shelling of the checkpoint in Volnovakha. Eyewitness account" https://youtu.be/7QxMvU4A p8?t=16



Original text:

Текст видео:

15.01.2015 - Волноваха – відео Анатолія Остапенка

Позивний «Звір»

Заступник командира батальйону «Київ-2»

Описание видео:

Розстріл блокпосту у Волновасі. Розповідь очевидців

37 181 просмотр – 16 января 2015

Громадське ТБ Запоріжжя

16,3 тыс. подписчиков

Бійці батальйону «Київ-2» розповідають про обстріл блокпосту у Волновасі та наочно спростовують версію російських ЗМІ про вибух міни. Військові говорять, що обстріл вівся з артилерії зі сторони Докучаєвська. Одному з добровольців пощастило - осколок влучив у берці. "Хочеться нагадати, що у установок "Град" є більше 40 найменувань боєзапасів, нас обстрілювали легкими осколковими зарядами", - кажуть бійці.

Translation:

Text on the video:

15 January 2015 – Volnovakha - video of Anatoly Ostapenko

Call sign "Zvir" ["Beast"]

Deputy commander of the Kyiv-2 Battalion.

Description of the video:

Shelling of the checkpoint in Volnovakha. Eyewitness account

37 181 views – 16 January 2015

Hromadske TV Zaporizhya

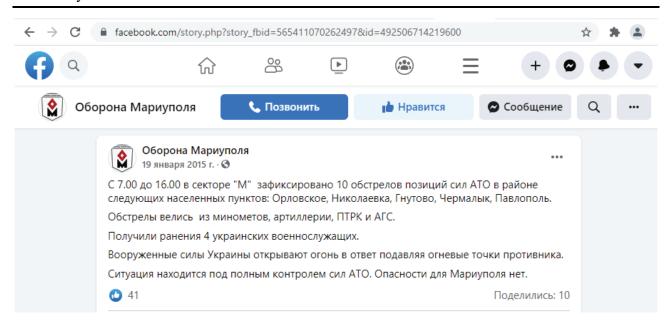
16,3 thsd. subscribers

Fighters of the Kyiv-2 Battalion talk about the shelling of the checkpoint in Volnovakha and clearly refute the "mine explosion" version of the Russian media. The military says that the shelling was carried out by artillery located in the direction of Dokuchayevsk. One of the volunteers was lucky - a fragment pierced his combat boot. "I would like to remind you that Grad [artillery] pieces have more than 40 types of ammunition, we were fired at with light fragmentation shells," the soldiers say.

Facebook page "Defence of Mariupol", 19 January 2015

SOURCE: Facebook page "Defence of Mariupol" https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story fbid=565411070262497&id=492506714219600

19 January 2015



Original text:

С 7.00 до 16.00 в секторе "М" зафиксировано 10 обстрелов позиций сил АТО в районе следующих населенных пунктов: Орловское, Николаевка, Гнутово, Чермалык, Павлополь.

Обстрелы велись из минометов, артиллерии, ПТРК и АГС.

Получили ранения 4 украинских военнослужащих.

Вооруженные силы Украины открывают огонь в ответ подавляя огневые точки противника.

Ситуация находится под полным контролем сил АТО. Опасности для Мариуполя нет.

Translation:

From 7:00 am to 4:00 pm, in the M sector, 10 attacks on the positions of the anti-terrorist operation (ATO) forces were recorded in the area of the following settlements: Orlovske, Mykolaivka, Hnutove, Chermalyk, Pavlopil.

The shelling was performed with the use of mortars, artillery, anti-tank missile systems and automatic mounted grenade launchers (AGS).

4 Ukrainian servicemen were wounded.

The Ukrainian Armed Forces fire in response, suppressing the enemy's firing positions.

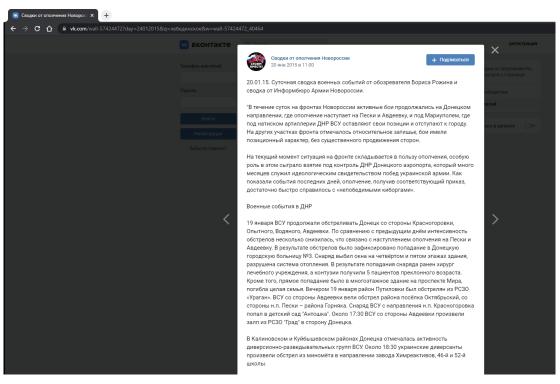
The situation is under full control of the ATO forces. There is no threat for Mariupol.

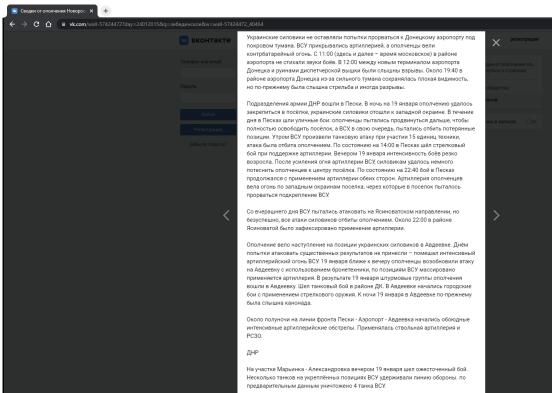
VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 20 January 2015 (excerpts)

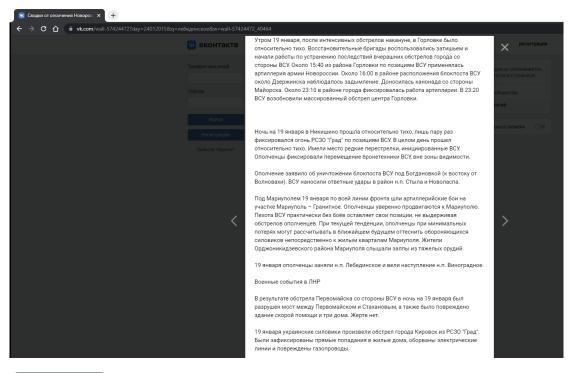
<u>Translation</u>

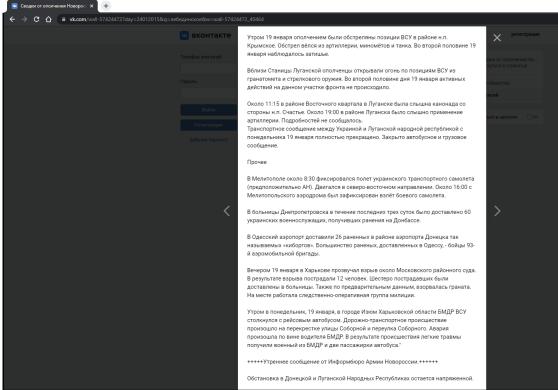
Excerpts

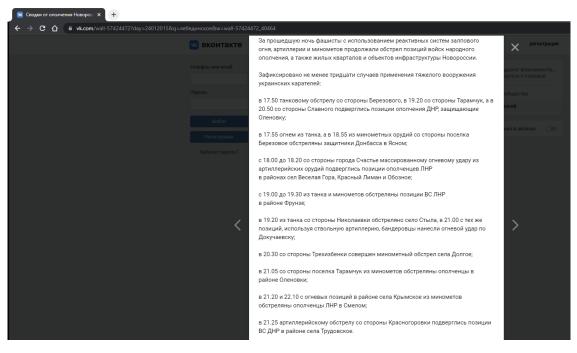
SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=20012015&w=wall-57424472 40464%2Fall

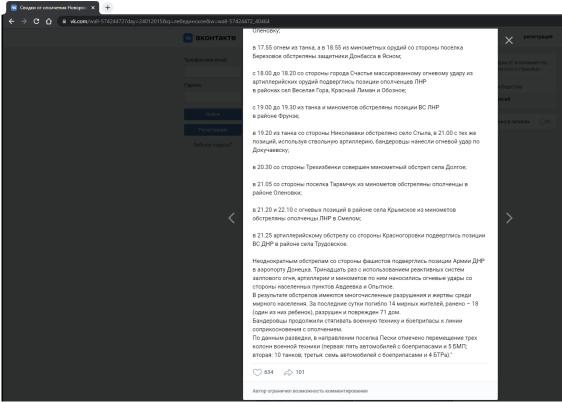












Original text:

20.01.15. Суточная сводка военных событий от обозревателя Бориса Рожина и сводка от Информбюро Армии Новороссии.

"В течение суток на фронтах Новороссии активные бои продолжались на Донецком направлении, где ополчение наступает на Пески и Авдеевку, и под Мариуполем, где под натиском артиллерии ДНР ВСУ оставляют свои позиции и отступают к городу. На других участках фронта отмечалось относительное затишье, бои имели позиционный характер, без существенного продвижения сторон.

На текущий момент ситуация на фронте складывается в пользу ополчения, особую роль в этом сыграло взятие под контроль ДНР Донецкого аэропорта, который много месяцев служил идеологическим свидетельством побед украинской армии. Как показали события последних дней, ополчение, получив соответствующий приказ, достаточно быстро справилось с «непобедимыми киборгами».

Военные события в ДНР

19 января ВСУ продолжали обстреливать Донецк со стороны Красногоровки, Опытного, Водяного, Авдеевки. По сравнению с предыдущим днём интенсивность обстрелов несколько снизилась, что связано с наступлением ополчения на Пески и Авдеевку. В результате обстрелов было зафиксировано попадание в Донецкую городскую больницу №3. Снаряд выбил окна на четвёртом и пятом этажах здания, разрушена система отопления. В результате попадания снаряда ранен хирург лечебного учреждения, а контузии получили 5 пациентов преклонного возраста. Кроме того, прямое попадание было в многоэтажное здание на проспекте Мира, погибла целая семья. Вечером 19 января район Путиловки был обстрелян из РСЗО «Ураган». ВСУ со стороны Авдеевки вели обстрел района посёлка Октябрьский, со стороны н.п. Пески — района Горняка. Снаряд ВСУ с направления н.п. Красногоровка попал в детский сад "Антошка". Около 17:30 ВСУ со стороны Авдеевки произвели залп из РСЗО "Град" в сторону Донецка.

В Калиновском и Куйбышевском районах Донецка отмечалась активность диверсионноразведывательных групп ВСУ. Около 18:30 украинские диверсанты произвели обстрел из миномёта в направлении завода Химреактивов, 46-й и 52-й школы.

 $[\ldots]$

ДНР

[...]

Под Мариуполем 19 января по всей линии фронта шли артиллерийские бои на участке Мариуполь – Гранитное. Ополченцы уверенно продвигаются к Мариуполю. Пехота ВСУ практически без боёв оставляет свои позиции, не выдерживая обстрелов ополченцев. При текущей тенденции, ополченцы при минимальных потерях могут рассчитывать в ближайшем будущем оттеснить обороняющихся силовиков непосредственно к жилым кварталам Мариуполя. Жители Орджоникидзевского района Мариуполя слышали залпы из тяжелых орудий.

19 января ополченцы заняли н.п. Лебединское и вели наступление н.п. Виноградное.

[...]

++++Утреннее сообщение от Информбюро Армии Новороссии.+++++

[...]

- в 17.50 танковому обстрелу со стороны Березового, в 19.20 со стороны Тарамчук, а в 20.50 со стороны Славного подверглись позиции ополчения ДНР, защищающие Оленовку;
- в 17.55 огнем из танка, а в 18.55 из минометных орудий со стороны поселка Березовое обстреляны защитники Донбасса в Ясном;

[...]

в 19.20 из танка со стороны Николаевки обстреляно село Стыла, в 21.00 с тех же позиций, используя ствольную артиллерию, бандеровцы нанесли огневой удар по Докучаевску;

[...]

в 21.05 со стороны поселка Тарамчук из минометов обстреляны ополченцы в районе Оленовки;

[...]

Translation:

20 January 2015. Daily summary of the military events by the correspondent Boris Rozhin and a report from the Information Bureau of the Army of Novorossiya.

"For the last 24 hours, active hostilities have continued on the Donetsk front of Novorossiya, where the people's militia advances on Pisky and Avdiivka, and near Mariupol, where the Ukrainian Armed Forces leave their positions and retreat to the city under the pressure of the DPR artillery. Other parts of the front remained relatively calm, with trench fights without any significant advancement of the warring sides.

At the moment, the frontline situation is in favor of the people's militia, particularly due to the capture of the Donetsk airport by the DPR. For many months, the airport played the role of ideological evidence of the victories of the Ukrainian army. As the last days' developments have shown, the people's militia, having received the respective order, quickly dealt with the "invincible cyborgs".

Military events in the DPR

On 19 January, the UAF continued to shell Donetsk from the direction of Krasnohorivka, Opytny, Vodiane, Avdiivka. Compared to the previous day, intensity of the shellings has slightly decreased due to the militia's offence on Pisky and Avdiivka. As a result, the Donetsk Municipal Hospital No. 3 was hit. The shell knocked out windows on the fourth and fifth floors of the building, the heating system was destroyed. As a result of the shell's hit, a surgeon was wounded, and 5 elderly patients suffered concussions. In addition, a multi-storey building on Mira Avenue suffered a direct hit, a whole family was killed. On the evening of 19 January, the Putylivka District was shelled by 'Uragan' MLRS. The UAF shelled the area of the Oktyabrsky village from the direction of Avdiivka, and the area of Hirnyk from the direction of Pisky. A UAF shell, shot from the direction of Krasnohorivka

settlement, hit the Antoshka kindergarten. At about 5:30 pm, a UAF Grad MLRS shelled Donetsk from the direction of Avdiivka.

Sabotage and reconnaissance groups of the Ukrainian Armed Forces were active in the Kalinovsky and Kuibyshevsky districts of Donetsk. Around 6:30 pm, Ukrainian saboteurs arranged a mortar attack in the direction of the Chemical Reagents Plant, Schools Nos. 46 and 52.

[...]

DPR

[...]

On 19 January, artillery battles were recorded along the entire Mariupol-Hranitne front. The people's militia are confidently advancing towards Mariupol. Infantry of the Ukrainian Armed Forces leaves their positions practically without fighting, unable to withstand shelling by the people's militia. This trend may soon allow the people's militia to push the defending military forces directly to the residential quarters of Mariupol. Residents of the Ordzhonikidzevsky District of Mariupol heard volleys of heavy artillery.

On January 19, the people's militia took Lebedynske and advanced towards Vinogradnoye.

[...]

+++++Morning Message from the Information Bureau of the Army of Novorossiya++++++

[...]

The people's militia defending Olenivka came under tank fire from Berezove at 5:50 pm, from Taramchuk at 7:20 PM, and from Slavny at 8:50 pm;

The defenders of Donbass in Yasne were shot at by a tank at 5:55 pm, and by mortars at 6:55 pm;

[...]

Styla village came under tank fire from Mykolaivka at 7:20 pm; at 9:00 pm, banderites opened artillery fire on Dokuchayevsk from the same positions using tube artillery;

 $[\ldots]$

At 9:05 pm, from the village of Taramchuk, mortars fired at the militiamen near Olenivka;

[...]

Blog of Andrey Skaternoy, "Volnovakha-Donetsk checkpoint 'Buhas'. The one", 20 January 2015

Volnovakha-Donetsk checkpoint 'Buhas'. The one.



20 January 2015

By Andrey Skaternoy in Uncategorized

It so happened that during our trip around the area of the ATO:

Let me remind you that we (\mathbf{Q} ibigdan and \mathbf{Q} a s k e t) traveled to the east of Ukraine in December to tell you how people live there - both civilians and the military.

From the same series of posts:

Life near the frontline. Announcement of a series of reports from the east of Ukraine

A deceived country

The battle for the TV tower in Kostiantynivka

Unusual Mariupol

How a checkpoint works

Ready to kill for a Russian passport

Mariupol: Beauty and the Beast in one face

AOLM – Another One-Legged Militia

What is a "f***ed up" checkpoint and how does the Azov Battalion live?

So, during the trip, we just so happened to stop at the now ill-fated checkpoint "Buhas", where recently terrorists hit a civilian bus by Grad and killed more than ten civilians, including children.

Here are some photos from there:

The building of the checkpoint and a pickup truck with a machine gun and an anti-aircraft installation mounted on its back. This one belongs to a commander of some distant post who's here on a visit.



View towards Volnovakha. The bus went just like one of those cars...



Armoured reconnaissance vehicle [BRDM] "Beast"



Strange device at the checkpoint



BRDM modified with a surveillance camera



The view towards Donetsk



"Freedom or Death!"





For a change, the caption is **under** the drawing. Do you see the gun? It is a T-12 "Rapier" [100 mm anti-tank gun]

A similar bus, almost in the same place...



Bread...



Long memory to the fallen...

If you have an irresistible desire to add me as a friend, click here. :))))

Dear guests! In order not to be banned immediately and not to run around later with mourning cries about the bad me, a big request: before writing the first comment, spend a little time and read the top post and the rules of the blog in it, which will undoubtedly serve the causs of mutual understanding and preventing unnecessary insults. At the same time, you will find out who I am and why. A heartfelt thank you!

63 Views;

Tags: Life near the frontline

0 Replies to "Volnovakha-Donetsk checkpoint "Buhas". The one."

Add a reply

To send a comment, you need to log in.

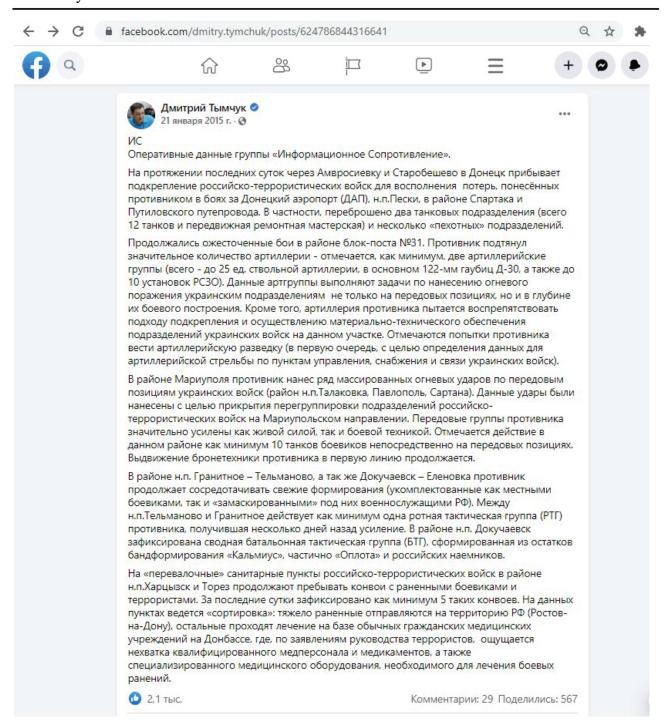
Log in with one click via a social network:

Facebook page of Dmitry Tymchuk, former member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukrainian military expert and blogger, 21 January 2015 (excerpts)

Translation Excerpts

SOURCE: Facebook page of Dmitry Tymchuk, former member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukrainian military expert and blogger

https://www.facebook.com/dmitry.tymchuk/posts/624786844316641



Original text:

ИС

Оперативные данные группы «Информационное Сопротивление».

[...]

В районе Мариуполя противник нанес ряд массированных огневых ударов по передовым позициям украинских войск (район н.п. Талаковка, Павлополь, Сартана). Данные удары были нанесены с целью прикрытия перегруппировки подразделений российско-террористических войск на Мариупольском направлении. Передовые группы противника значительно усилены как живой силой, так и боевой техникой. Отмечается действие в данном районе как минимум 10 танков боевиков непосредственно на передовых позициях. Выдвижение бронетехники противника в первую линию продолжается.

[...]

Translation:

IR

Operational data from the 'Information Resistance' group

[...]

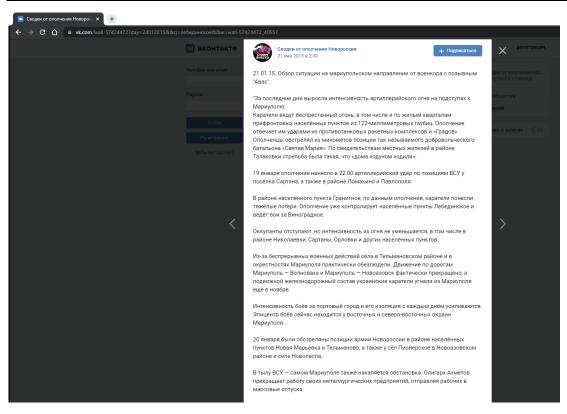
The enemy launched several heavy fire attacks on the Ukrainian advanced positions in the area of Mariupol (area of Talakivka, Pavlopil, Sartana). The attacks were to cover the redeployment of Russian and terrorist troops in the area of Mariupol. The enemy's advanced groups are considerably reinforced with manpower and military equipment. It is noted that the enemy has at least 10 tanks operating immediately at the advanced positions. The enemy's armoured vehicles are still advancing to the first line.

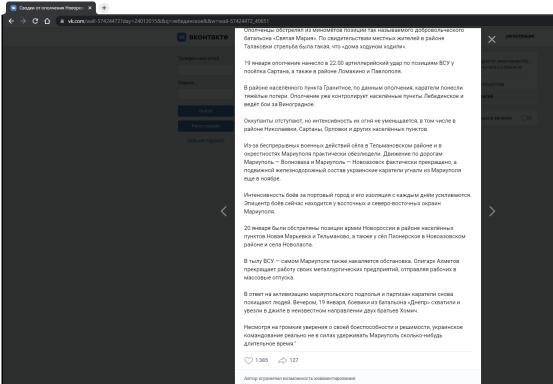
[...]

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 21 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=21012015&w=wall-57424472 40651%2Fall

21 January 2015





Original text:

21.01.15. Обзор ситуации на мариупольском направлении от военкора с позывным "Авас".

"За последние дни выросла интенсивность артиллерийского огня на подступах к Мариуполю.

Каратели ведут беспрестанный огонь, в том числе и по жилым кварталам прифронтовых населённых пунктов из 122-миллиметровых гаубиц. Ополчение отвечает им ударами из противотанковых ракетных комплексов и «Градов». Ополченцы обстрелял из миномётов позиции так называемого добровольческого батальона «Святая Мария». По свидетельствам местных жителей в районе Талаковки стрельба была такая, что «дома ходуном ходили».

19 января ополчение нанесло в 22.00 артиллерийский удар по позициям ВСУ у посёлка Сартана, а также в районе Ломакино и Павлополя.

В районе населённого пункта Гранитное, по данным ополчения, каратели понесли тяжёлые потери. Ополчение уже контролирует населённые пункты Лебединское и ведёт бои за Виноградное.

Оккупанты отступают, но интенсивность их огня не уменьшается, в том числе в районе Николаевки, Сартаны, Орловки и других населённых пунктов.

Из-за беспрерывных военных действий сёла в Тельмановском районе и в окрестностях Мариуполя практически обезлюдели. Движение по дорогам Мариуполь — Волноваха и Мариуполь — Новоазовск фактически прекращено, а подвижной железнодорожный состав украинские каратели угнали из Мариуполя еще в ноябре.

Интенсивность боёв за портовый город и его изоляция с каждым днём усиливаются. Эпицентр боёв сейчас находится у восточных и северо-восточных окраин Мариуполя.

20 января были обстреляны позиции армии Новороссии в районе населённых пунктов Новая Марьевка и Тельманово, а также у сёл Пионерское в Новоазовском районе и села Новоласпа.

В тылу ВСУ — самом Мариуполе также накаляется обстановка. Олигарх Ахметов прекращает работу своих металлургических предприятий, отправляя рабочих в массовые отпуска.

В ответ на активизацию мариупольского подполья и партизан каратели снова похищают людей. Вечером, 19 января, боевики из батальона «Днепр» схватили и увезли в джипе в неизвестном направлении двух братьев Хомич.

Несмотря на громкие уверения о своей боеспособности и решимости, украинское командование реально не в силах удерживать Мариуполь сколько-нибудь длительное время."

21 January 2015. Review of the situation in the Mariupol area from the military correspondent with the call sign "Avas".

"In recent days, there has been an increase in the intensity of artillery fire on the approaches to Mariupol.

The punitive forces maintain constant fire, which includes firing 122-millimeter howitzers at residential areas of frontline settlements. The militia responds with strikes by anti-tank missile systems and Grads. The militia fired mortars at the positions of the so-called Saint Mary Volunteer Battalion. According to the local residents in the area of Talakivka, the shooting was so intense that "the houses were shaking".

At 10:00 pm on 19 January, the militia launched an artillery strike on UAF positions near the settlement of Sartana, as well as in the area of Lomakine and Pavlopil.

According to the militia, the enemy suffered heavy losses in the area of Hranitne settlement. The militia already controls the settlement of Lebedynske and is now fighting for Vynohradne.

The occupation forces are retreating, but the intensity of their fire does not subside, in particular in the area of Mykolaivka, Sartana, Orlivka and other settlements.

As a result of ongoing military operations, the villages in the Telmanove District and in the vicinity of Mariupol have been virtually depopulated. The traffic on the roads of Mariupol—Volnovakha and Mariupol—Novoazovsk has stopped, while the punitive squads drove away the rolling stocks from Mariupol as early as in November.

The intensity of the fighting for this seaport town and its isolation are increasing every day. The epicenter of the fighting is currently located near the eastern and north-eastern outskirts of Mariupol.

On January 20, the positions of the Novorossiya army were shelled near the settlements of Nova Marivka and Telmanove, as well as near the villages of Pionerske in the Novoazovsky District and the village of Novolaspa.

The situation is also heating up in in the UAF's rear - in Mariupol itself. Akhmetov, the oligarch, halts operation of his metallurgical plants and sends their workers on mass leave.

In response to the intensified activities of the Mariupol underground and partisans, punitive squads are kidnapping people again. On the evening of 19 January, the militants from the Dnipro Battalion seized two Khomich brothers and took them away in a jeep in an unknown direction.

Despite loud assurances about their combat capability and determination, the Ukrainian command is in fact unable to hold Mariupol for long."

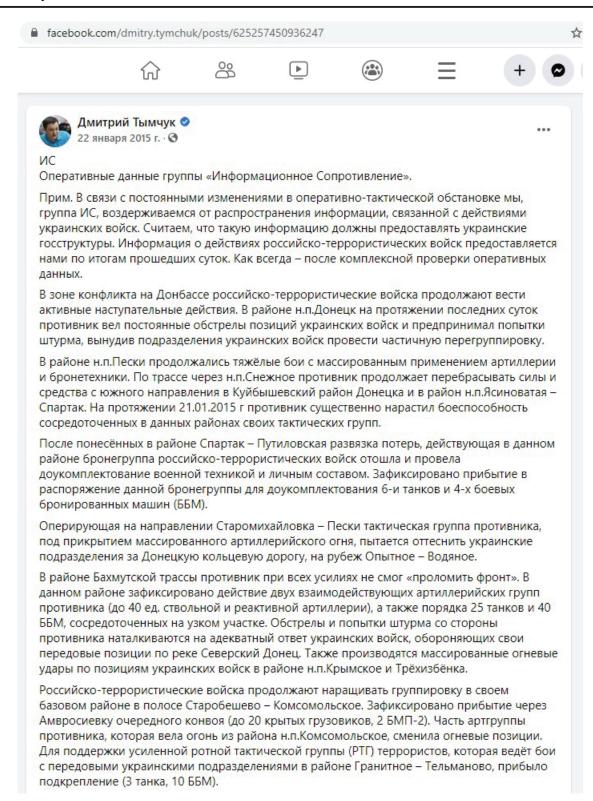
Facebook page of Dmitry Tymchuk, former member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukrainian military expert and blogger, 22 January 2015 (excerpts)

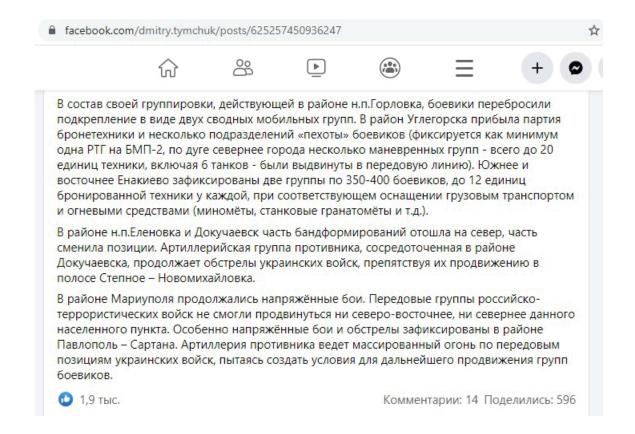
Translation Excerpts

SOURCE: Facebook page of Dmitry Tymchuk, former member of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukrainian military expert and blogger

https://www.facebook.com/dmitry.tymchuk/posts/625257450936247

22 January 2015





Original text:

ИС

Оперативные данные группы «Информационное Сопротивление».

[...]

В районе н.п.Еленовка и Докучаевск часть бандформирований отошла на север, часть сменила позиции. Артиллерийская группа противника, сосредоточенная в районе Докучаевска, продолжает обстрелы украинских войск, препятствуя их продвижению в полосе Степное – Новомихайловка.

В районе Мариуполя продолжались напряжённые бои. Передовые группы российскотеррористических войск не смогли продвинуться ни северо-восточнее, ни севернее данного населенного пункта. Особенно напряжённые бои и обстрелы зафиксированы в районе Павлополь — Сартана. Артиллерия противника ведет массированный огонь по передовым позициям украинских войск, пытаясь создать условия для дальнейшего продвижения групп боевиков.

IR

Operational data from the 'Information Resistance' group

[...]

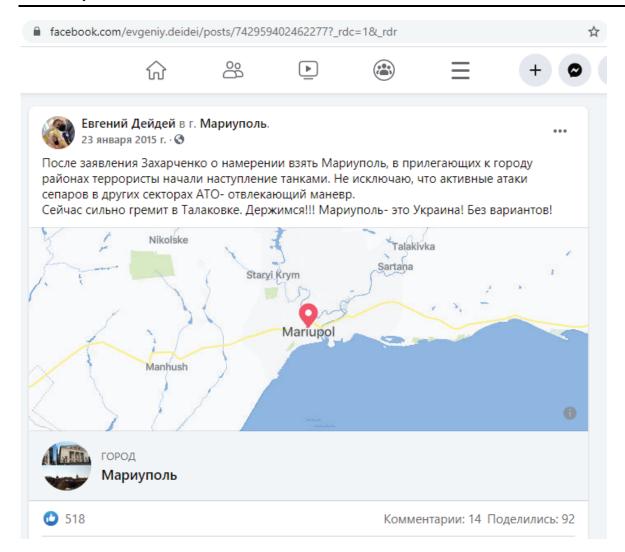
In the area of Olenivka and Dokuchayevsk settlements, part of the militant armed groups moved to the north, and part changed positions. The enemy's artillery group, concentrated in the area of Dokuchayevsk, continues firing at the Ukrainian troops, hindering their advance on the Stepne-Novomikhaylovka front.

Intense fighting continued in the Mariupol area. The advanced groups of Russian and terrorist troops could not advance either northeast or north of this settlement. Particularly intense battles and shelling were recorded in the Pavlopil-Sartana area. Enemy artillery fires massively at the forward positions of the Ukrainian troops, trying to create conditions for the further advance of groups of militants.

Facebook page of Evgeniy Deidei, coordinator of the Kyiv-1 battalion, 23 January 2015

SOURCE: Facebook page of Evgeniy Deidei, coordinator of the Kyiv-1 battalion https://www.facebook.com/evgeniy.deidei/posts/742959402462277

23 January 2015



Original text:

После заявления Захарченко о намерении взять Мариуполь, в прилегающих к городу районах террористы начали наступление танками. Не исключаю, что активные атаки сепаров в других секторах АТО- отвлекающий маневр.

Сейчас сильно гремит в Талаковке. Держимся!!! Мариуполь- это Украина! Без вариантов!

Translation:

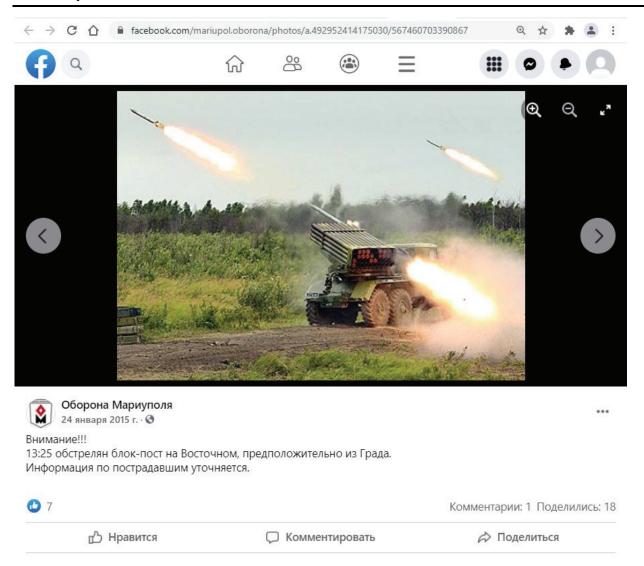
After Zakharchenko's statement about his intention to capture Mariupol, the terrorists began a tank advance in the regions adjacent to the city. I do not rule out that the active attacks of the separatists in the other sectors of the ATO are a diversionary tactic.

Talakivka is under heavy fire now. We're holding on!!! Mariupol is Ukraine! There are no alternatives!

Facebook page "Defence of Mariupol", 24 January 2015

SOURCE: Facebook page "Defence of Mariupol" https://www.facebook.com/mariupol.oborona/photos/a.492952414175030/567460703390867

24 January 2015



Original text:

Внимание!!!

13:25 обстрелян блок-пост на Восточном, предположительно из Града.

Информация по пострадавшим уточняется.

Translation:

Attention!!!

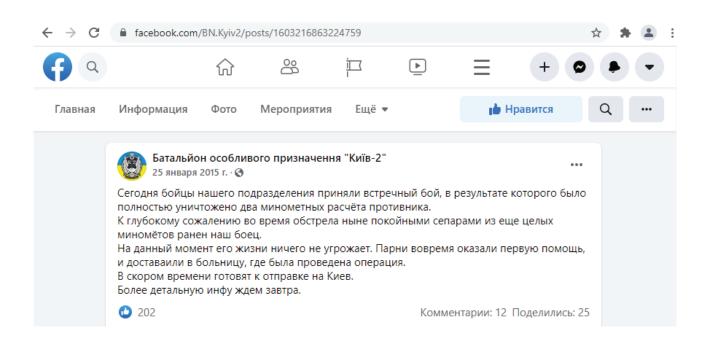
13:25 checkpoint at Vostochny was shelled, presumably by Grad.

Information on the victims is being clarified.

Facebook page of the Kyiv-2 Special Purpose Battalion, 25 January 2015

SOURCE: Facebook page of the Kyiv-2 Special Purpose Battalion https://www.facebook.com/BN.Kyiv2/posts/1603216863224759

25 January 2015



Original text:

Сегодня бойцы нашего подразделения приняли встречный бой, в результате которого было полностью уничтожено два минометных расчёта противника.

К глубокому сожалению во время обстрела ныне покойными сепарами из еще целых миномётов ранен наш боец.

На данный момент его жизни ничего не угрожает. Парни вовремя оказали первую помощь, и доставаили в больницу, где была проведена операция.

В скором времени готовят к отправке на Киев.

Более детальную инфу ждем завтра.

Translation:

Today the fighters of our unit engaged in a head-on fight, following which they obliterated two mortar squads of the enemy.

Unfortunately, as the now deceased separatists were firing from their still operational mortars, they injured our fighter.

His life is not in danger now. The guys administered first aid on time and took him to hospital where he was operated on.

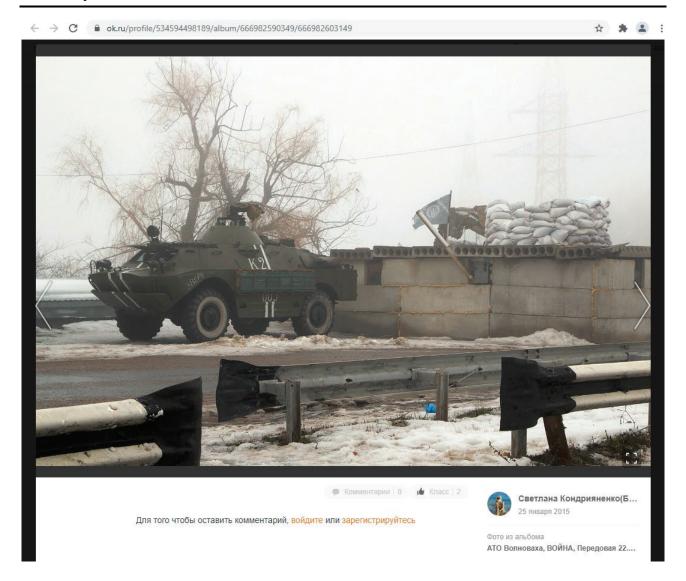
He is going to be sent to Kyiv soon.

More detailed information is expected tomorrow.

Photo from Odnoklassniki social network page of Svetlana Kondryanenko, 25 January 2015

SOURCE: Photo from Odnoklassniki social network page of Svetlana Kondryanenko https://ok.ru/profile/534594498189/album/666982590349/666982603149

25 January 2015



Original text:

Светлана Кондрияненко[(Бессмертная]

25 января 2015

Фото из альбома

АТО Волноваха, ВОЙНА, Передовая 22[.01.2015 г.]

<u>Translation:</u>

Svetlana Kondryanenko[(the Immortal]

25 January 2015

Photo from the album

"ATO Volnovakha, WAR, the front line 22[.01.2015]"

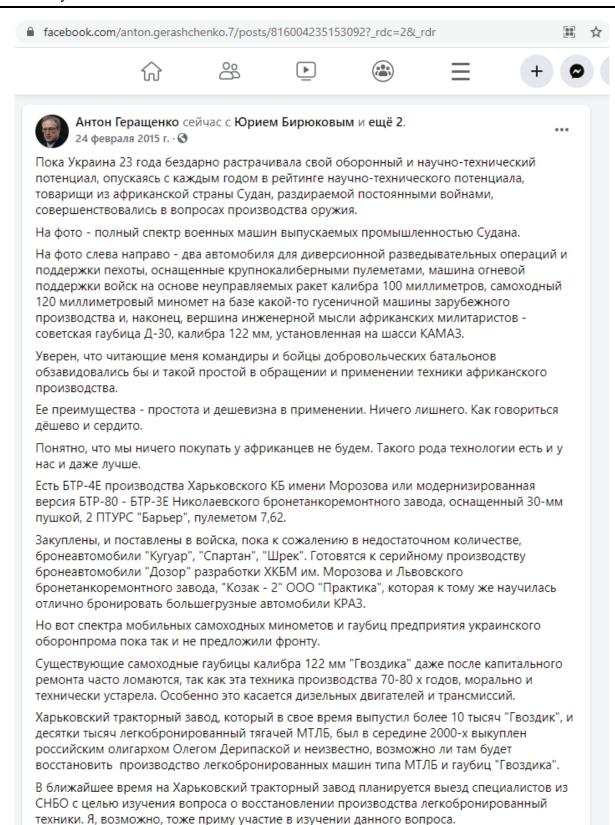


Facebook page of Anton Gerashchenko, 24 February 2015 (excerpts)

Excerpts

SOURCE: Facebook page of Anton Gerashchenko https://www.facebook.com/anton.gerashchenko.7/posts/816004235153092? rdc=2& rdr

24 February 2015



facebook.com/anton.gerashchenko.7/posts/816004235153092?_rdc=2&_rdr



















Главной проблемой при этом будет вопрос - где брать двигатели для легкой бронетехники? Если танковые двигатели - одни из лучших в мире, хорошо умеют делать Харьковские танкостроители, то дизельные двигатели для самоходных гаубиц и БТР всегда производились в России на Ярославском или Челябинском моторостроительный заводах. В том числе и двигатели, которые массово устанавливались на автомобили семейства КРАЗ.

Видимо прийдется покупать дизельные двигатели где-то в Европе, так как делать свой украинский дизельный двигатель качественно, это долго и дорого.

Более современные 152 миллиметровый гаубицы "Мста-С" и 203 мм 2С7 "Пион" имеются в войсках в ограниченном количестве и производились также целиком в России.

На сегодня нам надо бережно относится к тем относительно современным самоходным гаубичный системам типа "Гвоздика", "Мста С" и "Пион" и разрабатывать новые САУ более простые и дешевые на шасси колесного типа по примеру французской 155 мм САУ "Цезарь" на трехосном колесном шасси "Рено" и им подобным. Полноприводные трёхосный шасси "КРАЗ" прекрасно бы подошло для размещения на них артиллерийской самоходной системы калибра 152 или уже стандарта НАТО 155 мм.

Но для этого нужно такой заказ на научно-исследовательские и опытно-конструкторские работы разместить как на КРАЗе, так и определить какое предприятие оборонной-промышленного комплекса возьмется за восстановление производства стволов для 152 мм гаубиц.

Ранее такое производство, кстати, было расположено в Киеве в конструкторском бюро "Артиллерийское вооружение". Сейчас в цехах где тридцать лет назад делались стволы для гаубиц и танковые пушки - торговый центр, который может и полезный и удобный для покупателей, но не производит то, что может нашу страну защитить.

Сегодня такого рода сложную продукци, как 7-ми метровый ствол 152/155 мм гаубицы мог бы выпускать ряд предприятий украинской промышленности, при условии, что они получат четкие государственные гарантии на приобретение конкретных партий орудийных стволов, как новых, так и сделанных взамен изношенных в боях орудий.

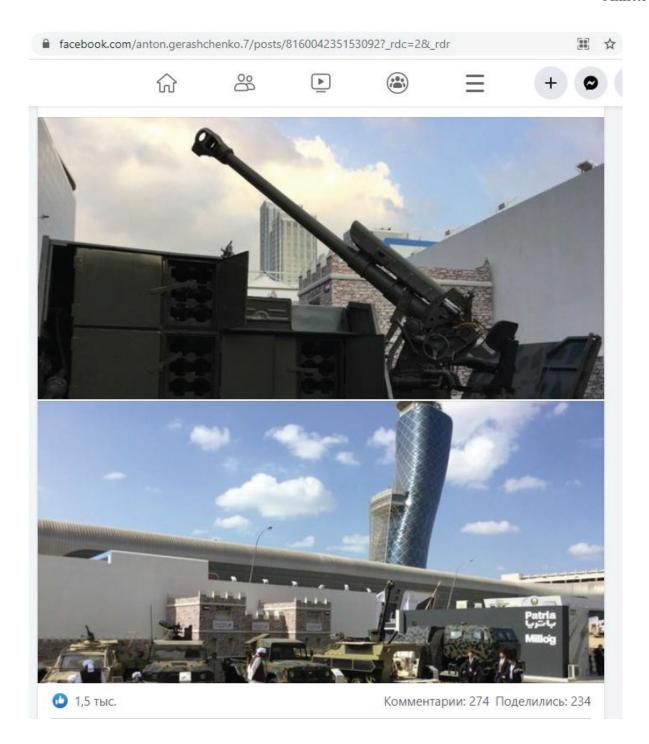
Мариуполь - нужно держать любой ценой! Именно там находятся металлургические и машиностроительные заводы, прокатные станы и прессы, которые позволяют выпускать броню для украинских танков и БТР. Потеряем Мариуполь - потеряем возможность самостоятельно делать бронетехнику собственного производства.

В том числе и поэтому первым делом 13 июня, тогда еще неокрепшие добровольческие батальоны милиции "Азов", "Днепр-1", были нацелены на освобождение Мариуполя от тогда еще слабых террористических группировок.

Украине нужна была была своя броня.

Враг об этом знает и будет планировать снова и снова захватить Мариуполь.

Но мы ему этого сделать не дадим!



Original text:

[...]

Мариуполь - нужно держать любой ценой! Именно там находятся металлургические и машиностроительные заводы, прокатные станы и прессы, которые позволяют выпускать броню для украинских танков и БТР. Потеряем Мариуполь - потеряем возможность самостоятельно делать бронетехнику собственного производства.

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Украине нужна была была своя броня.

Враг об этом знает и будет планировать снова и снова захватить Мариуполь.

Но мы ему этого сделать не дадим!

Translation:

[...]

We must keep Mariupol at all costs! This city hosts metallurgical and machine-building plants, rolling mills and presses for the production of armour for Ukrainian tanks and armoured personnel carriers. If we lose Mariupol, we'll lose the possibility to produce armoured vehicles by ourselves.

This is one of the reasons why, on 13 July, the volunteer militia battalions Azov and Dnepr-1, which still lacked strength, were deployed to free Mariupol from the still weak terrorist groups.

Ukraine needs its armour.

The enemy knows this and will plan to seize Mariupol again and again.

But we won't let them!

VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary, 4 August 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary https://vk.com/wall-1206792 516531?reply=518006

4 August 2015



vk.com/wall-1206792_516531?reply=518006&w=wall-1206792_516531_r518006 ☆







Андрей Гордеев

Калинина район керамзавода очень громко бьют по нам, слышно как осколки летят во

4 авг 2015

Original text:

Андрей Гордеев

Калинина район керамзавода очень громко быот по нам, слышно как осколки летят во дворе

Translation:

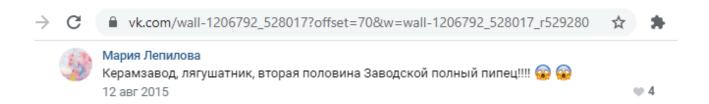
Andrey Gordeev

Kalinina [Street], the area of Ceramzavod, we're under very loud fire, we can hear fragments flying in the yard.

VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary, 12 August 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary https://vk.com/wall-1206792_528017?offset=70&w=wall-1206792_528017 r529280

12 August 2015



Original text:

Мария Лепилова

Керамзавод, лягушатник, вторая половина Заводской полный пипец!!!! 🕯 🕯

Translation:

Maria Lepilova

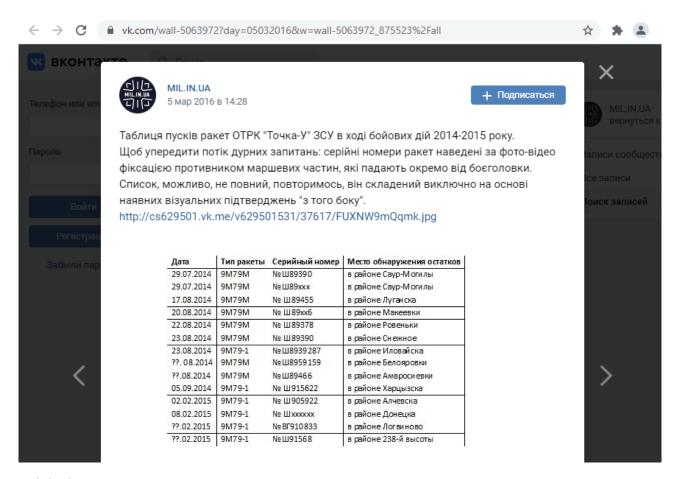
Ceramzavod [short for Ceramic Plant], Lyagushatnik, the second half of Zavodska are so f***** up!!!! 🐷 🐷

VKontakte page "MIL.IN.UA", 5 March 2016

SOURCE: VKontakte page "MIL.IN.UA"

 $https://vk.com/wall-5063972? \underline{day=05032016\&w=wall-5063972\ 875523\%2Fall}$

05 March 2016



Original text:

Таблиця пусків ракет ОТРК "Точка-У" ЗСУ в ході бойових дій 2014-2015 року.

Щоб упередити потік дурних запитань: серійні номери ракет наведені за фото-відео фіксацією противником маршевих частин, які падають окремо від боєголовки.

Список, можливо, не повний, повторимось, він складений виключно на основі наявних візуальних підтверджень "з того боку".

http://cs629501.vk.me/v629501531/37617/FUXNW9mQqmk.jpg

Translation:

Table of missile launches from UAF Tochka-U systems during hostilities in 2014 and 2015.

To avoid numerous stupid questions: serial numbers of missiles are specified based on the enemy's photo and video evidence of sustainer elements that fall separately from the warhead.

The list may not be exhaustive, but let us repeat that it is compiled only based on visual evidence "from the other side" available to us.

http://cs629501.vk.me/v629501531/37617/FUXNW9mQqmk.jpg

DATE	ROCKET TYPE	SERIAL NUMBER	LOCATION OF THE DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS
29.07.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89390	в районе Саур-Могилы
29.07.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89ххх	в районе Саур-Могилы
17.08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89455	в районе Луганска
20.08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89хх6	в районе Макеевки
22.08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89378	в районе Ровеньки
23.08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89390	в районе Снежное
23.08.2014	9M79-1	№ Ш8939287	в районе Иловайска
??. 08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш8959159	в районе Белояровки
??.08.2014	9M79M	№ Ш89466	в районе Амвросиевки
05.09.2014	9M79-1	№ Ш915622	In the area of Khartsyzk
02.02.2015	9M79-1	№ Ш905922	In the area of Alchevsk
08.02.2015	9M79-1	№ Шхохоххх	In the area of Donetsk
??.02.2015	9M79-1	Nº BГ910833	In the area of Lohvynove
??.02.2015	9M79-1	№ Ш91568	In the area of 238 th height

VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary, 11 June 2016

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary https://vk.com/wall-1206792 796014?reply=796167

11 June 2016



vk.com/wall-1206792 796014?reply=796167&w=wall-1206792 796014 r796167







Жидко Стулов

Ув. туристы и жители города-героя АВДЕЕВКА!БЕСПЛАТНЫЕ велопоездки по местам боевой славы!Ул.КАЛИНИНА(Керамзавод,Лягушатник,он же Жаболовка-вид на Ясиноватский блокпост),ЛЕСОПОЛОСА(ул.Лермонтова,ул.Ломоносова,Ясиноватский пер.,ул Кирова и т.д.) с заездом на РСУ и Авдеевский лес.С собой иметь каску,броник и памперсы!Если нет желания,тогда сидите возле Ваших компов и не тупите!!!!!!! 11 июн 2016 ■ 34

Original text:

Жидко Стулов

Ув. туристы и жители города-героя АВДЕЕВКА!БЕСПЛАТНЫЕ велопоездки по местам боевой славы!Ул.КАЛИНИНА(Керамзавод,Лягушатник, он же Жаболовка-вид на Ясиноватский блокпост),ЛЕСОПОЛОСА(ул.Лермонтова, ул.Ломоносова, Ясиноватский пер., ул Кирова и т.д.) с заездом на РСУ и Авдеевский лес.С собой иметь каску, броник и памперсы!Если нет желания, тогда сидите возле Ваших компов и не тупите!!!!!!!

Translation:

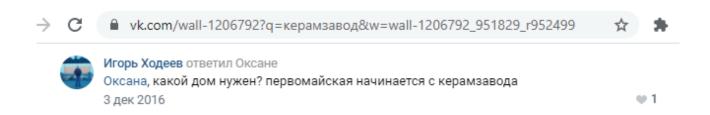
Zhidko Stulov

Dear tourists and residents of the heroic city AVDIIVKA! FREE cycle rides around the places of military glory! KALININA Street (Ceramzavod, Lyagushatnik, also known as Zhabolovka – view of the Yasynuvata checkpoint), TREELINE (Lermontova Street, Lomonosova Street, Yasinovatskiy Alley, Kirova Street e.t.c.) with the passage through the RSU and Avdiivka forest. You should have a helmet, body armour and diapers! If you have no desire, then sit behind your computers and don't be dumb!!!!!!!!

VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary, 3 December 2016

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Avdiivka – my Motherland!", commentary https://vk.com/wall-1206792 951829?reply=952499

3 December 2016



Original text:

Игорь Ходеев

Оксана, какой дом нужен? первомайская начинается с керамзавода

Translation:

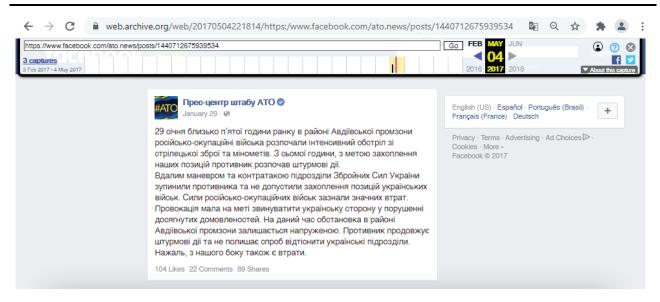
Igor Khodeev

Oksana, which house are you looking for? Pervomaiska [Street] starts with Ceramzavod

Facebook page of the Press Centre for the ATO headquarters (archived page), 29 January 2017

SOURCE: Facebook page of the Press Centre for the ATO headquarters (archived page) https://web.archive.org/web/20170504221814/https://www.facebook.com/ato.news/posts/14407126 75939534

29 January 2017



Original Text:

29 січня близько п'ятої години ранку в районі Авдіївської промзони російсько-окупаційні війська розпочали інтенсивний обстріл зі стрілецької зброї та мінометів. З сьомої години, з метою захоплення наших позицій противник розпочав штурмові дії.

Вдалим маневром та контратакою підрозділи Збройних Сил України зупинили противника та не допустили захоплення позицій українських військ. Сили російсько-окупаційних військ зазнали значних втрат.

Провокація мала на меті звинуватити українську сторону у порушенні досягнутих домовленостей. На даний час обстановка в районі Авдіївської промзони залишається напруженою. Противник продовжує штурмові дії та не полишає спроб відтіснити українські підрозділи. Нажаль, з нашого боку також є втрати.

Translation:

On 29 January, around 5 am, in the vicinity of the industrial area of Avdiivka, Russian occupation forces opened intense small-arms and mortar fire. At 7 am, the enemy began a ground assault with the goal of taking our positions.

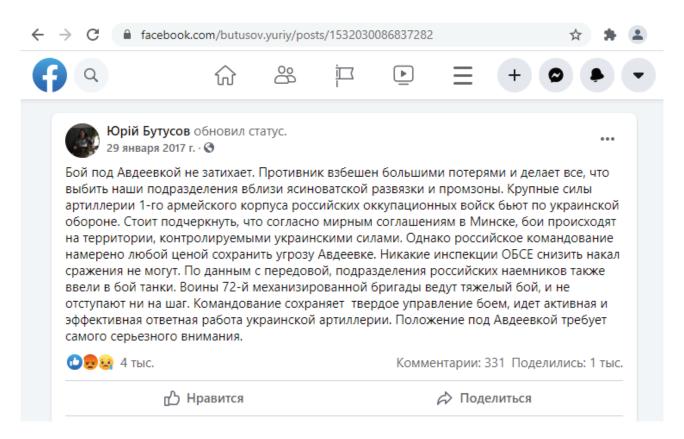
With a successful maneuver and a counterattack, units of the Ukrainian Armed Forces stopped the enemy and prevented capture of the Ukrainian forces' positions. Russian occupation forces suffered significant losses.

The goal of the provocation was to blame the Ukrainian side for violating the agreements reached. Currently, the situation in the vicinity of the Avdiivka Industrial Area remains tense. The enemy continues its assaults and does not give up its attempts to push Ukrainian units out. Regrettably, there are casualties on our side as well.

Facebook page of Yuriy Butusov, 29 January 2017

SOURCE: Facebook page of Yuriy Butusov https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/1532030086837282

29 January 2017



Original text:

Бой под Авдеевкой не затихает. Противник взбешен большими потерями и делает все, что выбить наши подразделения вблизи ясиноватской развязки и промзоны. Крупные силы артиллерии 1-го армейского корпуса российских оккупационных войск быот по украинской обороне. Стоит подчеркнуть, что согласно мирным соглашениям в Минске, бои происходят на территории, контролируемыми украинскими силами. Однако российское командование намерено любой ценой сохранить угрозу Авдеевке. Никакие инспекции ОБСЕ снизить накал сражения не могут. По данным с передовой, подразделения российских наемников также ввели в бой танки. Воины 72-й механизированной бригады ведут тяжелый бой, и не отступают ни на шаг. Командование сохраняет твердое управление боем, идет активная и эффективная ответная работа украинской артиллерии. Положение под Авдеевкой требует самого серьезного внимания.

Translation

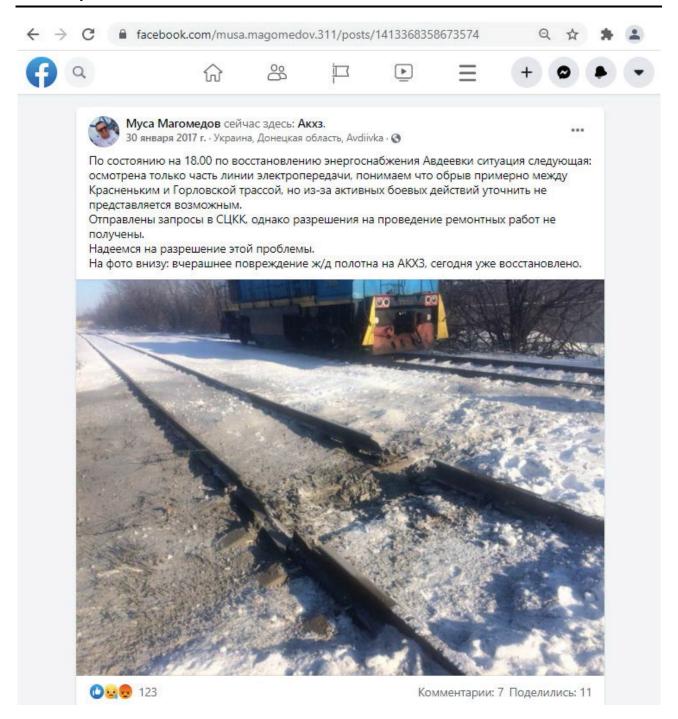
The battle near Avdiivka continues unabated. The enemy is enraged by its high casualties and does everything to hammer out our units near the Yasynuvata junction and the industrial area. Large artillery forces of the 1st Army Corps of the Russian occupation forces are striking the Ukrainian defences. It must be emphasised that, according to the ceasefire agreements reached in Minsk, the

battles take place on the territory controlled by the Ukrainian forces. Nonetheless, the Russian command is determined to maintain its threat to Avdiivka at all costs. No OSCE inspections could lessen the intensity of the fights. According to data from the frontline, Russian mercenary units introduced tanks into the battle. Soldiers of the 72nd mechanised brigade put up a heavy fight and don't take a single step back. The command retains strong control over the battle and the Ukrainian artillery responds in an active and effective manner. The situation near Avdiivka requires the most serious attention.

Facebook page of Musa Magomedov, Director General of the Avdiivka Coke Plant, 30 January 2017

SOURCE: Facebook page of Musa Magomedov, Director General of the Avdiivka Coke Plant https://www.facebook.com/musa.magomedov.311/posts/1413368358673574

30 January 2017



Original text:

«По состоянию на 18.00 по восстановлению энергоснабжения Авдеевки ситуация следующая: осмотрена только часть линии электропередачи, понимаем что обрыв примерно между Красненьким и Горловской трассой, но из-за активных боевых действий уточнить не представляется возможным.

Отправлены запросы в СЦКК, однако разрешения на проведение ремонтных работ не получены.

Надеемся на разрешение этой проблемы.

На фото внизу: вчерашнее повреждение ж/д полотна на АКХЗ, сегодня уже восстановлено».

Translation:

As of 6 p.m., the situation with the restoration of power supply in Avdiivka is as follows: only a part of the power line has been examined, we understand that the breakage occurred somewhere between the Krasnenky [pond] and the Horlivka motorway, but it is not possible to clarify this due to active hostilities.

Requests have been sent to the JCCC, but permits for repairs have not been received. We hope that this problem will be resolved.

In the photo below: yesterday's damage to the railway track at the Avdiivka Coke Plant, today it has already been restored.

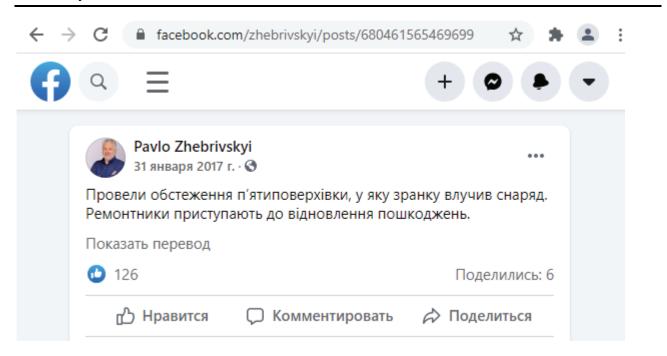


Facebook page of Pavlo Zhebrivskyi, Chairman of the Donetsk Regional Civilian-Military Administration, 31 January 2017

SOURCE: Facebook page of Pavlo Zhebrivskyi, Chairman of the Donetsk Regional Civilian-Military Administration

https://www.facebook.com/zhebrivskyi/posts/680461565469699

31 January 2017



Original text:

Провели обстеження п'ятиповерхівки, у яку зранку влучив снаряд. Ремонтники приступають до відновлення пошкоджень.

<u>Translation:</u>

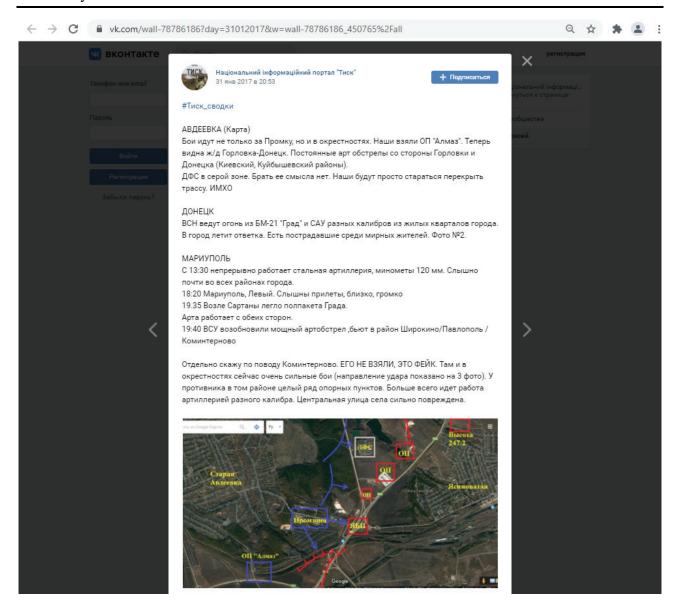
We have inspected a five-storey building damaged by a shell in the morning. Repairmen are starting to repair the damage.

VKontakte page "National Information Portal 'Tisk'", 31 January 2017 (excerpts)

Translation Excerpts

SOURCE: VKontakte page "National Information Portal 'Tisk'" https://vk.com/wall-78786186?day=31012017&w=wall-78786186 450765%2Fall

31 January 2017



Original text:

АВДЕЕВКА (Карта)

Бои идут не только за Промку, но и в окрестностях. Наши взяли ОП "Алмаз". Теперь видна ж/д Горловка-Донецк. Постоянные арт обстрелы со стороны Горловки и Донецка (Киевский, Куйбышевский районы).

[...]



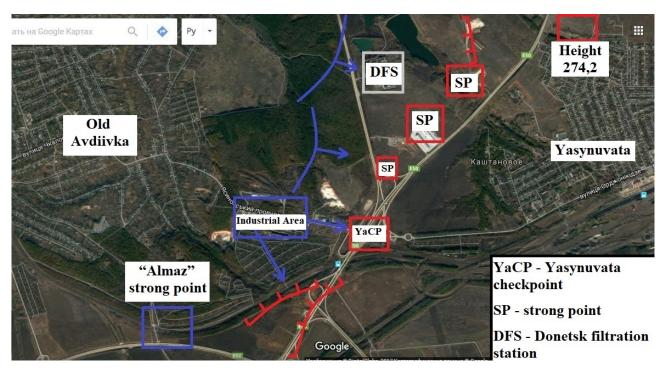
Translation:

AVDIIVKA (Map)

The fighting is taking place not only for Promka [*Translator's note* – "*Industrial area*"], but also in the vicinity [of Avdiivka]. Our [troops] took the Almaz Strong Point. The Horlivka-Donetsk railway is now in sight. Constant shellings from the direction of Horlivka and Donetsk (Kyivsky, Kuibyshevsky districts) [are taking place].

The DFS is in the grey zone. There is no point in taking it. Our [troops] will simply try to block the motorway. IMHO

[...]



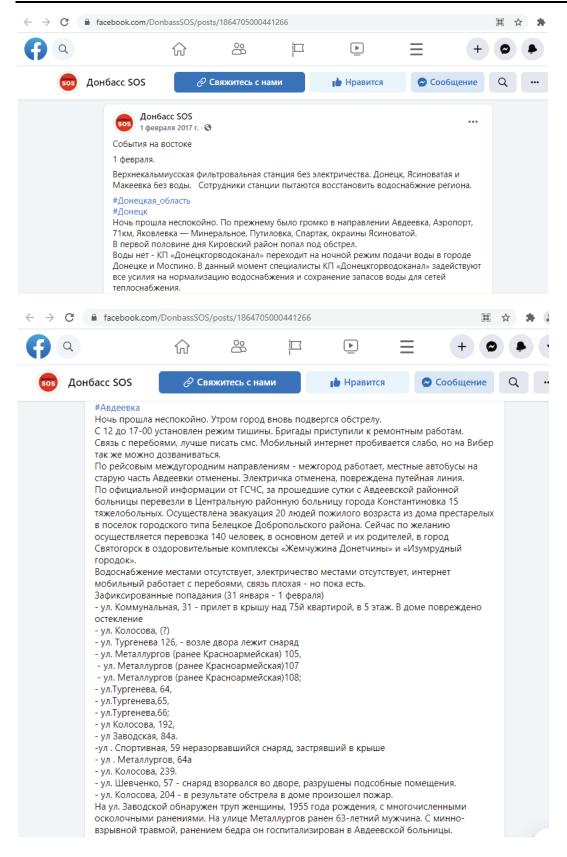
Facebook page of the Donbass SOS Non-Governmental Organisation, 1 February 2017 (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

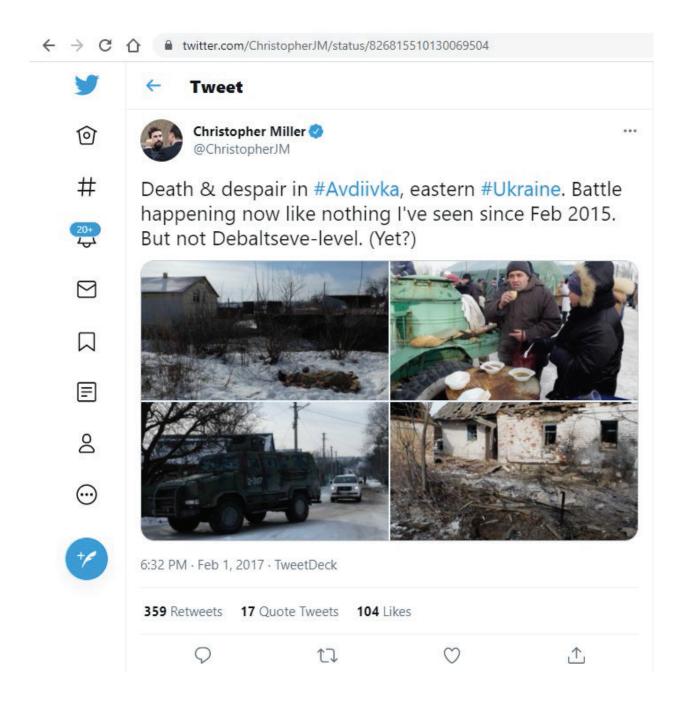
SOURCE: Facebook page of the Donbass SOS Non-Governmental Organisation https://www.facebook.com/DonbassSOS/posts/1864705000441266

1 February 2017

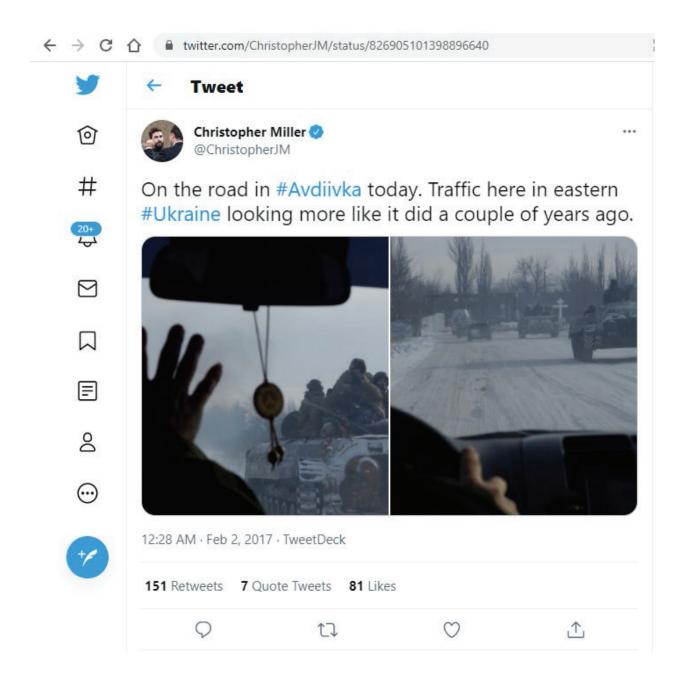


Original text:
«События на востоке
[]
#Авдеевка
[]
Зафиксированные попадания (31 января - 1 февраля)
- ул. Коммунальная, 31 - прилет в крышу над 75й квартирой, в 5 этаж. В доме повреждено остекление;
[]
<u>Translation:</u>
Events in the east
[]
#Avdiivka
[]
Recorded hits (31 January - 1 February)
31 Komunalna Street – a shell hit the roof over the 75th apartment, on the 5th floor. The windows in the building were damaged;
[]

Twitter page of Christopher Miller, photographer, 1 February 2017



Twitter page of Christopher Miller, photographer, 2 February 2017

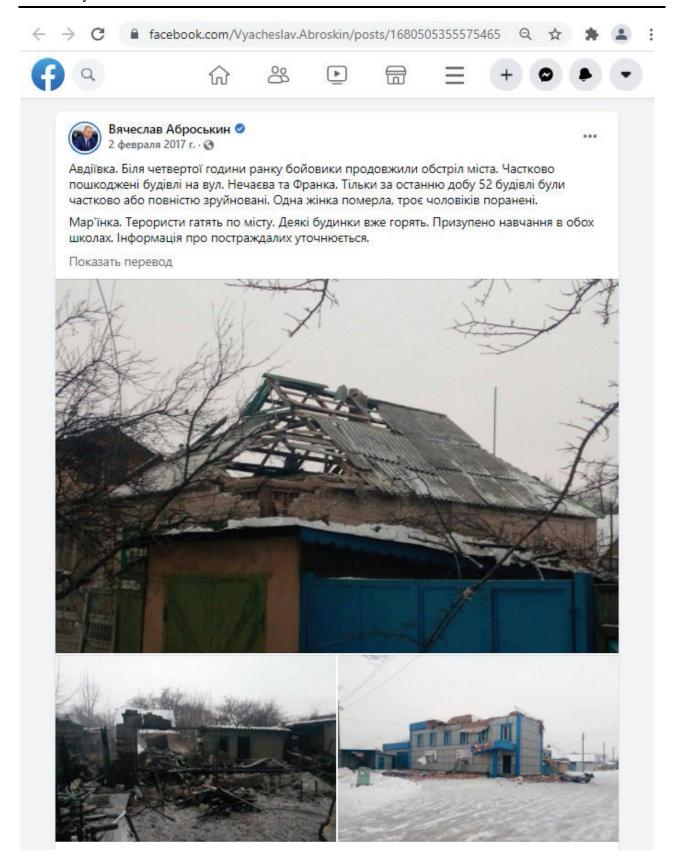


Facebook page of Vyacheslav Abroskin, 2 February 2017

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of Vyacheslav Abroskin https://www.facebook.com/Vyacheslav.Abroskin/posts/1680505355575465

2 February 2017



Original text:

Авдіївка. Біля четвертої години ранку бойовики продовжили обстріл міста. Частково пошкоджені будівлі на вул. Нечаєва та Франка. Тільки за останню добу 52 будівлі були частково або повністю зруйновані. Одна жінка померла, троє чоловіків поранені.

Мар'їнка. Терористи гатять по місту. Деякі будинки вже горять. Призупено навчання в обох школах. Інформація про постраждалих уточнюється.

Translation:

Avdiivka. Around 4 a.m., the militants continued to shell the city. Buildings on Nechaev and Franko Streets were partially damaged. In the last 24 hours alone, 52 buildings were partially or completely destroyed. One woman died, three men were injured.

Marinka. The terrorists are firing at the city. Some houses are already burning. Classes at both schools have been suspended. Information about the victims is being clarified.







Facebook page of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, 3 February 2017

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine https://www.facebook.com/GeneralStaff.ua/posts/732453826923877

3 February 2017

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN AVDIIVKA

29 January 2017

04.30 – the Russian and terrorist forces started shelling the positions of the 72nd Mechanised Brigade in the area of Avdiivka across the entire front line, using 120mm and 82mm mortars, tripod-mounted man-portable recoilless guns, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, heavy machine guns, and small arms.

04.40 – with the help of distracting artillery fire, the enemy composed of up to 30 people started an assault on the positions of an observation post of the ATO forces in the Avdiivka direction, firing from small arms, grenade launchers, and heavy machine guns. Having let the enemy come within 400 metres, troops of the Ukrainian forces and personnel of the observation post alongside with the brigade's strong points took proactive action and opened fire from heavy machine guns, infantry fighting vehicles, grenade launchers, thereby forcing the enemy to retreat.

06.30 – without gaining any success in a certain section, the enemy composed of up to 15 people started an assault by advancing from the area of Spartak. The troops of our forces opened fire at the advancing enemy. To increase their assault group, the enemy added up to 10 people from the reserve.

In view of the prevailing situation, the personnel and equipment were transferred from the strong points to provide fire support to the observation posts. Our forces opened cross fire and dealt damage to the enemy, following which the enemy started retreating to its initial position under the cover of artillery fire, grenade launchers, and machine guns.

07.00 – Assessing the situation, units of our troops chased the enemy, reached the enemy's positions, captured the observation post and took three prisoners (three prisoners were heavily injured and received emergency medical care but subsequently passed away because of the injuries incompatible with life).

07.30 – to regain the lost positions, the enemy, after using 152mm and 122mm tube artillery, mortars (120mm, 82mm), grenade launchers and small arms, started an assault on the positions occupied by the Ukrainian unit. Owing to the servicemen's orchestrated efforts, the enemy's attack was repelled, the occupants sustained considerable losses, and one of them was taken captive.

09.30–10.30 – the enemy started yet another assault on the lost observation post from two directions and from the area of a road junction. In response, the enemy came under fire from armoured combat vehicles, machine guns, grenade launchers, and small arms. Having found itself under fire from the UAF units, the enemy was forced to retreat to its initial positions, after which it continued shelling of our forces' positions.

12.30–13.00 – the Russian and terrorist forces started an assault once again with the support of self-

propelled artillery and 120mm mortars. In response, the enemy came under fire from armoured combat vehicles, machine guns, grenade launchers, and small arms, which again forced the enemy to retreat.

13.45–14.50 – to divert attention away from the main efforts, the enemy started an assault involving a group of up to 30 people (less than a platoon), using fire from grenade launchers, heavy machine guns, and small arms from the direction of Spartak. Our units opened fire from small arms and grenade launchers. Thanks to the vigorous efforts of the UAF units' servicemen, the enemy's assault bore no fruit, and the enemy retreated to its previous positions.

15.00–15.40 – the enemy started yet another assault on the lost position from two directions with the support of 120mm mortars and self-propelled artillery. In turn, by firing at the enemy from armoured combat vehicles, machine guns, grenade launchers, and small arms, our units managed to stop the enemy and force it to retreat.

16.26–17.00 – after intense shellings, the enemy started another assault on the positions with the support of 120mm mortars, self-propelled artillery, and a tank. By firing from weapons that are not prohibited under the Minsk Agreements, the Ukrainian units stopped the Russian occupants and forced them to retreat to their initial positions. Over a period of just 24 hours, the enemy used weapons prohibited under the Minsk Agreements three times (152mm artillery, 120mm and 82mm mortars) in the Avdiivka direction.

30 January 2017

Throughout 30 January, the Russian and terrorist forces continued shelling the strong points of the 72nd Motorised Brigade in the area of Avdiivka, using also heavy weaponry.

09.00–10.00 – after the artillery preparation, the enemy composed of up to 30 people started an assault on the UAF strong point. Following the vigorous efforts of the Ukrainian units and the retaliatory fire, the enemy was forced to retreat after suffering heavy casualties.

Throughout the day, nine aimed attacks on the ATO forces' positions were recorded in the Avdiivka direction. The enemy used weapons prohibited under the Minsk Agreements 19 times (152mm and 122mm artillery, tanks, 82mm and 120mm mortars).

31 January 2017

Throughout 31 January, despite the ceasefire, the enemy continued shelling the strong points of the 72nd Motorised Brigade, inter alia, using BM-21M Grad MLRS two times (326 rockets) and heavy weaponry.

07.40–13.20 – the enemy composed of up to 30 people, using artillery preparation, started an assault on the position lost on 29 January, suffered casualties, and was forced to retreat.

15.35–18.00 – the enemy's group composed of up to 20 people started yet another assault on the same position. Having sustained significant casualties, the group retreated.

In total, eight aimed attacks were recorded in the Avdiivka direction. The enemy used weapons

prohibited under the Minsk Agreements 17 times (BM-21 Grad MLRS, tanks, 152mm artillery, tanks, and 120mm mortars).

The UAF units did not suffer losses.

The Russian and terrorist forces' artillery fire opened at Avdiivka damaged a high-voltage power line which disrupted electricity, water, and heat supply. Yasynuvata and the northern part of Donetsk were left without any water supply. The Zasyadko Mine was left without electricity, with 203 miners still underground.

1 February 2017

Despite the ceasefire, the enemy continued shelling the UAF strong points in the area of Avdiivka, inter alia, using BM-21M Grad MLRS and heavy weaponry.

04.30–06.10 – the enemy's group composed of up to 10 people, with the support of artillery, started an assault on the lost position. The enemy's attack was repelled.

07.05–12.00 – the enemy's group composed of up to 30 people, with the support of artillery, started assaults on the UAF strong points.

18.40-19.45 – the enemy's group composed of up to 20 people started yet another assault on the brigade's strong point, but retreated to its initial positions after suffering heavy casualties.

Around midnight, the occupants shelled strong points of the ATO forces and Avdiivka using BM-21M Grad MLRS, 152mm and 122mm artillery, 120mm and 82mm mortars, and small arms. During the clashes, the 72nd Motorised Brigade's units held the occupied positions and in part improved their tactical position. However, the situation is still complicated, with the enemy still shelling our positions.

2 February 2017

Ignoring the ceasefire, the enemy continued shelling the UAF strong points in the area of Avdiivka and residential areas of the city, inter alia, using BM-21M Grad MLRS and heavy weaponry.

Between 00:30 and 23:55, the occupants shelled the ATO forces' positions across the entire line of contact, using BM-21M Grad MLRS, 152mm and 122mm artillery, tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, 120mm and 82mm mortars, and small arms.

Since 07:05, at an interval of two hours, the Russian and terrorist forces shelled the UAF strong points and residential settlements using weapons prohibited under the Minsk Agreement. In particular, there were 27 attacks in the Donetsk direction, each of which lasted between 10 minutes and an hour and a half.

The UAF units opened fire from grenade launchers, heavy machine guns, and small arms. The enemy started no assault during 24 hours.

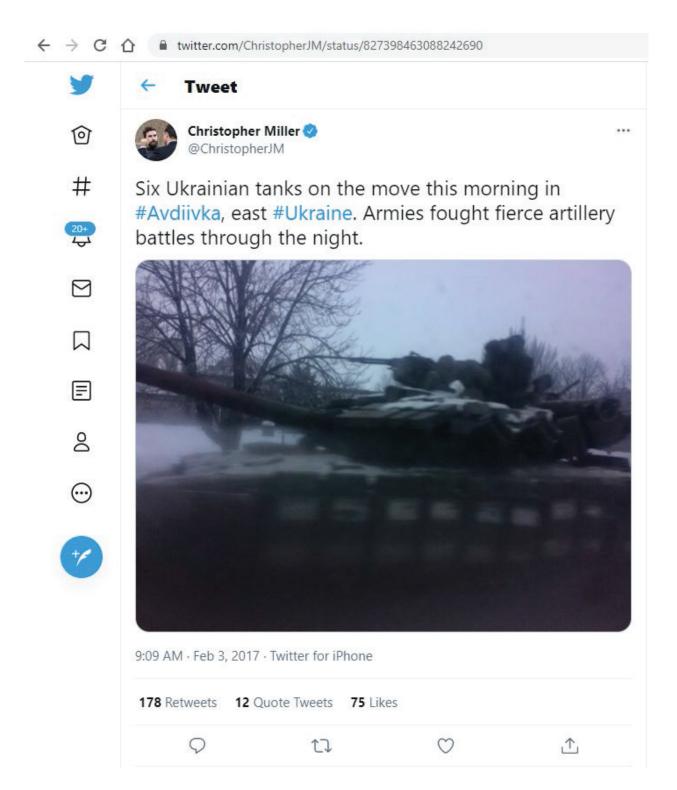
3 February 2017

As at the morning of 3 February, the situation is still complicated, with the enemy still shelling our positions.

The Russian occupation forces are using MLRS and heavy artillery (which are prohibited under the Minsk Agreements) in almost all directions.

Military personnel of the Armed Forces of Ukraine provide assistance to residents of Avdiivka who suffered from artillery attacks by the Russian occupation forces. Another batch of humanitarian aid from the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Council was delivered to the city, which was delivered by representatives of the Civil-Military Cooperation Department of the Operational Command "Vostok". About six tons of cargo, which included warm clothes, blankets, basic necessities and hygiene items, as well as food packages, were handed over by the humanitarian aid headquarters of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Council for the needs of local population.

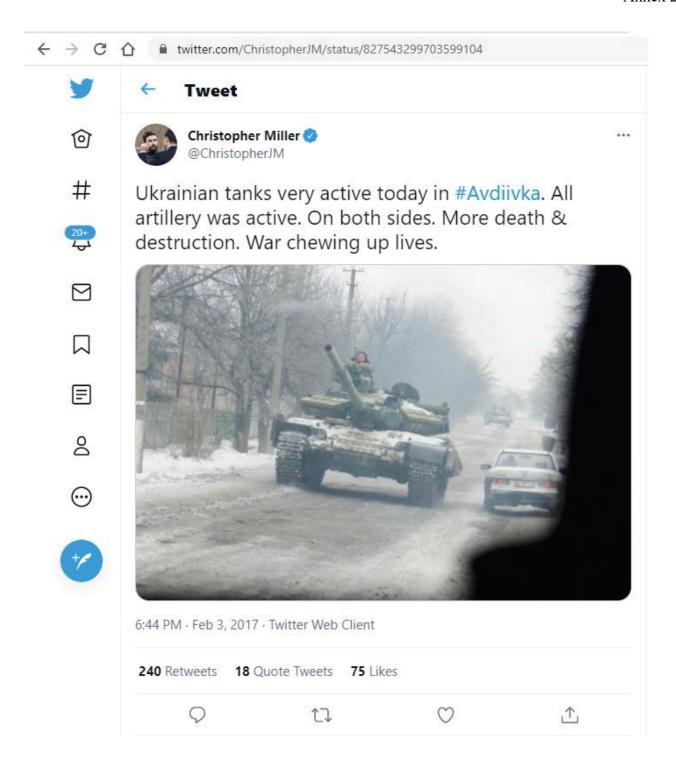
Twitter page of Christopher Miller, photographer, 3 February 2017



Twitter page of Christopher Miller, photographer, commentary to the post, 3 February 2017



Twitter page of Christopher Miller, photographer, 3 February 2017



Facebook page of Pavlo Zhebrivskyi, Chairman of the Donetsk Regional Civilian-Military Administration, 16 February 2017

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of Pavlo Zhebrivskyi, Chairman of the Donetsk Regional Civilian-Military Administration

https://www.facebook.com/zhebrivskyi/posts/688914104624445

16 February 2017



Original text:

Рашисти знову обстріляли #Авдіївка. Стріляли із артилерії великого калібру орієнтовно о 18:20.

Один снаряд потрапив у будинок на вул. Гагаріна. Снаряд пробив перекриття 5 і 4 поверхів і усе це обвалилось на третій поверх. Але дивом, плити склались як картковий будиночок. І під цією порожниною Господь врятував трьох осіб - 2 мужчин і одну жінку. Рятувальники їх вже звільнили з-під завалів.

Нажаль отримав поранення осколком у голову мешканець міста 1973 р.н. Швидка забрала його в лікарню, але рана виявилась несумісною із життям і він помер у лікарні.

За попередніми даними ϵ небезпека зміщення фасадних плит у будинку. Загалом у цьому будинку пошкоджено 5 квартир.

В іншому будинку, на цій же вулиці Гагаріна, снаряд потрапив у квартиру на 4 поверсі. Вибухом було розірвано систему опалення. Гаряча вода під тиском вирвалась на квартиру. В результаті значні опіки отримав 76-річний мешканець квартири віку. Швидка уже повезла його опіковий центр Дніпропетровська.

Ще один снаряд залетів через вікно у магазин на першому поверсі у іншому будинку по вул Гагаріна. Снаряд перелетів через зал і влучив у стіну. У той час в торговому хзалі було 4 дівчини, але, на превелике щастя ніхто із них не постраждав.

У ці хвилини швидка везе до лікарні ще одного пораненого мужчину. Інформація про його стан уточнюється.

Translation:

The Ruscists¹ shelled #Avdiivka again. They opened large-calibre artillery fire approximately at 6:20 p.m.

One shell hit a house at Gagarin Street. The shell broke through the ceilings of the 5th and 4th floors, and it all collapsed on the third floor. But miraculously, the plates fell down like a house of cards. And under this cavity, the Lord saved three people – two men and one woman. Rescuers have already freed them from the rubble.

Unfortunately, a resident of the town, born in 1973, was wounded in the head by shrapnel. The ambulance took him to a hospital, but the wound proved fatal, and he died in the hospital.

According to preliminary data, there is a risk that the facade slabs of the house will be displaced. In total, five apartments were damaged in this building.

In another building, on the same Gagarin Street, a shell hit an apartment on the 4th floor. The explosion destroyed the heating system. Hot water under pressure broke out into the apartment. As a result, a 76-year-old resident of the apartment sustained significant burn wounds. The ambulance has already taken him to a burn centre in Dnipropetrovsk.

Another shell flew through a window into a store on the first floor in another building on Gagarin Street. The shell flew across the hall and hit the wall. At that time, there were four women in the shopping hall, but, fortunately, none of them were injured.

At this moment, the ambulance is taking another wounded man to a hospital. Information about his condition is being clarified.

-

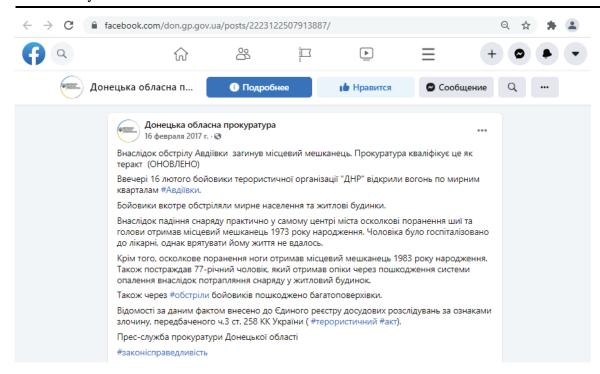
¹ Translator's note: a derogatory term for "Russians"

Facebook page of the Donetsk Regional Prosecutor's Office, 16 February 2017

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of the Donetsk Regional Prosecutor's Office https://www.facebook.com/don.gp.gov.ua/posts/2223122507913887/

16 February 2017



Original text:

Внаслідок обстрілу Авдіївки загинув місцевий мешканець. Прокуратура кваліфікує це як теракт (ОНОВЛЕНО)

Ввечері 16 лютого бойовики терористичної організації "ДНР" відкрили вогонь по мирним кварталам #Авдіївки.

Бойовики вкотре обстріляли мирне населення та житлові будинки.

Внаслідок падіння снаряду практично у самому центрі міста осколкові поранення шиї та голови отримав місцевий мешканець 1973 року народження. Чоловіка було госпіталізовано до лікарні, однак врятувати йому життя не вдалось.

Крім того, осколкове поранення ноги отримав місцевий мешканець 1983 року народження. Також постраждав 77-річний чоловік, який отримав опіки через пошкодження системи опалення внаслідок потрапляння снаряду у житловий будинок.

Також через #обстріли бойовиків пошкоджено багатоповерхівки.

Відомості за даним фактом внесено до Єдиного реєстру досудових розслідувань за ознаками злочину, передбаченого ч.3 ст. 258 КК України (#терористичний #акт).

Прес-служба прокуратури Донецької області

#законісправедливість

Translation:

As a result of the shelling of Avdiivka, a local resident was killed. The Prosecutor's Office qualifies this as a terrorist attack (UPDATED)

In the evening of 16 February, fighters of the terrorist organisation "DPR" opened fire at the residential areas of #Avdiivka.

The militants once again fired at civilians and residential buildings.

After a shell fell almost in the very centre of the town, a local resident born in 1973 was wounded in his neck and head by shrapnel. The man was taken to a hospital, but it was not possible to save his life.

In addition, a local resident born in 1983 was wounded in his leg by shrapnel. Besides, a 77-year-old man sustained burn wounds after the heating system was damaged by a shell that hit the residential building.

Multi-storey buildings were damaged in the #shellings conducted by the fighters.

Relevant information was entered in the Unified Register of Pre-Trial Investigations under a crime under Part 3 of Article 258 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine (#terrorist #act).

Press Service of the Prosecutor's Office of the Donetsk Region

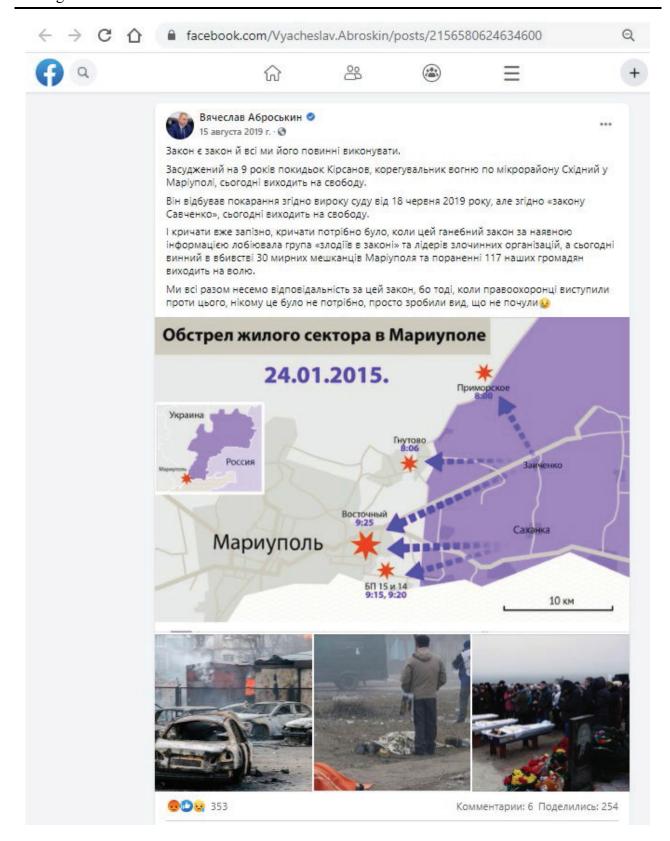
#lawandjustice

Facebook page of Vyacheslav Abroskin, 15 August 2019

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of Vyacheslav Abroskin https://www.facebook.com/Vyacheslav.Abroskin/posts/2156580624634600

15 August 2019



Original text:

Закон ϵ закон й всі ми його повинні виконувати.

Засуджений на 9 років покидьок Кірсанов, корегувальник вогню по мікрорайону Східний у Маріуполі, сьогодні виходить на свободу.

Він відбував покарання згідно вироку суду від 18 червня 2019 року, але згідно «закону Савченко», сьогодні виходить на свободу.

І кричати вже запізно, кричати потрібно було, коли цей ганебний закон за наявною інформацією лобіювала група «злодіїв в законі» та лідерів злочинних організацій, а сьогодні винний в вбивстві 30 мирних мешканців Маріуполя та пораненні 117 наших громадян виходить на волю.

Ми всі разом несемо відповідальність за цей закон, бо тоді, коли правоохоронці виступили проти цього, нікому це було не потрібно, просто зробили вид, що не почули.

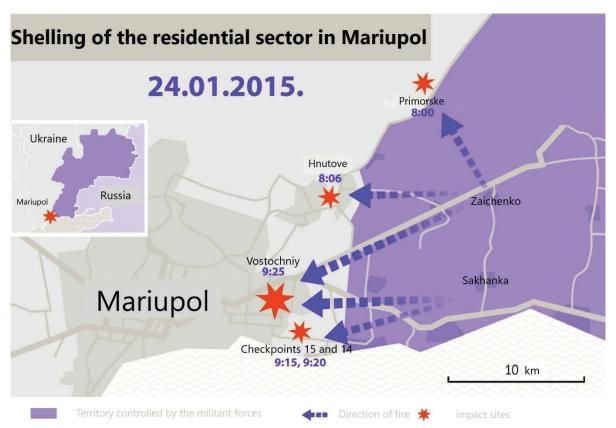
Translation:

Law is law, and we must all obey it.

Kirsanov, a villain who was sentenced to 9 years for adjusting artillery fire during the shelling of "Vostochniy" district of Mariupol, is being released today. He was convicted by the court judgement of 18 June 2019, but due to the "Savchenko's law", he is being released today.

And it is too late to yell, we should have yelled when this disgraceful law, according to the information available to us, was lobbied by a group of "thieves in law" and leaders of criminal organizations. And today the criminal, who is guilty of killing 30 civilians of Mariupol and injuring 117 of our citizens, is being released from prison.

We are all jointly responsible for this law, because when the law enforcement officers opposed it, we felt little concern for it and just pretended not to hear \bigcirc .

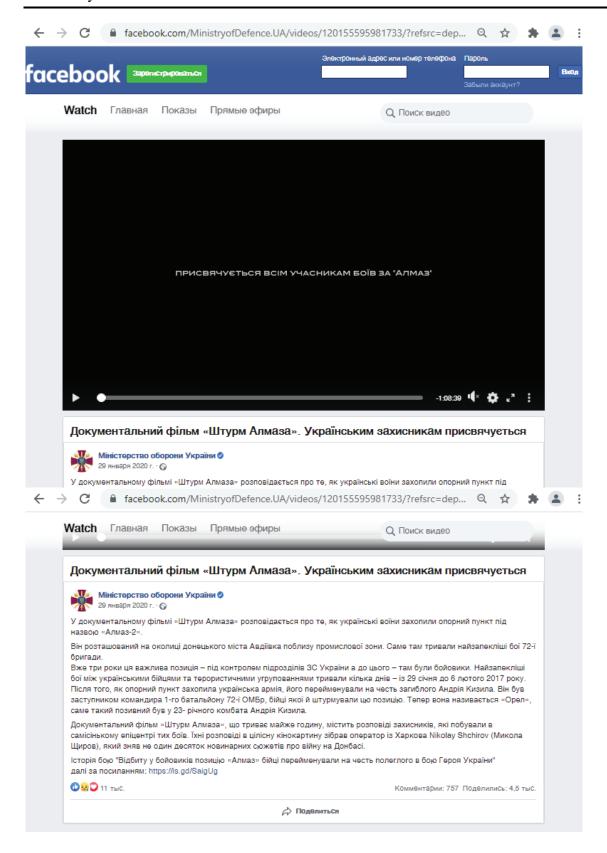


Facebook page of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine, 29 January 2020

Translation

SOURCE: Facebook page of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine https://www.facebook.com/MinistryofDefence.UA/posts/120155595981733/

29 January 2020



Original text:

У документальному фільмі «Штурм Алмаза» розповідається про те, як українські воїни захопили опорний пункт під назвою «Алмаз-2».

Він розташований на околиці донецького міста Авдіївка поблизу промислової зони. Саме там тривали найзапекліші бої 72-ї бригади.

Вже три роки ця важлива позиція — під контролем підрозділів ЗС України а до цього — там були бойовики. Найзапекліші бої між українськими бійцями та терористичними угрупованнями тривали кілька днів — із 29 січня до 6 лютого 2017 року. Після того, як опорний пункт захопила українська армія, його перейменували на честь загиблого Андрія Кизила. Він був заступником командира 1-го батальйону 72-ї ОМБр, бійці якої й штурмували цю позицію. Тепер вона називається «Орел», саме такий позивний був у 23-річного комбата Андрія Кизила.

Документальний фільм «Штурм Алмаза», що триває майже годину, містить розповіді захисників, які побували в самісінькому епіцентрі тих боїв. Їхні розповіді в цілісну кінокартину зібрав оператор із Харкова Nikolay Shchirov (Микола Щиров), який зняв не один десяток новинарних сюжетів про війну на Донбасі.

Історія бою "Відбиту у бойовиків позицію «Алмаз» бійці перейменували на честь полеглого в бою Героя України"

далі за посиланням: https://is.gd/SaigUg

Translation:

"Storming Almaz" documentary tells a story of the Ukrainian soldiers capturing the strong point called "Almaz-2".

It is located on the outskirts of Avdiivka, a town in the Donetsk Region, near the industrial area. Fierce fighting of the 72nd brigade was ongoing there.

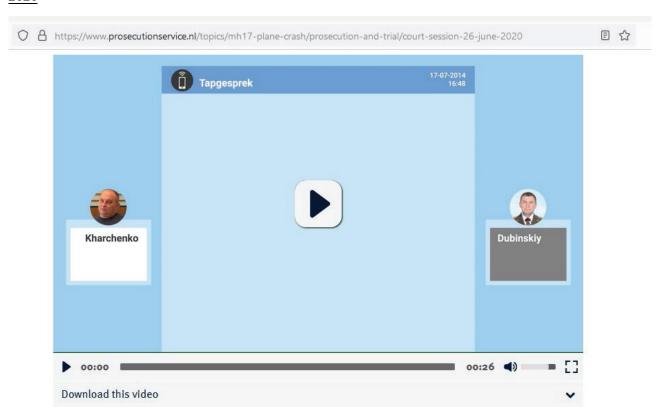
This important position has been under control of the units of the UAF for three years already and used to be controlled by the militants before that. Fierce fighting between the Ukrainian soldiers and the terrorist groups lasted several days – from 29 January until 6 February 2017. After the strong point was captured by the Ukrainian army, it was renamed in honour of the deceased Andriy Kyzyl. He was the deputy commander of the 1st Battalion of the 72nd Separate Mechanised Brigade, whose soldiers stormed this position. Now it is called "Orel" – this was the call sign of 23 years old battalion commander Andriy Kyzyl.

The "Storming Almaz" documentary, which lasts for almost an hour, contains accounts of the defenders who were in the epicentre of those fights. Their stories were collected into a full-fledged film by Nikolay Shchirov, a Kharkiv cameraman who shot more than a dozen of news stories about the war in the Donbas.

The story of the battle "The fighters renamed the militant position "Almaz" in honour of the fallen Hero of Ukraine" is available at: https://is.gd/SaigUg

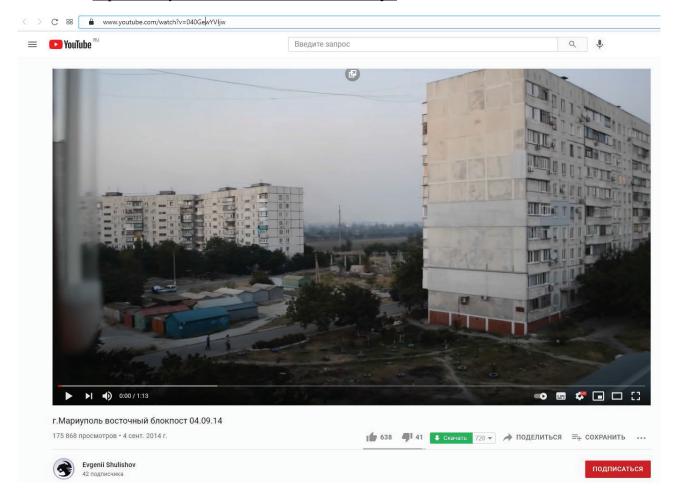
Intercepted conversation between Kharchenko and Dubinskiy, at 16:48 on 17 July 2014

Official Website of the Netherlands Public Prosecution Service, Intercepted conversation between Kharchenko and Dubinskiy, at 16:48 on 17 July 2014, 26 June 2020, published at: https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-session-26-june-2020



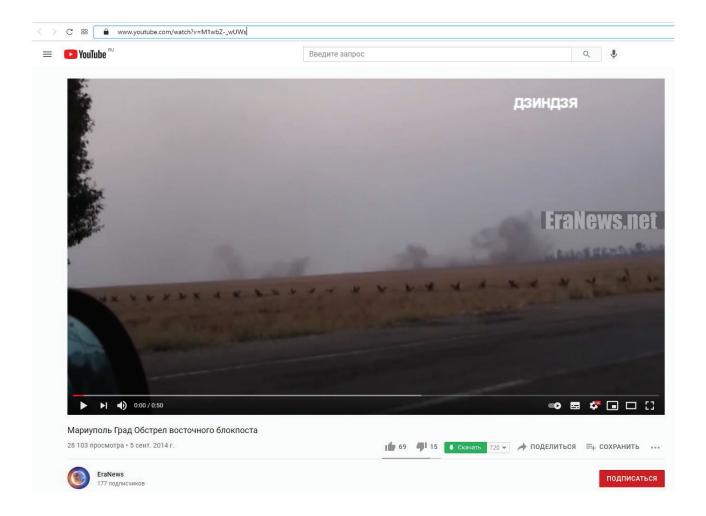
YouTube, "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint 04.09.2014", 4 September 2014

YouTube, Channel "Evgenii Shulishov", "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint 04.09.2014", 4 September 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=040GewYVIjw



YouTube, "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint under Grad Fire", 5 September 2014

YouTube, Channel "EraNews", "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint under Grad Fire", 5 September 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1wbZ-_wUWs



Transcript

00:03

Это уже была пристрелка «Градом». Четыре выстрела, пристрелка «Градом». Через 15 хвилин будет «Град».

00:46

Что я и говорил.

Translation

00:03

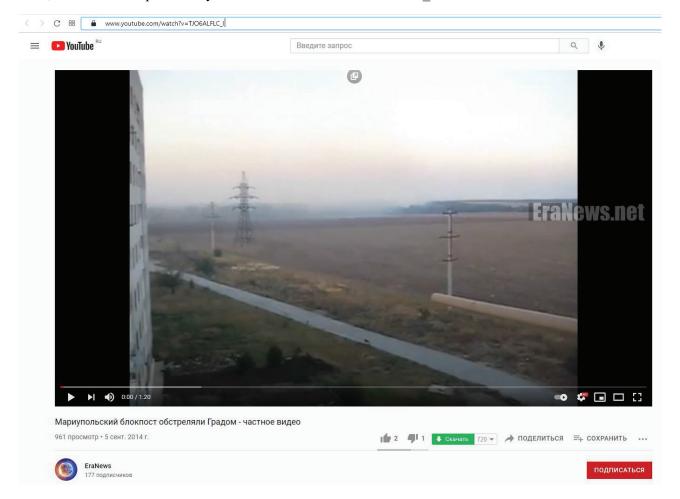
That was Grad ranging. Four shells, Grad ranging. There will be Grad [fire] in fifteen minutes.

00:46

Just as I said.

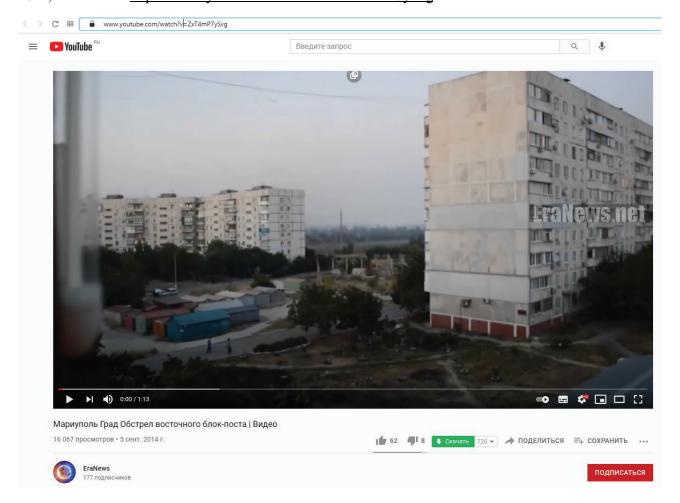
YouTube, "Mariupol Checkpoint Came under Grad Fire - private video", 5 September 2014

YouTube, Channel "EraNews", "Mariupol Checkpoint Came under Grad Fire - private video", 5 September 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJO6ALFLC_I



YouTube, "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint under Grad Fire | Video", 5 September 2014

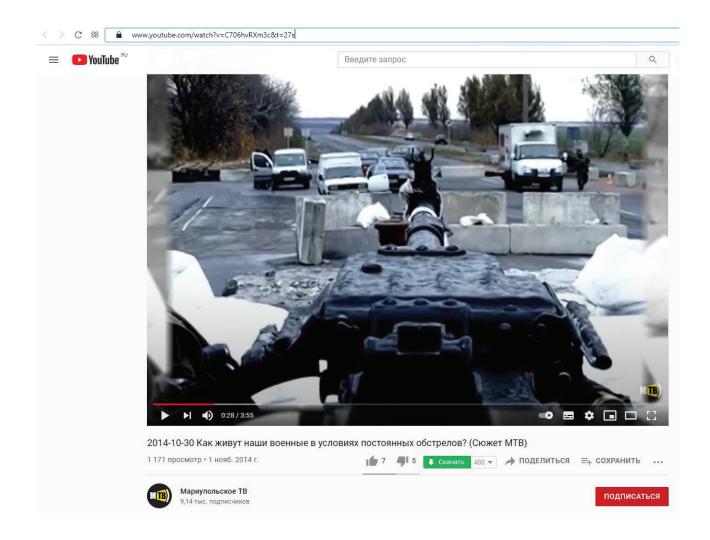
YouTube, Channel "EraNews", "Mariupol, vostochniy checkpoint under Grad Fire Video", 5 September 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxT4mP7ySvg



Annex 222

YouTube, "2014-10-30 How do our soldiers live under constant shellings? (MTV story)", 1 November 2014

YouTube, Channel "Mariupol TV", "2014-10-30 How do our soldiers live under constant shellings? (MTV story)", 1 November 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C706hvRXm3c&t=27s



Transcript

Ведущий: «Сегодня мы начинаем цикл сюжетов о жизни военных. Мы с вами здесь, а они на линии фронта, мы спим в теплом доме, а они в окопах. Просыпаясь каждое утро, никто из бойцов не знает, чего ожидать от нового дня. Как живут наши военные в условиях постоянных обстрелов, все это в нашем военном дневнике. Наш корреспондент Альбина Гаврикова побывала на линии огня».

0.40

Корреспондент: «Мы находимся на блокпосту в Волновахе. Сейчас эти территории подконтрольны украинской армии, но буквально в десяти километрах отсюда стоит вражеская техника».

«Здесь стоит добровольческий батальон Киев-2. О смелости этих ребят недавно говорила вся страна, они не покинули место своей дислокации по приказу министра Авакова и остались защищать подступы к Мариуполю».

01:00

Ярослав Бондаренко, боец батальона Киев-2: «Вокруг нас, вокруг Волновахи стягиваются силы российских боевиков, артиллерия, танки. Нашим командиром и всем подразделением было принято решение основную боеспособную часть нашего батальона оставить здесь для защиты Волновахи, для защиты прохода на Мариуполь».

01:24

Корреспондент: «Почти ежедневно эти позиции обстреливают, и каждый день тут проходят боевые учения на открытой местности. В пяти километрах отсюда уже территория, неконтролируемая украинской армией.

Посетив блок пост на Волновахе, мы выдвигаемся на передовую».

01:44

«Перед началом учений – инструктаж. Если начнется обстрел, нужно падать на землю и ни в коем случае не бежать, говорят военные, потому что поля здесь могут быть заминированы».

«Вот это стреляет крупнокалиберный пулемет. Он - главное оборонительное оружие. Перед выстрелами военные просят закрыть уши, звук такой силы, что можно повредить барабанные перепонки».

«А вот так стреляет ручной противотанковый гранатомет».

«Чтобы управлять таким оружием нужно долго учиться, поэтому военные нам доверили лишь пострелять из пистолета».

Мужчина: «Мишень...скажешь, когда настреляешься» ...

02:25

Корреспондент: «Звуки непрекращающихся боевых действий постоянно слышат жители близлежащих сел, снаряды летят с двух сторон.

Мы приехали в село Бугас, местные рассказывают – уже научились различать выстрелы разных видов оружий».

02:37

Лилия Сарбаш, жительница с. Бугас: «Стреляют за селом где-то постоянно какие-то взрывы по ночам. Стреляют, сильно слышно».

02:43

Корреспондент: «Эта известная чебуречная — символ села Бугас. Раньше здесь не было отбоя от посетителей, сейчас из единственные покупатели — это военные».

Евгения Калмыкова, продавец: «Если раньше были клиенты у нас, мы делали очень много, ни минуты покоя, то сейчас мы целый день отдыхаем, вообще ни одной машины».

02:58

Корреспондент: «Это направление Мариуполь-Донецк. Мы находимся посередине трассы. Дальше — территории подконтрольные боевикам, и ехать опасно. Мы возвращаемся обратно на блокпост, здесь военные не скрывают, что очень нуждаются в тяжелом вооружении, а пока воюют тем, что есть».

03:13

«Сова», боец батальона Киев-2: «Пулемет дали без станка, в руках пулемет держать невозможно. Извините, мы не киборги, стрелять он просто не может. Для чего дали? Просто чтобы он лежал в ящике как балласт? Опять же своими силами мы доделываем, варим треноги, чтобы можно было пулемет этот установить».

03:33

Корреспондент: «Несмотря ни на что эти ребята мужественно держат оборону и не собираются покидать свои позиции. Пока нас защищают такие военные, мы в безопасности, говорят местные жители. А волонтеры регулярно доставляют ребятам теплую одежду и необходимые вещи. Но подробнее об этом уже в следующих сюжетах нашего дневника».

Translation

Anchor: "Today we are starting our cycle of segments on the life of servicemen. You and I are here, and they are on the front line. We sleep in warm homes, and they in trenches. None of the fighters knows what to expect from a new day when they wake up. We are going to show you how our servicemen live under constant shelling in our military diary. Our correspondent Albina Gavrikova visited the front line."

0:40

Correspondent: "We are at the checkpoint in Volnovakha. At present, these territories are under control of the Ukrainian army, but there is an enemy military equipment just ten kilometers away.

Volunteer battalion Kyiv-2 is based here. Recently, the whole country has been talking about the courage of these guys: they didn't leave their positions according to the order of the minister Avakov but stayed to protect the approach to Mariupol."

01:00

Yaroslav Bondarenko, battalion Kyiv-2 fighter: "Forces of the Russian militants, artillery, tanks are concentrating around us, around Volnovakhna. Our commander and the whole subdivision decided to leave the main combat-fit part of our battalion here for the protection of Volnovakha, for the protection of the passageway to Mariupol."

01:24

Correspondent: "These positions are being shelled almost every day and every day combat trainings in the open area are being conducted. 5 kilometres from here is already the territory not controlled by the Ukrainian army.

After visiting the Volnovakha checkpoint, we are moving on to the firing line."

01:44

"There is a briefing before the start of the training. If a shelling starts, you have to fall flat on the ground and under no circumstances should you run, the servicemen say, because the fields can be mined here.

This is how a large-calibre machine gun fires. It is the main weapon of defence. Before firing servicemen ask to close ears as the sound is powerful enough to hurt eardrums."

And this is how a rocket-propelled grenade launcher fires.

You have to study for a long time to shoot from these weapons that is why servicemen have allowed us to shoot only from a gun."

Man: "Target...tell me when you are done shooting..."

02:25

Correspondent: "Residents of the nearby villages constantly hear sounds of continuous hostilities; missiles fly from both sides.

We have arrived in Buhas village; local residents tell us that they have already learnt to tell rounds of different types of weapons apart."

02:37

Lilia Sarbash, resident of Buhas village: "They fire somewhere behind the village, there are always explosions of some kind at night. They fire, and the sound is really loud."

02:43

Correspondent: "This is a famous café where meat pastry is sold – the symbol of Buhas village. Back in the day there was no end of customers and now the only customers are servicemen."

Evgenia Kalmykova, salesperson: "If back in the day there were clients, we were making a lot, there wasn't a minute's peace, and now we rest here for the whole day, there isn't even a single car."

02:59

Correspondent: "This is Mariupol-Donetsk direction. We are in the middle of the highway. Further on is the territory controlled by militia fighters, and it is dangerous to go there. We are going back to the checkpoint. Here servicemen aren't concealing the fact that they are in need of heavy weaponry but for now they fight with what they have."

03:13

"Sova" ["Owl"], battalion Kyiv-2 fighter: "The machine gun was given to us without a mount, it is impossible to hold it in hands. Sorry, we are not cyborgs, it simply cannot fire. For what was it given? Just to stay in the box like deadweight? We have to upgrade it, to make tripods ourselves to mount the machine gun."

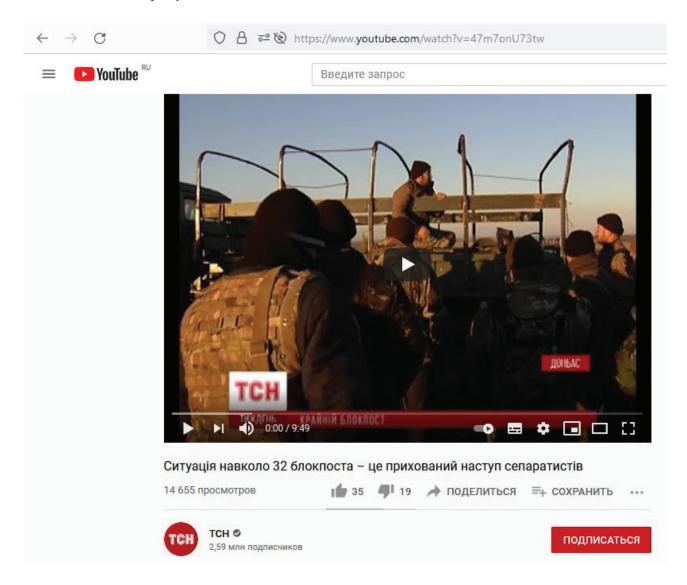
03:33

Correspondent: "No matter what, these guys hold the line and are not going to leave their positions. Local residents say that as long as such servicemen are protecting them, they are safe. And volunteers regularly bring warm clothes and necessary stuff to the guys. We will talk about this in detail in the next segment of our diary."

Annex 223

YouTube, "The situation around checkpoint 32 is a covert separatist offensive", 2 November 2014

YouTube, channel of TSN, "The situation around checkpoint 32 is a covert separatist offensive", 2 November 2014, available at: https://youtu.be/47m7onU73tw



Transcript

0:00-0:34

Ведуча: - «Ну а найгарячіша і водночас найскандальніша гаряча точка тижня в Україні — блокпост № 32 на трасі Первомайськ-Луганськ. В той час, коли в РНБО доповідали про успіхи у розблокуванні оточеної позиції, наші бійці там потерпали без води, і врешті, змушені були відступити у бік Лисичанська. «Це поки-що прихований наступ сепаратистів», — стверджує Андрій Цаплієнко. Він цього тижня проїхав уздовж лінії фронту від Луганська до Маріуполя і вважає, що вже незабаром цей наступ може стати неприхованим».

0:34-1:10

Закадровий голос: «До ворожого пострілу на межі з так-званою ДНР тут готові будь-якої миті. Бійці навчилися дотримуватись написаного кров'ю побратимів правила: не одягати бронежилети без попереднього тестування».

[выстрел] - «Все выдержало?

- Пластина выдержала, запреградной травмы нету».

Закадровий голос: «Щоправда час сподівання на бронежилети давно минув. Неоголошена війна набула настільки важких форм, що цей сталевий панцир — лише засіб самозаспокоєння. Так само, як і перевірка пасажирів з окупованої території у цій санітарній зоні, яка може перетворитися на фактичний кордон України».

1:10-2:51

Репортер: - «Звісно, це не державний кордон, але тут вже є прикордонний контроль і серйозні інженерні споруди. Зараз прикордонники разом із хлопцями з Батальйону К-2 ретельно перевіряють документи. Втім, часто вони змушені просто відпускати підозрілих осіб через невизначеність статусу «сірої зони» за блокпостом».

Закадровий голос: «Цей, начебто, болгарський громадянин відразу викликав підозру, отже – знятий з автобуса. Виявляється, він росіянин з болгарським паспортом. Переконує, що бізнесменбудівельник».

Репортер: - «Как вы вообще попали в Украину? Вы знаете, что въезд запрещен со стороны Новоазовска?

Затриманий: - Нет, вообще не знал.

Репортер: - А как вы проехали со стороны Новоазовска? Что там было?

Затриманий: - Ну, стояли солдаты и все. С автоматами.

Репортер: - А штамп ставили - не ставили?

Затриманий: - Конечно, ставили штамп.

Репортер: - Украинский штамп?

Затриманий: - Я не знаю, ну поставили штамп...

Репортер: - Давайте посмотрим ваш паспорт».

Закадровий голос: «Штамп український, поставлений зранку 28-го жовтня на переході у Новоазовську. Тільки самого переходу вже немає. Після того, як російські гради знищили КПП,

Україна в Новоазовську закрила пункт прикордонного контролю. Неважко здогадатись, хто ставить печатки України замість українських прикордонників».

Репортер: - «Вы знаете о том, что там нет украинских солдат?

Затриманий: - Да я не знаю вообще, на самом деле».

Закадровий голос: «Виявляється, в документі російського комівояжера за три роки лише один штамп, і той фальшивий. Бійці беруть на перевірку телефон. У телефоні – ані контактів, ані дзвінків».

2:32-2:40

Боєць: - «Людина просто почистила повністю перед нами телефон, або взагалі це телефон, який у нього на проїзд. І он вона добирається в Україну».

2:40-2:50

Закадровий голос: «Він може біти навідником, кур'єром, навіть диверсантом, але законних підстав затримувати підозрілого немає. Прикордонники мають лише право відправити чоловіка назад у ДНР».

2:51-3:09

Богдан Войцеховський, командир батальйону «**K-2**»: - «Это вырисовывается как будущая граница. Это очень странная война. Через наш блокпост в ту сторону идут бензовозы с бензином, которыми заправляются те же танки, САУ наших оппонентов, которые по нам же потом стреляют. Если б это была полноценная война, значит нужно перекрывать, делать полную блокаду...»

3:09-5:14

Закадровий голос: «Але натомість блокують українські позиції. Україна не відступає, її змушують це робити. Такий вигляд із висоти пташиного польоту мав 32-й блокпост на перехресті доріг у районі села Сміле. Його оточували методично, поступово. У той час, коли РНБО доповідала про розблоковану позицію, хлопці кілька діб поспіль сиділи без води».

Боєць 1: - «Всі калюжі, вся жижа, що в калюжах була, – вся випита.

Боєць 2: - Губи так от помочили і пішли.

Боєць 1: - Помочили, да, и все».

Закадровий голос: «Першу після блокади воду отримали від бойовиків. Ходили чутки, що виміняли її на мертвого сепаратиста».

Боєць: - «Никаких мертвых. Он был живой. Он был просто раненый, его перевязали и им вернули. Они нам выменяли живого, не мертвого, а живого, на воду».

Закадровий голос: «Тепер вони сміються. Тиждень тому їм було не до жартів, коли ворожі танки підходили до них на відстань пострілу».

Репортер: - «Скільки у них сил там?

Боєць: - Техніки – двадцять дві одиниці танків – це те, що ми сьогодні вранці насчитали. У них техніки багато. Ворони доїдають наших хлопців. Оте, що ми викопали, забрали, те, що вони нам дали, на наші уступки пішли».

Закадровий голос: «Спочатку їм дозволили викопати тіла побратимів, і підбитою вантажівкою доставити на сусідній тридцять перший блокпост».

Репортер: - «Цим хлопцям дали лише годину на те, щоб вивести двохсотих. Зараз вони повертаються назад, в оточення, до своїх».

Закадровий голос: «Товариші засовують їм у кишені цигарки. Розвантаживши тіла, перекидають через борт пластикові пляшки з водою. Пити українським бійцям, чи мучитись від спраги, – вирішували терористи».

Репортер: - «І скільки дозволили?

Боєць: - П'ять фляг, але кидаємо все, може пропустять».

Закадровий голос: «Кульгаючи, підбита вантажівка повертається у невідомість. Минуло кілька годин, і ми дізнаємося: тридцять другий виходить повністю. Така собі маленька тактична капітуляція. Україна втрачає ще 10 кілометрів землі. Тепер тридцять перший блокпост — остання барикада на цьому напрямку. Але бойовики не зупиняються. Операція з оточення наступної української позиції починається того ж дня».

5:14-5:41

Закадровий голос: «На цих кадрах, що зробив безпілотник Армії СОС, можна роздивитися підбиту українську техніку між тридцять першим і тридцять другим блокпостами, а отже, зрозуміти, що буде далі».

Юрій Касьянов, координатор програми безпілотників «Армії SOS»: - «Мое предположение, что следует ожидать удара по дороге на Лисичанск от Брянки. Удар может быть нанесен в сторону Лисичанска с дальнейшим уходом на юг, чтобы взять в кольцо Дебальцевскую группировку, либо на север, чтобы окружить группировку Счастья».

5:41-6:40

Закадровий голос: «В тилу бойовиків формуються потужні кулаки. Це парад зелених чоловічків в центрі Луганська. А ость так першого листопада колона російської техніки рухається по Донецьку. Гради, броня і шістдесят дві вантажівки з солдатами. Цілий розгорнутий полк. На фоні власного, майже неприхованого наступу розпускаються чутки, що, мовляв, укри от-от братимуть Донецьк».

Репортер: - «Вы слышали о том, что украинская армия готовится атаковать?

Мешканець 1: - Да, мы слышали такую информацию из телевидения.

Репортер: - А с какого телевидения?

Мешканець 1: - С русского телевидения, но украинский канал передавал.

Репортер: - А что говорили?

Мешканець 1: - Говорили, что специально сделали перемирие, чтобы подготовиться к наступлению».

Мешканець 2: - «Ну, пускай наступают. Я считаю, что ДНР – Донецкая Народная Республика – это наш край, где я вырос...

Мешканець 3: - Он шахтер бывший.

Мешканець 2: - Да, я бывший шахтер. ...где я родился и живу здесь! И я отсюда не уйду, и буду голосовать только за ДНР!».

6:40-7:24

Закадровий голос: «Сепаратисти не приховують, що збираються розширювати кордони своєї території. Програма-мінімум — відрізати місто Щастя разом з Луганською ТЕС. Вони й досі вірять, що проти них воюють чорношкірі найманці і натівська техніка».

Боєць: - «Поляки, немцы, англичане, ну, вот в качестве трофеев брали формы со значками Германии, со значками Англии».

Закадровий голос: «Мабуть, цим людям важко уявити, що роздягнені українські солдати часто воюють в уніформі, яку волонтери назбирали по усьому світові. Триматися, не провокувати — це те, що наші хлопці чують щодня і, стиснувши зуби, намагаються дотримуватись наказів».

7:24-8:12

Репортер: - «От якщо подивитися в бінокль, можна зауважити, що не всю техніку терористам вдалося якісно заховати, і з цього берега річки можна розгледіти деякі її елементи».

Закадровий голос: «Ми не будемо казати, де розташована ця позиція. Тут, між українцями і бойовиками – річка. На тому березі постійно рухається техніка».

Боєць 1: - «При хорошем наблюдении, с оптикой, довольно видно, что там плиты, сильно укреплено. Доты, есть позиция для стрельбы с танка».

Боєць 2: - «Это, в общем-то, край нашей обороны. Ну, сами видите, что они вот здесь уже.

Репортер: - А нет опасности, что они форсируют речку и перейдут на эту сторону?

Боєць 2: - Ну, для того мы и стоим, чтобы как-то это предотвратить, такую возможность. Ну, что-то, что-то будем делать».

Закадровий голос: «Але поки-що діє противник. Створює угруповання в Брянці та Макіївці. Далі можливий подвійний удар на Дебальцеве та Щастя. А на півдні під загрозою Маріуполь. Проросійські бойовики не приховують своїх планів оточити місто з півночі».

8:27-9:45

Снайпер: - «Конечно, вот они пытаются отжать территорию. И видели корректировщиков, стоят САУ, стоит российская техника, Еленовка — прямо там стоят танки, поэтому... Грубо говоря, весь район поселка Бугас, весь в российской технике, артиллерии и военнослужащих».

Закадровий голос: «Снаряди лягають дедалі ближче до міста сталеварів. Ще не закінчився півторагодинний обстріл, коли ми дісталися українських позицій під Маріуполем на околиці грецького селища Сартана. Назустріч летіли швидкі з пораненими і загиблими. У повітрі стояв запах спаленої бронетехніки. Наш знайомий спец-призначенець вийшов з-під обстрілу. Позиція поруч з нами».

Репортер: - «На ваш взгляд, чего они добиваются? Они все-таки будут прорываться в сторону Мариуполя или нет? Вот насколько вы оцениваете ситуацию?

Офіцер: - Ну, сказать тяжело, но мое личное мнение, что они, скорее всего, нас отвлекают, чтобы мы просто здесь оставались, не уходили отсюда. Мне кажется, что, скорее всего, они прорываться будут где-то со стороны Волновахи. Они будут просто пытаться окружать».

Закадровий голос: «Час на розмови вийшов. Наш товариш спокійно повертається назад, під обстріл. На рубіж його власної відповідальності за долю країни.

Андрій Цаплієнко, Андрій Ветошкін, ТСН Тиждень, 1 + 1».

Translation

0:00-0:34

Host: - "Checkpoint 32 on the Pervomaysk-Lugansk highway was the most intense and, at the same time, scandalous hot spot in Ukraine this week. While the National Security and Defence Council reported that the current position was successfully unblocked, our fighters there suffered without water and eventually were forced to retreat in the direction of Lisichansk. This is a covert offensive of the separatists so far, says Andriy Tsaplienko. This week, he travelled along the front line from Lugansk to Mariupol and believes that this offensive may soon become an overt one."

0:34-1:10

Voice-over: "Here, at the border with the so-called "DPR", [UAF servicemen] are ready for the enemy's fire at any moment. Fighters have learnt to observe a rule written in the blood of their brothers – not to wear a bulletproof vest without preliminary testing it."

[After a shot] – "Did it hold it?

- The plate held it, there is no after-penetration injury".

Voice-over: "However, the service life of bulletproof vests expired a long time ago. The undeclared war has become so large-scale that these steel plates are merely means to calm oneself down, and the same is true for checking passengers from the occupied territory in this sanitary zone, which can turn into an actual border of Ukraine."

1:10-2:51

Reporter: - "It's certainly not a state border, but border control and considerable fieldworks are already here. Border officials and members of the K-2 battalion are now carefully checking documents, though they often have to simply let suspicious figures go because the grey zone behind the checkpoint does not have any definite status."

Voice-over: "This alleged Bulgarian citizen immediately aroused suspicion. The man taken off the bus turns out to be a Russian national with a Bulgarian passport. He asserts that he is a construction businessman."

Reporter: - "How did you get to Ukraine in the first place? Do you know that entry is prohibited from Novoazovsk?

Detainee: - No, I didn't know this at all.

Reporter: - And how did you arrive from the direction of Novoazovsk, what was there?

Detainee: - Well, there were soldiers and that's it. With automatic rifles.

Reporter: - Did they put a stamp or not?

Detainee: - Of course, they put a stamp.

Reporter: - A Ukrainian stamp?

Detainee: - I do not know, they just put a stamp...

Reporter: - Let us see your passport."

Voice-over: "A Ukrainian stamp was put in the morning of 28 October at a crossing near Novoazovsk, but the crossing itself is no longer there: after Russian Grads destroyed the checkpoint, Ukraine closed the border

control point near Novoazovsk. It is not difficult to guess who puts Ukrainian seals instead of Ukrainian border guards."

Reporter: - "You know that there are no Ukrainian soldiers there, don't you?

Detainee: - I know nothing actually."

Voice-over: "The document of the Russian travelling agent has had only one stamp for three years, and more importantly it is fake. The soldiers take his phone for inspection. There are no contacts or calls in the phone."

2:33-2:40

Fighter: - "The man just cleaned up his phone before that or this is just a telephone that he uses for travelling purposes, and here he is coming to Ukraine."

2:40-2:50

Voice-over: "He may be a spotter, a courier, or a saboteur, but there is no legal basis to detain him. The border guards can only send this person back – to the DPR."

2:51-3:09

Bogdan Wojciechowski, K-2 battalion commander: - "This is now starting to look like a future border. This is a very strange war. Fuel trucks loaded with petrol pass in that direction through our checkpoint and refuel the same tanks, self-propelled guns of our opponents who then shoot at us. If it was a full-fledged war, then we'd need to block [the passage], impose a complete blockade..."

3:09-5:14

Voice-over: "But it is Ukrainian positions that are blocked. Ukraine does not retreat, but is forced to do so. This is a bird's eye view of how checkpoint 32 looked at an intersection of roads near the village of Smila. It was systematically and gradually surrounded. While the National Security and Defence Council reported that the position was unblocked, the guys spent several days in a row without water."

Fighter 1: - "All the puddles, anything liquid, all the water that was in the puddles – we drank everything.

Fighter 2: - We just moistened our lips and went on.

Fighter 1: - We just moistened our lips, yes, and that was it."

Voice-over: "They got the first water after the blockade from the militants. There were rumours that they had exchanged it for a dead separatist."

Fighter: - "Not a dead one. He was alive. He was just wounded, and we bandaged and returned him to them. They gave us water for a living man – not a dead one, but living."

Voice-over: "Now they are laughing. A week ago, when enemy tanks approached them within firing range, they were in no mood for jokes."

Reporter: - "What do they have there?

Fighter: - On military equipment: there are 22 tanks, this is just what we counted this morning. They have a lot of equipment. Crows are eating our comrades. And those whom we dug up, we took them, what they let us, they came to terms with us."

Voice-over: "First, they were allowed to dig up the bodies of their brothers and take them to the nearby Checkpoint 31 in a damaged truck."

Reporter: - "These guys were given only an hour to haul out the dead. Now they are returning to the encirclement, to their own people."

Voice-over: "Comrades are putting cigarettes in their pockets. After unloading the bodies, they throw plastic bottles of water over the sides of the truck. The terrorists decided whether Ukrainian servicemen would drink or suffer from thirst."

Reporter: - "And how much were you allowed to take?

Fighter: - Five flasks, but we throw in everything, maybe they'll let us pass still."

Voice-over: "Limping, the damaged truck returns back into the unknown. A few hours have passed, and we have found out that the 32nd [Checkpoint] is retreating entirely. A sort of small tactical surrender. Ukraine loses another 10 km of land. Now the 31st [Checkpoint] is the last barricade in this direction. But the militants do not stop. The operation to encircle the next Ukrainian position begins on the same day."

5:14-5:41

Voice-over: "In this footage taken by a drone of the "SOS Army", you can see destroyed Ukrainian military equipment between Checkpoints 31 and 32 and can therefore understand what will happen next."

Yuri Kasyanov, coordinator of the "SOS Army" drone program: - "My guess is that we should expect an attack on the road from Brianka to Lysychansk. The attack can be launched in the direction of Lysychansk and then further south to encircle the Debaltseve group or north to surround the group near Shchastia."

5:41-6:40

Voice-over: "In their rear, the militants form powerful striking forces. This is a parade of 'little green men' in the centre of Luhansk. And this is a column of Russian equipment moving through Donetsk on 1 November. Grads, armoured vehicles, and 62 trucks with soldiers. A whole regiment is deployed. Amid their own barely covert offensive, rumours are going round that Ukrainians are just about to take Donetsk."

Reporter: - "Have you heard that the Ukrainian army is preparing to attack?

Resident 1: - Yes, we have heard such information from television.

Reporter: - And what television was that?

Resident 1: - From Russian television, but a Ukrainian channel was broadcasting it.

Reporter: - What did they say?

Resident 1: - It was said that a truce was reached specifically to prepare for an offensive."

Resident 2: - "Well, let them come. I believe that the DPR – the Donetsk People's Republic – is our region, this is where I grew up...

Resident 3: - He is a former miner!

Resident 2: - Yes, I am a former miner. ...where I was born, and this is where I live. I will not leave it and will vote only for the DPR!"

6:40-7:24

Voice-over: "The separatists do not hide that they intend to expand the borders of their territory. The plan is at least to cut off the city of Shchastia along with the Lugansk thermal power plant. They still believe that they are fighting coloured mercenaries and NATO materiel."

Fighter: - "There are Poles, Germans, Englishmen, well, as trophies, we've taken uniforms with badges of Germany, England."

Voice-over: "Apparently, it is difficult for these people to imagine that poorly clothed Ukrainian soldiers often fight in uniforms from all across the world that volunteers were able to procure. To hold on, not to provoke – this is what our guys hear every day and, gritting their teeth, they try to follow the orders."

7:24-8:12

Reporter: - "If you look through binoculars, you can see that the terrorists did not manage to hide well all of its materiel. From this side of the river, you can see some of their elements."

Voice-over: "We will not say where this position is located. There is a river here between the Ukrainians and the militants. On the other side, military equipment is constantly on the move."

Fighter 1: - "With good observation, with optics, you can see that there are slabs, strongly fortified [positions]. Permanent firing positions, a firing position for a tank."

Fighter 2: - "This is, by and large, the edge of our defence. Well, you can see for yourself that they are already here.

Reporter: - Is there any danger that they will cross the river and be here on this side?

Fighter 2: - That's why we are standing here, to prevent this from happening somehow. Well, we'll do something."

Voice-over: "But so far the enemy is creating groups in Brianka and Makiivka. A double blow to Debaltseve and Shchastia is possible. Mariupol is under threat in the south. Pro-Russian militants have made no secret of their plans to encircle the city from the north."

8:27-9:45

Sniper: - "Of course, they're trying to take the territory, and [we] saw a spotter, they have sell-propelled guns, Russian military equipment. Tanks are right in Olenivka, so, roughly speaking, the entire area of the village of Buhas is full of Russian materiel, artillery, and servicemen."

Voice-over: "Projectiles are falling closer and closer to the city of steelmakers. The one and a half hours shelling had not been over yet when we reached the Ukrainian positions near Mariupol in the outskirts of the urban-type settlement of Sartana. We were met by ambulances carrying the injured and the dead. The air smelled of burnt-out armoured materiel. A special operations officer that we know escaped the shelling. The position is near us."

Reporter: - "What do you think they are trying to achieve? Will they try to break through in the direction of Mariupol after all or not? What is your opinion? How do you assess the situation?

Officer: - It's hard to tell but I personally think that it is highly likely that they're distracting us so that we will stay here and not leave this place. I think that they are most likely to break through from the direction of Volnovakha. They will simply try to encircle [us]."

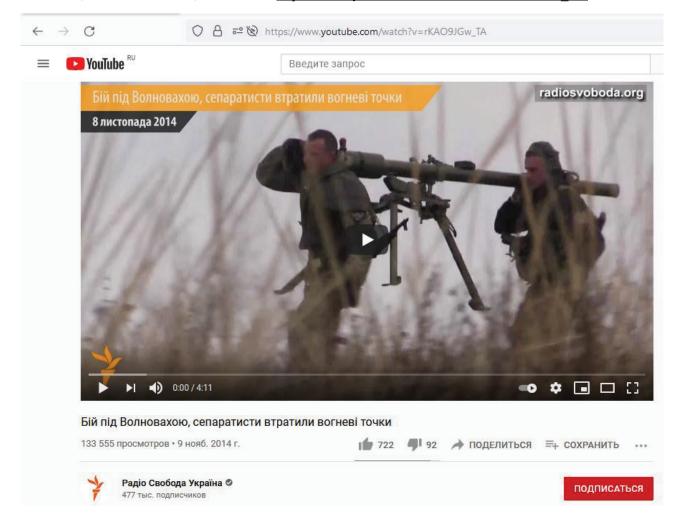
Voice-over: "The time for talking is over. Our comrade is calmly returning back to the area under attack. To the front of his own responsibility for the fate of Ukraine.

Andriy Tsaplienko, Andriy Vetoshkin, TSN Tyzhden, 1 + 1."

Annex 224

YouTube, "Battle in the vicinity of Volnovakha, Separatists Lost Firing Positions", 9 November 2014

YouTube, channel of Radio Liberty Ukraine, "Battle in the vicinity of Volnovakha, Separatists Lost Firing Positions", 9 November 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rKAO9JGw_TA



Transcript

[...]

[0:16 - 0:21]

Мужчина 1: Село как называется?

Мужчина 2: Шкипер, как оно называется?

Мужчина 3: Это называется Новотроицкое.

[...]

[1:19-1:27]

Мужчина 4: Работаем, работаем. Да! Выстрел!

[...]

[2:49 - 3:00]

Боец-гранатометчик батальона Киев-2: [Неразборчиво] с нашей группой накрывала ворожий блокпост. Нас 28 бригада прикрывала своим огнем с кулеметів, АГСов, ну и стелкового зброї.

[...]

[3:15-3:28]

Репортер: Скільки до позицій сепаратистських? [...]

Боец-гранатометчик батальона Киев-2: [...] Если прямо перед нами, то тысяча двести.

[3:28 - 3:42]

Боец-гранатометчик батальона Киев-2 (2): Задачей группы было накрыть ворожий блокпост [неразборчиво]. В принципе задачу виконали.

Репортер: 3 гранатометів?

Боец-гранатометчик батальона Киев-2 (2): 3 гранатометів, да. Задачу виконали. Слава Богу.

[...]

Translation

[...]

[0:16 - 0:21]

Man 1: What is this village called?

Man 2: Skipper, what is it called?

Man 3: It's called Novotroitske.

[...]

[1:19-1:27]

Man 4: Work, work. Yes! Fire!

[...]

$$[2:49 - 3:00]$$

Grenadier of the Kyiv-2 Battalion: "[inaudible] with our group attacked the enemy's checkpoint. We were covered by the 28th Brigade firing from machine guns, automatic grenade launchers, well, and small arms. [...].

[3:15-3:28]

Reporter: How many separatist positions? [...]

Grenadier of the Kyiv-2 Battalion Kiev-2: [...]. If we take those in front of us, there are 1 200.

$$[3:28 - 3:42]$$

Grenadier of the Kyiv-2 Battalion (2): "The group's task was to attack the armed checkpoint (in Ukrainian). In principle, we have fulfilled the task.

Reporter: with grenade launchers?

Grenadier of the Kyiv-2 Battalion (2): with grenade launchers, yes. We have fulfilled the task. Thank goodness.

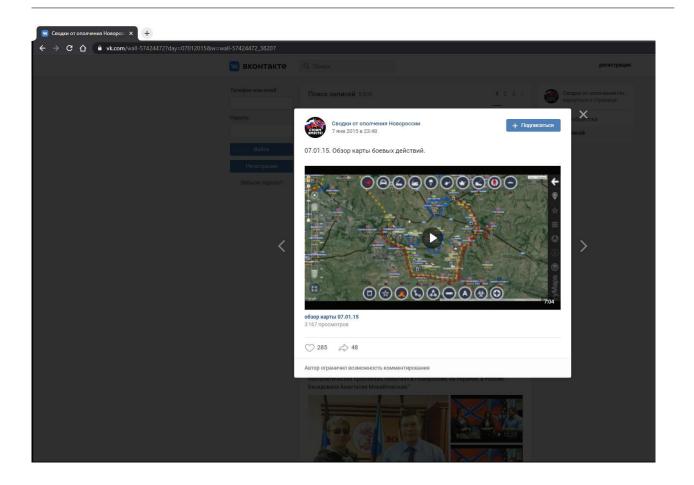
[...]

Annex 225

VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia", 7 January 2015

SOURCE: VKontakte page "Reports from the Novorossiya's militia" https://vk.com/wall-57424472?day=07012015&w=wall-57424472 38207

07 January 2015



Transcript

[Описание видео]: 07.01.15. Обзор карты боевых действий.

6:24-6:46

Также здесь [район Волноваха-Докучаевск] было зафиксировано несколько артобстрелов позиции ополчения в селе Петровское. Информации о разрушениях и потерях не предоставлялось, но сообщалось о том, что ополчение в ответ наносило удары по Бугасу.

[...]

Translation

[Description of video]: 7 January 2015. Overview of the map of hostilities.

6:24-6:46

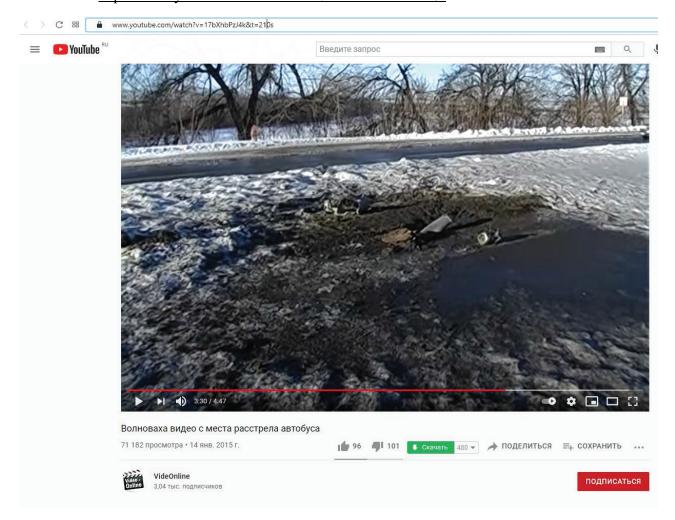
Also here [in the Volnovakha-Dokuchaevsk area], several shellings of the militia positions in the village of Petrovskoye were recorded. No information was provided on the damage and casualties, but it was reported that the militia returned fire at Buhas.

[...]

Annex 226

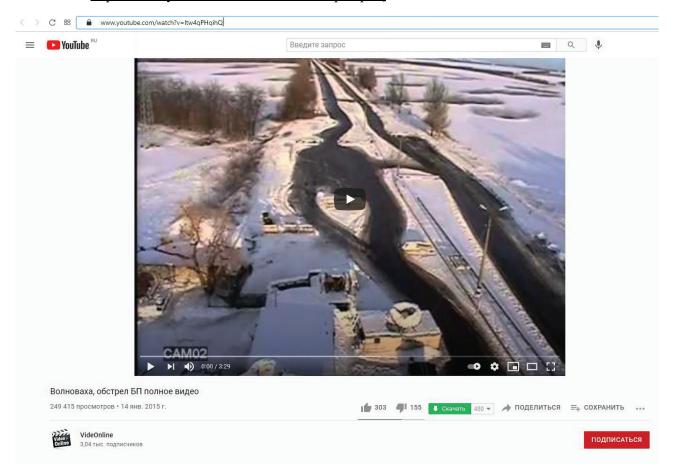
YouTube, "Volnovakha video from the site of the bus shelling", 14 January 2015

YouTube, Channel "VideOnline", "Volnovakha video from the site of the bus shelling", 14 January 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17bXhbPzJ4k&t=210s



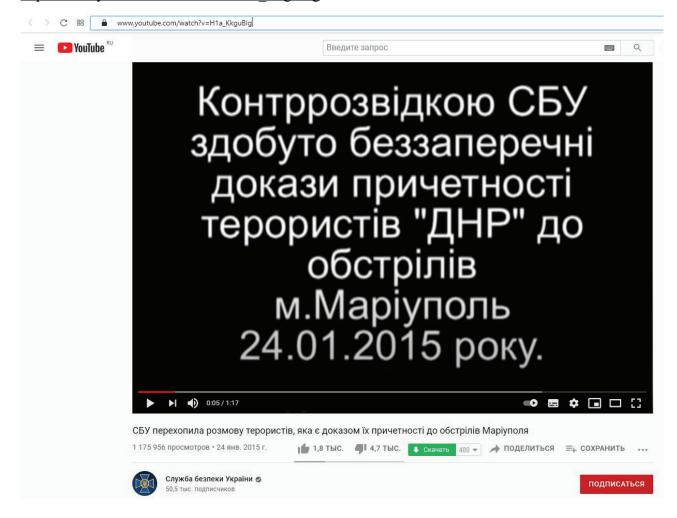
YouTube, "Volnovakha, shelling of the checkpoint full video", 14 January 2015

YouTube, Channel "VideOnline", "Volnovakha, shelling of the checkpoint full video", 14 January 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltw4qPHqihQ



YouTube, "SBU intercepted conversation of terrorists which is proof of their involvement in attacks of Mariupol", 24 January 2015

YouTube, Channel of the Security Service of Ukraine, "SBU intercepted conversation of terrorists which is proof of their involvement in attacks of Mariupol", 24 January 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H1a KkguBlg



Transcript of the video in Russian and Ukrainian

[Текст] Контррозвідкою СБУ здобуто беззаперечні докази причетності терористів «ДНР» до обстрілів м. Мариуполь 24.01.2015 року.

00:06

[Текст] Команду на застосування реактивних систем залпового вогню по житловим масивам Маріуполя надав урожденець та мешканець міста, який на даний час перебуваэ у Донецьку.

00:18

[Текст] Позивний «Терорист» - Пономаренко Сергій Леонідович 16.07.1977 р.н. [року нарождення], неодноразово притягався до кримінальної відповідальності за вчинення крадіжок та розбоїв.

00:23

«**Терорист**»: Ну что там у нас?

00:24

Бойовик з позивним «Пепел»: Ничего, я работаю...

00:26

«Терорист»: А куда ты [стреляешь]?

00:27

Бойовик з позивним «Пепел»: Везде по чуть-чуть...

00:29

«**Терорист**»: Бл*ть насыпь нормально на**й на «Восточный», бл*ть ну сделай хоть раз нормально...

00:36

Бойовик з позивним «Пепел»: Бл*ть девятиэтажки там, братик.

00:38

«**Терорист**»: Да они [девятиэтажки] х*й знает где, брат... От них [блокпост] они х*й знает где. На трассе насыпь на сам блок-пост...

00:46

«**Терорист**»: Там до девятиэтажек еб*ть-колотить, бл*ть наверное, километра полтора...

00:51

[Текст] Після обстрілу...

00:53

Бойовик з позивним «Пепел»: Братик...

00:55

«Терорист»: Я ж тебя попросил, есть глазки, ты, бл*ть «Я-сам», нах*й

00:58

[Текст] Глазки – на армійскому жаргоні – «коригувальник вогню»

01:01

«**Терорист**»: Ну ничего, этот... Да х***ня братан...

01:03

«Терорист»: Ну что, ну бл* х***ня это все, не очкуйся...

01:09

Бойовик з позивним «Пепел»: Да понятно все, ну ладно... Быстрее сдрыснут бл*ть.

01:13

«**Терорист**»: Е**ни еще лучше Талаковку бл*ть, вот туда на**й насыпь бл*ть.

Translation

[Text] The SBU Counter-Intelligence obtained undeniable proof of "DNR" terrorists' involvement in the shelling of Mariupol on 24.01.2015

00:06

[Text] The use of multiple launch rocket systems against residential areas was ordered by a man who was born and lives in Mariupol and is currently in Donetsk.

00:18

[Text] Call sign "Terrorist" – Sergey Leonidovich Ponomarenko, born on 16.07.1977, has been repeatedly held criminally liable for theft and robbery.

00:23

"Terrorist": Well, what do we have there?

00.24

Militant with the call sign "Pepel": Nothing, I'm doing my job...

00:26

"Terrorist": Where are you [firing]?

00:27

Militant with the call sign "Pepel": A little bit of everywhere.

00:29

"Terrorist": F***, pound the "Vostochniy" well, do it right one f***** time.

00:36

Militant with the call sign "Pepel": F***, bro, there are nine-storey buildings there.

00:38

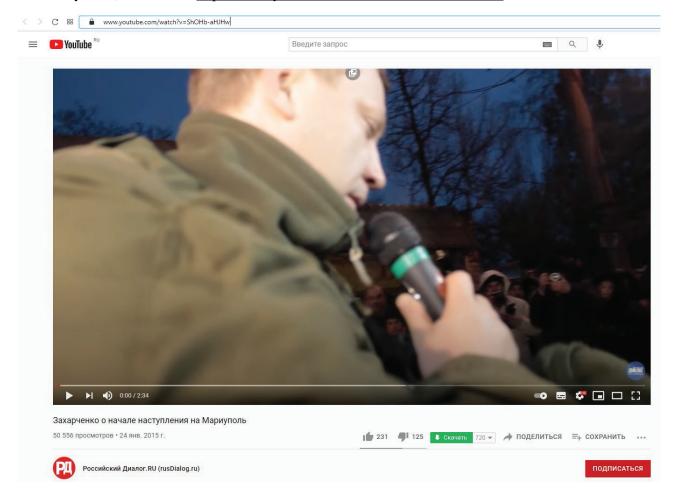
"Terrorist": Hey, bro, they [the buildings] are really f***** far. Really f***** far [from the checkpoint]. Pound the checkpoint itself, on the highway...

00:46

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"Terrorist": The nine-storey buildings are some f***** 1.5 kilometres away, I believe...
00:51
[Text] After the shelling...
00:53
Militant with the call sign "Pepel": Brooo...
00:55
"Terrorist": I told you, there are eyes, and you're f***** like "I'm gonna do it on my own"...
00:58
[Text] "Eyes" is an army slang word for "spotter"
01:01
"Terrorist": Well, never mind... It doesn't f**** matter, bro...
01:03
"Terrorist": That's isn't f***** important, don't fret...
01:09
Militant with the call sign "Pepel": Yeah, I get it... They'll get the f*** out of there faster...
01:13
"Terrorist": Better whack Talakivka, f***** pound them over there...
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YouTube, "Zakharchenko on the beginning of the offence on Mariupol", 24 January 2015

YouTube, Channel "Russian Dialogue.ru", "Zakharchenko on the beginning of the offence on Mariupol", 24 January 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ShOHb-aHJHw



Transcript

Александр Захарченко: ...Такими словами выразить соболезнования. Вы знаете, когда погибают наши друзья, товарищи, близкие, соседи, на самом деле погибает частичка нас. Я хочу сказать одну вещь. Они нас убивают не из-за того, что мы хотели свободы, они нас убивают из-за того, что мы другие. Мы смогли сделать то, что каждый из них сделать побоялся. Вот чем мы отличаемся от них – смелостью, гордостью, да, свободолюбием. Я не согласен, что нужно прощать убийц. Я скажу следующее, сегодня началось наступление на Мариуполь...

Люди: Ура! Молодцы!

Захарченко: Даст Бог, через пару дней мы замкнем дебальцевский котел.

Люди: Аллилуйя!

Александр Захарченко: И вот это, наверное, будет самым лучшим ответом и самой лучшей памятью погибших, потому что мы отомстим всем. Отомстим даже тем, которые нажали на спусковой крючок, нажали эту кнопку, с которой полетели снаряды и убили наших земляков здесь. Те, которых расстреляли в Горловке, те, которых расстреляли в Макеевке, в Енакиево, в Шахтерске, в Ждановке, в Кировске. Отомстим за каждого нашего ребенка и за каждого нашего старика, безвинно погибшего здесь.

Мужчина: Александр Захарченко, повернитесь сюда пожалуйста, а то...

Александр Захарченко: Слава Донбассу!

Люди: Ура! Слава Донбассу!

Александр Захарченко: Слава! А теперь я хочу объявить минуту молчания. Давайте почтим память погибших, всех погибших, которые погибли от рук украинских карателей.

Translation

Alexander Zakharchenko: To extend our condolences using these words. You know, when our friends, comrades, close ones, and neighbours die, it is actually a part of us that dies. I'd like to say something. They're killing us not because we wanted freedom, they're killing us because we're different. We've managed to do what each of them has been afraid to do. Courage, pride, and, yes, love of freedom are what makes us different from them. I don't agree that killers deserve forgiveness. I'd like to say that today we have started our advance at Mariupol ...

Crowd: Hooray! Well done!

Zakharchenko: God willing, we'll close the Debaltseve encirclement in several days.

Woman: Hallelujah!

Alexander Zakharchenko: And it'll probably be the best response, the best way to honour the memory of the dead because we'll have our revenge on them all. We'll take revenge even on those who pulled the trigger, who pushed that button after which our countrymen were killed here by shells. Those who were shot up in Horlivka, those who were shot up in Makiivka, in Enakievo, in Shakhtersk, in Zhdanovsk, in Kirovsk. We'll avenge all of our innocent children and old men who died here.

Man: Alexander Zakharchenko, please turn around here, so...

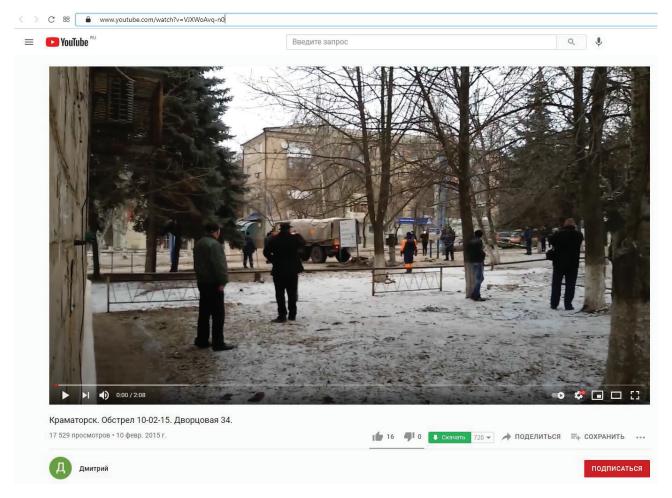
Alexander Zakharchenko: Glory to Donbass!

Crowd: Hooray! Glory to Donbass!

Alexander Zakharchenko: Glory! I'd like to hold a minute of silence now. Let's honour the memory of the dead, all of them, who died at the hand of Ukrainian murderers.

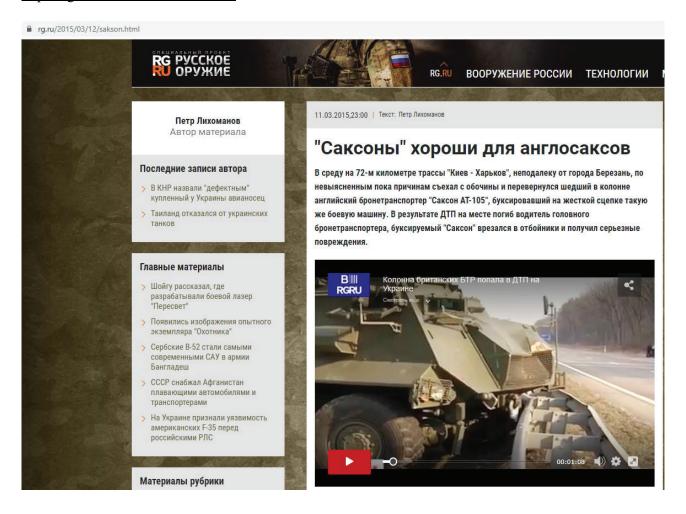
YouTube, "Kramatorsk. Shelling 10-02-15. Dvortsovaya 34", 10 February 2015

*YouTube, C*hannel "Dmitry", "Kramatorsk. Shelling 10-02-15. Dvortsovaya 34", 10 February 2015, available at: https://youtu.be/VJXWoAvq-n0



Rossiyskaya Gazeta, "'Saxons' are good for the Anglo-Saxons'', 11 March 2015

Rossiyskaya Gazeta, "Saxons' are good for the Anglo-Saxons", 11 March 2015, https://rg.ru/2015/03/12/sakson.html



Translation Excerpts

11 March 2015 | Text by: Petr Likhomanov 23:00

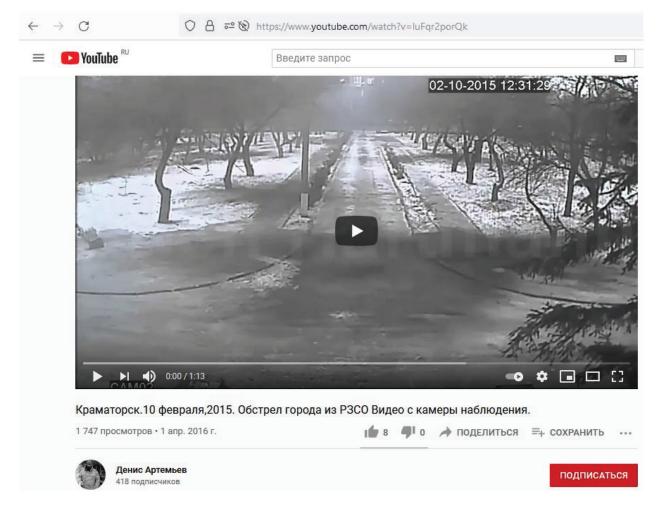
"Saxons" are good for the Anglo-Saxons

On Wednesday, on the 72nd kilometer of the Kyiv-Kharkiv highway, not far from the town of Berezan, for reasons yet unknown, a British AT-105 Saxon armoured personnel carrier - that was riding in a column while hauling a similar combat vehicle on a rigid tow bar - turned off the road and rolled over. As a result, the driver of the head armoured personnel carrier died on the spot, while the towed Saxon crashed into guard rails and was seriously damaged.

[...]

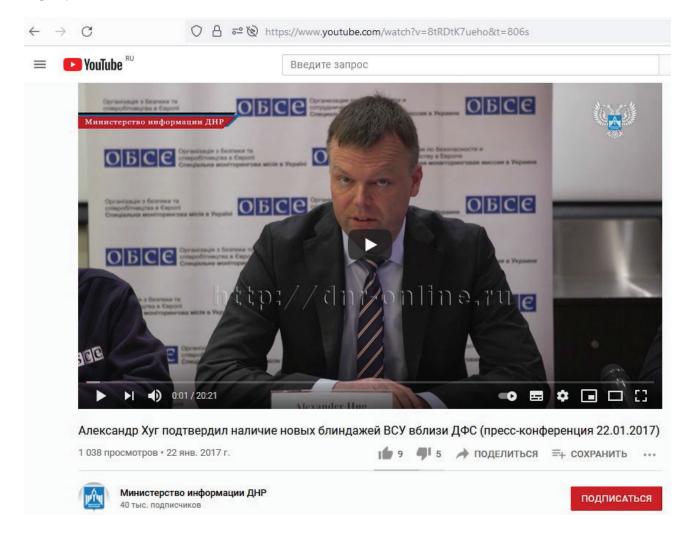
YouTube, "Kramatorsk. 10 February, 2015. The shelling of the city from the MLRS Video from the surveillance camera", 1 April 2016

YouTube, Channel of Denis Artemiev, "Kramatorsk. 10 February, 2015. The shelling of the city from the MLRS Video from the surveillance camera", 1 April 2016, available at: https://youtu.be/luFqr2porQk



YouTube, "Alexander Hug confirmed the presence of new dugouts of the UAF near the DFS (press-conference 22.01.2017)", 22 January 2017

YouTube, channel of the Ministry of Information of the DPR, "Alexander Hug confirmed the presence of new dugouts of the UAF near the DFS (press-conference 22.01.2017)", 22 January 2017, available at: https://youtu.be/8tRDtK7ueho?t=806



Transcript Excerpts

13:26

Alexander Hug: We have seen there also while at the water filtration station in Donetsk that on the side controlled by the Ukrainian Armed Forces there are new military positions being built.

Translator: Находясь на Донецкой фильтровальной станции мы видели, как со стороны, которая находится под контролем Правительства Украины, строятся новые военные объекты.

13:48

Alexander Hug: That leads to more fighting...

Translator: Это ведет к интенсификации боевых действий...

13:54

Alexander Hug: And not in an open field where there is nothing to damage...

Translator: И не в открытом поле где нет риска нанести урон чему-то...

14:05

Alexander Hug: The Kruta Balka or the water filtration station is in the middle of these positions.

Translator: Населенный пункт Крутая Балка и Донецкая фильтровальная станция по сути находятся в середине этих позиций.

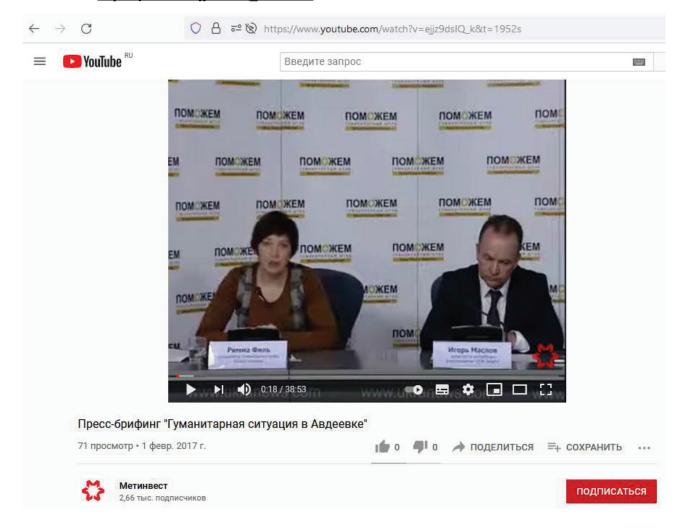
14:18

Alexander Hug: We can count one and one together and we'll know what the result will be if that is not being stopped.

Translator: И если данный процесс не остановить, то высшая математика здесь не нужна, вы можете понять, что произойдет.

YouTube, "Press briefing 'Humanitarian situation in Avdiivka", 1 February 2017 (excerpts)

YouTube, channel of Metinvest, "Press briefing 'Humanitarian situation in Avdiivka", 1 February 2017, available at: https://youtu.be/ejjz9dsIQ k?t=1952



Transcript (excerpts)

[32:33-33:17]

Вопрос журналиста: Говорят, вчера несколько прилетов было на территорию завода, что что-то повреждено. Прокомментируйте, это, пожалуйста.

Муса Магомедов: Был прилет в железнодорожный цех. Были разбиты [неразборчиво] рельсы и контактная сеть, восстановили в течение полудня. Затем было попадание рядом с пожарной частью, но, так скажем, ничего не повреждено, но это было рядом. Поэтому могу сказать, что во время этого трехдневного конфликта наверно заводу немножко повезло чуть больше чем обычно. Как я уже говорил, у нас [неразборчиво] в среднем больше трех попаданий. В этот раз нам повезло. Приземления были рядом, да.

Translation (excerpts)

[32:33-33:17]

Journalist's question: Rumor has it that yesterday territory of the factory suffered several hits and that something was damaged. Please comment on this.

Musa Magomedov: A railway workshop was hit. [inaudible] The rails and the overhead wiring were broken, we fixed them during the afternoon. Then there was a hit near the fire station, let's say that nothing was damaged, but this was close. Therefore, I can say that during the three days of this conflict the factory had a bit more luck than usual, perhaps. As I have already stated, we have [inaudible] more than three hits. This time we were lucky. Landings were near, yes.

TSN, "In complete secrecy, the Ukrainian military took up new positions near a strategic highway in Donbas", 12 February 2017

Translation

Excerpts

In complete secrecy, the Ukrainian military took up new positions near a strategic highway in Donbas

tsn.ua/ru/ato/ukrainskie-voennye-v-polnoy-sekretnosti-zanyali-novye-pozicii-vozle-strategicheskoy-trassy-na- donbasse-803353.html

12 February 2017



Reuters

Fighters of the 39th Battalion now control the road to the occupied Yasynuvata.

Ukrainian soldiers have advanced not only in the area of the Avdiivka industrial area and pushed back the militants. They have already come close to the strategic road that leads to the occupied Yasynuvata. The 39th Battalion is that almost mystical unit that is waging war just a stone's throw from the separatists.

This is stated in the TSN Tidjden programme.

At the new positions, the day schedule of the heroic men from the Avdiivka forest is full. During the day, they fight off the infantry, and at night they hunt for a tank that causes fear to the residents of Avdiivka. But the fighters are not afraid of this tank – it will not shoot here.

"And if it hits us, we will immediately put it down, since it will drive onto the open ground", explains Maxim, a fighter of the 39th Separate Mechanized Infantry Brigade.

But the fighters quickly fill their ammunition belts. They are in a hurry, because they know – there will still be a fight.

While the enemy was trying to dislodge Ukrainians from Avdiivka's industrial area, the 39th Battalion secretly built a new fortified area. Ukrainians had never reached so close to the enemy territory. Their positions are 15 meters away from the road.

Those who want to go to the new positions and try their luck are hard to find. It takes a frantically

bumpy ride to get to the guys. The road is exposed to fire both day and night.

[...]

Pages 2-3

As it turns out that, throughout this year, without excessive publicity, the Battalion literally moved forward step by step to the strategic motorway. Behind it is the former Hozyayushka market - a place where the militants hide their tanks, which still fire at the defenders of Avdiivka's industrial area.

"And the line of demarcation, which they can't find in any way, in my opinion, is located on the border of Russia and Ukraine," says Vladislav Trifonov, deputy commander of the 39th Battalion.

The Russian fairy tales about the return of the positions captured by the Ukrainians and the huge losses of their Armed Forces, here in Avdiivka, are no longer even paid attention to.

"The positions that we have "pushed them out of" we keep and we strengthen. And as for them bragging, let them tell whatever they want," says "Timur", a soldier of the 72nd Brigade.

"We took away those who still had a pulse, and all those with a pulse remained alive. We did not lose any of those whom we took away," says Valentina Pushich, a sanitary instructor of the First Battalion of the 72nd Brigade.

After a week of fierce fighting and dozens of tons of spent ammunition, there was only one wounded man at the new positions of the 39th Battalion. And even with a bullet, stuck in his hand, the seriously wounded Ukrainian does not lose the sense of humor. He films himself and finds the strength to joke.

By the way, because this until recently secret task, none of the guys at the position visited by the TSN correspondent have yet been awarded. But that's exactly what heroes should be like – alive, healthy, and invincible.

For more details, see the story of Andrey Tsapliyenko.

Secret Task: Ukrainian fighters took strategic positions near Avdiivka



YouTube, "Avdiivka.. The UAF hide heavy weaponry among residential buildings OSCE where are you?", 21 February 2017

YouTube, Channel Storm Mariupol, "Avdiivka ..The UAF hide heavy weaponry among residential buildings OSCE where are you?", 21 February 2017, available at: https://youtu.be/ydCrbY6ltQE



Vice, "Civilians flee East Ukraine town of Avdiivka as fighting with Russian-backed separatists escalates", 23 February 2017

Civilians flee East Ukraine town of Avdiivka as fighting with Russian-backed separatists escalates

vice.com/en/article/595vnd/civilians-flee-east-ukraine-town-of-avdiivka-as-fighting-with-russian-backed-separatists-escalates



This segment originally aired Feb. 14, 2017, on VICE News Tonight on HBO.



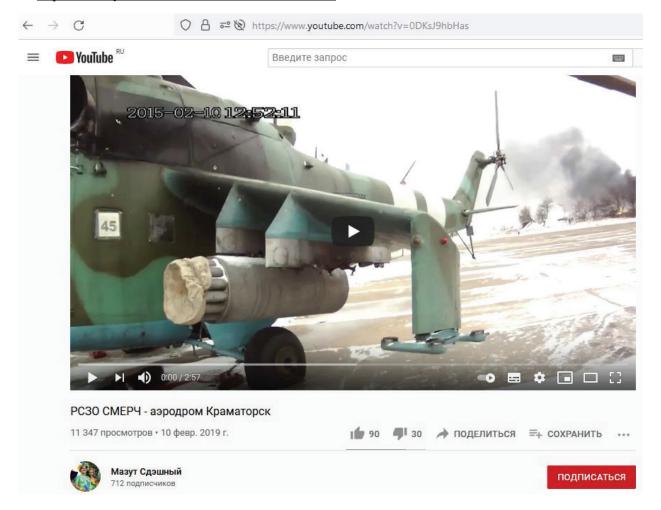
Civilians Fleeing Avdiivka



Toward the end of January, fighting in east Ukraine saw some of the highest combat deaths on the frontline, with more than 40 people dying in a two-week span. VICE News correspondent Jake Hanrahan went to the war torn industrial town of Avdiivka where the shelling has knocked out electricity and heating. The fighting has started to impact civilians living nearby in the city — at least six have been killed since January 29th.

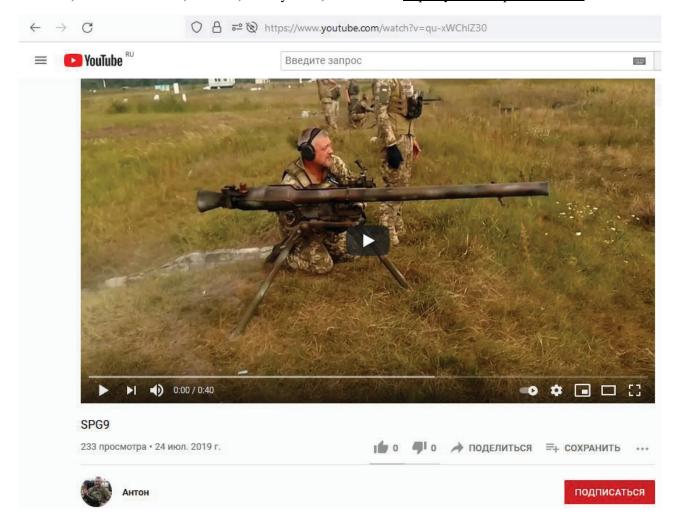
YouTube, "MLRS SMERCH - Kramatorsk airfield", 10 February 2019

 $\label{thm:channel} \textit{YouTube}, \textit{Channel Mazut Sdeshnyy}, \textit{``MLRS SMERCH - Kramatorsk airfield''}, 10 \textit{ February 2019}, available at: $$ \underline{\text{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0DKsJ9hbHas}}$$



YouTube, "SPG9", 24 July 2019

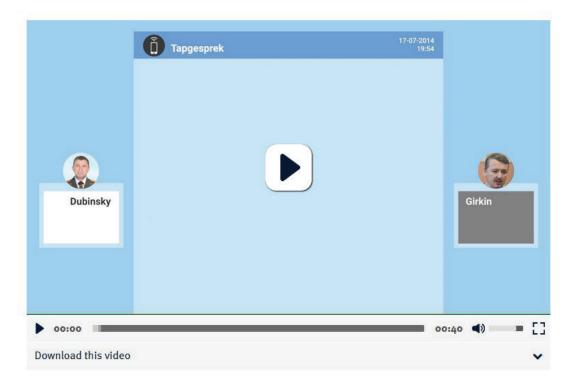
YouTube, Channel of Anton, "SPG9", 24 July 2019, available at: https://youtu.be/qu-xWChlZ30



Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Girkin, at 19:54 on 17 July 2014

Official Website of the Netherlands Public Prosecution Service, Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Girkin, at 19:54 on 17 July 2014, 26 June 2020, published at: https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-session-26-june-2020

O A https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-session-26-june-2020

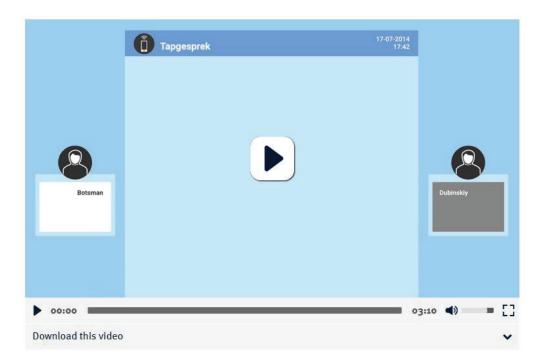


Intercepted conversation between Botsman and Dubinskiy, at 17:42 on 17 July 2014

Official Website of the Netherlands Public Prosecution Service, Intercepted conversation between Botsman and Dubinskiy, at 17:42 on 17 July 2014, 13 November 2020, published at:

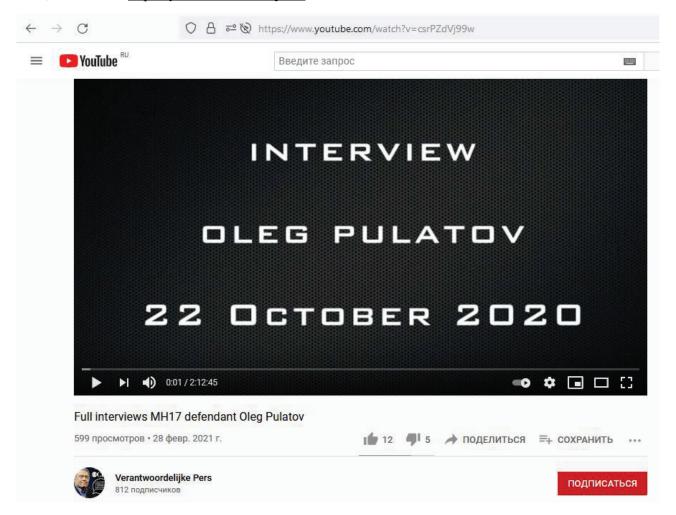
 $\underline{https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-sessions-12--13-november-2020/court-session-13-november-2020$





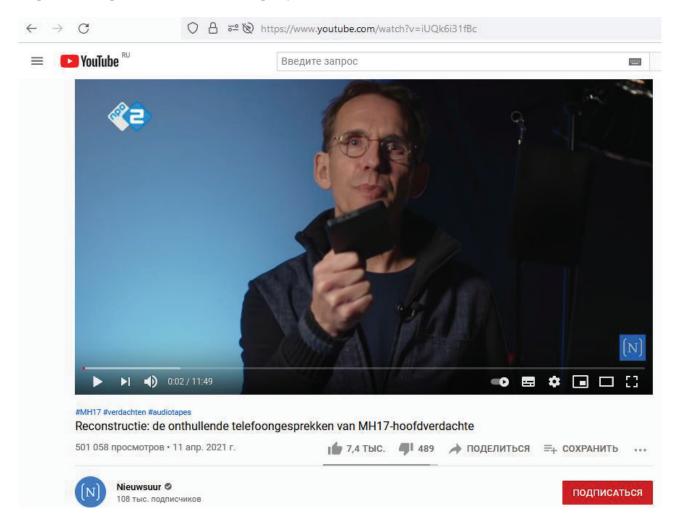
YouTube, "Full interviews MH17 defendant Oleg Pulatov", 28 February 2021

YouTube, Channel of Verantwoordelijke Pers, "Full interviews MH17 defendant Oleg Pulatov", 28 February 2021, available at: https://youtu.be/csrPZdVj99w



YouTube, "Reconstruction: the revealing phone conversations of MH17 prime suspects", 11 April 2021

YouTube, Channel of Nieuwsuur, "Reconstruction: the revealing phone conversations of MH17 prime suspects", 11 April 2021, available at: https://youtu.be/iUQk6i31fBc



Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 19:52 on 17 July 2014

Nos op 3 "MH17 tapes", Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 19:52 on 17 July 2014, 15 April 2021, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk5?overlay=audiotape-12



Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Kharchenko, at 19:59 on 17 July 2014

Nos op 3 "MH17 tapes", Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Kharchenko, at 19:59 on 17 July 2014, 15 April 2021, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk5?overlay=audiotape-14



Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 18:12 on 16 July 2014

Nos op 3 "MH17 tapes", Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 18:12 on 16 July 2014, 15 April 2021, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk2?overlay=audiotape-3



Intercepted conversation between Skiff and Dubinskiy, at 00:17 on 17 July 2014

Nos op 3 "MH17 tapes", Intercepted conversation between Skiff and Dubinskiy, at 00:17 on 17 July 2014, 15 April 2021, published at https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk2?overlay=audiotape-5



Summary Material on the Interpretation of the Term "*Hanpaвленный* на" ("napravlennyi na"; intended to) used in Article 2(1)(b) of the ICSFT in Russian Criminal Law (Document from the Judges' Folder submitted to the Registry of the ICJ by the Russian Federation for the Hearings on Preliminary Objections, II Round, 6 June 2019, Tab. 6.1.)

TRANSLATION

Interpretation of the term «направленный на» ("napravlennyi na"; intended to) used in Art. 2(1)(b) ICSFT

	V.M. Lebedev (ed.) ² , Commentary to the Criminal Code of the Russia Federation ³ (emphasis added)	 <> It follows from the provisions of the law that the activities of organising suicides have a purpose – incitement to commit a suicide. This means that the mental element of this crime is characterised by direct intent. The perpetrator realises the publicly dangerous nature of his or her acts, foresees that these acts incite commission of suicide by citizens and desires to achieve that. <> 	
	Articles of the Criminal Code of the Russia Federation ¹ (emphasis added)	 Article 110.2. The organisation of activities intended to encourage suicide The organisation of activities intended to encourage suicide by disseminating information about the methods of committing suicide or calling for committing suicide, – <>. 	2. Article 170.1. Falsifying the comprehensive state register of legal entities, a register of owners of securities or a depositary record-keeping system 1. Provision of documents containing deliberately false information to a body in charge of state registration of legal entities and individual entrepreneurs or an organisation responsible for keeping record of rights to securities, for the purpose of entering in the comprehensive state register of legal entities, a register of owners of securities or a depositary record-keeping system unreliable information about the founders (stakeholders) of a legal entity, the amounts and face value of their stakes in the charter capital of a company, the registered owners of registered securities, the number, face value and category of registered securities, on encumbrances on a security or stake, the person that manages a security or stakes assigned in line of succession, the head of the permanent executive body of a legal entity or another person entitled to act on behalf of a legal entity without a power of attorney or for other purposes intended to acquire a right to another person's assets, — <>.

¹ Criminal Code of the Russian Federation No. 63-FZ, 13 June 1996, available at http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons doc LAW 10699/. ² Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law, Professor. ³ Commentary to the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation: In 4 volumes (article-by-article commentary) (V.M. Lebedev), "Uright", 2017

7	_	/ Mantal alamant is abanastaniand by dinast intent
	Autor 241. Organismy prosutation	A TABLET CIVILLY IS CHAIACLETISCA BY UNCELL INCOME. A TABLET CONTROLL A T
	1. The activities intended to organise prostitution, as well as to maintain hangouts for prostitution or systematically provide premises for prostitution -	
4.	Article 278. Forcible seizure of power or forcible retention of power	<> The mental element of the crime is characterised by direct intent and a special purpose – unconstitutional
	Actions intended to forcibly seize power or forcibly retain power in contravention of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. or intended to forcibly change the constitutional	seizure of power, unconstitutional retention of power or changing the constitutional order of the Russian Federation by
	order of the Russian Federation,	force. The special purpose specified in the provisions of the article is a mandatory feature, the absence of which excludes
ŀ	_	liability for the crime. <>
5.	Article 281. Sabotage	<> The mental element is characterised by direct intent and specific objective – to subvert the economic security or
	1. Perpetration of an explosion, arson, or of any other action intended to destroy or damage	defence capacity of the country.
	the enterprises, structures, transport infrastructure facilities and transport vehicles, or vital supply facilities for the population, with the aim of subverting the economic security or the defence canacities of the Russian Federation	
	·.··	
6.	Article 282. Incitement of hatred or enmity, as well as abasement of human dignity	<> Mental element is direct intent. <>
	1. Actions intended to incite hatred or enmity, as well as to abase dignity of a person or a group of nersons on the basis of sex race, nationality, language, origin, attitude to religion	<1> See also the Resolution of the Plenum of the Sunreme
	as well as affiliation to any social group, if these acts have been committed in public or with the use of mass media or electronic information and telecommunication networks, including	Courts Practice on Criminal Cases on Crimes of an Extremist
	the Internet, by a person subject to administrative proceedings for similar offence within a	Nature" (appendix 1 to this table)
	period of one year.	
	\\ \\	

7.	. Article 357. Genocide	<> Mental element is characterised by direct intent and
		a special purpose which is the complete or partial destruction
	Actions intended to completely or partially exterminate a national, ethnic, racial or	a national, ethnic, racial or of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.
	religious group as such by killing its members, inflicting grave injuries to their health,	
	forcible prevention of childbirth, forcible transfer of children, forcible resettlement, or by	
	any other method of creating living conditions meant for the physical destruction of the	
	members of this group, -	
	·	

Available at https://rg.ru/2011/07/04/vs-dok.html

Appendix 1 to Table

TRANSLATION

Excerpts

Resolution of the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation of 28 June 2011 No. 11 "On Courts Practice on Criminal Cases on Crimes of an Extremist Nature"

[...]

8. The crime set out in Article 282 of the CC RF is committed only with direct intent and for the purpose of inciting hatred or enmity or denigrating the dignity of an individual or a group of individuals based on gender, race, nationality or language, origins, attitude to religion, or belonging to a certain social group.

[...]

The question as to whether mass distribution of extremist materials included on the published federal list of extremist materials constitutes a crime specified by Article 282 of the CC RF or an administrative offence (Article 20.29 of the Code of Administrative Offences of the Russian Federation) should be decided depending on the intent pursued by the distributor of the given materials.

If someone distributes extremist materials included on the published federal list of extremist materials for the purpose of inciting hatred or enmity or denigrating the dignity of an individual or groups of people on the basis of gender, race, nationality or language, origins, attitude to religion, or belonging to a certain social group, this should entail criminal liability under Article 282 of the CC RF.

It is not a crime specified under Article 282 of the CC RF to express opinions and conclusions using facts of inter-ethnic, inter-confessional or other social relations in scientific or political discussions and texts that do not pursue the goal of inciting hatred or enmity or denigrating the dignity of an individual or groups of people on the basis of gender, race, nationality or language, origins, attitude to religion, or belonging to a certain social group.

[...]

Supreme Court of Denmark, *Fighters and Lovers Case*, T1 and ors v A, Appeal judgment, Case No. 399/2008, ILDC 2250 (DK 2009), 25 March 2009

Translation

Oxford Public International Law

Fighters and Lovers, T1 and ors v A, Appeal judgment, U 2009 1453, ILDC 2250 (DK 2009), 25th March 2009, Denmark; Supreme Court

Date: 25 March 2009

Citation(s): U 2009 1453 (Other Reference) ILDC 2250 (DK 2009) (OUP reference)
Content type: Domestic court decisions

Product: Oxford Reports on International Law [ORIL] **Module:** International Law in Domestic Courts [ILDC]

Jurisdiction: Denmark [dk]; Supreme Court

Parties: T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T6A

Judges/Arbitrators: Torben Melchior (President); Poul Sørensen; Niels Grubbe; Poul Dahl Jensen;

Vibeke Rønne; Henrik Waaben; Michael Rekling

Procedural Stage: Appeal judgment

Subject(s):

Terrorism, financing — Armed conflict

Core Issue(s):

Whether the financing of an organization that had committed terrorism, as defined in domestic legislation that implemented Article 2(1) of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, was criminalized even if the support was intended to serve humanitarian purposes.

Oxford Reports on International Law in Domestic Courts is edited by:

Professor André Nollkaemper, University of Amsterdam and August Reinisch, University of Vienna.

Facts

F1 T6 established the company Fighters and Lovers to sell T-shirts and transfer the profit from doing so to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia — People's Army ('FARC') and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine ('the PFLP'). FARC and the PFLP were considered to be terrorist organizations by several states.

F2 T1, T2, T3, T4, and T6 were involved in producing, selling, and distributing the T-shirts through the Fighters and Lovers website. T5 provided web storage for the website.

F3 T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6 were charged with financing terrorism under Article 114b of the Penal Code, 1930 (Denmark) ('Penal Code'), which implemented Article 2(1) of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (9 December 1999), General Assembly resolution 54/109, entered into force 10 April 2002 and Article 2(2)(c) of the EU Council Framework Decision on combating terrorism (13 June 2002), 2002/475/JHA, entered into force 13 June 2002 ('EU Framework Decision'). Article 114b of the Penal Code criminalized the direct or indirect provision or collection of funds with the intention that they be used, or in the knowledge that they were to be used, by a person or an organization in order to carry out acts criminalized under Article 114 of the Penal Code.

F4 According to the preparatory work of Article 114b of the Penal Code, the financing of an organization that committed terrorism, as defined under Article 114 of the Penal Code, was criminalized even if the specific support in question was intended to serve humanitarian purposes. Articles 114 and 114b of the Penal Code had to be interpreted in light of the EU Framework Decision, according to which whether the conduct of the financed organization had been committed against a state that was considered democratic and respected the rule of law, or whether it was aimed at an occupying power, had to be taken into account. Paragraph 11 of the Preamble of the EU Framework Decision ('Paragraph 11') exempted conduct committed by armed forces in connection with an armed conflict.

F5 The prosecution argued that T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6 had been aware that the profit would go to the PFLP and FARC; that liability under Article 114b of the Penal Code was not dependent on whether the financial support was given specifically to the part of the organization that committed terrorism, in accordance with the preparatory work of Article 114b; and that the acts undertaken by FARC and the PFLP were not exempt under Paragraph 11. It argued that Paragraph 11 only exempted conduct committed during World War II, by reference to the Draft Statement of the Council of the European Union, Proposal (7 December 2001) 14845/1/01 para 15: 'It has to be understood in this sense and cannot be construed so as to argue that the conduct of those who have acted in the interest of preserving or restoring these democratic values, as was notably the case in some Member States during the Second World War, could now be considered as 'terrorist' acts.'

F6 T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6 argued that Article 114b of the Penal Code should have been interpreted in compliance with Paragraphs 1 and 10 of The Preamble of the EU Framework Decision, as stated in the preparatory work, so that only conduct aimed at a state that was built on principles of democracy and the rule of law could constitute terrorism. They contended that Colombia and Israel had not met these requirements. They argued that Israel was considered an occupying power that violated democracy and the rule of law, and that Colombia could not have been considered a democratic society that respected the rule of law. They contended that FARC should have been considered a non-state party to a non-international armed conflict, as it had control of over forty per cent of the territory of Colombia, and had negotiated with Colombia. Possible breaches of international humanitarian law should therefore have been considered as war crimes, and not terrorism, according to Paragraph 11.

F7 T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6 were acquitted by the District Court. They were found guilty on appeal by the High Court. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court.

Held

H1 The High Court found that FARC and the PFLP had committed violations against the civilian population, with the aim of seriously intimidating the population, or seriously destabilizing fundamental political, constitutional, economic, and social structures in Colombia and Israel, respectively, in such a way that the conduct could have inflicted serious harm on the countries, as per Article 114 of the Penal Code. (paragraph 1)

H2 Evidence was provided by the High Court in the form of statements from experts and reports by the United Nations ('UN') Economic and Social Council, the Commission of Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International on the organization of, and the acts undertaken by, FARC and the PFLP. According to a Report, UN Economic and Social Council, Commission of Human Rights, 17 February 2004, FARC had continuously intended to intimidate the population by committing terrorist acts and kidnappings. This had been confirmed in later reports by the same Commission. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International had further documented attacks on civilians and hundreds of city councillors and public servants. Kidnappings of civilians had been carried out with the purpose of compelling the authorities to perform or abstain from performing specific acts. FARC had openly announced that its purpose was to overthrow the Colombian government, and it had admitted to deliberately killing civilians. (paragraph 648) The armed conflict in Colombia had been marked by gross violations on the civilian population, breaches of human rights, and breaches of international humanitarian law. (paragraph 783)

H3 According to reports from Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and the Danish Intelligence Service, the PFLP was a militant organization that had used terror to achieve its goals. (paragraph 725) The organization had carried out several suicide attacks, car bombings, and missile attacks on the civilian population. (paragraph 783)

H4 The financing of an organization that had committed terrorism, as defined under Article 114 of the Penal Code, was criminalized under Article 114b of the Penal Code even if the specific support in question was intended to serve humanitarian purposes. (paragraph 780)

H5 In deciding whether the acts committed by FARC and the PFLP amounted to terrorist attacks under Article 114 of the Penal Code, it had to be considered whether the conduct had been aimed at a democratic society that respected the rule of law or whether it was aimed at an occupying power, and whether the organizations might have constituted armed forces by taking part in an armed conflict. (paragraph 785)

H6 In the light of the circumstances of the case there was no basis for juxtaposing the conduct of FARC and the PFLP with the use of force by states according to Paragraph 11. (paragraph 787)

H7 T1, T2, T3, T4, and T6 had admitted their participation in the production, sale, and distribution of T-shirts, from which the profit had been used to buy radio equipment for FARC and a printing house for the PFLP. (paragraph 789)

H8 They had had knowledge, or should have known, that FARC and the PFLP had committed acts that were prohibited under Article 114 of the Penal Code, or had intended to do so. (paragraph 792)

Date of Report: 09 December 2014

Reporter(s): Helene Højfeldt

Analysis

A1 The issues considered in this decision included whether FARC constituted a terrorist organization, or whether it could have been considered as an armed force taking part in an armed conflict against a non-democratic, violent regime, whereby 'legal acts of war' should have been exempted from liability under the counter-terrorist laws, by reference to Paragraph 11. It also covered whether the PFLP constituted a terrorist organization or whether its fight against an occupying power was legitimate, thereby exempting it from the scope of the counter-terrorist laws by reference to the EU Framework Decision.

A2 The Supreme Court rejected the application of Paragraph 11 to this case. It was not clear, however, whether the Court did not find FARC and the PFLP to be armed forces, or whether it did not find that an armed conflict existed in Colombia and Israel. The Court made no individual assessment of the status of the two organizations or the conflicts in Columbia and Israel. It concluded with the phrase 'in the light of the circumstances of the case'. (paragraph 787) This could, on one hand, have indicated that the Court found that non-state actors could not have constituted armed forces *per se*. It might, on the other hand, have also suggested that the Court did not consider the question directly, and only reviewed the specific arguments made by the accused, which related to the particular organizations and not to non-state actors in general.

A3 The Court may not have had enough information before it to assess fairly the scope of applicability of Paragraph 11, and left the burden of proof to the defence. In contrast, a Norwegian High Court decision, *Public Prosecutor v Osman*, Court of First Instance decision, 09-200483MED-OTIR/03, 6 December 2010, discussed the possibility of non-state actors constituting armed forces, and concluded that they might if they fulfilled the criteria of Article 1(1) of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) (8 June 1977) 1125 UNTS 609, entered into force 7 December 1979. This was also discussed and rejected in the British Appeal Court case *Public Prosecutor v Gul*, Appeal judgment, 2012 EWCA Crim 280 UKSC 64; ILDC 2106 (UK 2013), 23 October 2013.

A4 Further, The Court found, in line with the High Court, that FARC and the PFLP had constituted terrorist organizations 'if only because' (paragraph 786) they had committed violent attacks on civilians, with the purpose of 'seriously intimidating a population or to seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures' in Colombia and Israel, respectively, 'and the conducts were in their nature, capable of seriously damaging the countries'. (paragraph 783) It found no reason to go into a deeper assessment on the status of the two organizations. The phrasing 'if only because' could have indicated a restrictive interpretation of the definition of terrorism under Article 114 of the Penal Code in line with the definition under international humanitarian law, since Article 114 of the Penal Code protected *persons* in general, and not just civilians. On the other hand it could have reflected that the Court did not find it necessary to go into a closer examination of the two organizations, as it had already been determined that they fulfilled the criteria of Article 114 of the Penal Code by killing civilians.

A5 The Court did not delve into any greater discussion of the restrictions posed by international humanitarian law. It determined that the organizations were committing terrorist acts, on the basis of their attacks on civilians,

without further considering the existence of an armed conflict and the resulting limitations on domestic prosecution. It could not, therefore, be concluded whether the Court found that non-state actors, who were party to an armed conflict, could not per se have constituted armed forces.

A6 In the assessment of whether the conduct of the PFLP and FARC had been aimed at legitimate states, the Court found that even if Israel was an occupying power, and Colombia had not upheld the rule of law, as argued by the accused, the scale and nature of the conduct - attacks on civilians - together with an overall assessment, led to the application of Article 114 of the Penal Code. (paragraph 786)

Date of Analysis: 09 December 2014

Analysis by: Helene Højfeldt

Further analysis:

Peter Vedel Kessing, 'Økonomisk støtte til terrorvirksomhed' HD af 25 03 2009 (U 2009 1453 H), Juristen (9 July 2009)

Instruments cited in the full text of this decision:

International

Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (12 August 1949) 75 UNTS 287, entered into force 21 October 1950

Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) (8 June 1977) 1125 UNTS 3, entered into force 7 December 1979

International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (9 December 1999), General Assembly resolution 54/109, entered into force 10 April 2002, Article 2

EU Council Framework Decision on combating terrorism (13 June 2002), 2002/475/JHA, entered into force 13 June 2002, Preamble, Article 2

To access full citation information for this document, see the Oxford Law Citator record

Decision - full text

U.2009.1453H

TfK2009.436/1

Conviction for attempts to support groups committing terrorism.

Administration of justice 381.5 — Criminal law 1.1, 25.6, 31.9, 32.1 and 3.4.

1 T1-T6 were charged with attempting to provide support for groups committing terrorism because, through the company of Fighters and Lovers, they were instrumental in selling T-shirts with a view to sending a share of the profits to the organizations FARC and the PFLP. The defendants were all acquitted in the Danish district court but found guilty at the Danish High Court, which sentenced T3 and T6 to six months in prison, while the

remaining defendants were given suspended prison sentences of between 60 days and 4 months. In accordance with the High Court's findings of fact, the Supreme Court argued that FARC and the PFLP have committed serious injustices against the civilian population with the intent of seriously intimidating the population or destabilizing the basic political, constitutional, economic and social structures in Colombia and Israel, respectively, allowing such actions to inflict serious harm to the countries by virtue of their nature. The Supreme Court found that the High Court had rightly attributed FARC's and the PFLP's actions to Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. Before the High Court, T1-T4 and T6 had acknowledged having been instrumental in the production, sale and distribution of T-shirts, the profits from which were to be spent on buying radio equipment for FARC and a printing shop for the PFLP. T5 had made server capacity available, knowing that the aim was to raise money for FARC and the PFLP. In the High Court, T5 was further convicted of having drafted a press release which was omitted from the case before the Supreme Court. In accordance with the High Court's findings of fact, the Supreme Court argued that all the defendants had been aware, or at any rate had considered it highly likely, that FARC and the PFLP perpetrate acts covered by Section 114 or intend to do so. On that basis, the Supreme Court ascribed no importance in terms of the question of guilt to the defendants not having viewed FARC and the PFLP as terrorist organizations. Accordingly, and given that the defendants' objections about the humanitarian purpose of such support and about material atypicality could not lead to impunity, the Supreme Court accepted that the defendants had been found guilty of attempting to violate Section 114b, paragraph 2, of the Danish Penal Code. A claim by T5 to set aside and remit the case was not upheld. The Supreme Court considered the punishments for T1-T4 and T6 to have been determined appropriately, whereas the sentence for T5 was reduced from 4 months to 60 days' imprisonment. Under the present circumstances including some degree of doubt raised by the more specific scope of Section 114 of the Penal Code — the Supreme Court also considered it defensible in the case of T3 and T6 to make the sentence conditional. Subject to these amendments, the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment.[1]

Danish Supreme Court (HD) ruling on 25 March 2009 in case 399/2008 (First Division)

Director of Public Prosecutions, Denmark

2 vs

3 T1-T4 (Thorkild Høyer, counsel, Copenhagen, appointed for everyone)

4 T5 (Henrik Stagetorn, counsel, Copenhagen, appointed)

5 *T6* (Hans Kjellund, counsel, Aarhus, appointed).

District Court of Copenhagen's judgment on 13 December 2007. *Background to the case and the parties' pleas*

6 This case has been heard by voluntary jurors.

7 A bill of indictment was received on 2 May 2007.

8 T1, T2, T5, T3, T7, T6 and T4 are charged with violating

1.

¹ <u>Translator's note</u>: A legal concept apparently peculiar to Danish law. For more detailed explanations, see e.g. <u>https://vbn.aau.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/316440621/PHD Helena Lybaek Gudmundsdottir E PDF.pdf</u>

- **9** Section 114a of the Danish Penal Code, paragraph 2 (now Section 114b of the Penal Code, paragraph 2), cf. Paragraph 21,
- 10 having directly or indirectly attempted during the period 19 January to 20 February 2006 to raise or collect funds for groups perpetrating or intending to perpetrate terrorist acts covered by Section 114, having been instrumental via the company of Fighters and Lovers in selling T-shirts to a total value of no less than DKK 24,982 with a view to sending a portion of the profits equal to DKK 35 per T-shirt sold to the organizations of the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) and FARC (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* [The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia]), which undertaking failed, however, the police having seized said amount on 3 February 2006 while still in the possession of the payment mediator Ewire.
- 11 The Director of Public Prosecution has filed a plea for a term of imprisonment.
- 12 The Director of Public Prosecution has further filed a plea pursuant to Section 75, subs. 2 of the Danish Penal Code, to have the seized amount of DKK 24,982, eight Fighters and Lovers-T-shirts and the website www.fightersandlovers.com confiscated from the defendants.
- 13 T1, T2, T3, T6 and T4 have pleaded not guilty but do admit to having collected money for the organizations, though they do refute that the organizations are terrorist organizations. Furthermore, said support was supposed to have been used for humanitarian purposes.
- **14** T7 has pleaded not guilty, since he only had some wallcharts hanging up on his hotdog stand, but he has not been involved in the production, sale or distribution of T-shirts.
- 15 T5 has pleaded not guilty, as he has not been involved in the production, sale or distribution or anything else, including facilitation. He merely made server capacity available, and this activity is non-punishable, cf. Sections 14 and 16 of the Danish Act on Services in the Information Society.

Introduction

- 16 In spring 2006, T-shirts were offered for sale through the website www.fightersandlovers.com, stating that the profits were to go to the organizations PFLP and FARC for humanitarian purposes. T-shirts were sold for about a month. The profits from this were subsequently confiscated by the police before they had been sent off.
- 17 In connection with sales, the press was repeatedly approached and some of the defendants took part in a press meeting at TV2-Lorry, a regional TV station in Denmark.
- 18 As a result of the defendants' stance concerning the charge, the production of evidence has revolved mainly around the question of whether the PFLP and FARC's actions and activities were covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code and, if so, whether those actions and activities were undertaken for the purposes set out in the provision (terrorist intent).
- 19 During the case a certain amount of written material has been presented in the form of press cuttings, judgments, reports from international organizations and so on. The material has largely been used as the basis for questioning the witnesses. It has not, therefore, been reproduced in the judgment.

Statements

20 Statements have been made by the defendants.

- 21 The Director of Public Prosecution has called the following expert witnesses: Reuven Paz, Angel Rabasa and an analyst from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis, whose identity has been protected.
- 22 The counsels for the defence have called the following expert witnesses: deputy chairman of the Latin American Parliament Amilcar J. Figueroa, Ilan Pape, University of Exeter, UK, and the journalists Niels Lindvig and Ole Sippel.
- 23 Defendant T6 explained that he was one of the initiative-takers behind Fighters & Lovers. The idea came about after 11 September 2001, when a new world map was created in the USA, indicating countries that were set to be attacked by the USA. This was discussed in the circles he moved in, where the new legislation on terrorist activity was also discussed, just as this legislation has also been the subject of discussion in legal milieux.
- 24 He knows T3 from having played in the same football club. He was aware that T3 had made an arrangement on this subject. T6 and T3 discussed what they could do. The defendant was aware that there was a large group of people who were worried about the new, more rigorous legislation on terrorism. Both the legislation and the Danish Minister of Justice were becoming more and more aggressive during that period. The Danish Employers' Confederation submitted protests to the *Folketing*, the Danish Parliament, just as IT organizations also submitted objections to the *Folketing* to the effect that the legislation was progressing too fast in this field. This went unheeded, however.
- 25 For a number of years, he had been making T-shirts in other contexts, so the idea of making T-shirts was not new to him. The defendant financed the T-shirts from his own pocket. He was earning about DKK 17,000 a month after tax. The money was soon recouped from the sales.
- **26** As regards the organizations, T6 explained that he also suggested Polisario originally for PR reasons, but they agreed on the PFLP and FARC.
- 27 As regards the PFLP, T6 explained that the organization is generally recognized in Palestine. He wanted the PFLP for personal reasons, having supported the organization for decades. He has worked in Israel and has many Jewish friends. Post 11 September 2001 the conflict between Israel and Palestine has escalated.
- 28 As regards FARC, T6 explained that the Colombian regime is certainly the craziest one to exist in the world today. The defendant is (a) —, and currently most are killed in Colombia as compared with the rest of the world. In Colombia many legal experts are killed too, and the country appears to be very brutal. Colombia is the last country the USA has any control over.
- 29 They were keen to create a focus around these things and to cause Lene Espersen [the former Danish Minister of Justice] to go ballistic, and therefore chose two organizations that were on the EU's terrorist list. They do not support everything the chosen organizations do. He knew full well that the organizations were on the terrorist lists, but he is not happy with the way in which the terrorist lists come about. After 11 September the USA gave their list to the EU and asked for those listed to be admitted to the terrorist list.
- **30** They took precautionary measures with the website, stipulating that people have to be 18 or above to buy T-shirts, stating that this might cause legal issues. This was just to err completely on the side of caution.

- **31** The defendant's perception of terror is direct attacks on civilian targets. The killing of 34 coca pickers in Colombia, in the defendant's view, is also an act of terrorism, but he does not trust information coming out of the USA.
- 32 The defendant does not think the PFLP is only a good organization. It quite obviously makes mistakes as well. There are only very few examples of the PFLP having attacked civilian targets using suicide bombers. The organization attacks military targets only. The actual PFLP has distanced itself from the example of the 16-year-old suicide bomber, and the suicide bomber had not been sent out by the PFLP. He does not consider it correct that the PFLP carries out suicide bombings.
- 33 Confronted with his statement for the police report, T6 explained that he cannot remember what he replied to the police as to whether he had borrowed the money from VS, but he can remember being asked about this and stating that he himself was a member of VS. VS had no money with which to fund the project.
- 34 The defendant has been doing solidarity work for a number of years. Amongst other things, he has been supporting a printing shop in Poland. He was involved in smuggling a printing shop into the country. This smuggling took place via Gdansk, stripping the printing shop machinery down into small parts. He has also been involved in setting up a printing shop at Riga University supported with EU money. It was a case of out-and-out corruption, and he no longer wishes to have any part in it. He has training within the printing industry. He did not print the T-shirts himself. These were ordered from another printing shop as a standard order. There were no plans for the transfer of the money.
- 35 They wanted to support a printing shop in Palestine and a radio in Colombia. They considered going to Bethlehem and handing over a printing shop to a Christian leader in Bethlehem. They had not determined exactly how this was to be done.
- **36** T6 regards neither the PFLP nor FARC as terrorist organizations. On a day-to-day basis he works as a and has his own printing shop, where he prints books and magazines. Over the years he has been in charge of printing T-shirts with political slogans. It was only natural, therefore, to print T-shirts for the PFLP and FARC.
- **37** The defendant met co-defendant T1 at a lecture she held on children and conditions in Palestine. They later met up at a pub and conversed.
- **38** He met up with co-defendant T7 in the street and chatted to him "over a hot-dog". He asked if he could hang a poster up. They have known each other for many years.
- **39** Co-defendant T5 has been a political friend for 30 years. He was not mixed up in it from the beginning. The defendant contacted T5 about the server. It was the defendant himself who created the website, and T5 put the website onto his server.
- 40 The defendant cannot remember how the contact with co-defendants T2 and T4 was made.
- 41 It costs about DKK 70 to print a T-shirt. The T-shirts were very good quality and rather special T-shirts. The defendant is not familiar with the exact price mark-up on the T-shirts. They were sold for DKK 200 per item. They wanted to pass on DKK 35 to the organizations, and there was also outlay on other costs in addition to the "bare production". Some 300 T-shirts were sold, but he does not know the exact figure. T-shirts were sold all over the world.

- 42 Those who knew most about Colombia said that a radio station would be the right thing. The radio station is easier to make in a jungle and better for communicating through than a printing shop. The defendant fancied the idea of establishing a printing shop in Colombia, but it is challenging. It was easier to establish a printing shop in Palestine, since conditions there are more orderly.
- **43** Recent years have seen the world situation grow worse. There needed to be scope for increased dialogue and communication, since violence is not the answer.
- 44 The defendant explained that the organizations also make mistakes, partly due to the situations they find themselves in, including with malnourished children etc. The PFLP is the most dangerous organization for Israel. The organization is under attack from HAMAS and Israel. The PFLP is a non-religious organization.
- **45** The ANC was less nice than the PFLP is nowadays. The ANC did things that were not OK. He would never condone everything the ANC did back then.
- **46** The defendant explained that the defendants pulled no punches. They made a website clearly showing the point of the collection.
- 47 Defendant T1 has explained that she met T6 in the autumn of 2006 at —. She used to work doing solidarity work, amongst other things in aid of Palestine. T6 asked whether she would help doing PR work, including speaking to the media etc. As far as she recalls, they agreed that neither the PFLP nor FARC were terrorist organizations. She met the other defendants later on. The defendant knows co-defendant T3 under the name T3, not under the name —. She met co-defendant T7 later. Her work consisted of contacting the press and generating debate. She saw the website when it was finished, and she was aware that it was possible that legal problems might arise in connection with the purchase and sale of the T-shirts. She knew that the website showed that VS supported the project. She herself had nothing to do with the funding but supposes that the cost did not involve any major outlay.
- 48 The defendant's view of the organizations is that they are not terrorist organizations, partly because they both operate a number of social projects. She realized that radio equipment was going to be bought for Colombia and printing shop equipment for Palestine. She did not for a moment consider that their support would enable the two organizations to spend their own funds on armed conflict.
- **49** The defendant defines terrorism as psychological pressure and violence consciously aimed at civilian targets. Suicide bombs are not relevant in this context. Kidnappings must be seen in context. They can be relevant in a situation.
- 50 The defendant explained that she is studying to be a teacher and is working in —.
- **51** She does not think the PFLP is a terrorist organization, but the Palestinians are subject to daily acts of terror, including in the form of restrictions on their freedom of movement, partly owing to infrastructure, schools etc. The PFLP works within the democratic system.
- **52** As regards "on the street", the defendant explained that she took part in [the TV programme] Lorry in January 2006. She cannot remember what she talked about specifically, but it was an interview with a presenter, and this was part of her PR work.
- **53** The defendant realized it involved support for a radio station for FARC and a printing shop for the PFLP. The idea was to invest in some equipment. They were stopped early on in the process.

- **54** *Defendant T3* explained that his "artiste's name" is—. He is a journalist, and it is not unusual to use an artiste's name for the sake of one's sources' safety. In 1999 he was involved in compiling a TV programme about Colombia, called "— ". It is about opposition parties, trade-union organizations and priests etc., as they are attacked by death patrols that do the dirty work of killing them. In this connection, for the sake of his colleagues in Colombia, he did not want to allow his name to be googled together with theirs, so he used the name —.
- 55 In connection with the searches, he did not wish to comment, as he did not have a lawyer. He did not want to comment before he had spoken to a lawyer, not having tried anything like this before.
- 56 He is a member of the Danish Union of Journalists, where he was co-organizer of a conference at which some of the speakers aroused his interest in the new terrorism legislation. One of the speakers was the late Anna Politkovskaya. A hard-hitting warning was sounded at the conference against curtailing civil liberties in order to defend democracy. The defendant's view is that the point is to generate communication and dialogue in order to solve the problems. The defendant feels that, as a journalist, he has a responsibility to ensure communication and dialogue.
- 57 In connection with the work on the documentary film, the Danish government sent a delegate to FARC. The defendant went along to cover the event. That was in June 2000. It made a great impression on the defendant that the Colombian government uses terrorism against its own people, including Colombia being convicted at least six times at international courts of violating its own people, priests, elected politicians, trade-unionists and people who spent legal funds on fighting the illegal assaults made by the Colombian state. These groups of people are being attacked by Colombian death patrols. As a last resort, these groups have opted to join the FARC movement. There is no precise description of what is legitimate freedom fighting and what is terrorism.
- 58 The defendant has played football with co-defendant T6. T6 said they ought to make something of this. T6 suggested that they make T-shirts and generate debate. The defendant realized it was T6 who was funding the printing of the T-shirts. The defendant was not involved in the funding himself but did buy 2–3 T-shirts himself. His role was PR. He was supposed to use good, sensible ways of getting the message across. He was involved in creating the website. They did not want children buying T-shirts on their parents' credit cards, so they formulated the proviso that people had to be 18 years of age to buy a T-shirt. The defendant does not think there is anything illegal about the purchase of T-shirts. The website addressed the entire world, and they planned to make people from, amongst others, the USA and other countries aware that there could be legal problems with the EU's terrorist list. The defendant is not familiar with other countries' legislation, and the statement is aimed at all customers, as it is not possible to see whether customers are in Slagelse (Denmark) or New York.
- **59** He has also worked in Palestine. Amongst other things he has been given information by a Jewish Israeli soldier who aroused his interest in finding a possible non-religious solution to the problem in the area. The PFLP is a legal political party that is not religious.
- **60** Terrorism, for the defendant, spells cruel violence towards innocent people with political objectives. The innocent are those who have nothing to do with the cause. Terror is the strategy of fear largely used by the Colombian government and in the case of Israel's selective liquidations of particular individuals.
- **61** Civilian losses in the PFLP's struggle are the unfortunate corollary of war, sadly. The PFLP is not a terrorist organization, and he condemns any attack on civilians. He does not acknowledge that the PFLP uses suicide bombers.

- 62 He was in Colombia in 2000 in relation to the peace talks between the Colombian government and FARC. The guerrilla organization FARC is a non-violent guerrilla movement and during periods of ceasefire has been in negotiations with the government, with the UN also participating as mediators. A "group of friends" also took part, consisting of other countries, including Sweden and Switzerland, as facilitators in the negotiations between FARC and the Colombian government.
- 63 Mistakes always occur in connection with conflicts between FARC and the government. FARC has not committed any deliberate mistakes, but during fights between FARC and government patrols and death patrols in a particular situation when the death patrols took an entire town prisoner, it did fire shots at the wall of people forming a human shield, and approx. 100 people were killed. He remembers kidnappings of people who FARC thought of as moles in the organization. He does not support kidnappings, but they must be seen in context. As regards FARC's drug trading, the defendant explained that FARC protects coca farmers, who have no other means of earning money. The defendant does not support the drug trade.
- **64** The name Fighters & Lovers came about because the defendants appreciate our political freedoms and our democracy.
- **65** The company is a so-called "paper company". It is a very small company. The PC was located behind the printing machine. The defendant had sometimes checked e-mails about the sale of T-shirts.
- **66** As regards the printing of posters, posters were a good way of conveying the message in PR terms. And it fit in with their philosophy of communication. Posters are also widely used in Palestine and elsewhere.
- **67** *Defendant T5* explained that he joined in the solidarity work in the 1980s, when the population of El Salvador was being massacred. He joined a political youth association in aid of human rights, human rights and guerrilla organizations and similar groups in Central America. The Copenhagen Police had previously granted permission for collections for the PFLP and FARC in the 1980s.
- 68 He found himself working alongside defendant T6 after he had signed up with VS at the end of the 1980s. He has only been asked to host the website for Fighters & Lovers, which he knew would be collecting funds for FARC and the PFLP. In the defendant's view these organizations are not terrorist organizations but freedom-fighting organizations, and the defendant therefore had no problem with them. He made server capacity available for Fighters & Lovers. He did not study the content of the websites in any more detail, but he was aware that it concerned sales of T-shirts to support FARC and the PFLP.
- 69 In August 2001 the Israeli security cabinet decided to liquidate the chairman of the PFLP. Two months later the PFLP liquidated Israel's minister of tourism. So it is possible that the PFLP made it onto the EU's terrorist list, and that is the list closest to home in Denmark, as Denmark does not have a terrorist list of its own. The organizations do not figure on the UN's terrorist list nor on the English list. The two organizations only figure on the EU's terrorist list, and the defendant was well aware of that. The PFLP does not regard Israel as a constitutional state. The PFLP subsequently found itself in a weakened position. A suicide attack was carried out, which the PFLP dissociates itself from.
- 70 War has been going on in Colombia for 60 years. A culture of violence has been created that does not exist in other countries. Power is held by one, then the other, in turns. FARC was one of the organizations that opposes the state. During the 1980s it defined a peace process and founded a party that stood for elections. However, it was opposed by the drug traffickers and the estate owners, who all went on murdering sprees in the period that ensued. The late 1990s saw the advent of new negotiations, but the peace process broke down.

71 The PFLP was formed in 1967, when Israel was waging war against its neighbours, and when the Arab countries were in no position to help. Organizations that were also in the PLO admitted that terrorism and skyjackings were not furthering their cause. Since then, and now too, political organizations are the ones working for the Palestinian cause. The PLO was recognized as an organization and non-terrorist organization in the 1980s, amongst other things under the Oslo Agreement.

72 The peace agreement was followed by the massacre in Hebron, followed by 14 years of terrorism and counter-terrorism. Palestinian suicide actions cannot be equated with the PFLP. 2000 saw the PLO gain the right to restore its headquarters in Ramallah.

73 Israel's government executes precision murders, amongst other things liquidating the PFLP's chairman in Ramallah. This action was criticized by most of the world, including the USA's foreign minister (Secretary of State).

74 Members of the PFLP subsequently killed the Israeli minister of tourism, and this action is presumably what led to the PFLP being added to the terrorist list. According to the defendant, it is not a case of terrorism, but liquidations and counter-liquidations. The PFLP takes part in ordinary popularly elected political work.

75 As regards FARC, the defendant explained that power in Colombia was divided between two parties that alternated in power. Repression of the population took place. FARC was set up in the 1970s, when there was wide-scale repression of the population. The creation of FARC and other organizations meant that the Colombian government had no choice but to enter into dialogue with the organizations. FARC set up a political party, the "UP". Many of UP's members were killed through the 1980s, and it was therefore not possible to work via the political forum in Colombia. FARC subsequently resumed the armed wars, and a peace agreement and dialogue between FARC and the government were subsequently resumed. There are estate owners in Colombia who have no interest in seeing peace between the government and FARC, since the war between these parties fuels the estate owners' cocaine production. The government in Colombia widely violates human rights. The government accounts for 90% of the human rights breaches in Colombia, the remaining 10% having been committed by freedom-fighting organizations, including FARC. The baddy in Colombia is the government. Colombia is not a constitutional state, and it is therefore not possible for the people to be taken to court. The guilty are not brought to justice.

76 The defendant explained that FARC makes mistakes, because as soon as people are given a weapon you run the risk of a mistake. The defendant compares FARC with the liberation movement during the Second World War.

77 For him, terrorism is the violation of human rights, particularly violations committed by the governments of Israel and Colombia inter alia. The defendant believes it is terrorism when the government puts the population in a situation where they have to flee.

78 The defendant stated that the UN does not have a definition of terrorism. He thinks the terrorism legislation in Denmark is fuzzy and lacks a precise definition of terrorism as well. The defendant is reluctant to suggest his own version of terrorism when no other organizations can find a precise definition for it.

79 The defendant's own understanding of terrorism is assaults on civilians, including bombings in Afghanistan that miss their targets and strike civilian targets.

80 The defendant was not familiar with the form of support provided to FARC and the PFLP. He was not familiar with the printing shop or the radio station.

- **81** The defendant was familiar with the comment on the Fighters & Lovers website that people buying T-shirts might experience legal issues.
- **82** The defendant has not been involved in the production, sale or distribution of T-shirts. He had not been given a T-shirt himself. The defendant just hosted the website on his server.
- 83 The defendant did not receive payment or wages for his work. The defendant is a civil engineer and works in the IT sector. The server is at his home. He worked for a couple of hours on the server, which broke down on a single night, and otherwise only uploaded it onto the server.
- **84** *Defendant T7* explained that he has a hotdog stand. T6, whom he has known for some time from his tradeunion work, dropped by one day, asking whether he would make space available for a poster for T-shirts. The posters hung there for about one week, while the press was interested. After that the posters were left lying in the hotdog stand.
- **85** At a press meeting he was given the title "showroom manager", a title probably devised for the occasion. He does not know the other co-defendants.
- **86** As regards the T-shirts, he was told they were being sold as part of a solidarity work project in support of the PFLP and FARC. The defendant knew these organizations were on the EU's terrorist list. The defendant has not had any T-shirts in his hotdog stand, and he has not sold T-shirts from it. He only had his own T-shirt, which he was wearing when pictures were going to be taken. He referred to the website, which was also mentioned on the posters. He read on the website that there might be legal issues.
- **87** The defendant considers terrorism to be an assault on ordinary people. It is a disgrace, and he hates it. The defendant is not particularly political. He displays great solidarity with the oppressed and thinks that the organizations are freedom fighters rather than terrorists. He has given interviews to the Danish newspaper *Politiken*, amongst others, concerning his involvement in the cause.
- **88** *Defendant T4* explained that she packed the T-shirts. T3 asked whether she would do some hands-on work in connection with the cause. She knew him from parties and demonstrations etc. She wanted to support the cause, the point of which was to collect for support to set up a radio station and a printing shop. She received no payment and had nothing to do with the funding side of things.
- **89** Her work consisted of putting T-shirts into envelopes at T6's printing shop and addressing and despatching the envelopes. She may have despatched 100 or so T-shirts. She would work in the evenings and did so for about one month.
- 90 She met some of the co-defendants at the time she was packing the T-shirts.
- **91** She realized that the PFLP and FARC were on the terrorist lists, but she views the organizations as freedom movements.
- 92 The defendant explained that, for her, terrorism is pointless assaults on blameless civilians, including assaults on students in Colombia.
- 93 The defendant explained that at the time she worked in a creche as a remedial teacher for a child. She is now studying social science at —.

94 The defendant explained that they ran out of T-shirts at one point, as large batches were sometimes sent out.

95 Defendant T2 explained that she packed T-shirts. T3 asked whether she would do some hands-on work in connection with this project. T3 explained to her what the project was about, including selling T-shirts, and said the money would be going to the PFLP and FARC. She had no problem with the money going to the PFLP and FARC. She knew that the organizations were on the EU's terrorist list, but she disagrees, and the list has no legitimacy, and people should not be scared by the fact that they are on such a political list. She had kept abreast of the possible criminalization of solidarity work, and she realized it might cause problems. She knew nothing about the funding of the project.

96 She was in the printing shop when she was packing. She was not in the packing section together with T4. She could not remember how many T-shirts she had packed.

97 For her, terrorism is deliberately targeting civilians and killing civilians with a political objective. It is important to stress that terror is worse when states are the ones doing it as part of a political strategy, as in Colombia, and governments are displacing populations from entire regions.

98 The defendant agrees that the PFLP and FARC are part of the occupation and the civil war, respectively, and this gives rise to losses and mistakes on both sides. There can be civilian victims, but the organizations have a conscious strategy of not wishing to have such victims.

99 The witness Reuven Paz, PRISM, Israel, produced the written statement below in court and answered additional questions in court. The written statement reads as follows:

"History

100 The PFLP was founded on 11 December 1967 by three minor Arab Palestinian groups made up chiefly of nationalists and Marxist academics and intellectuals. During the 1950s and 1960s they were engaged in supporting the anti-colonialist fight in the Arab world, such as in Aden and Algeria, and were influenced by other similar battles in other areas of the world.

Many of them belonged to an anti-colonialist organization of the Arab nationalists (Al-Qawmiyyun al-Arab), the focus of which was directed more towards an Arab revolution than on Palestine. Some of them were influenced by the then Egyptian president Gamal abd al-Naser's national socialism. The two founders of the PFLP were Dr George Habash, who was the political and ideological leader, and Dr Wadi` Haddad, who was an expert on actions.

101 The leaders of these groups did not feel at home in the PLO, then a newly formed organization, or within the ranks of Fatah, owing to their socialist and Marxist view of the world. In 1968 the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP), a group led by Dr Naef Hawatmeh, was formed following a schism in the PFLP, which would later align more closely with the Soviet Union. In 1969 another schism occurred when a smallish group led by Ahmad Jibril founded PFLP General Command (PFLP-GC). All these schisms happened as a result of both personal and ideological differences of opinion. However, they were all in agreement on the use of terrorism/armed conflict against Israel and Arab governments as part of the revolutionary anti-colonialist struggle.

102 In 1970, as a result of a violent conflict with the Jordanian authorities, the PFLP moved to Lebanon together with all the other Palestinian groups and the PLO. In that period, when the PFLP had already been involved in

international terrorism, the organization affiliated actively with the PLO under the leadership of Yaser Arafat. The organization's main base was in Beirut in Lebanon, and it had two training camps in Syria and Lebanon, which it opened up to international terrorist groups such as the German Red Army Fraction (the Bader-Meinhoff Group or Gang), the Japanese organization JRA (Japanese Red Army), the Irish IRA, the Kurdish PKK and other Marxist revolutionary terrorist groups. During this period the PFLP had expanded its international connections with kindred groups in Southeast Asia, Cuba and Latin America.

103 In 1976 Wadi` Haddad left the PFLP with a small group of its members due to a conflict with George Habash over the group's plane hijacking policy and blowing-up of aircraft as well as its continued engagement in international terrorism.

104 As a result of this fresh schism, the PFLP cut back its commitment to international terrorism and focused on terrorism against Israel in the occupied areas and Israel itself. The PFLP also strengthened its relations with Syria and relocated part of its headquarters to Damascus.

105 In 1983, after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the expulsion of the PLO from Lebanon, the PFLP's main activity moved to Syria, and its terrorist activity against Israel was masterminded from there. While the PLO's headquarters and Fatah's centre moved to Tunisia and underwent a transformation process in terms of its policy, with increased focus on the political struggle, the PFLP and other Palestinian groups stayed in Damascus, lodged protests against any political compromise and formed the Rejection Front under Syrian auspices, which focused on continued terrorism.

106 The slow but continued change in Fatah leadership during the second half of the 1980s, which led to the Oslo Agreement between Israel and the PLO in 1993 and the introduction of PA—the Palestinian Authority—in 1994, the PFLP and its allies encouraged opposition to any and every political change of policy regarding the continuation of armed fighting, under Syrian auspices. The break-up of the Soviet Union, the great decline in support for Arab socialism, and the introduction of Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank and in Gaza caused the PFLP to place the main emphasis on Palestinian self-rule and integrate the many self-rule activities in order not to lose what remained of the organization's declining support among the population.

107 In May 2000 George Habash retired from his post as secretary-general for health reasons and was succeeded by Abu Ali Mustafa, who lived on the West Bank. This not only represented a change of incumbent but also reflected the organization's focus during the 1990s on Palestinian self-government activities. Abu Ali Mustafa was killed by Israel in August 2001 and replaced by Ahmed Saadat, who is now imprisoned by Israel.

108 Although the PFLP still makes up part of the Rejection Front and continues its terrorist actions, recent years have seen a gradual softening of the organization's attitudes in the form of approval of a two-state solution for Palestine and thus indirect recognition of Israel. Nevertheless, in recent years the group has played a marginal role in the Palestinian arena, and its ability to influence Palestinian public opinion is minimal. Much of its appeal in fields of social activity and its struggle for democracy and human rights was outpaced by the impressive growth of Islamic elements in Palestinian society.

The group's ideology and the nature of its political convictions and activities

109 Ideologically, the PFLP arose as a revolutionary Marxist group, combining Palestinian nationalism with a focus on the working class. Its declared objective is to "liberate the whole of Palestine through armed fighting in order to usher in a Palestinian socialist and democratic state". Unlike other Palestinian groups, the PFLP does not regard the fight against Israel as a religious or national fight, but as an integral part of a wider revolution against "Western imperialism".

- 110 The PFLP considers the elimination of the state of Israel to be a means of ousting imperialism from the Middle East and eliminating Arab regimes regarded as being "dictatorial bourgeois regimes that submit to Western capitalism". The organization also looks favourably upon the collapse of royal conservative regimes, therefore, as in Morocco, Jordan or Saudi Arabia.
- 111 Until the year 2000, the PFLP rejected any two-state solution for Palestine. In recent years the group has approved this solution and even possible negotiations with Israel, but it still advocates armed combat against the Israeli occupation, including terrorist actions against civilians.
- 112 The PFLP was founded by highly educated people and intellectuals, and together with the former Palestinian Communist Party now the People's Party was made up of many Palestinian Christians. Its liberal Marxist conviction also made it possible for more women to join the organization. Its ideology and make-up put pressure on it to deal primarily with certain social areas of Palestinian society, namely students and young people, women, the hospital service and education. Its stronghold has traditionally been found among the elite in the urban areas of Gaza, Nablus, Ramallah and Bethlehem.
- 113 Until the mid-1990s, when Palestinian self-rule was introduced and there was no state government, the PFLP was reasonably active within the social areas mentioned above. The job of encouraging people to build a foundation for a civil society through social NGOs was left to Marxist and socialist groups. However, the rapid growth of the Islamic Hamas movement, which built a huge social infrastructure, on the one hand and the foundation for Palestinian self-government as a kind of independent state on the other resulted in the marginalization of such social activities for groups like the PFLP. The organization also reduced the number of operators, members and sympathizers, and unlike other large groups such as Hamas or Fatah, not to mention the actual Palestinian Authority, it lacks sufficient economic funds. The group also lost many of its ideological unique traits in the Palestinian arena and has consequently lost its appeal too. Much of its economic support comes from donations from outside the Palestinian Authority through many of its civic and social associations. It therefore has to fund its terrorist activity with some of the funds that have been donated for its social activities. As far as we know, the PFLP, unlike other Palestinian groups, is not financed by any Arab states or foreign Arab movements, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia or the Lebanese Hezbollah movement.

Terrorism

- 114 Since the early days of the group's activity, the PFLP has adopted a strategy of spectacular terrorist actions that would attract the attention of the world press and cause the Palestinian question to stir up large parts of the international public debate. Such actions included skyjackings and the use of central locations or events.
- 115 The major terrorist actions spearheaded by the PFLP include:
 - November 1968 the first skyjacking in general, and of an Israeli plane in particular. The PFLP hijacked an El Al aircraft on its way from Rome to Tel Aviv and forced it to land in Algeria. 32 Israeli passengers were held hostage in Algeria for 39 days.
 - December 1968 an El Al plane was attacked and came under fire at Athens Airport. One passenger was killed and another wounded.
 - 21 February 1970 a Swissair plane was blown up in the air en route from Zurich to Tel Aviv. 47 passengers were killed, 15 of whom were Israelis.

- 6 September 1970 two planes from Swissair and TWA were hijacked on their way from Europe to the Middle East and forced to land in Jordan. Six days later a BOAC plane was also hijacked and landed in Jordan. The passengers aboard the three planes were held hostage. A fourth attempt to hijack an El Al aircraft backfired owing to the successful efforts of the pilots and cabin staff. Following lengthy negotiations with the Jordanian authorities, the hostages were released, but the three planes were burned and destroyed. The action led to a large-scale attack against the PLO by the Jordanian army, ending with PLO being banished from Jordan to Lebanon during what, according to the Palestinian history books, is known as "Black September".
- 30 May 1972 Three armed Japanese terrorists from the JRA who had been trained and sent from Lebanon by the PFLP arrived at Ben Gurion Airport aboard an aircraft and opened fire on passengers. 24 were killed and 71 wounded. Two of the terrorists were killed and one arrested.
- 27 June 1976 Two PFLP terrorists and two Germans from the Red Army Fraction hijacked an Air France plane travelling from Tel Aviv to Paris after a stopover in Athens and forced it to land in Entebbe in Uganda. In Entebbe four Palestinian PFLP members joined the hijackers. The terrorists held 105 Jewish and Israeli passengers hostage and released the rest. For a week or so there were negotiations, during which the organization demanded the release of 40 Palestinian prisoners from Israeli prisons, six terrorists imprisoned in Kenya, five in Germany, one in Switzerland and one in France. After one week an Israeli military unit succeeded in releasing the passengers and killing the terrorists. An Israeli commander-in-chief was killed and an elderly Israeli woman who had been admitted to a local hospital was murdered on the orders of the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. Dr Wadi` Haddad had taken the initiative for the action, which generated a hefty debate within the group internally, subsequently leading to a split. This was the last terrorist action on the PFLP's part to target air traffic.
- 7 April 1980 five PFLP terrorists crossed the Israeli-Lebanese border and penetrated the Israeli kibbutz Misgav-Am, besieging the children's dormitory. They managed to kill an adult and a baby before an Israeli army unit succeeded in killing them [the terrorists].
- 17 October 2001 a PFLP group murdered the Israeli minister of tourism, Rehav'am Zeevi, at a hotel in Jerusalem by way of revenge for the killing of the organization's secretary-general, Abu Ali Mustafa. This was the first terrorist action against an Israeli figure in Israel.
- 20 May 2002 a 17-year-old member of the organization from Nablus opened fire on civilians at the central market in Netanya. Two Israelis were killed and five wounded. The terrorist was killed by a policeman.
- April 2005 when questioned, four members of the PFLP admitted that they had planned to kill Ovadia Yosef, one of Israel's top rabbis.

Suicide actions

116 During the "second" Palestinian intifada in 2000 the PFLP carried out five suicide actions, some against innocent civilians, including:

17 October 2001 — a 25-year-old person residing in Gaza crossed the border to carry out a suicide action in Israel. On the way, he came across a military patrol and blew himself up, injuring two soldiers.

- 16 February 2002 a person residing in Qalqilya blew him/herself² up in a shopping centre in the Jewish town of Qarnei Shomron on the West Bank. No casualties.
- 27 November 2002 a Gaza member of the organization blew his/her¹ car up in the vicinity of a military camp in Beit Hanoun in Gaza. No casualties.
- 25 December 2003 an 18-year-old member from Beit Fouriq in Nablus blew him/herself up at a bus terminal in Petach Tiqva, killing four civilians and injuring 16.
- 1 November 2004 a 16-year-old member from the refugee camp in Askar near Nablus blew him/herself up at a central market in Tel Aviv, killing three civilians and injuring 34.

Rockets

117 In the past two years, including recently, the PFLP has chiefly deployed rocket and mortar attacks from Gaza against Israeli cities, towns and villages in the vicinity of the Gaza Strip. In most cases the firing is done by other groups, since the PFLP cannot afford to buy or build rockets but can contribute only manpower. In 2007, however, the organization took part in many of these attacks, sometimes lasting several days in a row.

Conclusion

118 The PFLP is a terrorist group, despite having softened its formerly hard line and attitudes in recent years as a result of its weakness and having declined in terms of its attraction and popularity among the Palestinians. It is still a part of the Palestinian Rejection Front, which is controlled by the Syrian government, and advocates continued armed fighting. The organization's social and educational activity is conducted not only on a humanitarian basis but is also part of an attempt to further its goals and promote its appeal to the public."

119 During the court hearing Reuven Paz stated that he has been dealing with nearly all aspects of relations between the Arab populations, Israel and the Palestinians for 30-35 years. He has worked in Israel's security service for 23 years. For 17 of these he was employed "in the field". For 3 years he has been manager of a company in Israel that deals with anti-terrorism. Since 2002/03 he has been working at an academic institute, which sometimes carries out consultancy assignments for the American and British governments.

120 The PFLP has assumed responsibility for the kidnappings and skyjackings that took place up to 1977. As regards the actions undertaken within recent years, which he mentioned in his pleadings, the PFLP has also assumed responsibility for these according to their website. Most members and sympathizers are familiar to the public, and when they perform an action they do a great deal to publicize who is responsible, owing to the fierce competition that exists with other groups, and as part of their indoctrination of the Palestinian people. In the past 20 years the group has fought against Israel, but it is still mostly a terrorist organization. There are a number of senior members who have dissociated themselves from suicide bombs, but he has not seen this in writing. The organization has changed its view over the years and has now accepted a two-state solution according to statements given by elderly leaders. However, that has not affected the continued terrorist activity against civilian Israelis, amongst others. First and foremost, however, the shift is down to the weakening of the organization that has taken place.

² <u>Translator's note</u>: In Danish, it is not always possible to tell the gender of a person from the pronoun or the possessive pronoun. I have therefore

indicated this where the source text is ambiguous.

- 121 Everything Israel has attempted in recent years is a result of the great changes there have been in its attitude, including the acceptance of a Palestinian state. The PFLP takes part in daily attacks on the Israeli civilian population, which can do nothing but defend itself.
- 122 In recent years he has seen no opposition to Israel's actions at the UN, apart from one instance. The UN is working to achieve a political solution. Everything Israel has undertaken over the past 15 years has been "placed under a microscope".
- 123 The PFLP also performs humanitarian work, but there has been a fall-off in activity in recent years due to the group's lack of funds. The humanitarian tasks are performed in order to gain support for the organization.
- **124** *Angel Rabasa* gave the following written statement in court and answered additional questions. The written statement reads thus:

"Background

- 125 (FARC) The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia was founded in the 1960s for the purpose of overthrowing the Colombian government and forming a Marxist-Leninist state. It operated on the marginal fringes of the Colombian countryside and pursued a strategy of popular warfare. In the 1980s FARC established a link to the illegal drugs trade, primarily cocaine. The revenue from drug trafficking enabled FARC to grow quickly and ramp up the group's activities. At the top of the organization there is a secretariat managed by Manuel Marulanda, aka "Tirofijo" [Spanish for sniper or marksman]. FARC is estimated to have between 9,000 and 15,000 fighters. Many of these fighters are minors. The Colombian government's Family Welfare Institute estimates that at least 30 percent of FARC's fighters are under the age of 18.
- 126 FARC's forces are divided into seven geographical blocks; under these blocks there are some 70 fronts varying in strength in relation to their number. As well as these fronts, which cover a geographically defined area of responsibility, there are various mobile columns, the most powerful and notorious of which is the mobile column Teófilo Forero, which is responsible for a disproportionately large number of kidnappings and liquidations.
- 127 Over the years FARC has developed an extensive infrastructure, making it possible for the group to convey drugs, weapons, supplies and members across Colombia's porous borders and exploit the peace negotiations with the Colombian government between 1998 and 2002 to form an operational centre in a "demilitarized zone" in the south-central part of Colombia. Although the top of the group, the Secretariat, does stick to the group's political aims in my opinion, its involvement in drug smuggling and other criminal activity has inevitably had an effect, and the motivation of those lower down the chain of command may reflect a mixture of political and criminal objectives.
- 128 During the past five years, following the election of Alvaro Uribe as president in 2002, both national and global environments have grown more hostile towards FARC. President Uribe's government implemented a more aggressive anti-revolt strategy democratic defence and its security policy as well as its military plan, Plan Patriota which seeks to enhance the state's presence throughout the country and protect the population. The Uribe government's plan has made great progress in the form of reducing the scale of FARC activities, and it has made it harder for the group to operate with the same degree of freedom it once enjoyed. As a result, some of the activities, which I shall describe shortly including kidnappings, liquidations, bombings and attacks on the infrastructure have diminished in recent years.

Kidnappings

- 129 The Dutch group within the Catholic human rights organization Pax Christi, Pax Christi Netherlands, which has headed an international campaign against kidnappings in Colombia, describes kidnappings as a form of terrorism. In several instances FARC has masterminded and overseen many kidnappings. There are two kinds of kidnappings:
 - 1. Political kidnappings or the threat of such kidnappings, intended to instil fear and intimidate, force people to cooperate with FARC or even allow FARC to take de facto control of local-government areas ('municipalities'), deter people from participating in elections or in the political process in general, or taking hostages to exchange for FARC militants taken prisoner by the authorities.
 - 2. Financial kidnappings, designed to raise funds for FARC. According to most estimates, about 1/3 of FARC's budget stems from kidnapping and blackmailing. In connection with some kidnappings, a form of division of labour has taken place between FARC and criminal networks. Criminal gangs specialize in kidnapping individuals, who are then sold or traded to FARC. FARC transports them to zones under the organization's control and negotiates their release with their families.
 The former demilitarized zone or zona de distención, allocated to FARC by the Pastrana government as part of the peace negotiation process between 1998 and 2002, was a major detention zone for kidnapping victims. Such people are currently being transferred to FARC controlled areas all over the country, where they are then detained.
- **130** As regards their execution, such kidnappings can be selective, with VIPs being the target, or they can be what the Colombians call *secuestros masivos*, where FARC or members of other groups kidnap a random group, normally by blocking off the main roads and asking the victims to prove their identity, then detain those they consider to be of interest and release the rest.
- **131** There are thousands of cases of verified FARC kidnappings. According to *Fundación Seguridad y Democracia*, an independent NGO from Bogotá in Colombia, 8,905 kidnappings took place in Colombia from 2000 to 2003, approx. 2,500 or 28% of which were committed by FARC. In 2,277 of the kidnappings, specific intelligence exists as to which FARC front was responsible for the kidnappings. During this period six FARC fronts were behind more than a third of the total number of FARC kidnappings.
- 132 These include the 19th in Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a mountainous region on the northeast coast, with 152 victims; the 59th, which operates in the same area with 128; the 41st in Serranía de Perijá in the eastern part of the Andes close to the Venezuelan border with 120; the 34th near the border with Panama, with 116; the 53rd, which operates on the borders with the *departamentos* [administrative districts] of Cundimarca, Boyacá and Meta in central Colombia, also with 116; and the Aurelio Rodriguez front, which is located on the border with Antioquia, Risaralda and Caldas, with 109; and eight other fronts: the 6th, 22nd, 54th, 42nd, 35th, 47th, 36th and 37th, which account for a further 24%. According to the latest study into safety done by *Fundación Seguridad y Democracia*, 282 kidnappings for money took place in 2006, the lowest number since 2006 [sic]. Of these, FARC was responsible for 27%.
- 133 FARC's kidnapping practice led to a letter from Human Rights Watch, a respected international humanitarian organization, written to the leader of FARC's secretariat, Manuel Marulanda, on 15 April 2002, which called the kidnappings a gross violation of international law, demanding that Marulanda immediately intervene to halt kidnappings of civilians committed by FARC forces.
- 134 During the period in the lead-up to the elections to congress and the presidential elections in 2002, these included the kidnapping of the presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, who had dual nationality (Colombian

and French), and her assistant Clara Rojas on 23 February 2002. Despite warnings from the Colombian government and the military that the zone was too dangerous, Betancourt decided to campaign in an area under strong FARC influence. Her group was stopped at a roadblock at a place by the name of El Líbano. She was on her way by car to San Vicente del Cagúan in the zone which the Colombian government had previously made over to FARC.

135 Betancourt is still one of the most prominent FARC hostages. Shortly after Nicolas Sarkozy had been elected French President, he requested President Uribe to release FARC's so-called "foreign minister", Rodrigo Granda, who is imprisoned in Colombia, in exchange for Betancourt. The Colombian government released 20 imprisoned members of FARC as a goodwill gesture in return for the release of Betancourt and others. She still has not been released, however, and there has been no sign of life from her for the past two years.

136 Many of the victims of FARC's kidnappings and liquidations have been political figures and public officials, especially at local level. Until the Uribe government decided to expand police presence to all municipalities in the country, local officials and political and public leaders were largely at the mercy of the armed groups.

137 Hundreds of mayors, members of municipal councils and other officials have been killed or kidnapped by FARC elements over the course of many years recently.

138 On 15 July 2001 the former governor of Meta, Alan Jara, was kidnapped from a UN vehicle by FARC. Alan Jara was on his way back with the head of the UN's development programme and government officials from an inauguration ceremony for a bridge that had been built with UN funds and dedicated to local peace efforts.

139 In February 2002 members of the mobile column Teófilo Forero hijacked a plane and forced it to land. On board the plane was Senator Jorge Eduardo Gechem Turbay. He was subsequently murdered, and this was one of the reasons for the Pastrana government's decision to shut down the demilitarized zone. The mobile column Teófilo Forero also kidnapped and subsequently killed members of the House of Representatives in Colombia, Consuelo González de Perdomo and Orlando Beltrán Cuéllar. FARC members also killed Senator Martha Catalina Daniels and two assistants who were travelling through the area of Zipacón, the mayor of Topaipi and two members of the municipal council in the town of La Palma.

140 On 11 April 2002, 12 representatives of the district of Valle's assembly were kidnapped from a public building in the town of Cali by members of Manuel Céspedes Varga's column for the 30th front of FARC. Disguised in military uniforms, the FARC members ordered the representatives to leave the building on the pretext of an alleged bomb threat, then took them hostage. One of the hostages was rescued, while the other 11 were killed five years later in June 2007. FARC claims that the hostages were killed in crossfire with the security forces during a rescue attempt. The Colombian government maintains that there were no troops in the vicinity of the area where the hostages were being detained. FARC surrendered the bodies to the Red Cross's International Committee in September 2007.

141 A forensic examination of the corpses conducted by an international commission of inquiry set up by the Organization of American States (OAS) at the request of the Colombian government established that two of the victims had been shot at close quarters, three had been shot in the head, one had been shot five times, and the other ten between 6 and 14 times each. It was not the commission's remit to identify who was responsible for the killings.

- 142 But the fact that the hostages had died, with no survivors, and no wounded were found on the part of either FARC or the military in this alleged clash would indicate that the representatives were killed deliberately, not by accident.
- 143 In 2002 FARC also kidnapped and killed the mayor of Mapiripán in the district of Meta, an elected appointee in Puerto Gaitán, two in Puerto Concordia and a further two in Puerto López. In Villahermosa FARC kidnapped the mayor's son in order to force him to resign.
- 144 On 21 April 2002 FARC kidnapped the governor of the district of Antioquia, Guillermo Gaviria, a campaigner for non-violence, who has been compared to Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and his peace adviser, ex-minister of defence Guilberto Echeverri. They were kidnapped during a peace march, a march for reconciliation and in solidarity with Caicedo, a mountain village approx. 145 kilometres from Medellín, the capital of Antioquia. The purpose of the march was to express solidarity with the people of Caicedo, which had declared itself a non-violent community, and to seek reconciliation with FARC. The governor had ordered the police and the army not to provide protection during the march, and not to rescue him or retaliate if he was kidnapped or killed. The march was halted just before Caicedo by FARC elements, and Gaviria and Echeverri were taken hostage.
- 145 While in captivity, Gaviria sent word to his wife that he endorsed non-violence to an even greater degree and said that once he was set free, he would resume the march to Caicedo. A year or so after he had been kidnapped, however, Gaviria and Echeverri, together with nine members of the armed forces who were also being held hostage, were killed by FARC on 5 May 2003.
- **146** According to a press release from Amnesty International, information from Medellín indicated that FARC had announced that it had executed the captives when army units had attempted a rescue operation.
- 147 According to the Colombian minister of defence, FARC killed the captives before the military arrived at the site. This episode can be interpreted as an example of FARC's willingness to execute hostages rather than allow them to be rescued by the security forces. (In this connection I would note a letter from FARC's Secretariat in November 2002, warning of the great risk of rescue attempts resulting in detainees being killed.)
- 148 The wife of a former culture minister and public prosecutor for Colombia, Consuelo Araújo Noguera, was kidnapped and subsequently killed by FARC's 59th front. When Araújo was kidnapped, she was on her way back from a religious ceremony. Her niece, who attempted to engage in negotiations to secure her aunt's safety, was also kidnapped together with two officials from the governor's staff in the district of Cesar who were aiding her in her efforts. FARC admitted to having kidnapped Araújo but denied having killed her, even though an examination of the body showed she had been executed and shot at close range.
- 149 On 16 February 2005 FARC killed José Heriberto Castro, mayor of Génova, in the district of Quindio together with his security guard and his chauffeur. On 10 April 2005 FARC killed councillor Miriam Martínez in the municipality of Puerto Rico in the district of Caquetá in south-central Colombia. On 24 May 2005 the mobile column Teófilo Forero attacked the town of Puerto Rico in Caquetá, killing four members of the town's community council and the council secretary.
- 150 Prior to this attack, on 12 May, Fenacon (the national association of municipal councils) and representatives of ten municipalities in Caquetá had requested the national government to take measures to protect against the constant threat posed by the mobile column Teófilo Forero. At a meeting with the national authorities, councillors from Puerto Rico (who were subsequently killed) maintained that FARC had posted a reward of 8 million pesos for every council member who was killed.

- **151** On 10 July 2005 members of the mobile column Teófilo Forero attacked a municipal council meeting in the town of Campoalegre in the district of Huila. Among those killed was the council secretary, a former member, and the council chairman's wife. Several others, including two girls aged 6 and 9 years, were wounded.
- **152** On 27 February 2006 militants from the same unit, the mobile column Teófilo Forero, opened fire on members of the municipal council in Los Gabrieles, also in the district of Huila, who were holding a meeting to discuss municipal business. Six members of the municipal council were killed and a further two died in transit to hospital.
- **153** On 2 April 2006 FARC killed two councillors in Arauquita in Arauca. On 3 April FARC killed a councillor in Coromoro in Santander. On 31 March a councillor in Milán in Caquetá managed to escape by the skin of his teeth during an FARC assassination attempt.
- **154** There have been several attempts by FARC to murder President Uribe, the first being during the presidential campaign of 2002. On 14 April 2002 a bomb exploded near Uribe's motorcade in the town of Barranquilla. Three spectators were killed. On 7 August 2002, the day the newly elected president was due to be inaugurated, FARC elements in Bogotá initiated four mortar attacks against the presidential palace.
- 155 20 were killed, all civilians, and more than 60 wounded. Most of the dead, including children, were killed in a poor residential district about 800 metres from the palace. Since then President Uribe has survived at least four assassination attempts. The president's own father was murdered, incidentally, when FARC elements attempted to kidnap him.
- **156** Apart from members of the municipalities, civilian leaders have also been targeted by FARC. Members of the church have numbered among those murdered by FARC. On 14 November 2002 FARC kidnapped and killed a Catholic priest in La Salina in the district of Casanare. On 25 December 2003 FARC kidnapped and executed Francisco Montoya, a Catholic priest who had just arrived in the municipality of Novita in the district of Chocó. FARC refused to surrender the body on the grounds that they had buried him following the execution.
- 157 According to a missionary for the organization Global Ministries, two Protestant priests, Jael Cruz García and José Humberto Méndez, were murdered by FARC in La Legiosa in the district of Huila on 5 July 2006.
- 158 Groups of indigenous people have also been targets for FARC. In March 1999 FARC executed three activists who were demonstrating in support of rights of the Indians in a Venezuelan area after having kidnapped them in Colombia. The American court brought charges against FARC and six members for the murder of the three Americans. On 11 November 2002 FARC, in two separate incidents, murdered the governor of Yanacona, a native tribe in the district of Cauca, and his son, leader of the indigenous people in Kankuamo in the district of La Guajira.
- **159** FARC was also suspected of killing Mariano Suárez Chaparro, the spiritual leader of the natives in Arhuaco in the district of Magdalena on 16 November of the same year.
- **160** There have also been liquidations of policemen and policewoman, of course, too many to mention here, but in my witness statement I have focused solely on attacks on civilians.

Terrorist bombings

161 These include bomb attacks on civilians. The best-known is the bombing of the El Nogal Social Club in Bogotá on 3 February 2003, when a car with 200 kg explosives parked in a garage on the third floor of the building exploded and killed 36, including six children, and injured more than 160. The attack took place as a children's party and a wedding reception were being held in the building.

FARC refused to accept responsibility, but a forensic investigation showed that the car with the explosives, a 2002 Renault, belonged to a John Freddy Arellán Zúñiga, a squash instructor who died during the bombing. The investigation established that the car had been bought on presentation of false ID and Arellán had been hired by a person named Javier Paz, a partner of Jorge Briceño Suárez, alias Mono Jojoy, one of FARC's commanders-in-chief, and Arellán had deposited a very large and inexplicable amount in his bank account, most probably by way of payment for having collaborated on the action.

162 Video recordings showed that earlier on the day the bombing took place Paz had been inside the building and spent two hours there. The investigation also showed that another FARC member by the name of Javier Tanga, an expert in explosives and remote detonators, had been spotted two blocks from the building the day the bombing occurred. The authorities think that Tanga was responsible for detonating the bomb and Arellán did not know the bomb would be detonated while he was still inside the club.

163 The bombing of the El Nogal Social Club was the most deadly attack of its kind in Colombia since Pablo Escobar's Medellín narcotics cartel unleashed a wave of violence in the 1980s and early 1990s, but it was not the only one. On 6 April 2006 there was a bomb attack on two public buses in the poor district in southern Bogotá, in which two boys aged 10 and 11 were killed. On 22 May 2003 FARC detonated a bomb placed in a truck on the main square in the town of San Carlos in Antioquia, killing one passer-by and wounding three. On 4 May that same year FARC exploded a car bomb in a business area in the town of Tame in the district of Arauca, killing an 8-year-old child and injuring 17. On 10 May 2002 FARC militants left a bomb in a parcel on public transport in Calamar in the district of Guaviare. The driver lost one hand when the package exploded. On 3 April 2002 FARC sent a parcel bomb to the mayor of El Espino in the district of Boyacá. Three soldiers and two civilians were injured when the bomb went off. The mayor was not injured.

164 FARC has had no success in persuading its members to actually become suicide bombers, although in March 2004 the Colombian authorities did arrest a FARC member named Luis Hipolito Ospina, alias "the Muslim", who actually is a Muslim, accused of having trained young men to become suicide bombers. Ospina was arrested after one of the people he had trained handed himself in to the authorities instead of carrying out a suicide action.

165 However, there are instances where FARC has forced people to become involuntary suicide bombers. On 7 March 2005 FARC caused two civilians to lose their lives, including a minor, after they had been kidnapped, forcing the eldest to drive his car, laden with 50 kg explosives, into the town of Lejanías in the district of Meta, where an election was in progress.

166 Another forced suicide bombing ("proxy bombing") took place on 1 June 2002, when FARC forced a ranch owner to drive a vehicle full of explosives, but the vehicle exploded prematurely.

Cylinder bomb attacks

167 When attacking populated areas, FARC militants typically deploy home-made propane cylinder bombs filled with explosives or napalm, which are fired using improvised mortars made from 55-gallon barrels or tubs. These are extremely imprecise weapons that result in mass casualties amongst the civilian population and massive damage to the town under assault. The most notorious of these attacks was the Bojayá massacre. Bojayá is a predominantly Afro-Colombian town in the district of Chocó on the Pacific coast of Colombia.

The area had been under FARC's control since around 2000, but in 2002 the town was occupied by troops under the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia [Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia, AUC], the largest paramilitary group. In an attack on the town on 2 May 2002 FARC let off cylinder bombs, one of which struck the roof of a church where many of the town's inhabitants had sought refuge, killing 119 civilians.

168 Amnesty International's secretary-general, who was heading up an Amnesty delegation that arrived in Colombia shortly after the massacre, called it one of the most severe violations of international humanitarian law ever to have taken place in this long and dreadful conflict, yet again displaying absolute contempt for the civilian population.

169 Amnesty International utterly condemned FARC's actions in Bojayá and demanded that FARC stop using gas cylinders as weapons on account of their haphazard nature [indiscriminate bombings with no regard for whether the targets are military or non-military].

170 This practice of random attacks with cylinder bombs has continued. In a report on an FARC attack on the village of Toribío in Cauca, the Dutch peace organization Pax Christi Netherlands stated that on 15 April 2005 FARC bombed the station in Toribío, where the majority of the population belongs to the indigenous group Nasa. A 10-year-old child and 20 others were wounded and four houses destroyed. Others were seriously damaged. FARC ordered the population to leave the area and approx. 1,000 residents were taken to so-called "safety". Pax Christi condemned the violation of the unarmed civilian population's human rights in Toribío by the armed groups in question, namely FARC.

171 During the period after the congressional elections in March 2006, FARC killed at least 20 civilians in two separate attacks using cylinder bombs. According to the international organization Human Rights Watch, which is often critical of the Colombian government, and I quote: "These massacres occur on special occasions in order to spread fear before the elections and undermine the democratic process. By continuing to commit these outrages, FARC has shown yet again that it has no regard whatsoever for the life and lifestyle of the people it claims to represent."

Use of landmines

172 Colombia has the world's largest number of landmine victims as a result of the large-scale use of landmines by illegal armed groups, especially FARC and another smaller armed organization, the National Liberation Army (*Ejército de Liberación Nacional*) or ELN.

173 In July 2007 Human Rights Watch sent out a 34-page report entitled "Maiming the People: Guerrilla Use of Antipersonnel Landmines and Other Indiscriminate Weapons in Colombia", stating that "while the majority of landmine casualties are among the military, the mines also injure hundreds of Colombia's poorest and most vulnerable inhabitants every year". José Miguel Vivanco, leader of Human Rights Watch, has stated: "By using landmines, FARC leaves the Colombian civilian population, which has no part in the conflict, disabled, blind, deaf or dead".

Attacks on the infrastructure

174 FARC regularly destroys public transport and blows up bridges and lighting masts/pylons. For example, FARC blew up lighting masts in Putumayo in January 2006, leaving 250,000 without power. In some cases FARC has laid mines in the areas around the destroyed installations to make them harder to repair.

175 FARC has also carried out attacks on oil pipelines. On 5 August 2005, for instance, when FARC blew up a pipeline belonging to Ecopetrol in Putumayo. The oil discharge contaminated the surrounding rivers and affected the water supply to thousands of people.

176 On 19 May 2007 FARC militants blew up a section of Caño Limon-Coveña's oil pipeline, causing it to disgorge into the River Catatumbo with resultant damage to the environment.

Use of child soldiers

177 There are about 11,000 child soldiers among the ranks of the illegal armed organizations in Colombia, including FARC. According to a report from Human Rights Watch, FARC assigns the same duties to the children as to the adults. If they lose their weapons, they can be forced to go into battle without weapons until they succeed in appropriating one from the enemy.

178 In the case of acts of gross negligence, a "council of war" is held, and the death penalty can be passed by a show of hands.

179 Children who desert are often shot, especially if they take their weapons with them. The same fate awaits suspected informants, infiltrators or children who fall asleep while on guard. The commander-in-chief handpicks a group to mete out punishment. Their hands tied with nylon cord; the children are led outside the camp area to wait while the group digs a grave.

180 Several children have told Human Rights Watch that they were ordered to carry out the execution of another child. Some have recounted how they were deliberately chosen because the victim was a friend. After the execution, which generally takes place by shooting, the body may be slit open before being buried. The dead child's family is rarely, if ever, notified.

181 Children are also encouraged to execute captured enemies. A number of former FARC-EP child fighters have described to Human Rights Watch in detail how guerrillas tortured captured paramilitaries by inserting needles under their nails, chopping fingers and arms off, and slashing their faces. Several children have told Human Rights Watch that their commander-in-chief forced them to witness these atrocities.

182 According to FARC-EP's internal rules, the minimum recruitment age is 15, which is in compliance with international humanitarian law, but FARC has never observed these minimum age requirements, despite repeated promises to do so. More than two-thirds of the former FARC fighters Human Rights Watch has spoken to joined the group at the age of 14 or younger, and most were recruited after the publication of these rules in 1999."

183 During the court hearings Angel Rambasahar explained that he is a senior political analyst with the Rand Corporation. It is an independent non-profit research and analysis institute. The research is supported by both private and public funds. It is also a political service function, able to provide information on important political topics. He has studied Colombia and in 1999 was part of an American committee dealing with safety and security in Latin America.

184 Colombia is an open society, and — whatever people say — there is freedom of the press, and the press is highly critical of the government, and critical of FARC's activities. A great deal of information comes from people who have left FARC. Much of the information is highly critical. He also has information from NGOs. Amongst other things he has received information from *Fundacion seguridad* and *Fundacion ideas de paz*.

Furthermore, he has information from Amnesty International and the UN. He has also used FARC's website to cover FARC's points of view.

185 FARC generally takes responsibility for kidnappings, particularly those of high-ranking people. If someone dies, it is often stated that they met their death in crossfire, and the organization therefore admits no responsibility for their killing. FARC is keen to be involved in the humanitarian exchange of prisoners.

186 The witness from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis has explained that he graduated from the University of Copenhagen with an MSc in Political Science and works as an analyst, primarily on terrorism. The work consists mostly of studying key areas of accountability and performing an analysis of these. Source assessment is a key part of this.

187 There are generally two types of source he uses. One is internal information - in this case from FARC's and the PFLP's own websites; the other type is whatever others may have written. In this connection he has selected sources he deems credible.

188 He has used the following sources in his reports for this case:

- Jane's, which is a more than 100-year-old English company that has information about military conditions. It is a company that has supplied this intelligence for many years, based on open sources.
- The International Crisis Group, ICG. It is a non-profit organization that has employees around the world and is known for compiling high-quality reports and analysis work. The reports are based on information obtained by him, amongst other things through interviews. The reports often contain recommendations for the parties involved. The organization is known to be critical of all the parties in a conflict.
- Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch—both organizations positioned out in the conflict areas.
- The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, UNHCHR. The organization also works on site and is known to be critical of all the parties in a conflict.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit, EIU. It is part of The Economist, which compiles reports on different countries with a wide selection of subjects about economics, politics etc.
- The RAND Corporation. A research institution that conducts good, critical research. He cannot specifically answer whether RAND has been critical of the Colombian government.

189 Since completing his education as an MSc (PolSci) in 2002, the witness has been working in one of the four organizations under the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis, which was set up in 2006. He does not speak Spanish and Arabic and has not been in Colombia or Palestine. His information originates from FARC's English website, which contains a limited part of the information given on the Spanish website. The PFLP's information is from the organization's website, which is in Arabic. It is a machine translation that has then been reviewed by a colleague with a knowledge of Arabic. The reports were produced primarily by him, but there has also been input from other colleagues.

190 Concerning investigations into background information about FARC, the witness explains that he has made out a report. His remit has been defined on the front and does not include a description of the Colombian government's activities. He has reviewed the sources stated and has found nothing to contradict these.

FARC does not conceal that attacks are made on government targets, amongst other things in 2007, when FARC assumed responsibility for an attack in which some soldiers and police officers died.

191 FARC has also admitted responsibility for the kidnapping of presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt in an interview with one of its leaders. This is an example of kidnapping. There are also examples of civilians getting into the firing line, including the incident at the church in Bojayá, when one of FARC's mortars hit a church containing civilians. There is no documentary evidence that the attack was deliberate, but FARC has been criticized for deploying imprecise weapons in areas where there are many civilians. He is aware that it has been claimed that the attack was directed at paramilitary forces behind the church. Human Rights Watch has protested to FARC about its use of imprecise weapons when there are civilians nearby, and about it having done this in 27 cases in the year prior to this attack. FARC does not usually admit major responsibility for attacks on civilians.

192 There are examples of civilians having been killed in cases where they have got into the firing line. There are also examples of civilians having been killed otherwise. One example is 34 coca pickers who were killed. ICG is one of the sources that attributes this to FARC.

193 FARC has also attempted to kill President Uribe, in connection with his inauguration. There are also other examples of FARC having killed Colombian politicians on a number of occasions, e.g. 11 people, including at least four local politicians who were killed at the town hall in Puerto Rico in Caquetá Province. Jane's mentions this attack in one of its reports. The BBC also mentioned FARC, as did a human rights report by the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the organization that carried this out.

194 There is also an example of an act of terrorism on 7 February 2003, in which approx. 35 were killed and over 165 injured at a nightclub. FARC has denied this attack, but amongst other things UNHCHR, ICG and Jane's have stated that FARC was behind it, though he is aware that an article in either Semana or Liberation says that they do not consider this to have been proved. He is also aware that, in its report, the UN specifies that FARC does not admit responsibility for this attack.

195 As regards kidnappings, FARC itself has acknowledged having kidnapped presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt on its English-language website. There are several examples of kidnappings, for ransoms amongst other things. FARC has been criticized for not giving information about the prisoners to their families.

196 He can quite easily imagine that FARC may also have been blamed for kidnappings it has not carried out.

197 FARC has also admitted responsibility for three American prisoners captured in 2003. FARC says these are legitimate prisoners, whereas the US says the people involved are civilians who were working for a company opposed to the war on drugs. There is also an example of three American human rights activists killed in 1999, with FARC having expressed its regrets about this.

198 The PFLP calls its militant wing the Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Brigade. The PFLP assumes responsibility for this brigade's actions.

199 As regards terrorist attacks on civilians, including suicide attacks, this is a method used by the PFLP, according to Human Rights Watch's information.

- **200** A suicide attack was mounted against a bus-stop on 25 December 2003. The PFLP has assumed responsibility for this attack, as shown by the website. One of those killed was a military man. A military woman may possibly have been killed too.
- **201** There was also an attack on 16 February 2002 in a department store in a settlement, in which three were killed and approx. 30 injured.
- **202** There was also an attack on 1 November 2004 at a market in Carmen, in which three were killed and 30 wounded. The attacks were described on the website, and the brigade has admitted responsibility for the incident. The target was possibly a different one, i.e. the intelligence service, but the witness cannot confirm that.
- 203 There was also an attack on 7 March 2002 on a hotel in Ariel, wounding 15.
- **204** On 19 May 2002 a market in Netanya was attacked. Three were killed and more than 30 injured. The witness does not know the status of those killed.
- **205** As regards car bombs in particular, five were detonated on 4 December 2001, including four in Jerusalem, wounding nine people. His reasoning is that these detonations in places where there were many people were aimed at the many passers-by.
- **206** There are examples of mortar and rocket attacks for which the PFLP has assumed responsibility. One incident involved an attack on the Erez border crossing.
- 207 On 9 March 2007, according to the group's website, a sniper attack took place against a "Zionist" soldier.
- 208 The witness has heard that there might be a possibility that suicide bombers have triggered their explosive charge somewhere other than agreed, resulting in civilian victims, but the PFLP has admitted responsibility for these bombs and must therefore also have assumed responsibility for the attack on civilians. He knows no further details about the PFLP's view of suicide bombs apart from these two incidents.
- **209** The witness, Deputy Chairman of the Latin American Parliament, Amilcar J. Figueroa, explained that his education is in Latin American history. He was formerly president of Venezuela's publishing companies. He was then vice-mayor for approx. three years. Last year he was elected to the Latin American Parliament, where he is deputy chairman. He has not been involved in politics in Venezuela otherwise.
- **210** The Latin American Parliament was originally founded in 1850 but has only really assembled since 1964. Each of the 22 Latin American countries is entitled to send 12 representatives to the parliament. Representatives from Venezuela are popularly elected. Some other nations appoint their representatives themselves. Colombia is a member of the parliament.
- 211 Parliament has appointed two people to try to forge a solution to the situation in Colombia. Colombia's president has designated a person from the Parliament who will be involved in supporting the process. They have asked the president of Venezuela to take part. A number of South American heads of state have offered to help get the process off the ground. There is now great support for the process, and the process is gradually getting underway with regard to the humanitarian exchange of prisoners between the Colombian government and FARC. The last ten Colombian presidents have waged war on rebel movements but have also tried their hand at dialogue.

The ex-president has liberated areas where FARC could act. This is the district that has San Vicente as its capital. In this area there is no military power present. The area was intended to allow dialogue to be conducted.

- 212 Amilcar J. Figueroa's personal opinion is that the USA also takes a positive view of the negotiations now. The UN has also been involved in the shape of Vice Secretary-General Jan Ekeland and has been on a visit to Colombia, as there is international interest in not allowing the conflict to spread. Most international organizations support this, also to restrict drug trading and in practice to constrain guerrilla gangs. The USA has approx. 4,000 soldiers stationed in Colombia in the border areas, where they act as advisers. The situation is also of concern to the neighbouring country of Ecuador. The President of Ecuador has not been willing to comment further on the situation as he has no desire to see Ecuador get mixed up in the conflict.
- **213** The conflict has created many refugees, also those exiting the country.
- 214 There have been many peace negotiations, inter alia in 1984, 1986–1990, 1991 and 1992. Political violence has existed in Colombia since the country was formed. There was no success in reaching a solution, but there is now a great will to make the negotiations succeed, and a great will on the part of Latin America to get the country integrated with the other Latin American countries.
- 215 In order to resolve a conflict one needs to start by finding the parties and the designations that have been used down through the ages for those parties, which have not always been helpful in resolving the conflict. Calling one party terrorists has probably done nothing to nurture the process.
- **216** President Uribe has now released a person previously kidnapped by an armed group two years ago. He was convicted but has now been released so that he can take part in the process.
- 217 FARC is of a mind to send a delegation to the negotiations, one of the delegates being the parliamentarian from the UP party mentioned. It has been difficult to get politicians from this party to stand, as 3,000 of them were murdered at one time, and the remainder had to flee. FARC's attitude towards a political solution is a complex problem, as Colombia has many paramilitary groups working in tandem with the state administration. FARC is also demanding guarantees, therefore, that it will be able to participate in the process. FARC's view is not only to have prisoners exchanged but also to secure social improvements. The historical experience is that the paramilitary groups have attempted to wipe out a great many people. Achieving success is going to call for great political will.
- **218** FARC's admission to the EU's terrorist list also plays a part in the negotiations, of course, and various presidents in Latin America consider this wrong. The EU may have to reconsider this inclusion.
- **219** FARC has changed its attitude since 2002 in a more political direction, and amongst other things has created a website. He has no in-depth knowledge of FARC's military strategies, but amongst other things FARC aims to gain power through military operations. He believes they think of themselves as a political party in those areas where they are. Their military operations are directed at military targets.
- **220** The incident at the church in Bojayá in 2002 was a combat mission directed at paramilitary forces, using the victims in the church as a human shield. FARC later acknowledged its duty to compensate the survivors.
- **221** FARC has owned up to kidnappings, but kidnappings also take place in the border areas. There are criminal gangs that have carried out the kidnappings and say they are from FARC, but FARC does not operate in these border areas.

- **222** A good deal of trade in drugs goes on in Colombia, but Amilcar J. Figueroa has no knowledge of FARC being involved in this, though conversely there are many politicians who have. However, it is an issue which the international press has greatly manipulated.
- **223** Amilcar J. Figueroa does not take the view that FARC uses child soldiers, but he has read the report by the counsel for the defence about this. Paramilitary groups have occasionally attacked towns and taken children as soldiers.
- **224** Amilcar J. Figueroa does not believe that FARC is in the habit of practising terrorism against civilians. Everyone is now working towards a political solution.
- 225 The Colombian state is known for its frequent use of torture in collaboration with paramilitary groups. The groups are known for mutilating their victims. A member of congress has recently been jailed for collaborating with these groups.
- 226 To some extent the old economic elite in Colombia has been overtaken by a new economic elite whose money is sourced from drug dealing. Parts of the state apparatus work against other parts of the state apparatus. Amilcar J. Figueroa has no knowledge of the public prosecutor having had particular problems in prosecuting certain groups in the country, but there are many incongruities in the country, and Colombian society is deeply corrupt. The legislation is constantly being infringed In Colombia.
- 227 The witness Ilan Pape explained that for 25 years he has dealt with the conflict in Israel. He has taught at the University of Haifa, where he himself comes from, and now teaches at the University of Exeter in the UK.
- 228 The Palestinian area and Israel were part of the Ottoman Empire until the First World War and subsequently English territory until 1948. From the end of the First World War up to 1948 a good many Jews moved to the area. In 1948 there were approx. 660,000 Jews and approx. 1.3 million Palestinians. About half of the 1.3 million Palestinians were systematically relocated as a result of partitioning that gave approx. 20 percent of the area to the Palestinians and 78 percent to the Israelis. In 1967 the Israelis occupied part of the Palestinian areas, making the division approx. 90 percent for the Israelis and 8 percent for the Palestinians. This is the nub and the basis of the conflict.
- 229 In 1987 the occupied areas revolted, and the Palestinians started to fight the Israelis with whatever was to hand. This intifada enjoyed some success in as much as it meant that the Palestinian problem was not forgotten. A peace process was begun, which culminated in the Oslo Agreement of 1993, but it proved a great disappointment to the Palestinians that they were not given back their areas to control themselves. Another uprising occurred, therefore, which did not end in a peace process. It was realized that Israel was carrying on with its enlargements, expanding the Jewish occupation. The West Bank is now encircled by a wall higher than the Berlin Wall, and there are internal blocks on the West Bank preventing the Palestinians from moving from one area to another without being checked. Particularly in the past six years political human rights have been violated, and it is no wonder that ex-president Jimmy Carter has called it an apartheid system, and ex-president Nelson Mandela characterized the system as apartheid. There are many settlements with half a million settlers for the three large areas on the West Bank. These settlements divide the West Bank into several areas. There are roads that may only be used by Jews and military installations. The settlers live in towns in suburbs, and in very small settlements in the middle of the Arab towns in order to scare off the Palestinians. Only Israelis are allowed to live in these settlements. A proportion of the inhabitants are Jews who come from outside Israel but are lured by the prospect of a better standard of living and Israeli citizenship. Some of the settlers are armed,

and they have also formed military groups to defend the areas, though almost certainly not in respect of the areas close to Israel.

- 230 The function of the military has been to provide building materials and hang onto the land, as well as to help the settlers build. There are also examples of settlers who have settled without permission, then been granted military protection until such time as a decision was made as to whether the settlers could be given permission to continue living there, which they are usually granted.
- 231 The PFLP was founded in 1968 and stemmed from the PLO. The PFLP wanted results and also operated with a social agenda, which others did not. The PFLP embarked on a different strategy, with skyjackings amongst other things, but this soon stopped. The PLO's overarching strategy was partly military, partly political.
- 232 The Oslo Agreement of 1993 was partly viewed as a betrayal of the Palestinian people, who opposed any partition. In 1995 the PFLP decided to work on getting into the West Bank specifically as a social organization and developing Palestine.
- 233 In 2000 the Camp David Agreement was viewed as a courageous attempt on Arafat's part not to accept this partition.
- **234** Part of the Israeli strategy is to carry out killings of Palestinian leaders, the idea being that the problems would disappear with them. In connection with the killing of the Israeli minister of tourism it was stated that this was a journey of revenge. He was a very rabid settler.
- 235 In 2006 all the political organizations had the same military wish to fight the occupation.
- 236 The use of suicide bombs has always been contrary to the PFLP's strategy, but there has been one instance at any rate. It is usually the individual who decides to adopt such action and approach the organization to obtain explosives. More often than not, they pick their targets themselves.
- 237 The legal system in the occupied areas is based on emergency regulations from 1945. There are rules for the Jewish settlers, including having to bring them before a judge within 48 hours of an arrest. These rules do not apply to Palestinians. They do not always get to appear before a judge at all. The age of criminal responsibility is 12.
- **238** Israel does not recognize the Geneva Convention. If they were to do so, they would have to get out of the Palestinian areas altogether and would not be able to have settlements, which is an important part of Israel's foundation.
- 239 However, if the PFLP has military targets as part of its strategy but does not pursue civilian targets, it can be difficult to discern what is what, as many of the settlers are either civilian settlers or work for the military.
- 240 From the outset the PFLP was an organization with armed combat, but also an organization with social objectives for the Palestinians, who did not have any infrastructure or government institutions. Since the seventies, political work has also been in progress, and it now has members in parliament. 2000 again saw a decision in favour of military strategies, as the young generation felt nothing was happening, and the PFLP was able to offer training and combat against Israeli targets. The group HAMAS used suicide bombs, but as a Marxist or socialist organization, the PFLP has distanced itself from that, not embracing the Islamist point of view held in the HAMAS group that an act of suicide can lead to another and better life. However, if young people have opted in favour of a suicide attack, it is difficult to reach them.

- **241** Terrorism is a means of achieving goals. Everyone involved in the Israel-Palestine conflict has exploited terrorism to achieve political goals, though they have not all been regarded as terrorist states. Terrorism is not to be confused with freedom fighters.
- 242 The PFLP now has a socialist agenda and also plays the role of mediator, but cannot accept Israel's fundamental attitude to the conflict, i.e. that the Palestinians alone are responsible for the conflict. The PFLP is part of the PLO. The PFLP cannot be considered a terrorist organization today.
- **243** *The witness, journalist Ole Sippel,* explained that as a journalist he has dealt with the Middle East since the start of the 1960s. He has travelled widely in the area and has also lived there for a number of years.
- **244** For many years the parties were unable to agree on anything. In 1967 Israel occupied part of Palestine, and Israeli settlements began to appear. That had a huge impact on the situation, as they wanted to gain a foothold, also for reasons of security.
- 245 From 1977 the explosive growth of the settlements became a conscious policy. The settlements spread across the West Bank, and to a great extent the settlers were given their own roads, which the Palestinians were not allowed to travel on. In Nablus the Palestinian population was effectively kept locked up. There were checkpoints that had to be passed whenever people went in or out, but permits were "thin on the ground". In larger urban areas the checkpoints are actually terminals, purportedly there for security reasons, but also to keep checks on the Palestinians. They are open during the daytime and can be closed. There are also road checks that are put in place at very short notice.
- **246** Outside the settlements it is perfectly normal to see settlers bearing arms. Many of them are also reservists in the Israeli army. Relations between army and settlers are generally good, and a part of the army is made up of settlers. They are uniformed but not in uniform when carrying out raids against Palestinians. There are examples of them having gone on the attack against Palestinian families. There are also settlers in armoured homes around the settlements. As a rule, the army does not protect Palestinian authority and rights.
- **247** Under the Oslo Agreements Israel must levy customs and VAT, and the money must be paid to the Palestinian Authority, but only a fraction of these monies has been paid out.
- 248 Ole Sippel has known a number of the principal players in the PFLP from the outset in 1967. The PFLP was founded as a liberation movement, its objective being to get Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian areas and make a country where there was also space for Jews. This was their "one-state solution". In the mid-1970s planes were hijacked in order to draw attention to the Palestinian problem, and airline passengers were killed at Ben Gurion Airport.
- **249** Retaliatory actions were then carried out. The PFLP's actions have never been as spectacular as those of Hamas, however.
- 250 Nowadays most people in the PFLP have acknowledged a two-state solution.
- **251** The PFLP is probably carried along more by an elitist intellectual elite. Elections to the Palestinian Authority in 2006 saw the PFLP gain 4.1% of the votes. The PFLP has been supported financially by Syria but does not have a lot of money.
- 252 Israel has hunted down and liquidated PFLP leaders, and the PFLP has done the opposite.

- **253** It is hard to verify whether it is the political wing or the military wing that is dominant. It is a very weak organization with few supporters. It is difficult to speak of an internal balance. He does not know much about the PFLP's humanitarian work.
- 254 The PFLP itself says it goes for military targets, but civilians do get caught up. It utilizes whatever means best serve its purpose. It may have been an integrated strategy to start with, but not so in more recent years; it does whatever it can to inconvenience Israel.
- **255** Ole Sippel considers the counsels for the defence's report to be largely objective but finds the report by the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) a little thin.
- **256** Ole Sippel himself does not use the term "terror/terrorism", which is a political expression, there being no clear, complete definition. Violence is perpetrated against blameless parties by both the PFLP and Israel, which Mosche Dayan has previously acknowledged. In real terms, Gaza can be viewed as a prison.
- 257 The witness, journalist Niels Lindvig, explained with regard to FARC that as a journalist he has had dealings with South America since the 1980s, including Colombia since 1982–1983. He has lived in Colombia for brief spells lasting up to several months. In all he has lived in Colombia for a combined 16–17 months. He has attended teaching at the University of Colombia in summer (summer school) and has also taught as a reader in political science and modern social policy himself. The lecturers came from all over the region.
- 258 In connection with his work for DR (the Danish Radio Corporation) he has had lengthy stays in Colombia, amongst other things interviewing four members of FARC's executive. Concerning the conflict in Colombia, the witness stated that the complexion of the conflict has changed, having been in existence for about 45 years. The focus of the military, the police and rebel movements has remained roughly the same during that period, but the management has changed.
- **259** Viewed as an internal civil war, the conflict has not changed, but politics are still what is being discussed. The organization can give the impression of being old-fashioned and archaic, particularly as a result of being located in the jungle and not being fully cognizant of what is taking place in the country.
- **260** ELN is another rebel organization with no relation to FARC directly, and they each have their own agenda. On the face of it there has been no cooperation between the two organizations, but he is aware that in spring 2007 ELN thanked FARC for coordinating their collaboration.
- **261** There are also paramilitary groups that emerged from the situation in the 1940s and 1950s, when party leaders and estate owners etc. each had their own private armies. FARC also started off as one such army.
- 262 The umbrella organization AUC is a self-defence group in its own eyes. AUC wanted to safeguard landowners against having their land taken, against being abducted by FARC, amongst others. Later on AUC was also involved in drug trafficking and became very powerful. That power was removed by last year's legislation to demilitarize the military groups.
- 263 It is quite certain that parts of the Colombian military and police have collaborated with paramilitary forces, and a number of politicians are currently in jail for that; less certain, however, is where they got orders for this collaboration from. Amongst other things Colombia's foreign minister had to resign this spring, as her brother and father are suspected of collaborating with these groups. The attacks have often been directed at villages in order to get them to vote in a particular direction etc.

264 FARC's strategy has always been to be armed, but periodically combined with a political strategy, of course. This includes the time they established the *Union Patriotica* party, which fared well in the parliamentary and local elections etc., but this got them nowhere, as some 3,000 party members were killed, including three presidential candidates from different parties killed within about six months during that period.

265 In purely political terms, the point of the collaboration with the government was to articulate some different social relations in Colombia, and to that end FARC was supposed to lay down its weapons. FARC got good results at the local elections, but paramilitary groups then killed off the politicians above all, and the sound negotiating basis vanished. There is no documentary basis to show that the orders for this came from on high.

266 As regards the link between the Colombian state and paramilitary death patrols, Niels Lindvig finds that the documentation group's background material (p. 16) seems very fair, if a little understated perhaps, as the head of the Colombian intelligence service has been jailed for supporting paramilitary kidnappings, disappearances, forced displacements and murders. The witness cannot comment on how much the state is involved in what, but the military, the police and other elements within the state, including a share of the president's family members, are mixed up in the collaboration with paramilitary forces. The state is a fragmented unit and operates autonomously, especially in the military, but sometimes in the police too. It is difficult to think of the Colombian government as an entity. At one point Colombia had a new chief of police who fired approx. 8,000 police officers and top brass to purge the force.

267 Drug trafficking is operated by both gangsters and individual groups, in some cases working with groups like FARC and ELN. These criminal groups often affiliate with FARC in order to thereby be subsumed under the law on demilitarization and thus avoid being punished for drug crimes. That way, they can avoid going to prison for 50 years or so, having their fortune confiscated and getting away with up to 8 years' jail.

268 There are thought to have been 20–21,000 members of FARC, but 30,000 have been demobilized.

269 The current president has massive electoral support in person among the population, though no thanks to the policies he pursues. The two things do not always go hand in hand in Colombia.

270 Defence lawyers are monitored and persecuted in Colombia. Their situation is "horrendous". The counsels defending people in human rights cases, including individuals accused of activities contrary to the interests of the state, are the ones being monitored and persecuted. In this connection the witness explained that defence counsels have been shot, just as counsels receive threats on a daily basis. One particular defender feels outright threatened in his/her work.

271 As regards the dysfunctional Colombian legal system (documentation group's material, p. 8), Niels Lindvig explained that the description is correct, as this type of mass arrest does take place. Nobody is really in control of the villages in the jungle, and witness statements are available from survivors etc. The elicitation of statements under coercion also occurs. The witness focused on the fact that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees states that the president works in the service of terrorism, even at the hands of people in opposition. In answer to this, President Uribe has often called the opposition terrorists in suits. Murders and so on often occur in the wake of these statements. This is comparable with the situation for defence lawyers. The Supreme Court tries to preserve its integrity and is constantly at loggerheads with the president. The Supreme Court does not care for the agreement on the demilitarization of paramilitary groups.

- **272** The situation for critical journalists in Colombia is highly critical (page 11). There are not many critical journalists, therefore. Some journalists often have to leave the country; in this regard, President Uribe himself has issued accusations against one journalist, who has now fled to the USA.
- 273 As regards the use of torture in Colombia (p. 11), Niels Lindvig explained that this undoubtedly takes place; to what extent is not known. It can be difficult to document that it takes place, and on what scale. Torture also takes place in connection with lawsuits. The witness's knowledge of this is from the UN. The use of torture is aimed at left-leaning insurgents in particular. The witness is not aware of torture having taken place vis-à-vis other groups.
- 274 Colombia is one of the worst places for the killing of union activists, who have been persecuted and are killed on behalf of employers. For every 10 active trade unionists killed in the world, 9 are killed in Colombia. The US Congress has therefore refused to sign a free-trade agreement between the USA and Colombia until there is documentary evidence to show that assaults are no longer being made on active unionists. The USA has otherwise given Colombia millions of kroner's worth of support for a number of years now, amongst other things to combat drug crime.
- 275 The link between the president and the drug mafia (p. 19) is not known to Niels Lindvig. He has no knowledge of the president's relationship with the drug mafia. He has heard about it, but not in any detail, and therefore cannot comment on it. The witness does not know about President Uribe's career as an aviation manager.
- **276** As regards FARC in terms of international law, the witness stated that the members of FARC are clearly uniformed. This uniformed dress code is characteristic of the FARC units.
- 277 As regards the kidnappings, the witness explained that FARC has been criticized for undertaking kidnappings of key industry leaders in Colombia who in principle are innocent. To this, FARC has replied that the kidnappings were the upshot of their taxation policies, with FARC taking 10% of the companies' revenue. If they defaulted on payment, company executives could risk being kidnapped. FARC won some large battles over the Colombian army, including three large battles, which resulted in them taking many prisoners of government soldiers, who have been used for exchanges. FARC makes rather less use of kidnapping now, and amongst other things it has been used to exert pressure, exchange prisoners and make money.
- **278** The witness cannot comment on an assessment of the number of prisoners being exchanged. There are many figures circulating.
- 279 As regards attacks on civilians (p. 29), Niels Lindvig explained that FARC's attitude to attacks on civilians is that it is not to FARC's advantage to make these attacks. FARC would be unable to survive in its hide-outs in the local areas if their policy was to carry out assaults on the civilian population. This is not synonymous with saying that they have not taken or do not take place, but there is no documentary evidence that it is FARC's policy. Internally within the organization, people have been disciplined for carrying out such attacks.
- **280** FARC's use of child soldiers is very difficult to document. It depends on the definition of a child soldier. Child soldiers are not normally recruited, and they are seldom seen in the camps. The witness has not seen it himself and knows of no one else who has. Very rarely, there are children among the FARC soldiers killed. There are often women among the FARC soldiers killed. The witness knows of families whose wish is for their children to be admitted to FARC, as they will then earn \$200 a month. The witness lacks documentation for the use of child soldiers.

281 As regards financing, FARC has long been protecting farmers in return for taxation and protecting small local airfields, also in return for a fee. FARC has been involved in the drug scene in this way. Some FARC units have also capitalized on the drug trade. The country is big, and FARC is scattered; and FARC has to make its own arrangements to earn funding. FARC does not want this kind of policy, but this is not to say that it does not occur. Some units do succumb to taking part in drug trafficking.

282 There have been two large-scale initiatives in terms of negotiations. Uribe was elected on a collision course with FARC, but Uribe has now been pressured into a possible negotiation solution, partly because the US Congress refuses to sign the free-trade agreement, and because the president of France is pushing hard for an exchange of prisoners. It is the first time there have been negotiations between the president and FARC directly. President Hugo Chaves of Venezuela is set to mediate between FARC and President Uribe. There is no prospect of a military conclusion, so there is a need for negotiations. There was supposed to be a meeting between the two presidents on 12 October 2007. The witness is not aware whether the meeting took place. The two presidents often meet, though they disagree on politics.

283 It is not correct to say that FARC dismisses political approaches out of hand, but there is a problem, as the executives of the Union Patriotica party were killed. At that time FARC tried to negotiate with the government, when FARC formed the Union Patriotica party in the 1980s.

284 He does not know of a party called Colombia's illegal Communist party. Some Communist parties do exist, however, perhaps even secret ones.

285 As regards attacks on Union Patriotica's members staged by military groups and the police etc. (p. 43), Niels Lindvig explained that the national police and ranks of parliamentarians have been instrumental in ordering the death of politicians.

286 Paramilitary groups and criminals are clearly returning, and new groups are also arising as paramilitary groups.

287 He has no knowledge of the PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army, Northern Ireland) having had contact with FARC. The three Irish people were from the IRA and Sinn Fein, but not the PIRA. They were arrested for training FARC rebels, manufacturing bombs and smuggling drugs. The actual reason for the arrest was probably something that had occurred in Northern Ireland, possibly to prevent a possible negotiation solution. The story was told in the Daily Telegraph, citing M15 as the likely source. Previous negotiation solutions are known to have broken down as a result of information that emerged just before the negotiation solution. The witness does not know what the three Irishmen were doing in Colombia. They were presumably there because there was no agreement in FARC as to how to negotiate with the Colombian government. One of the three was Conoley [Connolly?], Sinn Fein's spokesman. He was elected to the Irish Congress as spokesman for Sinn Fein.

288 There are FARC representatives in Europe, including Denmark, who have tried to get European countries to take part in a peace process. There has also been a meeting with Danish parties. The witness knows that a person from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has visited Colombia.

289 The witness considers FARC to be an organization that started out with an attempt to integrate a social agenda into the policy that was introduced with the two-party system in 1950. There was a division of power between the two parties, the intention being to alternate every four years, regardless of who won the election. Democracy in Colombia does not function like democracy as we know it, and that is presumably what FARC is rebelling against. FARC operates like a movement that craves a peace process. They are old-timers who have

been fighting for many years, under the conditions prevalent in Colombia, and this has left its mark on the organization. They home in on mainly military targets, but there have also been civilian losses, which have sometimes been extensive.

290 FARC is not a terrorist organization. This is not synonymous with no assaults and dreadful actions having been committed by FARC. This is not an integral part of FARC, however, and in all documented cases FARC has issued acknowledgments and apologies.

291 FARC attacked a church in Bojayá in May 2002 with heavy civilian losses. This was to strike the government forces that had hidden behind the church. Another example of encroachments conducted by FARC is assaults and killings in various villages. The encroachments have typically not been sanctioned. This is not part and parcel of the warfare adopted by FARC.

292 The witness's sources are local Colombians, employed in the military, politicians, local politicians, rebels, captives etc.

293 As regards Angel Rabasa's statement, which Niels Lindvig overheard, he states that this is the first time he has heard of someone not acknowledging the presence of Union Patriotica in Colombia. It is well documented that Union Patriotica exists and functioned as a political party for a period of time.

294 As regards Angel Rabasa's link with the USA, the witness explained that the book "The Colombian Labyrinth" points out that the sponsors are the "Deputy Chief of Staff for Air and Space Operations, U.S. Air Force ..., and the Director for Strategic Planning, U.S. Air Force." The USA itself is not allowed to take part in military actions in Colombia, and the USA's military therefore contracts with private companies in operation. Amongst other things such actions consist of spraying coca fields and advising private organizations how to combat drug trafficking etc.

295 As regards conditions in Colombia, the witness stated that conditions are dire for journalists. Only tradeunion officials possibly have it worse. The witness provided information about a named journalist who the president designated a terrorist. The journalist subsequently received 24 death threats within the following 72 hours. That journalist has now escaped to the USA.

296 With regard to the attack on the civilian population in Abasa, in which 11 people from the civilian population were killed, the witness stated that the bodies were examined by international forensic pathologists, including input from Dr Hans Petter Hougen of the Department of Forensic Medicine. The investigation ascertained that it is impossible to determine who killed the civilians. They were shot from multiple directions, and many of them had been shot multiple times. Furthermore, two people had been shot in the head.

297 Regarding hostages taken prisoner, the witness explained that it is common for there to be videos of hostages. Some hostages have no desire to be liberated by a military power, being afraid of losing their lives in the process. In May of this year, a soldier, Blanco, escaped after having been held captive for eight years. The soldier confirmed that the three American hostages are alive, and that Ingrid Betancourt was also a prisoner with him until three months before he escaped in May 2007.

298 The collaboration between politicians and paramilitary forces has been documented in various court cases in Colombia. Amongst other things a signed pact regarding the collaboration has been presented. 14 politicians are currently amongst those imprisoned in Colombia for collaborating with paramilitary forces, the pact having been used as evidence in connection with these.

299 During questioning of the paramilitary forces' leader, Salvatore Mancuso, it emerged that there were a surprising number of politicians who have collaborated with these paramilitary forces. More than 30% of the politicians in Colombia are presumed to be involved. He is reported to have said that he had control of 30% of the parliament, maybe more.

300 With regard to the comments about Angel Rabasa's statement, Niels Lindvig stated that the comments drawn up by the defendants' documentary group are relevant. These show that Jorge Eduardo Gechem Turbay was reportedly killed. There are several items of information indicating that Jorge Eduardo Gechem Turbay is still alive. The witness would not dismiss the possibility of there having been some mix-up with another member of parliament who drowned in an accident in 1997.

301 As regards unreliable sources, Niels Lindvig stated that it is a moot point as to whether the organization "The Safety and Democracy Foundation" is independent. The facts disclosed are correct.

302 FARC has acknowledged encroachments. FARC has a habit of doing this. As regards the bomb attack on El Nogal, it is a "gentlemen's club", visited by a good number of officers and other high-ranking individuals. FARC has not admitted responsibility for the attack on El Nogal. The action is atypical of Colombia, and FARC has not carried out this type of action before. FARC generally takes responsibility if it has committed large-scale actions. As regards the information that there are no other groups of people in Colombia who could perpetrate this action, the witness advised that he himself knows someone who knows groups of people that could undertake such actions.

303 As regards FARC's bids to take part in legal political activities, it has been documented that Union Patriotica tried to take part in the country's political life in the 1980s.

Personal information

304 On 22 May 2006 defendant T1 agreed to a notice of citation for DKK 1,200 for infringing Section 121 of the Danish Penal Code.

Procedure

305 The Director of Public Prosecution has stated that all the defendants knew that the profits from sales would go to support the PFLP and FARC. According to the preparatory works for Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code, it is of no significance whether such support is to be used for anything other than the acquisition of weapons or explosives when the organizations are known, amongst other things, for committing acts of terrorism.

306 Following the production of evidence, it can be argued that each of these organizations individually carries out actions as mentioned in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. The actions undertaken can inflict serious damage on the countries.

307 The actions must have been undertaken to seriously intimidate the populations or to force the public authorities to take or refrain from taking action or to destabilize or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of those countries. This terrorist intent must be interpreted in accordance with a declaration submitted in connection with the EU's adoption of the framework decision forming the basis of Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. The declaration sets out:

308 "...

309 The Framework Decision on the fight against terrorism covers acts which are considered by all Member States of the European Union as serious infringements of their criminal laws committed by individuals whose objectives constitute a threat to their democratic societies respecting the rule of law and the civilization upon which these societies are founded. It has to be understood in this sense and cannot be construed so as to argue that the conduct of those who have acted in the interest of preserving or restoring these democratic values, as was notably the case in some Member States during the Second World War, could now be considered as "terrorist" acts"

310 ... "

- **311** Following the production of evidence, it can be argued that the organizations had intent as set out in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. Kidnapping of a presidential candidate, killing 119 people in a church cannot be a mistake. The actions are not excepted from the EU Declaration. Only actions undertaken during the Second World War are deemed exceptions.
- **312** The conditions in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code have therefore been met, as have also the conditions for conviction in accordance with Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code.
- 313 The counsels for the defence have stated that the Director of Public Prosecution's witnesses are not independent witnesses. The defendants' witnesses are independent, and the defendants' material has been documented using source references.
- **314** T7 and T5 were not involved in the collection and have thus not met the constituent elements of the crime outlined in the charge.
- 315 The other defendants have acknowledged having been involved, but they have explained that they do not regard the two organizations as terrorist organizations. There is not the requisite intent, therefore, to constitute infringement of Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code.
- 316 Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code must be understood in the light of the EU's Declaration in connection with the adoption of the framework decision on which the provision is based. Furthermore, according to the preparatory work for the Act, the provision must be understood such that the actions must be directed at a system based on the principle of democracy, and other rules of law that are tenets common to the EU Member States. Colombia's and Israel's relationship with the occupied areas is not based on these principles.
- **317** The collection in question is atypical in terms of what has been criminalized in Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code. The collection was intended to be spent for humanitarian purposes, which were precisely capable of promoting the values referred to in the framework decision. The provision was not intended to apply to such collections. Material atypicality is therefore evident, which must lead to acquittal.
- 318 Against the backdrop of General Assembly Resolution 60/251 of 15 March 2006, it is asserted that in relation to the Palestinian population the Israeli state is violating the core values of democracy and abusing the right to place the nation's salvation above the rights of the individual and the democratic community. Therefore, the Palestinian population, and consequently also the PFLP, has a legitimate right of resistance. Some of the PFLP's actions are not legitimate and must be treated as war crimes, but these actions are nothing like as great in scope as Israel's actions.

319 FARC controls approx. 40% of Colombia's territory. The organization is a rebel movement in a non-international conflict. Colombia's government has negotiated with FARC on a number of occasions, and it has also entered into agreements, amongst other things on the demilitarized (*despeje*) zone controlled by FARC. Any violations of the laws of war will therefore qualify for consideration as war crimes, not as terrorism.

The Court's reasoning and decision:

- **320** According to the defendants' statements, it is argued that all the defendants were aware that T-shirts were going to be sold and the profits from T-shirt sales would go to the organizations of the PFLP and FARC. The defendants had various tasks, including coordination, dealings with the press and packing. T7 did not participate actively but did have posters making reference to the website hanging on his/her hotdog stand. T5 made server capacity available. On this basis all the defendants are considered to have undertaken actions that played an instrumental part in the collection.
- **321** What the support contribution was otherwise to be used for in the organizations is deemed to be of no significance to the case. What is crucial as to whether Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code has been contravened is whether the organizations carry out terrorist acts as described in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code.
- **322** The defendants, according to their statements, were aware that the collection might be in contravention of the legislation. However, this did not result in them refraining from continuing their undertaking.
- **323** The Director of Public Prosecution's submission of evidence for the organizations' actions and the purpose thereof has consisted of expert witnesses whose information is sourced largely from international organizations, from the press and, to some extent, from their time in the Middle East and South America. Apart from Reuven Paz, who comes from Israel, only a minimal amount of their knowledge derives from their own experiences and observations of the incidents.
- **324** The defendants' submission of evidence has also consisted of expert witnesses whose knowledge, apart from Ilan Pape, largely derives from the same sources as those from which the Director of Public Prosecution's witnesses get their information.
- **325** Based on the whole of the evidence submitted, it is argued that the organizations have carried out a series of murders, abductions and so on for which the organizations have taken responsibility. The organizations have thus carried out actions referred to in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code, to an extent which could damage the countries in question. Following the production of evidence, the Court cannot take a more detailed position on the execution and scope of the individual actions.
- **326** In gauging the extent to which these actions were undertaken with intent, as set out in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code, the Court takes only those actions perpetrated in recent years into consideration.

Regarding the PFLP

327 It is argued that the organization was founded after Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank following the war in 1967. Members were people who were already living in these areas and who were against the occupation. In recent years the organization has continued to work against the Israeli occupation and against the Israeli settlements. Several, though not all actions have been directed at military targets, particularly in the occupied areas.

328 On this basis, and given that the Court, as stated above, has not been able to take a more detailed position on the execution and scope of the individual actions, it is not deemed to have been sufficiently proven that the organization's actions were carried out for the purpose of seriously intimidating the population or wrongfully forcing the Israeli authorities to take or refrain from taking action, or for the purpose of destabilizing or destroying the country's fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures, cf. Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code, subs. 1.

329 On this basis, the defendant is acquitted on this count of the charge.

Regarding FARC

330 The organization's members are recruited among the population of Colombia. The purpose of the organization is to change Colombia's political system. A number of actions have been directed at government targets, including military and paramilitary groups. The organization has not admitted responsibility for the killing of 34 coca pickers, and during this case it has not been proved that this action was carried out by the organization.

331 Two of those deliberating state:

332 Since the Court has been unable to take a position on the execution and scope of the individual actions, and in light of the evidence produced in general, these deliberators do not consider it to have been proved with the certainty sufficient in criminal proceedings for a conviction that the purpose of FARC's actions is to seriously intimidate the population or wrongfully force the authorities in Colombia to take or refrain from taking action, or to destabilize or destroy the country's fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures, cf. Section 114, subs. 1, of the Danish Penal Code. These judges therefore vote in favour of acquittal.

333 One deliberator states:

334 With specific reference to the attack on 2 May 2002 at the church in Bojayá, in which FARC members did not refrain from using imprecise gas grenades, even though there were civilians who might be, and indeed were hit by these, and on the basis of abductions of top politicians, including presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, it is deemed proven that the organization also carries out actions as mentioned in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code in order to intimidate the population and destabilize and destroy the country's fundamental political structures. This deliberator therefore finds that, by collecting money for FARC, the defendants are guilty of contravening Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code.

335 Judgment is handed down in accordance with the majority; accordingly, the defendants are acquitted on all counts.

336 —

337 The Public Treasury shall pay the costs of the case.

Judgment of the High Court of Eastern Denmark on 18 September 2008 (14th Division).

338 (B.O. Jespersen, Rosenløv, Steen Mejer, with lay assessors.)

339 District Court of Copenhagen's judgment of 13 December 2007 — appealed by the Director of Public Prosecution with a plea for conviction in accordance with the bill of indictment, including a plea for confiscation

of the amount seized of DKK 24,982, 8 Fighters and Lovers T-shirts, and the website www.fightersandlovers.com, cf. Section 75, subs. 2 of the Danish Penal Code.

340 The defendants, T1, T2, T5, T3, T7, T6 and T4, have submitted a plea of affirmation.

- 341 During the criminal trial before the Danish High Court, the Director of Public Prosecution documented excerpts from the following reports etc. relating to FARC: UN reports from 2003 to 2008, reports from Human Rights Watch from 2004 to 2007, reports from Amnesty International for 2003, 2006 and 2007, The Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile 2003, Colombia, an exclusive interview with the Second Commandant of the Colombian guerrilla to Clarín, from FARC-EP.org, letters of 10 July 2001 and 8 May 2002 to military commander Manuel Marulanda from Human Rights Watch, press release of 6 May 2003 from Amnesty International, International Crisis Group, Colombia: Presidential politics and peace prospects, Latin America Report N 14 16 June 2005, ICG Latin America Report N 4, Colombia's Humanitarian Crisis, 9 July 2003, ICG, Demobilizing the paramilitaries in Colombia: An achievable goal?, 5 August 2004, Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, 16 December 2005, Rand Corporation, Project Air Force, Human Rights Watch, vol. 19. No. 1 (B), July 2007, background analysis of 3 November 2006 from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis, translation of parts of a report from the Swedish Government Offices Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding human rights in Colombia 2007.
- 342 Furthermore, the Director of Public Prosecution has documented excerpts from the following reports etc. regarding the PFLP: Amnesty International: Israel/Occupied Territories: Palestinian armed groups must not use children, 23 May 2005, www.news.bbc.co.uk, Human Rights Watch: Erased In Reuven Paz Moment: Suicide Bombing Attacks Against Israeli Civilians, October 2002, background analysis of 3 November 2006 from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis, declaration of 17 September 2007 from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis, the PFLP's websites on suicide attacks in Tel Aviv on 24 December 2003, suicide attack on a market in Tel Aviv on 31 October 2004, shooting of a Zionist soldier in the northern part of Gaza on 9 April 2007, rocket attack at the Beit Hanoun checkpoint in the Gaza Strip on 15 August 2007 and rocket attack at a checkpoint in Gaza and the towns of Askalan and Sidirut.
- 343 The counsels for the defence have documented the EU's terrorist list, a judgment of 12 December 2006 by the European Court of Justice, the UK's terrorist list, printouts from the Internet, an overview of rulings handed down by the European Court of Justice and press releases on this, a decision of 7 June 2008, a declaration printed in 2004, a working paper from 2003 and a press release from 18 September 2007, parts of the defendants' report "About the conflict in Colombia and FARC-EP", parts of the defendants' report on "The Israel/Palestine conflict and the PFLP's role in it", the translation of a copy of a book about George Habash, excerpts from a report by the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights and an article from MIPT from 2002.
- **344** Before the Danish High Court, a supplementary statement has been given by the defendants and witnesses Niels Lindvig and Ole Sippel (both journalists), all of whom have given statements identical in essence to those given before the District Court.
- 345 The witnesses Matthew Levitt, PhD, Senior Lecturer, Professor Eduardo Montealegre Lynett, associate professor Russell Crandall, psychiatrist Ruchama Marton, Professor Roland Anrup, Miquel Ángel González Reyes and journalist Jorge Enrique Botero Lince have given a statement before the Danish High Court, and Professor John Dugard, ref. Section 917, cf. Section 843, of the Danish Administration of Justice Act, has submitted a statement to the District Court of Copenhagen.

- **346** The statements given before the District Court by the witnesses Reuven Paz, Angel Rabasa, the witness from the Danish Centre for Terrorist Analysis and Amilicar J. Figueroa have been documented pursuant to Section 923 of the Danish Administration of Justice Act.
- 347 Defendant T6 explained, inter alia, that it is correct that there was a member of the PFLP who has been a suicide bomber, but it was not a member who had been sent out by the PFLP. He does not deny that there have been suicide attacks perpetrated by PFLP members, but it is not the PFLP's ideology. He does not regard the organization as a terrorist organization. The defendant is not particularly good at English, so he may certainly have approached T5 for the purpose of compiling the press releases. They did not necessarily have to be approved by the defendant, although he is the head of the association. He was far too busy to have to take care of everything.
- **348** Confronted with a statement for a police report of 22 February 2006 in which the defendant explained that he approved all material that was sent out about Fighters and Lovers, the defendant explained that he told the police quite clearly that he "assumes responsibility". That is not synonymous with him having seen all material.
- 349 It is correct that he stated that the organizations FARC and the PFLP also make mistakes. It is his firm conviction that no organizations of that size can avoid making mistakes. The defendant describes attacks on civilians as mistakes.
- **350** When he stated that none of them "pulled any punches", he means that none of the defendants has ever attempted to conceal what they were up to.
- **351** Confronted with a transcript of a conversation on 26 January 2006 between the defendant and T3, the defendant explained that he did not want the customer to send the T-shirt back, as he did not wish to disclose the association's address. That was partly due to the address having been subject to multiple attacks by Nazis. He therefore wished to avoid having the address go public.
- 352 The defendant further explained that he has been an organized part of the political work in the West Sahara for many years. In order to show the public how tough conditions in this area are, the defendant wished that their organization would also support Polisario. The suicide attacks allegedly committed by the PFLP, according to the prosecutor, are attacks familiar to the defendant.
- 353 He knows that the PFLP is the organization that advocates peace between everyone in the area most vehemently. There have been mistakes on the PFLP's part, but "the others" have made greater mistakes. When he stated in the District Court that he did not want to be part of the "Riga project due to corruption", he meant corruption on the part of Riga University. "They just raked in money from the EU and pocketed it themselves".
- **354** The popularly elected mayor of Bethlehem is a member of the PFLP, and he is a Christian.
- **355** The defendant further explained that the DKK 24,892 is total sales of the T-shirts in question. The association had many expenses, and the defendant was in charge of the accounts. He was very busy, however. There were repeated attempts at attacks on the address by right-wing individuals.
- **356** Defendant T1 explained, amongst other things, that she was primarily in contact with T3 in connection with the PR work. Apart from T6 she did not actually meet the other defendants connected with the charges in this case. The witness's predominant view of the organizations' actions is that they were necessary to achieve their goal. They cannot, in her opinion, be regarded as out-and-out acts of terrorism. It is not the PFLP's strategy to make use of suicide bombs. The organization is not religious. A suicide bomber performs a religious act in

order to become a martyr. It is correct that the PFLP has stated that it claims responsibility for some of the suicide bomb actions, but in the defendant's opinion suicide bombers have not been part of the organization's strategy, and such actions cannot be classed as terrorism, therefore. Kidnappings in Colombia must be seen "in the context of the situation in the country where such things happen". It is correct that the defendant knew that her actions might be illegal. She is familiar with Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code and therefore knew that her action might cause problems. It was part of her motivation, however. She wanted to discuss things. The defendant was keen to support potential channels of communication in Colombia. She wished to support both FARC and the PFLP.

357 The defendant further explained that it is her view that FARC had not factored outlay on radio equipment and suchlike into its budget. She does not, therefore, think that her support for communications equipment might potentially free up funding for terrorist acts. Colombia is a highly brutalized society, and she therefore had no choice but to support FARC, which is not to say that kidnappings and similar acts are OK. They have to be evaluated according to the specific situation and in the context in which they occur.

358 Defendant T3 explained amongst other things that significant errors crept into the reproduction of his statement before the District Court.

359 The defendant does not recognize the statement In lines 3–4, paragraph 1, page 8, at all. It does not reflect his statement but can only be the judge's wording.

360 In the first line of the fourth paragraph, components are missing from the definition of terrorism. The defendant also said that the intention was to intimidate the population. Terrorism is the planned, cruel exercise of violence against blameless civilians in order to scare the population for the purpose of achieving a political objective. He also said that if there is no democracy, the use of violence may be legitimate. If, on the other hand, there is democracy, the use of violence is not legitimate.

361 In the fifth paragraph, last line, the defendant disputes having said that he does not acknowledge that the PFLP uses suicide bombers. He said the PFLP's political strategy is not to use suicide bombers or assaults on civilians. Individuals who are members of or affiliated with the PFLP are the ones who have deployed these methods.

362 In the sixth paragraph, second sentence, the defendant contests that he said that FARC is a non-violent organization. He said that FARC, wherever possible, for example, has prioritized the use of non-violent methods and has tried to stand for election.

363 In the last paragraph, first line, he denies having said that mistakes always occur whenever fights break out between government forces and FARC, of which there are about 2,000 a year.

364 In the same paragraph which mentions that FARC hit 100 people with shots, the defendant explained that this is about an incident in 2002. The way he expressed himself did not imply it was a conscious action. The group of people were inside the church and were therefore not visible to FARC, which inadvertently ended up striking these people with a home-made mortar grenade.

365 The defendant has further explained that, prior to this case, he had a very superficial knowledge of T7. They were not in daily contact. The same applies with regard to T1. However, they did work together closely on the text of the adverts. At the behest of the defendant, T2 and T4 helped to pack the T-shirts in question. They discussed the problems relating to the democratic opportunities in the wake of the terrorist attack in September 2001. T-shirts were not sold from T7's hotdog stand.

366 The defendant does not regard the attacks on civilians for which the PFLP has taken responsibility on its website as terrorism. For the defendant, terrorist attacks are those meant to frighten the population in order to achieve political objectives. He does not think that "the end justifies the means".

367 It is correct that there were civilians who were killed during the attack on the church and that mortar grenades were used. Nevertheless, the defendant does not regard the attack as terrorism because the intent of the attack was to protect the population from the paramilitary force that had been attacking the population for several days.

368 The defendant further explained that the government army allowed the paramilitary forces to enter the area in the specific situation. There is clear evidence that the government army played an active part in the massacre.

369 He was first in Colombia as a journalist in conjunction with a documentary programme in January 1999 and for a couple of months after that. He was in the country later during peace negotiations between FARC and the government. These negotiations were conducted from 1998 to 2002. The Danish government representative was with the guerrillas in 2000. In the summer of 2001 the defendant was in Colombia at the time FARC released 300 prisoners, as it was hoped the government side would also release some of its political prisoners. That did not happen, however. During the 1990s FARC made progress, and as a result many soldiers from the government troops surrendered to FARC. FARC, therefore, suddenly found itself with a large number of prisoners who the government did not want to take back. The defendant used the name — as an artiste's name, because the plight of journalists in Colombia is very difficult. It is normal to receive death threats, and for them to be acted upon. Therefore — and in order to protect his Colombian colleagues — the defendant used an alias.

370 The defendant further explained that Fighters and Lovers wished to buy equipment and deliver it to FARC and the PFLP, respectively. One can only dissociate oneself from kidnapping, but depriving prisoners of war of their freedom is alright in the opinion of the defendant. Such deprivations of liberty were also referred to as kidnappings by the Colombian government. FARC performs social work. E.g. FARC maintains roads, schools and so on, but they also collect taxes, and maintain law and order. If people do not pay or comply with "the law", they are deprived of their liberty by FARC, and these deprivations of liberty are referred to in the Colombian press as kidnappings.

371 The point of kidnapping top politicians is to reach an agreement on the release of the prisoner(s). This purpose is not terrorism in the view of the defendant.

372 The defendant further explained that FARC resumed armed battle as its members were being persecuted by the government. If the government recognized FARC, there would be no guerrilla fighting.

373 Defendant T5 explained that there are many mistakes in the record of his statement to the District Court. E.g. he did not express views on his internalized understanding of terrorism (p. 11, 3rd paragraph).

374 The defendant further explained that, amongst other things, on the day after the defendant and the other defendants had had their homes searched, he prepared the draft of the press release. To did not need to approve the draft.

375 When the defendant said in the District Court that "anyone can make mistakes", he meant that parties in all conflicts violate the rules of the Human Rights Convention and the 4th Geneva Convention.

376 The defendant denies that the PFLP has admitted responsibility for suicide bombers on its website. Suicide bombers are contrary to the PFLP's policies. The death of the minister of tourism was also alluded to on the PFLP's website, but that is not synonymous with saying that the PFLP took responsibility for it as an organization, even though it was undoubtedly something one of its members had perpetrated.

377 Confronted with the statement made before the District Court (1st paragraph, 4th line), the defendant explained that he does not understand what the judge means in the record. So it is with many of the sentences in the record. The only one of the co-defendants known to the defendant beforehand was T6. The defendant's only task was to host the server. The defendant hosted four other websites for others. The defendant did not see any of the e-mails sent to Fighters and Lovers, as they were immediately forwarded to another Google address. For the past 25 years the defendant has worked with aid organizations around the world, which is why he agreed to host the server, having sympathies for both the PLFP and FARC. The defendant was previously unable to support FARC, since FARC was Moscow-orientated, and he has always been against the Soviet Union, just as he was against taking hostages. Following the enactment of the terrorism legislation, however, he wanted to be involved in generating debate around what he saw as the restrictions on human rights entailed by the legislation. There are numerous definitions of what terrorism is. For the defendant, terrorism is an epithet which the parties in a conflict predicate upon their opponent. The benchmark is the 4th Geneva Convention, which is about protecting the civilian population. The PFLP and FARC are listed on neither the UN's nor the UK's terrorist list.

378 When shown the translation of a document from Amnesty International, the defendant went on to explain that of 27 attacks carried out by the PFLP over the past 8 years, only 3 targeted civilians. The others were directed at the military or Israeli settlers.

379 Defendant T7 explained that, amongst other things, he may well have met T1 on previous occasions, but he did not know she was a member of Fighters and Lovers. The defendant got to know T3 in connection with a search of all the defendants' homes. However, it is possible that there has been previous contact between the two, only the defendant does not now remember. Posters with photographs of the T-shirts in question had been hung up in the defendant's hotdog stand, but there were no T-shirts on sale there. The defendant knew that the support money was supposed to go to the PFLP, and FARC and the organizations were on the terrorist list. He does not recall whether he spoke to T6 in this regard.

380 When shown the posters with T-shirts, the defendant explained that he finds it hard to envisage that they could be part of anything criminal.

381 The defendant attended the "release party". He did not take part in packing or anything else around the sale of T-shirts.

382 Defendant T4 explained that, amongst other things, she believes that she said in the District Court that she was unable to define what terrorism was, but the Colombian regime was a really good example, including its assaults on civilians.

383 She met T2 while packing T-shirts. T3 had asked if the defendant would get involved. They talked about what was happening in Colombia and Palestine, and how a civilian insubordination project could be mounted. She would certainly have been on the Fighters and Lovers' website a couple of times, but she had no part in putting it together. She must have read that it might get them into hot water legally. She thought that, as part of the "ghost of terrorism after 11 September", a great many problems arose in connection with humanitarian aid work around the world. She disapproves of attacks on civilians, but everything has to be seen in context. Assaults on civilians are not an act of terrorism, but a mistake.

384 Defendant T2 explained that, amongst other things, in her reproduction of her statement before the District Court, she does not understand the sentence about the lists and the EU's terrorist list. With regard to the last paragraph, she qualified the sentence such that the PFLP was an opponent of the occupation, and FARC was engaged in a civil war.

385 She does not believe either of the two organizations has a political strategy aimed at killing civilians. The defendant has taken part in political solidarity work since the 1990s and has not had problems like this before. She might well envisage it causing difficulties perhaps, now that the organizations had been placed on a terrorist list, but she has probably not thought that far ahead, and her work was no different from what she had been doing before.

She and T6 have almost certainly spoken about conditions in Israel, but she needed no further explanation about this, as she has been on the occupied West Bank herself. She already knew T3, got to know T4 through the packing and met the other defendants in the context of the case.

386 The defendant further explained that, when on the West Bank she helped out driving ambulances, amongst other things.

387 *Niels Lindvig* explained, inter alia, that the reproduction of his statement before the District Court contains the following errors.

388 On p. 39, penultimate paragraph, it was not FARC, but UP, that had stood for election.

389 On p. 40, 2nd and 3rd paragraphs, it was not FARC, but AUC.

390 On p. 43, 3rd from last paragraph, it was paramilitary groups, not government forces that had hidden behind the church.

391 On p. 44, 3rd paragraph, it is about abducted politicians and civilians whom it was attempted to liberate by means of military action. The place name cited does not exist.

392 On p. 45, 1st paragraph, concerning untrustworthy sources, something must have been heavily condensed or merged. What it says here is not how he expressed himself. The information about the foundation is correct, but he does not recognize the other facts.

393 When shown the defendants' report "About the conflict in Colombia and FARC-EP", the witness explained amongst other things that the report is of a very high standard and well documented. The political system in Colombia is difficult to describe in a few sentences. It is a democracy that has to function in a situation of war. It therefore represents a democracy for very few people. There is no great interactivity between urban and rural areas. The opinion polls may well show that the government enjoys a certain amount of support, but the witness questions who was asked. So he does not feel displaced persons and refugees were asked. It is impossible to conduct meaningful opinion polls in the rural areas. The urban population does not perceive the war in the same way as the population in the rural areas. In the towns and cities you don't need to have any contact with the war if you don't want to. In Colombia soldiers with the equivalent of A-levels are not sent to the front. It is possible to bribe one's way through an examination. Others are paying for the war, which means that not everyone has an interest in putting an end to the war. For many years now the USA has sponsored the fight against drugs above all, and in more recent years also the fight against guerrilla warfare. The USA sends money or equipment to spray coca fields or sends people from private companies. These private individuals often act as mercenaries.

394 The USA has entered the conflict in Colombia big time, because the USA has a "friend" in Uribe. Colombia might well be said to function like an aircraft carrier for the USA. The USA also wishes to combat the drug problem where the drugs are grown, not where they are consumed. It has been attempted to show that FARC has been collaborating with other terrorist groups, but no evidence has been forthcoming. Colombia is important in terms of the USA's regional interests. The volume of cocaine has not grown any smaller, as shown by a former UN satellite programme he has been monitoring. New varieties of coca plants are making it possible to harvest 3–4 crops annually. American researchers consider spraying with Roundup problematic. The spraying has side-effects. The Colombian government has tried to introduce the cultivation of other plants, but nothing fetches as much as coca plants. Most farmers who grow coca also cultivate other crops, which they eat themselves. The spraying impacts these crops too, and people have been seen to fall ill, while poverty has also grown greater among the farmers as well. The witness thinks it is wrong to claim that FARC finances the

organization though drug cultivation. FARC has provided protection for those growing and reshipping the drugs, but it is not involved in the sales stage. FARC offers logistical help in return for payment. It is true that FARC collects taxes from drug producers and other enterprises. FARC's policy was that companies with a turnover of more than a million dollars had to pay at any rate.

395 The witness knows Miquel Ángel González Reyes. The witness interviewed him a year ago. Reyes is highly regarded.

396 Uribe is a man who has built his success on the back of being governor of a province and being outside of the parties. He ran with a novel political solution. He was regarded as a "saviour" and gained great support. That happened in 2002, immediately after the negotiations between FARC and the then government in Colombia had "gone up in smoke". Uribe vowed to solve the problems the hard way, together with the army and the police. Like many other newspeople and others, the witness was in Colombia in 2002 when the negotiations between FARC and the government at the time took place, but "the peace process did not gain peace". FARC was not uncommitted, but it was difficult to negotiate because the number of actions, assaults and attacks was ramped up during that period, often being perpetrated by paramilitary forces and the police. These were not interested in a peaceful solution. Some of the assassinations perpetrated were "foisted" onto FARC to cause the negotiations to collapse. There were very powerful forces at work in Colombia that did not want the negotiations to succeed.

397 Confronted with the defendants' report "About the conflict in Colombia and FARC-EP" (p. 10, middle — p. 11 top), the witness explained that this summary is reasonably correct in his estimation. The witness does feel, however, that the present-day situation is considerably worse than a year ago. Trade-union representatives in particular have been killed on a large scale. Big foreign companies pay to protect themselves. It is difficult to operate a business in Colombia without paying "protection money". Even very small and insignificant organizations are constantly persecuted.

398 The aim of the law on justice and peace is to demobilize the paramilitary forces. The individuals concerned had to come completely clean, meaning that there are currently between 60 and 70 high-ranking politicians charged with collaborating with paramilitary forces over the years. A draft bill has recently been tabled to remove the Supreme Court's right to investigate these cases any further. Most recently, paramilitary individuals have visited the presidential palace to "sully" the president of the Supreme Court. That has sparked vehement reactions from the opposition in Colombia.

399 The situation in Colombia has been severely exacerbated under Uribe. Previously, there were not that many instances of alleged terrorist activity. Many peasant and farmer leaders stand accused of being terrorists; their acquaintances are bribed to produce false witness statements. The witness does not believe that peace negotiations are still in progress in the country "behind the scenes". All options have been crushed. FARC is not a terrorist organization in the witness's opinion, but a rebel movement or farmers' movement. It is difficult to define what it is capable of and what it wants.

400 The witness further explained that no one knows how much money FARC has received from drug trafficking, but he does know that a lot of money is involved. He is reluctant to classify the attacks FARC has directed against civilians as terrorism. The point of terrorism is to consciously attack innocent people in order to promote one's own objective. Given that, he cannot describe FARC as a terrorist organization. Dreadful actions have been committed in FARC's name, e.g. by local FARC leaders, but that happens in all situations of war. The combatants sometimes clash in places where there are many people, and individual members sometimes cross the line.

- **401** The witness is aware that a number of people voice criticism about his views. In his opinion, he is being criticized for not being "sufficiently right-wing".
- **402** *Ole Sippel* explained that, amongst other things, he thinks he said in the District Court that the PFLP's actions have been more spectacular than those undertaken by Hamas.
- **403** Since 1960 he has worked as a journalist. He started travelling in the Middle East in 1963, and he has been living there ever since and has travelled pretty much everywhere throughout the area. He has spoken to all those involved on both sides of the conflict, high and low. During his time as head of news at DR, the witness did not deal with the Middle East, but it has otherwise been his primary area of concern. Before the 6-day War in 1967 the Palestinians were only recognized as refugees. They had no legitimate rights, and in the first UN resolution the Palestinians were referred to as refugees only. The witness explained about historical developments from 1948 to 1967.
- **404** The counsel for the defence documented from the defendants' report "The Israel/Palestine conflict and the PFLP's role in it" (p. 14).
- **405** On a number of occasions the UN has asked Israel to comply with the 4th Geneva Convention, which Israel has declined to do, however.
- **406** In a guideline ruling the International Court in the Hague established that the wall between Israel and the West Bank was erected illegally and must be demolished. Israel maintains that the wall is a protective measure. In the witness's opinion it is incredibly reminiscent of the Berlin Wall. Anyone attempting to breach it is dealt with very severely. In the witness's opinion, the wall is intended to demarcate a border.
- **407** When shown the same report (p. 5, map 4), the witness explained that the map is a very good representation, apart from the fact that the Palestinian area is much smaller nowadays. Israel exercises complete control of the West Bank.
- **408** The PFLP was set up after the war, probably in 1967. First and foremost the organization was to be seen as a liberation organization focusing on the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian areas, including those areas that were occupied in 1948. The PFLP, which arose from small nationalist parties, rests on a socialist or revolutionary Marxist foundation. In practice the Oslo Agreements are accepted today. The PFLP became a member of the PLO shortly after the PLO started up, albeit only briefly. Today the PFLP is again a member of the PLO. Hamas is not part of it.
- **409** The witness explained the background to the 1st and 2nd Intifadas.
- 410 Confronted with the aforementioned report (p. 34), the witness explained that there must be between 200,000 and 250,000 settlers in the occupied territories. 150,000-175,000 or so live in East Jerusalem. Clashes between settlers and Palestinians give rise to many conflicts. The army ought to protect both parties from each other, but the reality is that the army very often protects only the settlers. Israel has a conscripted army, and conscription is taken very seriously. Most Israelis go into the army, therefore. There have been odd cases of the settlers being punished for assaults on the Palestinians, but such punishments are generally much more lenient than is the case for the Palestinians. The settlers are subject to Israeli legislation, whereas the Palestinians are subject to other legislation.

- 411 The witness knows that the PFLP carries out social activities. The details given in the aforementioned report about the PFLP's social work seem credible enough to the witness, but he has no experience in the field himself.
- 412 The concept of terrorism is difficult to define with any degree of precision. His own interpretation is the targeted pursuit of a civilian population in the hope of achieving one's objective. However, a particular act can certainly be said to be terrorism, although he cannot comment as to which state or organization is a terrorist. He does not wish to label Israel as a terrorist state or the PFLP as a terrorist organization. It is correct that a series of Israeli prime ministers have been behind terrorist acts. That goes for Shamir, Sharon and Begin, for instance. The civilian population has been drawn into the conflict as a target by both sides with a view to pressuring the opponent. When you are weak, you will resort to all and any means, including terror, to put pressure on the opponent.
- 413 The witness does not know Matthew Levitt personally but has read about him. The organization he comes from is considered very pro-Israeli in the USA. He does not think Matthew Levitt is impartial. The PFLP has been involved in particularly few suicide bomb attacks. The death of the Israeli minister of tourism in 2000 was an action planned "from above" by way of revenge for the killing of a high-ranking PFLP member. The minister was extremely right-wing, incidentally.
- 414 The PFLP has not displayed great levels of activity over the past 10–15 years, partly because the organization has "lost its footing" among the population and partly because it has grown weaker owing to internal squabbling. There are probably only 800 members left.
- **415** Confronted with the aforementioned report (pp. 57–59), the witness explained that he does not regard an attack on the security forces as a terrorist attack. He believes this view to be in accordance with the Geneva Convention.
- **416** As regards the attack on the bus-stop on 25 December 2003, the witness explained that there are no bus-stops specifically for soldiers, but there may be bus-stops where soldiers will be found.
- **417** It is hard for both the PFLP and the Israeli military to draw the borderline between what are military and what are civilian targets.
- **418** He himself knows nothing about an attack on Dimona in 2008. There is no formal collaboration in place between the PFLP and other organizations as regards carrying out terrorism, but PFLP members can still take part together with other groups without the approval of the leadership.
- 419 Confronted with Matthew Levitt's expert statement (material collection file, p. 240), the witness explained that this is the first time he has seen this information anywhere. Matthew Levitt refers to a UN report, and the witness would not rule out the possibility of this hypothesis having been put forward in a subordinate clause. Some Lebanese believe Syria was behind the killing of Hariri in Beirut. He does not believe the PFLP had anything to do with it, even though it is headquartered in Damascus.
- **420** The witness takes anything that comes from either side with "a pinch of salt". It is a propaganda war.
- **421** The witness further explained that he is aware that the PFLP had admitted responsibility for several suicide attacks. The fact that the PFLP does not use suicide bombs as a strategy is not synonymous with saying that the organization is not responsible for suicide bombings. He is not willing to take a moral stance on whether Israel's attacks on civilians justify the PFLP's actions.

422 Matthew Levitt explained that, amongst other things, his educational and work background are that he has a Bachelor's degree in science, a Master's in law and diplomacy, and he holds a PhD in International Relations. He has been engaged on dissertations dealing with the Middle East conflict, anti-terrorism and conflict resolution, and still is—more specifically with the conflict between Israel and Palestine. He has been studying Jewish, Israeli and Palestinian groups since the early 1990s. His doctorate dealt with the conflict between Israel and Palestine and included various groups, including the PFLP. His doctorate is from 2005, and a book is being published this week. The witness is regularly in Israel and is due to go to the West Bank next week. He continually makes studies of such relations. The witness teaches at the school of advanced international studies and lectures extensively at conferences and suchlike. He writes article; for instance, there is an article in a San Francisco newspaper today. Whenever he is in the Middle East, he speaks to as many people as possible: government officials, journalists and academics. He also gleans information in the form of government documents, articles, legal documents etc. That is how any good researcher works. He evaluates his material "slowly". He gathers the information from interviews and compares it with the information in documents. For example, the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs [Department of State] publishes an annual report on international terrorism, including on the PFLP. Over the years the witness has given many witness statements on terrorist organizations, but this is the first time he has had to give a statement specifically about the PFLP. He has previously given statements in Denmark regarding Hamas.

423 At the end of the 1990s the PFLP, under its founder George Habash, had started to become more moderate and was producing declarations that a two-state solution would be acceptable. 1999 saw the initiation of negotiations with the PLO to amalgamate the Palestinian authority which then governed the Palestinian areas. Israel allowed a number of the PFLP members to return to the West Bank. Amongst them were people who had hitherto been wanted by the authorities. In 2000 George Habash vacated his post for reasons of age and health. He was succeeded by Abu Ali Mustafa, who is actually called Zabiri. Under him the PFLP reverted to terrorism and carried out a series of car bomb attacks targeting Israeli civilians. Allegedly as a consequence of this, the Israeli authorities murdered Abu Ali Mustafa, who was then replaced by Ahmed Saadat. At that point the military forces or the terrorist wings of the PFLP were renamed "the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades" after the murdered political leader, and the PFLP became even more terrorist-like. Suicide bomb attacks were now being engineered. This was noteworthy, because it was a secular, socialist movement. Both the car bombs and the suicide bombs were targeted at civilians. The car bombs began in 2001, the suicide bombs in 2002, and they continue to this day. The PFLP has also attacked military targets before now. The PFLP initiated modern terrorism in the 1960s and 1970s. The witness would not regard the Mustafa Brigade as an actual wing. Other groups have special or militant wings. According to Human Rights Watch, the PFLP has never made a distinction between political and military targets. Saadat was arrested in 2003 for the death of an Israeli government member. At no point has the PFLP distanced itself from what the Mustafa Brigade has done—on the contrary. The political leaders have said they intend to keep carrying out attacks. That has happened since 2002. Some of the statements will be found on the PFLP's website. The PFLP's objective today is to undermine the current peace process. There are elements in the PFLP that still claim to agree with a two-state solution and say that the current attacks are only carried out specifically against this peace process.

Others within the PFLP claim that the real objective is to eliminate the state of Israel, the aim being to create a Palestinian state. Ultimately, the destruction of Israel is part of the PFLP's agenda. This is the philosophy expressed not only in its political agenda and in the type of attack it carries out, but also in the collaborative approach it shares with other groups, e.g. Hamas. This collaboration goes on at several levels.

Firstly, militarily: the PFLP, together with other groups, has carried out several attacks on Israeli civilians. The most recent one, he supposes, was in 2007, when the PFLP and Hamas tried to carry out a suicide attack together during Yom Kippur. The attempted attack failed, however.

Secondly, financially. There is an example of a member of the Popular Resistance Committee meeting with PFLP members to collect funding. Financial assistance was provided to families of Hamas members who have

been killed or jailed, but also to PFLP members. There is also a link to the al-Aqsa Brigade, which is a separate terrorist organization with a loose connection to Fatah. Based on the witness's research, then, the PFLP collaborates with a number of militant organizations. Whether the PFLP wishes to annihilate Israel, or whether it merely wishes to fight the peace agreement, the PFLP carries out terrorism to achieve its objective. At the moment there are PFLP members in the Palestinian parliament. The PFLP is committed to humanitarian activities on a small scale. It takes care of the military members' families. The biggest outlay it has is spent on political and military activities. There are followers of the PFLP in England. A person by the name of Leila Khaled visited England at one point. In fact there was an open charge against her for taking part in a PFLP kidnapping a long time ago. She supports continued violence, and when asked about the possibility of being arrested because she was wanted, she came out with a veiled threat, stating that the PFLP had supporters throughout Europe, who would be able to respond in that case. She took a positive view of suicide bombers, calling them freedom fighters.

- 424 According to the latest estimate of the number of members the witness has seen, there are some 800 active members of the PFLP. This figure refers to terrorist players. The number of political players is far higher. They are regularly referred to as the second-largest secular party after Fatah. On paper their ideology is still Marxist, but their actions suggest that they have further diversified. Suicide bomb attacks are now being staged, for instance, and they are using the language of the freedom fighter. The political platform is socialist. The PFLP is thought to be strongest in Nablus on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The PFLP also has external headquarters in Syria, and that is one of the reasons why the American government talks of state-financed terrorism with reference to Syria.
- **425** Canada, the USA, the EU and Israel, of course, regard the PFLP as a terrorist organization. In 2002 the Palestinian leader was arrested owing to his involvement in the murder of the Israeli minister of tourism. The witness believes he was brought before an Israeli court, but the evidence against him was so significant that American and British security agencies agreed to supervise his incarceration in Jericho on the West Bank after his arrest.
- **426** When shown the witness's expert statement (material collection file, p. 235 onwards), the witness stated that he cited examples. The enumeration is not exhaustive.
- **427** When shown p. 238, middle, regarding the year 2002, the witness explained that in many cases the PFLP will admit responsibility on its website. In other instances leaders will take responsibility vis-à-vis the press. In cases where the attack has been unsuccessful or thwarted, the authorities who made the arrest are the ones who have given out information as to who carried out the attack. On the basis of this, he has been able to identify attacks as having been carried out by PFLP members, but in most instances it is the PFLP's own statements.
- **428** As regards the bombing of the Karnei Shomron pizzeria, the information about the PFLP must originate either from the PFLP's website or from a PFLP leader who has spoken to the press. The same applies in respect of the bombing in the lobby of the Ariel Hotel. As for the bombing in the garden of the British Council, the information probably comes from a PFLP leader's statement to the press. The Israeli authorities had indeed arrested Saadat, and he was being kept under surveillance by the British authorities, amongst others. It was said that the attack took place as a result of British involvement.
- **429** The firebomb targeting Arafat's adviser's home was thrown out because Mohammed Rashid was probably involved in the negotiations in Bethlehem.
- **430** As to the bombing in February 2008 of Dimona, a town in the south of Israel, the witness explained that the bombing took place in a civilian residential district. It was probably an improvised home-made bomb.

- **431** In July 2008 Molotov cocktails are supposed to have been thrown at civilian vehicles in the area around Jerusalem on the occasion of Saadat's arrest. The details of this are from an article in the press. There is no definitive account.
- **432** The PFLP is a terrorist organization. Not because of its political platform. It takes part in the Palestinian political process, but it still carries out terrorist attacks against the civilian population to achieve its goals. The PFLP still performs this kind of activities. Unlike Hamas, which performs humanitarian work, the PFLP does not have the same economic activities. There is no distinction between the PFLP's political and military activities. The individuals carrying out the actions are responsible, as are the leaders too.
- 433 The witness further explained that he neither speaks nor understands Arabic. It is a very time-consuming language to learn. He has studied some Arabic, but not enough to be able to speak it. He always has an assistant with him, therefore, who is fluent in the language. When using Arab sources, he uses an interpreter. If he plans to use an Arabic source in a magazine or journal he is going to write himself, this is done with the aid of professional interpreters, but the assistants help him to get an overall understanding of the articles. It is not correct that he has used virtually no Arab sources for his book. When the book was published, the witness was working as an official at the Ministry of Finance, and he was therefore precluded from defending an assertion that he did not make use of Arab sources.
- **434** Confronted with an article from July 2003, the witness explained that he is now working at WINEP³, an institute broadly recognized for its expertise. The institute was founded by Martin Indyk, who previously worked for AIPAC. There are many errors in the article concerned. It was written by a person who has not garnered any notable respect for his/her work. AIPAC is often described as the leading pro-Israeli lobbying operation in the USA. WINEP's research is balanced, however, and the institute is politically independent, having no connection with AlPAC. To claim that WINEP is pro-Israel in outlook is wrong. There are around 40 employees, including 12 senior researchers and senior lecturers. These include a Jordanian, an Iraqi and a Turkish senior lecturer, and Palestinians are often on the staff as well.
- 435 No non-Americans are members of the Institute's Advisors Board. He is not familiar with the rules specifically, but the conclusion is something that can be inferred. Their purpose is to come up with proposals for American policies, so members will in some way be prominent individuals, such as former ministers and similar. WINEP is a teaching institute specializing in American politics in relation to the Middle East.
- **436** It is correct that the witness has been employed with the FBI. It is also correct that some years ago he used to write for the National Review Online. It may well be true that at one point he wrote that anti-terrorist activity should be supported. It is a long time since the witness read the article in *Le Monde diplomatique* from July 2003. The article tried to portray WINEP in a particular light, i.e. as a rabid pro-Israeli institute. That is erroneous, however. On the contrary, the institute is entirely independent.
- 437 When the witness used to work for the FBI, he was an anti-terrorism analyst focusing on the presence and activities of Middle East terrorist groups in the USA. That applied to both Arab groups like the PFLP and Jewish terrorist groups. He was also attached to an international advisory centre in Singapore and Israel. It mostly took the form of a mark of honour, but if, say, the Israeli government asked for the witness's opinion about a particular person or student, he might be asked to act as e.g. a censor, external examiner, speaker or proofreader.
- 438 His expert statement was written specifically for this case.

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³ <u>Translator's note</u>: I assume that WINEP here refers to the *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, as opposed to the *Water Industry National Environment Programme*, which is based in the UK.

- 439 The witness has acted as an adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regard to how to promote the peace process. In this connection he has touched on subjects disliked by the Israelis. WINEP has different views. However, there are very few at the institute who do not advocate the peace process. WINEP has no "party line" as such. Often, not everyone agrees with what is written.
- **440** Confronted with the fact that the witness makes no mention of Israel having occupied Palestine, the witness explained that he has written about it in many other articles, but here he was specifically being asked to express his views on the PFLP's activities. He himself is an avid supporter of a two-state solution. He considers it wrong that the occupation of the area should justify suicide bombings.
- 441 In the witness's opinion, criminality can definitely be divorced from freedom fighting. A murder is a murder. He takes the view that targeting military forces is not terrorism in all instances, even though it may well be a criminal act. Many people will regard suicide bomb actions as terrorism, even though their targets are purely military not just because of the fear they spread in society but also because they strike at random. It is impossible for a suicide bomber to know precisely who will be killed or wounded. The witness cannot provide a concrete answer as to whether he thinks a suicide bomb attack on a military target is also terrorism. He thinks the question needs to be answered specifically on a case-by-case basis.
- 442 It is correct that Ahmed Saadat is thought to have been involved in the murder of the minister of tourism. The witness does not know whether that involvement was direct and personal, or whether it was as the planner of the attack, or by virtue of his position as leader of the organization. There were several reports that Ahmed Saadat was organizing attacks from his prison cell via his mobile phone. The Israelis will certainly have wanted to detain Saadat after linking him to the minister's murder, but the USA will not be party to such arrangements without being firmly convinced of the strength of the evidence, not even if requested by Israel itself. The witness is not familiar with what happened in Ahmed Saadat's legal case.
- 443 When shown a print-out of a website from 22 August 2008 (Exhibit B 3), the witness explained that he was not aware the Israeli government had dropped the charges against Saadat for the murder of the minister of tourism, but there were many other offences Saadat was accused of.
- **444** Often there will not be enough evidence to charge the person, but that is not synonymous with the person being innocent.
- 445 The witness thinks he wrote in his statement that the list of terrorist acts is incomplete. He has only included the "highlights". During the period under discussion, the PFLP carried out a far greater number of actions directed at military and civilian targets alike. Whether they count as an act of terrorism depends on the specific case in hand.
- **446** When shown the statement (material collection file, p. 237, bottom), the witness explained that the act in 1994 set out under the 1st item was a terrorist act in the witness's opinion.
- 447 As regards the 3rd item under the year 2002 (same folder, p. 238, bottom), the witness confirmed that he called this attack terrorism. He does not know whether the PFLP is on the British terrorist list. He does not know all lists off by heart. During a visit to England in connection with a case about another terrorist organization, he was told that if an organization is listed on the EU's terrorist list, the organization will also be regarded as a terrorist organization in England. It is correct that a person from the PFLP has dissociated him/herself from the murder attempt in the garden of the British Council, but it may be due to not wishing to "come to blows with European countries".

- **448** The witness does not consider a website to be an insecure source. It is very hard to hack into a website. The usual arrangement is to have one or more webmasters in charge of running the site.
- **449** It has become more dangerous to remain within the Gaza Strip. He has not been there since 2000, after becoming a father.
- **450** Some people in the PFLP are in favour of first obtaining independence as a state and then annihilating Israel, while others advocate a two-state solution, though without being able to accept the concrete peace process. When the PFLP was founded in 1967, it was a Marxist organization. The PFLP was the second most important member of the PLO, and in 1967 the PLO still wished to see Israel destroyed. The PFLP left the PLO after the Oslo Peace Agreement.
- **451** Eduardo Montealegre Lynett explained, amongst other things, that he trained as a lawyer in Bogotá. After completing his education he travelled to Madrid to continue his studies in penal law. Later on, amongst other things, he was a guest researcher at the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in Germany, where he studied jurisprudence for two years. For more than 20 years he has taught penal law and criminal justice at the university, and he has written several books on the subjects. He has been vice-procurator-general, a position in which the incumbent is responsible for protecting human rights in Colombia. The office consists of investigating and sanctioning public-sector employees' human rights infractions. He has also been a judge at the Constitutional Court of Colombia. At present he is a professor and head of philosophy and law at the research centre of the private *Universidad Externado*.
- **452** As to the Colombian judicial system, he explained that Colombia implemented a constitutional reform of the fundamental principles of penal law in 1991. Most recently and most importantly, all international treaties were assigned the same ranking as the constitution. That is to say that all guarantees and rights issuing from international treaties are applied in penal law processes. An essential innovation is the introduction of an accusatorial principle, whereby the Director of Public Prosecution is distinct from the police, just as the courts are independent.
- **453** The investigative function is the responsibility of the Director of Public Prosecution. In Colombia prosecutors must complete a specific course of legal training. There are two court authorities in Colombia. The prosecutor investigates at local level. Every geographical area has an executive overseeing these prosecutors, and in principle this person makes up the second authority.
- **454** The same applies to the courts of law. If a person is sentenced by a court of first instance, he or she can bring the case before a court of second instance. It is also possible to apply for the case to be brought before the Supreme Court. Where a case involves very serious violations of basic rights, there is the additional option of bringing the case before the constitutional court, which exists alongside the ordinary courts and the Supreme Court. The judges in the ordinary courts and the Supreme Court have constitutional independence. The judges are appointed after they have undergone a more in-depth course of training. The government has nothing to do with this process.
- **455** The Director of Public Prosecution is also an independent body. The state prosecutors are appointed by the Supreme Court.
- **456** It is correct that a new system of penal law was introduced in 2004. It was a great change. All those under judicial investigation are assigned a defence counsel. The intention was to move towards an accusatory system. First and foremost there will be a clear segregation between the Director of Public Prosecution and the courts.

Furthermore, only the evidence presented before a judge will be admissible. This is a development that has taken place in several Latin American countries. Anyone charged or indicted has the option of speaking to a defence lawyer before being brought before a judge. From the moment a person is charged, he or she is immediately entitled to a defence lawyer, and the defence remains with that person for the whole of the case. Everyone has an opportunity to put their case to the Court and to present whatever documentation they wish. A person charged/indicted has all guarantees of a defence, including calling witnesses, exhibiting documents etc. There is no death penalty in Colombia. The maximum punishment imposable is a term of imprisonment, which in some cases where judgment is for multiple offences can range up to 40 years. It is possible to have one's sentence reduced by pleading guilty. Such mitigation can be up to one third. It is not enough for a defendant to simply admit guilt. One of the fundamental rules is that an admission of guilt must be underpinned by other evidence. In addition, the judge must also examine whether the prior process has respected the basic rights and guarantees set out in the international rules. If the judge considers the admission to have been made contrary to the rules, he can invalidate the admission. The defence counsel has the option of asserting that the admission is invalid and that the overall process is invalid if such basic rights are not observed. It is also ensured that human rights are observed. In Colombia it is forbidden to use torture for the purpose of expediting a confession. The judge can throw the case out if he deems that there is a basis for assuming that torture has been used or a person's human rights have not been observed.

457 Apart from the courts, there is a sort of ombudsman, who has the option of entering into the process of all cases. He is responsible for ensuring that no force or coercion is used illegally. The ombudsman is an independent body in Colombia. The ombudsman is also a legal expert and takes up the post after a training pathway similar to that of the judges and prosecutors. It is an open process in which lawyers who have the specific experience and knowledge needed can take part.

458 Judgments handed down *in absentia* also exist in Colombia. However, the state needs first to have tried to trace the person, and only in those instances where it is impossible for the person to be present can a case be tried *in absentia*. When such a case is due to go before the Court, the state appoints a defence counsel. The counsel in question comes from the ombudsman institution. Moreover, very powerful sanctions exist if the processes are not correct. The constitutional court of Colombia can declare processes invalid if the rules for a case adjudicated *in absentia* are not followed. There will always be a defence counsel in such a case. A person is innocent until proved otherwise. If the person is found or turns up of his or her own accord, the case continues as normal. If the case has been concluded, the person judged *in absentia* can subsequently apply for the judgment to be declared null and void if the person deems the rules to have been disregarded. This application must be presented speedily and considered within 10 days.

459 The Justice and Peace Act, which concerns the demobilization of paramilitary forces, was passed as part of a peace process. A "nice-sized" reduction of sentences can be achieved for crimes committed in the event of demobilization and confession. These are cases where the illegal groups have committed gross breaches of human rights. Colombia has embraced the universal principles of protection for victims of the armed conflict, including the principles of truth, justice and compensation. The witness estimates that more than 20,000 individuals may potentially be eligible in this process.

460 The witness regards Colombia as a constitutional state, and what fundamentally characterizes a constitutional state is the whole way in which the state submits to the legal system. In addition, the judges are independent. Colombia has incorporated a system of constitutional checks and balances reminiscent of the European constitutional courts set up after the Second World War.

461 The witness further explained that it is correct that the Uribe government this year appointed him a member of a commission recently set up in Colombia. The commission is mandated to produce proposals for ways of

potentially strengthening democracy and the constitutional state. It is also correct that the opposition in Colombia has criticized the commission for its close links with the government. Not everyone has criticized the commission, however; others have seen the proposals as serious and important for the country. At no point has the academic commission put forward proposals that provided the option of re-electing the president. Some commission members do not agree with the president's option for re-election. The reform has nothing to do with re-electing the president. It is clear that there is criticism of the commission from certain quarters. The commission has attached importance to proposals for strengthening all the different political parties and to thoroughly broadening out democracy and the electoral process in Colombia. The commission is keen to introduce political accountability for the various parties, making them liable to incur sanctions if they have illegal connections.

- **462** The witness explained that he has been the Colombian state's representative at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, a counterpart of the European Court of Human Rights. He was a representative of the government when the case of the massacre at La Rochela was conducted.
- 463 The defence counsel documented from the report "About the conflict in Colombia and FARC-EP" (p. 81, middle, and p. 82, top). The witness confirmed that the record pertains to what the case is about. The defence also documented from the report (p. 82, middle). The witness corroborated what has been cited about the outcome of the case.
- **464** The witness confirmed that he was also the government's representative at the time the case concerning the Puerto Bello massacre was heard. The defence documented from the report (p. 79) concerning the content and outcome of the case. The witness confirmed the correctness of the reproduction.
- 465 When questioned in more detail, the witness explained that the military legal system in Colombia can investigate offences committed by the country's forces in some instances. In recent years the military courts have not been able to investigate gross violations of human rights. That is the purview of the courts of general jurisdiction. Prior to the 1991 reform, the military was sometimes able to investigate gross violations of human rights as well.
- **466** Cases can only be brought before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights once examination at the national courts has been exhausted.
- **467** The defence documented from the report (p. 74) concerning the Las Palmeras case. The witness stated that he does not know about the actual case.
- **468** The case of the 19 merchants (p. 75) is known to the witness as a reference only.
- **469** The Gutiérrez-Soler case (p. 76) is not known to him directly either.
- **470** The case of the Mapiripán massacre (p. 77) is known to the witness in general terms. The defence documented from the report about the case and its outcome. The witness is able to approve the record.
- **471** The case of the Ituango massacre (p. 80) is also known to the witness in general terms. The defence documented from the report about the case and its outcome. The witness was able to approve the correctness of the record.
- **472** The case of Escué Zapata (p. 83) is also known to the witness. The defence documented from the report regarding the case and its outcome. The witness was able to approve the correctness of the record.

- **473** It is correct that Colombia has a problem with extrajudicial executions. However, he does not know the particular figures for this. There are many different organizations in Colombia.
- **474** Colombia has acceded to several international conventions, but the witness does not actually know whether Colombia has acceded to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.
- **475** The witness is well acquainted with the Colombian department of international legal experts. He does not know the number of military staff who in recent years have been convicted of contributing to the disappearance and execution of civilians.
- **476** The witness is generally familiar with the reports written by Amnesty International on Colombia. The extrajudicial killings that have taken place have not all been committed by government operatives. They are frequently also carried out by organisations like FARC. FARC is one of Colombia's premier sources of violence. When discussing the figures about transgressions in Colombia, it must be taken into account that a large proportion of these originate from actions carried out by FARC.
- 477 The witness testified that he is familiar with some of the reports on torture in Colombia. Some of the cases mentioned in the international reports on torture were committed by Colombia's military while others were carried out by FARC or other paramilitary groups.
- 478 Colombia has implemented extensive reforms within its judicial system to eliminate such impunities. An example of this is the reform of 2004. The investigational methods available to prosecutors have also been strengthened, particularly when charges of torture are involved. Special government officials have been educated to investigate cases involving torture and international sanctions. Colombia has ensured that anyone can reopen a case involving gross violations of human rights at any time. For example, it is now possible to annul a ruling if information emerges that Colombia failed to seriously investigate a transgression.
- **479** The witness is aware of the fact that there have been cases of torture carried out by state security operatives in Colombia and that the Colombian government has been found guilty of the charges. In many cases, there are reports confirming the torture. An analysis by an ombudsman demonstrated that the claims are not tenable. In his opinion, the number of torture incidents in Colombia has been on the decline.
- **480** When further questioned, the witness explained that he does not know a lawyer by the name of Miquel Ángel González Reyes.
- Russell Crandall testified, among other things, that he is a professor of politics. He has a doctorate and has conducted research on the relationship between the US and Colombia. Before that, he worked for a Catholic charity organisation in Colombia from 1997–1998. Since that time, he has frequently been in Colombia to conduct research, at times in collaboration with the American government, the World Bank and other international organisations. He has also written a book about Colombia, and the second edition just came out a few months ago. The goal of this type of research is to talk to as many people as possible, both from the left and the right wing, people from human rights organisations, journalists etc. He was last in Colombia in March 2007 and plans to return again in December this year. The sources were evaluated based on reasonable scepticism, past experience and cross-examination of facts and opinions. This is thus the basis for the written statement that he has provided for the case.
- 482 Due to the successful efforts to eradicate coca plantations in Peru, among other places, coca cultivation penetrated deeper into Colombia, including places controlled by FARC. This enabled FARC to

raise a significant amount of funds for their war effort. Instead of engaging in peaceful negotiations, FARC was able to use the funding to recruit and arm new members and carry out violent attacks against the Colombian government.

- **483** FARC no longer controls the *zona de despeje*, which is around the size of Switzerland. While FARC is still present in the region, since 2003–2004, the organisation has been on the defensive. Their numbers have dwindled, as many have deserted, and they are geographically dispersed. Before, FARC was omnipresent.
- 484 The witness resided in Colombia at the time President Pastrana was democratically elected. Other left-wing activists also sought political power. Colombia's political system accommodated the left wing, and one of the big questions was why FARC continued to fight when there was plenty of room for them at the table. This continues to be a matter of debate. For example, Bogotá's mayor was a former communist.
- During the peace negotiations that began in late-summer 1998, there were quite a few visitors to the FARC zone, including several human rights activists. FARC leaders travelled to Northern Europe, listened and smiled. Peace negotiations were initiated in spite of the fact that parts of the Colombian military opposed the process, suggesting that there was a genuine desire to negotiate. Mr. Pastrana took the initiative to meet with the leader of FARC, Manuel Marulanda, but the latter never showed up for the meeting. This was interpreted as a sign that FARC was not interested in peace, as everyone had assumed. The President felt betrayed by Mr. Marulanda.
- 486 In 2002, FARC kidnapped a commercial airliner. While kidnappings were nothing new, things really went "to hell in a handcart" that year. The number of such events, including blackmailing, kidnappings of political figures etc., rose drastically. Recently, these kinds of events have "eased up somewhat".
- 487 Civilians were also occasionally kidnapped. They were routinely targeted for ransom or taken hostage. This was surprising as it normally is important for guerrilla insurgents to win over people's "hearts and minds". FARC's actions quickly eroded any sympathy they enjoyed amongst the public. It is clear to the witness that terrorising the civilian population was part and parcel of FARC's military strategy. FARC continues to this day to hold around 700 hostages. They are primarily located in the *zona de despeje*, which is more or less uninhabitable.
- 488 Both the witness and the general public were surprised when Ingrid Betancourt was kidnapped as she was a member of the left wing and was viewed as a kind of Mother Theresa. FARC kidnapped Ms. Betancourt and other politicians to undermine the political process in Colombia. In 2002, FARC declared war on anybody who sought public office. Numerous politicians were kidnapped and murdered, and many chose to flee to the US. It is crucial to emphasise that FARC is not the only paramilitary group in Colombia.
- 489 The events of March 2006, where FARC killed numerous civilians, triggered international outcry as their attacks also targeted the civilian population. This put FARC at odds with other paramilitary organisations in the country. FARC did not immediately assume responsibility for the attacks.
- 490 The incident of 25 February, where FARC is alleged to have seized a bus and fired on the civilian passengers, also took place in 2006. It is hard to know why FARC did this, but it proved that there is a difference between FARC's words, actions and goals.
- 491 There have been numerous attacks with mortar gas grenades. However, the number of attacks has fallen in recent years. Most experts attribute this to the fact that a more modernised Colombian military has made it more difficult for FARC to operate.
- 492 Due to their political status, it came as a shock to hear that Antioquia's governor and many others

were murdered in May 2003. This would be equivalent to murdering the governor of California. The governor in question had of course participated in a march for peace in the mountains. The action was condemned as a war crime by many international organisations.

- 493 The witness assumes that in 2002 FARC had around 20,000 armed members men, women and children but due to the number of desertions, the real number may only be half that amount. The organisation is organised as a secretariat and therefore is divided into regional units, which are subdivided into more individual units. In recent years, FARC has incurred huge losses. Leaders have either been killed or passed away. After 2002, FARC adopted a much more aggressive, detailed strategy. FARC's chief commander died in March this year. The next in line, the commander of FARC's army, was also killed by Colombian forces. During the attack, extensive email correspondence between FARC and figures such as international weapon dealers and Hugo Chávez was found on a computer.
- This was an important element in FARC's strategy of seizing power by any means. Predictions for the future are now more constrained than in 1998, when the people believed that peace was right around the corner. Most Colombians now hope that FARC will participate in the peace negotiations in an orderly manner. If FARC fails to do so, their days as a terrorist organisation will be numbered.
- 495 Ingrid Betancourt spent the majority of her 6-year-long period of captivity alongside 3 American and several Colombian captives. They were repeatedly bound to trees and treated inhumanely. The Americans spoke out about the gruesome treatment to which the group was subjected.
- 496 In their rhetoric, FARC ascribe to Marxist ideology. However, in recent years, FARC has been so busy with narcotics and weapon smuggling that the organisation's members have begun to act more like Mafioso. The fact that so many Colombians have been terrified by the spate of violence and kidnappings was probably the reason why Uribe was elected as President. He has always been a hardliner, and now there is a general consensus that the country's security must be front and centre.
- 497 The "Justice and Peace Law" is an important element in the current political process. Colombia has a tradition of solving political conflicts with violence.
- 498 Officially, FARC's members have not agreed to disarm and accept reduced sentences for their crimes, but each day, more and more members are coming forth 'off the record' and embracing these terms. This has yielded invaluable intelligence that has shed light on many of the transgressions that FARC have committed. While the conditions are often chaotic and stressful for FARC members, they face the death penalty if they desert.
- 499 The witness confirmed that his roles included being a special advisor to the US Department of Defence. This was not however a political appointment. He was responsible for the entire Western Hemisphere. He has also worked for the National Security Council, where international terrorism was his area of responsibility.
- Plan Colombia was adopted in 2000. When the plan was presented in 1999, he was working on a doctoral dissertation on the US presence in Colombia. Plan Colombia differs from the plan that the USA used in Vietnam. It did not have the full support of Congress. While it was a political compromise, a majority of the senators were in favour of supporting the Colombian government financially, socially and militarily. The witness is not familiar with the exact conditions for this support.

- 501 The witness is familiar with Stephen G. Rabe from Texas. Mr. Rabe has written several well-researched books on American foreign relations with Latin America, but the witness does not agree with his viewpoints.
- The witness wrote the book "Gunboat Democracy". When questioned about Mr. Rabe's critical review of the book, the witness testified that he is familiar with the review. He is not certain whether Mr. Rabe ever read the book. There are other, highly complimentary reviews of the book that easily can be obtained in the space of 10 seconds by Googling the witness's name.
- 503 It is important to point out that the Colombian security forces also deserve some of the blame.
- 504 Under examination, the witness stated that during the period from 2001 to 2007, several sentences in which Colombia was found guilty of violating human rights were handed down by the IACHR.
- Regarding the "Justice and Peace Law", the witness explained that, in relation to all the efforts to demilitarise, the question is whether or not to enter into an agreement with "the devil" to bring about more peace. This was seen, for example, in Chile. The task of demilitarising Colombia is arduous. As Colombia is a weak state suffering from violence and corruption, the process will never be pretty or perfect. He is not familiar with the details, but says the purpose of the law includes learning more about paramilitary activities.
- Concerning the incident in the church, the witness confirmed that it is his understanding that FARC did not initially apologise for the event. He has many acquaintances who immediately claimed that there was no way FARC could have been involved. The witness was troubled by the fact that people failed to realise that FARC could not be equated with other paramilitary groups. He could not remember FARC issuing an apology afterwards.
- 507 The witness both speaks and reads Spanish. He reads the reports that arrive from the UN and other human rights organisations. He has been a consultant for the UN.
- 508 When questioned about the UN report of 20 May 2002, according to which FARC members apologised for the events in the church, the witness testified that the statement was merely rhetoric and strategy. FARC's immediate posture was to deny responsibility, but due to the anger that ensued, they later accepted responsibility. The killing of 11–18 hostages in 2007 unleashed a considerable amount of anger. When the Red Cross wanted to examine the causes of death, FARC was suddenly more cooperative.
- **509** When questioned about the statement of 8 May 2002, wherein FARC apologises for the event, the witness testified that as he remembers it, some time had passed before FARC acknowledged responsibility.
- When questioned whether the witness felt at any point in time that Colombia was an illegitimate state, he testified that Colombia is an extremely weak, divided state, but since 1991, the country has made strides. While the country has become more legitimate, it is hardly a paradise.
- 511 The Cato Institute is an extreme right-wing institute. It is correct that the witness once participated in a debate there. When questioned about excerpts from the minutes of the debate, the witness indicated that he believes he never made such a statement.
- There have been conflicting opinions in the American government about the extent to which the current Colombian president has acted like a "narcobaron" on the side.

- The witness testified that around 1 million people in Colombia were displaced when the witness worked there. He has heard several different figures mentioned.
- 514 Conditions have improved considerably in Colombia. In 2004 and 2005, the number of kidnappings, roadblocks and human rights violations fell considerably.
- 515 He is not familiar with the numbers on extrajudicial killings and disappearances.
- With regard to the computer that was seized from FARC, as the witness discussed earlier, FARC has stated that this was just a "gringo conspiracy". He is not familiar with a critical Interpol report.
- When questioned about the Interpol report, the witness testified that he now recalls seeing the report. The documents are just words, not evidence that can impact anyone since FARC was not caught in the act. The information from the computer shows pervasive involvement in a long line of criminal activities.
- 518 During Uribe's run for the presidency, he was exposed to 24 assassination attempts by FARC. During the inauguration ceremony, FARC fired off a mortar gas grenade that landed in a slum, which FARC had to have anticipated.
- 519 In the 1980s, FARC joined the *Unión Patriótica* (UP). Drug dealers, justly or unjustly, regarded UP as a wolf in sheep's clothing. This does not mean that several members did not have peaceful motives. Other groups also joined UP and continue to be active in politics to this day some UP members even hold political posts. In recent years, there are examples of left-leaning individuals being fortunate enough to play roles in the Colombian political system.
- **520** During the elections of 1986, many UP members were voted into office. Afterwards, a massive campaign of extermination ensued, in which many individuals were murdered.
- 521 In March 2008, there were exploratory, informal peace negotiations between FARC and the Colombian government. These have also occurred in the past. The presidents of Venezuela, France and other countries were involved in these negotiations. One of the objectives was to obtain Ms. Betancourt's release. Chávez had his own motives, and Sarkozy was only interested because the case involved a French citizen.
- Ruchama Marton testified, among other things, that she is a psychiatrist and psychotherapist. She is 522 the founder and president of "Physicians for Human Rights" in Israel (PHR). She was born and raised in Israel. PHR was founded at the beginning of 1988 in response to the first intifada. The organisation was particularly focused on human rights violations in relation to general public health initiatives. Health care is an important sector, and health and welfare are an essential human right. Over the past 20 years, PHR has collaborated with nearly all the various groups in Palestine, including PFLP. It is one of the most useful, open, beneficial groups, consisting of well-educated individuals. Even though they are few in number, they have a sizeable influence on account of their activities. She has got to know most of the leaders in PFLP. The witness met George Habash and most of the physicians in his organisation on several occasions. PHR has had an ongoing collaboration with PFLP. PHR is committed to collaboration and solidarity with other Palestinian organisations. Before the Oslo and Madrid accords in the beginning of the 1990s, Israel was responsible for the health care and educational systems in the occupied Palestinian territories. The hospital in the Gaza Strip was in fact managed by the Israeli army, and the Israelis were responsible for all decision-making. Investments in e.g. hospital equipment, training etc. were lacking. In the area of health care, the chasm between Israel and Palestine was equivalent to around 30-40 years of progress. In 1995, responsibility for health care and education was transferred from Israel to the Palestinian people, but the funding remained in

Israeli hands. The economy was so bad that these services barely functioned. In the beginning of the 1990s, roadblocks were put up in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The best hospitals, which were located in Jerusalem, largely stood empty while people suffered or died in their homes because doctors could not get to patients and patients could not get to hospitals. Among other things, this was because ambulances, which were supposed to be the link, were subjected to roadblocks, heavy obstructions and shooting, and doctors and other staff were consequently killed. The witness feels that the Israelis are largely responsible for traumatising the lives of Palestinians. Ambulance runs were an example of this.

- Regarding PFLP, the witness testified that the organisation is very prominent in the area of women's rights, not only in theory, but also in practice. It opens crèche centres, helps women get an education and takes care of female prisoners, providing legal aid. Of course, this also applies to men's rights. Health is a very important area. PFLP's support in the areas mentioned is significant, even though PFLP is a small organisation.
- 524 In her opinion, it is totally incorrect to say that PFLP was against the Oslo Agreement. The individuals in PFLP with whom the witness is familiar are political operatives who thought about things long and hard and realised early in the process, before many others, that the Agreement amounted to the liquidation of Palestinian rights and interests. The main issues of the Palestinians were either ignored or pushed far out into the future. There were no prospects for an independent Palestinian state. It is true that PFLP initially agreed to the one-state solution and later to the two-state solution. However, this just demonstrates that PFLP always thinks carefully about the issues.
- When asked about the summary in the defendant's report "The Israel/Palestine conflict and the role of the PFLP" (p. 48, line 5, last paragraph), the witness explained that, with the exception of Islamic Jihad, the Palestinian groups decided to stop carrying out suicide bombings in order not to harm their own cause. As far as she knows, PFLP has not carried out any suicide bombings since 2005.
- 526 It is correct that the Israelis have executed 13 PFLP leaders over a short period of time. The witness assumes that this occurred because Israel considers PFLP to be the most "dangerous group" to Israel, once again, because PFLP is made up of open, well-educated, well-intentioned members who seek a solution to ensure that the different groups can live together. Most Israeli decision-makers have a military background and prefer a condition of semi-war between Israel and Palestine. They believe that the more land there is without Palestinians, the better. They are quite simply not interested in peace. At the moment, more Palestinians are dying in the conflict than Israelis. Most recently, there have been 25 dead Palestinians for each dead Israeli. This figure is much higher than in the past and must be viewed in relation to the difference in the size of the populations of each group.
- 527 One should bear in mind that Israel is overflowing with ammunition and weapons from the US. Israel does not comply with international regulations. There is a tendency to always ignore one's own transgressions unless there is a risk of exposure, e.g. by a film crew taking photographs.
- 528 She has heard about John Dugard and agrees with his assessment that the situation with the settlements can be considered to be an apartheid situation.
- **529** With permission of the Israelis, Abu Ali Mustafa returned to Palestine in 1999. He had still not changed his views at the time he was killed. Thus, it is not a stretch of the imagination to believe that his murder was planned at the outset.
- 530 Concerning the extent to which she considers members of PFLP to be terrorists, the witness testified that 'terrorist' is a very difficult word. She questions who gets to decide whether or not someone is a

terrorist. Today's terrorist may be tomorrow's freedom fighter. For her, the question is whether Israel is a terrorist state when it murders, destroys homes and farmland etc. In her eyes, PFLP is absolutely not a terrorist organisation.

- 531 When questioned about the defendant's report on "The Israel/Palestine conflict and the role of PFLP", the witness testified that the report is a brilliant piece of work, but she would have liked to have seen it contain more material on why PFLP rejected the Oslo Agreement.
- The parliamentary work that PFLP carries out can easily be conducted out in the open by its members. While they have influence, she is not sure to what extent.
- 533 The witness does not know the objective of PFLP's military strategy, but she believes that PFLP feels that they have a duty to fight the settlers. While in principle, their actions are not directed towards civilians, Israeli civilians have been wounded or killed on occasion. This was nonetheless not their intent. She knows this, among other things, from conversations with PFLP members.
- The witness moreover explained that PHR works for human rights in general and not just for the Palestinian people.
- 535 The witness is not specifically aware of the attacks that PFLP lodged against civilians. She is aware that there have been several attacks over the years. She does not believe that there have been any suicide bombings since 2005. However, the witness has read about an attempt to set off a suicide bomb in Tel Aviv during the Jewish holidays in 2007, but this is not something that she knows much about. Whenever she reads or hears about anything in the Israeli media, she is always very sceptical. She never knows whether something is factual or whether it originated from the Israeli intelligence agency.
- Concerning the bombing of the town of Dimona in February 2008, where one person was killed and 9 people were wounded, the witness testified that she has heard about the attack and that it was supposed to have been carried out as a collaborative effort by PFLP and the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. While Israel has carried out extensive acts of terrorism against civilians, it is unacceptable to attack civilians, regardless who commits the act.
- specifically Colombian history, which he has followed closely. His studies have included political developments in Colombia. The witness has visited Colombia numerous times since 1978. He has been a guest lecturer at the most prestigious university in Colombia. He speaks, reads and writes Spanish. It is necessary for a historian to be fluent in the language of the country. The sources that he uses mainly consist of written material, but he often employs interviews. He is interested in the various movements within the armed conflict, including the agricultural movement and the guerrilla movement. He has interviewed government officials, farmers and others. He has also conversed with people from the guerrilla movement, just as he conversed with politicians. He assesses the credibility of the sources by adopting a critical attitude and cross-checking individual sources' statements. The development of the Colombian nation from the 1800s until today can best be described as a failed attempt at establishing territorial control and sovereignty over the nation. In a dissenting opinion, Judge Rentería of the Colombian Constitutional Court stated that the country was en route to becoming a totalitarian state. Material relating to this statement was documented, and the witness confirmed that this was in fact the quotation to which he recently referred.
- 538 Two to three years ago, the former head of the security police, Mr. Bejarano, stated that the Colombian state was inching closer toward becoming a Mafia state. This presumably had something to do

with developments within the security police and its collaboration with paramilitary groups. The security police supplied the paramilitary groups with a list of the names of trade union leaders designated for execution. It has been proven that at least a third of all parliamentary members are elected with the support of paramilitary groups. Many others have spoken along the same lines as Mr. Bejarano.

- 539 The Colombian people have rebelled against the government for a long time, and the witness has researched this over the course of many years. FARC's resistance is not unique in Colombian history. Even the resistance of the native population in northern Cauca province clearly shows the relationship between civil and armed resistance.
- 540 The witness testified about a statement read aloud at the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) in 2002, stating that the council requires autonomy and respect and that none of the armed participants may enter its area.
- 541 Especially under Uribe, the government has systematically persecuted the civil resistance movement. Trade union leaders have been murdered, and the witness refers to his testimony about the collaboration between the armed and paramilitary forces. FARC is a guerrilla organisation of peasant farmers whose origins can be traced back to the middle of the last century. It became officially known as FARC back in the 1960s. FARC eventually developed into an army with a clear chain of command and uniforms. There are also other armed groups, of which ELN is one of the largest. FARC controls certain parts of Colombia.
- The elections that are held in Colombia cannot be regarded as free and just. As the paramilitary groups really "tighten the screws on the local population", it is not possible to talk about free elections. This pressure can assume many different forms, everything from buying votes to terrorising the population. In Colombia, there is a long history of guerrilla group members who wanted to become integrated with the civilian population and were executed. This happened to numerous members of UP in the 1980s. From 1998 to 2002, FARC and other armed groups attempted to integrate with the civilian population but largely failed because the government failed to assume responsibility for the demilitarisation of the paramilitary groups.
- 543 In recent years, the conditions have hardly been ripe for integration. To achieve a state of democratic peace, FARC would like to put together a coalition government. FARC has repeatedly tried to arrive at a peaceful solution, and in the witness's opinion, these attempts were serious. One of the reasons this has failed is the collaboration between the security police and paramilitary forces. FARC, which is a party of peasant farmers, has demanded land reforms, but "the other side" is not interested. 0.3% of the population possess half of Colombia's land.
- The UN has conducted a thorough investigation of the incident at the church in Bojayá. The city was attacked by paramilitary forces. In an attempt to prevent paramilitary groups from occupying the city, FARC employed a homemade grenade. The result was frightening. The paramilitary forces had gathered near a church in which the civilian population had sought refuge when FARC fired off the grenade. FARC assumed responsibility for the attack and offered to make amends. The UN has also charged the paramilitary forces with responsibility for the incident. Recently, the paramilitary forces issued a declaration that they used the civilian population as a shield. It is rare in Colombia that an incident like this is so thoroughly investigated. There have been a large number of battles and an extensive armed conflict, but it is difficult for the witness to comment on the incidents as he is not intimately familiar with them. He has not had the opportunity to observe how FARC treats hostages.
- 545 In the witness's opinion, there is no rule of law in Colombia. The recently deceased ex-President, Alfonso Michelsen, wrote an article in 2005 in which he claimed that democracy did not exist in the country.

- When questioned about the article, the witness testified that the situation has become worse under Uribe.
- 547 The witness has read the defendant's report on Colombia and FARC. It is his impression that it is serious and quite comprehensive. It can presumedly be considered to be an academic report.
- 548 In the witness's opinion, FARC absolutely cannot be considered to be a terrorist organisation. It is true that FARC directs attacks against civilians, but a distinction must be made between the different types of attacks. The witness already discussed a similar attack during his testimony about the incident at the church. This dealt with an attempt to defend the city from paramilitary groups. FARC attacks military posts and police stations, which are sometimes located in populated civilian areas in spite of protests by local residents. Thus, civilians can be affected by attacks against the military. FARC has also executed civilians, but in this context, the term "civilian" can be brought into question. During Uribe's term, civilians have been used as informants. They have fingered and identified individuals for the militias and thus have served more or less as informants. Such individuals are executed by FARC if they are found.
- 549 The witness moreover testified that a high-level individual from the paramilitary forces issued a statement recently that there was evidence showing that the paramilitary forces had hidden behind the church. The witness has no personal knowledge as to whether the grenade contained nails and screws. It was only natural for FARC to fire shots in the direction of the church since paramilitary forces were hiding behind it. Obviously, FARC would like to avoid situations in which civilians can be injured. The witness sees no reason to doubt information that FARC has employed gas cylinder bombs in other situations. He believes, after the attack at the church, FARC carried out an attack against civilians in Cauca.
- 550 If, for example, a school teacher has been an informer for the authorities or paramilitary, then it casts some doubt on the use of the term "civilian". Some mayors have ties to the paramilitary. In principle, they are civilians, but the close cooperation with one of the combative parties means that a distinction should be drawn as to which civilians were attacked.
- 551 Miquel Ángel González Reyes has testified, among other things, that he is a lawyer and is acting as counsel in the ongoing proceedings before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights on the issue of the extent to which "genocide" was committed against members of the Unión Patriótica (UP).
- 552 The witness further testified that, back in the day, UP's members and leaders were subjected to extermination. The Inter-American Commission decided to examine the issue several years ago. Around 5,000 people were murdered, including two presidential candidates and nine UP parliamentary members. Under President Betancur, negotiations were started between FARC and the government. The negotiations resulted in the creation of UP, but the group also included elements other than just FARC insurgents. The majority of UP's members came from the public sector. UP wanted to help find a peaceful solution to the problems in Colombia. The witness expects that a decision will soon be handed down by the Court of Human Rights since the process has been going on for many years.
- 553 FARC took its participation in the peace process seriously and has likewise attended negotiations in the past. There was a very important meeting between the government and rebel forces in Mexico, and negotiations were also held in Venezuela. Crucial negotiations were also conducted during the term of President Pastrana. The majority of the Colombian population wants peace, but Mr. Uribe, the current President, makes it impossible to arrive at a democratic solution since he denies that there is an armed conflict in Colombia. Mr. Uribe will not participate in a solution or in a prisoner swap. The US is helping to expand the armed conflict.

- When shown the letter of 3 February 2006 from the Organization of American States, which states, among other things, that the lawyers Gordillo and Vélez have been threatened, the witness testified that those are lawyers whom he worked with during the course of the aforementioned.
- When shown the letter of 27 March 2008, which states that the witness has received death threats, the witness testified that he was in fact forced to leave Colombia. Today, he lives in Europe. He has been included in a special witness protection programme and is guarded by three individuals, among other things, whenever he spends time in Colombia. The Colombian government has not been able to promise him full protection. Apparently, four agents of the Colombian government are pursuing him. This information has been forwarded to the authorities in Colombia. The witness and an individual named Castro were followed for 6 months. This occurred close to their homes and workplaces.
- When it comes to the Colombian legal system, the witness testified that there are no fair trials in the country today. The independence and integrity of the courts are under serious duress. At the moment, the Supreme Court is pursuing a case in which charges were filed against 72 members of Uribe's party for allegedly being connected to the paramilitary forces. In this context, the Colombian government is exerting considerable pressure on the Supreme Court via multiple channels, including the media.
- 557 In practice, "hostile trial" proceedings are employed in Colombia. People who appear before the court due to common offences are treated as ordinary citizens, and the assurances of due legal process are upheld. The same does not apply to individuals appearing before the court due to participation in political issues. In Colombia, e.g. social protests have been criminalised, and in recent years, over 7,000 people have been arrested in this context. This has included trade union representatives, women etc. They are treated as enemies. The evidence is manipulated. Witnesses who are protected by the prosecution emerge. They only appear during examination by the prosecution and disappear when it is the defence's turn to cross-examine them. Many judgements are passed in absentia. This has been the case for many of FARC's leaders. Some of them have been sentenced 25 times. They are provided with lawyers, but these are easily influenced. They do not present evidence or lead any questioning. There is no fair hearing, and defence lawyers are afraid of being identified with the rebel movement. In Colombia, the common law principle of distinguishing between lawyers and defendants is not respected. The work that judges perform in Colombia is highly complex. They are subjected to threats, and many have been forced to flee the country. The paramilitary sectors wield a sizeable amount of influence on the prosecution, throughout the country. They encourage employees of the prosecution to copy and reproduce documents for the paramilitary forces. Corruption is a serious issue. The huge sums earned from narcotics trafficking encourages this corruption. The judicial process is also laboriously slow. Often, certain crimes do not end up being adjudicated at all. This has contributed to the implementation of reforms and the use of verbal court proceedings. However, little in the way of results have emerged to this point. In practice, it can be said that there is no justice. The Justice and Peace Law is only focused on the paramilitary forces. According to that law, paramilitary forces can only be sentenced to up to 8 years of imprisonment for genocide and human rights violations. Normally, the punishment is 60 years. The paramilitary sectors have been legalised and not demobilised.
- According to the country's Constitution, the right to live is a basic human right, but between 2002 and 2007, 995 extrajudicial killings were committed. This appears in a report from Amnesty International. Article 12 of the Constitution states that no Colombian shall be subjected to abduction, torture or inhumane treatment. The same report from Amnesty International states that 230 abductions occurred in 2002 and that these were presumedly committed by the army or the police corps. Article 22 of the Constitution states that the government is obliged to ensure peace for its citizens. Everyone is familiar with the armed conflict, which is squeezing all the blood out of Colombia today. The witness has observed court cases with people who were subjected to torture and other offences. This kind of legal system cannot be described as the legal system

of a democratic state. In the vast majority of cases, there is no real examination of evidence, especially in the trials of political prisoners and others. The legal system in Colombia is very formal, and lawyers are often turned down when they want to present evidence. This entire formalised system interferes with the right to present real and proper evidence. Many people have been arrested by the army or police without a warrant. He does not consider Colombia to be a democracy. It is a limited democracy, and the government has been persecuting political opponents for the past 25 years in a manner that is reminiscent of state-sponsored terrorism. This year alone, 40 trade union leaders were murdered.

- Regarding the question of whether FARC finances its activities through narcodollars, the witness testified that there are cases where farmers have had their land seized and been forcibly relocated to non-arable land. This has encouraged farmers to begin growing coca plants since they are unable to make a proper income from other crops. As far as the witness knows, FARC assesses taxes on the individuals who buy cocaine from the farmers but is otherwise not involved in the sale of narcotics. The paramilitary forces, on the other hand, are involved in this. Recently, 13 individuals closely tied to the paramilitary sectors were extradited to the US for narcotics trafficking.
- The witness testified moreover that, under Colombian law, kidnappings are not an act of terrorism. Acts of terrorism are instead defined as crimes against state security.
- The entire armed conflict encourages the various participants to violate human rights. FARC is a national liberation movement that is trying to gain the support of the civilian population. Thus, it would be illogical for FARC to direct its activities against civilians. The debate on terrorism is multifaceted. Even the UN has failed to arrive at a solution on how to define terrorism. He does not consider FARC to be a terrorist organisation, but rather a liberation movement. The only option for peace in Colombia is for the parties to sit down and negotiate an agenda that can lead to peace and prosperity for the populace. FARC would not have taken a seat at the negotiating table, as it has done on four different occasions over the past 25 years, if it was not interested in peace.
- The witness does not dispute that FARC has carried out acts such as murder, kidnapping and grenade attacks against civilians. The conflict has worsened dramatically in recent years, and all of the implicated parties are violating the law. FARC's main goal is not the extermination of the civilian population. That is the characteristic that distinguishes FARC from the paramilitary forces, which are extreme, right-wing forces that want to wipe out the local population. It is clear that FARC's attacks on civilians cannot be justified, but they do occur. He is against abductions, but this is also something that takes place in Colombia.
- The witness testified furthermore that, in his opinion, FARC is not directing its attacks with civilians as the primary target, but it is clear that the civilian population is also affected by the confrontation between FARC and the paramilitary forces and army. It is correct that FARC targeted the attacks in question at several mayors, but they were collaborating with the paramilitary forces. And, in this case, it is no longer possible to characterise them as a part of the civilian population.
- Jorge Enrique Botero Lince has explained, among other things, that he is educated as a journalist and has worked for the daily newspaper El Tiempo as well for TV and radio stations. He has also been the Director of Communications at Colombia's Ministry of Culture. He is now working as a freelancer. Over the years, he has been awarded four prizes for his work, most recently in 2005 when he was awarded a prize for "Book of the year". The witness also produced a television broadcast: "Held as a hostage in Colombia". This was released by CBS in the US and tells of three Americans who were abducted by FARC in February 2003 and held as hostages in Colombia. They called themselves "soldiers in the war on drugs". They were employed by a civilian contractor that worked for the Pentagon and carried out aerial espionage by flying over the jungle, filming narcotics plantations and guerrilla camps. The plane crashed, and FARC took them as

hostages.

565 He currently resides in Bogotá and writes and produces documentaries. He is a correspondent for a Mexican newspaper in Colombia. Over the course of his work, he has been exposed to numerous threats, which are not to be taken lightly in Colombia. In the past 10 years, extremist paramilitary groups or state agents have murdered 125 journalists. Therefore, the witness had to take his children out of the country. Over the past 10 to 12 years, he has visited FARC camps in various parts of the country roughly 20 times. In his capacity as a journalist, he has spoken with both guerrilla leaders and menial soldiers and also had the opportunity to talk to individuals that were being held as hostages. He has met dozens of young people in Colombia who were forced into war activities for one reason or another. Many of these adolescents joined the guerrillas from the moment their parents' corpses 'were still warm' after their parents were murdered by paramilitary forces. Many children live in what Colombians call "the other Colombia", where the government has no influence and the children have no opportunity to get an education. The only government is the guerrilla forces. Young people make up 20% of all guerrilla soldiers. He is not talking about children under 15 years of age, but about really young individuals. However, there are examples of children less than 15 years old. They can be counted on the fingers of one hand. These children receive an education, help with food preparation etc., but they do not bear weapons or participate in acts of war. On three occasions, the witness was able to interview the current leader of FARC, Alfonso Cano. The first time was in 1998, the second in 2000 and the last time in 2003. Spending time in captivity is extremely unpleasant for hostages, but in the opinion of the witness, FARC has always treated its hostages with respect. They receive medical care etc. if they need it. They are not subjected to demeaning or inhumane treatment. During the witness's first visit, he could see that the hostages both received and were able to write letters. This changed completely in 2002 after the collapse of negotiations. The only contact the people in question now had with the outside world was through the radio, which the guerrillas made available to them. In Colombia, there are various radio programmes that allow hostages and their loved ones to communicate. There are different types of hostages: captured soldiers, who are basically prisoners of war; political leaders suspected of conspiring with paramilitary groups or being complicit in acts of war; finally, there are hostages, who in FARC's opinion have provided financial support for the war and should therefore also help support FARC financially. The individuals in question have a net worth of over 1 million dollars. From FARC's perspective, this is a form of tax collection. Concerning the kidnapping of Ingrid Betancourt, Alfonso Cano explained that in Parliament she helped encourage acts of war against FARC and assisted in removing the UP party from the political scene. He felt that politicians from the traditional parties should not be able to make policy in their territories when UP and thus FARC were not allowed to practice their politics in the government's territory.

566 FARC is a political, military organisation. The majority of members are farmers. FARC's general strategy is to seize political power, and it has chosen a combination of various battle tactics. It conducts military actions while at the same time carrying out social activities within the locality. It enjoys considerable popular support and is represented everywhere in the country. According to the most prominent theories, a guerrilla movement cannot survive without the support of the populace. On several different occasions, FARC tried to arrive at a solution that could put a stop to the war. This happened in the 1980s, the 1990s and the beginning of this century, but all the attempts failed. FARC believes that this is due to its opponent's lack of political resolve and its desire for FARC to demobilise. In the witness's opinion, FARC has a deep desire for peace. Over the years, the various political parties have been inflexible when it comes to accommodating FARC's requests for social and political reforms. A guerrilla leader explained to the witness that this is due to the fact that the genocide that UP experienced back in the day will never be forgotten.

567 FARC does not carry out attacks targeted at civilians. In the incidents where civilian casualties occurred, this was not intentional on FARC's side. The witness feels these were typical acts of war in which civilians were impacted in connection with the attack. The acts against the mayors were due to the fact that

the individuals in question collaborated with paramilitary forces during attacks against the civilian population. This has been proven in many cases in the court system.

- The witness believes that it is impossible to find a military solution to the conflict in Colombia. It has lasted almost 50 years, and the guerrillas have not only become quite experienced, but also gained widespread support in rural areas. A long line of Presidents has promised to wipe out FARC over the years, but none have succeeded. In the witness's opinion, FARC is not a terrorist organisation.
- 569 Concerning the written statement of witness Angel Rabasa to the Municipal Court (p. 22, third paragraph), in which he stated that Consuelo Gonzales de Perdomo was killed by FARC, the witness is perplexed by this as he interviewed her a week ago.
- 570 When shown a photograph of Perdomo, the witness testified that it was taken at the time of her release. Senator Jorge Eduardo Turbay was likewise not murdered but was released a couple of months ago and is now running for office.
- 571 Orlando Beltrán Cuéllar is also alive. He has been undergoing medical treatment and is likewise running for office.
- 572 The witness further explained that hostages who refuse to pay their captors can be either civilians or military. It is correct that Ms. Betancourt was captured because she had spoken out in Parliament about what should be done about FARC. This is, at any rate, what a guerrilla leader told the witness. On repeated occasions in Parliament, Ms. Betancourt called for suppressive activities in relation to FARC. She has also helped approve acts concerning military budgets. The witness does not consider Ms. Betancourt's captivity to be a democratic act. FARC's argument in justification of its actions is that it has utilised every legal recourse to seize power but since all its attempts have been extinguished "with bullets", it has been forced by the circumstances to use weapons to achieve its goals. What is taking place is a battle for freedom. It is correct that FARC employs gas cylinder bombs. FARC does not use conventional weapons. The bombs obviously do not always reach their intended targets. FARC's intention has never been to injure civilians and its weapons and actions are always directed towards military targets. However, military barracks are often located close to schools and the like.
- In Colombia, over the past two years, an open public trial on justice and peace has taken place, which clearly demonstrated that paramilitary groups have appointed mayors, parliamentary members, city council members et al. to posts representing around 40% of the entire legislative apparatus in Colombia. By armed incursions, public coercion and election campaign financing, they have managed to get a long line of individuals into office. This has happened in approx. 50% of all municipalities in Colombia. These are the legal processes to which the witness referred during his testimony about the mayors who were kidnapped by FARC. There are dozens of specific cases, especially in the areas in Colombia known as "red zones", which designate war zones. At this exact moment, the witness is unable to come up with the name of a particular mayor determined to have been killed due to his association with paramilitary groups. FARC notifies such mayors multiple times that they need to vacate the area, just as residents are asked to stay away from individuals who are associated with paramilitary activities. There are several examples of mayors vacating their offices for this reason.
- 574 Consuelo Gonzalez de Perdomo was released in January this year.
- 575 *John Dugard* is on record stating the following:
- 576 "...

- John Dugard explained that he is from South Africa. For 30 years, he was a professor in Johannesburg specialising in international law and criminal cases. In 1998, he became a professor of international law in Leiden, Netherlands. In 2001, he was appointed as a Special Rapporteur to the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, a role he assumed until May 2008. In this context, he regularly visited the occupied territories and reported to the UN General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, which later became the Human Rights Council. He was also an interim judge for the International Court of Justice in The Hague. On or before 21 January 2008, he delivered a report that was taken up for debate by the Commission on Human Rights on 16 June 2008.
- 578 The most important instrument in the Israel/Palestine conflict is the 4th Geneva Convention from 1949. Israel has complied with this, but argues that the convention does not apply to the occupied territories. The International Court of Justice ruled in 2004 that Israel is in fact covered by the convention, that the Palestinian territories are occupied territories and that Israel must adhere to the convention. The ruling is not binding, but the UN's legal organs and UN General Assembly have chosen to adhere to the statement by an overwhelming majority. The ruling agrees moreover with his personal opinion on the matter.
- 579 Israel has complied with the UN's international human rights conventions and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Israel is of the opinion that these conventions are not binding, but in 2004, the International Court of Justice handed down an opinion that Israel must adhere to these in the Palestinian territories. International common law also applies to the area.
- 580 In John Dugard's opinion, Israel does not fulfil its obligations. This is supported by the International Court of Justice's rulings and the resolutions of the UN General Assembly.
- The right to resist military occupation has been debated in international courts. There is no clear legal precedent in this area, but arguments have been presented that such a right does in fact exist. Resistance to occupation clearly must be expected. The issue is whether there is also a moral right and in connection with this, to assess whether Germany's occupation of France during World War II serves as a valid precedent.
- According to article 49, item 6 of the 4th Geneva Convention, an occupying power must not allow its own citizens to settle in occupied territories. Israel has approx. 466,000 citizens living in the Palestinian territories. This is a clear violation of international law. This is the conclusion of the International Court of Justice, the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council.
- The Israeli army often moves into the Gaza Strip and employs violence against the local population. The Israeli forces have been unable to distinguish between military and civilian targets. According to the 4th Geneva Convention, demolishing homes is not permitted except in cases where it is militarily necessary. Despite this fact, Israel has demolished homes in retaliation against individuals who are related to any individual who has violently opposed Israeli forces. Moreover, the military has destroyed homes in conjunction with military operations and administrative policies. Palestinians are not allowed to build a house without permission. Since, in practice, the Israeli authorities never provide the authorisation, most homes are built without a proper permit. As a result, the Israeli authorities have demolished thousands of homes.
- In 2003, Israel began building a security fence, around 9m high and secured with barbed wire in places. Had the wall followed the border between Israel and the Palestinian territories, there would have been no grounds for protest, but the wall is located within the Palestinian territory and includes around 10% of the Palestinians' land. There is a proposal for further expansion that would involve 13% of the territory. This would have a significant financial impact on the Palestinians as they would need permission to enter their own lands behind the wall, which they are unlikely to get in practice. The International Court of Justice has

ruled that the wall is illegal and must be torn down, but this has not happened.

- 585 On the West Bank, the Israeli military has established 560 checkpoints, where a pass must be produced (travel permits). Not only is this a major restriction on freedom of movement, it is also demeaning. It has also nearly devastated the Palestinian economy. In recent years, Israel has built a separate road system that only Israelis are allowed to use. Palestinians must use the poorer roads. If Palestinians use the roads reserved for Israeli settlers, their cars are confiscated and they are criminally prosecuted.
- The settlers on the West Bank are protected by the Israeli military. They often commit violent acts against the Palestinians and are seldom prosecuted. On the other hand, the Palestinians are frequently prosecuted for offering resistance, including throwing stones at military vehicles or committing other violent acts against civilians.
- Since the occupation in 1967, over 700,000 Palestinians have been arrested. Right now, around 11,000 Palestinians are interned in Israeli prisons. According to the 4th Geneva Convention, they should serve their time within the Palestinian territory, but in practice, they are incarcerated on Israeli soil. An example is the capture of the General Secretary of PFLP, Ahmed Saadat. He was housed in a prison in Jericho where he was monitored by British and American guards who had the gumption to complain that they were not receiving full support from the Palestinian authorities. Mr. Saadat was later abducted by Israel, and the prison was dismantled. He has yet to appear before a judge in an Israeli court. Forty-four Palestinian members of the popularly-elected Palestinian Parliament are also incarcerated in Israel for being members of Hamas. Many have been detained without being charged or brought to trial. Serious accusations have been lodged against Israel for its treatment of prisoners. Several NGO groups have examined Israel's treatment of prisoners and concluded that both convicted and unconvicted prisoners are being treated inhumanely and degradingly. Moreover, the prisoners are occasionally being subjected to torture.
- 588 It is important to assess the effect that Israel's transgressions have had in the Gaza Strip. In recent years, Israel has closed the entrances to Gaza, making it impossible for Palestinian residents to leave, go to Israel or visit a doctor in neighbouring countries. This has amounted to an economic stranglehold on Gaza, which is unable to export any goods. Likewise, raw materials cannot be imported for the factories, which therefore have had to shut down their operations. The Israelis have attacked electrical and power plants and restricted oil imports in order to lower the risk of rocket attacks across the border. John Dugard feels that this constitutes collective punishment of residents in violation of Article 33 of the 4th Geneva Convention.
- All the breaches have resulted in a humanitarian crisis and violations of the right to health, education and food and are thus an infringement of international economic and social rights. Eighty per cent of the population in the Gaza Strip are dependent on food assistance from the UN and other international organisations. The majority of residents live below the poverty line and suffer from malnutrition and anaemia. There is no fresh fruit, fish or meat, and medicine is in short supply. Residents must leave Gaza to get medical treatment since many hospitals are in ruins or are unable to provide proper care, but permission for this is not granted. According to a report, 44 people have died due to these causes. Pregnant women are stopped at the checkpoints and, as a result, either they or their unborn children die. Schools are also closed or destroyed by order of the military. This has ruined the educational system. The situation has also caused children to suffer psychological trauma. In particular, students in the Gaza Strip are unable to get an education. Many students have been denied the opportunity to travel abroad to pursue a degree, including several who were awarded Fulbright scholarships to study in the US. They were later granted permission when the US government interceded.
- 590 John Dugard and various human rights groups in South Africa have compared the situation of the

Palestinians to that of blacks in South Africa during the apartheid regime. These organisations all determined that the restricted freedom of movement and discrimination at the checkpoints was strikingly reminiscent of the plight of black people during apartheid.

- Targeted killings have become a very controversial issue. In practice, Israel does not have the death penalty. It has only been used twice, (once in regard to Adolf Eichmann) but within the past 10 years, Israel has been guilty of killing a number of individuals (extrajudicially) instead of arresting and trying them in court. IDF (the Israeli Defence Forces) has developed a system to identify individuals and then launch a targeted rocket attack. Many civilians are also killed in the crossfire. Israel's Supreme Court concluded that this can be justified under special circumstances if the individual was engaged in military operations. Around 350 killings of this type have been identified. In addition, several hundred civilians have also lost their lives from targeted killings.
- 592 Israeli criminal law applies to everyone, but in practice discrimination exists when it comes to decisions on criminal prosecution. Many serious crimes committed by members of the Israeli military forces are not prosecuted, for example an Israeli rocket attack against a home in Gaza, where 19 family members were killed. On the other hand, Palestinians are criminally prosecuted if they violate security regulations or martial law.
- 593 It is without any doubt a war crime not to distinguish between civilian and military targets in a wartime scenario. However, Israel does not view this as a military conflict. For this reason, defendants are treated like criminals, not prisoners of war.
- An attack should be proportionate to the level of resistance offered by rebel forces. This is in accordance with Protocol I of the Geneva Convention of 1977. However, Israel does not accept this tenet and refuses to sign the agreement. Israel defends many of its actions, for example the rocket attacks against Gaza, by characterising them as military operations and claiming that they were proportionate since they were a matter of self-defence. On one of the barrages, 50% of Gaza's electrical supply was destroyed. The attacks are also justified as being anti-terrorism measures. It is difficult to accept this argument when Israel illegally condones the settlements and then legalises their defence by calling it "self-defence". Thus, it is hard to say with a straight face that Israel's actions have always been carried out in the name of self-defence. The building of the wall is another example of a disingenuous security argument. Israel initially claimed that it was a security measure, but it was later demonstrated that the real objective was to annex Palestinian settlements. Israel was later obliged to admit this. This has led to a conflict between the Israeli Supreme Court and the Israeli security forces.
- 595 The Israeli NGO peace movement alleges that vast areas of land have been seized illegally from the Palestinians. Almost 40% of the settlers' land is believed to be owned by Palestinians. There are frequent court cases in which Palestinians try to reclaim their land. Only rarely has Israel paid out any compensation for the land. The UN has established a special body to deal with compensation claims. This was created in conjunction with the building of the wall.
- 596 The word 'terrorism' is a controversial term. Historically, the UN has not considered violent acts against an occupying force, a racist government or a colonial regime to constitute terrorism. In the 1990s, the UN found that terrorist acts cannot be considered as legal, regardless of their causation. The debate is now more focused on the drafting of a convention in this area, but after 5–6 years of efforts, nothing has materialised. What has held this up is the issue of resistance against an occupying power. Many people feel that resistance against an occupying military regime should be exempt from the designation of terrorism, just as military regimes are exempt from this designation. The African Union has adopted a convention against terrorism that expands the definition of terrorism in the event of military occupation. The League of Arab

States also has this kind of exemption in its convention. It is a general truism that one person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist. In Mr. Dugard's opinion, it should be accepted that there are many cases in which violent acts are committed against colonial, racist and occupying military regimes. One example is ANC's campaign against civilian and military targets under the apartheid regime. The leader, Nelson Mandela, is now a hero. Another example is Israel's struggle against English hegemony, where Irgun members and future Prime Ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir were guilty of employing terrorism, blowing up, among other things, the Hotel King David, where the British were headquartered. There are no international conventions stipulating a right of resistance against an occupying power. Resistance groups, including the Palestinians, must also comply with the Fourth Geneva Convention. There can be no doubt that the Gaza Strip remains an occupied territory. The key issue is whether the occupying regime actually rules the area, and does Israel have a certain level of control by virtue of its domination of the border crossings to Gaza and its foray into Palestinian territory? The international community has not accepted the idea that Israel's abandonment of settlements in Gaza must mean that the territory is no longer occupied. According to article 49 of the 4th Geneva Convention, the occupied population must have adequate access to water, education and food. Israel is now trying to assess the situation, which is unacceptable.

While conditions might have been expected to improve on the West Bank after Hamas was driven out, this is not actually the case. The situation is the same. In spite of the November 2007 Annapolis Agreement, which called for a halt to the settlements, these have grown in number, especially in East Jerusalem. Settlement activity has risen to its highest level in 10 years. This must be viewed in light of the political dynamics in Israel, where according to the Bible many people believe that Israel has a right to all land up to the Jordan River. These groups hold significant political power, and the Israeli government cannot oppose these settlers.

598 The quartet of the UN, Russia, EU and USA has sat down to find a peaceful solution. John Dugard encouraged the UN's General Secretary to provide a proposal underlining the importance of compliance with the 4th Geneva Convention, suggesting if the UN refuses to do this, it should withdraw from the group. The Annapolis Agreement is not based on the idea that a peaceful solution must be established on the principles of human rights and international law. In his opinion, the US and Israel are obliged to adhere to such principles in their attempt to arrive at a peaceful solution.

599 The settlers include many civilians. Everyone in the Palestinian territories has basic human rights, and it is therefore unacceptable that the settlers become military targets for the Palestinians. But if they are armed, it is a different story.

As a Special Rapporteur, John Dugard has visited Israel and Palestine many times but has not been allowed to visit detainees as Israel does not recognise UN Special Rapporteurs. The lack of recognition is not directed against him personally. Observers are commonly appointed for limited periods. In the Palestinian territories, the mandate will continue until the end of the occupation, and Israel has protested against this. He has therefore not seen any evidence of torture himself. However, he has heard from other sources, including NGOs, that Israel employs torture. The reports describe both inhumane, denigrating treatment and torture. In 1999, the Israeli Supreme Court determined that torture was not justifiable. Based on the reports he has seen, he does not doubt that torture continues to take place. He has asked the Israeli authorities to examine whether this occurs, but no investigations have been launched. Many of the disproportionate attacks that fail to distinguish between civilian and military targets can be considered by their nature to be terrorism. Mr. Dugard defines terrorism as the act of terrorising the civilian population. Rockets from Gaza terrorise Israelis, and in the same manner, rockets launched from Israel terrorise the Palestinians. Both sides have committed acts of terrorism.

- 601 PFLP is certainly not a serious threat to Israel. The organisation is truly insignificant when it comes to Palestinian politics.
- 602 In addition to his aforementioned stance, where Israel does not recognise his mandate, John Dugard has also been criticised by both Israel and the US for being biased. His report of September 2003 has been criticised by pro-Israeli groups, who do not care for the report. He has always said that he is more than willing to discuss his reports, but Israel and the US have refused to engage in a dialogue. He considers himself to be neutral, but he has some strong viewpoints, particularly concerning human rights. The Middle East is rife with violence. It is unacceptable but is just a fact of life in the region.
- 603 When evaluating suicide bombings, whether the victims are civilians or military personnel must be considered. Civilians must absolutely not be killed. Suicide bombings are a form of terrorism. If they are directed at military targets, they may be considered to be a military act. This rule applies both to governmental and non-governmental operatives. Nothing can justify an attack on civilians. The issue continues to be whether the acts of violence of national liberation movements are justifiable. Many people in the developing world feel that they are. While Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Fatah have carried out multiple suicide bombing attacks, PFLP has only carried out a negligible number.
- The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has played a significant role in the fight against anti-Semitism, especially in the US. It is hard to criticise Israel's actions without being criticised yourself for being anti-Semitic. Many of Mr. Dugard's reports are based on NGO reports. Nonetheless, UN Watch has also criticised his reports.
- 605 It is common knowledge that the Palestinians have killed many civilians in Israel.
- **606** The Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) have similarly killed many civilians in the Palestinian territories. This is unfortunate, but it is a fact."

The reasoning and findings of the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark:

- 607 The documentation shows that the profit from the sale of T-shirts was intended to be used to provide financial support to FARC and PFLP. According to the defendants' testimonies, the funds were going to be used to buy radio equipment for FARC and a printing press for PFLP.
- **608** The written materials about the activities of FARC and PFLP largely consist of open-source information, originating from recognised, independent international organisations that continuously conduct investigations into human rights conditions.
- In the case of FARC, this includes UN reports and reports from Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International stating that FARC has killed civilians, exposed civilians to abject violence and carried out kidnappings, just as it has been reported that FARC has used imprecise mortar grenades in civilian areas, where civilians often suffered casualties. Statements from the Danish Security and Intelligence Service's (PET) Center for Terror Analysis and Intelligence Department include similar information.
- Moreover, witness statements about FARC's activities revealed that the organisation has carried out activities such as murdering civilians, subjecting civilians to abject violence and conducting kidnappings, including of politicians and a presidential candidate in order to undermine the political process in the country.
- 610 In PFLP's case, reports from sources such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have

stated that PFLP has attacked and killed civilians in a number of cases, including by means of car bombs and suicide bombings. Statements from the Danish Security and Intelligence Service's (PET) Centre for Terror Analysis and Intelligence Department include similar information. Moreover, PFLP's website states that the organisation assumes responsibility for attacks in 2003, 2004 and 2007, including suicide bombings in which civilians were wounded and killed, carried out by PFLP's militant arm, the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades. Furthermore, witnesses have testified that, in addition these incidents, PFLP as an organisation has assumed responsibility on its website for the execution of a number of other attacks against civilians, including car bombings.

- 611 After an overall evaluation of the existing information concerning FARC and PFLP, the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark finds that FARC and PFLP, as a part of their activities, have carried out acts covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code.
- A majority of five of the voting members of the court then stated that FARC and PFLP were found to commit the described acts with the intention either to severely frighten the local population or to destabilise the fundamental political, constitutional, economic and societal structures in Colombia and Israel, respectively, and in such a manner that the acts, by virtue of their character, could severely harm the countries.
- 613 The defendants' reference to the fact that Colombia violates human rights and that Israel has likewise violated the human rights of the Palestinians cannot justify that FARC and PFLP, respectively, carry out attacks on civilians.
- The defendants' allegations that, according to the preliminary documents, Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code should be interpreted restrictively in light of the statement on record concerning adoption of the EU's Framework decision on combating terrorism does not imply that FARC's and PFLP's serious attacks against members of the civilian population are not covered under the provision.
- Pursuant to the documentation as a whole, the majority accordingly finds that FARC and PFLP commit or intend to commit terrorist acts covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code.
- 616 The defendants, T1, T2, T3, T6 and T4 have acknowledged their complicity in the manufacture, sale and distribution of the aforementioned T-shirts.
- 617 The majority finds that the documentation proves that defendant T5 likewise has assisted in the procurement of financial funds. The majority hereby emphasised, inter alia, that this defendant has made server capacity available, knowing that it involved fundraising for FARC and PFLP and that he prepared the rough draft of a press release.
- 618 The defendants moreover are found to have known or, at any rate, to have understood that it was extremely likely that FARC and PFLP either commit or intend to commit acts covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. The majority hereby have taken into account, inter alia, both the defendants' own testimonies about the activities of FARC and PFLP and the statement on the Fighters and Lovers website that, due to anti-terror legislation, visitors may face legal issues if they purchase the aforementioned T-shirts in support of FARC and PFLP.
- 619 The circumstance that, according to the defendants, the funds were intended to be used for humanitarian purposes, is immaterial to the question of guilt.
- 620 Defendants T1, T2, T5, T3, T6 and T4 are hereby found guilty as charged of a violation of

Section 114b, no. 2 of the Danish Penal Code, cf. Section 21.

- As far as defendant T7 is concerned, who only had a few posters depicting T-shirts and a web address on his hot dog cart, there is insufficient evidence of aiding and abetting to justify a conviction. The majority therefore votes to uphold T7's request for acquittal.
- 622 One voting member dissented, stating that FARC and PFLP must be considered to be an insurgency and a resistance movement, respectively, that cannot be presumed to have the requisite terrorist intent. On these grounds, the aforementioned justice votes to acquit all the defendants.
- 623 Judgement is rendered on the basis of a majority of votes.
- **624** All the voting members hereby declare:

The punishments have been adjudicated in accordance with Section 114b, no. 2 of the Danish Penal Code, cf. Section 21. Defendants T3 and T6 shall be sentenced to 6 months of incarceration. Defendants T1 and T5 shall be sentenced to 4 months of incarceration. Defendants T2 and T4 shall be sentenced to 60 days of incarceration.

- 625 For sentencing, emphasis was placed on the fact that a planned, well-organised and deliberate act was involved. The sentence for each defendant was determined on the basis of an overall evaluation since the role each of the defendants played in this criminal enterprise was considered to be significant.
- 626 In consideration of the nature of the roles played by T1, T5, T2 and T4 and the relatively modest amount of funds raised, the court finds it appropriate for the sentences of these defendants to be contingent on the conditions set forth below.
- 627 The prosecution's request for confiscation shall hereby be granted.
- 628 -
- **629** Enforcement of the sentence shall be postponed and allowed to lapse after a 1 year of probation on the express condition that the defendant does not commit any punishable offence during the probationary period.
- 630 —-
- 631 T1, T2, T5, T3, T6 and T4 shall jointly and severally pay court costs for the proceedings at the Municipal Court and Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark. However, T6 shall pay the counsel fees for the defence solicitor appointed for him, and the remaining convicted individuals shall individually pay 1/6 of the counsel fees awarded to their appointed defence solicitor.
- 632 The Danish Treasury shall pay the court costs for the proceedings at the Municipal Court and Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark in T7's case, including 1/6 of the counsel fees awarded to his appointed defence solicitor.

The Supreme Court's ruling

- Judgements have been handed down on prior occasions by the Municipal Court of Copenhagen on 13 December 2007 and the 14th Department of the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark on 18 September 2008.
- 634 Seven judges participated in the ruling: Torben Melchior, Poul Sørensen, Niels Grubbe, Poul Dahl Jensen, Vibeke Rønne, Henrik Waaben and Michael Rekling.

Charges

- 635 The charges were appealed by T1, T2, T3, T4, T5 and T6, with a request for acquittal or, secondarily, mitigation.
- Furthermore, T5 has submitted an application that the ruling of the Court of Appeal be overturned and the case be referred back to the Court of Appeal for a retrial.
- 637 The prosecution is asking for more stringent sentences and a confirmatory ruling in general.

Pleas

- In support of their request for acquittal, the defendants testified that the Court of Appeal incorrectly applied the law. Civilian casualties do not, in and of themselves, imply that an organisation can be regarded as a terrorist organisation covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. An overall assessment of all the elements in the case must be undertaken. In this context, the defendants submit that PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) is legitimately fighting against Israel's multi-year illegal occupation of Palestine and that FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) is a legitimate liberation movement. Both organisations focus their attacks on military targets. To the extent civilian casualties occur, these civilians are unintended victims in an otherwise legitimate struggle. In evaluating PFLP's and FARC's actions, the Court of Appeal erred in not taking into account the documentation, including reports and witness statements, that the defendants presented. PFLP and FARC must be equated with government forces or similar. In an armed conflict, the same rules must apply to both parties. Thus, any violations of wartime law on their part must be judged according to the laws on war crimes, not according to the laws on terrorism.
- The intended support was to be used for humanitarian purposes in the form of a printing press and a radio station. Material atypicality exists since humanitarian support to PFLP and FARC, especially in the limited scope in question in this case and with a goal of promoting the values mentioned in the EU's Framework decision on combating terrorism of 13 June 2002, is fully atypical in relation to the acts that Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code etc. is intended to cover. None of the defendants had the requisite criminal intent. They do not consider PFLP and FARC to be terrorist organisations.
- 640 In support of the request to annul the ruling and retry the case, T5 claims that the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark erred in emphasising in its judgement that T5 prepared the rough draft of a press release. It cannot be ruled out that this error had a bearing on his conviction.
- In support of the request for acquittal, T5 also testified that he hosted the website on his own. He could not possibly have been aware of the fact that the content of the website violated the Danish Penal Code. Pursuant to Sections 14 and 16 of the EU's Directive on electronic commerce 2000/31/EC, such assistance is not punishable.

- 642 In support of the request for mitigation, the defendants testified that they had idealistic motives for their actions, namely to provide humanitarian support and promote debate. The fundraising was very limited in scope, only raising donations of DKK 10,500, corresponding to 300 shirts at DKK 35 apiece. The support was earmarked for humanitarian purposes. It is unclear to the defendants exactly what kind of support is illegal according to Section 114b of the Danish Penal Code. Their actions are far removed from the actual focus of the regulations on terrorism. They have no criminal record and are upstanding citizens.
- 643 In support of its request for confirmation of the ruling, the prosecution has stated that the Court of Appeal correctly adjudicated the charges. According to common law, PFLP and FARC cannot be equated with government forces. As it is defined in Section 114, both PFLP and FARC practise terrorism. It is immaterial that, in and of themselves, the particular activities of PFLP and FARC that the defendants wished to support must be regarded as legal. The amount raised does not fall below a "de minimis threshold". There is no material atypicality. The defendants had the requisite criminal intent.
- 644 Particularly concerning T5, the prosecution agrees that the Court of Appeal erred in emphasising his preparation of the rough draft of a press release and that this should be removed from the case. As a result of this, the Supreme Court must hold that his complicity in the financial fundraising solely consisted of making server capacity available. This error cannot lead to annulment of the ruling since it was not material in his conviction.
- 645 The prosecution has alleged moreover that hosting the website amounts to criminal complicity. Sections 14 and 16 of the Directive on electronic commerce cannot result in a different verdict since T5 was adequately aware of the relevant parts of the website.
- 646 In support of its request for more stringent sentences for all the defendants, the prosecution testified that the sentencing guideline in Section 114b of up to 10 years imprisonment suggests that an appreciable punishment should be meted out. The specific nature of the case also argues for a strict sentence.

Supplementary Statement of Claim

647 The Court of Appeal's reasoning demonstrates that the court, inter alia, based its assessment of FARC's and PFLP's activities on the following material:

FARC

- 648 The report of 17 February 2004 on the conditions in Colombia in 2003 from the UN's Economic and Social Council and Commission on Human Rights states, among other things:
- 649 "...in particular, FARC-EP continues their strategy of frightening the civilian population by committing acts of terrorism and kidnappings. Not only did they not agree unconditionally to release their hostages, FARC-EP also proceeded to kill and ... them in some cases.

. . .

650 ...Guerrilla groups, and especially FARC-EP, continue their strategy of terrorising civilian populations by repeatedly committing acts of terrorism. The terrorist attacks in Neiva (Huila), Cúcuta (Norte de Santander), Puerto Rico (Meta), Florencia (Caquetá) and Chita (Boyacá), where many civilians lost their lives or were wounded, were attributed to FARC-EP [by] the Attorney General's office, with the exception

of the second attack, which was attributed to ELN (although ELN denied any responsibility). FARC-EP was also held accountable for the car bomb explosion in the *El Nogal Club* building in Bogotá on 7 February 2003, which ended up killing 36 people and wounding 100."

- 651 The report of 28 February 2005 on conditions in Colombia in 2004 from the UN's Economic and Social Council and Commission on Human Rights states, among other things:
- "The illegally armed groups, especially FARC-EP and the paramilitary, continue to commit serious, numerous violations, such as attacks on the civilian population, indiscriminate attacks, murder, massacres, hostage-taking, acts of terrorism, abductions, the use of anti-personnel mines, recruitment of minors, slavery and violations of the personal integrity and honour of women and girls in connection with sexual assaults.

. . .

...FARC-EP has also been accused of attacks on the civilian population and indiscriminate offensives, such as the one in the municipality of Anza (Antioquia), where members of FARC-EP shot on civilians and threw a grenade in a public building, killing two people and wounding seven others. Acts of terrorism were also recorded, such as the car bomb explosions in Tame (Arauca) in May, where 4 civilians ... died and 25 were wounded, in addition to the attack on a discotheque in Apartadó (Antioquia), which left 6 civilians dead ... and 22 wounded. FARC-EP has also been blamed for abductions in the departments of Antioquia, Caldas, Chocó and Nariño

...

654 Guerrilla groups, especially FARC-EP, continue to commit acts of terrorism. A bomb explosion was reported in May at a discotheque in Apartadó (Antioquia), resulting in the deaths of 7 people ... and the wounding of 22 others, and an explosive device was detonated inside a vehicle the same month, leaving 2 people dead and 12 wounded in San Carlos (Antioquia). The office also received reports in May of car bomb explosions in Tame (Arauca),

which killed 2 civilians ... and wounded 47 as well as another car bomb explosion in the east end of Cali in June. These incidents were attributed to FARC-EP.

. . .

- ...Hostage-taking reports received by the office include the one about five university students and a female professor, attributed to FARC-EP in September, Frontino (Antioquia) and the one about four ethnic peace authorities, including the mayor of the municipality and his chauffeur, attributed to FARC-EP in August in Toribío (Cauca). The same group was also accused of taking hostages, including a boy and a girl in October in Orito (Putumayo) and four civilians in Neiva (Huila) in February."
- 656 The report of 16 May 2006 on conditions in Colombia in 2005 from the UN's Economic and Social Council and Commission on Human Rights states, among other things:
- 657 "Guerrilla forces, especially FARC-EP, continue their total disregard and contempt for humanitarian commitments and continue to commit serious violations. These include murder, massacres, attacks and threats against the civilian population, indiscriminate attacks, acts of terrorism and hostage-taking. There

were also abductions, disregard of the civilian population's immunity, anti-personnel mine usage, recruitment of children and attacks on health care personnel and medical units.

...

- 658 ...Several reports concerning acts of terrorism continued to be received, especially acts attributed to FARC-EP, concerning the use of explosives, some of them placed on bicycles or horses. These events included incidents that occurred in Gigante (Huila) and in Puerto Toledo (Meta), which resulted in mortalities, including a pregnant woman and children, and other incidents in Cumbitara (Nariño) that caused injuries and damaged many homes. A joint operation between FARC-EP and ELN was reported, where a bicycle with explosives was used in Aurauca."
- **659** A report prepared by Human Rights Watch on conditions in Colombia in 2002 states, among other things:
- "FARC-EP stepped up their attacks on civilians, among these were hundreds of mayors and other local officials. "Our orders are to prevent all government representatives from functioning in every part of Colombia," the guerrillas announced in June. On 5 June, hitmen from FARC-EP killed the mayor of Solitas in the southern department of Caquetá. When President Uribe was sworn in on 7 August, the guerrillas staged an attack with mortars and other explosives in Colombia's capital, Bogotá, killing at least nineteen spectators.
- 661 The guerrillas have tried to gain political influence and raise money via kidnappings. At the time this is written, presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt remains in the custody of FARC-EP following her kidnapping in February 2002 along with Antioquia's governor, the former governor of Meta, a former Minister of Defence, Msgr. Jorge Enrique Jiménez Carvajal, a Colombian bishop who is President of the Episcopal Conference of Latin America (CELAM) and hundreds of Colombians who are being held for ransom. The victims include children as young as three years of age, as was the case with a girl on 18 July as part of an attempt to get her father to resign."
- A report prepared by Human Rights Watch in January 2004 on conditions in Colombia in 2003 states, among other things:
- 663 "Guerrillas also commit serious violations, including massacres, assassinations and indiscriminate attacks. In 2003, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the People's Army (FARC-EP), continued to kidnap civilians and hold them [as] hostages for financial or political gain."
- A report prepared by Human Rights Watch in January 2006 on conditions in Colombia in 2005 states, among other things:
- "After a sustained decline in their armed activities, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) once again stepped up their violent activities in 2005. FARC's attacks on government forces were followed by countless, serious attacks, including civilian massacres and assassinations.
- 666 In April, FARC used mortar grenades in the Cauca region, which they haphazardly fired off toward residential areas. The attacks primarily affected ... members of the indigenous populations, resulting in countless deaths and the forced relocation of most of the population. Other FARC attacks were targeted at the media, including at radio stations.

- 667 Both ... ELN and FARC continued to kidnap civilians and hold them hostage for ransom or political gain."
- **668** A report prepared by Amnesty International on conditions in Colombia in 2002 states, among other things:
- 669 "The armed opposition groups have been responsible for countless, repeated violations of international human rights, including hostage-taking and the killing of civilians. In May, FARC sent "resign or die" threats targeted at judges, mayors and local officials. FARC subsequently killed many local officials and civilians who they accused of collaborating with their enemies.
- 670 On 5 June, Solita's mayor, Luis Carlos Caro Pachero, was killed in the southwestern part of the department of Caquetá. According to the press releases, the Federación Colombiana de Municipios ("Colombian Federation of Municipalities") assigned responsibility to FARC.
- 671 On 26 April, nine banana plantation workers allegedly were killed by FARC in the municipality of Apartadó in the department of Antioquia.
- 672 FARC committed countless disproportionate, random attacks that resulted in many dead and wounded civilians.
- 673 During an armed encounter between FARC and paramilitaries in Bojayá in the Chocó region on 2 May, FARC fired off a mortar grenade, which struck a church, killing approximately 119 civilians who had sought refuge in the building. An investigation in Colombia, undertaken by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, held the guerrilla forces, the paramilitary and partly the government (since it did not prevent the arrival of the paramilitary) responsible.

Kidnappings

- 674 There were a considerable number of high-profile kidnappings and mass kidnappings committed primarily by armed opposition groups. Guerrilla groups were responsible for the majority of the 1,500 kidnappings carried out by the armed opposition and the paramilitary.
- 675 On 23 February, FARC kidnapped presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt near San Vicente del Caguán, department of Caquetá. She was still in custody at the end of the year."
- **676** A report prepared by Amnesty International on conditions in Colombia in 2005 states, among other things:
- 677 "FARC and ELN continued to commit serious, repeated violations of international human rights, including hostage-taking and civilian killings.
- 678 On 23 August, FARC reportedly killed 14 rural farmers in Palomas, municipality of Valdiva, department of Antioquiá.
- **679** FARC also committed disproportionate, random attacks that resulted in the deaths of countless civilians."

680 The report of 3 November 2006 prepared by the Danish Security and Intelligence Service's Centre for Terror Analysis states, among other things:

"1. Introduction

681 The purpose of this memorandum is to provide a brief review of the primary characteristics and activities of FARC-EP, a movement mentioned on both the EU's and US's lists of terrorist organisations. The memorandum has been based solely on open-source information.

2. Background information on FARC-EP

- 682 The organisation was established gradually between 1964 and 1966 under the name Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia ("Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia"). The initials EP (Ejército del Pueblo, "The People's Army") were added in 1982.
- **683** In 1966, FARC functioned as Colombia's communist party's armed force but later emerged as an independent group.
- Since 1967, FARC has waged an armed battle against the Colombian government, which was supported by the US. The battles have been interrupted at times by cease fires and negotiations with the government but always resumed. (Memorandum 1: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).

. . .

4. The structure of the organisation

The political wing

- At the end of the 1960s, FARC-EP seceded from Colombia's communist party and formed its own political party, Colombia's illegal communist party.
- 686 FARC-EP has tried to establish a political wing, intended to work peacefully toward the movement's goals. The Unión Patriótica party was formed in 1985 on this basis.
- 687 It is estimated that around 3,000 individuals affiliated with the party were killed by political opponents. This has impaired the political dialogue between FARC-EP and the Colombian government. (Memorandum 4: DR briefing, 11-08-2005).
- **688** FARC-EP's International Front serves as a type of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, participating in conferences and cooperating with NGOs and like-minded groups throughout the world. One of its goals is also to establish trade contacts for weapon and narcotics smuggling.
- Moreover, the International Front plays an important role in laundering the proceeds of narcotics sales. (Memorandum 5: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).

The militant wing

- 690 The organisation is divided into seven divisions with a total of 60 companies. The overall force is estimated at 16,000 men.
- 691 In addition, a number of cadres have been established, which serve as shock forces for special ops or reinforcements to groups carrying out larger operations. Finally, a separate urban guerrilla unit was created, with special responsibility for larger urban areas. (Memorandum 6: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- 692 The non-military support structure is estimated at around 10,000 men.
- 693 FARC-EP has been accused repeatedly of using child soldiers as young as 8 years of age, and in 2003, it was estimated that over 4,000 children under the age of 18 worked as soldiers in the organisation. (Memorandum 7: "You learn not to cry", Human Rights Watch, September 2003).
- These children are subject to the same discipline as other soldiers. Punishment ranges from forced labour to summary executions. Children who flee home to their families or fall asleep during watch are shot. Execution of the punishments is in some cases carried out by other children. There is information from one source that a friend of the child who is to be shot is specifically chosen to participate in the execution. (Memorandum 8: "You learn not to cry", Human Rights Watch, September 2003).
- 695 The child soldiers are largely volunteers who have joined in response to heavily embellished recruitment campaigns, which promise money and a future. Some children are sent by families who cannot afford to support them while others are forced to sign up. (Memorandum 9: "You learn not to cry", Human Rights Watch, September 2003).

Leadership

- FARC-EP is led by a Secretariat consisting of 7 men. Manuel MARULANDA, alias "Tirofijo", birth name Pedro Antonio MARIN, allegedly heads the group. However, MR. MARULANDA has been reported to be dead on several occasions and to be seriously ill according to other unconfirmed rumours. (Memorandum 10: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- **697** According to unconfirmed reports, leadership was handed over to Alfonso CANO, birth name Guillermo Léon Sáenz VARGAZ, in 2004. (Memorandum 11: BBC World News, 29-06-2006).

5. The activities of the organisation

Political activities

- **698** In 2003, FARC-EP broadcast a statement announcing future collaboration with Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) in the ongoing fight in Colombia:
- **699** "As long as Alvaro Uribe Velez's illegitimate government continues its fascistic and militant policies, there will be no progress in the political rapprochement or national dialogue." (Memorandum 12: BBC World News, 25-08-2006).
- **700** In October 2003, the leadership of FARC-EP approached several senior officers of the Colombian army in order to meet to "exchange views". (Memorandum 13: BBC World News, 15-10-2003).

701 In 2006, negotiations commenced between ELN and the Colombian government, presumably suggesting that FARC-EP now stands alone in its struggle against the Colombian government. (Memorandum 14: BBC World News, 29-05-2006).

Militant activities

- **702** FARC-EP has carried out several attacks on military forces.
- 703 Over the years, their tactics and organisational structure constantly evolved, partly due to past experience, partly due to shifts in their political focus and partly due to changes in the tactics employed by the Colombian government and right-wing militias.
- 704 Thus, there have been certain periods where the focus was on urban guerrilla warfare and the larger cities and other periods where the focus was on conquering and consolidating the countryside.
- At the moment, it is estimated that FARC-EP dominates 40% of Colombia's land area. (Memorandum 15: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005). FARC-EP's traditional stronghold in the southern provinces was captured by government forces, which led to FARC-EP migrating from these areas to neighbouring provinces or over the border to neighbouring countries.
- **706** FARC-EP both directs their operations against security forces and the government army and launches attacks on the cocaine factories and logistical support structure of rival groups.
- **707** Its armaments include light weaponry, grenade launchers, machine guns and mines. There are indications that FARC-EP has procured ground-to-air (GTAM) and ground-to-ground (GGM) missiles as well as advanced communications and night-vision gear. (Memorandum 16: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- 708 These weapons are largely financed through narcotics sales, the extortion of individuals and companies in the controlled areas and ransom from hostages. In 2003, a report of the Colombian government estimated that FARC-EP had an annual income of USD 1.3 billion, including USD 630 million from the sale of narcotics and USD 91 million from ransom. (Memorandum 17: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- **709** Extortion is estimated to comprise approximately 41% of FARC-EP's income. This is directed at every business owner and farmer within the controlled areas as 'protection' against kidnapping and attacks. Farmers are required to pay for each head of cattle they own. (Memorandum 18: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- 710 Individuals and companies representing a value of over USD 1 million are taxed.
- **711** People suspected of being informants or supporting the government or paramilitary groups are summarily executed.
- 712 In June 2004, FARC-EP executed 34 coca farmers. FARC-EP later issued a statement, wherein it took responsibility for the incident. The farmers worked on a coca farm associated with a right-wing paramilitary group. The incident was condemned by the UN as a war crime, and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Colombia described the attack as:

- 713 "...premeditated murder of unarmed and totally defenceless civilians." (Memorandum 19: BBC World News, 18-06-2004).
- 714 On the 14th and 17th of April in 2005, FARC-EP carried out an attack on the city of Toribio using jerry-rigged gas cylinder bombs. In all, eleven civilians were wounded and an 11-year-old child was killed. (Memorandum 20: Amnesty International, press release, 20-04-2005). Aside from the human casualties, a large number of homes were destroyed, forcing many people to flee the village. The town's residents mainly consisted of people of indigenous heritage.
- 715 In practice, it is impossible to target attacks precisely when gas cylinder bombs are used.
- 716 In May 2002, FARC-EP employed gas cylinder bombs in an attack on a church that resulted in the deaths of 119 civilians. The target of the attack was a paramilitary force stationed behind the church where the civilians had sought refuge. (Memorandum 21: Amnesty International, press release, 25-04-2005).
- 717 FARC-EP has waged a long campaign against local politicians, whom the organisation characterises as legitimate targets. This has led to the assault and killing of politicians who either opposed FARC-EP or supported the government.
- 718 On 24 May 2005, six local politicians were executed in the city of Puerto Rico. (Memorandum 22: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005). In all, 25 local politicians are estimated to have been killed in 2005. (Memorandum 23: Amnesty International, Report on Colombia).
- 719 The examples mentioned are not unique. Assaults on civilians, including murder, torture, rape, extortion and forced labour have been singled out and criticised for a number of years by UNHCR, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

Humanitarian activities

- 720 FARC-EP serves as the de facto government in the areas controlled by the organisation and participates to a certain degree in the establishment of social infrastructure in the region. The organisation also assumes responsible for the maintenance of a type of social safety net for its dependants in the form of a budget for each FARC-EP member, including funding for weapons, medicine, medical treatment and transport. (Memorandum 24: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism, FARC, 16-12-2005).
- **721** Due to the civil war, the number of individuals displaced from their homes to other parts of Colombia has risen from 525,000 in 2000 to 2,000,000 in 2004. The number of people who have fled to neighbouring countries has risen from 1,626 in 1995 to 19,357 in 2004, and the number of refugees in the neighbouring countries has risen from 1,902 to 47,357 over the same period. (Memorandum 25: UNHCR 2004 Statistical Yearbook).
- 722 It should be noted that this is not solely due to the activities of FARC-EP as their opponent's operations have caused people to flee to other parts of the country or abroad to an equal degree.

8. Summary

- 723 The war in Colombia is characterised by gross abuses of the civilian population, human rights violations and infringement of the rules of wartime conduct. These attacks have been carried out by both sides in the conflict.
- FARC-EP has stated clearly that their goal is to topple the Colombian government by means of armed force and that they refuse to pursue a political approach. In this context, FARC-EP has assumed credit for premeditated attacks and killings of civilians and politicians alike, including attacks that led to the destruction of urban dwellings and the displacement of residents and has summarily executed civilians without trial. It should be noted that, in connection with certain attacks, FARC-EP has used weapons that are extremely imprecise and therefore has struck indiscriminate targets. As these weapons have been used in urban areas, innocent people became casualties. Finally, FARC-EP has employed child soldiers. This has added to the already high number of displaced individuals and refugees in Colombia."

PFLP

- 725 A report prepared in October 2002 by Human Rights Watch states, among other things:
- 726 "During the latest encounter, PFLP assumed responsibility for three suicide bombing attacks within civilian populations and several car bombs that reportedly injured several dozen civilians.

. . .

Complicity in suicide bombings

In relation to current engagements, PFLP stepped up its activities in October 2001 after its military faction, the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, assassinated the Israeli Minister of Tourism, Rehavam Ze'evi, on 17 October. Prior to this attack, PFLP had assumed responsibility for five car bombs, including four in Jerusalem, within a seven-hour span on 4 September 2001, where nine people were wounded.

- Since the end of August 2002, PFLP has assumed responsibility for three suicide bombing attacks against civilians. On 16 February 2002, a suicide bomber blew himself up inside a shopping centre in the Karnei Shorom settlement on the West Bank. This killed three teenagers and wounded around thirty people. PFLP's Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades issued a statement assuming responsibility for the attacks, wherein they reported that the bomber, Sadiq Abd al-Hafiz, came from the city Qalqiliya on the West Bank. The second attack, which injured fifteen people, took place on 7 March in the lobby of a hotel on the outskirts of the Ariel settlement. In the third attack on 19 May, a suicide bomber disguised himself as an Israeli soldier and blew himself up next to an open-air market in Netanya. Three people lost their lives and 59 were wounded. Hamas also claimed responsibility for this attack."
- 728 A report prepared by Amnesty International in May 2005 states, among other things:
- "Several armed Palestinian groups, including the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades (a side branch of the ruling Fatah party), Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) have employed children to transport explosives and war supplies, exposing them to mortal danger. In some cases, these groups have sent children to carry out suicide bombings.
- 730 On 1 November 2004, a 16-year-old Palestinian boy from the city of Nablus on the West Bank carried

out a suicide bombing that killed three Israeli civilians at a market in Tel Aviv. He was the youngest Palestinian to ever carry out this kind of attack. PFLP assumed responsibility for the attack..."

731 The report of 3 November 2006 prepared by the Danish Security and Intelligence Service's Centre for Terror Analysis states, among other things:

'1. Introduction

- 732 The purpose of this memorandum is to provide a brief review of the characteristics and activities of the organisation Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which is a movement that is mentioned on both the EU's and US's lists of terrorist organisations. The memorandum has been based exclusively open-source information.
- 733 It should be noted that PFLP-GC (General Command) and PFLP-SC (Special Command) are splinter groups that are no longer part of the PFLP.

2. Background information on PFLP

734 The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was established in 1967. Since its formation, the organisation has fought both for an independent Palestinian state and the demise of the Israeli state. In the 1960s and 1970s, PFLP was an active participant in the international terrorism scene but in recent years has focused its armed activities around Israel.

Over the years, PFLP has split into several factions that, among other things, disagreed on the degree to which armed operations should be carried out internationally or strictly regionally. In the 1970s, PFLP's former leader decided that the organisation should restrict its militant activities to Israel whereas the splinter group PFLP-SC chose to continue running international operations up until the 1980s.

735 Following the outbreak of the al-Aqsa intifada in 2000, PFLP achieved renewed popularity following a period of decline in the 1990s. PFLP's intransigent position on the peace negotiations with Israel seemed to have renewed justification in the eyes of many Palestinians. PFLP is estimated at the moment to number around 800 members. However, its popular support is estimated to exceed its numbers (Memorandum 1: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism; MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base).

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4. The structure of the organisation

736 PFLP has a tripartite structure that includes a political, a militant and a social/humanitarian wing.

The political wing

On the political level, PFLP has generally been against peace negotiations with Israel. In 1993, PFLP stood in sharp opposition to Arafat and the rest of the PLO, which accepted the Oslo Agreement in 1993. In 2003, they refused to honour the cease fire agreed to by Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Notwithstanding the fact that PFLP considers themselves to be a political party with a military branch, the *purely* political part of the organisation has previously been thought to be fairly limited as they viewed armed insurrection,

as opposed to negotiations, as the path forward for the organisation. (Memorandum 2: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism). PFLP previously boycotted the Palestinian election but made an appearance nonetheless at the parliamentary and municipal elections in January 2006 on the "Abu Ali Mustafa martyr's ticket" (Abu Ali Mustafa, the former leader of PFLP, was killed by the Israelis in 2001). Today, PFLP occupies several mayoral posts and three of the 132 seats on the Palestinian Legislative Council (Memorandum 3: International Middle East Media Centre).

The militant wing

738 The militant wing appears to have been the dominant one in PFLP's organisational structure even though it has been characterised by division and factionalism. After 2001, the military wing of the organisation became known as the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades. The militant wing is believed to be divided into cells and kept separate from the political and social functions of PFLP. Each cell leader is responsible for training the cell's members. (Memorandum 4: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism).

The humanitarian wing

739 PFLP has attempted to establish social organisations, especially after Palestinian autonomy was granted. However, due to the organisation's Marxist foundation, among other things, it has been more difficult since the end of the Cold War for the group to obtain sponsorship for its activities relative to Islamic groups like Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

Although PFLP has organised fundraising in support of Palestinian refugees and been responsible for humanitarian measures in Palestinian refugee camps, such as health care and educational outreach, the organisation's social initiatives are not considered as extensive as those of other Palestinian groups. (Memorandum 5: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism).

Leadership

740 George Habash was PFLP's leader from 1967 to 2000. Abu Ali Mustafa succeeded him, and when he was killed by the Israelis in August 2001, Ahmed Saadat became the leader. The latter was known for his radical views, his rejection of the peace negotiations with Israeli and his advocacy in favour of the continuation of militant activities. In November 2001, under Ahmed Sa'adat's leadership, PFLP murdered the Israeli Minister of Tourism as revenge for the assassination of Abu Ali Mustafa. In 2002, Saadat was imprisoned by the Palestinian Authority.

When the Palestinian Supreme Court later ruled that the imprisonment was unconstitutional, the Palestinian Authority refused to free Saadat. In March 2006, the Israeli Army encircled the prison in Jericho where Saadat was incarcerated out of concern that Hamas' assumption of power would lead to the release of the PFLP leader. After a heated battle, the Israelis led Sa'adat away as a prisoner. (Memorandum 6: International Middle East Media Centre).

5. The organisation's militant activities

741 From the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, PFLP was active internationally. The organisation was the mastermind behind several of the most infamous plane hijackings and hostage situations of the time. The political goal of these acts of terrorism was to focus the attention of the world on PFLP's struggle for Palestinian liberation. PFLP's latest acts however have taken place within the region and have been different in nature.

- After the Al-Aqsa intifada broke out in 2000, PFLP stepped up its militant activities, with a number of remote-controlled car bombs, rocket attacks, shootings and even suicide bombings. The attacks were largely directed at Israeli settlers. (Memorandum 7: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism; MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base; Institute for Counter-Terrorism). The training for these activities was completed in Lebanon, among other places, with a particular focus on car bombs and sniper attacks. Naturally, PFLP keeps its training activities as confidential as possible, and due to the group's division into cells, the leader of each cell is thought to be responsible for organising training for cell members. (Memorandum 8: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism).
- 743 During the intifada, PFLP carried out and assumed responsibility for a number of attacks and assassinations. (Memorandum 9: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism; MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base; Institute for Counter-Terrorism), including:
 - 2001: A long line of remote-controlled car bombs in various places around Israel.
 - 2001–2006: A large number of rocket attacks on Israeli settlements and shots fired at Israeli settlers.
 - 16 February 2002: Suicide bombing at a pizzeria on the West Bank, where three Israelis were killed and six wounded.
 - 19 May 2002: Suicide bombing at a shopping centre in Israel, where three Israelis were killed.
 - 25 December 2003: Suicide bombing at a bus stop in Petah Tikva in Israel, where four Israelis were killed and 20 wounded.
 - 1 November 2004: Suicide bombing in Tel Aviv, Israel, where three Israelis were killed and 38 wounded.
- **744** During the intifada, PFLP also carried out assassinations of the following individuals (Memorandum 10: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism; MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base; Institute for Counter-Terrorism):
 - 27 August 2001: Assassination of the Councilor and Head of Security of several Israeli settlements, Meir Lixenberg.
 - 17 October 2001: Assassination of the Israeli Minister of Tourism, Rehavam Ze'evi. The assassination of the Israeli politician was acknowledged to be revenge for Israel's killing of PFLP's former leader, Abu Ali Mustafa, the same year.

. . .

8. Summary and assessment

745 PFLP is a militant organisation that has employed terror over the past forty years in the struggle to achieve its goals: the creation of a Palestinian state and the extermination of Israel. Although the organisation

has the capacity to carry out acts of terrorism, it does not constitute as grave of a threat as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad or Hamas and, for that matter, hardly enjoys the same level of support amongst the local population. (Memorandum 16: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism). PFLP is mentioned on both the EU's and US's lists of terrorist organisations.

- PFLP's modus operandi has changed dramatically from the 1960s/1970s to today. Whereas the previous period was characterised by high-profile airline hijackings and attacks on international targets, since 2000 the organisation has focused on operations including remote-controlled car bombs, minor rocket attacks on Israeli settlements, shootings targeting Israeli settlers and isolated suicide bombings.
- 747 PFLP frequently has assumed responsibility for its attacks on Israeli settlers (Memorandum 17: Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism; MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base; Institute for Counter-Terrorism; Berlingske Tidende on 3 November 2004) and considers the attacks to be a fully legitimate part of its struggle against Israel. PFLP has three seats on the Palestinian Legislative Council, and is the third largest party, trailing only the two dominant parties (Hamas with 74 seats and Fatah with 45). The organisation occupies several mayoral posts and is responsible for a number of humanitarian activities in Palestinian refugee camps."
- **748** PFLP's website included the following statement on 31 October 2004:

"The Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades assume responsibility for the attack: five killed and a large number wounded in an explosion in the centre of Tel Aviv

749 Five Zionists were killed and 30 others wounded in an explosion that shook the centre of Carmel market in Tel Aviv this afternoon. The enemy's news media reported that a Palestinian martyr blew himself up at the market and that at least 5 people were killed from the explosion while around 30 wounded were transported to hospitals, including several who were critically injured.

. . .

750 The news bureaus reported that the military branch of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, assumed responsibility for the attack and reported that the perpetrator was Amir Abdallah from the Askar refugee camp near Nablus, who was 18 years of age."

Legal basis

751 Article 2, item 1 of the UN International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 9 December 1999 states:

"Article 2

- 1. Any person commits an offence within the meaning of this Convention if that person by any means, directly or indirectly, unlawfully and wilfully, provides or collects funds with the intention that they should be used or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in full or in part, in order to carry out:
 - a) An act which constitutes an offence within the scope of and as defined in one of the treaties listed in the annex; or

- b) Any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."
- 752 The provisions in Section 114 and 114a (now section 114b) of the Danish Penal Code were introduced in 2002, inter alia, based on the rough draft of the EU's Framework decision on combating terrorism, which ultimately was adopted on 13 June 2002 (2002/475/RIA). Items 10 and 11 of the framework decision's preamble state:
 - "(10) This Framework Decision respects fundamental rights as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and as they emerge from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States as principles of Community law. The Union observes the principles recognised by Article 6(2) of the Treaty on European Union and reflected in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, notably Chapter VI thereof. Nothing in this Framework Decision may be interpreted as being intended to reduce or restrict fundamental rights or freedoms such as the right to strike, freedom of assembly, of association or of expression, including the right of everyone to form and to join trade unions with others for the protection of his or her interests and the related right to demonstrate.
 - (11) Actions by armed forces during periods of armed conflict, which are governed by international humanitarian law within the meaning of these terms under that law, and, inasmuch as they are governed by other rules of international law, actions by the armed forces of a State in the exercising of their official duties are not governed by this Framework Decision."
- 753 This was accompanied by a draft Council declaration, which was incorporated into Annex 3 of the legislative proposals for, inter alia, Section 114 and Section 114a. This states, inter alia, that (Danish Parliament Gazette ["Folketingstidende"] 2001–02, 2nd collection, L 35, Annex A, p. 914):
- The Council declares that the Framework decision on combating terrorism covers acts, which all the European Union's member states consider to be serious violations of their criminal codes, committed by individuals whose goals are a threat to their democratic societies, which respect the principle of the rule of law, and to the civilisation on which these societies are based. It must be interpreted in this manner and cannot be used today as an argument to consider behaviour carried out by individuals acting to preserve or recreate these democratic values (which was namely the case in certain member states during the Second World War) to constitute a "terrorist act". Likewise, it cannot be used to accuse individuals, who are exercising their legitimate right to express their opinions, of terrorism, even if they commit crimes while exercising such a right."
- 755 With the introduction of Act no. 378 of 6 June 2002, Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code was formulated as follows:
- "Section 114. For terrorism, a sentence of up to lifetime imprisonment shall be given to anyone who, with the intent to seriously frighten the public or unfairly force Danish or foreign public officials or an international organisation to commit or neglect to commit an act or to destabilise or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or societal structures of a country or an international organisation, commits

one or more of the following acts, where the act by virtue of the nature or circumstances under which it was committed may impart serious damage to a country or an international organisation:

- 1) Homicide according to Section 237.
- 2) Abject violence according to Section 245 or Section 246.
- 3) False imprisonment according to Section 261.

..."

- 757 At the same time, Section 114a was incorporated into the Danish Penal Code, formulated as follows:
- 758 "Section 114a. A sentence of up to 10 years imprisonment shall be given to anyone who
 - 1) ...
 - 2) directly or indirectly raises or collects funds for...
 - 3) ...
- 759 an individual, a group or an association that commits or has the intent to commit acts of terrorism covered by Section 114."
- **760** The general remarks on the legislative proposal state, inter alia, that (Danish Parliament Gazette ["Folketingstidende"] 2001–02, 2nd collection, L 35, Annex A, p. 832):
- "In the opinion of the Ministry of Justice, it is already possible, under the laws in effect, in broad terms to punish anyone who donates or raises money for the benefit of terrorist organisations. However, the extent to which it is possible, under the laws in effect, to punish the financing of organisations that both carry out humanitarian tasks and commit acts of terrorism can, inter alia, be brought into question.
- 762 The Ministry of Justice therefore has found it appropriate to propose a new regulation on terrorism financing, cf. Section 1, no. 5 (Danish Penal Code Section 114a) of the legislative proposal.
- 763 The new regulation covers, inter alia, individuals who donate their own money or raise money for an organisation that expressly raises money to procure weapons or explosives, which is commonly known to, among other things, commit acts of terrorism.
- 764 The regulation also covers individuals who donate or raise money for an organisation, even if the funds are not intended to be used explicitly for the procurement of weapons or explosives insofar as the organisation in question is known, inter alia, to commit acts of terrorism. In this context, it is immaterial whether the specific fundraising allegedly has a humanitarian goal if the organisation is known to commit acts of terrorism."
- 765 The special remarks on Section 114a, no. 2 state, inter alia, that (pp. 875 et seq.):
- 766 "This regulation is new and contains a provision on the financing of terrorist activities in the form of financial support and the collection or transfer of funds etc. to a terrorist group.

767 ...

768 Section 114a, no. 2 is directed at the middleman or intermediary organisation that e.g. raises money from individual contributors through donations or similar or obtains loans from financial institutions etc. It is specifically designed to implement article 2, item 1 of the UN's convention on the financing of terrorism.

. . .

- 769 In the same manner as the proposed new regulation for Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code, Section 114a is likewise not limited to protecting Danish public interests. The proposed sentencing guideline is imprisonment of up to 10 years.
- Pursuant to the proposed regulation, it shall be punishable to provide funds or financial services for the illegal activities of a terrorist group as well as for its legal activities. However, intent is required with respect to terrorism activities that, wholly or partially, are included in the group's activities or objectives. Participation or support vis-à-vis an organisation that both has humanitarian and terrorism goals shall be covered by the regulation. The requirement of intent includes all degrees of intent and shall be met, inter alia, if the contributor is familiar with the group's activities or goals, or if due to specific circumstances, the individual in question must realise that the organisation, inter alia, commits or intends to commit terrorist acts.
- The money or services shall not be required to be transferred or provided directly to the terrorist group, cf. the words 'direct or indirect'. The only requirement is that the terrorist group ultimately benefits from the money or services. If it cannot reasonably be documented that the money actually reached the terrorist group, the attempt is still punishable if the defendant acted wilfully. The special provision on aiding and abetting in Section 114a shall be considered subsidiary in relation to the general regulation on this subject in Section 23, cf. Section 114 (sentencing guideline: up to lifetime imprisonment) of the Danish Penal Code. Hence, if a collaborator has specific intent, through his participation or financing of the terrorist group, to aid and abet one of the acts mentioned in Section 114, punishment shall be adjudicated under this provision, cf. Section 23. If no adequate specific intent is found in regard to a particular act of terrorism, the provision on aiding and abetting in Section 114a may nonetheless be applied."
- The Legal Affairs Committee's reasoning on the legislative proposal included the following statement by committee members from the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Liberal Party (LP), the Conservative Party (CP), the Socialist People's Party (SPP), the Social Liberal Party (SLP) and the Red-Green Alliance (RGA), who stated, inter alia (Danish Parliament Gazette ["Folketingstidende"] 2001–02, 2nd collection, L 35, Annex B, pp. 1466 et seq.):
- "A fairly substantial part of the discussions concerning this legislative proposal have dealt with the proposed terrorism provisions in Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA recognise the difficulties that such a paragraph imposes as the provision must describe the dilemma between protecting the basic rights of freedom in a democracy and open society while, at the same time, cannot be abused to undermine those same rights and societal structure, a dilemma that is similarly incorporated in the last article (Article 30) of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948: "Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein."

SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA would like to emphasise that the term 'terrorism' is defined in relation to a legitimate government based on the following universal values: human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. A legitimate government is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. Terrorism constitutes a threat to democracy, the free practice of human rights and economic and social development.

775 SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA stress that the proposed regulation in Section 114 must be interpreted in light of the declaration agreed to by the EU member states at the time the EU Framework agreement on combating terrorism was signed.

. . .

The Likewise, SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA would like to emphasise the limitation in scope for Section 114, which is expressed in the preamble of the EU framework agreement.

...

On this basis, SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA would like to emphasise that the regulation in section 114 must be interpreted along with the limitations that follow from it. When specifically evaluating whether a committed act is covered by the proposed provisions in Section 114, an overall assessment must be made of all the elements in the case. In light of the aforementioned Council declaration and the preamble in the framework agreement, one component of this overall assessment must be whether an act is directed against occupational powers etc. In this context, the international community's position vis-à-vis the country in question can be included, e.g. via UN resolutions.

. . .

A substantial part of the public debate on counter-terrorism has revolved around the special lists on terrorists, terrorist organisations etc. under the auspices of the UN and EU, respectively. Therefore, SDP, LP, CP, SPP, SLP and RGA would like to emphasise that the only immediate legal effect of the lists is the obligation to freeze the financial funds of these individuals and organisations.

If, during a Danish criminal case, a question arises about the penalty for violating one of the proposed regulations in Sections 114–114b of the Danish Penal Code, the Danish courts must run an independent evaluation based on the evidence in the particular case. Thus, the circumstance that an organisation is added to the EU's list of terrorist organisations does not prove, in and of itself, that a terrorist organisation is involved as far as any criminal trial in this country is concerned."

With Act no. 542 of 8 June 2006, Section 114a was relocated to Section 114b, and a new regulation about certain terror-like acts that are not covered by Section 114 was added as Section 114a in its stead. At the same time, the new regulation in Section 114b prohibiting the provision of financial support etc. was expanded to include support to an individual, a group or an association that commits or has the intent to commit terror-like acts covered by Section 114a. This amendment to the prohibition on financing shall only have any effect on acts committed after the amendment entered into force and are thus immaterial to the ruling on the present case.

The reasoning and findings of the Supreme Court

780 Pursuant to Section 114b (previously section 114a) of the Danish Penal Code, any punishment for

raising or collecting funding is conditioned on the fact that the collecting etc. was done for an individual, a group or an association that commits or has the intention of committing acts covered by Section 114 of the Danish Penal Code. It is not a condition that the money was collected for specific acts of terrorism in the past or the future. For sentencing under Section 114b, it is sufficient for evidence to exist that the individual, group or association benefiting from the funding commits or has the intention to commit acts of that nature and with the specific intent of terrorism, as described in Section 114, without it being necessary, as in the case of a conviction under Section 114, to take the performance and scope of the individual acts into detailed consideration.

- 781 Based on the description of the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark of its evaluation of the evidence, the Supreme Court concludes that the Court of Appeal has complied with these requirements in its ruling on the evidence in the case.
- Concerning the defendants' claim that the Court of Appeal, in its evaluation of the evidence, failed to take into account the defendants' documentation in the form of reports and witness statements, it should be noted that based on the Statement of Claim in the Court of Appeal's ruling, it must be held that this evidence was incorporated into the Court of Appeal's evaluation of the evidence.
- Based on its evaluation of the evidence, the Court of Appeal determined that FARC and PFLP have committed serious transgressions against the civilian population with the intent to severely frighten the population or to destabilise the fundamental political, constitutional, economic and societal structures in Colombia and Israel, respectively, in such a manner that the acts, by virtue of their character, could severely harm the countries. In FARC's case, this involves the fact that FARC has killed civilians, subjected civilians to abject violence, carried out kidnappings of, inter alia, politicians and a presidential candidate and employed imprecise mortar grenades in residential areas, causing civilian casualties. In PFLP's case, this involves the fact that PFLP has attacked and killed civilians, including by means of car and suicide bombings.
- Pursuant to Section 933, item 2, cf. Section 912, item 1, of the Administration of Justice Act ("Retsplejeloven"), an appeal to the Supreme Court cannot be supported by the fact that the Court of Appeal, due to an erroneous assessment of the evidence in the case, wrongly ruled that the defendants should be sentenced. The Supreme Court must therefore base its decision on the Court of Appeal's ruling on the evidence.
- According to the preliminary documents for Section 114 (The Legal Affairs Committee's reasoning in the Danish Parliament Gazette ["Folketingstidende"] 2001–02, 2nd collection, L 35, Annex B, pp. 1466 et seq.), in evaluating whether an act is covered by Section 114, item 1, it must be taken into account whether the act has been directed at a democratic society that respects the principle of the rule of law or at an occupying power etc.
- The defendants have stated that Israel should be regarded as an occupying power that infringes democracy and the principle of the rule of law and that Colombia cannot be regarded as a democratic society that respects the principle of the rule of law and that these circumstances must be taken into consideration when adjudicating the case. Notwithstanding what the defendants have claimed, the Supreme Court finds, based on the determination of the Court of Appeal and following a holistic evaluation, that the scope and character of the acts committed by FARC and PFLP against civilians means that their actions do not fall outside the scope of Section 114.
- 787 The defendants have also stated that FARC and PFLP must be equated with government forces or similar and that their acts in the given case consequently must be judged according to the laws on war crimes.

- Based on the information in the case, the Supreme Court finds no grounds on which to equate FARC's and PFLP's actions with governments' use of force, cf. item 11 in the preamble of the UN's Framework agreement on combating terrorism.
- **788** In light of the above, the Supreme Court finds that the Court of Appeal correctly assigned FARC's and PFLP's aforementioned actions to Section 114.
- 789 Before the Court of Appeal, T1, T2, T3, T6 and T4 acknowledged complicity in the production, sale and distribution of the aforementioned T-shirts, where the profits were to be used to purchase radio equipment for FARC and a printing press for PFLP.
- 790 In the case of T5, the Court of Appeal ruled that he had also contributed to financial fundraising. The Court of Appeal has hereby emphasised that he made server capacity available, knowing that it involved fundraising for FARC and PFLP, and that he prepared the rough draft of a press release.
- 791 The Court of Appeal held that all the defendants knew or, at any rate, understood that it was highly likely that FARC and PFLP either commit or intend to commit acts covered by Section 114.
- The Supreme Court finds the circumstance that the defendants do not regard FARC and PFLP as terrorist organisations to be immaterial to the question of guilt since it can be concluded from the Court of Appeal's evaluation of the evidence that the defendants possessed enough factual knowledge about the FARC's and PFLP's acts to prove intent.
- 793 In light of the foregoing and given the fact that the defendants' statements about the humanitarian purpose of the support and its alleged material atypicality cannot lead to acquittal, the Supreme Court upholds the guilty verdicts of T1, T2, T3, T6 and T4 on charges of violating Section 114b, no. 2.
- As far as T5 is concerned, the record shows that the Court of Appeal emphasised, inter alia, that he prepared the rough draft of a press release. By mutual agreement of the parties, this element shall be omitted in judging his circumstances, which hereafter solely shall concern the fact that he made server capacity available, knowing that this involved raising money for FARC and PFLP.
- The Supreme Court finds that this circumstance constitutes assistance punishable under Section 114b, item 2, which is not exempt from prosecution under section 16 of the Directive on electronic commerce. Therefore, the Supreme Court also upholds the indictment of T5 on charges of attempted violation of Section 114b, no. 2. His request for annulment and referral of the case back to the Court of Appeal is therefore inadmissible.
- On the grounds stated by the Court of Appeal, the Supreme Court finds that the sentences have been adjudicated appropriately for T1, T2, T3, T4 and T6.
- 797 In the case of T5, the court must conclude that he has solely made server capacity available. The Supreme Court hereby finds that the sentence shall be reduced to 60 days of imprisonment.
- As far as T1, T2, T4 and T5 are concerned, the Supreme Court upholds the suspended sentences for these defendants.
- 799 Concerning T3 and T6, the Supreme Court finds, under the present circumstances, including the fact that the narrow scope of Section 114b gives occasion to doubt, that full suspension of their sentences is also

warranted.

- 800 The Supreme Court upholds the provision on confiscation in the ruling.
- 801 The Supreme Court hereby upholds the ruling of the Court of Appeal with the amendment that the sentence for T5 be reduced to 60 days of imprisonment and the sentences for T3 and T6 be conditioned on the terms listed below.
- **802** For all six of the defendants concerned, the probationary period shall commence on the date of the Supreme Court's ruling.

By order of this court:

- **803** The ruling of the Court of Appeal of Eastern Denmark is hereby confirmed with the following amendments:
- 804 Enforcement of the sentence of 6 months' imprisonment for T3 shall be postponed and allowed to lapse after 1 year of probation on the express condition that he does not commit any punishable offence during the probationary period.
- 805 Enforcement of the sentence of 6 months' imprisonment for T6 shall be postponed and allowed to lapse after 1 year of probation on the express condition that he does not commit any punishable offence during the probationary period.
- 806 The suspended sentence for T5 shall be reduced to 60 days of imprisonment.
- 807 The Danish Treasury shall pay the court costs for the Supreme Court proceedings.

Footnotes:

1. Danish Parliament Gazette ("Folketingstidende") 2001–02, 2nd collection, Annex A, pp. 815–24, 832, 837–38, 843–44 and 875–76, and Annex B, pp. 1465 et seq., U 2007.1831 H, Ingeborg Gade et al.: Det politimæssige og strafferetlige samarbejde i Den Europæiske Union ("Police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters in the European Union") (2005), pp. 303–332, Peter Vedel Kessing: Terrorisme i folkeretten ("Terrorism in common law"), in Lars Plum and Andreas Laursen (eds.): Enhver stats pligt ... ("Every country's obligation") (2007), pp. 183 et seq. (Ch. 6), Jørn Vestergaard in the same, pp. 391 et seq. (Ch. 13): Dansk lovgivning om bekæmpelse af terrorisme ("Danish legislation on combating terrorism"), Vagn Greve et al.: Kommenteret straffelov, Speciel del ("Annotated Penal Code, Special section"), 9th ed. (2008), pp. 31–36 and pp. 39–41, Henning Koch: Modstandsret — en europæisk demokratiforestilling ("Right of resistance – a concept of European democracy"), in Henning Koch and Anne Lise Kjær (eds.): Europæisk retskultur — på dansk ("European legal culture – in Danish"), Anthology, (2004) pp. 85 et seq., Ole Hasselgaard and Anne Kristine Axelsson in Juristen 2003, no. 4, pp. 135–141, Jørn Vestergaard in TfK 2006.2 et seq. and Peter Vedel Kessing in Retfærd, 2008 no. 3/122, pp. 25 et seq.

Annex 250

Schedule of flights that used the TAMAK waypoint to enter the airspace of the Russian Federation on 17 July 2014

Schedule of flights that used the TAMAK waypoint to enter the airspace of the Russian Federation on 17 July 2014

No.	Flight Airlines	Type of aircraft	Route	Flight plan	Report on actual crossing of the	Flight levels per flight plans (and as effected) at restricted
		Aircraft number			I AMAN waypome	all ways
				Flights along the A87 air route		
1	JAI1191	B-777	London	N0490F310 BPK Q295 DAGGA	ZCZC MCW785	The flight was planned to cross
	IET AIDWAVS	VT_IEO	(Heathrow) -	UQ295 CLN UL620 ARNEM	1142	TAMAK and continue at the
	M/S (INDIA)) 711 \	Mumboi	UP147 RKN UL980 SUI L980	FF UUUWZDZX	speed of 908 km (K0908) and at
	PVT LTD		(Chhatrapati	LDZ M70 TOLPA/N0487F330	171142	the cruising level of FL330
			Shivaji)	M/U BEMBI L980 TAMAR/R0000E330 A 07	UKK VZŲZĀ	(F330).
				1AMAK/K0908F550 A8/ TEKNA/K0911F310 A87	(FLI-JAII 19- ATO/TAMAK1157	The flight was to continue along
				BALIG/K 0921 F 330 A 87 A SB	F330)	the A87 air route and at
				G775 ORPAR/N0498F330 G775	NNN NNNN	waypoint TIKNA to change
				MSD A416 SOKAM/N0498F350	NTNTNT	accordingly the speed to 911 km
				UL333 SERKA N636 NH N893		(K0911) and the altitude to
				VASLA G210 BOFIN/N0496F340		FL310 (F310).
				DCT		Flight JAI119 entered the
						Russian airspace via TAMAK
						waypoint at 11:57 at FL330.
2	$SIA323^2$	B-777	Amsterdam	N0481F330 ARNEM UL620	ZCZC MCW234	The flight was planned to cross
	SINGAPORE	OV SVB	(Schiphol) -	SUVOX UZ713 OSN UL980	1208	TAMAK and continue at the
	AID INES	0 v C- v V	Cincipal Cin	MOBSA DCT POVEL DCT SUI	FF UUUWZDZX	speed of 897 km (K0897) and at
	TRATED		Singapore (Chang)	L980 LDZ M70	171208	the cruising level of FL350
	LIMITED		(Changi)	TOLPA/K0897F330 M70 BEMBI	URRVZQZX	(F350).
				L980 PEKIT/K0892F350 L980	(FLI-SIA323-	The flight was to continue along
				TAMAK/K0897F350 A87	ATO/TAMAK1223	the A87 air route and from
				TIROM A645 ATASH A646	F330)	waypoint TIROM to proceed
				ABDAN N644	ZZZ	

¹ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight JAI119 (Jet Airways Flight from London (LHR) to Mumbai (BOM)) (Annex 37), p. 1. ² Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight SIA323 (Singapore Airlines from Amsterdam (AMS) to Singapore (SIN)) (Annex 37), p. 3

			LEMOD/N0496F350 N644		along the A645 air route.
			FAVLO/104490F330 10644 DI/N0491F370 A466		Flight SIA323 entered the Russian airspace via TAMAK
			SAMAR/M083F370 A466 DPN/N0492F370 L759		waypoint at 12:23 at FL330.
			TAVUN/N0479F390 L759		
			FU I/M1083F390 BS/9		
			VFL/N04/8F390 W331 VIH A464 ARAMA		
KZR9043	A-321	Amsterdam	N0451F350 ARNEMIV ARNEM	ZCZC MCW840	The flight was planned to cross
ATR ASTANA	PA-OAS	(Schiphol) -	UL620 EXOBA UZ717 DLE	1238	TAMAK and continue at the
WINIGH		V transfer	0180 SOI L980	FF UUUWZDZX	speed of 847 km (K0847) and at
		Atyrau	BAREP/N0454F370 L980	171238	the cruising level of FL370
			TAMAK/K0847F370 A87 LUTIN	URRVZQZX	(F370).
			R122 UP R710 ZG G487 TUGLA	(FLI-KZR904-	The flight was to continue along
				ATO/TAMAK1252	the A87 air route and from
				F370)	waypoint LUTIN to proceed
				Z Z Z Z	along the R122 air route.
					Flight KZR904 entered the
					Russian airspace via TAMAK
SIA254	A-380	Frankfurt am	N0476F290 SULUS7L SULUS	ZCZC MCW015	The flight was planned to cross
1	16210 210	Main -	UL984 ABERU/N0486F350	1346	TAMAK and continue at the
SINGAPORE	9V-SKN		UL984 PADKA L984	FF UUUWZDZX	speed of 913 km (K0913) and at
KLINES		Singapore	DIBED/K0898F350 L984	171346	the cruising level of FL370
LIMITED		(Cnangi)	NM/K0901F370 L984 OSLAN L69	URRVZQZX	(F370).
			GONED M70	(FLI-SIA25-	The flight weed to continue of one
			TAMAK/K0913F370 A87	ATO/TAMAK1401	the A87 air route and from
			TIROM A645 ATASH A646	F370)	waynoint TIROM to proceed
			ABDAN N644	NNNN	along the A645 airway.
			LEMOD/N0495F370 N644		

³ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight KZR904 (Air Astana from Amsterdam (AMS) to Atyrau (GUW)) (Annex 37), p. 5.

⁴ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight SIA25 (Singapore Airlines from Frankfurt am Main (FRA) to Singapore (SIN)) (Annex 37), p. 7.

Flight SIA25 entered the Russian airspace via TAMAK waypoint at 14:01 at FL370.		The flight was planned to cross TAMAK and continue at the speed of 430 knots (N0430) and at the cruising level of FL350 (F350). The flight was initially to continue along the B947 air route and land at Rostov-on-Don airport (URRR), but was directed to use A712 air route, in accordance with the NOTAM. Flight AUA659 entered the Russian airspace via TAMAK waypoint at 10:29 at FL350 and landed at Rostov-on-Don airport at 11:02 (URRR1102).
		ZCZC MCW370 1014 FF UUUWZDZX 171014 URRVZQZX (FLI-AUA659- ATO/TAMAK1029 F350) NNNN ZCZC MCW159 1103 GG UUUWZDZX 171102 URRRZTZX (ARR-AUA659- LOWW- URRR1102)OELFI NNNN
PAVLO/N0494F370 N644 PARAK/N0494F390 N644 DI M875 KAKID M770 BUBKO/M084F390 M770 OBMOG/N0482F390 L515 PUT/M083F390 B579 VPL/N0480F390 W531 VIH A464 ARAMA	Flight along the A712 air route	N0430F350 KOXER Z649 XENAK UM985 NIT UM991 MALBE M991 NM L984 PW M70 TAMAK/N0430F350 B947 RND G244 OKMAN/N0440F300 G244 KENEN -URRR0248 URKK Corrected to use A712 route for arrival to Rostov-on-Don aerodrome: N0430F350 KOXER Z649 XENAK UM985 NIT UM991 MALBE M991 NM L984 PW M70 TAMAK/N0430F350 A712 SB KA -URRR0248 URKK
		Vienna (Schwechat) - Rostov-on-Don
		F-70 OE-LFI
		AUSTRIAN AUSTRINES (AUA) AG
		v

⁵ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight AUA659 (Austrian Airlines from Vienna (VIE) to Rostov-on-Don (RVI)) (Annex 37), p. 9.

				Flights along the B947 air route			
9	UAE242 ⁶ EMIRATES	A-380 A6-EEP	Toronto (Lester B. Pearson) - Dubai	N0495F350 SEDOG2 YXI DCT 51N070W DCT YDP/M078F270 DCT PRAWN/M084F350 DCT ALTOD DCT 59N050W 61N040W 62N030W 63N020W 63N010W DCT IPTON/N0491F370 P996 FLO P607 EVTOG Z183 LEGPO L199 MILTA N623 PODIL/K0888F370 N623 TIVAN/K0892F390 N623 LOVIK M996 MOGRI W538 GANRA L980 TAMAK/K0909F390 B947 OTMOK/K0912F410 B947 OGMAL/K0909F370 M54 TAVRO/K0907F370 M54 TAVRO/K0907F370 M54 N82 ADANO N77 MAGRI/N0490F370 UR654 ZAJ R654 PEKAM UP574 SYZ G666 ORSAR B416 DESDI	ZCZC MCW469 1019 FF UUUWZDZX 171019 URRVZQZX (FLI-UAE242- ATO/TAMAK1034 F390) NNNN	The flight was planned to cross TAMAK and continue at the speed of 909 km (K0909) and at the cruising level of FL390 (F390). The flight was to continue along the B947 air route and at waypoint OTMOK to change accordingly the speed to 912 km (K0912) and the altitude to FL410 (F410). Flight UAE242 entered the Russian airspace via TAMAK waypoint at 10:34 at FL390.	
7	UDN7037 DNIPROAVIA AIRLINES	E-145 UR-DNT	Kharkov (Osnova) - Yerevan	N0402F350 KW W538 DON L69 GONED M70 TAMAK B947 GUSLI L125 OGEVI T918 TIBLO	ZCZC MCW667 1134 FF UUUWZDZX 171134 URRVZQZX (FLI-UDN703- ATO/TAMAK1149 F330) NNNN	The flight was planned to cross TAMAK and continue at the previously chosen speed of 402 knots (N0402) and at the cruising level of FL350 (F350). The flight was to continue along the B947 air route and from waypoint GUSLI to proceed along the L125 airway.	

⁶ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight UAE242 (Emirates from Toronto (YYZ) to Dubai (DBX)) (Annex 37), p. 11.

⁷ Main ATM Centre: Information on Flight UDN703 (Dniproavia Airlines from Kharkov (HRK) to Yerevan (EVN)) (Annex 37), p. 13.

Flight UDN703 entered the Russian airspace via TAMAK waxnoint at 11:49 at FI 330	in a) bottle as the control of

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Annex 251

Transcripts of certain publicly available alleged intercepts concerning the shoot down of Flight MH17, 16-17 July 2014

Transcripts of certain publicly available alleged intercepts re MH17

N_0	Date	Participants	Transcript in Russian	Translation
1	18:12	Dubinskiy &	Дубинский.: Твою мать, а с кем же мне отправить.	Dubinskiy : Da**, with whom I'll send. I'll be thinking
	$16.07.2014^{1}$	Pulatov	Сейчас буду думать. Я отправлю три танка, так?	about it. I'll send you three tanks, ok?
			Пулатов: А толку? Их тут только пожгут. Они	Pulatov : What's the point? They'll just be burnt here.
			здесь реально неактуальны.	They really are irrelevant here.
			Дубинский: В принципе, танки там не нужны пока,	Dubinskiy: In principle, you don't need tanks there yet,
			да?	right?
			Пулатов: Нет, танки не нужны. Нужна только	Pulatov : No, we don't need tanks. What we need is long-
			дальнобойная артиллерия и хорошая ПВО. Потому	range artillery and decent air defense. Because the plane
			что самолет с большой высоты работал. То есть	worked at high altitude. Meaning, virtually no system was
			практически ни одна система его не доставала.	able to reach it.
7	19:09	Dubinskiy &	Дубинский: Ох, бл***, Саныч, не знаю даже, как,	Dubinskiy: Screw it, Sanych, I don't even know if my
	$16.07.2014^2$	Sanych	сегодня мои люди продержатся еще или нет.	men will be able to hold there today or not. They start
			Потому что там сейчас их начнут Градами ровнять	coming down on them with Grads, I'll be left without my
			и останусь я вообще без разведбата и без роты	reconnaissance battalion and the spetsnaz company. This
			спецназа. Это вообще пипец. Ох, бл*** И делать	sh*t is f**ked up. Oh crap And there's nothing we can
			нечего. Сейчас Грады-то ладно, сейчас опять бл***	do about it Now, Grads are something we can ****ing
			если «Сушки» нанесут удар с утра, если я успею вот	bear with, but if Sushkas [slang term for Sukhoi fighter
			утром получить «Бук» и отправить туда – это будет	aeroplanes] strike in the morning If I can receive a Buk
			хорошо. Если не успею, значит считай, что это ж**а	in the morning and send it over there that'd be good. If
			бл*. Я сам туда собираюсь так что, так что да.	not, things will go totally f**ked up. I am going there
			Саныч: Ты сам туда Ты здесь да пока, да?	myself, so
			Дубинский: Ну я ж этот, ты уехал, я два часа	Sanych: So you're here for now, right?
			поспал — поехал туда, взяли мы высотки, эти самые,	Dubinskiy: When you left, I had a two-hour nap and then
			вот которые там, и саму Мариновку, потом я уехал,	I went there. We took over the hills there and Marinovka
			а потом, этот самый, самолеты били наверно с пяти	itself. Then I left. And after that the planes were attacking
			или шести километров, потому что их даже не	from 5 or 6 kilometers, because they couldn't even hear
			слышно было, «Сушки».	them, the Sushkas.
			Саныч: Да, да бл***, я видел, всю ночь летали в ту	Sanych: Dead right I saw them flying in that direction
			сторону.	all night long.

¹ Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 18:12 on 16 July 2014, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk2?overlay=audiotape-3 (Annex 246).

² Investigative Team, Presentation Preliminary Results Criminal Investigation MH17, Openbaar Ministerie, 28 September 2016 (Annex 39 to MU); Intercepted conversation between "Khmuryi" and "Sanych" (19:09:20), 16 July 2014 (Annex 394 to MU).

				Dubine Line That's it Than some down on them well
			Дуопнский: пу долоили так, что ол по-	Dubinskiy. Hat s it Hey callie down on them feat
			взрослому.	hard.
			Саныч: По-взрослому.	Sanych: Real hard
			Дубинский: Да, да.	Dubinskiy: Yes, yes.
			Саныч: Ну, смотри, Николаевич, давай, если	Sanych: Well, look here, Nikolayevich, if you need,
			надо мы отправим туда где-то в тот ваш район	we'll send itover to your area
			Хмурый: (в сторону) Если это то, что я думаю, я	Khmuryi: [Speaks to somebody else] If this is what I
			тебя пристрелю	think it is, I will shoot you
3	20:13	Dubinskiy &	Дубинский: Постараюсь сегодня, если ночью	Dubinskiy : I'll try today. If a Buk-M is brought here
	$16.07.2014^3$	Pulatov	притянут, «Бук-М» придет сразу туда к тебе. Ara?	tonight it will be taken directly to you. Aha?
			Пулатов: Я понял.	Pulatov: Got it.
			Дубинский: Потому что больше делать нам нечего,	Dubinskiy : That Buk is our only hope. There's nothing
			только на Бук надеяться, да?	else we can do. Right?
			Пулатов: Угу.	Pulatov: Yes.
4	00:17	Skiff & Dubinskiy	Дубинский: Да, слушаю.	Dubinskiy: Yes, I'm listening.
	17.07.20144	•	Скиф: Добрый вечер.	Skiff: Good evening.
			Дубинский: Добрый.	Dubinskiy: Good evening.
			Скиф: Это Скиф.	Skiff: It's Skiff.
			Дубинский: Я слушаю.	Dubinskiy: I'm listening.
			Скиф: Чем я могу вам помочь?	Skiff: How can I help?
			Дубинский: В плане?	Dubinskiy: Meaning?
			Скиф: В любом плане. Чем я могу вам помочь?	Skiff: Meaning anything. How can I help? Which
			Какой техникой, каким количеством людей? Чтобы	materiel, how many men? So that you could hold the area.
			вы там удержали район.	Dubinskiy: The thing is that they went to the top [started
			Дубинский: Дело в том, что они пошли по верхам.	flying high]. Before that, all casualties my
			До этого у меня же все потери у меня разведбат	reconnaissance battalion took Marinovka with only three
			тремя всего трехсотыми взяли Мариновку. Вот, а	three-hundredths. And then Sushkas started working from
			потом с пяти километров «Сушки» начали	five kilometers - and I have ten two-hundredths straight
			отрабатывать, вот у меня десять двухсотых сразу. У	away. I have at night Buk-M should come. In principle,
			меня ночью Бук-М должен прийти. Тут в	all the problems will go
			принципе все проблемы снимутся	Skiff: Let's do it this way There is Semyonov, right?
				San Sanych. ⁵ Please, as soon as there's a need, be so kind

³ YouTube channel of *Nieuwsuur*, "Reconstruction: the revealing phone conversations of MH17 prime suspects", available at: https://youtu.be/iUQk6i31fBc, 11 April 2021 (Annex 243), timecode: 2:39 -2:51.

⁴ Intercepted conversation between Skiff and Dubinskiy, at 00:17 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk2?overlay=audiotape-5 (Annex

^{247).}

⁵ Translator's note: short for Alexander Alexandrovich.

			Скиф: Давайте мы таким образом поступим Есть Семенов, да? Сан Саныч. Пожалуйста, как только у вас возникнет потребность, вы мне поставьте,	to set me a task and I will send what I have in my disposal well, I have at least four tanks, I have some number of light armoured vehicles, and I also have some
			пожалуиста, задачу, я выдвину то, что у меня есть в наличии ну, по крайней мере, четыре танка у меня есть, какое-то количество легкой	personnel.
			бронетехники у меня есть, и количество личного состава у меня есть.	
5	16:48	Kharchenko &	Харченко: Мы на месте. Уже одну «Сушку» сбили.	Kharchenko: We are on the spot. We've already brought
	17.07.7014	Duomskiy	Дуопнский: Молодцы. Ам молодцы. Одну «Сушку» сбили. Молодцы. Леня, ты мне скажи	Dubinskiy: Well done! Attaboys! Well You've brought
			<u> </u>	down one Sushka. Well done! Lionia, tell me
			Дубинский: А что тебе делать там? Сегодня	[]
			вечером задам вопрос. Очевидно, ты уйдешь сюда.	Dubinskiy: What do you do there? I'll put a question
			Оставишь одну роту на прикрытие Бука и уйдешь	tonight. Obviously you will come here. Well, you'll leave
			сюда, наверно. Понимаешь? Одну штурмовую	one company there to cover the Buk and you'll probably
			оставишь. Что тебе там делать? У тебя здесь работы	go here, you know? You will leave one assault [brigade].
			хватает. И Гюрза уйдет сюда тоже.	What there is for you to do there? You have enough work
				here. Giurza will come here too.
9	17:42:43	Dubinskiy &	Боцман: Здравствуй, старший брат, как дела?	Botsman: Hi, big brother, how are you?
	$17.07.2014^7$	Botsman	Дубинский: Приветствую. Ну не очень. Мы же на	Dubinskiy: Hi. Not so great. We're in Marinovka now.
			Мариновке сейчас. Вот. Поэтому не очень, как тебе	That's why things aren't going so great, I have to say. But
			сказать. Держимся.	we're holding up.
			Боцман: Чего такое?	Botsman: So what's going on then?
			Дубинский: Ну а как ты думаешь, долбят Градами	Dubinskiy: What do you think? We're getting hit non-stop
			постоянно. Только сейчас передышечка.	by GradsThey've only just now let up for a moment,
			Боцман: Понял, тебя. А у меня здесь самолет	$f^{**}K$.
			подбили. Вот еду за ящиками. Если, что тебе	Botsman: Got it. A plane was shot down near us. I have to
			передам, чтобы ты потом передал.	go there now to pick up the boxes. I'll hand them over to
			Дубинский: Кого подбили?	you, just in case and then you can pass them on
			Боцман: Чего ты говоришь?	afterwards, right?
				Dubinskiy: Who got shot down?

⁶ Intercepted conversation between Kharchenko and Dubinskiy, at 16:48 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-

crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-session-26-june-2020 (Annex 217).

7 Intercepted conversation between Botsman and Dubinskiy, at 17:42 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-sessions-12--13-november-2020/court-session-13-november-2020 (Annex 241). The transcript only includes part of the conversation relevant for the issue of MH17 shoot down.

a Sushka, over Saur-Mogila. We got a Buk-M, so... In about Dubinskiy: Got it, got it. My guys are searching too. The Dubinskiy: Yeah, of course, we'll continue to hold still be difficult. They're not letting any bloody tanks so. I'm in Marinovka now, as I said. We also just shot down two hours, I... And when will you? Hey, will you be in the Botsman: I'll be in Gorlovka....I don't know. I'm going to Grads have been hitting us hard. The shelling has only Marinovka, and for them, that's the only fu**ing way out Dubinskiy: We captured.... Yesterday the reconnaissance battalion captured Marinovka, and the spetsnaz group took three hills. The infantry was deployed, and together we held and we only left this morning, and the infantry was completely crushed by the Grads, and we had to deploy Botsman: But I was in Lugansk last night. Last night I was Dubinskiy: They're trying to flee Zelenopillya, but their only way out is through me [my position], do you follow? So that sucks. Yesterday two Sushkas were shot down, and another one today. Thank God the Buk arrived this morning. That'll be a big help. But of course, things will through, not anything. They plainly have 5 Grads batteries **Dubinskiy**: I won't be in the city for another two hours or look for it now, look for the boxes. And as soon as I find our position, and after that, another infantry group came, another damn reconnaissance battalion in Marinovka. And **Dubinskiy:** What are the boxes for? Oh... those boxes. Botsman: Did the Grads blanket you heavily? now, they are f**** firing Grads at us again. them, I think I'm going to head straight home. of Lugansk province. So can you imagine. **Botsman:** Have you had heavy losses? Botsman: The black boxes, yeah. Dubinskiy: Very heavy. So... **Botsman:** What's that? stopped just now. city for a while? Botsman: Jeez. in Lugansk. Мариновку. А они же тут... единственный выход из Боцман: Так я был сегодня ночью в Луганске-то. Я Дубинский: Я буду часа через два только в городе, Боцман: Я сейчас, в Горловке я буду... ну не знаю, Самолет мы бахнули тоже сейчас, «Сушку», бл***. Дубинский: Ящики для чего? А, эти... ящики его? цве «Сушки» сбили, сегодня вторую, бл***. Слава взяла три горки, бл***. Пехоту посадили, вот. Мы богу, сегодня хоть с утра Бук-М пришел, полегче получили мы, так? Вот. Ну я часа через два... Ты бл***. Я же тебе сейчас говорю, я на Мариновке. Дубинский: Я понял, понял. Ну, мои тоже ищут, понимаешь? Так что, бл***. Сейчас уже... Вчера Дубинский: Мы захватили, вот вчера захватили, разведбат у меня взял Мариновку, рота спецназа раздолбали вообще «Градами». Пришлось опять когда? Ты надолго будешь в городе, скажи мне? Вот как раз над Саур-Могилой. У нас же Бук-М, пришла, мы только сегодня с утра ушли. Пехоту разведбат сажать, бл***, на Мариновку, бл***. сейчас буду искать его. Ящики буду искать. А вырваться. А один проход, только через меня, потом как найду, сразу наверно домой поеду. Дубинский: Ну они с Зеленополья пытаются вместе с ними держались. Потом еще пехота стало, бл**. Ну так, конечно, тяжеловато. нас долбят. Вот только перестали долбить Луганской области. Ты же представляешь. Дубинский: Ну, конечно, мы же держим Боцман: Сильно «Градами» накрыло? Сейчас опять «Градами» х***т. был в Луганске сегодня ночью. Боцман: Черные ящики, да Боцман: Потери большие? Дубинский: Очень. Вот. «Градами», бл**. Боцман: Ё-моё.

			Тупо бл** не пускают ни танки, ничего. Тупо пять батарей «Града» работают и три батареи «САУ»,	firing and 3 batteries of SAU [self-propelled artillery]. In short, we are having fun here, f***.
			бл***. Короче весело нам тут бл***.	Botsman: What can I say? Call me if you need anything.
			Боцман: Что тебе могу сказать. Если тебе что-то	I'll come right over.
			нужно от меня, звони. Сразу подъеду.	[]
			[::]	
7	18:20	Dubinskiy &	Неизвестный: У меня еще такой вопрос, тут мне	Unknown caller: And another question I have. I'm getting
	$17.07.2014^8$	unknown caller	звонят журналисты, в частности с НТВ, говорят, что	calls from the press, like NTV ⁹ . They say a Boeing crashed
		(Igor)	какой-то «Боинг» рухнул под Донецком, где-то	in the vicinity of Donetsk. About 80 kms from Donetsk. Is
			километров 80 от Донецка. Это правда?	it true?
			Дубинский: Бой идет, в смысле?	Dubinskiy: You mean there's a battle ['boi' in Russian]
			Неизвестный: «БО-ИНГ». Самолет упал.	going on?
			Дубинский: А, так наши сбили на Саур-Могиле.	Unknown caller: BOE-ING. A plane crashed.
			Там вот, возле Мариновки. Наши сбили «Сушку».	Dubinskiy: Ah, yes! Our guys shot down a plane over
			Неизвестный: [неразборчиво] «Сушку», «Сушку»	Saur-Mogila, near Marinovka. Our guys shot down a
			А «Боинг», говорят, рухнул какой-то там.	Sushka.
			Дубинский: Где-то в районе этого около	Unknown caller: [inaudible] Sushka, Sushka But
			Харцызска, между Харцызском и Горловкой	people say a Boeing crashed.
			самолет, говорят, рухнул. Вот, но там я пока не в	Dubinskiy: There are talks that some plane crashed, where
			курсе. А наши сбили «Сушку» возле этого	was it? somewhere around Khartsyzk, between
			Неизвестный : Да я в курсе. «Боинг» именно	Khartsyzk and Gorlovka. But I don't know the details of
			интересует.	this yet. Our guys shot down the Sushka near
			Дубинский: Игорь, я не в курсе. Честно тебе	Unknown caller: Yes, I know that. But I'm interested in
			говорю, я не в курсе.	that Boeing.
			Неизвестный: Хорошо.	Dubinskiy: Igor, I'm not aware. I'm saying this frankly, I
			Дубинский: Ага.	am not aware.
			Неизвестный: Добрый, извините. Ага. Давай.	Unknown caller: Okay.
				Dubinskiy: Aha.
				Unknown caller: Fine, sorry. Yeah. Over.
8	19:01:35	Pulatov & Koreets	Пулатов: Да, брат.	Pulatov: Yes, brother.
	$17.07.2014^{10}$		Кореец: Ты звонил, брат?	Koreets: Have you called, brother?

8 YouTube channel of Nieuwsuur, "Reconstruction: the revealing phone conversations of MH17 prime suspects", available at: https://youtu.be/iUQk6i31fBc, 11 April 2021

⁽Annex 243), timecode: 06:52 - 7:37.

9 Russian TV company.

10 YouTube channel of *Verantwoordelijke Pers*, "Full interviews MH17 defendant Oleg Pulatov", available at: https://youtu.be/csrPZdVj99w (Annex 242), timecode: 1:00:06 - 01:01:07.

			п топ чет пепимежен и ит сипепси е подвижения	Dulatory Vac cura Vou have have a survey veries I have I
			regulation, Adi, Notice that an increasing that, but a	1 ulator: 1 Cs, sate: 1 Ca mayo occil so Wolffor and more 1
			теое довожу. Значит, твои «орат по крови» соил	am informing you. Look, your "blood brother" has shot
			«Сушку», которая буквально за минуту до этого	down a Sushka that had - just a minute before that - shot
			сбила вот этот вот гражданский самолет. Так что,	down that civilian plane. So, he is just a f**** hero of
			6***, он вообще герой, бл*** герой всего 6***!	a f**** hero of everything! You understand?
			Понимаешь?	Koreets: Good job!
			Кореец: Молодца!	Pulatov: The Chinese didn't even have time to flare up and
			Пулатов: Китайцы не успели возмутиться, а им уже	they fu*** got it. I am going to go look for that f****
			пожалуйста 6***. Сейчас пленного этого я еду	captive now.
			NCKaTL 6***	Koreets: F**** as****e. They say it crashed
			Кореец: Пи***с, 6***. За шахтой где-то упал,	somewhere behind the mine.
			говорят.	Pulatov: Yes, yes. Somewhere in that area.
			Пулатов: Да, да. Где-то уже в этом районе.	Koreets: I got you, little brother, thank you for the good
			Кореец: Я понял, братик, спасибо за добрую	news. So long.
			новость. Давай.	Pulatov: That's all, that's that. Everything is fine, he did a
			Пулатов: Все, так что да. Все нормально, молодец	great fu**** job.
				Koreets: So long, So long.
			Кореец: Давай, давай.	Pulatov: And f***, so soon he [inaudible], and he was
			Пулатов: Еще так 6*** только он [неразборчиво],	caught straight away. This is crazy s**t.
			так же тут же подхватили его. Это вообще 6***.	Koreets: Awesome.
			Кореец: Шикарно.	Pulatov: Ok then.
			Пулатов: Давай.	Koreets: Ok then.
			Кореец: Давай.	
6	19:52	Dubinskiy &	Дубинский: Это «Сушка» еб**** «Боинг», да?	Dubinskiy: It was a Sushka that blew the Boeing away,
	$17.07.2014^{11}$	Pulatov	Пулатов: Да, да, да.	right?
			Дубинский: Ага, я понял. Вы это видели? Вы это	Pulatov: Yes, yes.
			наблюдали?	Dubinskiy: Okay, I got this. And you saw it happening,
			Пулатов: Наблюдали с земли, я-то сам был в	you observed it?
			Мариновке.	Pulatov: They saw it from the ground. I myself was in
			Дубинский: Ага. А наши, а кто наблюдал, чьи	Marinovka.
			люди?	Dubinskiy: Aha. And who observed it among ours, whose
			Пулатов: Наши наблюдали со всех постов	people?
			практически.	Pulatov: Our [people] observed it from practically all
			Дубинский: Ну то есть видели, как «Сушка»	posts.
			вальнула Боинг, а потом	

Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Pulatov, at 19:52 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk5?overlay=audiotape-12 (Annex 244).

			Пулатов: Видели, как «Сушка» вальнула Боинг,	Dubinskiy: That is, they saw how the Sushka downed the
			видели из самого Снежного. Вот. А «Сушка» уже	Boeing and then
			прошла дальше, и тут ее вальнул Бук.	Pulatov: They saw how the Sushka downed the Boeing,
			Дубинский: Бук, да?	they saw it from Snezhnoye. The Sushka went further and
			Пулатов: Да.	then the Buk downed it.
			Дубинский: А, понял, понял, все понял.	Dubinskiy: Buk, right?
				Pulatov: Right.
				Dubinskiy: Understood, understood, I got it all.
10	19.54	Dubinskiy &	Дубинский: Значит, наблюдали из Снежного, и	Dubinskiy: So, people from Snezhnoye and our people
	$17.07.2014^{12}$	Girkin	наши наблюдали. Значит, смысл в чем. «Сушка»	sawso the point is that Sushka ****ing hit Boeing and
			вальнула Боинг, бл***. А уже «Сушку» потом	then, when Sushka was making its approach the second
			через, она заход когда делала, второй, бл**, по	one circle-wise ours hit the Sushka with the Buk. And
			кругу, наши вальнули «Буком». И это наблюдало	****ing lots of our people saw this. Giurza has reported on
			д***я нашего народа. Гюрза сейчас доложил.	this.
			Гиркин: Вот так вот. Я понял, хорошо.	Girkin: So, this is the way how it happened. I got it. Good.
			Дубинский: «Сушка» вальнула «Боинг», бл**, а	Dubinbskiy: Sushka ****ing hit the Boeing and our
			«Сушку» уже наши «Буком» еб****.	people ****ing hit Sushka with a Buk.
			Гиркин: Угу.	Girkin: Uh-huh.
			Дубинский: Хорошие новости, Игорь?	Dubinskiy: Good news, Igor?
			Гиркин: Ну не знаю. Я че то, честно говоря, не	Girkin: Well, I don't know. Frankly speaking, I don't
			очень в это верю, но	believe in this much, but
			Дубинский: Да все равно на нас сваляют, что мы	Dubinskiy: They'll put the blame on us regardless, you
			завалили, понимаешь?	know.
			Гиркин: Ну понятно.	Girkin: I understand this much.
11	19:59	Kharchenko &	Харченко: Николаевич, а на место падения самолета	Kharchenko: Nikolaevitch, should we let the OSCE onto
	$17.07.2014^{13}$	Dubinskiy	ОБСЕ пускать или нет?	the crash site?
			Дубинский: Конечно пускайте, пускай! Вы точно	Dubinskiy: Of course, you should, let them in! Are you
			наблюдали, что его «Сушка» бабахнула, или все-	sure that you observed it being downed by a Sushka, or was
			таки наши?	it actually us?
			Харченко: А? Не наши, Николаевич, не наши.	Kharchenko: Ah? Not us, Nikolaevitch, not us.
			Д убинский: «Сушка», да?	Dubinskiy: It was the Sushka, right?
			Харченко: «Сушка», да. Был один парашют.	Kharchenko: The Sushka. There was one parachute.

 ¹² Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Girkin, at 19:54 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://www.prosecutionservice.nl/topics/mh17-plane-crash/prosecution-and-trial/court-session-26-june-2020 (Annex 240).
 ¹³ Intercepted conversation between Dubinskiy and Kharchenko, at 19:59 on 17 July 2014, published at: https://app.nos.nl/op3/mh17-tapes/#/hoofdstuk5?overlay=audiotape-14 (Annex 245).

Пубинский: Ага А потом «Сушку» уже наши	A north «Cymry» wwe Hamid Dubinskiv: Aha And then the Sushka [was downed] by
EVKow 1129	our Buk right?
Харченко: Ла. а потом уже Ну. как. с начала там	
бабах вверху, потом пошел наш бабах.	

Translation of the transcripts of the Intercepted Conversation between Evdotiy ("Pepel") and Ponomarenko (18:00:22, 23 January 2015) contained in Annex 418 to the Memorial of Ukraine (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

[...]

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Yes!

Ponomarenko S.L. – Little brother, so, did he give it to you?

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - No.

Ponomarenko S.L. - He says – I sent him everything.

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Ah, he had sent it to me before you called.

Ponomarenko S.L. - I see, so is everything ok?

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Yes, yes, yes. Yes, little brother.

Ponomarenko S.L. - Because I'm looking at it right f***** now.

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Yep.

Ponomarenko S.L. - You're going to draw¹ everything, right?

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Yes, yes.

Ponomarenko S.L. - When are you starting today, are we going to set off?

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Yes.

Ponomarenko S.L. - It's f***** seven already...

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - As if I cared!²

Ponomarenko S.L. - You are always [working] at night, God d*** it.

Evdotiv O.M. ("Pepel") - Well, yeah. This is already becoming a good habit.

Ponomarenko S.L. - Come on, f***** start earlier. I want to f***** hit them, f***.

Evdotiv O.M. ("Pepel") - Well see... I'm not working on my own.

Ponomarenko S.L. - I understand, come on, let's start.

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - [Laughing] Be patient, be patient.

Ponomarenko S.L. - F***** crush it, I f***** asked you, that one, f***** Vostochniy.

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Well...

Ponomarenko S.L. - There is a f***** long distance to the houses, little brother!

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - I will, I'll do Vostochniy tonight as well, don't worry.

Ponomarenko S.L. - So that I can f***** come in there and f***** clean it up. I don't give a f***, we don't give a f*** whether we can, or cannot... we f*** them in their f***** ass!

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - [Laughing]

Ponomarenko S.L. – Take over and that's f***** it. ... That's the only way. Come on, I'm waiting for it tonight.

Evdotiy O.M. ("Pepel") - Okay, okay.

Ponomarenko S.L. - Bye.

¹ Translator's note: The Russian verb «нарисовать» is translated literally since it is impossible to infer its exact meaning in this limited context.

² Translator's note: This Russian phrase may also be translated as (a) "Why should I be bothered?" or (b) "What difference does it make?". The (a) option may imply that the speaker does not care, whereas the (b) option may imply that the speaker cannot do anything in this situation, something is beyond his control.

Translation of the transcripts of the Intercepted Conversations of Maxim Vlasov (23–24 January 2015) contained in Annex 408 to the Memorial of Ukraine (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

7. At 08:32:59 on 23.01.2015 (session duration 01:03), cellphone number **3806357777572**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Voronezh**", calls cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Hello!

"Voronezh": Hey there, brother!

Max "Yugra": Hey there, brother! How are you?

"Voronezh": How are you?

Max "Yugra": Fine, easier here than where you are. Slightly.

"Voronezh": Well, you're on site out there, right? Staying there?

Max "Yugra": Yeah, I'm here. Well, you know, f***. It's fine. It's been f***** hell over the last four days. You know. I've been told to lure them out to my position. You see, I sort of. F***** thrashed. I've just been involved in some intensive stuff, been intensely attacked. Well, that's about it. How are you doing out there, brother?

"Voronezh": Well, same here. We're on site still, we haven't been anywhere. Ah, no, no, we have, we have, we have. Yes, we have.

Max "Yugra": Have you returned?

"Voronezh": Yes, yes, we went. Mg.

Max "Yugra": Well, I got it. Well, it's clear. Okay, good. Call me if there's anything. Everything's fine here, so long.

"Voronezh": Well, okay. Yes. Max "Yugra": Okay, so long.

"Voronezh": So long.

[...]

28. At 16:23:58 on 23.01.2015 (session duration 00:59), cellphone number **380993648192**, which is used by **an unidentified person**, calls cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes.

Unidentified person: Max, what happened there?

Max "Yugra": Where?

Unidentified person: I don't know. Savelyich called me and said come f***** over

Max "Yugra": Well, that one, 2 two hundredths [deceased servicemen].

Unidentified person: Where? Max "Yugra": at Parus.

Unidentified person: Where, where? Max "Yugra": It seems like at Parus. Unidentified person: And how? Max "Yugra": Well, that one.

29. At 16:39:44 on 23.01.2015 (session duration 00:36), cellphone number **380932804204**, which is used by a person with the call sign "Gorets", calls cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "Yugra". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Speaking.

"Gorets": "Yugra"!

Max "Yugra": Speaking!

"Gorets": Look here. Our command is not sure about "one hundred and three", "one hundred and twelve" [handwritten: targets].

Max "Yugra": I'll double-check it now. And I'll call you back in 10 minutes.

"Gorets": Okay, call me back in 10 minutes with updated information about "one hundred and three" and "one hundred and twelve".

Max "Yugra": Roger that.

"Gorets": But don't use this one, use the military one.

Max "Yugra": I understand you perfectly well.

"Gorets": So long.

[...]

31. At 17:59:51 on 23.01.2015 (session duration 02:22), cellphone number **380932804204**, which is used by a person with the call sign "Gorets", calls cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "Yugra". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes!

"Gorets": Max, you have information. Did you get shelled by Grad [rocket launchers] today?

Max "Yugra": Yes, we did.

"Gorets": And, any casualties?

Max "Yugra": Yes, one advisor and one Russian.

"Gorets": Uh-huh, I see.

Max "Yugra": Their [firing] was counted, their [fire] was adjusted, it's 100%. So there you go. They were working out there in the field.

"Gorets": You know what pisses me off? When Ukrainian artillerymen fire, they hit their target precisely and leave a bunch of corpses. When DPR artillerymen fire, d*** it, they don't get closer than 300 metres. That really bothers me and gets on my nerves. Did you get the DMK? [airborne meteorological station] I mean, not the DMK, the wind rifle? Do you have the wind rifle?

Max "Yugra": Of course, I do.

"Gorets": Are you counting (inaudible word)

[handwritten: DMK – an airborne troops [handwritten: WR - a wind rifle fires [text cut meteorological kit [text cut off] off] direction of the wind [text cut off]

Max "Yugra": Well, I always create ranging points, but I don't just fire. All the time with (inaudible word).

"Gorets": Well, I understand. After all, you are (*inaudible word*). And when it isn't possible to create (*inaudible word*)?

Max "Yugra": I still have buyers. I'll have cartridges only tomorrow. What's-his-name, my boss, will deliver them to me. You know how he is.

"Gorets": Yes.

Max "Yugra": It's always like that with him. I start with the rifle, then up from there.

"Gorets": Get the cartridges at the warehouse.

Max "Yugra": Uh-huh. I'll definitely do that.

"Gorets": Get another rifle, too.

Max "Yugra": Understood.

"Gorets": Where did you get that rifle? Did they give it to you?

Max "Yugra": Yes, they did.

"Gorets": I see, I see.

Max "Yugra": Well, they gave it to me and said, "use it as much as you want."

"Gorets": You'll take it away later?

Max "Yugra": No, I'll leave it here. I mean, it isn't mine. It belongs to the local guys.

"Gorets": Ah, I see. Ok, well, that's it. So, everything is in force. I won't say out loud over the phone what we were talking about today.

Max "Yugra": What do you mean? Where will they be? Are your guys coming over quickly?

"Gorets": I called over there where I was supposed to. I'll try to let them know to go there, where you're going now.

Max "Yugra": Ok, gotcha. Understood, uh-huh.

[...]

68. At 23:38:47 on 23.01.2015 (session duration 01:13), cellphone number 380993692433, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "Alan", calls cellphone number 380993641081, which is used by a person by the name of Max with the call sign "Dikyy". During the conversation, "Alan" gives the phone to an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Hello.

"Alan": Yes, wait a second (gives the phone to an unidentified person).

Max "Yugra": Listen here and tell Ruben that the first job [<u>handwritten</u>: i.e. shelling] is at 7:30, you got it? Yes, only the first one at 7:30 and then when ready, yes. At 5:55, I'll need to report to you and Ruben that everything's okay, that you're ready, you got it?

Unidentified person: at 5:55?

Max "Yugra": at 6:55.

Unidentified person: Well, where do we take them for the night then?

Max "Yugra": Well, well, let's not talk about it over the phone because this...

Unidentified person: So, all quiet until 7:30.

Max "Yugra": Well, at 7:30 already...report that you're ready at 6:55.

Unidentified person: Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": I'll report, and you at 7:30, so I'll call you and you'll tell me, well, I'll say that that's it.

Unidentified person: Well, I got it.

Max "Yugra": And now you have time, the night, to unpack [handwritten: to occupy firing positions], do it neatly.

Unidentified person: I got it.

Max "Yugra": Okay, don't forget Ruben either, it's very important, otherwise it'll be f**** up if you don't report at 6:55.

Unidentified person: Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": So long.

[...]

91. At 06:55:47 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 01:02), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380955094461**, which is used by a person by the name of **Ruben**. The subscribers have the following conversation:

Ruben: Yes!

Max "Yugra": How are you doing?

Ruben: Hello!

Max "Yugra": Hello! How are you doing?

Ruben: Well, rather crappy.

Max "Yugra": What do you mean?

Ruben: Well, half of the "family" f***** went the wrong way.

Max "Yugra": Oh my! And where did they go?

Ruben: They made a circle. And I'm here with my guys where I am supposed to be.

Max "Yugra": Ah. Well, you'll get some clarification soon. I mean, the coordinates. Ehm, you have "one hundred and four" there, "one hundred and one", right? What do you have — "one hundred and one", or "one" or "one hundred and four"?

Ruben: I have "one hundred and four", "one hundred and five", "one hundred and six" here [handwritten: targets].

Max "Yugra": So, "one hundred and four", "one hundred and five", "one hundred and six" are all on you?

Ruben: Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": Do you need also "one hundred and four", we'll clarify this, okay?

Ruben: Okay, good.

Max "Yugra": Yes (speaking aside: get him some clarification).

 $[\ldots]$

107. At 07:55:55 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:26), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380955094461**, which is used by a person by the name of **Ruben**. The subscribers have the following conversation:

Ruben: Yes!

Max "Yugra": Fire! It's...hello!

Ruben: Yes.

Max "Yugra": Fire, then leave, recharge, and be always in touch with Ryzhy. When Ryzhy is ready, report to me, you got it? So long.

Ruben: Roger that, roger that.

[...]

111. At 08:04:06 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:23), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max**, receives a call from cellphone number **380955094461**, which is used by a person by the name of **Ruben**. The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes!

Ruben: Ready for "one hundred and two"

Max "Yugra": "One hundred and two"? But there is one hundred...

Ruben: Yes.

Max "Yugra": Wait. It should be "one hundred and one" rather than "one hundred and two", shouldn't it?

Ruben: Well, "one hundred and two", while they are probably ... the further one.

Max "Yugra": Well, okay. Fire! Uh-huh.

Ruben: Roger that.

 $[\ldots]$

117. At 08:33:38 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 01:35), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **38063880874**, which is used by an unidentified person (speaking with an accent). The subscribers have the following conversation:

Unidentified person: Yes.

Max "Yugra": So? Are you working? Unidentified person: Yes. Opening. Max "Yugra": Have you opened it?

Unidentified person: No, they have.

Max "Yugra": Yes.

Unidentified person: I'll now pray for you so that everything works out well. I said, I'm, I say (inaudible), and he didn't tell anyone, yes, in the morning he went where he said he would.

Max "Yugra": I don't follow you (inaudible)

Unidentified person: I say – pray. He opened earlier than anyone. Because I told him together, I said, I ordered...

Max "Yugra": Okay, okay, I got it. So he opened fire? It's important for me to know whether he opened fire? Good.

Unidentified person: Pray, it'll be clear anyway.

Max "Yugra": Good. Who adjusted it? Unidentified person: Allah, he sees.

Max "Yugra": Who adjusted it? Adjusted...

Unidentified person: There are two people out there.

Max "Yugra": Is there anyone? Unidentified person: Forward. Max "Yugra": is there a spotter?

Unidentified person: Nah, the weather's fine today, today one can, by the way "Terek" and yes, that

commander of the operations platoon of the battalion. They were waiting for mine.

Max "Yugra": Wait. Did you adjust Malysh's fire? Malysh's fire?

Unidentified person: Yes.

Max "Yugra": And what? Did you hit it?

Unidentified person: Yes.

Max "Yugra": All right, tell your commander to launch a f****** offensive forward now that you hit it.

[...]

130. At 09:13:32 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:20), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", receives a call from cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes, yes! "Terek": Two are ready.

Max "Yugra": Ok, shell the s*** out of them!

"Terek": Well, I'm not going to do it quietly. You'll probably hear it.

Max "Yugra": Okay, go ahead and leave right away. So long!

"Terek": Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": Understood.

"Terek": Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": Get out of there and reload right away. So long!

"Terek": Got it.

[...]

138. At 09:55:58 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 02:11) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Terek": Yes!

Max "Yugra": Hello! "Terek": Yes, yes!

Max "Yugra": "Terek", listen to me closely – instead of "one hundred and eight" and "one hundred and eleven" ...Hello?

"Terek": Hello, I can't hear you. Repeat.

Max "Yugra": I say – abandon targets "one hundred and eight" and "one hundred and eleven"!

"Terek": Understood. And? No other targets instead, right?

Max "Yugra": Target this one instead. Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait. Target "one hundred and seven".

"Terek": Um-hum.

Max "Yugra": Yes!

"Terek": Um-hum.

Max "Yugra": Wait a second. Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait, wait. So, the target...check it.

"Terek": Ah, "one hundred and seven", I've just pounded it.

Max "Yugra": Pound it again. Those ones are too close.

"Terek": You know the outcome?

Max "Yugra": Yeah, I do.

"Terek": Any adjustments, hmm?

Max "Yugra": Adjustments? Fire closer.

"Terek": Did we overshoot?

Max "Yugra": Yes.

"Terek": I got it.

Max "Yugra": You overshot it a lot, "Terek".

"Terek": Wait, what about "one hundred and nine"? "One hundred and nine" was in my plan.

Max "Yugra": Correct, but it was the third one.

"Terek": Yes, yes, yes. Well, I understand. There are no "one hundred and eleven" and "one hundred and nine". I got it.

Max "Yugra": Yes.

"Terek": Um-hum.

[...]

141. At 10:01:30 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:50) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Terek": Yes!

Max "Yugra": Hello! "Terek", so there is only one thing you need to say, suppose, after you've thrown "cucumbers", say – well, I've moved out – you got it? That's it.

"Terek": I didn't get it. Say it again, say it again.

Max "Yugra": Well, so, I need to report to the top all the time. Moved out, yes, then arrived at a "flower bed", report it to me. Okay? So long.

"Terek": I got it. Well, I, I, I am at a "flower bed" now.

Max "Yugra": at what "flower bed"?

"Terek": Well, I've arrived at...well, we're loading.

Max "Yugra": Ah, well, it's not a "flower bed". Do you get it, right? A "flower bed" is where you "sow" those.

"Terek": Large...umm, so they've flown far, haven't they?

Max "Yugra": They f***** have!

"Terek": How far?

Max "Yugra": I don't know. Okay, work on. You can keep on working for now. So long.

"Terek": I got it.

 $[\ldots]$

144. At 10:18:48 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 01:53) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Terek: Yes!

Max "Yugra": Hello, yes! Let's clarify the coordinates again. What don't you understand? **Terek:** Umm, look here. So it seems like – I'm shelling "one hundred and seven" right now?

Max "Yugra": Correct.

Terek: And there is no "one hundred and eight", right?

Max "Yugra": No! We're changing "one hundred and eight" too.

Terek: Then give me another number.

Max "Yugra": I did give it to you. Okay, I'll give it to you once again.

Terek: Well, you took, umm, you took my targets and gave them to "Zhulyen". I have only two left. **Max "Yugra":** No, no, no. On the contrary, I cancelled your target.

Terek: To keep away from buildings. Look, I have now only "one hundred and seven" again and that's it. It is one battery, and so the other one appears to be, I cancelled "one hundred and eleven" for the other battery, I gave him "one hundred and nine" which was mine. Do you follow?

Max "Yugra": Okay. Look here. So, take now the previous "one hundred and fifty six", so that you don't need to rewrite the coordinates.

Terek: Yes.

Max "Yugra": But it's close there.

Terek: It's instead of "one hundred and seven"?

Max "Yugra": It is instead, it is instead of "one hundred and eight".

Terek: Okay, so I'll shell it, right?

Max "Yugra": Yes. Terek: And then?

Max "Yugra": And then we'll see. We just need to move you further away from large houses.

Terek: Uh-huh, uh-huh. I'll use a map.

Max "Yugra": Yes, if there's anything, you'll just estimate some targets in general, and then we'll coordinate it. Just not buildings. So long.

Terek: Understood.

[...]

153. At 11:05:54 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:57), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", receives a call from cellphone number **380932804204**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Gorets**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Gorets": (talking to another person): we're fulfilling tasks, Gena. Have you recorded how many shells there were at SPCh? Just that? (then starts conversing with Max "Yugra").

Max "Yugra": Yes!

"Gorets": Ehm, Max, listen, aside from these "feature", are you using anything else, are you using your own?

Max "Yugra": No, no, why?

"Gorets": You can. Why don't you want to?

Max "Yugra": I want. "Gorets": But you can't?

Max "Yugra": I want. But I say that I have 0.5 now [<u>handwritten</u>: half of a volley, 20 shells] in my vehicles. There is some movement out there now. Well, I can transmit it over the phone, okay?

"Gorets": I'm f***** far away from the phone.

Max "Yugra": Well, you know, just in case, I have 0.5 in my vehicles.

"Gorets": Uh-huh.

Max "Yugra": I (inaudible), you got it?

"Gorets": Yes.

Max "Yugra": I can shell the targets just fine now.

"Gorets": Okay, but how many observers, spotters, have you got? When you start firing, how many spotters do you actually have?

Max "Yugra": Two. "Gorets": Adjusting? Max "Yugra": Two.

"Gorets": Two are adjusting?
Max "Yugra": Yes. Two.
"Gorets": Two, right?

Max "Yugra": Yes.

"Gorets": Good. Okay, roger that.

Max "Yugra": Yes.

"Gorets": Okay, go long. You got information about the money? Bye.

 $[\ldots]$

160. At 11:21:44 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:50) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": (the call is on and **Max "Yugra"** is unaware of it and talking to another person. Then starts talking to "Terek"):

"Terek": Hello!

Max "Yugra": Hello! Please put him on the phone once again right now.

"Terek": Um-hum (Then "Terek" hands over the phone to Aleksey, and Max "Yugra" and Aleksey have the following conversation):

Aleksey: Yes, "Yugra".

Max "Yugra": Buddy, check every "vehicle" [handwritten: correctness of combat vehicles' targeting], okay? Every vehicle. Can you do that? Hello? Can you inspect every "junk heap"?

Aleksey: It's possible.

Max "Yugra": During aiming? Hello?

Aleksey: I got it, I got it, I got it.

Max "Yugra": Because, umm, it seems to be f***** awesome, but those morons over there just f***** shelled the city. The ones that are our "friends".

Aleksey: Um-hum.

Max "Yugra": So-called.

Aleksey: Um-hum.

Max "Yugra": The whole city is f***** burning. Check everything, okay? Got it?

Aleksey: Yes, roger that.

Max "Yugra": Okay. So long.

[...]

162. At 11:27:05 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 02:24), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", receives a call from cellphone number **380662624439**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Dikyy**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes, listening.

"Dikyy": Ehm, umm, it's Dikyy speaking. Can you hear me?

Max "Yugra": Yes, I can. Yes.

"Dikyy": It's f***** impossible to shell Lyapino there, there is military equipment above. We've f***** hit below, and there are a f***** lot of tanks above.

Max "Yugra": Where, d*** it, tell me where they are?

"Dikyy": S***, at Lyapino, it is where, where they have a checkpoint, what do they have there, d*** it?

Max "Yugra": Is Lyapino (*inaudible*) behind the bombs? Lyapino?

"Dikyy": Lyapino, for f***'s sake, we've hit below the hillock, and there are a f***** lot of tanks above. There's a guy there saying that there are a f***** lot of them.

Max "Yugra": So it's Lyapino, right? I'm going to get a map.

"Dikyy": At Lyapino, yes.

Max "Yugra": Lyapino, and where, where, to the north, to the south? How many metres?

"Dikyy": S***, it turns out there was a slight overshoot below, d*** it, some f***** hundred metres closer.

Max "Yugra": Oh, s***, that's so f**** up, for f***'s sake. So, so, so. Lyapino, Lyapino, Lyapino, Lyapino.

"Dikyy": They're f***** standing right on the hillock.

Max "Yugra": On the hillock, right? At Lyapino?

"Dikyy": Yes. On the very hillock at Lyapino, yes.

Max "Yugra": Yes, yes. I'll give it to "Pepel", he'll take in the situation better. Yes, speak up, what? **"Dikyy":** On the hillock here, where we've just f***** shelled, it apparently hit Lyapino over the top, so apparently below.

Max "Yugra": Well?

"Dikyy": Just higher, aim higher. They're standing on the hillock, God d*** it.

Max "Yugra": Wait a second, you mean on the "fridge"?

"Dikyy": Oh! Well, wait, where is that "fridge"? S***, wait a moment, let me f***** ask. We've just f***** hit below Lyapino. Wait, wait, wait. Wait, give me a moment (then "Dikky" starts talking to a person named Evgen: Zheka, d*** it, let's move out. Zheka! Zhek!) Wait, wait, guys, wait a moment (speaking aside: where exactly, where the "fridge" is? Where, where did we f***** hit? Where is it, Andryukha? Huh? Tell me) (Then Andrey starts talking to Max "Yugra"):

Andrey: Hello!

Max "Yugra": Yes, go ahead!

Andrey: So, there is, you know, a descent to Vinogradnoe, the intersection, so it turns out it's their checkpoint...

Max "Yugra": So. Yes.

Andrey: But the checkpoint is below, and on the hillock, on the hillock, there is a tree line across, across...

Max "Yugra": I got you. I understand where it is.

Andrey: And there is a f***** lot of military equipment in that very tree line.

Max "Yugra": I got it. So long.

Andrey: Ok, so long.

[...]

177. At 12:51:35 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:52), cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380932804204**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Gorets**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Gorets": Yes, Max!
Max "Yugra": Hello!
"Gorets": Yes, Max, yes.

Max "Yugra": Well, one is at a "flower bed" already. The second is on its way. That's it.

"Gorets": And the first "two hundred", what about the "two hundred"?

Max "Yugra": The "two hundred", well, it's being...filled in.

"Gorets": I don't get it.

Max "Yugra": The "two hundred" is being loaded.

"Gorets": Loading it, right? For the third run.

Max "Yugra": Uh-huh. Hello.

"Gorets": Yes.

Max "Yugra": Nah, It's...

"Gorets": Yes, yes, yes.

Max "Yugra": Does that one need to wait for the second one or it's good as it is?

"Gorets": He doesn't need to wait. Let him fire and go reload again. Complete the assignment and go load. Come on, faster, come on. So, look, record the time...

[...]

180. At 13:01:37 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:48) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", receives a call from cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Hello?

"Terek": I'm on my way.

Max "Yugra": Ok, so, you fired everything already? Yes?

"Terek": Yes, I'm on my way already.

Max "Yugra": Ok, so tell me the first time you f***** fired.

"Terek": What do you mean?

Max "Yugra": The first time, when did you fire for the first time? What time was it?

"Terek": How many went off?

Max "Yugra": No, I'm f***** asking you at what time you fired for the first time?

"Terek": I don't remember anymore.

Max "Yugra": Roughly.

"Terek": (speaking aside to another person: At what time did we shoot? The first time. What time was it when we fired? (Then continues speaking with Max "Yugra"): Somewhere around nine or ten, I don't remember.

Max "Yugra": Let's say nine fifty eight, okay?

"Terek": Uh-huh.

[...]

185. At 13:23:44 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:50) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", receives a call from cellphone number **380662624439**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Dikyy**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Yes, speaking.

"Dikyy": Hello, "Mirza"?

Max "Yugra": Hello?

"Dikyy": Hello? So, there's another piece of information about the location. The Pichiksu station behind Kalchik...

Max "Yugra": Uh-huh.

"Dikyy": Look it up on the map. Grads are f***** shelling Mariupol from there...

Max "Yugra": Uh-huh.

"Dikyy": And there's a f***** 8-axle Smerch standing there. How the f*** it...

Max "Yugra": Yes, I got it. Understood. Tell me again, friend.

"Dikyy": There's a station called Pichiksu, behind Kalchik.

Max "Yugra": "P.I.C.H.I.K.S.U." Uh-huh.

"Dikyy": Behind Kalchik. It's toward Volnovakha. I mean, if you're driving along the Odessa Highway from Mariupol. Right there, somewhere there, there is Kalchik, and there, if you're driving...

Max "Yugra": So it's called "Pichiksu".

"Dikyy": Uh-huh. Ok, bye, bye.

Max "Yugra": Uh-huh.

186. At 13:26:23 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:46) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

Max "Yugra": Hello!

"Terek": Hello!

Max "Yugra": Yes!

"Terek": Your targets for the next run are "one hundred and seven" and "one hundred and nine".

Max "Yugra": "one hundred and seven" and "one hundred and nine".

"Terek": Yes.

Max "Yugra": I think what's-his-name, "Zhulyen", was just working on "one hundred and nine". Repeat?

"Terek": Ok. Then everything on "one hundred and seven".

Max "Yugra": Both, right? Ok, understood.

"Terek": Yes, yes, on "one hundred and seven".

Max "Yugra": Did everything work well with the corrections?

"Terek": We're about to find it out now.

Max "Yugra": Well, okay, call me after.

[...]

188. At 13:35:56 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 02:09) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380993648631**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Terek**" and passes the phone over to another person by the name of **Alexander**. The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Terek": Yes!

Alexander: Hello! Listen to me very closely, one of your vehicles is overshooting a lot, a great deal.

"Terek": And it's hard to say which one of them, right?

Alexander: Yes, God d*** it.

"Terek": Okay then. Fine. Centre, right, left?

Alexander: I have no f***** idea! They're all hitting the target, but one is overshooting f*** knows where.

"Terek": Well, were they checked by anyone? I have no f***** idea who checked them [handwritten: technical preparation]. Find out if they were checked at all or not? And the rest are fine? Alexander: Fine, but one is firing f*** knows where, d*** it.

"Terek": And nobody f***** knows which one.

Alexander: I don't know which.

"Terek": Uh-huh. I got it. So, we also keep on working on "one hundred and seven", right?

Alexander: What?

"Terek": We keep on working on "one hundred and seven".

Alexander: Yes, yes (speaking aside: did you tell him to shift further to the right?). Hey, hello! Listen up!

"Terek": Yes, yes.

Alexander: They all need to shift further to the right, some one hundred and fifty metres.

"Terek": Well, f***, we've already got something like "plus zero thirty eight".

Alexander: Well, he says that the centre, the centre was some one hundred and fifty metres to the left of the target.

"Terek": Uh-huh, uh-huh. Here, Sanya!

Alexander: That's it.

"Terek": I got some more questions, what do we do with them after that?

Alexander: Wait, we'll find it out right now.

"Terek": Okay, good, I got you.

Alexander: It's most likely, what-you-may-call-it, where "Rizhy" was.

"Terek": Will it get there in its entirety.

Alexander: Well, the larger part will.

"Terek": Well, the main thing is to move in that direction and that's it. Okay, I got you.

Alexander: I'll call you back soon, bye.

[...]

221. At 16:13:04 on 24.01.2015 (session duration 00:48) cellphone number **380993641081**, which is used by a person by the name of **Max** with the call sign "**Yugra**", calls cellphone number **380988711487**, which is used by a person with the call sign "**Ryzhy**". The subscribers have the following conversation:

"Ryzhy": Yes!

Max "Yugra": Have you finished already?

"Ryzhy": What?

Max "Yugra": Have you worked yet?

"Ryzhy": I have already.

Max "Yugra": Ah, everything's flown away, right?

"Ryzhy": Yes, yes, a long time ago. Back then I... you...

Max "Yugra": And why you...

"Ryzhy": "one hundred and one".

Max "Yugra": When did you finish firing?

"Ryzhy": Yes, yes, yes.

Max "Yugra": You're empty already, right?

"Ryzhy": Yes, I'm taking them home.

Max "Yugra": Okay, bye.

[...]

Translation of the transcripts of the Intercepted Conversation between Kirsanov and Ponomarenko (11:04:12, 24 January 2015) contained in Annex 415 to the Memorial of Ukraine (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

[...]

Valery Kirsanov - Hello. Well, he says, he says, they're shooting. But it's that guy who works in the store, the one who sells. He says some fighters stopped to get some oil, and, well, he started chatting with them, and they say, basically, that, well, one way or another, they removed [military] equipment from here to Mariupol. I mean, Mariupol, d*** it. And they say, he says, a column of our guys is headed to Hnutove to meet them. They say they're going in...

Ponomarenko S.L. - So the Ukrop column is heading toward Hnutove.

Valery Kirsanov - Yes, to meet them.

Ponomarenko S.L. - I see. To meet them... And did they take our flags...?

Valery Kirsanov - I don't know (laughs).

Ponomarenko S.L. - Did they take bread, salt?

Valery Kirsanov - I don't know, I don't know, d*** it. I don't know...

Ponomarenko S.L. - Well, they're shooting. You can hear it.

Valery Kirsanov – So basically that sucks.

Ponomarenko S.L. – By the way, it poured from there, after all.

Valery Kirsanov - Yeah, Talakivka unleashed a bombardment first thing in the morning.

Ponomarenko S.L. - I know.

Valery Kirsanov - And then Vostochniy.

Ponomarenko S.L. - Let them d*** be more afraid, f***.

Valery Kirsanov - Well, yes.

Ponomarenko S.L. – It just f***** sucks, you know that they're forcing people to leave now, and they're going to sit there.

Valery Kirsanov - Yeah. That's right. And the people there, I tell you, they're leaving in droves. In droves!

Ponomarenko S.L. - Well, naturally. And they're going to sit there. Do you understand?

Valery Kirsanov - That's right.

Ponomarenko S.L. - They'll leave the nine-story building and go. Well, now I've made up my mind. I'll have a word ...

Valery Kirsanov - Uh-huh.

Ponomarenko S.L. - Take care.

Valery Kirsanov - Ok, bye.

Translation of the transcripts of the Intercepted Conversation between Kirsanov and Ponomarenko (10:38:14, 24 January 2015) contained in Annex 414 to the Memorial of Ukraine (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

 $[\ldots]$

[Sounds of a telephone call]

Ponomarenko S.L.: Yes, hello. **Valery Kirsanov:** Good morning.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Yes.

Valery Kirsanov: Look what Aleksander has done.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Yes.

Valery Kirsanov: It's a totally f***** disaster here.

Ponomarenko S.L.: What?

Valery Kirsanov: The damn market, nine-storey high-rise buildings, private houses. All the s*** was f***** up.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Are you serious?

Valery Kirsanov: It f***** overflew. Overflew by approximately a kilometre.

Ponomarenko S.L.: To Vostochniy?

Valery Kirsanov: Yes, yes. The Kievskiy market, school No. 5, nine-storey high-rise buildings, right into the courtyards, f***, the boiler house. They even f***** landed on what-you-may-callit, on Olimpiyskaya. F***** f***. Basically, they overflew the entire Vostochniy.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Oh, f***** s***.

Valery Kirsanov: There... Ponomarenko S.L.: What?

Valery Kirsanov: No, never mind.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Oh, the ukrops will do good PR now.

Valery Kirsanov: They are leaving, [1] f***** leaving, f**** hell. Leaving.

Ponomarenko S.L.: ...

Valery Kirsanov: The windows blew out of the buildings. The cars. Lots of burned.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Cars?

Valery Kirsanov: Yes, there are f*** probably more than ten of them.

Ponomarenko S.L.: That doesn't f***** matter.

Valery Kirsanov: I agree. But Vostochny seriously f***** suffered.

Ponomarenko S.L.: How about the checkpoint? **Valery Kirsanov:** Untouched motherf****!

Ponomarenko S.L.: It sucks!

Valery Kirsanov: Hey, listen, they're leaving, these ukrops are leaving, they're leaving...tell me ...from-from-from Talakivka. From there Orlovske, Talakivka. So, they were f***** removing all the night on open trucks.

Ponomarenko S.L.: What are they removing?

Valery Kirsanov: Tanks, cannons, f*** and all kind of other s***.

Ponomarenko S.L.: Unharmed?

Valery Kirsanov: Unharmed. Something damaged, something unharmed. They're removing it on open trucks. Even f***** now.

Ponomarenko S.L.: I f***** told him that it is going to be difficult there without eyes. But "No". **Valery Kirsanov:** F***, he is such a bitch, too. He had the f***** "eyes". What the f*** is he doing? He is practicing in [...].

Ponomarenko S.L.: What?

¹ Translator's note: the Russian colloquial verb «валить» usually means "to leave" or "to skedaddle" in haste or, in context, "to beat" or even "to shoot" as suggested by Ukraine's translation of this fragment. However, if one considers the usage of this verb in this conversation, the preference should probably be given to the former option – "to leave".

Valery Kirsanov: I f***** called him. He is totally f***** shocked. He calls me and says:

What the f*** is going on? He says: I have so much f***** information, and it is all different. I drove there now, and I see that it is totally f***** messed up. Well, now that Grad [shells] f***** landed, it's obvious that the windows would be blown out. That's what is happening now.

Ponomarenko S.L.: No injured people, right?

Valery Kirsanov: There are, why not? Dead bodies are laying f***** everywhere.

Ponomarenko S.L.: ...

Valery Kirsanov: There are dead bodies lying around the market. Who knows what's happened. Who knows what's happening at the f***** market and in the stores. The stores in the market are burning. No one knows what's happening in the apartments because the nine-storey high-rise buildings are standing there without any f***** window glass from the first story to the ninth.

Ponomarenko S.L.: ...

Valery Kirsanov: Ok, brother. I will call you later.

Ponomarenko S.L.: This is f***** awful f***. Ok, ok.

Translation of the Signed Declaration of Oleksiy Oleksandrovich Demchenko, Victim Interrogation Protocol (30 January 2015) contained in Annex 216 to the Memorial of Ukraine

Signed Declaration of Oleksiy Oleksandrovich Demchenko, Victim Interrogation Protocol (30 January 2015)

Victim Interrogation Protocol

Mariupol of the Donetsk Region

30 January 2014

The interrogation began at 2:35 p.m.

The interrogation ended at 3:20 p.m.

Senior Lieutenant of Justice O.V. Starostenko, a senior forensic investigator of the Investigation Department of the Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine in the Donetsk Region, having examined materials of criminal case No. 220150500000000047 recorded in the Uniform Register of Pre-Trial Investigations on 24 January 2015 into a crime under Part 3 of Article 258 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, in an office of the Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine in the Donetsk Region, in accordance with Articles 55, 56, 95, 104, 106, 223, 224 of the Criminal Procedure Code of Ukraine, interrogated the following individual as a victim:

1. Full name: Alexey Alexandrovich Demchenko (Oleksiy Oleksandrovich Demchenko)

[...]

The victim A.A. Demchenko testified as follows:

Question: What is your residential address and how long have you lived there?

Reply: I am registered and actually reside at the address: Mariupol, 92 Kievskaya Str., Apt. 57. I have lived at the above address with my family since the late 1980s to date.

Question: What is the composition of your family?

Reply: My family consists of my mother Elena Nikolaevna Demchenko, born on 16 June 1958, my sister Natalia Alexandrovna Karayanova, born on 3 November 1979, and my father Alexander Nikolaevich Demchenko, born on 25 August 1956, used to be part of the family. I have lived at the above address with my father and mother, and my sister Natalia lives with her family in the urban-type settlement of Mangush of the Pervomaysky District of the Donetsk Region.

Question: Where were you during the shellings of the territory of the Vostochny micro-district of the Ordzhonikidzevsky District of Mariupol that took place throughout the day on 24 January 2015; name the exact places you were at in the territory of Mariupol. Why were you in those places?

Reply: In the morning of 24 January 2015, I was at home with my parents at the address: Mariupol, 92 Kievskaya Str., Apt. 57.

At about 9 a.m., my father A.N. Demchenko went to a market to buy some groceries. At around 9:30 a.m., my mother and I heard that a shelling of our micro-district began. After the shelling was over, my mother and I tried calling my father on the phone but there was no connection. After that, my father's

brother Gennady Nikolaevich Demchenko came to our apartment, and we drove off. I got out of the car near the Kievsky market, and the uncle drove to his daughter who lived in a neighbouring micro-district. After walking round the market, I did not find my father and decided to go home.

On my way home, opposite to a building that had a sign "Bakery", on the other side of the road, I saw the body of a man covered with an orange blanket lying on the sidewalk. When approaching the body of that man, I understood that it was the body of my father based on fragments of his clothes. When I came nearer, there were several people near my father's body, and a girl was preparing some documents.

Then I told the people that this man might be my father, and they asked me to look at his face. After I looked at his face, I told them that it was actually my father Alexander Nikolaevich Demchenko. Afterwards these people wrote down my details and those of my father, and I stayed near my father's body to wait until it was taken away

After that, I called my sister Natalia and told her that our father had died and I had found his body. Then I waited until funeral workers came and took the body away and then returned home. After that, I called my uncle and told him that my father had died. 30 minutes later, my sister Natalia, her husband, and my uncle Gennady drove to our apartment. We packed some things and documents at home, my uncle Gennady drove us to a bus station, and my sister, her husband, my mother, and I went to Mangush. We arrived in Mangush at around 4-5 p.m. on 24 January 2015, I do not recall the exact time.

Question: What exact circumstances of the shelling did you witness and from where?

Reply: I actually heard the first shelling of the territory of the Vostochny micro-district of the Ordzhonikidzevsky District of Mariupol that took place at around 9:30 a.m. on 24 January 2015. At that time, I was at home with my mother at the address: Mariupol, 92 Kievskaya Str., Apt. 57. After the shelling was over, my uncle Gennady took me away, and I went to look for my father. On the way, I saw that the windows of our apartment building and neighbouring high-rise buildings were partially shattered. I saw a projectile impact crater not far from our apartment building. Besides, when I was searching for father, I saw several dead bodies covered with cloth near the Kievsky market. I also saw burnt-out cars, and projectile impact craters somewhere, with projectiles protruding from the ground in some places.

When I heard the second shelling, I was near my father's body. And when the shelling began, I hid near the building with the sign "Bakery". When I heard the third shelling, I was already at home at that time. However, I saw no consequences of the above shellings.

Question: Where exactly was your father Alexander Nikolaevich Demchenko killed and under what circumstances?

Reply: My father A.N. Demchenko was killed in the shelling of the territory of the Vostochny microdistrict of the Ordzhonikidzevsky District of Mariupol that took place in the morning of 24 January 2015. I found my father's body opposite to the building with the sign "Bakery", on the other side of the road on the sidewalk. There was a projectile impact crater about seven metres away from the place where my father's body was found. My father died of shrapnel wounds to the upper and lower limbs (according to

the relevant medical certificate of cause of death issued by the Donetsk Regional Office for Forensic and Medical Examinations).

Question: What destroyed facilities, how many injured people (and by whom) did you see and from where; do you know about the circumstances in which the facilities were destroyed and the people were injured?

Reply: As I have already said, I saw partially shattered windows in our apartment building and neighbouring high-rise buildings. I saw several dead bodies covered with cloth near the Kievsky market. I also saw burnt-out cars, and projectile impact craters somewhere, with projectiles protruding from the ground in some places. Besides, I saw that the Kievsky market was on fire in some places, one of the entrances to the market was destroyed, and the Tigrenok shop was on fire. The roof of the building, next to which my father's body was found, was partially destroyed. I also saw that several private houses in our district were partially destroyed and damaged.

I saw no injured people in the Vostochny micro-district that day.

Question: What specific wounds did your father A.N. Demchenko suffer?

Reply: I did not suffer any wounds as a result of the above shellings, but my father was killed. When my father's body was loaded onto a funeral vehicle, I saw that my father's legs were damaged, and then I turned away and did not take a closer look at injuries on my father's body. According to the certificate of the Donetsk Regional Office for Forensic and Medical Examinations, my father died of shrapnel wounds to the upper and lower limbs.

Question: What pecuniary damage was caused to you and your family members as a result of the shelling?

Reply: Our apartment at the address: Mariupol, 92 Kievskaya Str., Apt. 57, in which I lived with my parents, was considerably damaged: windows in the bedroom and frames on the balcony were shattered. The death of my father caused me personally significant non-pecuniary damage.

Question: Do you want to file a civil claim for compensation for pecuniary and non-pecuniary damage caused to you as a result of the shelling, and what is the amount of your claims?

Reply: I will file a civil claim later and specify the amount of pecuniary and non-pecuniary damage there.

/Signature/

Translation of the transcripts of the Intercepted Conversations of Yuriy Shpakov (16 September 2016) contained in Annex 430 to the Memorial of Ukraine (excerpts)

Translation

Excerpts

2. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Batyushka" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Batyushka", "Male voice" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 11:07:43 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380508746689, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Batyushka**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 02:09*):

"Yust": Yes, Batyushka!

"Batyushka": Look, the first one that you dictated to me is 9492. Did you dictate it right?

"Yust": Yes, yes.

"Batyushka": You dictated 92-94.

"Yust": 94-92.

"Batyushka": (talking away from the receiver) He is saying 94 first.

"Yust": Yes.

"Batyushka": So it appears we are standing behind Berezove?

"Yust": Yes, yes.

"Batyushka": The tractor and equipment depot, behind Berezove, but not the turn-off to Dokuchayevsk at all.

"Yust": Yes, yes.

"Batyushka": Behind Berezove, shooting at a farm.

"Yust": Yes.

"Batyushka": [It's] all good [then], let's go to work.

"Yust": Yes, look, the first there is a township, by the name of Slavne too, it seems (unintelligible).

"Batyushka": I'm gonna whack [it], here...fretting around.

Male voice: Hello, the thing is that, look...what [you] transmitted, if you read it in the same order you transmitted it, then the first target we have is not the checkpoint at all, but rather 2 kilometres away, there, behind Berezove, [there is] a tractor and machinery depot, and the second target then appears to be in the middle of Dokuchayevsk rather than Slavne; I suspect you mixed them up (unintelligible)...the first target [is] 9294.

"Yust": What do you mean I mixed them up?

Male voice: Look, I'm going to read it [back] to you, but you look it up on the map for yourself [too].

"Yust": Slavne.

Male voice: Slavne.

"Yust": Slow down then, I want to say something too.

Male voice: Yes, yes.

"Yust": As you go down from Berezove, the first turn-off is to Dokuchayevsk.

Male voice: The first turn-off is to Dokuchayevsk, so if that's the 92-94 square, and Slavne is the 01-93 square.

"Yust": 92-94 and the beginning of Slavne.

Male voice: All right, I got the 01-93 square, that's it, good.

"Yust": So long.

3. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 11:42:45 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", calls cellphone number 380508440132, which is used

by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (session duration 00:17):

"Yust": Yes.

Subject: San-Sanych.

"Yust": Huh?

Subject: Get me connected to the mortarmen right away. Tell him to dial me ASAP.

[...]

5. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Batyushka" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Batyushka".

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 11:48:35 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380951726404, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Batyushka**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:46*):

"Yust": Yes, speaking.

"Batyushka": Hello.

"Yust": Yes.

"Batyushka": So, I'm in a tank, to check things out, I am moving to combat positions and giving targeting designation.

"Yust": Yes, Batya, go right ahead, but don't you forget you have to be on the drill ground at one [o'clock].

"Batyushka": Well I am here, I am in command at this (unintelligible).

"Yust": Yes, go ahead.

"Batyushka": Only [we] should've moved out to the "greenery", where the little gifts were, "[they] will guide us [from] there and [do] the work."

"Yust": Go ahead, we will be [there?] at one [o'clock] too.

"Batyushka": All right, [we] will report.

"Yust": Go ahead.

"Batyushka": Everything is OK.

 $[\ldots]$

9. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Stas" is an unidentified person by the name of Stas.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 11:56:55 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380990478333, which is used by an unidentified person by the name of Stas. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 02:21*):

Stas: Speaking.

"Yust": Uh-huh, greetings (unintelligible).

Stas: Yes.

"Yust": Are you there?

Stas: No, not there. We have just come. We had some f***** trouble with that vehicle.

"Yust": Oh, f***, Stas, are you out of your f**** minds or something?

Stas: Hello, commander, I can't figure this f***** s*** myself either, what the f*** is going on. No time for anything.

"Yust": Let the f***** arties (artillerists) get working, I need coordinates, for f***'s sake.

Stas: F***!

"Yust": Stas, God d*** it, when did you get the order?

Stas: Well, I did get it, with those f***** reports, but those f***** tanks are pissing us off, it's f***** awful.

"Yust": Where are you now?

Stas: At Omunalny already. Loading up the vehicle and setting off.

"Yust": On the f***** double, get there; half a f***** hour delay, I will hold the f***** fire.

Stas: Understood, and where do I meet the guide (*unintelligible*)?

"Yust": Hello?

Stas: Do I meet the guide at the passing point?

"Yust": Come again?

Stas: Do I meet the guide at the passing point?

"Yust": Get the f*** going, to Yasnoye, on the f***** double!

Stas: All right, [I'll] be there momentarily.

[...]

11. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 12:13:25 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380956497364, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:29*):

"Yust": Yes.

Subject: Hello, battalion commander, look, there was this bus with officers moving, I had a report [it] turned towards Berezove.

"Yust": Understood. We are going to start working now. Halt traffic on my order.

Subject: Roger that, battalion commander, just don't forget to let us know when to halt traffic.

"Yust": All right, take care.

Subject: All right.

[...]

13. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 12:19:08 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", calls cellphone number 380637490719, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration* 00:30):

Subject: Yes. "Yust": Hello. Subject: Yes.

"Yust": Let's get started!

Subject: Received.

(in the background: Load them up!)

 $[\ldots]$

15. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Batyushka" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Batyushka".

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

- At 12:24:19 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", calls cellphone number 380508746689, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Batyushka**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration* 07:27):
- "Yust": Batyushka, let's get started.
- "Batyushka": All right, do you want the first ranging [shot]?
- "Yust": Yes, first ranging [shot], go ahead. I'll be watching.
- "Batyushka": Go (away from the receiver: Go, Igoryok, the first ranging [shot], Igoryok), 38 seconds.
- "Yust": Batya, correct 100 to the right.
- "Batyushka": (away from the receiver: 100 to the right, go one, Igoryok).
- "Yust": Batya, give me two volleys here.
- "Batyushka": (away from the receiver: two volleys there, please!) So how does it look there?
- "Yust": One sec.
- "Batyushka": So how is it?
- "Yust": Batya, now let's move a little further than 100.
- "Batyushka": (Igoryok: minus 100).
- "Yust": 150 further.
- "Batyushka": 150 further. Just one or all of them?
- "Yust": Gimme all.
- "Batyushka": Entire battery.
- "Yust": Go!
- "Batyushka": What, 2 batteries?
- "Yust": Hello (unintelligible).
- "Batyushka": Yes.
- "Yust": What's there?
- "Batyushka": One by one or another [one]?
- "Yust": So one by one, Opasny [sic]. What's the holdup?
- "Batyushka": What's there?
- "Yust": One second. All right, Opasny, oh, I mean, Batyushka, gimme 300 to the left.
- "Batyushka": 300 to the left.
- "Yust": (unintelligible) off it went, you hear?
- "Batyushka": So how does it look, tell me.
- "Yust": Well, you [hit] something BK.
- "Batyushka": Aimed for BK, hit BK.
- "Yust": Uh-huh.
- "Batyushka": I sent my bird up, the bird is there with you too. Look, [I] sent some more.
- "Yust": Exit 3 (unintelligible), 4.
- "Batyushka": [Is it] all right?
- "Yust": Yes.
- "Batyushka": I have a triplet working, I can do a double, or I could also do eight and nine.
- "Yust": Hello, Batyushka, put three volleys there and leave.
- "Batyushka": (away from the receiver: 3 volleys there and [we are] leaving).
- 16. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

- At 12:32:29 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380956497364, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:13*):
- "Yust": Bars, halt it!

Subject: Yes, commander.

[...]

19. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Batyushka" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Batyushka".

<u>Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:</u>

At 13:55:14 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", calls cellphone number 380508746689, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Batyushka**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 04:16*):

"Batyushka": Yes.

"Yust": Batyushka, you ready?

"Batyushka": I am.

"Yust": All right, give me two cucumbers, I am watching.

"Batyushka": All right, here they come, watch (away from the receiver: Igoryok (unintelligible), watch). Two right away or maybe one ranging shot first?

"Yust": All right, [let's] do one.

"Batyushka": (away from the receiver: give me one ranging) explosion...off it goes, just you look at it.

"Yust": I am watching, where's the explosion, where? That was just the sound.

"Batyushka": I can feel that explosion.

"Yust": Oh, wait-wait, I see it now. Batyushka, give me one a little closer.

"Batyushka": How much?

"Yust": 200?

"Batyushka": (away from the receiver: minus 200)

"Yust": Yes. Oops, and now they're [firing] at us.

"Batyushka": (unintelligible)

"Yust": It went elsewhere, but I don't see no f***** explosions.

"Batyushka": Where are you at?

"Yust": At Mukhomolny.

"Batyushka": Got it (unintelligible).

"Yust": What's the story with the eyes out front? We're gonna dial the second [pair of] eyes, Batya.

"Batyushka": Do that.

"Yust": I'll call you right back.

20. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Batyushka" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Batyushka".

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 14:02:14 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", calls cellphone number 380508746689, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Batyushka**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 04:34*):

"Batyushka": Yes.

"Yust": Now wait, it went close to the town, you need to put them further away, Batyushka. Let's make it plus 150.

"Batyushka": S***, guys, you'd better give me the corrections pronto, I can't sit here long.

"Yust": It's the bad comms, comms, Batyushka. Give me plus 150, they started moving. You have a radio?

(In the background: Gun!)

"Yust": Batyushka, to Yust.

```
"Batyushka": Yes, yes.
```

"Batyushka": You want to contact me on the radio? You have to go higher, get up on the roof, to try to contact me. There's iron everywhere there, it creates noise in the background.

"Yust": Nah, it's fine

(On the radio in the background: send two volleys to the same spot).

"Yust": Send two volleys to the same spot.

"Batyushka": Two volleys to the same spot.

(On the radio, in the background: Tell Batyushka 350 to the left).

"Yust": 350 to the left.

Voice in the background: 350 to the left, one volley.

"Batyushka": 1 volley there.

"Yust": Yes.

"Batyushka": What is it? Speak!

Voice on the radio in the background: (unintelligible)

"Yust": Batyushka, cease fire! "Batyushka": Battery, unload!

21. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 14:12:53 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380632317132, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 01:01*):

"Yust": Speaking.

Subject: Listen, battalion commander, we're on high ground, and tanks and automatic grenade launchers are firing at us. Mortars fell short of them.

"Yust": Fell short?
Subject: They did.

"Yust": All right, I got it, hold on.

Subject: They are behind the 198th, if [you are] facing them now, it's across the field.

"Yust": We see them, we do.

"Yust": "Opasny" to "Yust".

(In the background: (unintelligible).

"Yust": What is the approximate distance?

Subject: The field, it's about 1,200 m.

"Yust": (speaking to "Opasny" on the radio) "Opasny", increase the distance by 1 kilometre.

"Opasny" in the background: 1 km.

[...]

26. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 14:51:46 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380956497364, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:26*):

"Yust": Yes, speaking.

[&]quot;Yust": Hello.

[&]quot;Batyushka": Yes, yes.

[&]quot;Yust": All right, shoot now (unintelligible).

Subject: Hello, battalion commander, should I let people through?

"Yust": Yes, yes, let them through.

Subject: All right, fine.

[...]

28. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 15:29:09 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380502180196, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:44*):

"Yust": Yes, honey.

Subject: How are you? Are you all right?

"Yust": Yes.

Subject: You busy?

"Yust": Hello.
Subject: Hello.

"Yust": I am driving right now, I am on my way to the base.

Subject: Oh, all right, I see.

"Yust": [We] blew a Ukropian checkpoint to hell (unintelligible)

Subject: Which one?

"Yust": For the guys (unintelligible) Ukrops.

Subject: Blew it up? Good boys!

"Yust": I'll be back soon and tell you about it.

Subject: Please do, sweetheart, I... you.

29. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 16:14:49 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380632317132, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 00:35*):

Subject: With your permission, can I go home for like, an hour and a half, to do my laundry?

"Yust": From what unit?

Subject: Well, we've just been advancing to Slavne. This is the platoon commanded by "Surgeon".

"Yust": So tell the platoon commander to call Sergey Vasilyevich and make a note of it.

Subject: Uh-huh, fine.

30. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Subject" is an unidentified person.

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 16:28:29 on 13.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", receives a call from cellphone number 380950436115, which is used by an unidentified person. The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration* 00:54):

"Yust": Speaking, Comrade Colonel!

Subject: Yura, have you left yet?

"Yust": Well, I am leaving in about 15 minutes. [I'll] just get the keys...(unintelligible).

Subject: So what about that Batyushka there? How many cannons does he have?

"Yust": I don't even know, Comrade Colonel, but I think he was using three guns today.

Subject: And who is he?

"Yust": I don't even know (unintelligible).

Subject: All right, I am waiting for you at my place.

"Yust": Working with Batyushka. I didn't get that.

Subject: All right, I am waiting for you at my place.

"Yust": Got it.

[...]

33. Legend: "Yust" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Yust", "Opasny" is an unidentified person with the call sign "Opasny".

Summary of information obtained during the measures conducted:

At 10:51:01 on 14.01.2015, cellphone number 380509604816, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Yust**", calls cellphone number 380637490719, which is used by an unidentified person with the call sign "**Opasny**". The subscribers have the following conversation (*session duration 01:27*):

"Opasny": Yes, speaking.

"Yust": Hello, Opasny?

"Opasny": Yes.

"Yust": Sound the alarm for three crews, take the main firing position and pound the checkpoint that we worked on yesterday.

"Opasny": Uh-huh.

"Yust": This intersection here.

"Opasny": Uh-huh.

"Yust": Take 1.5 km to the left.

"Opasny": 2 km?

"Yust": Come again?

"Opasny": Yes (unintelligible) to the left...how many [mortar] rounds should we take? Hello...hello!

"Yust": 60.

"Opasny": 60 rounds.

"Yust": Discharge 60, report when ready.

"Opasny": Time for taking the position?

"Yust": Right now, get going ASAP, sound the alarm, and then remain on standby. Take a reserve, another 60.

"Opasny": Received.

"Yust": A total of 120, discharge 60 when ready and keep 60 in reserve.

"Opasny": Received.

"Yust": Take care.

[...]

Bellingcat, "Ukrainian Tanks in Avdiivka Residential Area", 3 February 2017

Ukrainian Tanks in Avdiivka Residential Area

bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2017/02/03/ukrainian-tanks-avdiivka-residential-area

February 3, 2017

February 3, 2017 <u>Ukraine</u>

Translations: Русский

On February 1, Tom Burridge of the BBC shared a video on Twitter showing Ukrainian troops and tanks in what appeared to be a residential area in Avdiivka.

We met Ukrainian troops and tanks in <u>#Avdiivka</u> who seemed ready for action - and we could hear that there is no ceasefire here <u>#Ukraine pic.twitter.com/9HGDrNAkWJ</u>

— Tom Soufi Burridge (@TSoufiBurridge) February 1, 2017

This video led to a significant reaction in Russian and pro-separatist news outlets, requiring answers to a few key questions:

- What are the official responses to these accusations?
- Where were these tanks and soldiers?
- When were these tanks deployed in the area?
- Were civilians still residing in the apartments near the tanks and soldiers?

Official responses

Initially, a representative from the Ukrainian military refuted reports of tanks near residential areas, saying that it was a "<u>fake</u>." However, soon after, Ukrainian officials stated that the tanks observed in the residential of Avdiivka were not used, and only there as "<u>reserves</u>."

Despite <u>claims from Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson Mariya Zakharova</u>, the OSCE did note the presence of Ukrainian tanks in a residential sector of Avdiivka. In their daily report for February 1, the OSCE SMM to Ukraine noted that they observed "<u>four tanks (T-64) parked behind a building in Avdiivka.</u>" Though she claims that the job of the OSCE is to "not notice tanks," a look at the daily OSCE SMM to Ukraine reports shows countless observations of Ukrainian military equipment, including those in violation of the Minsk agreements.

Where?

Tom Burridge was not the only journalists at the location, as it was a popular spot for local and foreign journalists covering the recent escalation.



Watch Video At: https://youtu.be/foOsrc8eaSU

A fair bit of heavier equipment hanging around <u>#Avdiivka</u> these days <u>#Ukraine</u> <u>pic.twitter.com/Fr1GTy24xw</u>

— Christian Borys (@ItsBorys) February 2, 2017



Ukrainian soldiers and tanks in Avdiivka, Ukraine, in Feb. 2, 2017. (Brendan Hoffman / Getty Images)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jtNYYl9UXgA

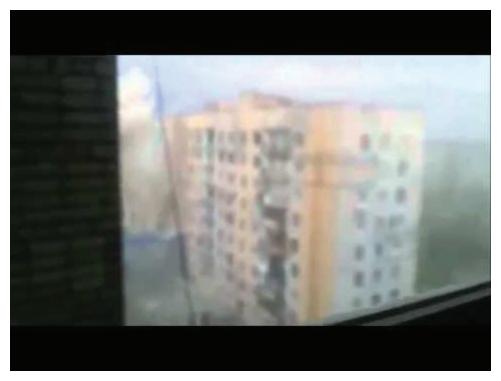
#ЛДНР #Украина #Донецк #Авдеевка

Бронетехника украинской армии в Авдеевки

Украинки танки Т-64БВ и AT105 "Саксон" близ Авдеевской высотки, pic.twitter.com/1zn2LbavHb

— War News Today (@warnewstodayrus) February 3, 2017

Clearly, these tanks and soldiers were stationed in this residential block. Finding the location, <u>on the southern edge of Avdiivka</u>, is not difficult, as these apartments were subject of a highly publicized story from July 2015. This residential area took a direct hit from separatist artillery in July 2015.

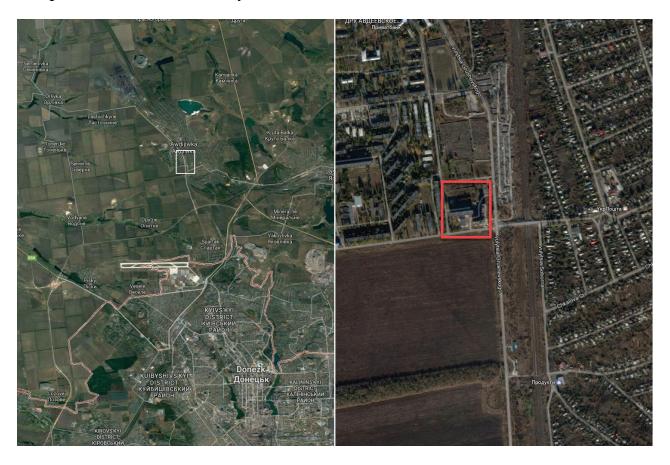


Watch Video At: https://youtu.be/KoOgfAxvbl4



Watch Video At: https://youtu.be/cFpoXKt7r9w

We can conclude that the tanks were located near a group of residential buildings on the southern edge of Avdiivka, facing the Donetsk Airport. This area is just east of an area called the 9th Block ("kvartal"), and is positioned in a precarious spot due to its proximity to separatist-controlled territory.



When?

The videos and photographs of the tanks in Avdiivka's southern residential area were taken on February 1 and 2, 2017. Satellite imagery from the previous two weeks show that there were no tanks near the apartment buildings, but two armored vehicles were present in the eastern part of the images. These same vehicles could be seen in a drone photographs on January 29 and February 2, as discussed below.





The self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic and its commanders provided two images from UAVs that they claim were shot on January 29, 2017 and February 2, 2017. The first image appeared on Strelkov-info.ru, originally from the DNR "Center of Drone Aviation." The image shows multiple armored vehicles, but no tanks. The location is the same residential block east of the 9th Block, facing south.



Source

On February 2nd, Vostok Battalion commander Aleksandr Khodakovsky shared a drone image of the three tanks parked in the residential area.



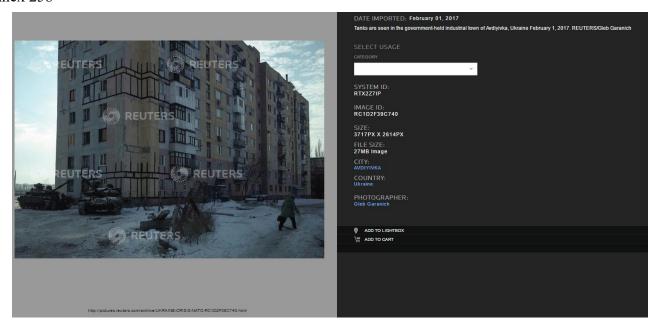
Source

The three tanks were recently deployed to the residential block, which has served as a type of headquarters for the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Additional armored vehicles were deployed at least two weeks ago. A trench is visible in the southeast corner of the imagery, showing that it has long been a military position. This trench is observable in satellite imagery going back to 2015, and is not a new development.

There were no artillery systems observed in the area, and no reliable reports of outgoing fire or staged attacks from the Ukrainian Armed Forces from this area.

Who?

Aside from journalists and Ukrainian soldiers, there were also civilians in this residential block. For example, a Reuters photograph from February 1 shows a woman trudging through the nearby residential block with a bag, just meters away from two Ukrainian tanks.



Source

It is unclear how many people still live in these apartment buildings, but they are not completely deserted. The area has been militarized by the Ukrainian Armed Forces, seen in both the presence of armored vehicles & tanks, and the trenches on the southeast corner of the residential block. These actions have made the residential area — and the lives and properties of civilians — more likely to be attacked from separatist artillery fire, especially worrisome with recent unguided Grad missile attacks staged from Donetsk. However, there have been no recent reliable reports indicating that Ukraine has used this area for any outgoing attacks on separatist positions. Nearby apartment buildings, including one at Molodezhnaya 13 just down the road from parked tanks, have been hit by separatist artillery fire this week. There were also reports that the apartment building at Molodezhnaya 19, the neighboring building to the one with Ukrainian tanks parked in the courtyard, sustained a direct hit by separatist artillery fire. Even if the residential buildings surrounding the Ukrainian tanks are not hit by artillery fire, the nearby buildings that may have more civilians still living in them can be struck from inaccurate artillery fire.



Apartment building at Molodezhnaya 13, near the 9th Block where Ukrainian tanks are parked, that was hit by separatist shelling. <u>Source</u>

Agrarian Donbass State Enterprise official website, "Olenivka Bread-Making Plant increases production volumes", 5 April 2021

Translation

Olenivka Bread-Making Plant increases production volumes

agrodon.su/elenovskij-khp-narashhivaet-objomy-proizvodstva/



The Olenivka Bread-Making Plant Republican Enterprise was established on 13 March 2015 in accordance with the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the DPR No. 2-1 of 27.02.2015. "On the establishment of the Olenivka Bread-Making Plant Republican Enterprise". Since 2018, the plant is part of the management of the Agrarian Donbass State Enterprise.

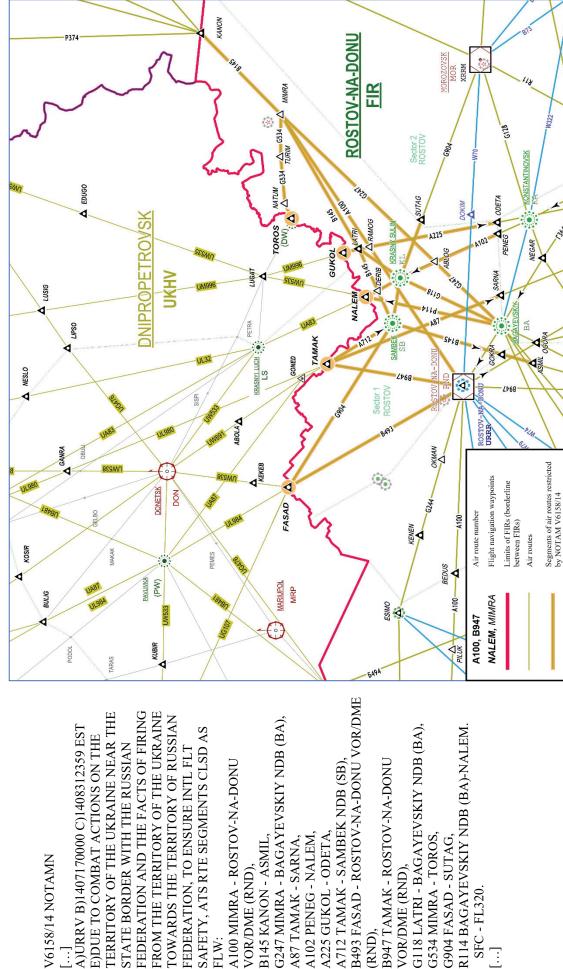
Since the beginning of the year, as of 30 March 2021, the plant has processed wheat grains in the amount of 5345,5 tons (in January – 1592,9 tons, in February — 1836,3 tons, in March – 1917,3 tons) into finished products (flour of the highest and first grades, bran, flour). At the same time, the percentage of flour yield averaged 77%.

The increase in volumes this year was largely facilitated by the receipt of quotas for the export of flour to the territory of the Russian Federation. Also, an important role is played by the timely delivery of grain in the volumes necessary for the formation of grinding batches from the Zarya-Agro State Enterprise, which is also part of the enterprise's sphere of management and is the main supplier of raw materials to the plant.

In addition, the plant's products are sold in the largest retail chains of the Donetsk People's Republic (Moloko, Obzhora, Manna), and are also sold in retail outlets of the Trading House "Shakhterskaya Poultry Farm" Association.

Products of the Olenivka Bread-Making Plant are in constant demand among consumers of the Republic due to their excellent quality and socially low price. The corporation and the staff of the plant make every possible effort to maintain the historically established reputation of the enterprise as a manufacturer of high-quality products.

Graphic scheme of the air routes and segments restricted by NOTAM V6158/14



Graphic scheme of the air routes and segments restricted by NOTAM V6158/14

STATE BORDER WITH THE RUSSIAN

V6158/14 NOTAMN

FEDERATION, TO ENSURE INTL FLT

A100 MIMRA - ROSTOV-NA-DONU

B145 KANON - ASMIL,

VOR/DME (RND),

A712 TAMAK - SAMBEK NDB (SB),

A225 GUKOL - ODETA,

A102 PENEG - NALEM, A87 TAMAK - SARNA,

B947 TAMAK - ROSTOV-NA-DONU

VOR/DME (RND),

G534 MIMRA - TOROS,

G904 FASAD - SUTAG,

SFC - FL320.

Figure 1 Scheme of restricted air routes

Wikimapia, Ruins of a brick factory (excerpts)

Translation Excerpts

Ruins of a brick factory (Avdiivka) Ukraine / Donetsk / Avdiyivka / Avdiivka

Wrecks, ruins



Closest cities:

Coordinates: 48°8'33"N 37°46'12"E

[...]

DNR Live Business Website, Republican Enterprise "Olenivka Breadaking Plant" (excerpts)

Translation Excerpts

 $SOURCE: \quad \underline{http://dnr-live.ru/companies/pishhevaya-promyishlennost/rp-elenovskiy-kombinat-hleboproduktov/}$

[...]

Page 2

Republican Enterprise "Olenivka bread-making plant"

[...]

147 Pochtovaya Street, Urban type settlement Olenivka,

[...]

Google maps, cafe and bar "Zebra"

Translation

Ш → C ■ google.com/maps/place//aqe-6ap+*3e6pa*/@47.745634237.668509.17z/data=l4m513m411s0x40e0b800425c6isd33xx884f59b86086356al8m2l3d47.745349114d37.66848187h1=en T ATMS ♥ Restaurants Im Hotels ② Attractions ❸ Transit P Parking 瓩 Pharmacles Nearby Send to your Share Dokuchajevs'k, Donetsk Oblast, Ukraine, 85740 Докучаєвськ, Донецька область, 85740 PMW9+G9 Dokuchajevs'k, Donetsk Oblast, Vade-6ap "3e6pa" - Google Ma: X + / Suggest an edit Hours or services may differ Permanently closed > "Zebra" cafe and bar 3.7 * * * * 4 * 4 Dreviews - SS Permanently closed Claim this business Кафе-бар "Зебра" +380 66 284 2902 Save 0 0

SOURCE: https://goo.gl/maps/XnSCFagNDPhsXpsE6

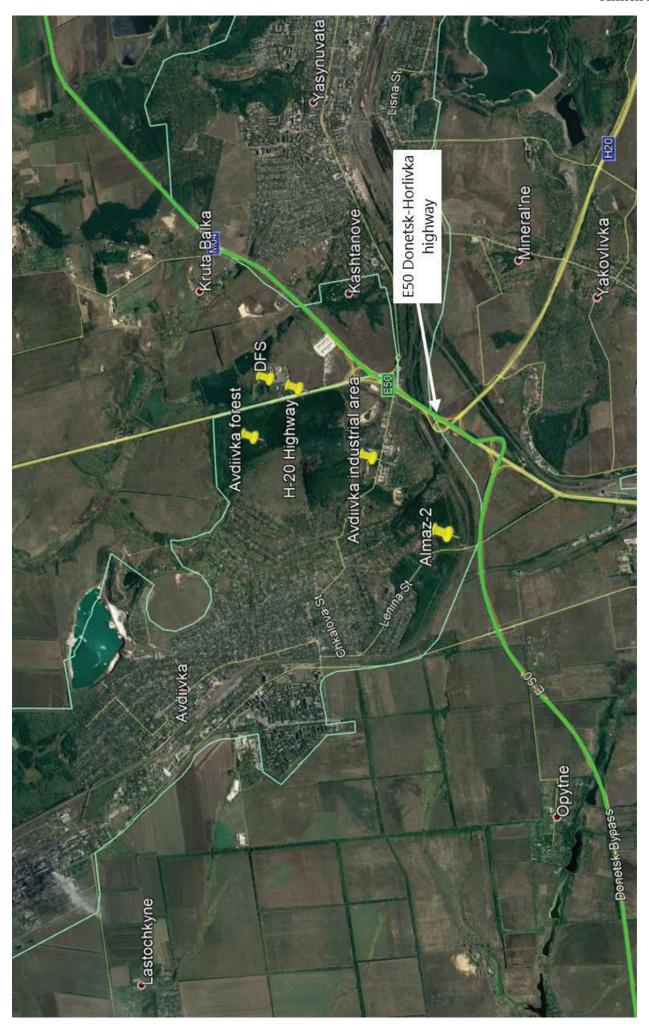
Yandex maps, bus terminal "Dokuchayevsk"

Translation

SOURCE: https://yandex.com/maps/-/CCUiA-vRSC

▶ III → C ■ yandex.com/maps/27517/dokudhaievs/k?ll=3767836782C477481478/mode==sarch8poi%58point%5D=37.669565%2C477473218poi%58ur/%5D=37.669565%2C477473218poi%58ur/%5D=37.669565%2C477473218poi%58ur/%5D=37.669565%2C477481478 CE Add Add "Dokuchayevsk" bus terminal Ukraine, Dokuchaievsk, vulytsia Lenina, 53 ď https://yandex.com/maps/-/CCUiA-vRSC O - 47.747321, 37.669565 Overview Similar places Susiness hours unknown Business hours Send to phone Contacts Address

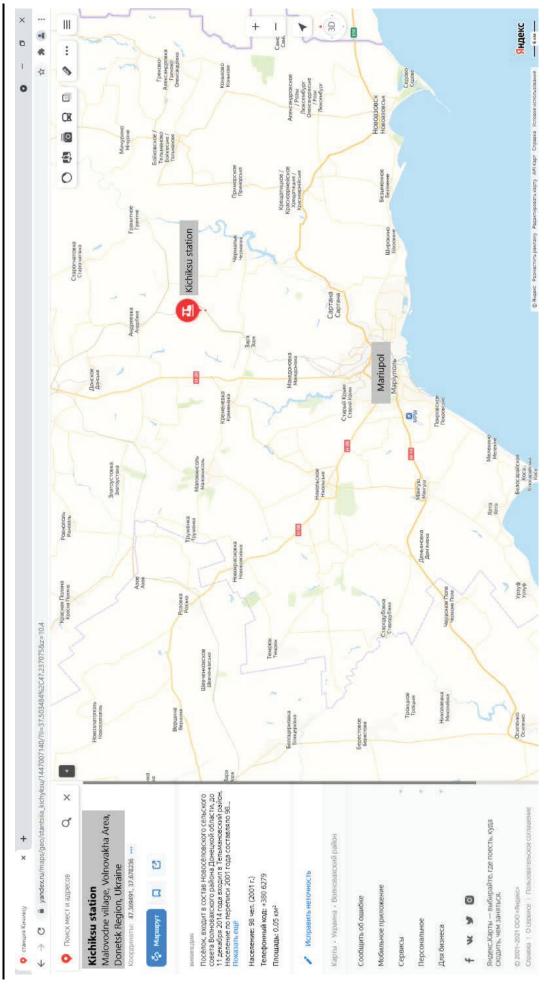
Satellite Image of Avdiivka on Google Earth with marked E50 Highway



"Kichiksu" station on Yandex.Maps

Translation

SOURCE: https://yandex.ru/maps/-/CCUiy-W3LA



Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation official website, "152mm field gun 2A36 'Giatsint-B'"

Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation: Detailed information

152mm field gun 2A36 "Giatsint-B"



Designed to destroy personnel located openly or in shelters, guns, command and observation posts, weapons and military equipment.

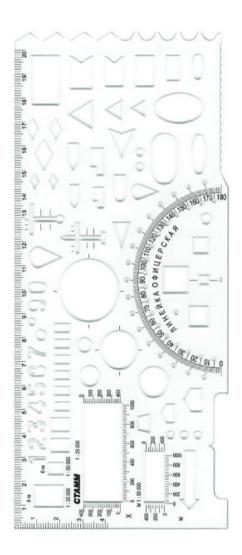
Specifications	
Crew, men.	8
Mass, t	9.8
Maximum firing range, km	28.5
Rate of fire, shots/min.	5-6
Ammunition load, shots.	60
Mass of a shell, kg.	46
Angle of fire, dgr.	from -2 to +57
Training angle, dgr.	50
Assigned towing unit	BAZ-6953, ATS-59G KrAZ-255B
Hauling speed, on a highway, km/hour	Up to 80

Stamm website, "Combat mission plotter, flexible, with printed scale" (excerpts)

Translation Excerpts

Combat mission plotter, flexible, with printed scale

https://stamm.ru/catalog/chertyezhnye_prinadlezhnosti/trafarety/trafarety_lineyki_ofitserskie/1182/



[...]