

SERBIAN LAUNDROMAT¹

Zoran Milosavljevic
bigz40@hotmail.com

Jovan Krstic
jovankrstic80@gmail.com

Autores convidados
Recebido: 21-6-2018
Aprovado: 16-9-2018

SUMMARY: 1 Preface: The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project approach to the problem. 2 Some identified (or only pointed) corruption problems and question of possible ways how to resolve them. Examples from States that have emerged from ex-Yugoslavia and abroad. 3 Do we have fear or ways how to resolve corruption problems, especially at the Serbian State level? 4 Attempts to resolve corruption problems on the State Level as template. 5 Conclusions. 6 References.

ABSTRACT:

Laundromat is a complex system for laundering money stolen from the government by corrupt politicians or earned through organized crime activity. It was designed to not only move money from Serbian shell companies into EU banks through many countries, but it had the added feature of getting corrupt or uncaring judges and sequesters on the secret funds in those countries to legitimize the funds. Serbian Laundromat works on the principle “good morning to all four sides of the World”, also exploiting the “neutrality” on the origin and amount of money that comes from abroad or being collected from own people (placement), put abroad (layering) and returned back as “foreign” investment (integration). Some Case Studies has been done on the institutional response to the corruption challenge (that missing in Serbia).

1. Preface: The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project approach to the problem

Our professional orientation on the appearance of the Laundromat problem has deep ethical, economical and from such reasons legal fundaments. We shall try to explain problem by inspecting it basically on the Serbian terrain, but also and parallel through the small number of known cases from other countries, between them some highly developed states.

¹ This paper is the result of the actual Macro Project 47011 “Crime in Serbia: phenomenology, risks and possibilities of social intervention” lead by Professor Dr. Vladan Joldzic, Institute for Criminology and Sociology, Belgrade, financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Development of the Republic of Serbia. The views in this article are not related to the official position of the organizations mentioned but only to scientific and professionally obtained information.

Our field of interest, the occurrence of unethical and illegal money flows had been and is mass present. You may call it the Laundromat. By the definition of OCCRP (8) it's a complex system for laundering money stolen from the government by corrupt politicians or earned through organized crime activity. It was designed to not only move money from states' shell companies (Serbian also) into EU (or World) banks through many countries, but it had the added feature of getting corrupt or uncaring judges and sequesters on the secret funds in those countries to legitimize the funds. The state-of-the-art system provided exceptionally clean money backed by a court ruling at a fraction of the cost of regular laundering schemes. It made up for the low costs by laundering huge volumes. The example was given on the Analysis of the System used just one bank in Latvia and one bank in Moldova but 19 banks in Russia, some of them controlled by rich and powerful figures including the cousin of Russian President Vladimir Putin, more than \$20 billion in Russian shell companies into EU banks through Latvia, Moldova, etc.

For our researching (an investigating) efforts is of utmost importance knowledge of the fact that each year there has been organized contest for the title of the "Person of the Year" by the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)², an award given annually to the person who does the most to enable and promote Organized Criminal Activity. For example, one of the "awarded" persons was Vladimir Putin. Deeper analysis showing that this kind of policy has "...fused a Cold War mentality with modern organized crime strategies and technology to create a new level of transnational organized crime," said Paul Radu, executive director of OCCRP. "The Russian-backed money laundering platforms have exploited the lack of transparency in the global financial and offshore company registrations systems to create a new criminal financial infrastructure used by crime groups from as far away as Mexico and Vietnam". (8) Same system moved the money of tycoons in Serbia, crooked government officials and organized crime into Europe through a properly unlicensed banks and used to support partial political interests.

2. Some identified (or only pointed) corruption problems and question of possible ways how to resolve them. Examples from States that have emerged from ex-Yugoslavia and abroad.

At the very start our deeper analysis on corruption in Serbia shows that "only a limited number of members of the academic community and spokesmen appear with the intention to inhibit and divide the public opinion and provide the appearance of integrity and scientific prowess of the academic community. The very community that was compromised by its ostensible protégés, and in fact its bosses from certain sectors of the society. They are primarily members of certain circles, already mentioned in public, that indeed have made security assessments of candidates for judicial functions during the period of the strictest "innovations and reconstructions". Thus, the academic community has for a long time concealed its "disastrous self-humiliation" (2) in front of the executive power, for which its members were awarded with scientific titles they had not deserved."(7) In some countries the Government has forced the closure of media and civil society groups

² The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP), founded in 2006. Website: www.occrp.org.

that have looked at its corrupt practices and ended the year in ironic fashion by finding its fiercest critic, leaders of the opposition the only guilty of corruption. OCCRP analysis says that Putin himself has been a “real innovator in working with organized crime.” He has created a military-industrial-political-criminal complex that furthers Russia’s and Putin’s personal interests. Seems that the leaders of the Western Balkans countries think that those interests as one and the same?

In Macedonia, by reports (3) “Mr. Zaev gave an interview to national TV channel, claiming that he was in possession of proof of corruption and misuse of power at the highest levels which he said could lead to political destabilization and damage inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia. Following this interview, he gave numerous public statements to warn that, after revealing his findings, Gruevski’s Government would fall. To date, he has not released any evidence to back up his claims, or even specified what exactly he is accusing the government of doing.

During a further speech in November 2014, he declared that: “My faith in the evidence and arguments that prove that there is no freedom and democracy in Macedonia are so high that I am putting all my political credibility and the credibility of the entire leadership of my party at stake. If we fail, then I do not deserve to lead the opposition.” The European Union, the British Embassy, and the US Embassy have issued public statements calling for a transparent investigation, urging the Macedonian government to respect the rule of law. So what really happened? Without seeing Zaev’s documents, it’s hard to tell. Does he really have evidence of High-Level Corruption? Is it really a case of foreign interference in sovereign matters, as with Russian-linked interventions in Moldova? Or are the charges more reminiscent of Erdogan’s Turkey where the ruling party is accusing those who claim to possess proof of government wrongdoing of staging a coup? Only a transparent and unbiased investigation can answer these and other questions. Meanwhile, Macedonia seems tied in knots.”

OCCRP Analysis:

In Bosnia, our stories detailing alleged connections between drug king pin Naser Kelmendi and one-time presidential frontrunner Fahrudin Radonic contributed to his defeat at the polls. In Georgia, a reporter working undercover proved sweatshop conditions in textile factories that supply major Western clothing outlets. Factory conditions improved as soon as her story was published. In Serbia, Stevan Dojcinovic published a book exposing the operations of alleged drug lord Darko Saric, and its reach in the EU, US and Latin America. And these are just a few examples of the work we did this year.

Does the fact that the only country that still conducting the Case of Darko Saric is Serbia, telling us something?

Or does the following reporting telling us something? Why are the Belarus, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and other places (tell us more*)

deeply hostile to an independent media. The impact is already evident. Last month, we cooperated with a Norwegian business journal to show Norwegian telecom giant

Telenor may have paid bribes to the president's daughter in Uzbekistan. Telenor will soon face parliamentary hearings and investigations are ongoing.

Telenor has gone from Serbia already, without the trace (of that kind).

We need more NGO-s such as OCCRP for building internal administrative capacities, and enhancing Advocacy Strategy for Combating to Corruption and our ability to respond to donors and partners in the Cluster of similar NGO's and to join to their multilateral projects where lies their major strength. Conflicts in the World and the increasing **Cold War Mentality** are the major challenges in Combating to Corruption.

3. Do we have fear or ways how to resolve corruption problems, especially at the Serbian State level?

Do we have fear how to resolve corruption problems? Is such question present not only in Serbia? To be precise, in Serbia is evident the fear in the Civil Sector of the Society when combating to corruption. The causes of the spread of fear and the feeling of insecurity are found in the mistakes of those in charge of security. Our criticism as well as observations are based on a scientific view presented at the USA official and scientific terrain that the Intelligence (BIA*) and Counterintelligence Agency (VBA*) through their work **cannot and must not** be treated as Law Enforcement Agency. Such responsibilities and tasks, for example at the terrain of the USA, belong only to the prosecutors and counterespionage (at the US Department of Justice and the FBI) and the Crown Prosecution Service and Scotland Yard, in the Anglo-Saxon system of law, but also to the judiciary police, customs, inspections, administrations, directorates, etc. Therefore, the most urgent need to eliminate catastrophic mistakes in the previous phases of the Security System Reform-SSR, which arose due to excessive and uncontrolled intervention in the criminal justice system (such intervention is otherwise recommended for countries burdened with corruption, but not in the way that has been applied in Serbia so far)!

The jurists in Serbia had no one to learn. No one from the academic community warned that intelligence agencies avoided their own reform by taking over the work of law enforcement agencies, with the same people. Counter-arguments that stem from the fact that the existence of parallel agencies with high-tech surveillance equipment is too expensive, is not an acceptable option. Hence, the members of the High Judicial Council-HCC and members of the State Prosecutorial Council-SCP in the process of revision and correction of errors during the elections have not distant themselves from the nature and reliability of the data that were eventually received by candidates their predecessors in the HCC and SCP. Here we come to the causes that generate fear among the judiciary and citizenry. From the point of view of the basic concepts and categories on which the security system is based, our approach to the problem can be explained, in lay terms, as an endeavor to achieve a moral healing of the society, inter alia through further professionalization of the public prosecutor's office, which should take part in the introduction of our community in the EU as a liberal civic democracy, after a long history of authoritarian rule systems in Serbia. Without this common conceptual framework, it will not be possible to achieve the further reform of the judiciary, but also of the intelligence community at the national and global level.

Bearing this in mind, it should be emphasized that the weaknesses of the Association of Judges, which, like the Association of Prosecutors (and whole NGO sector*), have not prevented this mental pollution (contamination*). And this happened because they did not have a clear strategy for advocating professional virtues in the judiciary. It also applies to the presence of courage among judges and public prosecutors to work impartially and in accordance with laws and professional ethics. This leads us to one conclusion: It is necessary to somehow “build” the power of the judiciary in relation to other branches of government – the formal but also actual development.” (7)

To support our just expressed conclusion we are attaching, as example, ~~to that an~~ empiric analysis based on the Case Study of the part of the letter sent by the Payroll Tax Manager of the University Payroll, NC State University, USA to one professor in Serbia who was charged by the IRS (Internal Revenue Service) to pay taxes for the lectures done in US when received the Notice requesting new documentation for the W-7 application for an Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN), sending an authorized the copy of his passport by US Embassy in Belgrade to the local IRS agent (Austin, TX) as the prof of his identity. Surprised with rejection, he got an answer why:

It seems that IRS back in June of 2012 changed the list of documentation it would accept for validation of foreign status. One of those changes was a copy of a passport or national identity card must be certified by the agency that issued it. The IRS was no longer accepting authentication by US Embassies or other groups due to identity fraud. The IRS agent who was explaining the changes said that acceptable documentation would be finalized by the end of the year in time for the 2012 tax filing season in spring of 2013. The IRS explanation can be found here... (5)

Institutional response and impact to corruption is very important in Serbia, hoping as to be the same as in the USA, were we can see that even the US Embassies abroad, cannot give the proof of an ID document, because of the IRS institutional suspicion on “identity fraud” (corruption*), also due to the perception of possible corruption in the countries of some region or worldwide.

4. Attempts to resolve corruption problems on the State Level as template

The second Case Study is far more serious (10) and showing an empiric analysis of the facts and findings in the Investigation into the Removal of Nine U.S. Attorneys in 2006, summarized as this:

“On December 7, 2006, at the direction of senior Department of Justice (Department) officials, seven U.S. Attorneys were told to resign from their positions. Two other U.S. Attorneys had been told to resign earlier in 2006. When these removals became public in late 2006 and early 2007, members of Congress began to raise questions and concerns about the reasons for the removals, including whether they were intended to influence certain prosecutions. Beginning in March 2007, the Office of the Inspector

General (OIG) and the Office of Professional Responsibility (OPR) conducted this joint investigation into the removals of these U.S. Attorneys. Our investigation focused on the reasons for the removals of the U.S. Attorneys and whether they were removed for partisan political purposes, or to influence an investigation or prosecution, or to retaliate for their actions in any specific investigation or prosecution. We also examined the process by which the U.S. Attorneys were selected for removal, and we sought to identify the persons involved in those decisions, whether in the Department, the White House, Congress, or elsewhere. In addition, we investigated whether the Attorney General or other Department officials made any false or misleading statements to Congress or the public concerning the removals, and whether they attempted to influence the testimony of other witnesses. Finally, we examined whether the Attorney General or others intended to bypass the Senate confirmation process in the replacement of any removed U.S. Attorney through the use of the Attorney General's appointment power for Interim U.S. Attorneys.”

The most interesting part of the investigation was the efforts that have been done to reach to the highest authority:

We also attempted to interview White House staff who may have played a role in the removals of the U.S. Attorneys. We discussed our request with the Office of Counsel to the President (White House Counsel's Office), and that office encouraged current and former White House employees to agree to be interviewed by us. Several former White House staff members agreed to be interviewed, including Deputy White House Counsel David Leitch; Director of Political Affairs Sara Taylor; Deputy Director of Political Affairs Scott Jennings; Associate White House Counsel Dabney Friedrich, Christopher Oprison, and Grant Dixon; and Paralegal Colin Newman. However, other former White House staff, including White House Counsel Harriet Miers, Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff and Senior Advisor Karl Rove, Deputy White House Counsel William Kelley, and Associate White House Counsel Richard Klingler, declined our request to interview them. (10)

This practice of an institutionalized response and impact or corruption from than has been significantly improved and has gone right to the doors steps of the White House in the Investigation on the Russian Probe in 2018.

Let us illustrate this with some other interesting elements, connected with our theme, but also to express our visions of importance to them and the core of our topics.

Tweeter: Donald J. Trump - (Verified account @realDonaldTrump, 10h10 hours ago): “More The Russia Witch Hunt is rapidly losing credibility. House Intelligence Committee found No Collusion, Coordination or anything else with Russia. So now the Probe says OK, what else is there? How about Obstruction for a made up, phony crime. There is no OK, it's called Fighting Back.” 21,121 Replies16, 419 Re-tweets 63,777 likes Reply 21K, Re-tweet 16K, 64K. (9)

Special Counsel Robert Mueller's Russia probe, in the span of just a few days, has been hit with new questions surrounding investigators' case against their two highest-profile targets to date – a situation that threatens to disrupt the team's momentum ahead of what could be a crucial bid to interview President Trump.

One complication already has handed the president and his allies rhetorical fodder to tar the probe as politically motivated, and begin making a public case for avoiding an interview. On Friday, a federal judge challenged Mueller's team for using material from an earlier investigation to go after ex-campaign chairman Paul Manafort, accusing them of merely trying to pressure him to give up damaging information on Trump.

You're now using [that material] ... as a means of persuading Mr. Manafort to provide information," U.S. District Judge T.S. Ellis III said in court Friday. He suggested they want to make Manafort "sing" and only care about dirt that would lead to Trump's "prosecution or impeachment or whatever. (11)

It's unclear whether the judge was merely trying to extract key documents relating to the probe's scope or whether his heated questioning poses a bigger threat. He did not make a decision on the request from Manafort's team to dismiss the bank fraud and other charges. But Trump gleefully seized on the Reagan-appointed judge's harsh comments during his red-meat speech to an NRA convention Friday – and seemed to reference them in a tweet Monday morning.

"The 13 Angry Democrats in charge of the Russian Witch Hunt are starting to find out that there is a Court System in place that actually protects people from injustice...and just wait 'till the Courts get to see your unrevealed Conflicts of Interest!" he tweeted. (9)



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

The 13 Angry Democrats in charge of the Russian Witch Hunt are starting to find out that there is a Court System in place that actually protects people from injustice...and just wait 'till the Courts get to see your unrevealed Conflicts of Interest!

1:39 PM - May 7, 2018

Twitter Ads info and privacy

Trump soon added, "Is this Phony Witch Hunt going to go on even longer so it wrongfully impacts the Mid-Term Elections, which is what the Democrats always intended? Republicans better get tough and smart before it is too late!" (9)



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

Is this Phony Witch Hunt going to go on even longer so it wrongfully impacts the Mid-Term Elections, which is what the Democrats always intended? Republicans better get tough and smart before it is too late!

3:35 PM - May 7, 2018

Twitter Ads info and privacy

Lanny Davis, former special counsel to ex-President Bill Clinton, told “Fox News Sunday” that Manafort’s attorneys “have a point that there is a limit to what an independent counsel [can pursue].” (12)

“I don’t know whether that line has been crossed. I certainly think there’s a question to be raised about what bank fraud has to do with Russian collusion, and that’s something that needs to be addressed by the court,” Davis said. (12)



When Mueller says “no collusion” Trump’s poll numbers will rise: Fleischer

Meanwhile, the case against former national security adviser Michael Flynn took another turn Friday with the release of a less-redacted version of House Intelligence Committee Republicans’ Russia report.

House Report: Comey testified agents saw no physical indications of Flynn Deception

It shows that despite Flynn pleading guilty to making false statements to the FBI about his contacts with Russia’s former ambassador, then-FBI Director James Comey told the committee that agents who interviewed Flynn “discerned no physical indications of deception.”

“They saw nothing that indicated to them that he knew he was lying to them,” Comey said, according to the GOP-authored report.

Former deputy director Andrew McCabe made similar statements.



Judge questions the scope of Mueller's Russia investigation

The development is puzzling because, as McCabe's testimony reflects, Flynn's comments were indeed at odds with the evidence. The FBI reportedly intercepted conversations that countered Flynn's initial claim that, among other things, he did not ask Russia's ambassador to refrain from escalating the situation in response to sanctions.

But Comey and McCabe's statements raise the possibility that Flynn may not have knowingly lied – despite his plea.

Curiously, Mueller's team has sought multiple delays in Flynn's sentencing. And Comey, before the unredacted segments from the Russia report were released, told Fox News' Bret Baier that he did not say FBI agents had doubts about Flynn lying.

On top of the Flynn and Manafort developments, Politico reported Friday that **another judge** denied Mueller's request to delay the first hearing in a sweeping case against Russian companies and citizens – a case that, unlike some other charges, goes to the **heart of allegations of Russian meddling in the 2016 election**. Lawyers who surfaced to represent one of the defendants reportedly sought private details about the case.

Further, The Wall Street Journal reports that Mueller may soon have to “wrap up or lie low” with his investigation so as not to give the impression of any attempt to tilt the midterm elections.

Amid all these developments is perhaps the most consequential question of the entire probe – **whether Trump will agree to an interview with Mueller's team**.

One of his newest lawyers, Rudy Giuliani, who has caused headaches for the Trump team with his comments on the separate Michael Cohen probe, suggested Sunday on ABC News' “This Week” that they could rebuff Mueller in the end.

“We can assert the **same privilege as other presidents have**,” Giuliani said. (4)

5. Conclusion

The institutional response should be increasing in the same extent as in USA, to obtain the investigation that could reach the top of the political power in order to defend the main social values. (1) EU Members and UK responded by joining Moldova and Latvia in starting an investigation, with more expected as the well-known luxury hotelier may have pulled out of a deal for a Montenegrin coastal resort after the owner was identified as a ring member. In Montenegro, the system for laundering money stolen from the government by

corrupt politicians or earned through organized crime activity, when analyzed, proving the intimate connections between the country's **long-time president** and organized crime. The Laundromat worked on how the drug traffickers were getting free coastal property from municipalities run by the president's political party, brokered by members of the president's inner circle. Cigarette smuggling was still ongoing from islands controlled by both the president's best friend and his head of security. In the past, both the European Union and NATO have backed away from embracing Montenegro and both gave corruption as a cause. In the meanwhile, the NATO has changed his mind, but the EU's Annual Progress report for Montenegro still referencing the work of the international NGO's for combating to corruption.

Significant impact on corruption came after OCCRP were the "airing of full-length documentary called "The Assassin's Trail" – the first we entirely self-produced. Broadcast in Moldova and Romania, it was partially responsible for a decision by the Moldovan government to ban the pro-Russian political party Patria on the eve of the elections. This was because of the proved ties between the party's leader, professional assassins and funding from the Russian state railways. The leader, fearing arrest, fled the country shortly after the documentary aired– another crime figure featured in the video had already been arrested."(3)

Serbian Laundromat works on the principle "good morning to all four sides of the World", same as the policy of the major ruling party ("The four pillows of the foreign policy"), not joining to any International Politicthe Neutrality which is impossible because of not being guaranteed by any International Treaty, without Security System Reform done by the UN standards of DCAF, having the security system based on the experiences of the authoritarian past, without Lustration (the Law on that issue was not applied at all), without proper Institutional Capacity Building, without proper Symbolic Capacity Building and without proper Balancing of the Democracy (Coordination). Very unsafe model for Serbia, especially for the Rule of Law and less unsafe model for the World because of the small impact on the Global Safety - put "on the Line of Fire" by herself and aimed by both major military alliances. So, does the Serbian Laundromat also exploiting the "neutrality" on the origin and amount of money that comes from abroad or being collected from own people, put abroad and returned back as "foreign" investment. Sanctions of the International Community and the War in 1999 were devastating and were the result of the **presidents' wrong perception of reality** due to the unsuccessful Security System Reform after the Fall of the Berlin Wall. Serbian Laundromat will not help economy to grow, because of 20% to 25% of Serbian GNP goes to bribe the state and party bureaucracy and there is no economy that could support the situation when the enterprises are starting with such a loss of money. Serbian Laundromat feeding himself and the State Budget threw the Corruption which goes to whom? Money goes to the bureaucracy. What does the bureaucracy do with the money? Balancing the Budget or...?

6. References:

1. Professor Dr. Vladan Joldzic and team: Crime in Serbia: Phenomenology, risks and possibilities of social intervention – Official macro project No 47011, financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Development of the Republic of Serbia. The views in this article are not related to the official position of the organizations mentioned.

2. Divjak, S. "Porazno samoponiženje akademske zajednice" [Devastating self-abasement of the academic community]. *Politika* (Dodatak Kultura, nauka, umetnost). 2014 Jun 28.
3. Drew, Sullivan, Editor, OCCRP 2014 End of Year Letter
4. Fox News, Cracks in Mueller probe: Questions over Manafort charges, Flynn plea embolden Trump allies <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2018/05/07/cracks-in-mueller-probe-questions-over-manafort-charges-flynn-plea-embolden-trump-allies.html>
5. KMPG. <http://www.irs.gov/uac/IRS-Implements-Interim-Changes-to-ITIN-Application-Requirements-1>. A good summary explanation of this situation can be found at this KMPG Accounting Firm's link,
6. KPMG, <http://www.kpmg.com/US/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/flash-international-executive-alert/Documents/flash-international-executive-alert-2012-121-june.pdf>
7. Krstic, Jovan, Failed Judiciary Reform Instead of Lustration in Judiciary, *Acta Historiae Medicinae Stomatologiae Pharmaciae Medicinae Veterinariae*, Belgrade, 2017 Scientific Association for History of Medical Care (Naučno društvo za istoriju zdravstvene culture) , page 65
8. OCCRP /The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, founded in 2006, is a consortium of investigative centers, media and journalists operating in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Central America. It is funded by the Open Society Foundations, USAID, European governments and other major international donors. It has offices in Sarajevo, Bucharest, and Tbilisi. OCCRP is the only full-time investigative reporting organization that specializes in organized crime and corruption. It publishes its stories through local media and in English and Russian through its website. OCCRP is an early practitioner of collaborative, cross-border investigative journalism by non-profit journalism organizations, an approach that is gaining recognition in the United States and now Europe. It is partners with the Arab Reporters for Investigative Journalism (ARIJ) in Jordan, Connectas in Colombia, the International Center for Journalists in Washington, African Network of Centers for Investigative Reporting in South Africa and Insight Crime in Colombia. It has worked with hundreds of news organizations including the Guardian, Financial Times, Le Soir, the BBC, Time Magazine, Al Jazeera and other major media.
9. TweeterInc.US <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump?t=1&cn=ZmxleGlibGVfcmVjc18y&refsrc=email&iid=82efcc15196d42e7bd40ed8b079e3a2e&fl=4&uid=630214143&nid=244+277479437>, etc.
10. US Department of State, An Investigation into the Removal of Nine U.S. Attorneys in 2006, Washington DC, September 2008
11. U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Judge T.S. Ellis III, May 7, 2018, Cracks in Mueller probe: Questions over Manafort charges, Flynn plea ...www.foxnews.com/.../cracks-in-mueller-probe-questions-over-ma...
12. US "Fox News Sunday" Lanny Davis, former special counsel to ex-President Bill Clinton, May 6, 2018, Washington DC

Zoran Milosavljevic

bigz40@hotmail.com

Senior scientific researcher in political systems, global and local terrorism, organized crime, corruption, national security, democratic reforms of the Balkan countries

Jovan Krstic

jovankrstic80@gmail.com

Member of the Associations of Prosecutors of Serbia and Deputy Appellate Public Prosecutor of Belgrade