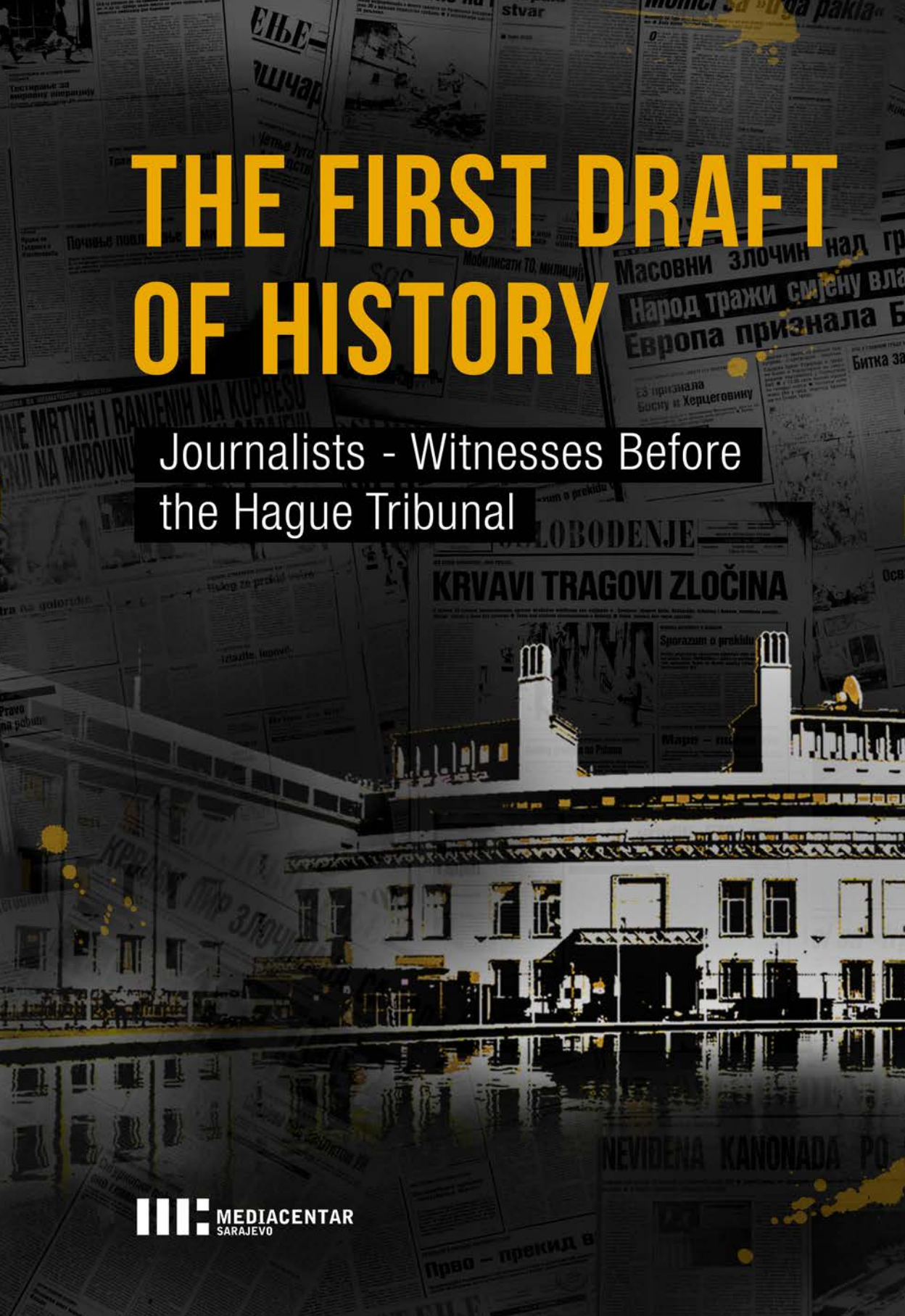
THE FIRST DRAFT OF HISTORY

Journalists - Witnesses Before the Hague Tribunal



MEDIACENTAR SARAJEVO

THE FIRST DRAFT OF HISTORY
Journalists - Witnesses Before the Hague Tribunal

Authors: Boro Kontić, Nedim Sejdinović, Elvira Jukić Mujkić, Anida Sokol, Selma Zulić Šiljak and Dragan Golubović

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The Book The First Draft of History: Journalists - Witnesses Before the Hague Tribunal was born out of the need to understand and convey the experience of journalists who testified before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Aiming to shed light on the insufficiently researched role of journalists and newspaper material before the ICTY, Mediacentar Sarajevo's research team gathered and analyzed 2,760 evidence items from the Hague Tribunal court records, while the experiences of 14 journalists who testified before the Hague Tribunal were recorded through in-depth interviews. Details of their experiences as witnesses and the reasons behind their decisions to testify were shared by Andrew Hogg, Alija Lizde, Branimir Grulović, Ed Vulliamy, Florence Hartmann, Jacky Rowland, Jeremy Bowen, John Sweeney, Martin Bell, Sead Omeragić, Slavoljub Kačarević, Tony Birtley, Veton Surroi and Zvezdana Polovina. All interviews were recorded and some portions are available on the project website: www.medijikaodokaz.ba.

In addition to the interviewed journalists, the names of 21 other journalist witnesses were noted in the research process: Aernout Van Lynden, Baton Haxhiu, Dan Demon, Deborah Christie, Dejan Anastasijević, Edmond Vanderostyne, Eve-Ann Prentile, Francz-Josef Hutsch, Ian Traynor, Jeremy Francis, Jovan Dulović, Karmen Brlić-Jovanović, Marita Vihervouri, Milivoje Mihailović, Nenad Zafirović, Robert Block, Richard Lyntton, Slađan Lalović, Sredoje Simić, Šefko Hodžić and Zoran Petrović-Piroćanac. Journalists make up less than one percent of the total number of witnesses before the Tribunal.

This publication was published as part of the project Journalism as the First Draft of History, implemented by Mediacentar Foundation, with the financial support of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands through the MATRA Programme. The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Netherlands

MEDIACENTAR SARAJEVO

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SARAJEVO
GODINA L
Broj 16053

Utorak, 23. februara/veljače 1993. godine

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SAVJET BEZBJEDNOSTI USVOJIO NOVU REZOLUCIJU

FORMIRAN SUD ZA RATNE ZLOČINE

Prema tekstu Rezolucije razmatraće se svi zločini počinjeni na tlu bivše Jugoslavije od 1. januara 1991. • Kada dođe mir, biće neophodno suočavanje sa prošlošću, a ne njeno pokopavanje

NJUJORK, 22. FEBRUARA/VELJAČE — Savjet bezbjednosti Ujedinjenih nacija usvojio je večeras jednoglasno Rezoluciju o formiranju Međunarodnog suda za ratne zločine na teritoriju bivše Jugoslavije. Prema tekstu Rezolucije razmatraće se svi ratni zločini učinjeni na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije od 1. januara 1991. godine.

Međunarodni sud za ratne zločine osnivа se prvi put nakon poslе stoljeća, poslije poznatih procesa u Nimbergu i Tokiju zločincima iz drugog svjetskog rata. Sud će biti uspostavljen upravo po modelu nimberškog suda, a pred njim će odgovarati osumnjičeni za masovna ubistva, silovanja, etničko čišćenje i druge zločine protiv humanosti.

Današnji dan Savjeta bezbjednosti presedan je, jer suprotno onom sudu nakon drugog svjetskog rata, kada su inicijativu za njegovo osnivanje dali saveznici, ovaj put je cijela međunarodna zajednica, kroz Savjet bezbjednosti, uspostavila mehanizam za kažnjavanje i sprečavanje ratnih zločina.

U komentaru Bi—Bi—Sija ističe se da je Rezolucija o osnivanju tribunala za ratne zločine prva odluka te vrste u istoriji UN.

Američka ambasadorka u UN Madlen Olbrajt izjavila je da ova odluka predstavlja ozbiljnu indikaciju da međunarodna zajednica neće tolerisati nasilje kao metod političke borbe za etnička prava.

Italijanski predstavnik u UN smatra da mirovni proces ne može biti paravan za nastavak zločina, a kada mir dođe na balkanske prostore biće neophodno suočavanje sa prošlošću, a ne njeno pokopavanje.

Oni koji su najviše propatili, moraju biti sigurni da je pravda dostižna i da će zločinci biti kažnjeni.

Uz već dostavljene prijedloge francuskih i italijanskih pravnika, te stručnjaka KEBS—a, generalni sekretar UN Butros Gali može sada formulisati konkretne prijedloge o tome kako će sud funkcionisati. A u roku od 60 dana Savjet bezbjednosti treba da donese i novu rezoluciju. Ona bi trebalo da sadrži odgovor na pitanje kako će sud dolaziti do osumnjičenih za ratne zločine.

To, zapravo, znači da će Savjet bezbjednosti donositi odluke koje će sve države biti dužne da provedu.

MORIJON O UNILATERALNOM PREKIDU VATRE

Hrabra odluka

Na konferenciji za domaće novinare, koju je general Morijon posebno organizovao juče poslije podne (dakle drugoj) presi—konferenciji u istom danu), komandant UNPROFOR—a za BiH rekao je da se, nakon uspostavljanja unilateralnog prekida vatre, što je po njemu hrabar potez Predsjedništva BiH, mogu očekivati pozitivna pomjeranja. Jedno od njih je deblokada Sarajeva, a drugo ponovno sastajanje mješovite vojne komisije.

O svom »suprotstavljanju« američkom planu za vazdušnu dostavu pomoći istočnoj Bosni, Morijon je rekao da je to tehnički kompilirano, da zantijeva brojne pripreme, da može predstavljati opasnost za ljude na tlu i da, na kraju, može izazvati nepotrebne sumnje.

• 8. strana

ALIJA IZETBEGOVIĆ POSJETIO »OSLOBOĐENJE«

Ako smo kao građani zreli, BiH će biti država

Alija Izetbegović u razgovoru sa novinarima »Oslobođenja«

• Stvorila se neka vrsta averzije prema ustupcima, a mir će sigurno značiti neku vrstu kompromisa, do njega se drugačije ne može stići

• Svijet, izgleda, neće da ima pobjednike u ovom ratu, možda ni poražene

• Odlazak Jeljcina može promijeniti čitav odnos snaga u svijetu i, naravno, Balkanu

• Bezrezervno divljenje »Oslobođenju«: dosljedni ste i hrabri kao ljudi i novinari!

• 3. strana

U ŽIŽI

Balkanizacija Balkana

■ Mehmed HALILOVIĆ

Ratovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji dosad su potvrdili najmanje tri bitne karakteristike: kreću se sa sjevera—zapada ka jugo—istoku, svaki novi je žešći i duži od prethodnog i nikad ne traju istovremeno dva.

Tako se čini da bi uskoro pod pritiskom i uz garancije svijeta rat u Bosni i Hercegovini mogao biti zaustavljen, bar u najvećem dijelu zemlje, ali prijeti opasnost od izbijanja novog, na Kosovu (ili) u Makedoniji, izbijanje rata na Kosovu čini se izglednijim, a u Makedoniji opasnijim.

Ovako predviđanje nije zasnovano samo na procjenama koje se mogu dobiti iz naprijed citiranog pravila. Opasnost je sasvim realna i vrlo prisutna na terenu, kako bi rekli u Evropi. Na nju upozorava cijeli svijet (prijetnja SAD Beogradu, izjava Žaka Delora), ali se taj svijet i sada — kao i prije ratova u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i u Bosni i Hercegovini — zadovoljava retoričkim plađenjem nezasitog balkanskog fašizma formiranog u Kosićevsko—miloševićevskom štabu.

Stanje na Kosovu je haotično, a napetost u odnosima Srba i Albanaca na granici eksplozije. Albanci su izloženi svakodnevnim maltretiranjima, pljačkanju i hapšenjima. Zbog bezakonja i pred stalnim ucjenama s Kosova bježe Albanci, ali bježe i malobrojni Srbi koji se ne slažu s takvom politikom i slute rat. Zato dolaze u sve većem broju srpski ekstremisti, koje i ovdje kao i prethodno u Hrvatskoj i Bosni, predvodi »narodni poslanik« sa zločinačkim dosjeom iza sebe Željko Ražnjatović—Arkan.

Makedoniju, s druge strane, gotovo jednako potresaju srpsko—albansko i grčko pitanje. Ujko-liko do rata dođe na Kosovu, veliki su izgledi da se on proširi i ovdje. Beograd i Atina sinhronizovano i gotovo podjednako zateže i popuštaju omču oko Skopja. Da nije krajnje ozbiljno, grčko traženje da Makedonija odustane od svog imena bilo bi smiješno. Evropa još uvijek na zna šta da uradi — što za nas, nažalost, i nije neka novost — dok Makedonija ulazi u drugu godinu svoje nezavisnosti živeći, ni na nebu, ni na zemlji.

Dođe li do ratova na Kosovu i (ili) u Makedoniji, s obzirom na interese i umiješanost njihovih susjeda, oni neće biti lokalni. Oko njih se uveliko pletu mreže dvije suprotstavljene balkanske alijanse — s jedne strane turska, bugarska i albanska, te grčka, srpska i rumunska s druge. Ova druga grupacija ima nemalu podršku ruskog parlamenta, što se ne smije potcjenjivati. U formiranju ta dva saveza elemenat vjerskog je dominantan — podjela na pravoslavne i islamske zemlje — iako od tog pravila ima izuzetaka (Bugarska i Makedonija).

Početkom ovog vijeka u Evropi je rođen pojam balkanizacije, preuzet u mnoge svjetske jezike, kojim se označavaju regionalni sukobi većih i manjih razmjera. Njime je očito obilježen i kraj ovog stoljeća. Najgora od svih balkanizacija je ona koja se odnosi na sam Balkan. ■

EJUP GANIĆ:

Cjelovita BiH garant mira

Nakon razgovora sa predsjednikom Republike Hrvatske drom Franjom Tudmanom Ejup Ganić, član Predsjedništva BiH, izjavio je: »Ne postoji nijedno pitanje koje se ne može razriješiti razgovorima. Preovladao je stav da će se obje zemlje zalagati za cjelovitu BiH. Jer, jedino takva BiH je garant mira na ovim prostorima. Bilo je riječi o poboljšanju odnosa i analizi globalne situacije između dvije zemlje kao i rješenju krize u ovim globalnim sukobima i saniranju agresije. Poslije razgovora mogu reći da je bilo dosta pozitivnih tonova. Razgovori su vođeni u tonu otklanjanja svih nesuglasica i sprečavanja mimoilaženja gledišta o očuvanju jedinstvene, cjelovite i suverene BiH.

A. KEBO

Delegacija BiH putuje u SAD

Predsjednik Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Alija Izetbegović putovaće u zvaničnu posjetu Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama na čelu bh delegacije. To je odlučeno na sjednici Predsjedništva RBiH. Sastav delegacije koja putuje u Njujork još nije poznat, ali će ona biti na državnom nivou i imaće mandat da potpiše mirovni sporazum koji garantuje međunarodno priznatu BiH.

RAMAZANSKA ČESTITKA ALIJE IZETBEGOVIĆA

Neizbježnost zajedničkog života

Predsjednik Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Alija Izetbegović, povodom nastupajućih ramazanskih dana, uputio je vjernicima islamske vjeroispovijesti sljedeću poruku.

Ove godine dočekujemo Ramazan, mjesec našeg posta, ispunjen dubokim bolom za našim najmilijim, koje smo izgubili za ove brutalne agresije, označeni vjerom u oslobanju naše domovine i ponovno uspostavljanje odnosa uzajamnosti i poštovanja između ljudi svih religija i nacija. Ramazan će nas okrijepiti i obodriti da istrajemo u našoj oslobodilačkoj borbi, on će nam dati snage i mudrosti da postignemo častan mir, koji ćemo ispuniti razvojem i novim napretkom. Posebno je sretna okolnost da i katolici i pravoslavni, odnosno, vjernici Hrvati i vjernici Srbi, vremenskom podudarnošću, ovih dana također uprazhnjavaju svoju vjersku praksu posta. Mislim da i ta činjenica govori da naši narodi u Bosni i Hercegovini mogu zajedno živjeti i da je u tome njihova najveća šansa.

Čvrsto sam uvjeren da će vrijeme koje nam dolazi iz budućnosti potvrditi neizbježnost zajedničkog života svih naroda u Republici Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ramazan mubarek šerif.

• 4. strana

Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 23 February 1993
(Mediacentar Sarajevo - INFOBIRO digital archive)

САВЈЕТ БЕЗБЈЕДНОСТИ УН УСВОЈИО РЕЗОЛУЦИЈУ 808

ОСНИВА СЕ МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СУД

• Резолуцијом, којом се оснива међународни трибунал за суђење лицима „одговорним за озбиљне повреде хуманитарног права почињене на тлу некадашње Југославије од 1991. године", тражи се од генералног секретара Бутроса Галија да предложи како да се одлука Савјета безбједности примијени

Савјет безбједности усвојио је у понедјељак Резолуцију о оснивању међународног трибунала за суђење лицима „одговорним за озбиљне повреде хуманитарног права почињене на тлу некадашње Југославије од 1991. године". Резолуцијом се од генералног секретара Бутроса Галија УН тражи да, „ако је могуће", у року од 60 дана поднесе извјештај с приједлозима како да се одлука Савјета безбједности примијени.

Текст резолуције 808 гласи:

„Потврђујући своје резолуције 713 (1991) од 25 септембра 1991. и све касније релевантне резолуције,

Подсјећајући на одредбу 10 своје резолуције 764 (1992) од 13. јула 1992. у којој је потврђено да су све стране дужне да се придржавају обавеза међународног хуманитарног права, посебно Женевске конвенције од 12. августа 1949. а и да су особе које почине или нареде да се почине тешке повреде конвенција индивидуално одговорне за такве повреде.

Подсјећајући, такође, на своју резолуцију 771 (1992) од 13. августа 1992. у којој је, између осталог, захтијевано да све стране и остали којих се то тиче у некадашњој Југославији, као и све оружане снаге у БиХ, одмах обуставе и уздрже се од свих повреда међународног хуманитарног права.

Подсјећајући, даље, на своју резолуцију 780 (1992) од 6. октобра 1992. у којој је од генералног секретара тражио да хитно образује непристрасну групу експерата да би испитала и анализирала информације поднесене у складу с резолуцијама 771 и 780, заједно с другим информацијама те врсте које Комисија буде добила, с циљем да генералном секретару поднесе своје закључке о тешким повредама Женевске конвенције и другим повредама међународног хуманитарног права почињеним на територији некадашње Југославије.

Размотривши прелиминарни извјештај Комисије експерата образоване Резолуцијом 780 (1992) у којој је Комисија истакла да би одлука о оснивању ад хок међународног суда у вези с догађајима на територији некадашње Југославије била у складу с правцем њеног рада.

Изразивши још једном тешку забринутост због настављених извјештаја о распрострањеним повредама међународног хуманитарног права до којих долази унутар територије некадашње Југославије, укључујући извјештаје о масовним убијањима и наставку праксе „етничког чишћења".

Закључујући да ово стање представља пријетњу међународном миру и сигурности.

Одлучан да оконча такве злочине и предузме ефикасне мјере да се особе одговорне за злочине приведу правди.

Убијеђен да у посебним околностима бивше Југославије образовање међународног суда може омогућити да се тај циљ оствари и допринијети успостављању и одржавању мира.

Узимајући у том смислу на знање препоруке копредсједника Комитета међународне конференције о некадашњој Југославији о оснивању таквог суда.

Узимајући, такође, с тешком забринутошћу на знање „извјештај истражне мисије Европске заједнице о третману Муслиманки у некадашњој Југославији".

Узимајући, даље, на знање извјештај Комисије правника који је поднијела Француска, извјештај Комисије правника који је поднијела Италија и извјештај што га је стални представник Шведске поднио у име предсједавајућег Конференције о безбједности и сарадњи у Европи.

1. Одлучује да се успостави Међународни суд за суђење особама одговорним за озбиљне повреде међународног хуманитарног права почињене на територији некадашње Југославије од 1991. године.

2. Тражи од генералног секретара да ради разматрања у Савјету у најкраћем могућем року, не касније од 60 дана по усвајању ове резолуције, ако то буде могуће, поднесе извјештај о свим аспектима ове ствари, укључујући одређене приједлоге и, тамо гдје то одговара, опције за ефикасно и брзо провођење одлуке садржане у одредби 1, узимајући у обзир сугестије које су у том погледу дале државе - чланице.

Одлучује да настави активно бављење овим питањем", истиче се у Резолуцији 808, коју је усвојио Савјет безбједности.

СРБИ ИЗ БОСНЕ СПРЕМНИ ДА НАСТАВЕ АКЦИЈУ ЗАТВАРАЊА ЛОГОРА

ХРВАТИ И МУСЛИМАНИ САБОТИРАЈУ

• У саопштењу Министарства за здравље Републике Српске, које објављује агенција СРНА, истиче се да ту акцију „и даље саботирају муслиманска и хрватска страна"

Власти Републике Српске (РС) поново су синоћ изразиле спремност да под окриљем Међународног комитета Црвеног крста наставе започете акције на затварању логора све три зараћене стране у бившој Босни и Херцеговини (БиХ).

У саопштењу Министарства за здравље Републике Српске, које објављује агенција СРНА, истиче се да ту акцију „и даље саботирају муслиманска и хрватска страна".

Притом се подсјећа да је кривицом те двије стране пропала и посљедња размјена заробљеника, договорена уз посредовање француског министра за здравље и хуманитарна питања Бернара Кушнера.

Кушнер је прошле седмице приликом боравка у Београду и Сарајеву апеловао да се наставе хуманитарне акције и акције затварања логора.

Српска страна је то прихватила, али је лидер Муслимана Алија Изетбеговић одбио Кушнеров приједлог, тврдећи да на муслиманској страни нема логора већ само „затвора у којима се налазе криминалци".

У саопштењу Министарства за здравље РС наводи се да је том приликом, ипак, била договорена размјена 108 Муслимана из затвора Батковић код Бијељине за исто толико Срба из затвора-силоса у Тарчину, недалеко од Коњица.

Српска страна је одмах доставила списак заробљеника које је спремна размијенити, али до размјене није дошло јер је муслиманска страна тражила да омјер размијењених буде један према три на штету српских затвореника, каже се у саопштењу.

Овај захтјев је образлаган лажним тврдњама да се у српским затворима налази чак 16.000 Муслимана, подсјећа министарство РС, мада је недавно Међународни Црвени крст утврдио да их је десет пута мање (тачно 1203).

Да договорене размјене пропадају због сталних, најчешће потпуно неприхватљивих условљавања муслиманске и хрватске стране, показује, како се наводи, и захтјев Хрвата који су, за 54 Србина заточена у Ливну, тражили да се на слободу пусти и пет њихових војника за које „постоје поуздани докази да су вршили злочине над српским цивилним становништвом".

„Муслиманске и хрватске власти тако, чак и у присуству званичних представника међународних организација, покушавају уценама и пријетњама довести српску страну у инфериоран положај, да би је затим оптужиле за некооперативност у хуманитарним акцијама", истиче се у саопштењу.

Споразумом који је постигнут 1. октобра, а затим и потписан 8. новембра прошле године у Женеви, зараћене стране су се биле обавезале на распуштање и затварање свих логора.

У реализацију је кренула унилатерално само српска страна, која је распустила три логора и ослободила 5.021 заробљеника.

Муслиманска и хрватска страна нису досад распустиле ниједан логор, а изиграле су и договор по којем је требало да, након пуштања више од 3.000 Муслимана и Хрвата из сабирног центра Мањача код Бање Луке, ослободе 1740 заробљених Срба.

„ВАШИНГТОН ТАЈМС", „ЊУЈОРК ТАЈМС" И ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКА КРИЗА

БЕЗ СРБА НЕМА МИРА

• У стилу по којем је већ препознатљив, „Њујорк Тајмс" предводи антисрпску линију у америчким медијима и упозорава да је немогуће пронаћи рјешења без Срба

Данашњи коментар у „Вашингтон Тајмсу", под насловом „Несвета алијанса", до сада најпрецизније одражава дилеме и процјене званичног Вашингтона о политици према бившој Југославији. У коментару се напомиње да је до сада у администрацији основна тема дебате била да ли Америка има директног националног интереса да се активније ангажује у бившој Југославији, али да се од сада поставља и питање: какав ће ток дебата узети уколико Русија одлучи да ситуацију рјешава на други начин него што је то до сада чинила.

До овог момента, констатује се у коментару, политика САД и Европе, „уколико се може говорити о правој политици", зависила је у великој мјери од добре воље руског спољнополитичког тима. „Званична руска политика према Балкану била је обликована према западној мјери захваљујући Андреју Козирјеву. Он је сада под ватром руских националиста и (као уступак њима) руководство је посљедњих мјесеци кренуло линијом веће самосталности од Запада. Козирјев је наговијестио да Москва неће подржати војну интервенцију против Срба, али није наговјештавало даље кораке. Руски националисти, чија снага расте из дана у дан, желе, међутим, да иду даље", „коментарише" „Вашингтон Тајмс" и додаје да је Борис Јељцин успијевао до сада да заштити Козирјева од „тврдог крила" које тражи његов одлазак, али како каже лист, није незамисливо да Козирјев ускоро крене путем смијењеног премијера Гајдара.

У редакцијском коментару „Вашингтон Тајмса" наводи се, затим, да недавна одлука руског парламента да затражи санкције против Хрватске, или, у противном, скидање санкција према Србији, показује „гдје су симпатије руских посланика".

У тексту се затим наводи: „Постоје јаки докази да је Русија већ умијешана на српској страни. Руска опрема, оружје, авиони и много другог стално се достављају Србији, заједно са такозваним добровољцима. Српско ваздухопловство је било десетковано одласком несрпских пилота, али Руси данас помажу и српској авијацији.

Националистички чврстоглавац Владимир Филатов, бивши официр совјетске армије, успоставио је блиске односе са српским ултранационалистичким снагама. Андреј Примаков, шеф КГБ-а и кључна фигура руске спољне политике, недавно је био у Србији. Руси у козачким униформама примијећени су како ратују у Босни. Дневник „Московске новости" пишу да се два центра за обуку добровољаца за Србију налазе у Москви и Санкт-Петерсбургу. Дневник „Вечерње новости" које контролише влада, пишу да су у Москви формиране двије нове бригаде добровољаца, од којих једну води ветеран из авганистанског рата. Коначно, постоје извјештаји да би Руси могли бити ангажовани у изградњи војне поморске базе на црногорској обали".

Даљи дио написа заслужује ширу интерпретацију јер се појављује у „Њујорк Тајмсу", који мјесецима предводи антисрпску линију у америчким медијима. „Умјесто да се прича о судовима за ратне злочине по узору на Нирнберг, Уједињене нације у САД треба да се окрену реконструкцији балканског региона и добробитима сарадње. То може да иде против концепта да криминалце не треба ослободити казне, али ниједна велика земља нема намјеру да разбија српску владу на силу, нити да хапси њене руководиоце. Нити је, реално говорећи, свијет спреман да продужи бојкот Србије, који може да дестабилизује регион још више и укине шансе за будући просперитет области". Констатујући ово, „Њујорк Тајмс" упозорава америчку владу да је балканска политика Бијеле куће „сувише важна да би била грађена на илузијама".

„Трајни мир није могуће постићи без српског учешћа и докле год Срби не шире рат (на друга подручја), САД неће ништа добити, а могу много изгубити, продужавањем сукоба са Београдом", закључује се у коментару „Њујорк Тајмса".

„ГЛАС СРПСКИ", БАЊА ЛУКА УЛ. СКЕНДЕРА КУЛЕНОВИЋА 93
ОСНИВАЧ ЛИСТА СКУПШТИНА РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРПСКЕ
Главни и одговорни уредник Зорка ШАМАРА
Уређује РЕДАКЦИЈСКИ КОЛЕГИЈУМ

Издаје и штампа ЈНИГП „Глас" директор Јосиф Д. РАКИЋ

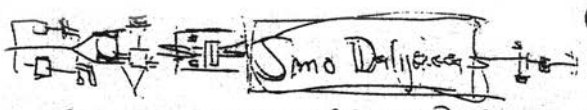
Први број „Гласа" изашао је као орган НОП-а за Босанску крајину у Жупици крај Дрвара 31 јула 1943. године. Од 8. фебруара 1993. године „Глас" излази као дневни лист.
Од 15. септембра 1992. године излази као дневни лист Републике Српске. Мјесечна претплата за нашу земљу 54.000 динара. За иностранство двоструко.

Редакција - телефони: главни и одговорни уредник 12-032, деск 12-076, 12-084, дактилографи 12-004, телефакс 12-032.
Огласи у улици краља Алфонса XIII бр. 1. Телефон и телефакс 11-948. Шеф пословнице економске пропаганде 11-964.
Телекс 45-208 YU „Глас". Рукописи се не враћају.

Телефони Јавног новинско-издавачког и графичког предузећа „Глас": централа (078) 12-386, 12-390, 12-394 и 12-414, директор предузећа 11-659, 12-263 и 12-264.
Телефакс 12-283.
Динарске уплате жиро-рачун број 10500-601-12456 код СДК Бања Лука.
Уплате на девизни рачун број 10500-630-

71000-522 код Бањалучке банке ДД Бања Лука.
КОПИЈУ УПЛАТНИЦЕ ЗА ПРЕТПЛАТУ ПОСЛАТИ НА ОГЛАСНО.
На основу тарифе пореза на промет, тарифни број 8, тачка 1, под 13, на дневне новине „Глас српски" порез на промет плаћа се по стопи од 3% („Сл. гласник Републике Српске" бр. 15/92).

Glas Srpski, Banja Luka, 24 February 1993
(Mediacentar Sarajevo - INFOBIRO digital archive)



0r5-6

Notes taken by Witness Ed Vulliamy During an Interview of Dr. Kovacevic in 1996
(Karadzic and Mladic, IT-95-5/18, Exhibit P03795. IRMCT Unified Court Records, 9/11/2011)

SHINING A LIGHT INTO THE DARK CORNERS

Boro Kontić

The crucial question that journalists who appeared before The Hague Tribunal as witnesses were asked as part of the *Journalism as the First Draft of History* project was: "Why did you testify?"

The response of BBC war veteran Jeremy Bowen can be summarized as follows: "We talk a lot about being a witness to events, well, you can also be a witness in a courtroom."

A witness in the Milošević case, Belgrade newspaper *Vreme* journalist Dejan Anastasijević, who sadly passed away too early, explained his appearance in the courtroom from the point of view of ethics: "It seemed to me that my refusal to appear before the court in The Hague and publicly confirm my words would be unprincipled and cowardly."[1]

John Sweeney demonstrated a temperament that we are not traditionally used to from the British: "Have I given evidence to The Hague? Yes. Would I do so again for a similar body? Yes. Not absolute yes in every circumstance, obviously, I'd be careful about it, there are some times you got to protect your sources, but this wasn't that issue in The Hague. Because if you see somebody stab somebody, it doesn't matter if you're a reporter or a bank manager or unemployed, it doesn't matter. It matters that you give evidence because otherwise the killing will continue."

Veton Surroi, journalist and prominent intellectual from Kosovo, saw his testimony in The Hague as a moment of desired satisfaction because "it was a pleasure to meet Slobodan Milošević in The Hague courtroom, not in his Belgrade residence."

1 Dejan Anastastijević, "Haški dnevnik" (The Hague Diary), *Vreme* no. 615, 17 October 2002

"Why did I begin this long arduous cooperation with the prosecutors at the Hague?" To the question he asks himself, journalist Ed Vulliamy responds: "I was still kind of traumatized and angry and dismayed by the inefficacy of all our work from the Krajina, from the Drina, from Sarajevo, from central Bosnia…"

Florence Hartmann, war correspondent for the French *Le Monde*, was the only one to testify on her own initiative. At the time, she was working at the Tribunal as a spokeswoman for the Prosecutor's Office. During the trial of JNA officer Veselin Šljivančanin, she gave evidence on his denial that he knew about the fate of the missing people from the hospital immediately after the fall of Vukovar. Hartmann remembered her wartime journey to Vukovar as a journalist, her meeting with officer Šljivančanin and the questions she asked him at the time. When asked how it was possible that the people at the Tribunal had not known about her article published in *Le Monde* in November 1992, Hartmann replied: "Because they did not look at non-Anglo-Saxon sources." Her boss, the Chief Prosecutor of The Hague Tribunal, Carla del Ponte, had been against her testimony. The reason? "I was her closest associate and she was afraid of my mixed role, as I was supposed to testify as a journalist from the 1990s."

Ed Vulliamy, war correspondent for *The Guardian*, testified the most times before the court in The Hague, in as many as eight cases. In his interview for the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* project, he said that employees of the Tribunal told him that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia had been set up partly because journalists had discovered the Omarska, Trnopolje and Keraterm camps.

"Journalists' footage from the war was the reason for the establishment of The Hague Tribunal and their testimonies were crucial for shedding light on the crimes," Senka Nožica, a lawyer from Sarajevo who defended those accused of war crimes before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague several times, said unequivocally at the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* conference about the *Journalism as the First Draft of History* project.[2]

Sarajevo journalist and war reporter Sead Omeragić expressed his strong belief that "only foreign journalists and The Hague court were on our side."

On the sidelines of the *Verona Forum*, an event dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1996 in Budapest, Sarajevo Faculty of Law Professor Zdravko

2 Conference *Journalism as the First Draft of History: Media as Evidence and Journalists as Witnesses Before The Hague Tribunal.* Mediacentar Sarajevo, 4 April 2022

Grebo was asked the following question in a conversation with journalists: Will the heads of state, their ideologues, the most responsible people, actually stand before the Court in The Hague one day? The professor responded that it depended on the "international community's assessment of how much they could still serve them in achieving their goals". He also observed that the situation was heading in that direction, although only concentration camp guards were being tried at the time. However, he saw it as sending messages to the "leaders".[3] What made him, a lawyer, think that way? In a normal trial, the court would only establish the factual situation, said Professor Grebo, continuing: "The current practice of bringing in experts, even using the BBC series 'The Death of Yugoslavia' - in which, to a smart man, the criminals painted themselves as such - is just a message that one day, if needed, a trial could also happen to presidents of states."

In 1996, one of the accused, Dr. Milan Kovačević, confessed to Ed Vulliamy the crimes committed in Prijedor, in northwestern Bosnia. His notes of his conversation with Kovačević served as important court evidence, but they were also a topic of debate among journalists. Does a journalist belong in a courtroom?

American journalists, for example, refused to appear as witnesses before The Hague court. The now retired *New York Times* journalist Nina Bernstein wrote with regard to Ed Vulliamy's testimony that, as described by Vulliamy, he handed over his notebooks for culling by the defense and thus "he's jeopardizing contacts, he's grandstanding." Roy Gutman ("who I have the deepest respect for," Vulliamy emphasizes), author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning collection of reports from the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, aptly titled *A Witness to Genocide*, was also against it, saying that the press "are the third estate, working alongside the law, not subject to it".

In Vulliamy's reply to Gutman, he insists on primal humanity: "What kind of priests are we?[4] We are citizens. If I see an old lady being mugged and stabbed on the street and her handbag taken and two people see it, and one is a plumber and one is a journalist, it doesn't mean that the plumber has to testify and the journalist does not."

3 Boro Kontić, *Grebo: A Short Biography* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2022), 303-304

4 Alluding to the estates from the period before the French bourgeois revolution in which the nobility and the high clergy enjoyed privileges, while the third estate, which consisted of the peasants and the bourgeoisie, in all its complexity, was in an unenviable position.

To use modern terminology, giving testimony in court in a way goes out of one's "comfort zone". Regarding his many appearances before The Hague court, Ed Vulliamy says: "This was a stressful, a time consuming, at the time a potentially dangerous thing to do and it was quite the opposite of grandstanding."

Ed Vulliamy responds to objections, even attacks, by fellow journalists that he betrayed objectivity by testifying before the court: "That is to confuse objectivity and neutrality. Objectivity is fact-specific. Neutrality is something else. Neutrality says that I see an equation of some kind between the women who had been violated every night in the camp of Omarska and the beasts who were doing it."

For Jeremy Bowen, the professional credo of one's newsroom is important: "Impartiality, which is a very important thing for us at the BBC and other journalists, means that you put your views in a box and you leave them on the doorstep and you try and approach everything with as much as you can a fairly open mind. And you try and realize that you have to be fair, you have to be honest, you have to try and talk to all sides, but it doesn't mean that you say, you know, on the one hand and on the other hand and the truth is in the middle. The truth is not in the middle. So, it's still impartial to say: 'They say that and they say that, but actually that is what the truth is.' And you have to show in your reporting how you've come to that conclusion."

Martin Bell, who comes from the same journalism school as Bowen, talks about the dramatic change in the professional paradigm while reporting from Sarajevo during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina: "So, I had then a completely different way of thinking about journalism. I devised something, I thought up something which I called the 'journalism of attachment'. You couldn't be neutral between the aggressor and the victim, between good and evil. Although it was fair, it cared... Was I biased? Yes, I was biased on the side of the victims. It was more compassionate than anything that I'd done before."

In his interview for the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* project, Bell said that he was criticized: "I think I was criticized for, you know, I was brought up in the BBC tradition of total on the one side this, on the other side that, only time will tell," concluding: "But I think that the more influential of my colleagues [who were not neutral between the aggressor and the victim, author's note] came around to my way of thinking or I came around to theirs."

Belgrade TV producer Branimir Grulović, who worked for *Reuters* during the wars in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and testified in The Hague in the case of Colonel Ljubiša Beara, has a different view. "During the events in Vukovar, one of my colleagues from *Reuters* was on the Croatian side and I was on the Serbian side. Thus, in the same locations, but from different sides. We had the idea to make a short documentary about Vukovar by combining our materials into one story. Only then would we get objectivity. That, in my opinion, would be the real truth."

But objectivity in a war becomes very difficult to maintain when you are actually witnessing the aftermath, said Andrew Hogg, detailing his personal drama: "My ex-wife she got really agitated about what she claimed to be my loss of objectivity. I wasn't in the end even allowed to mention Bosnia in the house."

Let us conclude this theme with a quote by Elie Wiesel, Nobel laureate and prisoner of Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps: "Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented."

During the trial of Radovan Karadžić, his legal team made a motion to "exclude testimony of war correspondents." In its decision dated 20 May 2009, the ICTY Trial Chamber threw out the request as unfounded and lacking in merit because "it seeks to exclude from giving evidence potential witnesses who are plainly competent to do so." Remarks by Miroslav Toholj, a minister in the Bosnian Serb government, during the 50th session of the National Assembly held on 15 and 16 April 1995 in Sanski Most, explain in a certain way the fear of journalists' testimonies. In the spring of 1995 Toholj could not understand how they missed "that famous journalist, the famous Serb hater, Van Lynden from *Sky News*, how did he pass through to Bihać? He was there for seven days, reporting, and I think he hurt our offensive against Bihać."[5]

Reading transcripts of interviews with journalists who gave testimony before the Hague Tribunal, I noticed one word that was often repeated. **Notebook**. Mostly for foreign journalists. Domestic journalists generally relied on memory.

Martin Bell explains that the notebooks were of utmost importance: "Like if you're talking to a warlord or interviewing a victim, you'd need something in which to write down the name. And sometimes the people would tell you

5 *Genocide Transcripts*, Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide. Tape recording from the session of the National Assembly, held in Sanski Most, on 15 and 16 April 1995. page 165.

something quite remarkable and you write that down. When Tihomir Blaškić held his news conference after the Ahmići massacre, I noted down what he'd said in my notebook and I was able to introduce that as evidence in the International Criminal Tribunal. I've got a whole box of them upstairs and I sort of dig them out."

For Andrew Hogg, it was crucial not to get it wrong and he kept making notes. "I would just keep recording what everybody said, I'd write in shorthand. I've got every notebook that I have ever filled up in Bosnia, two thick Filofaxes, every interview I conducted in Bosnia I've still got. My intention is when I die they'd be put in the coffin with me, 'cause there are so many stories, so many horrible things that happened."

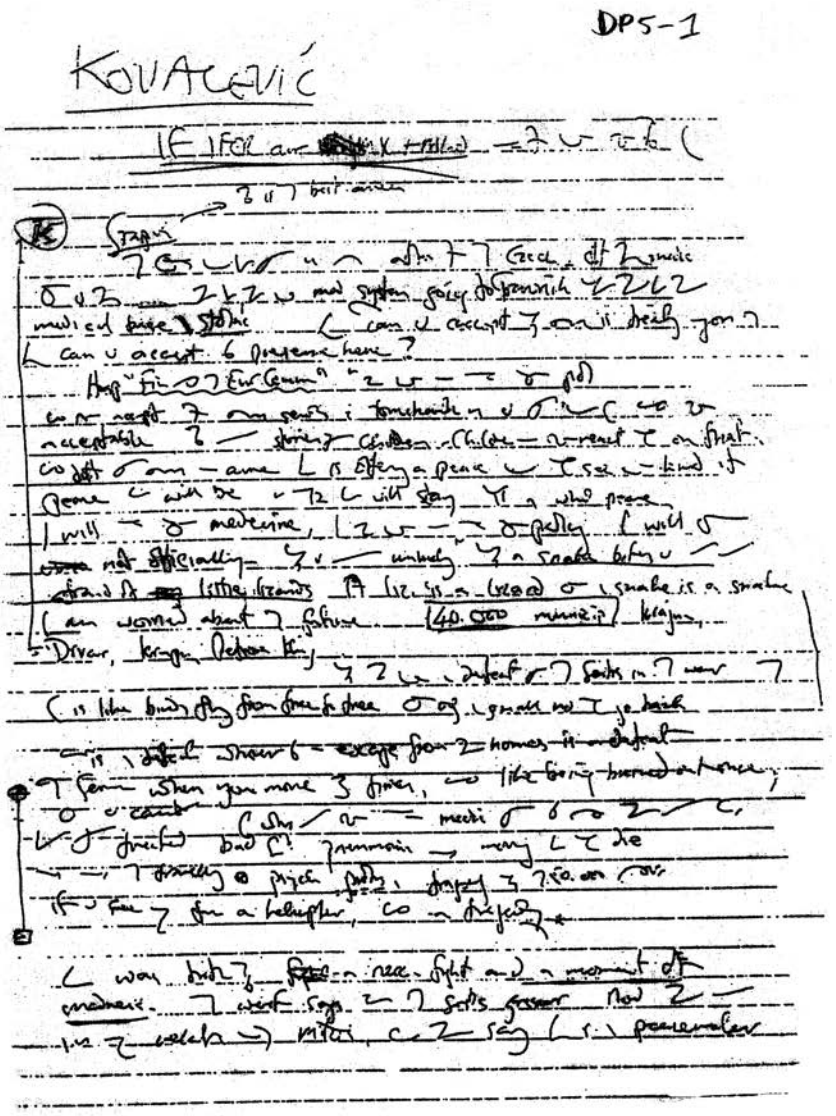
I had to give my notes to the defense with all my shorthand, said Ed Vulliamy. "I do shorthand, it's called *Teeline*, about 110 words a minute. All your shorthand is sent to experts, notes in the margin are asked questions, 'Who is that person? Whose is that telephone number?'"

Florence Hartmann also had to hand over her notebooks from that time. Until then, she had jealously guarded them. The prosecutors told her that her notebooks were very interesting, but they no longer needed them. Hartmann quotes them: "You met at least 15 people from the potential ones we are working on. You really kept good company!"

A journalist's work is cement and legal work is to connect every brick with that cement, Florence Hartmann said in her interview for the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* project, and concluded with a message to younger journalists: "Buy a notebook, write down everything you observe, practice."

Speaking about his war experience from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ed Vulliamy is certain that the work has not ended: "It's the *Hotel California*, you know, you can check out any time you like, but you can never leave."

The example of veteran Jeremy Bowen, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this article, speaks of this. In the spring of 2022, we saw him in a BBC team during the Russian invasion of Ukraine. While we are still following the events there from a physical distance, I believe in what he said in his interview for our project: "It was important that someone could shine a light into the dark corners."



Notes taken by Witness Ed Vulliamy During an Interview of Dr. Kovacevic in 1996
(Karadzic and Mladic, IT-95-5/18, Exhibit P03795. IRMCT Unified Court Records, 9/11/2011)

Odlazak Jovice Stanišića

Noć dugih ušiju

Smena prvog Miloševićevog policajca predstavlja uvod u preraspodelu snaga unutar vladajuće koalicije

U utorak 27. oktobra, u pet popodne, preko Radio Beograda je objavljeno da je smenjen Jovica Stanišić, načelnik Resora državne bezbednosti, ali tako da se Stanišićevo ime ne pominje. U neuspešnom naporu da se takva vest plasira diskretno, rečeno je da je vlada, pored mera za obezbeđivanje semenske pšenice, imenovala i nekoliko pomoćnika ministra unutrašnjih poslova, pa tako i general-pukovnika Radomira Markovića. Tek u poslednjoj rečenici vladinog saopštenja (čestitke i želje za uspešan rad) Marković se spominje kao novi načelnik Resora DB-a. Dva i po sata kasnije, na Dnevniku RTS-a, saopšteno je da je predsednik Srbije Milan Milutinović "primio rukovodeći sastav Resora javne i državne bezbednosti", i da se tom prilikom "zahvalio na radu i saradnji dosadašnjem načelniku RDB-a gospodinu Jovici Stanišiću". Iz saopštenja, kao ni sa ekrana, ne vidi se da li je Stanišiću zahvalnica uručena lično ili posredno.

Iste večeri, novinari "Glasa javnosti" uspeli su da telefonom razgovaraju sa Stanišićem, koji im je potvrdio da je smenjen i da su mu nuđeni razni "utešni" poslovi. "Sve sam odbio!", rekao je Stanišić, ali je odbio da navede bilo kakve detalje o svom slučaju. "Šta mislim o svemu što je urađeno reći ću samo putem zvaničnog saopštenja. Ne dajem izjave, i tako će i ostati", rekao je Stanišić "Glasu".

FONET/AP

Izjava Jovice Stanišića

Povodom Odluke Vlade Srbije o mom razrešenju sa dužnosti načelnika Službe državne bezbednosti Republike Srbije izjavljujem sledeće:

Na toj dužnosti sam bio sedam godina – od 1991. do 1998. godine, u zamršenim istorijskim, spoljnopolitičkim i nacionalnim prilikama. Služba je pod mojim rukovodstvom delovala u skladu sa ustavnim i zakonskim ovlašćenjima, a pod stalnom pravnom kontrolom Vrhovnog suda Srbije.

Služba je svoj rad i odgovornost, koja iz toga prozilazi, vezivala prevashodno za instituciju predsednika Srbije. Hoću da verujem da će i u budućnosti, koja nije oslobođena od pretnji nacionalnoj bezbednosti, ona svoju delatnost obavljati na principima koje sam uvažavao i kojima sam služio.

Beograd, 28. oktobar 1998.

Јовица Станишић

Najavljeno saopštenje, sa svojeručnim potpisom, uručio je glavnim urednicima beogradskih redakcija sledećeg dana službeni kurir (vidi faksimil). Sadržaj je, međutim, bio donekle razočaravajući za ljubitelje skandaloznih rubrika: umesto detalja o "svemu što je urađeno", Stanišić je dao rezime svog osmogodišnjeg rada na čelu Službe ("u skladu sa ustavnim i zakonskim ovlašćenjima, a pod stalnom kontrolom Vrhovnog suda Srbije"), i podsetio na svoju lojalnost instituciji predsednika Srbije "u zamršenim istorijskim, spoljnopolitičkim i nacionalnim prilikama". Kroz poslednju rečenicu provejava bojazan za dalju sudbinu Službe: "Hoću da verujem", kaže Stanišić, "da će i u budućnosti, koja nije oslobođena od pretnji nacionalnoj bezbednosti, ona (Služba) svoju delatnost obavljati na principima koje sam uvažavao i kojima sam služio." "Hoću da verujem" nije isto što i "verujem" ili "siguran sam". Proizilazi da Stanišić ima nekih razloga da ne veruje, ali se, eto, trudi.

SVILEN GAJTAN: U normalnim zemljama, smenjivanje službenika Stanišićevog ranga ne prelazi značaj smene bilo kog visokog državnog činovnika. Međutim, Srbija je nešto drugo, a Stanišić je u njoj bio veoma važna ličnost, mnogo važnija nego što njegova službena titula odaje. I manir Stanišićeve smene i ono što je on sam tim povodom saopštio dali su povoda za spekulacije domaćih "kremljologa", čije se teze kreću od toga da Stanišić nije smenjen nego je dao ostavku (Vuk Obradović, Socijaldemokratija), do tvrdnje da bi njegovo uklanjanje "moglo da ima veze sa obavezama prema Haškom tribunalu, koje su preuzete u sporazumu o Kosovu" (Stevan Lilić, Demokratski centar). Istog dana kad je Stanišić smenjen, iz "po-

'VREME' Article entitled: The Night of Long Ears', by Dejan Anastasijevic, dated 31 October 1998
(Stanisic and Simatovic, IT-03-69, Exhibit P02644.E. ICTY Court Records, 20/12/2010)

JOURNALISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL

Nedim Sejdinović

In his famous and extensive study *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies,*[6] which was translated into Serbian and published by the Belgrade Media Center in 2004, the author Louis Alvin Day vividly clarifies and explains the key ethical questions of contemporary journalism, with an abundance of examples, and tries to provide answers to them. His thought-provoking examples are based on real events and controversies, but they are mostly placed on a hypothetical level, that is, the names of those involved are made up and the circumstances are somewhat or completely changed. Basing the case of a journalist who witnessed the genocide and was asked to testify before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague on an article by S. Austin Merrill,[7] he virtually anticipated the public debate that would be held in some journalistic communities in Western countries several years later. The debate centered on the dilemma of whether journalists should appear as witnesses in trials for the gravest crimes, that is, whether their appearance before the court clashed with the basic principles of journalism ethics (namely impartiality and objectivity) or was a civic duty and a moral obligation.

When he receives a summons from the prosecution, the journalist from Day's example immediately realizes that his convictions as a journalist clash with his civic duty, which dictates that he should help to get to the truth, that is, to adequately punish those guilty of the gravest crimes against humanity, and

6 Louis A. Day, *Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies* (Wadsworth, 2000)
7 S. Austin Merrill, "Witnesses for the Prosecution", *Columbia Journalism Review* (1999), 35-37.

all the more so because the prosecutor told him that the case was "weak" and that his testimony could greatly help the evidentiary proceedings. His articles and interviews with crime victims had been previously included as evidence in the process and he was supposed to validate them, as well as testify on the circumstances and other information that was not included in his media reports. The journalist consults with the editors, trying to solve a professional and ethical dilemma with their help: whether or not to accept the prosecution's request. The editor is expressly against it: she believes that the perpetrators of the gravest crimes must be held accountable, but that journalists must not be "agents of the prosecution", as this discredits their position, which is based on impartiality. In addition, she believes that journalists' testimonies in court would put their lives in danger, because in future crises and war situations they would be viewed as "intelligence agents".

The journalist agreed in principle with the argumentation, but at the same time considered that there were situations in which journalists were obliged to abandon the position of "neutral observer", especially when they involved the gravest crimes against humanity, and even more so in a situation where their testimony, due to lack of evidence, would help to properly mete out justice for the guilty. Unlike the editor, the editor-in-chief shared the journalist's opinion: he pointed out that "under normal circumstances" he would have forbidden his journalist to be a witness for the prosecution, but that this case required deep examination. In the end, he left the decision to the journalist and we do not know until the end of the example whether the journalist appeared in court or not.

Louis A. Day does not give a definitive answer to the question of which journalistic position would be ethically correct in this case, but he refers the reader to sections of his book dealing with "ethics and moral reasoning", inviting them to think for themselves which decision would be valid. He concludes that abandoning the "position of neutrality" is very dangerous for a journalist, but at the same time journalists should not neglect their duties as citizens and become culturally excluded. According to him, if the audience feels that journalists adhere to different norms than ordinary citizens, they risk losing credibility. Although he does not say it explicitly, it seems that the author of the study, by including the broader context as an important element in the "moral reasoning", is closer to the stand that the journalist should, in the given case, accept the request and testify in the court process. In any case, this example contains practically all the doubts that accompanied the later debate, from the early 2000s, on whether journalists should be witnesses before the International Criminal Court.

Arguments against

Let us remember that this dilemma was resolved in different ways by journalists and reporters from the United States of America than those from Great Britain and other European countries. American journalists generally refused to testify before The Hague Tribunal, citing objectivity and neutrality, as well as the danger that war reporters would face in crisis areas if the practice of appearing as witnesses in trials for the most serious crimes became established. One of these journalists, in fact the first journalist who refused to testify before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is former *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan Randal, who cited the "principled right" of a media representative to not testify in court proceedings. After his refusal to give testimony, at the request of the prosecution the Tribunal issued a subpoena compelling Randal to testify. Randal appealed against the decision to the Tribunal's Appeals Chamber, which accepted his position, at the same time deciding that his article would be included as evidence in the proceedings.

The decision of the Appeals Chamber was certainly influenced by a public appeal by 34 media outlets and journalist and media organizations, primarily American, which publicly warned that the Tribunal should not compel journalists to testify. The signatories of the appeal believed that journalists' testimonies would make sources of information significantly more closed to journalists in general, especially in war zones, and Randal's lawyers argued that compelling him to testify would place his job as a war correspondent in jeopardy. In fact, a fierce debate about journalists testifying before the Tribunal had begun earlier that year, 2002, following the testimony of a former BBC Belgrade correspondent, Jacky Rowland, in the trial against the former top man of Serbia and most famous indictee in The Hague, Slobodan Milošević. Her decision to testify was criticized by many journalists, including those from the United States, as well as some of her colleagues from the BBC, who claimed that the testimony compromised the role of journalists as independent observers and endangered their lives in crisis areas.

Opponents of journalists testifying in court refer to the right of journalists to protect sources of information, that is, they believe that their sources could be revealed in the court process. In short, opponents of journalists giving testimony cite the following arguments:

- Abandonment of journalists' objectivity and neutrality, which, according to them, is an ethical imperative;
- Jeopardizing the safety of journalists in crisis areas, as they may be viewed as "agents";
- Difficult access to information if they are recognized as "potential witnesses" in court;
- Potential revelation of sources of information in court proceedings; and Post-traumatic syndrome that can appear in journalists testifying before the Tribunal, given that they talk about events that dramatically affected their emotions.

The last argument is particularly related to the fact that court proceedings take too long and that some journalists were forced to testify in court multiple times, over a long period of time, and in several processes, meeting face to face with the perpetrators of the gravest crimes. At an international conference held in 2018, Ed Vulliamy, the celebrated journalist of The Guardian and a big supporter of journalists testifying before the International Criminal Tribunal, talked about the enormous personal effort, and the mental difficulties he had as a result of numerous testimonies before the Tribunal.[8]

"Actually, to be honest, the hardest part was trying to sleep between the days on the stand because you adjourned at the end of the day, you might allow yourself a beer or two or three, but any more than that is a bad idea, because you have to be razor sharp the next day. And, I just remember, I was staying in another hotel later on, the *Bel Air*, as where they all were just got a bit much, I found a hotel down in the center of The Hague so that I could go to the art gallery and look at Vermeer's paintings and just kind of remind myself that there was a world out there and there was still some beauty left in it. But I just couldn't sleep. I'd just stay up all night listening to the trams go by under the window and had to kind of go in with my brain ready for the next day, after maybe two hours of sleep. It became kind of trial by sleeplessness really. And I think the hardest thing for me was having to relive it all, but then, you know, my experience was nothing really, compared to the real witnesses in this, who were the survivors and the bereaved and the victims and the violated women. They were doing on the stand what no person should ever have to do. So, you know, it was incredibly stressful," said Vulliamy in his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo.*

8 Conference *Ethics and the News*, organized by *Ethical Journalism Network and Global Rights Compliance*, London, 25 October 2018

Another argument against testifying may be the threat to life and being exposed to gruesome threats in the community from which the witnesses come. Two journalists from Belgrade's *Vreme*, Dejan Anastasijević and Jovan Dulović, sadly both deceased, suffered numerous threats and insults in Serbia following their testimonies before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia; indeed Anastasijević and his wife, due to lucky circumstances, survived, though barely, the explosion of a bomb planted in the window of their apartment. Anastasijević later revealed to the public the possible reasons why the explosive device had been planted: allegedly, Vojislav Šešelj, through his wife Jadranka, secretly sent from The Hague to Belgrade a list of witnesses against him, which included Dejan's name. At the same time, to his great surprise, he learned that the prosecution in The Hague had planned to call him as a witness against the former heads of the Serbian State Security Service, Jovica Stanišić and Franko Simatović, and that it had informed Stanišić's defense about this a few days before the bomb explosion, but failed to inform him about it. After giving several testimonies, Dulović refused to testify in the proceeding against Vojislav Šešelj, due to illness, old age and fatigue, as well as strong pressure. In a statement given to ICTY officials in 2004, he said that a serious political and media campaign was being waged against him and Anastasijević that threatened their security, led by today's president of Serbia - then a high-ranking official of the Serbian Radical Party of Vojislav Šešelj - Aleksandar Vučić.[9] Appearing before The Hague Tribunal had severe psychological consequences for both of them.

In an interview in 2016, Anastasijević said that he was not sure he would testify again at The Hague Tribunal, primarily because of the numerous "controversial" verdicts that the court had passed in the meantime. Nevertheless, two years later, he appeared as a witness for the ICTY prosecution in the retrial of Stanišić and Simatović.[10]

Arguments for

Both Anastasijević and Dulović, however, emphasized that they viewed their testimonies as a moral obligation, as part of their job, as a kind of thirst to get to the truth. After testifying against Milošević, Anastasijević went as far as to say that it was "perhaps the most important thing I have done in my life".[11]

9 Witness statement by Jovan Dulović to ICTY representatives, ICTY Archive, statement made on 16-17 November 2004

10 Nedim Sejdinović, "Novinari iz Srbije kao svedoci u Hagu: Ponudili argumente i tužilaštvu i odbrani" (Journalists from Serbia as Witnesses in The Hague: They Offered Arguments to both Prosecution and Defense), *Mediacentar Sarajevo - MC Online*, 4 October 2021

11 Dejan Anastasijević, "Witness for the Prosecution", *Time International*, 28 October 2002

Although he spoke at the above-mentioned conference in London about the traumatic effects of his testimonies, Ed Vulliamy still believed that journalists' testimonies were important and necessary. He believes that journalists, despite everything, have an obligation to testify in trials for the gravest crimes, especially if their statements can contribute to uncovering the truth and punishing those guilty. He makes a distinction between objectivity and neutrality: journalists have an obligation to be objective, but as human beings they cannot remain neutral when faced with horrors and wrongdoing. At public events, including the conference in Sarajevo in 2022, journalist Jacky Rowland emphasized that she decided to testify against Milošević because she considered it her moral duty, as well as an "expansion of her role as a journalist". She felt that there was no possibility of compromising her sources and that all the information she testified about had already been broadcast anyway. Although the testimony itself entailed a certain psychological effort and difficulties, her main problem was that when she took the witness stand, she lost the support of many colleagues from the BBC, who distanced themselves from her.[12]

In 2002, while Rowland was being criticized by her colleagues, the renowned, multiple award-winning journalist Janine Di Giovanni,[13] who worked as a reporter in crisis areas for many major media outlets including *The Times, The New York Times* and *The Guardian*, and who had a wealth of experience, stood up in her defense. She believed, and still does today, that journalists have an obligation to testify, regardless of the difficult position they are in, and that it is part of their job. Although generally an opponent of journalists testifying in court, American *Newsweek* journalist Roy Gutman joined the discussion and said that there were certain circumstances in which journalists' appearances in court would contribute to punishing those guilty, who would be acquitted without their testimony, and other circumstances that would justify their appearance in court.

In his article *An Obligation to the Truth,*[14] Ed Vulliamy advocates that journalists must not follow the guidelines of *Cosa Nostra*, i.e. take vows of silence, and that they must not be above other people who have information of value for court proceedings against tyrants and mass murderers. Even then, in 2002, he underlined the difference between the objectivity and neutrality of journalists, pointing out that there were moments in history when neutrality was not neutral but represented complicity to a crime. He contested the argument that testifying in court could put journalists in danger, reminding us that war

12 Conference *Journalism as the First Draft of History*. Mediacentar Sarajevo, 4 April 2022
13 Ciar Byrne, "Di Giovanni. 'I would testify'", *The Guardian*, 25 October 2002
14 Ed Vulliamy, "An Obligation to the Truth", *The Guardian*, 19 May 2002

reporters were at risk anyway if they did their job professionally. He recalled that tens of journalists had been killed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, if journalists are already making public facts that are not favourable to individual participants in war conflicts and thus putting themselves in danger, then there are no valid reasons for them not to speak about this information in court and take part in justice being served.

The opinion of Ross Howard[15] from the Canadian Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society is also interesting. He says that neutrality and objectivity hardly go hand in hand with reporting from areas where war crimes and genocide are taking place. According to him, it is impossible to be "clinically neutral" and personally detached in these situations, as if we were reporting from a football match. According to him, neutrality in such situations is a myth.

Considering that at least 35 journalists testified before the court in The Hague, it is clear that they resolved their professional and ethical dilemmas by choosing to testify and help establish the truth. Their media items and testimonies were a tremendous contribution to the trials and it is difficult to predict how many of the processes would have ended if the journalists had refused to participate in them. Although many media materials were important as evidence, one should bear in mind that they were not unquestionably admitted in court and that the journalists' testimonies were aimed at clarifying the circumstances under which the items were made and to what extent they were authentic, that is, to what extent they gave complete and accurate information about specific events. When we talk about the contribution of journalists to war crimes trials, we should also not forget the fact that it was the media items from the war in the former Yugoslavia that contributed to the creation of The Hague Tribunal.

As part of the *Journalism as the First Draft of History* project, *Mediacentar Sarajevo* interviewed 14 journalists[16] who testified in the trials before The Hague Tribunal. One of them, BBC journalist Martin Bell, said that he gladly accepted the requests to testify, considering that he was first of all a citizen, and only then a journalist, and that giving testimony was his moral and legal obligation. He did not regret testifying and he says that he learned a lot from his experience before the Tribunal.

15 Ross Howard, "Mediate the Conflict - Role of Media in Peacebuilding", Institute For Media, Policy And Civil Society, 2002

16 Dragana Erjavec, "Novinari kao svjedoci - obaveza ili moralni čin" (Journalists as Witnesses - An Obligation or a Moral Act). *medijikaodokaz.ba*, 13 August 2021

One of the interviewees is Mostar-based journalist Alija Lizde, who was arrested, interrogated, insulted, detained in camps and beaten during the war. He spoke before the Tribunal about what he had learned as a journalist and about his personal experiences. For him, the testimony also had a cathartic character, because he had the opportunity to present his story to the public and the court and help justice be served.

Some answers

Although codes of ethics for journalists do not give a precise answer to the question of whether journalists should or should not testify in courts in general, including the International Criminal Court, it is clear that these documents - every single one of them - define journalism as a profession of public interest. Journalists have an obligation to be servants of the public interest. Following this logic, we may say that establishing the truth about the most serious crimes could be considered a public interest *par excellence* and in this regard journalists would have a professional duty to share their findings in court processes, that is, they should not hide behind any other right. The moral obligation is all the greater if their testimonies are indispensable in order to bring the culprits to justice.

As for objectivity and neutrality, during the testimony the journalist can remain objective and neutral, if they communicate facts and authentic knowledge. In addition, ethical principles do not specify that a journalist should be neutral in all circumstances and situations. On the contrary, it is their duty to oppose discriminatory narratives, hate speech, calls to violence, violence and crimes. Of course, in many cases of reporting from crisis areas it is impossible and dangerous to confront these occurrences directly, but it is important to present them in a negative light. Following this logic, according to this ethical guideline the journalist would have the obligation to not be neutral in cases of human rights violations, especially if the cases are drastic, that is, not to invoke neutrality if they have received a court summons to testify.

It is true that journalists, if they testify in court trials for the gravest crimes, may be considered “foreign agents” in certain crisis areas. However, the media reality tells us that they are perceived as such regardless of whether or not they give testimony in court. It is certain, however, that journalists must behave in court as in their work: statements must be accurate, complete, objective and responsible. Statements must not endanger the lives and safety of others, including those who were or still are journalists’ sources.

Finally, it should be said that it is not the job of journalists to be on the witness stand and that the courts should not call them unless it is absolutely necessary. Professional journalism, in itself, helps to get to the truth, including the truth about human rights violations and crimes in war zones. It can contribute to the truth and the sanctioning of crimes in this way more than by testifying in court.

The fact is that technological development, which has made it possible for every citizen to become both a reporter and a journalist to a certain extent, to be able to produce and present media items, will in the future lift part of the burden of responsibility from professional journalists in the context of court proceedings for the most atrocious crimes. But certainly not completely.

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia — Tribunal Pénal International pour l'ex Yougoslavie

MR. ROBINSON: Yes, Mr. President.

Good morning. I'm sorry to begin the new year on the note of the issue of war correspondents, but the next witness, Jeremy Bowen, being a retired war correspondent, we want to note for the record our position that he shouldn't be allowed to testify, absent to showing that the privilege has either been satisfied or waived. And we recognise you've already rejected that position, but we simply make that for the record.

JUDGE KWON: Yes, Mr. Robinson. We're not surprised by this request, it being the same as those you have made previously.

The Chamber has previously said that there's a clear jurisprudence to the effect that war correspondents can waive their privilege, should they choose to do so. Therefore, we deny your request pertaining to Mr. Bowen on the same reason as before.

(...)

Section of trial transcript case Karadzic (IT-95-5/18). Preparation for the testimony of Jeremy Bowen, 13/01/2011

Yugoslavia war crimes

From the Guardian archive

Shame of camp Omarska

We will not rest until the international community has gained access to all detention camps in Bosnia, President Bush said last night. Ed Vulliamy has already been inside several, including Omarska in north-eastern Serb-occupied Bosnia. Here, he provides the first eyewitness account in a British newspaper of the starvation and human rights abuses being inflicted on the captives

Friday August 7, 1992

'I don't want to tell any lies, but I cannot tell the truth,' says the young man, emaciated, sunken-eyed, and attacking his watery bean stew like a famished dog, his spindly hands shaking.

This is lunchtime in the Omarska camp or 'investigation centre' operated by the Bosnian-Serbian police for Muslim captives, near Prijedor in north-eastern Bosnia.

The internees are horribly thin, raw-boned some are almost cadaverous, with skin like parchment folded around their arms their faces are lantern-jawed, and their eyes are haunted by the empty stare of the prisoner who does not know what will happen to him next.

The prisoners, or internees, emerge from a huge rust-coloured shed, 30 at a time, into the sun and heat.

They are lined up by a prison guard, a civilian policeman, and then, as part of some pathetic camp drill, they run in single file across a courtyard and into the camp canteen, under the watchful eye of a beefy policeman with a machine gun in a glass observation post. There are no barked orders they know the drill only too well.

In the well-kept kitchen they line up again and wait for their ration: a bowl of beans augmented with breadcrumbs and a piece of bread, which they wolf down in silence at the metal tables, before quickly and obediently forming another line by the door, and then running in line back across the yard, into the aluminium shed.

The meal takes five minutes. It appears to be their only one of the day. If they ate even twice as much they would be only

Article written by Mr. Vulliamy, 7.08.1992, "Shame of camp Omarska", published in the Guardian
(Exhibit D25A, case Stakic IT-97-24. ICTY Court Records, 17/09/2002)

A THESAURUS OF WAR JOURNALISM

Anida Sokol

Objectivity, impartiality and neutrality, laid down as some of the basic postulates of journalism, have long been the subject of debate among journalists and in scientific literature. In periods of crises and wars, the application of these standards becomes challenging and the need arises to (re)examine their meanings and shed light on the role of journalists in war. During conflicts, in the maelstrom of propaganda, lack of credible sources, and in a context in which "truth is the first casualty", it becomes difficult to adhere to the highest ethical standards of journalism. Following the strict principles of the profession, being objective and taking two or more sides to a story, using standards of balance and/or neutrality, while at the same time witnessing atrocious war crimes and civilian suffering, are an enormous challenge and moral dilemma.

The wars in Yugoslavia in the 1990s were a call to many journalists and journalism theorists to reconsider the role of war journalism and the basic postulates of the profession.[17] These were wars which, unlike previous wars, the media could not explain through the one-sided and often propaganda frameworks of the Cold War; the public sought explanations, which were initially often served as a consequence - to use the concepts of Maria Todorova - of irrational and old ethnic tensions in the Balkans.[18] It was also a period when the power of television reporting and the impact of horrific images of war destruction and civilian suffering on the public and on foreign governments were further understood, which made journalists realize once again that they were not just silent observers but also bore a great responsibility.[19]

17 Slavko Gajević, *War Reporting and Justice* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019)

18 Karoline von Oppen, "Reporting from Bosnia: Reconceptualizing the Notion of a 'Journalism of Attachment'", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 17:1 (2009), 21-33.

19 Here we refer to the well-known *CNN effect* of the media, according to which television coverage of horrific scenes of war suffering can lead to certain diplomatic moves by foreign governments and even to military interventions, as well as greater humanitarian aid. In his article "The Journalism of Attachment", Martin Bell, in order to honour his media organization, called this phenomenon the *BBC effect*. Martin Bell, "The Journalism of Attachment", in: *Media Ethics*, edited by Matthew Kieran, (Routledge, 1998).

Media organizations debated ethical dilemmas and sometimes circumvented their own editorial guidelines and published, for example, horrific images of the suffering of civilians and children with the aim of shining a light on what was happening, but also with the aim of calling for military intervention - which "objective" journalism, in order not to be understood as activist, until then had not allowed.[20]

That this war brought new paradigms in journalism is also shown by the radical change in the approach of the BBC's eminent war reporter Martin Bell, who until then had strictly adhered to the postulates of the English BBC school of journalism. In an article entitled *The Journalism of Attachment*, which was published in 1998, he said that it was a tradition of "distance and detachment", which he had considered objective and necessary until the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[21] While reporting from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bell rejected the BBC's previous approach of "**bystander journalism**" and began to apply an approach he called a "**journalism of attachment**". For him, it was a journalism that "cares as well as knows, that is aware of its responsibilities, that will not stand neutrally between good and evil, right and wrong, the victim and the oppressor".[22] Bystander journalism, as Bell wrote, was about the circumstances of a war, military formations, tactics, strategies and weapons, and less about the people who had led the country to war, who were waging it, and the people who were suffering because of it.

The concept of a journalism of attachment has encountered many objections, especially because its critics believed that it simplified the complex circumstances of war, divided its participants into good and bad and the world into black and white, and even led to the total demonization of citizens whose leaders were guilty of war. This concept, nevertheless, shook the previous understanding of the role of journalists in conflict and brought a new perspective on journalism, but also reminded us that journalism could not be only, as Bell described it, a "mechanical enterprise" or - to clarify Bell's concept - mechanical or professional reporting devoid of any feelings, empathy or moral

20 An example is a published photograph of the death of the boy Nermin Divović in Sniper's Alley in 1994 in Sarajevo, taken by photographer Enric Marti. At the exhibition *Sniper's Alley*, which opened at the History Museum in Sarajevo in 2021, it was explained how ethical dilemmas were debated on whether to publish the explicit photograph of the child's death due to the possible disturbing effect on the audience, but also due to consideration for the dignity of the child and his family. The photograph, as stated in the caption, had a big impact on the public regarding the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

21 Martin Bell, "The Journalism of Attachment", in: *Media Ethics*, edited by Matthew Kieran (Routledge, 1998). Also see Bell's article from 1997. "The Truth is Our Currency".

22 Ibid.

responsibility. Journalism, Bell claims, is a "**moral enterprise**", it operates on "morally dangerous ground", and journalists, guided by the highest ethical principles, must distinguish between good and evil.[23]

Ethnical principles of journalism

Various codes of journalism around the world lay down the basic postulates of journalism as a profession and of professional and ethical journalism. The 1954 Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists, the most accepted document on journalism ethics to date, which was updated in 1986 and 2019, states that the first duty of the journalist is respect for truth and for the right of the public to truth.[24] Codes of Journalism in various countries and professional, mostly Anglo-Saxon, literature further elaborate some of the basic postulates of journalism, laying out the duties of journalists to work in the public interest, publish accurate, objective, impartial and timely information, and present the opinions and positions of all parties to a dispute.[25] These postulates are clear and based on common sense, but in certain circumstances they become complex and difficult to implement, which brings journalists to ethical dilemmas in which they resort to truth and the public interest as the guiding principles that transcend all others.

Impartiality, objectivity, accuracy and neutrality are concepts that are found in most codes, media analyses and discussions, but they lack universal definitions and differ depending on the period, school of journalism, and even the practitioners - journalists on the ground - themselves.

Objectivity - the most commonly used concept - arose from the scientific search for truth and the understanding that the truth could change depending on the position of the observer,[26] that is, depending on which side of the war the journalist was reporting from. It often comes or is used in conjunction with concepts such as impartiality, neutrality, accuracy, fairness, truthfulness, commitment to truth, balance. In order for a journalist to present a conflict in an "objective" and balanced way, they must report from both sides and show the whole picture.

23 Ibid.

24 Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists. https://research.tuni.fi/ethicnet/country/ifj-declaration-of-principles-on-the-conduct-of-journalists/

25 See, for example, Press and Online Media Code of BiH.

26 Bob Franklin et al, *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies* (Sage Publications, 2005)

The American journalist Walter Cronkite defined objectivity as "the reporting of reality, of facts, as nearly as they can be obtained without the injection of prejudice and personal opinion".[27] Media theorist Brian McNair lays out **three basic characteristics of objective journalism**:

- separating fact from opinion;
- balanced reporting on a debate; and
- use of credible and relevant sources.[28]

In wars, these three characteristics of journalism become unattainable, because:

- the facts or, rather, war disinformation and propaganda, are often a reflection of the opinion of one warring faction and serve as propaganda;
- balanced reporting on a conflict in which one side is the aggressor and the other the victim is morally unacceptable;
- credible or official sources are the governments and political elites that are waging the war.

Balanced reporting on a conflict poses the biggest dilemmas. Aidan White, a British journalist who founded the *Ethical Journalism Network*, believes that the concept of objective journalism is outdated and advocates an approach that is more just and humane. According to the *Ethical Journalism Network*, journalists are not required to present every side to a story, but their pieces must have balance and context. According to these principles, **objectivity is not always possible** and is not even desirable in the face of brutality or inhumanity, as, for example, in cases of atrocious war crimes. As the core principles of ethical journalism, the network advocates:

- truth and accuracy,
- independence,
- fairness and impartiality,
- humanity, and
- accountability.

Journalists cannot always guarantee "truth", but they can give the facts and strive for accuracy. They must be humane, which is often forgotten, because **humanity** is in the tradition of journalism, a profession that in its core is on the side of the weak.[29] Like watchdogs that bark to warn the household that

27 Steven Maras, *Objectivity in Journalism. Key Concepts in Journalism* (Policy Press, 2013).
28 Brian McNair, *The Sociology of Journalism* (London: Arnold, 1998)
29 See *Ethical Journalism Network* website. https://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/

danger is approaching, journalists should side with citizens, not with governments. In wars and conflicts, they should side with victims, citizens and civilians, not with aggressors, attackers and war criminals. "Siding" goes against some of the basic ethical principles of journalism, but it is a moral duty and obligation. Basically, pointing the finger at criminals is a part of objectivity, because it requires journalists to call things by their real name.

Objectivity and the journalism of attachment

War reporter Jeremy Bowen, who remained faithful to the BBC school of journalism, rejected objectivity, as a misnomer, because, as he said in his interview with *Mediacentar*, "everybody looks at the world through a certain prism, and that prism is shaped by your experiences, by your education, by what your parents said to you." The postulate advocated by the BBC school of journalism, as Bowen says, is the **principle of impartiality**, which he explained by the practice of journalists having to put aside their own views and be open-minded.

"And you try and realize that you have to be fair, you have to be honest, you have to try and talk to all sides, but it doesn't mean that you say, you know, on the one hand and on the other hand and the truth is in the middle. The truth is not in the middle. The truth might be on that side," said Bowen.

Martin Bell, long-time practitioner of the BBC school of journalism, questioned the concept of objectivity, which, after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he says seemed to him "something of an illusion and a shibboleth".[30] When he was reporting from war zones, he always tried to do it in a fair and impartial way, with, as he explains, "a scrupulous attention to the facts", but he did it using his eyes, ears, mind and store of experience, which he says are the essence of the subjective.

War reporter Ed Vulliamy also used his eyes, ears, mind and store of experience - and his common sense - to realize that what was happening in the camps near Prijedor were not the "facts" that Karadžić's forces were trying to "plant". Frightened eyes, thin bodies, carefully guarded pieces of bread in pockets, gave away something much more terrifying. In his interview with *Mediacentar*, Vulliamy rejected the principle of neutrality, which dictates that

30 Martin Bell, "The Journalism of Attachment". See also Bell's article from 1997, "The Truth is Our Currency".

"I see an equation of some kind between the women who had been violated every night in the camp of Omarska and the beasts who were doing it. And I am not neutral between the camp guard in Omarska and the innocent inmate who was being mutilated and tortured and beaten to death. No."

War reporter Christiane Amanpour practiced Bell's model of journalism of attachment and looked at objectivity in a different way. "I have come to believe that objectivity means giving all sides a fair hearing, but not treating all sides equally. Once you treat all sides the same in a case such as Bosnia, you are drawing a moral equivalence between victim and aggressor. And from here it is a short step to being neutral. And from here it's an even shorter step to becoming an accessory to all manners of evil."[31]

Whether they follow the model of journalism of attachment or not, these war reporters are referring to the same thing - to strive for truth, which, as Bowen says, may not be in the middle between two warring factions but on the side of one of them. What distinguishes the journalism of attachment - as practiced by Ed Vulliamy, Maggie O'Kane, Jonathan Steele, Roy Gutman and Christiane Amanpour - and the BBC's approach to journalism is the **call to action**, to intervention. Journalists, as Martin Bell tried to frame theoretically, are not just silent observers - they point the finger at those who are committing evil and are aware of their role and the impact of their reporting. Bell wrote in an article in 1998 that he had never openly called for intervention, not because he did not want to, but because he did not need to, since the television images of the destruction of war were doing it for him. Thus, he said, he was a founding member of the *Something Must Be Done Club* and he found the company he kept there more honourable and easier to live with than those who associated with the opposite faction, the *Nothing Can Be Done Club.* He explained his actions by saying that there was a time for journalists to be passionate and a time to be dispassionate, and that he would not report the slaying of innocent people in the same tone and manner that he would use for reports on parliament debates. There is a tone and manner for everything.

31 Bob Franklin et al., *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies*.

Criticism of the journalism of attachment

Bell's concept of journalism of attachment has come under a lot of criticism, primarily because it has been seen as a call to journalists to take sides and appeal for action. BBC reporter David Loyn described such journalism as the frustration of reporters whose reports were being ignored, leading some journalists to take sides and condemn the Serbs.[32]

Media theorist Stephan J. Ward criticized Bell's approach, not because it was wrong but because he believes that Bell misinterpreted the concept of objectivity. Ward wrote a critique of Bell and said that neutrality does not require journalists to be cold and restrained creatures but to accurately present the facts, based on reliable and diverse sources, expert opinions, documentation, accurate quotations and fair presentation of the main positions and views on a subject. In the case of genocide, an example that Bell repeatedly mentions, objective journalists can write against such evil based on good reasons and facts, Ward said.[33]

Critics of this approach did not agree with the reduction of the conflict to a **battle between good and evil**, the role of judge that journalists thus assumed, and the encouragement of journalists to consider themselves righteous, and moralizers. They also criticized the view that journalists should call for action - which some believe is a part of advocacy journalism - where calls could often be reduced to presenting the West as the saviour of the "uncivilized world".[34] Critics also looked at the impact that such reporting could have on the public and particularly pointed out that the divisions created by foreign journalists while reporting from BiH, divisions into the good and the bad, led to public demonization of Serbs.[35]

It is important to note that, in reaction to dominant reporting practices in the 1990s, **peace journalism** appeared, which opposes the media's black and white presentation of the conflict, with a good side and a bad side. Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, in their book *Peace Journalism* (2005), write that this type of journalism contrasts with war journalism in which reporting

32 Karoline von Oppen, "Reporting from Bosnia: Reconceptualizing the Notion of a 'Journalism of Attachment'".
33 Stephen J. Ward, "An Answer to Martin Bell: Objectivity and Attachment in Journalism", *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* (3, 1998), 121-25.
34 Bob Franklin et al., *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies*.
35 Karoline von Oppen, "Reporting from Bosnia: Reconceptualizing the Notion of a 'Journalism of Attachment'", 21-33.

occurs on an *us-versus-them* level, which demonizes one group, spreads propaganda, is oriented toward victory, and focuses only on the visible consequences of violence. Peace journalism takes into account the complexity of the conflict, approaches the conflict with empathy, "humanizes" the other side, gives a voice to ordinary people and avoids reducing the conflict to two sides and one winner. An element of this journalism is avoiding words that demonize one side.[36]

Although this theory of journalism seems comprehensive, especially because it takes into account the impact that media reports will have on the audience as well as on the continuation of the conflict, reconciliation processes and facing the past, it is nevertheless difficult to adhere to these principles in the face of atrocious crimes. Peace journalism, which contains elements of constructive journalism, was developed by theorists who considered how journalism could contribute to overcoming conflicts, which can be the case when it comes to political conflicts, divided war memories and processes of facing the past.

The journalism of attachment came from journalists on the ground who witnessed horrific war crimes and genocide. In those moments, all they could do - what their moral duty required them to do - was to understand what was happening with their eyes and ears and with common sense, to inform the public and - however unacceptable it seemed to journalism theorists - to call for action. Their moral and journalistic duty dictated that they call things by their right name, point out the perpetrators and, through their reporting, try to urge the action of those countries that could do something to make the war and suffering stop.

Maybe in certain areas they fell into the trap of simplification and the presentation of a black and white world, but in the circumstances of horrific crimes, the need to understand the other side of the story sounds like justification. In situations of horrific war crimes and civilian suffering, all theories and concepts of journalism fall through and what journalists are left with is moral duty and common sense.

36 Center for Global Peace Journalism.

MS. EDGERTON:

Q. Mr. Bell, I have a couple of questions about this report, and first I'd like to refer back to the scene where someone fetching water was wounded by sniper fire. Was this a situation where someone was, as you've alluded to before, caught in the cross-fire?

A. No. The man who was -- who was wounded had clearly been targeted. We could have gone anywhere in the city that day. We just chose this particular example, and we -- and we stayed there. And I have to confess that after all these years, I still find that report quite painful to watch.

One effect was that I was subsequently accused by elements in the British Government of being, I think it was called, a founder member of the "something must be done" club; that is, that the images, themselves, called for international intervention.

Q. In terms of the situation for civilians in the city, as you observed it over the course of time, do you find this report of yours to be an accurate depiction?

A. Yes, I'm confident that it is accurate and truthful. There was no fiddling with the soundtracks. You can see the woman wincing when she hears the sniper fire. There was -- this was the worst winter of the war, the winter of 1992 to 1993, and I think that report conveys an accurate picture of the suffering inflicted on innocent people.

Section of trial transcript of Bell's testimony in case Karadzic (IT-95-5/18), 14/12/2010.

7

RAT

SLOBODNA BOSNA

TRAGOM ZLOČINA

Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram

Zašto se nedavna dešavanja u Bijeljini tako brižljivo kriju, pa u ovaj pitomi gradić nije dopušten ulaz nijednoj redakciji izuzev probranih beogradskih? Čak su i evropski posmatrači otjerani. Naš reporter je, vjerovatno riskujući pritom i svoj život, ipak uspio da se ilegalno ubaci u Bijeljinu sa jednom državnom delegacijom bh. Predsjedništva. Tamo je sreo uplašene ljude koji najviše od svega samo žele da — pobjegnu.

Bijeljina je za javnost zatvoren grad. Već na izlazu iz opštine [illegible] nezvane goste dočekuje [illegible] šleper i nekoliko automobila. U delegaciji sa kojom pokušavam proći uz vojnu pratnju su dr Biljana Plavšić, Fikret Abdić i general Jugoslavenske narodne armije Milutin Kukanjac. Naoružani Srbi već tu ekipu TV Sarajevo i evropske posmatrače što ne obećava na dobro. Uz put, posmatram kordon naoružanih srpskih teritorijalaca koje je Arkan sve stavio pod svoju komandu i označio bijelom trakom na rukavima. Obavezan folklor: uzdignuta tri prsta i dozla boga neuplašenih ljudi. Prolazimo kroz Ugljevik, [illegible] naoružani srpski teritorijalci.

Na ulazinu u Bijeljinu jedan se od njihovih slika koje vidim. Na velikoj kući su zatvoreni prozori, [illegible] zavjese ili roletne. Sretnem jedan užasnuti i radoznali pogled žene koji nikad neću zaboraviti.

Osluškujemo bijeljinsku radio i saznajemo razgovijetno da je taj dan [illegible] komunalnih radnika pronašla i deponiji 25 leševa. Kasnije mi to će govori borać sa trakom oko ruke i izgleda mi kao da je zbog [illegible] ga pomosan. Dodaje kako ima još [illegible] koje komunalci trebaju pokupiti. Jedan od beogradskih novinara, mojim dobrim prijateljem, kaže i da su gradske ulice kojim čemo i kretati «počišćeni» prije dolaska [illegible] omirovne misije.

Već na samom prolasku kroz [illegible] primjećujem opet prizor od [illegible] se ledi krv u žilama: na vrhu [illegible] vijori se srpska zastava. [illegible] je dan Bajrama, najvećeg muslimanskog praznika. Kasnije [illegible] da su i na drugu džamiju [illegible] srpsku zastavu. U kratkim [illegible] razgovorima sa bijeljinskim Muslimanima, koji su skupili [illegible] strpost da izađu pred Fikreta Abdića, saznajem kako je džamija opljačkana. Abdić je pokušao da uđe u džamiju, koja se nalazi preko puta [illegible] bivšeg komunističkog partijca. Zaustavili su ga naoružani ljudi i «obavijestili» mu da je u blizini snajperist. Abdić, zapucalo se iz nekoliko oružja i režiše je bila potpuna.

Obruč oko izbjeglica

U kasarni je Fikret Abdić razgovarao se generalom Jankovićem i drugim oficirima. Ulisak u [illegible] oficirima je da se radi o izgubljenim ljudima, koji ne znaju šta bi [illegible] i kome uopšte mogli reći. [illegible] pokušavaju, gotovo šapatom, ali na pola rečenice uglavnom [illegible]. Mučnu atmosferu tek poneki prekida g. Abdić svojim pitanja. Uzaludi. Oficiri djeluju kao [illegible] ko se zbio u svoje kasarne [illegible] što se dešava u svetinjom gradu, koji je valjda njihov.

«Mi smo učinili koliko možemo. Imali smo ove ljude i nahranili ih, govori general Sevo Janković o izbjeglicama u svom logoru. Ljudi su ovdje smiješteni, njih [illegible] 300, ali ih je daleko više u [illegible], negdje oko 1.500. Ovo je sa i Srbi i Muslimani, s Patkom [illegible] su sve Muslimani.

«Želim ih sve vidjeti», govori Abdić. Ubrzo nakon toga među oficirima se osjeti oppiljiv strah. Jedan od njih, pukovnik, tvrdi kako [illegible] obavještava da je moguć napad na kasarnu. Nesposobni i nenaoružani, nisu u stanju ni misliti kako [illegible] (nameće se pitanje: šta se to [illegible] Napokon, posilje svog [illegible] tjeskla, pukovnik poziva i generala Jankovića koji se nevoljko [illegible] vraća i obraća Abdiću. [illegible] hitno u zgradu opštine, [illegible] je gospođa Biljana Plavšić. Tamo ćete imati neskalive razgovore sa Arkanom»...

...dioran popričati sa izbjeglicama, uzalud sam dolazio ako ne [illegible] sa njima», govori Abdić.

Ponovo tražim pukovnik, koji je [illegible] komandant kasarne i [illegible] oditio, «priprema» izbjeglice za [illegible] susret sa Abdićem.

Na izlasku se susrećemo sa izbjeglicama. Oko nas se stežu obruč naoružanih. Ljudi plaču i uzdišu. Potpuno izgubljeni ljudi se zahvaljuju Armiji na tome što ih je primila i ugostila. Nekad su izdvajali pare za tu Armiju i konzervu koju im je ovih dana pružila. Abdić upućuje pitanja, pokušava nešto doznati. Zbijeni smo u gomilu ljudi, i žena i djece koji plaču i uzdišu. Ne vjerujem svojim očima. Jednoj od žena upućujem tiho pitanje da mi bilo šta kaže. Ne vjeruje i dok govorim da sam tu da saznam istinu. Upućuje mi tužan pogled nevjerice a onda govori o klanju i teroru, o uništavanju Muslimana.

Napolje, bre!

Na tome da su dva brata Komšića zakiana završava priču.

Fikreta. Abdića zatim prosto odgurnuju od gomile i dalje idemo prema opštini. Na vratima sale gdje će se održati sastanak stoji lično Arkan i vrača nepoželjne, među kojima sam i ja. Sjedam među ljude koji pjevaju veliku vojskovođi Arkanu. Pijemo tu rakiju bršljanu dva sata. Sa mnom i Velibor Golubović, dopisnik Radio Sarajeva. Čuje ste izvještaje o «oslobođenju» Arkanu, slušali na Radiju. Arkan ima dva čovjeka uz sebe. On sebe naziva generalom, iako, kažu, ima tek oko 300-400 boraca na raspolaganju i svoja dva majora Mauzera i Šucu. Bijeljinu, sada pita sa strahom: **«Hoćeš li reći svojima da me ne ubiju»...** Nakon skupa, na kome se vjerovatno nije imalo šta čuti, idemo u kuće da gosti porazgovaraju sa narodom. Kuće su, međutim, čutljive i ljudi sakriveni u podrumima. Arkan kuca na vrata stana na kome stoji natpis **Gruhonjić. Nema glasa ni bilo kakvog šuma.**

ŽRTVE

U bijeljinskom pokolju stradale su čitave porodice. Domaći čelnici su klali, smirujući neku svoju mržnju za koju se ne može znati odakle potiče i sa kakvim razlogom je izbila. Sve ovo urađili su primitivci iz okolne grada koji je uvijek bio kulturna čaršija. Njihove žrtve najviše o njima govore, govorio i o dr Biljani Plavšić koja je javno tvrdila da je stradalo daleko više Srba nego Muslimana. **Mustafa i njegovi sinovi Rašid i Ado Komšić, Rezdžep Šabanović, Admir Šabanović, Tifa (biv Razija) Šabanović, Nermina Biberović, Biserа Biberović, Mirsada Biberović, Bejtula Pajaziti, Abdiramin Pajazitij, Hamdjeta Pajazit, zatim Saška Nergović, Alija Mujkić, Edet Beganović, Ajruk Zibert, Maid Šinanović, Husein Dizdarević, Sead Krajinović, Ivica Vrhovac, Ibrahim Bašić, Zvonka Lazarević, Husein Gelo, Damir Danović, Hasan Imširović, Antonija Ostojić, Feriz Karaatijić, Sabit Arifović, Dževad Osmanović, Dževad Jakarević, Mersim Elmazi, Almir Bekić, Bego Šinđić, Majda Idić, Hase Bemlić, Muhamed Mulahdić i jedno lice koje je neidentifikovano.**

Sve žrtve trebale su biti sahranjene napredno i bez ikakvog vjerskog obreda, a nema nikakvih vijesti da je taj obred obavljen. Prema saznanjima žrtve su devastoznuto veće i čuvaju se u tajnosti. Sahranjene su prije toga **Milo Lukić, Mirjana Ilić, Mićo Bokić i Radmila Novaković.**

Midhat Ajanović - CRTA

NEZABORAVNI VUKOVAR

U gradu nema puno tragova užitnih borbi. Dr Biljana Plavšić je i zato pohvalila Arkana. Slomljena su stakla na autobuskoj stanici i na Rožnoj kući u davno pripremljenu zamku i po gradu postavili barikade. Oko tri stotine naoružanih mladića dobilo je u sukob se oko 8.000 naoružanih srpskih ekstremista. Toliko nadmoćni borci generala Arkana muslimanske čelnici su ocvjaći tako što bi upućeno muslimanskoj stanovništvu gurali ispred sebe i nedirali iza njih. General Arkan je očito koristio neka iskustva iz rata u Hrvatskoj.

«Jeste li bili u Vukovaru,» upitao je Arkan gospođine Fikreta Abdića i kad je dobio negativan odgovor, dodao samozadovoljno? To je nešto nezaboravno»...

«Da li je predato naoružanje kao što je traženo», pitam Arkana. «Jedna četvrtina, jedna petina, jedna trećina», odgovara nevaznano. Napokon, ponovo ulazimo u jednu od zgrada gdje je većinom srpsko stanovništvo. Pokazuju nam ljes u kome leži starica sa imenom Mirjana Ilić. Pogmula je od zalutalog metka u svojoj kući. Ne mogu da je sahranе i već četiri dana i noći leš je u najpoznatijem praznom stanu kuće. Izlazi čovjek sa dijetetom u naručju. Muslimanje. Žena Hrvatica. Njegov sinčić u naručju zove se Mirza. «Samo da ovo prestane», govori uspanično, a onda poluplačnim glasom dodaje: «Neka bude bilo šta, neka bude i Srbije, živjećemo bilo gdje, samo da mi djeca žive».

Iza Arkana nema ranjenika

U Bolnici nam pokazuju ranjene. Među njima i desetak ljudi koji su stradali od bombe bačene u kafanu «Istanbul». Sve Muslimani i dva Gorana, Davidović i Vasiljević. Pitam doktora je li bilo ranjenih u uličnim borbama? Pitam ljude okolo ima li ko ranjen, nisu valjda svi smrtno stradali? Čudno me gledaju i kolona nastavlja obilazak. Uz mene prilaze osoba koja želi odgovoriti na moje pitanje i šapuće mi (pokušavam u očaju što ne smijem snimati sve zapamtiti): **«Niko nije ostavljen od ranjenih. Kako će poštedjeti njih kad su kleli nevine ljude samo zato što su Muslimani. U Ulici Fadila Jahića Spance ubijen je i Milo Lukić, brat narodnog heroja Veljka Lukića — Kurjake. Četnici su ubili još dvoje Srba i ne znam ko su. Ubijena je Hrvatica Antonija Krajnović i njen rođak koga su prvo natjerali da se skine da vide je li Musliman. Prema Janji, nastavlja uplašeno lice, u Ulici JNA, zaklali su vlasnika mesnice Rađeđa Šabanovića, njegovu ženu i sina su ubili mučki. Stradala je i čitava porodice Alisanac iz tog kvarta Abdulah (prezime nisam upamtio), njegova žena, te mladići iz porodice Gorup i Bekto. Tu je ubijen i Dževad Osmanović pošto je pokušao da bježi»...**

Koračam za kolonom i sad mi postaje jasnija muka ljudi koji zatvoreni u podrumima čekaju dalju sudbinu. Imaju li djece? Plaču li noću tamo dole u mraku? Koliko će još održati tamo? Pitam se šta mi se ovo događa. Je li ovo košmar iz kog se trebam uskoro probuditi? Šta je ovo? I onda odskočim od ulice, jer stao sam na sasušenu lokvu krvi. Ulice nisu baš najbolje oprane...

Ispred mene razgovaraju Arkanovci: **«Samo ne u džamiju, ovi domaći četnici sve su pokrali, prvi dan, mamu im njihovu, prvi, bre, dan». «A tek će gospoda više onu bogomolju iza parka, kakvo bi to bilo ugodno iznenađenje»,** govori drugi o džamiji gdje, govori se, ima mnogo mrtvih...»

Prolazimo pored protivavionskog topa sivomaslinaste boje. Ispred i iza mene kolonu pozdravljaju ljudi koji na rukavima imaju znak na kome piše «TIGROVI» i «Srpska dobrovoljačka garda». Na kućama i stabima očijoi od metka.

Izlaz iz pakla

Fikret Abdić odlazi u Radio-Bijeljinu da razgovara sa slušaocima Muslimanima kod kojih nije mogao ući. Uključujem tranzistor i slušam. Čelavi, a bradati novinar Petar Simić više se prepire nego što razgovara sa Abdićem i svaki čas napadck izvještegovića. Slušaoci povu i dok Fikret Abdić razgovara sa njima, upućujući im riječi nade, na trom tranzistoru čuje se samo muzika. Jednostavno, profesionalac. Peter Simić se nevoljkom se sa Muslimanima javno oglasi. I tu je jasno da Bijeljina knje svoje zločine. Srbi iz Bijeljine, naravno oni gradski, sakrivali su svoje prijatelje i komšije Muslimane. Pred opštinom mi to govori žena koja je došla i rizikovala život da kaže ono što zna. Otkrva mi je i stariac Milo Lukić, brat narodnog heroja, ubijen jer je kriо Muslimane u svojoj kući. Isto se dogodilo nekolicini Srba koji su ubijeni, a da nisu željeli otkriti svoje komšije i prijatelje druge nacije. U tom trenutku žele je pomenula YUTEL **«Oni će doći ubrzo,** rekla je ta kao da govori neku formulu za spas Bijeljine. **«Zvali smo ih i molili samo da nam se naprave izlaz iz ovog pakla. Neka nam se otvori nekakav prolaz da izađemo. Sve čemo ostaviti. Što im ave — i kuće i stanove, eto im sve što smo mukom sticali čitavog života, avdje u gradu više nema mjesta za nas».**

Pokazala mi je na sumaruotog čovjeka koji besciljno hoda okolo po gradu. Zove se Jusuf Danović. Čitavu porodicu su mu zaklali. Dok je govorila izgubio sam se i imena. Koliko ima mrtvih ljudi po kućama, zaklanih.

Pojavljuje se i **vladika Kačavenda.** Jesam li dobro osjetio, ali učinio mi se da je taj čovjek požalio da što prije napusti ovaj pakao. Nekad na ovim stranicama demantuje ekonomski pravu. U drugom slučaju neka je i njemu Bog dragi na pomoći iz zgrade opštine, izašao je odmeknuo i **Goran Hadžić,** samozvani šef SAO Slavonije. Kažu mi da **se dogovoravo oko Arkanovog napada na Bosanski Brod»...**

Slušao sam Armiju u kojoj je desetar imao više autoriteta nego ti ova dva slomljena čovjeka sa čijom generala.

Pojavljuje se i **doktor Kličanović,** koji protestuje zbog pljačkanja muslimanskih kuća. **«To se ne smije više dogoditi, preklinite se tim»,** obraća se čovjeku u sivkastom odijelu koji, očigledno, radi u srpskom Kriznom štabu. Govori i nešto nevezano o muslimanju jednog djeteta.

Gđa Plavšić, u međuvremenu daje intervju za **«Ekspres politiku»** i zahvaljuje se Arkanu na intervenciji. Ljubi ga na odlasku. Nije mogla, pomišljam, da nije ništa vidjela? Nije ništa čula? Ni u šta nije posumnjala?

Sejo OMERAGIĆ

10. apri 1992 god.

Newspaper article published in *Slobodna Bosna* by Sead Omeragic, dated 10 April 1992
(Exhibit P564, case Milosevic IT-02-54. ICTY Court Records, 16/10/2003)

EXPERIENCES FROM THE COURTROOM

Elvira Jukić-Mujkić

After documenting the killings, destruction and other crimes in the wars that accompanied the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 90s, dozens of journalists gave their contribution to punishing those who issued orders and the perpetrators by testifying in trials in The Hague. In a series of court processes lasting more than two decades, what journalists saw and the way they understood the events they witnessed were an important part of establishing the facts about the committed war crimes, including genocide. In addition to validating the details of their war reports, many of them had to defend their profession, and some of the world's top journalists felt like they were on some sort of trial - both for themselves and for journalism.

Some journalists welcomed and immediately accepted the requests to testify in The Hague. Others saw in these requests the danger of being used and deceived, some felt it was a chance to finally tell everything they had seen, and some saw it as another professional duty for which they needed old war notebooks to remind themselves of the time and events they had written down.

"You're going over all your notebooks, you're being invited to remember things that aren't in your notebooks. A court case is, as the saying goes in English, *the whole is greater than the sum of its parts*, I mean it all has to add up to a case. So, there was the sort of technical, legal prep with the lawyers, with the prosecutors, but there was also the kind of, the psychological preparation," explains Ed Vulliamy, adding that part of the *preparation* was a reunion in the hotel with other witnesses, whom he had last seen as prisoners in camps during the war.

For his colleague, French journalist Florence Hartmann, coming to testify was not the result of an initiative by the prosecution or the defense, but her own suggestion. In her position as spokeswoman for the Prosecutor's Office, she followed the trials in detail, including the trial of former JNA officer Veselin Šljivančanin for war crimes in Vukovar.

"In my case, it was important for each answer to be as short as possible, because each additional sentence creates room for the other side to doubt what you are saying. So I was told that I should restrain myself, say what I have to say and not go around it," says Hartmann. "A witness comes for one small matter, everyone has their own role, so that the whole story can be reconstructed. Everyone needs to establish one particular matter and not go any further."

Slavoljub Kačarević, an editor in the early 1990s based in Belgrade, interviewed Šljivančanin in 1991, which was the reason for the request for him to testify in The Hague, which he accepted. He says that in the meantime he was "thinking about what I am doing there and what I will testify about, and that something will trick me, they will use me somehow. So I had no illusions about the court, I simply had no trust." He states that he did not think about the reactions in Belgrade as much as about how the accused, who had been in prison for a long time, would react.

"Since I knew Šljivančanin particularly - after that interview we got to know each other and saw each other often - and that captain Radić too - not so often - but I knew these people, I simply thought about how they would react and I came to the conclusion that, since we knew each other, they wouldn't expect anything bad from me and so why not?" says Kačarević, who prepared by reading his previously published articles. "I read them several times, constantly wondering what was expected of me there, why the prosecution, the prosecutor, put me on the list. What do they need me for? And I kept thinking that they had found something in those articles that I didn't see."

Going to The Hague and preparing for trial

After talking with the investigators, accepting the request to testify and organizing the trip to The Hague, the journalists explained that they had similar experiences with what happened between landing at the airport and the moment they sat in the witness stand. Upon arrival in the Netherlands, most say they were met at the airport by a person who had a visible code word displayed on a board, whom they would meet and who would take them to a hotel in The Hague, where they would check in anonymously or at least not under their own name. Before the trial in which they were scheduled to appear, they would be driven to the courthouse and escorted by security to the premises in front of the courtroom.

When he got to the hotel, former British *Sunday Times* reporter Andrew Hogg remembers he had some free time and decided to go look around The Hague. He called a cab and the driver, whom he quickly found out was a Croat, just looked at him and asked if he was witness. "And I thought, so much for all this clandestine stuff."

BBC reporter Jacky Rowland got the impression that there was generally not an enormous amount of support available for witnesses, but she recalls that they did offer her some kind of physical protection if she felt that she needed it. As she was in London at the time, she felt she did not need an escort, but when she went to Belgrade, it was not the same case: "We all know what had been going on in Belgrade. I mean, we were talking about people like Zoran Đinđić. Obviously, I wasn't a politician or any public figure like that in Belgrade, but it was a time of instability and unpredictability and there were assassinations going on in public life. And there were other journalists. You know, Dejan Anastasijević, he had a grenade or something chucked in his, through his window and he had to move to Brussels. Our late colleague. I felt that I needed to be cautious."

In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo* BBC journalist Jeremy Bowen recalled the protocol, where they would meet him and put him in a hotel, and then before testifying they would prepare him by taking him through the evidence to remind him of the details.

"I was in the witness programme, so when you arrive at the airport they meet you airside, take your passport, take you through, protect your identity and bring you in. And for a journalist, that's not a problem, it's sort of slightly

amusing. But clearly, if you come from a village in, I don't know, if you've been ethnically cleansed, if you come from Srebrenica, if you're a survivor of genocide, then it was a much bigger deal," says Bowen.

The events at the beginning of the war in Vukovar were a traumatic experience for radio announcer Zvezdana Polovina, in which her husband was killed and she was expelled. When they called her a decade later from The Hague to notify her of the possibility of testifying, it was a traumatic call for her, because they asked her if she wanted to be a protected witness, if she wanted her face seen or voice distorted. She describes the very journey to the Netherlands as distressing, because she was not sure what could happen to her, she was traveling alone, she was fearful and she had doubts about what to say. And then she decided: "What I know, I will answer, what I don't know - I don't know, if I don't remember something - I don't remember, I'll just tell them that."

Before going to the trial as a witness, Martin Bell was invited by the accused Radovan Karadžić to his cell to talk. Driven by curiosity, he agreed, despite the prosecution team's opposition. He describes the meeting with Karadžić as cordial, in which they did not discuss the testimony at all, and Bell thanked him for being so helpful when he was a young reporter when the war broke out.

"He was always the most open with us. He felt that he had a case to make to the world and we were the means of making it. And it was only when he felt that the world had turned against him, this was August '94, that he cut us off completely, and we were never allowed to go to Pale again until the end of the war," says Bell.

He says he found testifying challenging, first of all because of the gravity of the offenses and the penalties that were being sought by the prosecution. In addition, he points out that the testimony took place many years after the events he was supposed to talk about, but he was able to rely on his personal memories, his notebooks and TV reports from that time.

Entering the courtroom

The journalists' confrontation with the accused caused different reactions: some of the accused smiled, others questioned them themselves, and some tried to discredit them.

"I think I watched Hadžihasanović sort of settle back like this, with a half-smile on his lips. I don't think I'd ever met him before, but I think he was just intrigued by this, by the fact that the journalist was giving evidence," recalls Hogg, who was asked to confirm that he had interviewed Abdel Aziz, the Mujahideen leader in BiH, with a pass obtained from the Army of RBiH. "The second trial with Delić was slightly different in that I was asked a couple of strange questions about the ideology of the Mujahideen, of which I'm by no means an expert."

Bowen describes testifying as quite a precise operation, without really much room for emotion. The precise questions and the transcribing required a lot of concentration and at the end of the day fatigue set in.

"Some of these trials, I think in the Karadžić trial, I was in the witness stand for two days or something and Karadžić was questioning me and he tried to discredit me. He brought up things from the Middle East, he did all sorts of things, but I expected that from him. And I think I dealt with it."

The defense also tried to discredit Bowen in the case of *Prlić et al.*, when Slobodan Praljak's attorney questioned him about the credibility and veracity of a war report. Bowen's report described how "Croatian propaganda" could be heard from the loudspeaker in Mostar every day, and the defense attorney focused on a detail from Bowen's documentary - specifically, an audio recording that can be heard as Bowen describes what he saw and heard then. In that part of Bowen's documentary, a voice is heard over the loudspeaker explaining what the country code for Croatia is, a recording that the defense claimed was not indicative of the propaganda under discussion.

"I don't make things up. There have been all kinds of, Your Honour, allegations being made about my professionalism. I've been a journalist for a long time and I'm telling you I've been trained that you don't make things up. There was no need to make things up in East Mostar. What was happening there was extraordinarily dramatic. That's the reason why we're still talking about it 14 years later. It was very dramatic and it was all there. It was all laid out in front

of us. I did not make that up. And what's more, I stand a hundred percent behind what it was I reported there. I had no stake in telling lies about the war, I can assure you," said Bowen at the trial, after the attorney pressed him about the details of the footage he had used.

Aernout van Lynden also explained in the courtroom, in response to Karadžić's attempts to discredit him and diminish his level of professionalism, how his reports for *Sky News* were made.

"My reports were never changed by any editing in London throughout my time in Yugoslavia. I recall only one shot that was once taken out of a story, which the foreign editor decided to do, which was of blood flowing down an injured person's back, and he felt that this was too graphic and unnecessary. I protested that he should leave my stories alone, and the shot was put back in again. None of my stories were ever edited. Whether this happened to other journalists, that may be the case, but I can't comment on that. I should point out one other thing here. American television journalists have to send the written part of their stories to their offices in New York or Atlanta beforehand. British television does not do so, does not request that; therefore, the reports were mine and then sent to London and then broadcast, and none of the stories, as far as I'm aware, were changed by editors in London."

When she entered the courtroom, Zvezdana Polovina first thought that she would only look straight ahead, at the judge. "To my left sat the accused, their defense, I thought there was no way I would look at them, because I thought it would be very hard to see the people responsible for my husband's death. And not only my husband, but 264 people - 200 of them were exhumed at Ovčara, and as for the 64 people, it isn't known to this day where their graves are. However, after a while I simply forgot about my intention," she says and adds: "Mrkšić seemed very depressed, a very sad face, to me it looked either like remorse or sympathy for my testimony. Radić was quite indifferent, neutral, while Šljivančanin was laughing. Yes. His laugh caused a kind of revolt in me and I thought I must do my best to be as good as possible, just so that this man ends up in jail for as many years as possible."

The first reaction of Kosovo journalist and activist Veton Surroi to the request to testify was that it was a moment of justice for him.

"It's a process of releasing the memory of the war, of a time period that Kosovo went through, and of course that means repeating all kinds of nightmares.

But, especially in the case against Milošević, I felt pressure in the sense of the obligation to contribute as much as possible to making things known, since I thought that it wasn't only a matter of trying the person in question; it was a trial of a time period and in the end it will be an important part of history, and in that period Kosovo has something to be proud of."

"It's weird because you're in a kind of goldfish bowl," says British journalist John Sweeney. "The team wants you to have a good time, but there are limits to the conversations you can have and so you're kind of, you have a feeling of being on your own. And you want to get it right and I respect the rule of law, I believe in it."

During the Karadžić trial, *Independent* journalist Robert Block had to clarify the use of common expressions such as "bloodbath" and other similar details, which was another example of journalists' war reports being analyzed down to the smallest detail. In addition to what they reported about, journalists were questioned about their views on certain situations and events, and in some cases their interpretations of the events they witnessed were also sought.

First observations

When they describe their arrival in The Hague and the testimony itself, some of the interviewed journalists focus solely on describing the procedure, the space and the testimony room, while others recall meetings with other witnesses, camp survivors, victims' families and conversations in the common spaces of hotels.

For Grulović, coming and testifying at The Hague Tribunal represented an experience where these actions were totally part of a controlled system, and he recalled how this included hours of waiting in different rooms.

"I know that I waited for two and a half or three hours in this little room, left to myself. At first, you think, you go over everything in your mind, what to say, how to say it, here, there. However, nervousness sets in after that. In that small closed space, there is no natural air, but some kind of artificial air conditioning. Two steps to the left, two steps to the right, anxiety. I don't know if they do it on purpose to make the witnesses anxious, just that, to affect the psyche, I don't know, but I can assume they do," he told *Mediacentar Sarajevo*.

"And then, when you go in, you enter the courtroom and there is a protocol there, how to enter, who to address, how, if you should look in the direction of the accused, if you shouldn't, they tell you all that. When you go outside, when you go through this whole procedure and when you look at that building and when you know that thousands of years of prison for some people who will never see freedom are collected there, it's a strange feeling, strange. But you experience relief, because you are outside, you are looking at the sky and breathing the air. That's as a man. As a professional, at the given moment, when I was a witness, I didn't think that I was a professional at all. Should I remember a certain detail and write something about it when I go out? No. I wasn't interested in that at all. I couldn't wait to finish my testimony, to finish the protocol, get on a plane and leave."

Slavoljub Kačarević also describes a similar protocol and says that, after all the directives and instructions, who will ask what, in what order and other things, and before entering the courtroom, he had a psychiatrist at his disposal who spent the whole day with him during breaks. He recalled that she was "an English Egyptian by birth, a fantastic person, unforgettable, beautiful and smart."

"She mostly talked, asked how I was doing, some banalities (...) *what does that war look like for you*, and this and that. During my first meeting with her, I thought that she was also participating in the work of the prosecutor's office, gathering some information that they might think she could get out of me as a beautiful woman and a skilled conversationalist, right? Of course, that's not the case, but you are in a specific state of psychosis when they take you around those buildings like that. For example, entering the building of the prosecutor's office, you go through countless checks and doors. We all thought airports had tight security, but that's small potatoes compared to this. This is something unimaginable. And then endless corridors, at the end of which there are again doors with bars, with scanners and so on, by the time you get to the prosecutor you go through a maze, you wouldn't know how to go back on your own," says Kačarević.

"In that atmosphere, when you are there in that machine, which is big, scary and totally dehumanized, from the look of all that to the treatment, everyone is cordial, but in a way that just irritates," he says. "So one feels some sort of contempt. It's a kindness that's not actually that. It's just polite behavior, but... Or maybe I was in that mood."

Former editor and journalist of the Belgrade magazine *Vreme*, the late Dejan Anastasijević, also gave his contribution to establishing the truth about the crimes committed during the breakup of Yugoslavia. Because of his reporting during the wars of the 1990s and afterwards, and his willingness to testify in The Hague, he paid the price both in terms of the attitude of society and the country towards him, and also in the form of two hand grenades placed on the window of his apartment in Belgrade. The detonation of one of them caused material damage and sent a strong message to the journalist, who at the time, in 2007, was speaking and writing about killings committed by members of a Serbian special unit, the *Scorpions*.

In *The Hague Diary* published in *Vreme* in 2002, Anastasijević described his experiences with the prosecutor's "friendly" questioning, and moved on to questions that the former president of the country, Slobodan Milošević, had for him.

"I must admit that I have trepidation because Milošević must be recognized for his exceptional talent for humiliating other people. However, as time passes, my nervousness is leaving me because I notice that the accused, in line with his well-known contempt for journalists, almost did not prepare at all," wrote Anastasijević, and explained that the accused, despite that, tried to minimize "with contemptuous comments the importance of my testimony and at the end calls me a 'fifth-rate witness.'"

After his testimony in The Hague, which was watched in Serbia, the Vreme newsroom's telephone, as described by then editor Dragoljub Žarković, became heated, and apart from a few congratulations on the journalist's courage, the other calls were insults and threats and messages that "he should not return to Belgrade."

The importance of every word

As the author of the introductory article in this book well notes, foreign journalists often mention a *notebook*, while domestic journalists relied more on their memories. In some cases, it was impossible or tactless to have a notebook due to the specific situation they were in and the danger of getting hurt because of the notebook.

For BiH journalist Alija Lizde, a notebook was not an option because he spent months as a camp inmate in horrible and inhumane conditions and the only

place he could *make notes* were his memories. From his interview, you can sense how hard he "pressed the pencil" so that almost three decades later, not even the small details have faded. Zvezdana Polovina also testified based on her memories, about her experiences in the newsroom of Radio Vukovar. and also about what she survived in private.

The sanctity of the accuracy of each written word is best seen in notes such as those that were made, kept and presented to the court by Vulliamy, Bell and Hartmann, and which fit in with the abundance of other evidence, served as connective tissue, confirmed once again other evidentiary material or simply added a drop to the already developed context in which the war crimes being tried took place.

In April 1992 Sead Omeragić, at that time a journalist for *Slobodna Bosna*, posing as the bodyguard of Fikret Abdić, member of the Presidency of the RBiH, went to Bijeljina where, among others, he met with Željko Ražnatović Arkan, the never prosecuted notorious sower of death in eastern Bosnia. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Omeragić describes the various situations that preceded the meeting, which included the wit and street-wise resourcefulness that saved his life when he escaped from Trebinje to Sarajevo. With the dangers of visiting Bijeljina at that time and in such company imprinted in his mind, he returned to Sarajevo and wrote the article *Bloody Bajram in Bijeljina*, which was dissected in detail ten years later in the Hague courtroom.

"I was quite lost. When I was writing the article, it was like another man was sitting at the desk and writing the article," he recalls. "There was something in the tension, in all of that, while I was there in Bijeljina. I saw... we also visited the wounded and all kinds of things. People came up to me and said that there were a lot of them killed in some basement and all that kind of thing. The whole situation in Bijeljina is like PTSD for me," says Omeragić, adding that when he returned to the newsroom, he told the editor everything, but when he was writing the article, he could not remember very many details, so it took him several attempts to write it.

In what he describes today as a state of shock or partial amnesia due to the intensity of the feelings related to his visit to Bijeljina at the beginning of the war in BiH, he says that in the article he wrote, which was published in the paper, a few words slipped through that served as material in the Hague courtroom for discrediting him as a witness.

"And there is one sentence there that I could never have written," he explains, describing the atmosphere in the newsroom in 1992 as the article was being written, when someone brought some brandy and offered it to him as well. "I didn't like to drink and so I just took a sip and passed it on, and there is a sentence, no way could I have put it there - especially since we were there for maybe an hour, no more - it says: 'And so we drank the whole day.' I never figured out where that sentence came from. Some other people were also sitting at the desk where I was working, writing the article," Omeragić says, adding that even today, he still does not understand how that sentence got into the article, which is what Momčilo Krajišnik's defense focused on the most.

If he had known that he would be questioned in court because of this, he says he would have written it differently. "Some sort of PTSD prevailed, after everything I had seen and experienced then. I stayed there about half a day, terrifying," says Omeragić. He recalls his reaction after the publication of the article: "I see a sentence there that doesn't belong to me, which simply isn't correct, I couldn't have written it there."

Omeragić describes Slobodan Milošević in the courtroom as quick-witted, inventive in trial, and says that he tries to "lead you on, he has that kind of reflex, he has that kind of education after all." Omeragić recalled, when he testified that in Bijeljina he had personally seen a JNA general, Marijan Praščević, reporting to Arkan - which indicated that Milošević and the leadership had influence over the paramilitary forces - that Milošević responded that he had not seen it properly.

"And I say, 'Yes, I did, I saw it.' *He just approached him and greeted him.* 'No, I say, I saw exactly how he took three steps, four, in between, how his knees tightened.' And he, Milošević, he was angry then, he says: *Oh, aren't you fibbing a tiny bit*, he says. And I laughed wholeheartedly. However, at that moment something resounded, banged, and I looked and I saw that the judge, the late Richard May, had banged that gavel of his and the gavel had fallen apart and it had all fallen under his bench. I saw that, under the bench, everyone's looking for that [part, author's note], from the gavel. And then he began to shout something, to rage against Milošević, and that's where it all ended."

Cross-examination

The other journalists who testified were also questioned about what they had published and reported. Radovan Karadžić himself conducted the cross-examination of Martin Bell.

"Although he had his lawyer Peter Robinson sitting beside him, he conducted his own defense. And I think he was trying to assess whether I'd shown any bias in my reporting, which I actually denied. I don't think I did. Most of my colleagues thought that if anything I was a bit pro-Serb, because I spent so much time with them and I always felt that the answer to the problem lay in their hands, as indeed it did," recalled Bell.

Jacky Rowland recalls that she originally agreed to give evidence and it suddenly became hugely controversial when the BBC warned that "we have to be careful about what we say afterwards." She remembers that she was under a lot of pressure, which made her pretty nervous.

"When once I was in and the headphones were on, you know, it was then a case of just getting on with it and answering the questions. Milošević obviously chose to conduct his own defense in court, it was another platform for him to be able to speak and be seen. Although, he, no, I recall now, he didn't consider himself to be conducting his own defense, he was, within the courtroom, he was conducting his own parallel prosecution of NATO. That's what he was doing. So he was not really cross examining me as a witness for the prosecution in the case of Slobodan Milošević for genocide and war crimes, he was questioning me as a witness in his own perceived trial of NATO," says Rowland.

"So he wasn't really asking me questions so much about my evidence to try to defend himself, he was trying to ask me questions to somehow inculpate NATO and the West in general. The BBC as well, you know, the BBC was western media or whatever, it was just basically... He was taking this opportunity to try to score points against NATO, against the West, against journalists, against the BBC, against media in general. So that was very much what seemed to inform his line of questioning. Yes, so he asked me about reports I'd written, he asked me about events, he asked me more kind of like general philosophical, political, like: Did I consider the BBC to be neutral or unbiased or something. And actually I answered that question, whereas looking back - what we in French call *l'esprit de l'escalier*, which is that clever thought that you have when you're going down the staircase afterwards - it wasn't relevant. You know, in a way I got sucked into, if you like, his alternative parallel trial,"

says Rowland, conveying her impression of how Milošević deliberately did not ask her anything about the events she had witnessed.

The cross-examination was also unpleasant for Branimir Grulović. When he was questioned by the prosecutor, he had the impression that the goal was to discredit him, as he had been warned earlier. "I addressed the prosecutor and said that I'm sorry that the prosecutor hadn't prepared well and that I wasn't here to give lectures on television journalism. To which there was a mild chuckle, so to speak, jokingly. But the prosecutor is an expert in his work and he really tried to throw me off balance, while I fiercely tried to stay calm," Grulović recalled in his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*.

The cross-examination was the most difficult part of the testimony for Vulliamy, too: "Did I get my notes right? I mean, you're on the stand, you're on oath, a man's liberty, a bestial war criminal's, but still, you know, is at stake. This is a court of law, it is not a television programme or interview like this one. It's a very different situation, you're on oath. Actually, to be honest, the hardest part was trying to sleep between the days on the stand because you adjourned at the end of the day, you might allow yourself a beer or two or three, but any more than that is a bad idea, because you have to be razor sharp the next day. And I think the hardest thing for me was having to relive it all, but then, you know, my experience was nothing really, compared to the real witnesses in this, who were the survivors and the bereaved and the victims and the violated women. They were doing on the stand what no person should ever have to do. They were saying things, they were going into a level of detail in their testimony that they were never going to tell any of us, us journalists. So, you know, it was incredibly stressful."

Vulliamy describes Karadžić, in whose case he testified, as a crazy, mad, dangerous madman and remembers how Karadžić called him for a pre-trial interview.

"He would be pathetic, he might even be funny if he wasn't so murderous, if he wasn't genocidaire, if he wasn't some kind of cheap imitation of The Third Reich. And he sort of, he asked these buffoon questions, you know: 'What do you think about Serbia?' I mean, this was kind of crazy stuff," says Vulliamy. "Then the next day, very different, it's him against me. And he just sort of, you know, I mean, he's a fool, but he's not a fool, he was just trying to make two plus two equal five in his defense, but you can't because it's four. And at one point he said 'I suggest every one of you are writing about one death,'...all your people, all your witnesses, all your notes are referring to 'one' person killed in Omarska. I said, 'But I don't understand the question, but if you're asking me

do I think only one person died in Omarska, then I have to say that the answer is no.' I mean, it was just the kind of crazy mind games of this utter madman. I mean, it flatters him to call him a madman. You know he's worse than mad."

For Kačarević, the experience of testifying in the courtroom, compared to the preparation, was full of unexpected provocative questions.

"I thought they would only ask me what we had been preparing for. But no, there were a lot of new questions that I hadn't expected at all. I only have impressions now, I don't remember the details, but I do know that there were surprising questions that were right on the edge of what I had been anxious about. I mean, they were provocative, they were excessive, they were rude. Biased. I hadn't expected it to be like that, simply because I hadn't really encountered it anywhere until then. Until the trial itself, everything had looked much more correct than I had expected and then at the trial itself when it happened, admittedly it was to a small extent, but it did happen, I was extremely surprised. I said, by God, they are still bloody under the skin, even though they pretend to be neutral and nice."

Prosecution witness Zvezdana Polovina recalls how difficult it was for her to testify when the defense "constantly planted some questions and the cross-examination is actually very difficult, because they jump from topic to topic, in the sentences they try to plant something that I hadn't said."

"I had expected that I would speak about what I knew, that I would somehow open my soul and that I was finally in the right place. However, that did not happen. It means I exclusively answer the questions of the prosecutor and their defense. Very briefly the prosecutor's questions, but there were a lot of questions from their defense," she recounted. She also described a particularly important moment for her that occurred in the courtroom, before the trial began.

"And so, they [the defense, author's note] are talking to each other and then this woman, the only woman in their defense, a Mira Tapušković, I think that was her name, and so she says to one of her colleagues, 'We will deal with this Polovina easily.' When she said that, and I had had terrible anxiety and I had been afraid of how it would all turn out, and when she said, 'We will deal with this Polovina easily,' she said it on purpose so that I could hear it, but she produced in me an effect that she probably hadn't anticipated, because at that moment I thought *Well, you won't!* and I got a certain kind of courage and confidence."

Former camp inmate Alija Lizde says that during the trial in The Hague, he had the most debates with Slobodan Praljak, an HVO general convicted of war crimes against Bosniaks during the war in BiH. Lizde says that Praljak "tried to draw me into some kind of military talk" about positions, about the army.

In contrast to the complex and peculiar questions that some people received and which they felt were being addressed to the wrong people, there were also surprisingly simple questions.

"I was quite surprised by some of the banal questions I was asked by the prosecution. Some very basic things, like 'Do you recognize this?' and it was a picture of an AK-47. Well, of course, I mean, everybody and his dog had an AK-47 in Bosnia, that's the main weapon of that war. But, he was trying to sort of suggest in a way that that was a reason why the people on trial were guilty of something because it was an AK-47. I mean, it's probably not that straightforward, but it's what it seemed to me. And, of course, I was a bit taken aback by the level of the basic questions they were asking," says Tony Birtley. He added that the prosecution in the case against Naser Orić tried to get him to say something he had not seen.

"I'm not saying it didn't happen, I'm just saying I didn't see it."

John Sweeney also recalled banal questions during a trial for war crimes in Kosovo. He says he remembers that the attorney was attacking him and he was shooting back.

"The defense was saying: 'You're just doing PR for NATO, for the Kosovars.' And I was: 'No, I'm not, because we shot evidence of the KLA burning down the Serb homes, so we are impartial.' That doesn't mean that we're in the middle on this, because one side had committed war crimes, but nevertheless when the other side breaks the rules of war and burns people's homes down, we filmed them and it's in our film," he said in his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*.

"Then the defense come on and obviously they are going to try make you out to be, they're trying to destroy your credibility as a witness and most of the time that means trying to catch you out on evidence and, on the contrary, they didn't catch me out, I was very clear about what I knew and what I didn't know. There were moments, I think, where I said, 'I don't know,' which is always the best thing to say, but there were some things, I said, 'No, I'm not,'

in particular the defense lawyer said - he's doing his job and that is right and proper - but he's saying, 'You're a propagandist' or something like this, 'There's nothing critical of the KLA' and I said, 'No, that's not true, we filmed the footage of the KLA burning the Serb houses, you can see the smoke.' What we did was that we filmed it from afar, so that you can see the smoke was rising over the, above another house, so that people couldn't see that we were filming it, but we said: 'This is smoke, they're burning the houses.' So that was in the documentary. So that showed that we were being fair and honest and aware that the KLA or the Kosovo side or the Kosovo military side had done bad stuff, there it was in the documentary," says Sweeney.

Testimony as a victory

During the Milošević trial, Kosovo journalist Veton Surroi had a moment of great relief and, as he put it, almost satisfaction with justice.

"At that moment, for me, Milošević was a man who had always been handcuffing someone, not just individually but collectively too. And when he came to the trial for the first time, when the door to the courtroom opened, I saw a big policeman, someone of a Scandinavian type, removing the handcuffs from Milošević so that he could enter the courtroom. It was a moment of satisfaction because this man, who was identified as the one who was putting handcuffs on the opposition, his opponents, the people of Kosovo in general, is now entering the courtroom with handcuffs, and I told him that at the trial. I said - 'I'm a free man, you are the accused,'" says Surroi.

Lizde was happy and satisfied that his truth played a part in proving war crimes and he felt that he had completed a personal mission "to tell the truth about the hell I went through". For Jeremy Bowen, the role of the court in general was huge, and he felt that the Tribunal "as well as the search for justice was a search to document what had happened". Branimir Grulović believes that his testimony was not decisive and that he could not have influenced the fact that Beara was sentenced to life imprisonment.

For Vulliamy, the testimonies of journalists were important, but not crucial. "I mean, I was a small cog in a big wheel. The crucial evidence came from the survivors and the bereaved and then it probably came from military people and people who could prove that this order had been given then and there, from Belgrade or from Pale. I mean, inasmuch as all the people I testified

against were convicted, I guess I was a small part in that, but I have no more illusions about my contribution to the trial than I do over the contributions of our journalism during the war, which was basically, I hope professionally, by professional standards, completely pointless. We achieved absolutely nothing during the war. I think we journalists like to flatter ourselves and think that they had an impact, I mean, we had no impact whatsoever."

"It was slightly surreal in that you get back to London," says John Sweeney, "You know, you go for a pint with a mate: 'So, what have you been up to?' - *Well, just given evidence in The Hague,* and, *You know, I've just been in court in The Hague*. *What did you do?*"

Feral Tribune

LA PAZZIA REGINA DEL MONDO

U broj! U broj! 437
Godina jedanaesta
Split, 1. februaljače 1994.
Tiednik izhodi glede & unatoč
svakog prvog utorka u tiednu

Tiednik hrvatskih anarhista, protestanata i heretika
(Bogu-mili a ni Vragu nisu mrzski)
Uređuje: Studio "VIVA LUDEŽ"
(Viktor IVAnčić, predrag LUcić, boris DEŽulović)
Odgovara: don JOVAN PAVLOVIĆ

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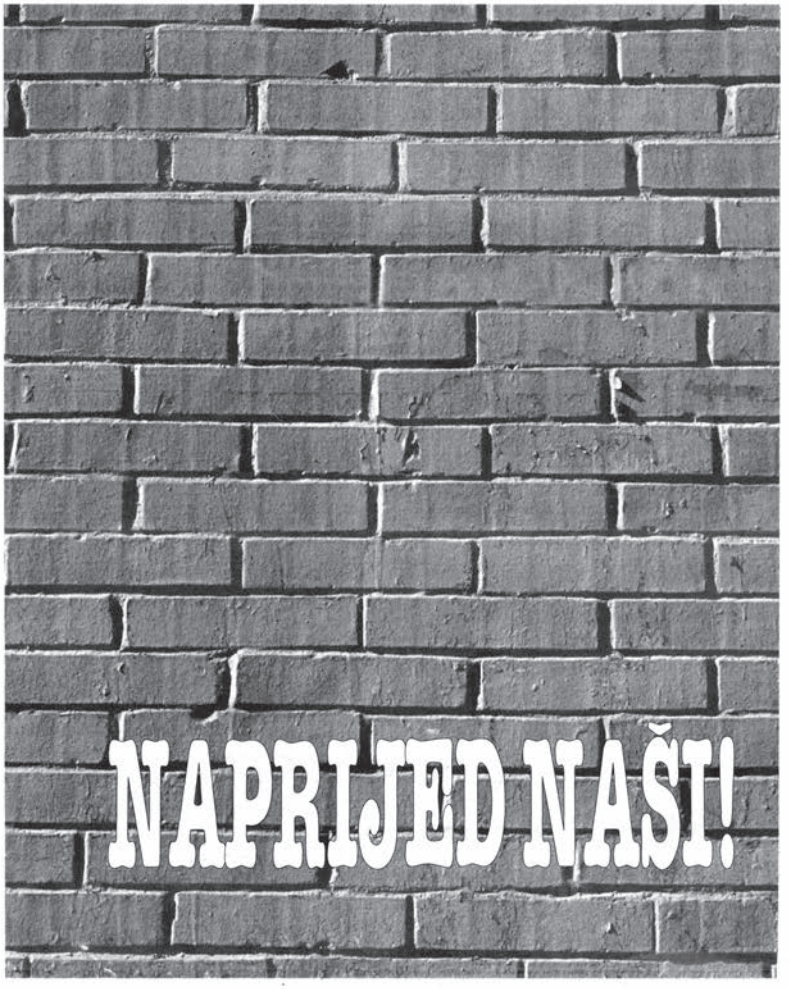

Feral Tribune, Split, 1 February 1994.
(Mediacentar Sarajevo - INFOBIRO digital archive)

THE ESSENCE HAS REMAINED THE SAME

Boro Kontić

Sometime during the expansion of social networks in the first decade of the new millennium, I was invited to a media conference in New York. They talked about the future of journalism in the new environment. In short, about the search for an answer to the question *What should we do, today and here*?

The participants were doyens of the profession, eminent American names from equally famous news organizations: from *National Public Radio* to *CNN* to the famed *The New York Times*. No one had an even remotely precise or reasoned answer. The current moment was seen as a kind of experiment in which all attempts were allowed. Few were certain in which direction the media was going and they especially did not dare to predict the future, not even a future measured in months. Everyone agreed that print media was threatened with disappearance. Someone even fixed the date. By 2046, it was said, the era of print media would end!

I remembered this as I was reading Jeremy Bowen's interview for the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* project. It was in October 2021 that Bowen heard that *The New York Times* had paid millions of dollars for the viral word game *Wordle.* The reason - "They're trying to attract traffic into their site and games are one of the ways they do it. They spend a lot of money on games, their cooking section, video, because they believe it brings people in."

"Because journalism isn't anything fancy but it is our way, society's way, the public's way of understanding what's happening in the world and it reflects that public." This is a possible definition of the news profession. John Sweeny expressed it in his interview for our project and added: "Our job is to tell the truth about power and money, and power and money often doesn't like that (...) I much prefer staying in bed or going to the pub, but the thing that will get

me out of bed and keep me out of the pub is when somebody with power and money says 'shut up'."

However, the British journalist's view of the future of the profession is pessimistic: "Modern media, in particular things like *Twitter, Instagram* or whatever, they capture something you say which may be like a flash of a kaleidoscope, but nevertheless that can be used against you. So the problem is this multiple recording of all aspects of human life. Two things are necessary: one is that one should police it more oneself but secondly, society and the law and the way we see this needs to be more grown up about it. So that you can say something instantly which actually you regard as foolish or ill-advised and you shouldn't be condemned for it. We're losing common conversation and it seems, in particular in America, it's getting darker and darker and darker."

Jeremy Bowen believes that the fundamentals of journalism never change. A journalist's imperative, according to him, is: being fair, being quick, being honest. "One thing about the international media is we tend to, we do something very intensively and then we go on to the next thing and do it very intensively. And sometimes we forget about the place we've been to."

Bowen also emphasizes that the technical side of the profession has changed. "In the digital years, and particularly now with social media, everything is *bang! bang! bang! bang!* There's still truth, but unfortunately a lot of people now live in an echo chamber, where they just look at the things that they agree with. If people just look at social media and the things they like, yeah, they're in a post-truth environment, very often."

Jeremy Bowen still reports today and is aware of the tremendous power of social networks. He says he looks at *Twitter* every day, but tries to be aware that he is seeing people's own opinions. He puts things on Twitter himself, but he uses it for work, he doesn't put personal things on. In June 2022 he had around 260,000 followers. In his opinion, it is now an unavoidable part of the media landscape. When asked about the dangers, he replies that the threats to journalism are fake news, lack of impartiality and lack of money to cover stories.

Compared to traditional journalism, Bowen emphasizes the modern advantages: "The first time I went to Afghanistan, we took a ton of equipment. We sent stories on a satellite with a huge ground station, two engineers, generators, you name it. Now, you can have it in a backpack almost. And as long as you have the internet, you can send it from, you know, from your laptop."

Bowen's advice as a veteran to younger colleagues is "Learn from your elders. You need training. It's not rocket science, it's not like being a brain surgeon or

a rocket scientist, but there is stuff you need to know. And always be inquisitive, always be fair. Be interested in what's going on," ending with curiosity as the final important element of being a good journalist. Curiosity is key.

Veton Surroi, former media owner and editor in Pristina, believes that today there is more capacity for disinformation than for information: "This idea that the phone is a medium in the case of social networks means that eight billion phones are talking at the same time. And of course you won't understand anything. The production of information has never been greater, and the capacity for processing it has never been smaller. That, in turn, may mean that we are entering a time in which there is a big need to get the right information. And that's the job of journalists."

When asked about the advantages, Surroi replies that social media helps a lot when it posts professional news. Stories that would otherwise go unnoticed are then visible. Surroi assesses *Twitter* as a big challenge for print media, which thus face a competitor that exploits a human weakness, laziness. He adds that in 280 characters *Twitter* tries to explain an entirety that requires thousands of words in journalism, but the need for professional journalism will increase in the future.

An editor of *The New York Times* spoke about this, says Jeremy Bowen, referring to a talk he went to given by the editor. In the era of fake news, their subscriptions went way up because people wanted to find a way through the mass of lies, so they went to *The New York Times*, says Bowen, adding that he subscribes to it because the newspaper is fantastic.

For Ed Vulliamy, the first newspaper he opens is *The Washington Post.* "Although it sounds a bit wet, but I don't care, it has a decency to it, it has a sort of rather old fashioned liberal decency to it. Liberalism of the 19th century kind, of which I am, I find myself increasingly affiliated to. It's a moral matter, rather than a political matter." Vulliamy also reads *The Irish Times, The New York Review of Books, The Economist, La Repubblica, El Pais* and *The Guardian*.

Florence Hartmann, who reported during the wars of the 1990s and even had the experience of being denied a journalist's license by the Serbian authorities, remembers that while reporting from Sarajevo, all the television stations would ask her: what is the topic of your article? Her newspaper, *Le Monde*, was published in the afternoon and she would send her article in the morning at the latest. This question sprang from the awareness that *Le Monde* dictated how others would treat the topic. Similarly, *The New York Times* raised issues that would later be covered by television. Now it is the other way around, Hartmann says, because the press follows television.

Her message to young journalists - and she particularly emphasizes this - is: curiosity. If they are not curious, they should not go into journalism. "If you're a journalist and you don't want to dig behind the showcase, behind the facade, then you are drawing Potemkin villages. I recommend to people who want to go into journalism - buy a notebook, write down everything you observe, practice."

For Ed Vulliamy, speaking about how technology has changed everything is a cliché. "A photographer once asked me 'Do you carry a camera with you, Ed?' Um, no, I carry a notebook and a pen. I don't need a camera. 'If you had taken one photograph of Fikret Alić behind the barbed wire fence [Vulliamy was the first to visit Omarska camp near Prijedor, author's note],' continued the photographer, 'you would have made 40 million dollars in 72 hours.' To which my father would always say: 'Ed, would you want to have made 40 million dollars out of the misery of that man?' And I would say, 'No actually, I'd rather just be me.'"

That has changed today, concludes Vulliamy, because everybody has got a camera now. We would all have 50 pictures each of Fikret Alić from every conceivable angle. He emphasizes that the pandemic of untruth is the biggest threat to journalism. You walk a straight line to the essence. "It is frightening how many people don't walk a straight line and how many the corrosions and the corruptions and the temptations are to stray from that straight line."

The experienced Ed Vulliamy especially emphasized the following: "The one thing powerful people fear is laughter, comedy, the fool. I know that Tony Blair had to have Steve Bell's cartoons of him cut out of *The Guardian* before the paper was put on his desk. He cannot stand it. The real journalists, for me, are the cartoonists. The people who just laugh at you. Because that's the one thing they hate is being laughed at. They don't care about us revealing camps and massacres. Who is Shakespeare's wisest character? It's Lear's Fool. Because a cartoon doesn't depict a situation, it depicts the essence of the situation, it depicts the absurdity of the situation. The Mexicans, the Bosnians, the Irish and the Poles are the funniest people in the world. I have a theory as to why, because they all have the neighbours from hell." To young people who want to be journalists, Vulliamy gives brief advice: "Listen to people."

Alija Lizde, a journalist from Mostar with experience of the camps to which he was taken from his radio station, sums up his view of journalism: "Journalism is a craft that has its own rules. You have a huge responsibility for what is said." Lizde has no great illusions about journalism in the future, reducing it to just one word - downfall.

For Martin Bell, former BBC journalist, the conditions of journalism as it used to be were the golden age of the profession. "When you had your camera beside you, you went out and reported and you brought the stuff back. Everything changed after 9/11 when people doing what I used to do were targeted. In war zones even ransomed. If you kidnap a western journalist, it's like capturing an ATM machine. So from then on, that point on, journalism tended to be done from rooftops and distant hotels. A lot of the pictures now are collected by drones. There's not a sense of being there. The way that I was there when Vukovar fell. You can't do that in Aleppo or Homs…"

Martin Bell has no doubt that fake news has always been with us. As they say, a lie is half way around the world before the truth has got its boots on. It's hard to know what to believe frankly anymore. There can also be censorship by exclusion, by just refusing access and that is very effective. Bell recalls his experience: "The bizarre thing is as the technology has improved, you can technically satellite report from anywhere now. We used to put news film in onion bags on airplanes, they would reach London four days later. But as the technology has improved, the access has vanished. Dictators are more ruthless. They hijack planes now to take out a single journalist."

For *Reuters* producer during the war, Branimir Grulović, the moment when news became a commodity for the market, a commodity that needs to find a buyer - that is when the principles of journalism began to be trampled on. As for the future, he believes that technology will work its way. Print media is disappearing. He is convinced that everyone will switch to networks available to everyone everywhere.

This article does not aspire to provide a definitive answer to the question of what the future of journalism is. The very possibility of a dialogue with some of the masters of this profession is valuable. Thirty years ago, at the time of the *holy trinity of press-radio-television*, no one could even guess what kind of changes awaited us. It is even more difficult to predict this in the age of social networks, when every participant is a reporter.

Whatever the changes, the essence will remain the same. Every morning, countless journalists and editors in newsrooms around the world make plans on how to inform the public about what is really happening. The minute human curiosity and the need for truth disappear, this profession will also disappear. Never?

E-court page no: 1

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"КРИМИ" ИСТРАЖУЈЕ

ХЛАДЊАЧА У ДУНАВУ, А У ХЛАДЊАЧИ ЛЕШЕВИ

Кажу, овде се хладњача преврнула у Дунав

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LE MONDE

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Les atrocités dans l'ex-Yougoslavie

Les Nations unies enquêtent sur le «charnier de Vukovar»

Découvert par des experts de la Commission des droits de l'homme de l'ONU, le site d'un possible charnier a été placé sous la garde des «casques bleus» près de Vukovar, cette ville de Croatie détruite par les forces serbes il y a près d'un an, en attendant une enquête plus poussée. Ce charnier a pu être localisé grâce au témoignage d'un Croate qui a échappé à une exécution et qui a été libéré récemment par les Serbes.

Le témoignage d'Ivan

VUKOVAR (Croatie)

de notre envoyée spéciale

A quelques kilomètres au sud de la ville en ruine de Vukovar, dans l'est de la Croatie, entre le hameau d'Ovcara et l'étang de Grabovo, une piste boueuse s'enfonce dans les champs. Au bout de ce chemin qui longe un bosquet, six «casques bleus» russes montent la garde jour et nuit. Ils veillent sur une parcelle de terre. *«Nous gardons des crânes et des bouts de membres qui sont ressortis du sol détrempé par les pluies. Il doit y en avoir beaucoup d'autres en dessous...»*; car sous la boue se trouve un charnier, que ces soldats de la Force de protection des Nations unies (FORPRONU) sont chargés, depuis lundi 19 octobre, de surveiller pour en empêcher l'accès.

Depuis la fin de la guerre en Croatie, plusieurs rescapés de l'enfer de Vukovar avaient évoqué l'existence d'un charnier dans cette zone de Slavonie orientale contrôlée par les autonomistes serbes – qui l'ont conquise il y a un an – et placée sous la protection de l'ONU. Toutefois, aucun témoignage n'avait été suffisamment précis pour permettre aux responsables de la FORPRONU d'en retrouver le site. Les premières pluies de l'automne auront contribué à dévoiler la vérité. La commission des droits de l'homme de l'ONU a fait le reste.

FLORENCE HARTMANN

Lire la suite page 3

Le témoignage d'Ivan

Suite de la première page

En visite dans l'ex-Yougoslavie, le rapporteur spécial de la commission, M. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a dépêché, dimanche 18 octobre, une équipe d'experts à Vukovar pour poursuivre les recherches. Disposant d'éléments nouveaux et de descriptions précises du lieu des exécutions sommaires, le docteur Clyde Snow, médecin légiste, et deux de ses collaborateurs ont localisé *«en quelques minutes»* l'emplacement du charnier. *«Nous avons découvert plusieurs squelettes qui semblent indiquer la présence d'un charnier»*, pouvait déclarer M. Snow, jeudi dernier, lors d'une conférence de presse à Zagreb.

«Il ne peut s'agir que d'un charnier», a confirmé, mardi 27 octobre, au quartier général de la FORPRONU d'Erdut (nord de Vukovar), Mme Blandine Negga, la directrice des affaires civiles du secteur est (l'un des quatre secteurs de Croatie placés sous la protection de l'ONU). Dans un entretien au *Monde* et à l'AFP, elle a précisé qu'à cet endroit *«la terre était molle et qu'elle avait de toute évidence été retournée et creusée»* pour cacher *«beaucoup d'autres corps»*.

Pour le moment, les experts de la commission de M. Mazowiecki ont découvert les restes de quatre personnes, a précisé Mme Negga. *«Le dimanche* [18 octobre] *nous avons découvert deux crânes, le bassin d'un homme et d'autres os, le lendemain le Docteur Snow a déterré à l'aide d'une pelle un quatrième squelette.»* En attendant l'arrivée d'une commission internationale pour exhumer les corps et enquêter sur les circonstances de ce massacre, la fosse commune a été placée sous la surveillance des «casques bleus». *«Le terrain doit rester intact pour permettre aux experts de recueillir le plus d'éléments possible»*, a rappelé Mme Negga.

Seize jours avant la découverte du «charnier de Vukovar», le quotidien de Zagreb *Vjesnik* avait publié le témoignage d'un Croate de trente-trois ans, originaire de Vukovar, qui décrivait avec une très grande précision l'emplacement de cette fosse commune. Et c'est grâce aux détails géographiques de ce témoignage que les envoyés spéciaux du *Monde* et de l'AFP ont découvert, mardi 27 octobre, ce lieu tenu secret par l'ONU. La déposition de cet homme, présenté sous le pseudonyme d'Ivan, pourrait constituer l'une des pièces essentielles du dossier de la commission d'enquête de l'ONU sur les crimes de guerre dans l'ex-Yougoslavie. Ce témoignage relate les circonstances d'une exécution sommaire ayant eu lieu, selon Ivan, à proximité de l'étang de Grabovo.

Battus des heures durant

Le 18 novembre 1991, les forces irrégulières serbes et l'armée fédérale yougoslave s'emparaient de Vukovar qu'elles assiégeaient depuis trois mois. Ce matin-là, Ivan et sa famille s'étaient réfugiés à l'hôpital de Vukovar dans l'espoir d'être évacués sous le contrôle de la Croix-Rouge internationale. *«Il y avait 300 à 400 personnes dans l'hôpital»*, a-t-il évalué, lorsque les «tchetniks» (forces irrégulières serbes) et l'armée serbo-yougoslave se sont emparés du bâtiment tenu jusqu'à ce jour par les forces croates. Le lendemain matin, les femmes et les enfants ont été emmenés vers le hangar de l'usine Velepromet tandis que les hommes étaient interrogés puis évacués dans trois autobus militaires en direction de Borovo, au nord de la ville.

Du 18 au 19 novembre après-midi, l'armée yougoslave avait interdit l'accès de l'hôpital aux représentants du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge (CICR), les empêchant de dresser la liste des blessés et des prisonniers. Jusqu'à cet après-midi du 19 novembre, le CICR a donc assisté au va-et-vient de camions sans pouvoir intervenir. Et il ne restait qu'une cinquantaine de personnes dans l'établissement lorsque, enfin, le CICR a pu y pénétrer.

Vers 14 heures, raconte Ivan, les autobus ont fait demi-tour pour se diriger vers le sud de la ville, sur la route de Negoslavci. Ils ont alors bifurqué vers le hameau d'Ovcara, où les prisonniers ont été retenus et battus par *«les paramilitaires et les réservistes serbes»* (de l'armée fédérale) pendant plusieurs heures, dans un hangar à la structure métallique. *«Dans ce hangar, nous étions près de trois cents»*, précise-t-il. A la tombée de la nuit, ils ont été transportés dans des camions bâchés vers l'étang de Grabovo. A mi-chemin, les camions ont pris sur la gauche un chemin de terre. Au bout de 300 ou 400 mètres, Ivan a sauté et s'est enfui dans le bosquet qui longeait le champ. Les rafales qu'il a entendues quelques instants plus tard semblent indiquer que ses camarades ont été exécutés.

Parcourant plus de 15 kilomètres à pied pour rejoindre les territoires sous contrôle croate, Ivan s'est arrêté dans le village de Ceric, qu'il croyait tenu par les siens. Fait prisonnier par l'armée fédérale, il a été incarcéré jusqu'au mois de février 1992 à Sremska, Mitrovica (en Serbie), puis à Belgrade, jusqu'à sa libération, le 14 août dernier, à la faveur d'un échange de prisonniers. Quelques semaines plus tard, le quartier général de la FORPRONU à Erdut était informé par les autorités croates de l'existence de témoignages faisant état d'un charnier dans les environs d'Ovcara. Depuis le mois de septembre, les «casques bleus» cherchaient en vain à localiser le site.

FLORENCE HARTMANN

Timok Crime Review article entitled "Refrigerator Truck in the Danube, Bodies in the Truck", 15/09/1999, exhibit in Milutinović et al.

Le Monde article "United Nations investigate 'Vukovar mass grave'", 29/10/1992, exhibit in Mrkšić Mile trial.

MEDIA EVIDENCE IN THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL'S COURT RECORDS DATABASE

Selma Zulić Šiljak

"Object. Object. Objection, Mr. President [of the Court]," Peter Robinson, Radovan Karadžić's legal advisor, repeated three times in February 2012 at the beginning of the questioning of witness Mira Mihajlović, Karadžić's secretary, who had made notes of the accused's meetings in 1995, and who explained the logic of their appointment book in her testimony.[37]

The objection was made after the prosecutor mentioned the accused's meeting with the journalists of the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, which took place in the late evening on 13 July 1995 in Pale. Radovan Karadžić gave an interview to *El Pais* three days after he gave the order to take over Srebrenica and in the midst of plans for the fall of Žepa.[38] The interview was published with a quote in the headline: *Muslim enclaves are not sustainable and should disappear*[39] on 16 July 1995. The content of the interview is full of optimism that the warwould end well for the Republika Srpska with elements of statehood[40] and many generic patterns of denial of everything happening in the surrounded territory.

37 ICTY. Transcript of testimony of Mira Mihajlović, 8 February 2012 https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/trans/en/120208ED.htm

38 On 12 July 1992, from a US diplomatic cable: "The Žepa enclave is expected to fall in the next day or two (...), Goražde, their third target, is calm for now, but probably not for long." Available at: *Bosnia Collection*, Declassified American Archives. Quoted in: Florence Hartmann, *Krv realpolitike* (The Blood of Realpolitik) (Zagreb, 2015), 142

39 "Los enclaves musulmanes deben desaparece", *El Pais*, 16 July 1995, https://elpais.com/diario/1995/07/16/internacional/805845615_850215.html
An English translation is available in the ICTY evidence archive: *The Muslim enclaves are not viable and should disappear*, Exhibit P02564.E, Date: 01/06/2011, court evidence submitted by the prosecution.

40 Hartmann also writes about July 12 and 13, stating that it was a period when Radovan Karadžić and Nikola Koljević expressed optimism in Pale and assured their select visitors that the war would result in "an improved political package that will give the Republika Srpska the elements of sovereign statehood". Personal diary of Srđa Serge Trifković, in Hartmann, p. 141

In short, Srebrenica was presented as liberated, with the remark that whoever wanted could stay there, Sarajevo was presented as a city that "will either be divided or be Serb", and the peace process as something that depends exclusively on the international community and the other side. The interview ends with an optimistic message, where Karadžić states that now, when Spain is presiding over the European Union,[41] the peace process will probably speed up, because "Spain has no interest in positioning itself here," and with a warning to journalists to wait before going to Srebrenica, because it is not yet safe.

Upon Robinson's objection, and with the approval of the presiding judge, the content of the article and the transcript of the interview were not considered as evidence, but the document was accepted as a basis for understanding how the appointment book was kept, i.e. "as corroborating evidence". Next to the notes of the meeting with the journalists was a *plus* and the witness confirmed that this meant that the meeting had taken place. "The appointment book was maintained consistently," it was established.

> On the first floor of a former engine factory in Pale, as *El Pais* journalists describe, was Radovan Karadžić's newly furnished office. Geographical maps, fresh fruit and paperwork were on the desks. It was already quite late, and around 10:00 p.m., when, asked by journalists what would happen to Sarajevo, Karadžić pulled out his maps and began to explain: *Let me show you on the map. See, this is the Sava. The Sava River. Once, the whole territory was Austro-Hungarian. These cities were one, Bosanski Novi and Dvor na Uni, Bosanska Kostajnica and Kostajnica, Bosanska Dubica and Dubica, Bosanska Gradiška and Stara Gradiška (...) they were all single cities, connected, but after the fall of Austria-Hungary, the river divided the cities. The right side belonged to Bosnia, to us, and the left to Croatia. Well, Sarajevo has a river too.*
> *El Pais: We know. The Miljacka*.
> Karadžić: That's right, the Miljacka (...) that can be done with the river. So that we have two cities. So that we have a Serb city and a Muslim city, and if they don't accept - we'll take all of Sarajevo.
> The rustling of papers was interrupting the sound and on several

41 Spain assumed the rotating presidency of the European Union for the June-December 1995 period. It is also important to note that numerous Western journalists were denied entry to the territory controlled by the Republika Srpska Army (VRS) and that they did not have access to Belgrade either. As of 1994/95 the policy of selecting journalists and giving interviews to those they deemed "suitable" had taken off significantly. Nevertheless, *El Pais* journalists used this opportunity to inform the public about the context of the events, without giving room to propaganda.

> occasions the conversation was unintelligible. The journalists wrote that they were surprised by the way the interviewee systematically and confidently talked about ongoing crimes and plans for future ones.

This is just one example of the use of media sources in trials before the Hague Tribunal, but this particular example is more an exception than the rule, because Spanish and non-Anglo-Saxon media were used very rarely, and we find them mainly in the capacity of supporting documents for the main evidentiary material.[42]

Journalists as witnesses before The Hague Tribunal

During the past two decades, in their testimonies before the court, at least 35 journalists who testified before The Hague Tribunal in cases of war crimes committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia confirmed sentences they had written long ago, described in detail the process of preparing reports and the ways in which they delivered footage to newsrooms, and explained how they conducted interviews with those accused of war crimes.[43] This number makes up less than one percent of the total number of witnesses before the Tribunal.[44] With a gap of several years, through the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* project, 14 of them, through in-depth semi-structured interviews, shared their experiences, dilemmas and opinions on the court processes. Andrew Hogg, Alija Lizde, Branimir Grulović, Ed Vulliamy, Florence Hartmann, Jacky Rowland, Jeremy Bowen, John Sweeney, Martin Bell, Sead Omeragić, Slavoljub Kačarević, Tony Birtley, Veton Surroi and Zvezdana Polovina shared details of their testimony experience and the reasons for their decisions to testify.

In order to record their professional experiences in reporting from the territory of the former Yugoslavia and explore the motives for their decisions to testify before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the interviews were an opportunity to document how the process of their preparation for testifying unfolded, what the questioning looked like from their point of view, and ultimately, how they believe they contributed to the court process.

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42 Full interview transcript is available in ICTY Court Records, case Karadzic IT-95-5/18. Exhibit P04359, 8. February 2012

43 *Mediacentar* gathered 22 interview transcripts in cooperation with the IRMCT, while the remaining journalists were located through the research process and secondary literature.

44 In 161 trials before the Tribunal in The Hague, 4,650 people testified. ICTY Facts & Figures, https://www.icty.org/en/content/infographic-icty-facts-figures

The journalists' experiences differ depending on whether they testified in one or more cases, but what they all have in common is that the whole process was very stressful and that, compared to the thousands of witnesses who survived crimes, the journalists have the impression that their contribution helped to a very small degree to tell the whole story.

BBC journalist Jeremy Bowen, in his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, when asked about his reaction to being called to testify, says that he considered it his role to be a witness.

"When they asked me, I was enthusiastic about testifying at the Tribunal in The Hague, because, you know, we talk a lot about being a witness, well, you can also be a witness in a courtroom. So that's why I did that. So that was, I felt was my role. I never thought that our presence contributed to trouble or anything like that. The war was going to go on whether we were there or not, but it was important that someone could shine a light into the dark corners. And I felt that very strongly. That was my job," he said in his interview in February 2022, which was conducted through the *Journalism as the First Draft of History* project.

During the project, *Mediacentar Sarajevo* searched through more than 100,000 evidentiary materials in the ICTY court records database looking for media content used as evidence in the arguments of the prosecution, defense and Trial Chamber.

Analysis of presence of media evidence in The Hague Tribunal court records database

In 2021, the *Mediacentar Sarajevo* research team searched through the evidentiary material admitted in court, which was submitted by the defense, prosecution and Trial Chamber for 25 indicted persons, which represents 15.5 percent of the total number of cases. The court records database classifies the material as 21 cases with the consolidated cases of *Mladić and Karadžić, Stanišić and Župljanin, Naletilić and Martinović, Kovačević and Stakić*. The cases to be searched were selected based on information, which was provided by the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals (IRMCT) established in 2010 to take over the exercise of certain functions of the ICTY, about cases in which domestic and foreign journalists appeared as witnesses.

Public and available evidentiary materials in cases in which journalists testified consist of 143,240 documents. Given that the material was translated into English and that often the same evidence was archived twice, further filtering shows 80,235 evidence items. An evidence item consists of a news article in multiple languages or video material and accompanying transcripts in multiple languages.

Bearing in mind that the ICTY court records database and archive are updated periodically, it is important to note that the research was conducted from January to June 2021 and in that period 2,760 media units were identified, or 3.4 percent of the total searched evidence. The data show that media material was mostly submitted by the prosecution, with about one-third submitted by the defense, while in exceptional cases it is possible to find media evidence submitted by the Trial Chamber.[45]

Among the materials, one can find newspaper articles about events during the war, a considerable number of interviews with people accused of war crimes, and a large number of video materials. Almost half of the media material consists of videos from domestic and foreign media (45.6 percent). Among the collected documents there is also a significant number of articles published right after the war in BiH and in the early 2000s, especially from media from BiH, Serbia and Croatia, and also from media from Serbia concerning the war in Kosovo.

In terms of the amount of evidentiary material, the largest amount of media evidence was submitted in the consolidated case related to the trials of Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić, as many as 781 evidence items, of which 723 are video recordings. However, this constitutes only four percent of the total evidentiary material in the case classified in the records database as *Karadžić and Mladić*. When it comes to the ratio of use of media evidence between the defense and prosecution, the accused and defense counsel submitted 140 media evidence items, while the prosecution submitted 641.

The *Karadžić and Mladić* case in the court records database documents media material from more than 100 media outlets from all over the world, from local media such as Radio Ključ, *Vlašićki vjesnik* and *Sanski Most Online*, larger

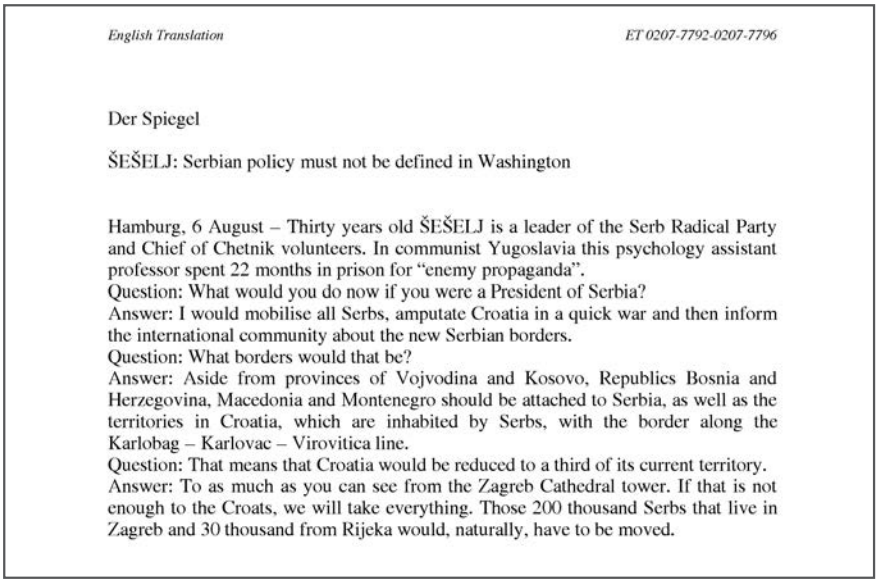
45 An exception submitted by the Trial Chamber is the video *Omarska and Trnopolje* (August 1992) in which SRT journalist Dragan Božanić interviews prisoners just before the arrival of foreign journalists. As the surviving witnesses stated in the trial of Kovačević and Stakić, on that occasion they received instructions on how and what they should say in order to stay alive. The evidentiary material is available by searching "Omarska and Trnopolje (August 1992) Document Type: Exhibit J23 Date: 09/01/2003 By: Trial Chamber II", transcript of evidence available at: https://www.icty.org/x/cases/stakic/trans/en/020618ED.htm

media from the region such as *Politika, Oslobođenje*, SRT, TV Belgrade, BHT and others, to international media organizations such as CNN, *ABC News, Le Monde, The Guardian, Der Spiegel* and others.

Of the journalists who gave interviews for *Mediacentar*, Martin Bell, Jeremy Bowen and Ed Vulliamy testified in the trials of Karadžić and Mladić. The largest number of searched media evidence items is related to the BBC's archive footage with Jeremy Bowen and Martin Bell's reports.

Exceptions to the rule

When it comes to foreign media, the evidence is significantly dominated by Anglo-Saxon sources, media from Great Britain and the United States of America, followed by the French *Le Monde*. As exceptions, we find several examples of the use of German and Spanish media. For example, related to the cases of Karadžić and Mladić, an interview with Šešelj published in the newspaper *Der Spiegel* in August 1991 was used, as well as the already mentioned example of the interview with Karadžić published in the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*.



English Translation *ET 0207-7792-0207-7796*

Der Spiegel

ŠEŠELJ: Serbian policy must not be defined in Washington

Hamburg, 6 August – Thirty years old ŠEŠELJ is a leader of the Serb Radical Party and Chief of Chetnik volunteers. In communist Yugoslavia this psychology assistant professor spent 22 months in prison for "enemy propaganda".
Question: What would you do now if you were a President of Serbia?
Answer: I would mobilise all Serbs, amputate Croatia in a quick war and then inform the international community about the new Serbian borders.
Question: What borders would that be?
Answer: Aside from provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, Republics Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro should be attached to Serbia, as well as the territories in Croatia, which are inhabited by Serbs, with the border along the Karlobag – Karlovac – Virovitica line.
Question: That means that Croatia would be reduced to a third of its current territory.
Answer: To as much as you can see from the Zagreb Cathedral tower. If that is not enough to the Croats, we will take everything. Those 200 thousand Serbs that live in Zagreb and 30 thousand from Rijeka would, naturally, have to be moved.

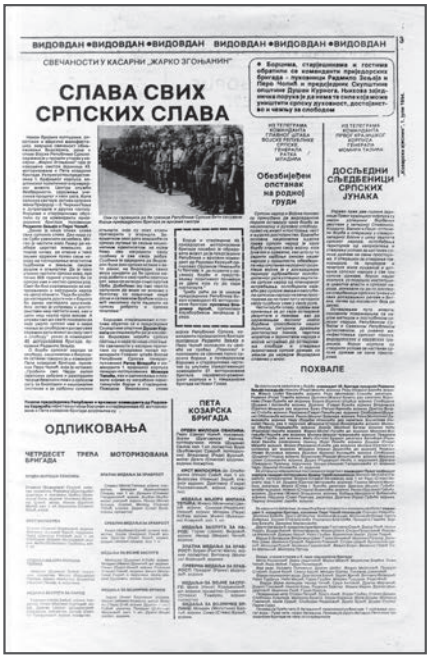
Cases using the least and the most media material

According to data collected by *Mediacentar Sarajevo* on cases in which journalists testified, the largest percentage of media material was used in cases related to crimes in the area of Prijedor. Thus, in the trial of Duško Sikirica, out of 406 evidence items submitted by the defense and prosecution, as many as 66 (16.3 percent) were media content, of which 57 were articles from the local *Kozarski vjesnik*, two were from *Večernje novosti*, one was a transcript of a Radio Prijedor show, and the rest consisted of foreign media such as *BBC News, The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. The *Sikirica* case is the only one where the defense did not use media evidentiary material.


КОЗАРСКИ ВЈЕСНИК

Није довољно само прекрстити се

КО СМО И КОЛИКО НАС ЈЕ


СЛАВА СВИХ СРПСКИХ СЛАВА

ОДЛИКОВАЊА

ПОХВАЛЕ

In the trial of Milomir Stakić and Milan Kovačević, 143 media evidentiary items were identified (13.5 percent of the total evidence used), of which 39 were submitted by the defense, 103 by the prosecution, and a videotape of prisoners who had arrived in Trnopolje from Keraterm was submitted by the Trial Chamber. In these two cases, the local *Kozarski vjesnik* makes up about half of the media material, followed by 14 articles published in *Oslobođenje* in 1992, which were mostly submitted by the defense and in two cases by the prosecution, an article from *Slobodna Bosna* from 1992, and foreign media such as *The Guardian, Time* and ITN TV.

The Guardian journalist Ed Vulliamy's articles and videos and ITN journalist Penny Marshall's evidentiary material about the camps in Trnopolje, Omarska and Keraterm were also heard in Vulliamy's testimony,[46] where his notes of the 1996 interview with Kovačević were also largely used, when the accused confessed to the crimes. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Vulliamy says that this was the most difficult testimony for him.

"In one way, the hardest was Kovačević because I had taken his confession [in Vulliamy's notebook, author's note], one of the very few, and so that the evidential intensity of what was going on with that notebook, it was yeah [it was strong, author's note]."

Speaking about his experience of testifying in many cases before the Tribunal, Vulliamy tells *Mediacentar Sarajevo* that he prepared in detail psychologically for every testimony, because every testimony meant "having to relive it all". He believes the achievement of the ICTY was not ultimately legal, it was historical, because the "story has been told", primarily due to the courage of a huge number of survivors and bereaved who testified, while journalists, Vulliamy believes, did their best.

"Because of the courage of those people who came from a scattered, shattered diaspora, the story has been told. It was told pretty well by the journalists while we were here, doing our best, but actually the extent of the detail wasn't actually told in our articles or on our television screens or radio programmes or even in the photographs."

We find the least amount of media content in the trial of Enver Hadžihasanović, for command responsibility for crimes committed against prisoners and civilians in central Bosnia, including crimes by members of the *El Mujahid* detachment - out of 2,806 evidence items available in the ICTY database, merely 21 (0.7 percent) represent media content (14 - prosecution, 7 - defense), including an interview with a member of the Mujahedin conducted by *Sunday Times* correspondent Andrew Hogg, one of the witnesses before The Hague Tribunal who was interviewed for this project.

Along with Hogg's testimony and several articles from *The Irish Times*, material from local media was used, including wartime newspapers such as *Bilten 37. muslimanske lahke brigade*, *El-viva, Patriotski list* and video archives of TV Vitez, RTS and HRT. An exception to the usual press and media organizations present in the evidence archive is *Mujahedin* propaganda material in Arabic

46 Excerpt from video recording of Ed Vulliamy's testimony. Case: Stakić, Milomir. RECOM Reconciliation Network. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tkPH2rHnwh8

produced by *Azzam Publications UK*, a controversial publishing house from London whose administrators were extradited from the UK to the United States after the 9/11 terrorist attack and sentenced to prison time in 2014[47] for providing material support to terrorism.

We also find a small percentage of media content in the evidence from the trial of Milan Milutinović, former president of Serbia accused of crimes in Kosovo in 1999 - out of 4,202 evidence items, 36 are media content (0.9 percent), including articles from *Vreme, Politika, Danas, Timočka Krimi Revija, Pravda*, RTS and others.

Only one evidence item, a video taken by Kosovo doctor Liri Loshi from a crime scene in Izbica, was submitted as media material. During his testimony at the trial of former Serbian police official Vlastimir Đorđević, Loshi said: "As a doctor, I saw that I could not help the executed people, but as a journalist, I thought that I could document the massacre and show the public what had happened."[48]

Media from BiH and the region

Media evidence retrieved from The Hague Tribunal's court records database shows that most of the media evidence used is local media content. Perhaps the best indicator of the amount and variety of content used is evident in the case of Jadranko Prlić, where on a relatively small sample of 233 submitted media evidence items, we can count content from at least 60 media outlets from BiH and the region, some of which are: *Slobodna Dalmacija, Večernji list, Jutarnji list, Oslobođenje, Dani, Dnevni avaz, Feral Tribune, Slobodna Bosna, Vreme, Danas* and others, as well as videos broadcast by HRT, TV Mostar, transcripts of broadcasts from Radio BiH, Radio Mostar and many others.

Some of the earliest articles that we find in the evidence database are from *Oslobođenje* from 1989, such as an article about a speech by Slobodan Milošević, *Kosovsko junaštvo inspiriše naše stvaralaštvo* (Kosovo heroism inspires our creativity) - used in the Hadžihasanović case (defense), and an article from the newspaper *Danas* from 1989, *Strogo kontrolirana Republika - afera s bezbednjacima Srbije izbacila na površinu nejedinstvo u bosanskim političkim krugovima* (A strictly controlled Republic - affair with Serbian security forces brought to the surface disunity in Bosnian political circles) (submitted by the defense in the Orić case).

47 The District Of Connecticut's National Security Program (justice.gov) https://www.justice.gov/usao-ct/district-connecticuts-national-security-program

48 ICTY. Transcript of testimony. Trial of Vlastimir Đorđević for crimes in Kosovo. Available at: https://www.icty.org/x/cases/djordjevic/trans/en/090209IT.htm

ИЗ ЗЕМЉЕ

СТРАНА 3

СЛОБОЂЕЊЕ ● ЧЕТВРТАК, 29. ЈУНИ 1989.

КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА ЗА ШТАМПУ ПОВОДОМ РЕФЕРЕНДУМА

Не осјећам се побједником

ГОВОР СЛОБОДАНА МИЛОШЕВИЋА, ПРЕДСЈЕДНИКА ПРЕДСЈЕДНИШТВА СР СРБИЈЕ

Косовско јунаштво инспирише наше стваралаштво

Помен косовским јунацима

Oslobođenje (Hadzihasanovic et al., IT-01-47. Exhibit DH 361, ICTY Court Records, 20/10/2004)

Contribution of the media to legal and historical practice

In order for evidence to be admitted in court proceedings, it must meet the criteria of relevance and credibility. The most credible evidence in court proceedings would be the testimony of a person (a party to the proceedings, a witness or an expert), while legally relevant facts, indications and supporting facts are established in the proceedings themselves. Supporting facts serve to verify the credibility of evidence and to verify authenticity,[49] which is a common reason for questioning journalists as witnesses - verification of authenticity of reports and recordings. Another important reason for testifying and using media evidence is to establish the circumstances in which a crime was committed, with special emphasis on circumstances - what was the balance of power, who commanded whom; this is the most important contribution and in most cases media evidence is used as supporting evidence in establishing the facts.[50] For historians, a media source is a secondary source in the search for the historical truth and the stand on interviews as a media form is clear, where the interviewee is given room to also make incorrect claims, while on

49 Davor Trlin, "Korištenje novinarskih izvještaja u suđenjima" (Use of news reports in trials). *Mediacentar Sarajevo - MC Online*, 5 May 2022

50 Senka Nožica. Conference *Journalism as the First Draft of History*, 4 April 2022

the other side, a well-developed context in a newspaper article can serve as an important secondary reference for further research.[51]

For the media profession, on the other hand, the use of media material for the purpose of evidence - either as supporting or main evidence, either by the prosecution or defense - is an indicator of the importance of professional media reporting and a warning that anything written may one day be analyzed in detail - as court practice has shown: every word, grammatical structure of a sentence or use of verb tense may become significant in the context of establishing facts about crimes. In the research of secondary literature on the work of The Hague Tribunal and the archive of evidentiary material, we find different opinions, but it is certainly common and almost never disputed that one of the most significant achievements of The Hague Tribunal is the documentation and accessibility of the archive; we might say that the more the archive is used, the greater the achievement.

El Pais journalist Angel Santa Cruz did not testify in The Hague after his interview with Karadžić on 13 July 1995. The interview contains toponyms found in Karadžić's numerous other appearances, but the journalist's description of the circumstances in which the interview took place is a big contribution for all those who research crime denial narratives, the politics of memory and remembrance, and ultimately, the media.

El Pais continued to report on events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later also Kosovo, and we find a particularly striking article in the archives of this media outlet published almost on the anniversary of their interview with Karadžić, *Karadzic y el carnaval de Pale*[52] (Karadžić and the Pale Carnival), which reported on activities following the signing of Dayton:

> A year has passed since Karadžić, at the height of his power and at the height of his crimes, when he unleashed his army on Srebrenica, spoke to *El Pais* journalists in Pale - an interview that represents the testament of an individual determined to achieve further destruction through lies and violence, in which he has largely succeeded. At that time, the only thing missing from his desk [besides the maps] was the globe that Charlie Chaplin played with in the famous parody of Hitler [*The Great Dictator*, the scene with the balloon-globe dance], stating that even a year later, he controls the police, television and money. (3 July 1996)

51 Husnija Kamberović, ibid.

52 Ángel Santa Cruz, "Karadzic y el carnaval de Pale". *El Pais*, 3 July 1996 https://elpais.com/diario/1996/07/03/internacional/836344813_850215.html

Legacy of The Hague Tribunal in the court records database

The 24th and final annual report of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to the United Nations Security Council was submitted in August 2017, with a significant focus on the legacy and management of the legacy of the ICTY. In addition to the normative, non-judicial legacy and the legacy related to gender issues and the judiciary, particular attention is given to the operational legacy related, among other things, to the use of evidence exhibit databases and facilitating the search of evidence exhibits through accurate and comprehensive metadata.[53]

In the context of operational recommendations, a significant part of the activities is focused on the transfer of jurisdiction, equipment, records and archives to the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals. At the time of the report, 71.8 percent of physical material and 88 percent of digital records had been transferred; responsibility for the preserving of materials and the management of ICTY archives had also been transferred to the Mechanism.

Public court records are available online in the Unified Court Records database and the archival material is divided into three broad categories: judicial records, records relating to the judicial process and administrative records. The judicial records archive concerns specific documents that were used in connection with 161 cases; the documents were generated by the prosecution, defense, chambers and the accused. In it, we can find court filings, transcripts of court hearings and exhibits admitted as evidence from both the prosecution and the defense.[54]

In terms of statistics, the ICTY processed 161 cases, heard 4,650 witnesses and documented around 2.5 million pages of court records. The enormity of the whole process is also indicated by the statistic that the ICTY employed more than 7,000 staff members, 87 judges, five prosecutors, and four registrars.[55]

Today's archives contain "thousands of linear meters of physical records and more than 3 petabytes of digital records, including documents, maps,

53 Annual Report of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, 1 August 2017. Available at: https://www.icty.org/x/file/About/Reports%20and%20Publications/AnnualReports/annual_report_2017_en.pdf

54 You can access the database at: https://ucr.irmct.org/; ICTY court records archive at: http://icr.icty.org/bcs/defaultb.aspx

55 ICTY Facts and Figures, https://www.icty.org/en/content/infographic-icty-facts-figures, and ICTY Annual Report (1 August 2017).

photographs, audio and video recordings, objects, databases, websites and other types of records".[56] From secondary sources, we learn that as early as 2005, the court had more than 5,500 videotapes as evidence, nearly six million items of paper and still photographic evidence, and more than 13,000 artifacts obtained as evidence.[57]

Around 70 percent of the court records of the ICTY and IRMCT are public. According to the IRMCT, records containing confidential information and information concerning witness protection are not available to the public. According to the Mechanism, confidential records are periodically reviewed and, as soon as possible, are either declassified or access is provided to redacted versions of these documents. It is unclear how and when the remaining records will become available.[58]

It is important to note that the archive does not include all evidentiary material from the investigation period, because the evidence collected during an investigation is stored at the Prosecutor's Office and contains many details that are then *tested* and compared against other materials and witnesses, and only the evidence that is shown as credible and relevant to the case is presented in trial. Therefore, in the online evidence database we mainly have access to material that has been admitted and used in open trials.[59]

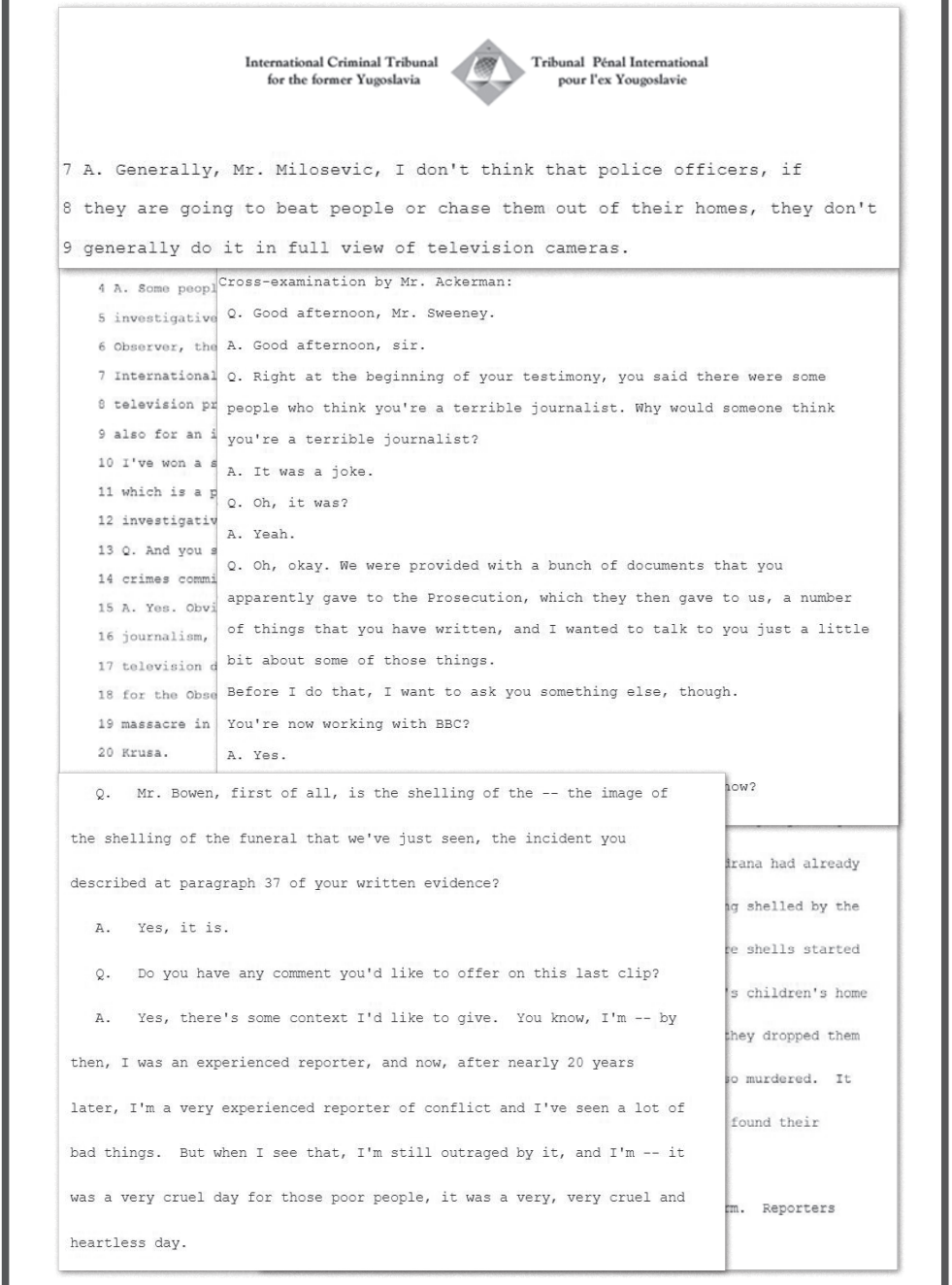
However, it is important to note that the court records database is an extremely complex archive. The very fact that it contains such broadly set categories requires a lot of patience in the research and the whole process is time-consuming. For many researchers and journalists, the database can be daunting, but testing the search engines and getting to know the archive can lead to some new findings. Work on improving the metadata, availability and linking of archived units is a long-term process in which the Mechanism invests significant effort, along with regular management and an effort to adapt outdated formats to rapid technological changes and remain transparent and accessible.

56 IRMCT Archive, https://www.irmct.org/bcs/o-mehanizmu/funkcije/arhive

57 T. Huskamp Peterson, "'Temporary Courts Permanent Records', a Report for USIP", 2006. Available at: http://www.usip.org/publications/temporary-courts-permanent-records. In: Iva Vukušić, 629.

58 Iva Vukušić, "Why We Should Open Archives from War Crimes Trials to the Public". *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, 15 July 2021

59 Iva Vukušić, "The Archives of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia". *History*, 98 (4 (332)), 623-635.



International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Tribunal Pénal International pour l'ex Yougoslavie

7 A. Generally, Mr. Milosevic, I don't think that police officers, if
8 they are going to beat people or chase them out of their homes, they don't
9 generally do it in full view of television cameras.

Cross-examination by Mr. Ackerman:

Q. Good afternoon, Mr. Sweeney.

A. Good afternoon, sir.

Q. Right at the beginning of your testimony, you said there were some people who think you're a terrible journalist. Why would someone think you're a terrible journalist?

A. It was a joke.

Q. Oh, it was?

A. Yeah.

Q. Oh, okay. We were provided with a bunch of documents that you apparently gave to the Prosecution, which they then gave to us, a number of things that you have written, and I wanted to talk to you just a little bit about some of those things.

Before I do that, I want to ask you something else, though.

You're now working with BBC?

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Bowen, first of all, is the shelling of the -- the image of the shelling of the funeral that we've just seen, the incident you described at paragraph 37 of your written evidence?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Do you have any comment you'd like to offer on this last clip?

A. Yes, there's some context I'd like to give. You know, I'm -- by then, I was an experienced reporter, and now, after nearly 20 years later, I'm a very experienced reporter of conflict and I've seen a lot of bad things. But when I see that, I'm still outraged by it, and I'm -- it was a very cruel day for those poor people, it was a very, very cruel and heartless day.

Extracts from trial transcripts of the testimony of Jeremy Bowen, John Sweeney and Jacky Rowland.

PORTRAITS OF JOURNALISTS AS WITNESSES

Dragan Golubović

According to incomplete data, at least 35 journalists testified in the trials before the ICTY, either for the prosecution or the defense:

Aernout Van Lynden, Anthony Birtley, Andrew Hogg, Alija Lizde, Baton Haxhiu, Branimir Grulović, Dan Damon, Deborah Christie, Dejan Anastasijević, Edmond Vanderostyne, Ed Vulliamy, Eve-Ann Prentile, Francz-Josef Hutsch, Florence Hartmann, Ian Traynor, Jacky Rowland, Jeremy Francis, John Bowen, John Sweeney, Jovan Dulović, Karmen Brlić-Jovanović, Marita Vihervouri, Martin Bell, Milivoje Mihailović, Nenad Zafirović, Robert Block, Richard Lyntton, Sead Omeragić, Slavoljub Kačarević, Slađan Lalović, Sredoje Simić, Šefko Hodžić, Veton Surroi, Zoran Petrović-Piroćanac, Zvezdana Polovina.

Fourteen of them were interviewed during the implementation of the project and below we present their portraits.

Andrew Hogg (Great Britain)

Andrew Hogg was born in 1953 in London. He started working as a journalist at a local newspaper when he was 19. In his journalism career, he worked for many media - from local newspapers around London to *The Evening News, Evening Standard, The Sunday Times, The Observer, Daily Mail* and *The Guardian*. He wrote rock reviews, worked in the crime section, and upon joining *The Sunday Times*, his desire to work as a correspondent was fulfilled. In the beginning, he worked as a correspondent from Africa and then the Middle East. He reported from Lebanon, Algeria, Jordan, Iraq and Afghanistan. Hogg arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the summer of 1992. *The Sunday Times*

editors wanted to verify the *rumours* that foreign fighters, better known as the Mujahideen, were fighting on the side of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Hogg is not one of the *recognizable* names of war correspondents, such as Vulliamy, Bell or Van Lynden. Hogg's reporting from Bosnia and Herzegovina was marked by two stories: an interview with Abdel Aziz, the commander of the *El-Mudžahid* unit, conducted in the village of Mehurić near Travnik (the interview was featured on the front page of *The Sunday Times*), and a story about a massacre in the village of Miletići committed by the Mujahideen against the local Croat population.

The interview with Abdel Aziz was the reason why the Prosecutor's Office of the ICTY called Hogg as a witness. Hogg testified in two trials: against Rasim Delić (10 July 2007) and Enver Hadžihasanović and Amir Kubura (21 May 2004). In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Hogg said: "I was called to testify solely to describe how Mujahideen leader Abdel Aziz agreed to give me an interview. And he was very clear: I will only give you an interview if you get permission from the Army of RBiH."

Hogg replaced his career in journalism with working for humanitarian organizations. On his motivation to change jobs, in his interview for the project, Hogg said: "I probably shouldn't say this as a former news editor, but once you witness the making of history - when you see the release of Mandela... I was at the funeral of Ayatollah Khomeini... when you see that, when you see the siege of Sarajevo - the events in the British Parliament don't really attract your attention."

Alija Lizde (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Alija Lizde was born in 1959 in Mostar. After he failed in his original idea of becoming a pilot, he decided that his life path would be marked by journalism. During his career, he worked in television, radio and newspapers and was the owner of the weekly *Hercegovačke novine* and the radio station Radio *Hayat*, and later Radio *Stari Most*.

At the beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Lizde worked as a correspondent for the Zagreb newspaper *Vjesnik* and as a journalist for the war studio of Radio Mostar, until 9 May 1993, when soldiers of the Croat Defense

Council (HVO) arrested him together with the team of journalists on duty. War studio Mostar was shut down, and, considering that he was a journalist for Zagreb's *Vjesnik*, Lizde was offered the opportunity to continue working in radio, for Croat Radio Mostar. After refusing the offer, Lizde was first taken to Ljubuški and then spent the next 158 days in the Dretelj and Heliodrom camps. He was released from the camp at the request of the World Association of Journalists and Newspaper Publishers and the Ljubljana-based Center for Media Independence and was offered to choose where he wanted to go after leaving the camp. When he expressed his desire to traverse 200 metres and return to the other side of Mostar, Lizde recalls in his interview, the then president of the Office of Exchange, Berto Pušić, told him: "You can go to the Moon, you can't go there."

His time in the HVO camps interested the Prosecutor's Office of the ICTY and they asked him to be a witness in the trial against Jadranko Prlić and other members of the *Six*. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Lizde related an interesting fact: he had learned that he would be officially called to be a prosecution witness from Berto Pušić, one of the defendants.

When asked how he felt about appearing before the ICTY as a witness for the prosecution, Lizde replied: "Happy and satisfied because I would tell part of the truth, my story, to the public and to the people who would render judgment as to whether someone had done something ugly, and how ugly it was, firstly to me, then to some of my friends, colleagues, and ultimately to the people."

As a long-time journalist, this is how Lizde today views journalism: "Today, you work like a horse, when you sleep, you forget, and repeat. And so until you die. And if you find beauty in that, you can stay. So, there are no laurels in journalism."

Alija Lizde's career in journalism lasted more than thirty years, and after everything he had experienced, he found his peace and a new love in a winery and vineyards in Domanovići, Herzegovina.

Branimir Grulović (Serbia)

Branimir Grulović was born in 1951 in Belgrade. He graduated from the Academy of Theatre, Film, Radio and Television in Zagreb. He also completed specialist studies in TV journalism and later obtained a master's degree in the field of television, film and video.

Grulović started his career as a journalist at Television Belgrade in the 1970s. In the early 1990s, he continued his career as a producer and journalist. He worked for several foreign agencies: ARD, *Visnews*, ORF, *Reuters*. When his career in journalism ended, he worked as an advisor to the OHR media team. He taught public relations as a major course as well as TV production and television camera at *Banja Luka College*.

In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Grulović stated that *Reuters* had not recommended that its employees testify at the ICTY before he was asked by Ljubiša Beara to testify in his defense. Despite the recommendation, and as someone who was no longer an employee of *Reuters*, Grulović appeared before ICTY officials on 22 July 2008, in the case against Popović and others, as a defense witness for Ljubiša Beara, former head of the security department of the Main Staff of the Army of the Republika Srpska.

Grulović says about the experience of testifying before the ICTY: "At first, you think, you go over everything in your mind, what to say, how to say it, then nervousness sets in. In that small closed space, there is no natural air, but artificial air conditioning. I don't know if they do it on purpose to make the witnesses anxious, to affect the psyche, I don't know, but I assume they do. When you go in, you enter the courtroom and there is a protocol there, how to enter, who to address, how, if you should look in the direction of the accused. When you go outside, when you go through this whole procedure and when you look at that building and when you know that thousands of years of prison for some people who will never see freedom are collected there, it's a strange feeling."

After a long career in journalism, Grulović no longer believes in media freedom. He is of the opinion that the trampling of journalism principles began the moment news became a commodity for the market.

Edward Vulliamy (United Kingdom)

Ed Vulliamy was born in 1954 in London. He wanted to be a civil rights attorney, but he became one of the most important war correspondents who reported from the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Thanks to a friend, he sent a feature to *The Guardian* from the *Juventus - Liverpool* match from Belgium's *Heysel* stadium in May 1985, in which 39 *Juventus* fans died in the rioting. He soon received an offer from *Granada* Television to continue his career in London. As correspondent for *The Guardian* in Rome, he covered the breakup of Yugoslavia. His reporting began in Slovenia in 1991, continued in Croatia (Sisak, Glina, Karlovac, Vukovar), and finally in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ed Vulliamy and Penny Marshall (ITN), following Roy Gutman's article published earlier in *Newsday* about the existence of camps in Prijedor, sent confirmation to the world on the existence of the Trnopolje, Omarska and Keraterm concentration camps. The articles published in *The Guardian* and the ITN footage of the camps later became one of the motivations for establishing the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia, whose mission was to prosecute war crimes.

Ed Vulliamy was the first journalist to agree to be a witness in war crimes trials. It was in the case against Dušan Tadić (6 June 1996). After Tadić, he testified in other cases for crimes committed in Prijedor (Kovačević, Stakić, Sikirica and others), then in cases against Tihomir Blaškić, Prlić and others, and also in the Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić cases.

Responding to criticism by *The New York Times* that he had lost his objectivity by agreeing to testify before the ICTY, Vulliamy said that they had confused objectivity and neutrality. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, he says: "If there are 12 dead bodies in the house, it's 12. It's not eight because they are Croats, or 15 because they are Serbs, or 24 because they are Bosnians. That's objectivity. Neutrality is something else. Neutrality says that I see an equation of some kind between the women who had been violated every night in the camp of Omarska and the beasts who were doing it. And I am not neutral between the camp guard in Omarska and the innocent inmate who is being mutilated and tortured and beaten to death."

Vulliamy is the author of several books, the latest of which is *Louder Than Bombs: A Life with Music, War and Peace* (2020). He has won a number of journalism awards, including two *British Press Awards* for international reporter of the year (1992 and 1997) and an *Amnesty International* media award (1992) for achievements in human rights journalism.

Florence Hartmann (France)

Florence Hartmann was born in 1963 in Paris, where she graduated with a degree in French and world literature and received a master's degree in civilization and literature. Instead of literature, Hartmann began her career in journalism by preparing press clippings for the Mexican ambassador to Yugoslavia. She translated the newspaper content into Spanish, and later they talked about it in French. *Le Monde's* offer to report on events from Yugoslavia for the French paper arrived in 1989. In 1990, Hartmann interviewed the then president of the HDZ party, Franjo Tuđman, and when asked if she would need a translator, she answered: "No, I will use your language." The interview was also attended by Stipe Mesić, who at the end of the interview, Hartmann recalled in her interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, praised her knowledge of the language, and when he asked where she had learned Croatian so well, she replied: "In Belgrade".

Hartmann covered the breakup of Yugoslavia and the events of the war from Belgrade until 1994, more precisely until the moment when the then government did not approve her visa extension. She spent eleven years at *Le Monde*.

Her career in journalism was marked by the discovery of the Ovčara mass grave near Vukovar. Together with Helen Despić-Popović from the *Associated Press* (AP), following a lead from an article published in Zagreb's *Vjesnik*, they discovered the location of the grave. The publication of the article in *Le Monde* and AP paved the way for then UN special rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki to confirm suspicions about the mass grave and war crimes committed in Vukovar.

Covering the trial of Mile Mrkšić, Miroslav Radić and Veselin Šljivančanin for war crimes committed in Vukovar, and as an employee of the ICTY, she turned to the Prosecutor's Office to testify in this process based on the fact that she was the one who had discovered the mass grave in Vukovar and that Šljivančanin had been aware of the existence of the grave.

It is interesting to note that as well as being an employee of the ICTY, Hartmann was also an inmate of Scheveningen prison for five days, together with the others who were being tried for war crimes. Namely, in August 2008, Hartmann was charged with contempt of court because she had published confidential information in her book *Peace and Punishment* regarding Appeals Chamber rulings in the case of Slobodan Milošević.

The verdict resulted in a fine of 7,000 euros, and when she did not agree to pay the fine, a warrant was issued for her arrest. She spent five days in the Scheveningen prison complex. In an interview with *Dnevni avaz*[60] about her prison experience, Hartmann said: "The most difficult moments were when the night guards checked on me because I was on suicide watch. This measure is imposed on people who have just started serving their sentence and have been sentenced to 20 years or more."

Hartmann is the author of four books. She published her first book, *Milošević: The Opposite of Crazy*, in 1999, followed by *Peace and Punishment: The Secret Wars of Politics and International Justice; Whistleblowers: The Bad Consciences of our Democracies;* and *The Srebrenica Affair: The Blood of Realpolitik,* in which she questions the role and degree of responsibility of the great powers (Great Britain, France and the United States) in the fall of Srebrenica.

Jacky Rowland (Great Britain)

Jacky Rowland was born in 1964 in Great Britain and graduated from *St Anne's College* in Oxford in 1986. She then went to the Persian Gulf, where she worked as an intern at a local newspaper (1987-1988). Upon returning to Great Britain, she got a job in Liverpool, after which she completed her postgraduate studies and the BBC's internship programme. In early 1990, she continued her career as the BBC's North Africa correspondent based in Tunisia, covering the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the beginning of the civil war in Algeria. She reported from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. She was one of the first female journalists who went to Afghanistan after 11 September 2001 to report on the events there.

She came to the former Yugoslavia, more precisely to Sarajevo, not as a war reporter, but as a mentor at the BBC school of journalism launched by *Mediacentar Sarajevo* in June 1996. Jacky mentored two generations of young journalists from BiH (1996 and 1997). Her next destination was Belgrade (1998-2001), from which she covered the war in Kosovo. After the BBC, she continued her career at *Al Jazeera* as a correspondent from Europe and then the Middle East.

Jacky Rowland is the first female journalist who decided to be a witness in a war crimes trial, as an eyewitness to the war in Kosovo during the campaign

60 *Dnevni avaz*, 31 March 2016

of NATO strikes on Serbia, especially the bombing of Dubrava prison near Pristina. The Prosecutor's Office in The Hague asked her to testify in the Slobodan Milošević trial. In her interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, she confirmed that many of her colleagues thought she was wrong for agreeing to testify before the Court and that Robert Fisk wrote a strongly-worded piece in *The Independent* about her testimony. "Later that year, I was invited to *News World*, which is an industry annual conference, it was held in Dublin that year, there was going to be a debate hosted by Andrew Neil. He was the moderator for whether one should testify or not. I was there, he was there, there was a bunch of journalists, conference participants in this room, we had a good chat and at the end they had a show of hands: should one testify or not? And the show of hands, it wasn't absolutely categorical, it wasn't like black and white, but there was a clear majority of hands in that room agreeing that to testify was the right thing to do. This is not scientific, you know, it's a bunch of journalists happened to be there."

She won a *Royal Television Society* award in 2001 for her coverage of the *Color Revolution* in Belgrade and the fall of the Milošević regime in October 2000.

Jeremy Bowen (Great Britain)

Jeremy Bowen was born in 1960 in Cardiff. His father was a journalist and his mother a photographer. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, he recalled that his father bought newspapers and magazines and that the house was covered in newspapers and that "from quite an early age I decided that it would be good to be, not just a journalist, but to be a foreign correspondent."

Bowen's boyhood wishes came true. He started working for the BBC in 1984 after finishing university and a journalism internship at the British Broadcasting Service. His first experiences as a journalist were related to reporting from Northern Ireland (Belfast 1984-1985), followed by a somewhat quieter position, a correspondent position in Geneva. The next assignment was reporting from Afghanistan and then moving to Central America - El Salvador. Next came the position of correspondent from Washington and after that Moscow. Bowen reported for the BBC from the Gulf War and then in 1991 he came to the former Yugoslavia.

During the war in Croatia, he reported from Vukovar, and then moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the conflict there. During the war

in BiH, Bowen mainly reported from Mostar, Sarajevo and the surrounding areas. One of the first reports he sent to the BBC was the shelling of Sarajevo's Lav cemetery during the funeral of children killed as they were being evacuated from Sarajevo. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, he says: "I've done wars, I've been in El Salvador, I've been in Afghanistan, I've been in the Gulf War when the Americans were bombing Baghdad, hundreds of people dead on one occasion there, I've been in Croatia, but there was something about shelling a funeral of kids who'd been shot as they were crossing, which for me it was just, I thought it was despicable. And when I reported it, I wanted to get very angry and say: 'This is a terrible war crime, this shouldn't be allowed, these people should be punished,' but something in me made me say no, just tell the story, give the facts, because the facts are shocking enough, you don't need to - it was my BBC training - the facts are shocking enough, you don't need to embroider, you don't need to make it more, people can draw their own conclusions."

Reporting from the war in BiH and witnessing war crimes brought Jeremy Bowen before the ICTY three times. He testified in the trials of Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić, in the case against Mladen Naletilić and Vinko Martinović, and Jadranko Prlić et al. When asked if he was in any dilemma whether to accept the prosecution's requests to testify, Bowen says: "I thought it was morally justifiable, journalistically justifiable, in fact there was an imperative to do it, I should do it. I felt good doing it, it was important."

On the role of the ICTY, Bowen says: "I can say that the people on the Serb side are denying now, they're denying genocide happened, but that's wrong… How do we know that? There's a massive archive documenting almost minute by minute what happened. We know minute by minute more or less what happened in Srebrenica, in Potočari, in the camps. And so I think the Tribunal did a fantastic job."

Jeremy Bowen is the author of three books: *Six Days - How the 1967 War Shaped the Middle East* (2003), *War Stories* (2006), and *Arab Uprisings - The People Want the Fall of the Regime* (2012). He has received dozens of awards, from Best News Correspondent at the New York Television Festival in 1995 to Honorary Doctor of Social Science from Nottingham Trent University.

John Sweeney (Great Britain)

John Sweeney was born in 1958 on the island of Jersey (Channel Islands). In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, he recalled that he wanted to be a lawyer, but he changed his mind after visiting the Crown Court in Winchester, where he attended a rape trial where one of the lawyers was ripping the character of the victim to pieces. Sweeney says: "And I thought, I don't want to do that, I don't want to be a lawyer anymore." Making the decision to pursue journalism was helped by a career presentation and a guest appearance by a journalist from *The Southern Evening Echo*, whose interpretation of journalism appealed to him.

He started his career as an intern at *The Economist*, followed by a professional career at *The Sheffield Telegraph*, *The Observer* and the BBC. Over the years of his career, he focused on investigative reporting and later on reporting from different destinations in the world. In 2005, Sweeney received the *Paul Foot Award* for investigative journalism. He investigated the case of women who were wrongly imprisoned for the murder of their children and his investigation helped clear them of the murders. As a BBC journalist, he investigated the facts of the mass graves in Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe's regime, he reported from Romania, Algeria, Iraq, Chechnya, Burundi, and he covered the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Sweeney arrived in the former Yugoslavia as a journalist for *The Observer* at the beginning of the conflict in Croatia. He reported from Vukovar, Osijek and Dubrovnik and he was in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1994. He mostly reported from central Bosnia and then from the war in Kosovo in 1999.

While reporting from Kosovo, Sweeney made two documentaries about the massacre at Mala Kruša (Krushe e Vogel). According to Sweeney's testimony, the film *The Man with Burnt Hands* documents the story of a man who survived the massacre at Mala Kruša. "After the massacre there were some people who were still alive and they set fire to the hay barn to destroy the evidence and he didn't want to move to show that he was still alive and so he let his hands burn rather than move. And when the Serbs, he could hear the Serbs walk away, he ran for it. And he made it. I didn't know his name, I didn't know who he was, other than the man with the burned hands." Sweeney won a Royal Television Society award for the documentary.

His experiences in Kosovo interested the Prosecutor's Office of the ICTY and they asked Sweeney to be a witness in the case against police general

Vlastimir Đorđević. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Sweeney commented on the role of the ICTY: "But nevertheless, something like The Hague, the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, is a step in the right direction. And it happened for a number of reasons, one of which is that Russia at that point and Yeltsin were sufficiently weak that it kind of said 'OK' to the American and the British suggestion to go along with it. And so for that moment there was a moment of real politics. Putin would've never said yes."

John Sweeney has won several journalism awards. One of the first was journalist of the year in 1998 for reports on human rights abuses in Algeria and the latest was the previously mentioned *Paul Foot Award* in 2005. He is the author of a dozen or so books. He published his first book, *The Life and Evil Times of Nicolae Ceausescu*, in 1991 and the latest in 2020, *The Useful Idiot*.

Martin Bell (Great Britain)

Martin Bell was born in 1938 in Redisham, Great Britain. He studied at *King's College*, Cambridge. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Bell explained that journalism had a long tradition in his family. His grandfather was a journalist, the second in command at the *Observer*, and his father was a writer, and the person who convinced the owners of *The Times* to include the crossword puzzle in the newspaper. At the age of 24, Martin Bell joined the BBC as a reporter. His first assignment was a report on the breeding of Arabian horses. After reporting on flower shows, horse shows and the like, he got the chance to report on the overthrowing of African dictator Kwame Nkrumah. Reporting from crisis zones and war zones would define Bell's career. He reported from eighteen wars, including those in Vietnam, the Middle East, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique and El Salvador.

As for reporting from the former Yugoslavia, he began in Slovenia, Croatia (Vukovar, Petrinja) and finally Bosnia and Herzegovina, starting with the independence referendum, until the official end of the war - the signing of the Dayton Agreement. He reported from almost all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A BBC team, together with Martin Bell, was one of the first news teams to enter the village of Ahmići - after the massacre committed by members of the HVO. In the trial of Tihomir Blaškić, he was a witness for the defense. In his interview for this project, Bell commented on the process: "I told them what I knew, then our famous report of the Ahmići massacre was introduced as evidence. You saw it all, the broken myriad of bodies, everything. It was a,

the difficulty I had with that report was getting the BBC to use it at all, because they were very sensitive to portrayal of real world violence. But this was shown and I gave my evidence and it was sympathetic to Blaškić and I was even more dismayed when I discovered he'd been found guilty."

In addition to testifying in the *Blaškić* case, Bell testified before the ICTY four more times, in the cases against Dragomir Milošević, Momčilo Perišić, Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić. During Karadžić's trial, Bell stated: "I can't remember any war that I've covered where words and images were as important as in this one."

Bell considers the role of the media and journalists in the war in BiH to be important, because the media showed the world what was happening. In his interview for this project, Bell recalled a letter from a young man from Canada: "...We were stopped just south of Zvornik by a Serb roadblock, but Vladimir [translator, author's note] managed to talk them into letting us go through on the grounds that we were going to witness all the bad things that were supposedly happening to the Serbs. What happened instead, we found a side road, we were diverted up it and thereupon we came upon an actual act of ethnic cleansing: thousands of Muslims from in and around Zvornik fleeing their homes on foot. And as you say, this baby in a green blanket was being carried and the people told us what had happened to them and how they were, how others had been killed. And twenty years later I got an email or a letter from a young man in Canada who was that baby in a green blanket and he was being cared for by his uncle, he'd lost his parents and he wrote me a very moving letter, thanking me because it was the only record that he had of what had happened to his family."

Speaking about today's journalism, Bell specifically refers to the phenomenon of fake news, stating that it has always existed, even in the old journalistic Fleet Street: "...there were characters in the old Fleet Street who used to make things up… (…) I think it is so easy, you know, as they say, the lie is half way around the world before the truth has got its boots on."

He won the Royal Television Society's Reporter of the Year award in 1977 and 1993 and in 1992 he was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire. After that, in 2001, he was appointed UNICEF UK Ambassador for Humanitarian Emergencies and has worked to date to improve the plight of children affected by conflict and natural disasters. He is the author of several books. One of the better known in our region is *In Harm's Way: Bosnia - a war reporter's story*.

Sead Omeragić (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Sead Omeragić was born in 1958 in Trebinje. After graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy (Department of Literature) in Sarajevo, he began his career as a journalist at *Glas Trebinja* in 1984, where he worked until the beginning of 1992. Under pressure from the local authorities over an article published in Sarajevo's *Svijet*, in which he revealed who was the murderer of a member of the local election commission, he was forced to leave Trebinje and flee to Sarajevo. He continued his career with the weekly publication *Slobodna Bosna.*

During his career, he wrote many articles, but one of the most important was a feature from Bijeljina entitled *Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram* (Bloody Bijeljina Bajram), published by *Slobodna Bosna*. Omeragić visited Bijeljina in early April 1992, together with a state delegation, under the guise of chief of staff of Fikret Abdić, member of the RBiH Presidency. Upon his return to Sarajevo, Omeragić wrote an article in which he described the events in the city, which was completely under the control of Željko Ražnatović Arkan and his paramilitary force.

He testified before the ICTY twice, in the cases against Slobodan Milošević and Momčilo Krajišnik, as a witness for the prosecution. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Omeragić said that the prosecution, based on his published article *Krvavi bijeljinski Bajram* and what he had seen that day in Bijeljina, wanted to prove that Arkan and his paramilitary unit were under the control of the official bodies of Serbia and the Republika Srpska.

Omeragić illustrates how stressful, demanding and distressing it was to testify in trials before the ICTY through a joint photograph of people who testified in court at the same time as Omeragić. "There were 12 of us in the photo. Of all those 12 in the photo, only three are alive, nine have died in the meantime, not even seven or eight years have passed. I think it's partly due to the stress. Because there is a lot of stress in preparing for testimony, you will stand before Milošević, testify before Krajišnik."

During the war in BiH, Omeragić worked as a war reporter - according to his testimony, he made 74 war features and he vividly describes the characters he met during his work as a journalist.

He is the author of four books and during his career he has worked for dozens of BiH media. He is currently the editor of the news and political website *Bosna Global*. As an experienced journalist, he has given advice to young journalists

"... to study, to read. People read very little. I have an obsession with reading, every month I buy at least one hundred marks worth of books in a second-hand book shop and read them. It's a big deal, when you have something that is evidence. I mean, a book is evidence, no matter what, just now I bought three works by Vladimir Dedijer, his diaries. It's very interesting, anyone can say what they want, but I learned a lot there."

Slavoljub Kačarević (Serbia)

Slavoljub Kačarević was born in 1956 in Belgrade. He graduated from the Nikola Tesla School of Electrical Engineering in Belgrade, and instead of studying at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering as planned, he graduated from the Faculty of Political Science (Department of Journalism). He spent his working life as a journalist, editor, newspaper owner and finally printing house director. He started his career at *Student* magazine and was considered one of the most promising young journalists. At the beginning of 1980 he continued his career at *Politika* and then *Intervju* magazine, where he worked until 1994, when he realized that the independent journalism of that time no longer had media power. After leaving *Intervju*, Kačarević made a turn in his career and started a private magazine called Život pasa, and towards the end of his career he was the director of a printing company. About the experience of writing for the most influential political daily in Serbia at the time, *Politika*, during socialism, Kačarević says: "... anything is possible at *Politika*, except to touch Tito and the Party, never do that. Which was essentially true, if one understands it well, if one really thinks about it, and this later showed itself through life, we could do anything. It was the 1980s, I worked for the daily newspaper *Politika* for ten or so years, and it was really a great experience and a time that one can be proud of, regardless of what we talk about today as one-party uniformity of opinion."

Kačarević is one of the few interviewees on the project who said that he had not been very willing to appear as a witness before the ICTY. The prosecution asked him to testify in the case against the *Vukovar troika*. As a journalist for *Intervju*, he had visited Vukovar in November 1991 and on that occasion had spoken with then JNA major Veselin Šljivančanin and JNA captain Miroslav Radić. Parts of the conversations were published in *Intervju* magazine on 29 November 1991 and 15 years later the article became relevant again in the ICTY courtroom. In the interview for the project, Kačarević testified that it had not been easy to be a witness before the ICTY: "I want to say that in that

atmosphere, when you are there in that machine - which is big, scary and totally dehumanized, from the look of it all to the treatment, everyone is kind, but in a way that just irritates, it's actually a kind of, so to speak... - and therefore one feels some sort of contempt."

Tony Birtley (Great Britain)

Tony (Anthony) Birtley was born in 1955 in Germany. Instead of fulfilling his boyhood wish and becoming a football player, he became a journalist at the urging of his father, a journalist himself. Birtley's career in journalism was defined by his position of foreign correspondent and his coverage of wars around the world. During his career, he reported from the Middle East, Rwanda, Burma, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Lebanon, Palestine and finally from the wars in the former Yugoslavia, working for *ABC News*, *BBC*, *Al Jazeera English, Channel 4* and other media.

Birtley arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an *ABC News* journalist in July 1992. During the war, he reported from Sarajevo, Mostar and Srebrenica, which marked his career. Birtley entered Srebrenica in March 1993 and for a long time was the only *voice* from Srebrenica to the outside world. During his time in Srebrenica, he was seriously wounded in the leg. The first operation was performed by Doctor Nedret Mujkanović and afterwards Birtley was evacuated to Split. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Birtley says: "I stayed there for about 24 hours and then ABC, the company I was working for, sent a medevac plane for me and I was taken to London. And when I got to London, there were all these specialists coming around and they said: 'Fantastic work done in Srebrenica and in Split.'"

Ten years after the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Birtley appeared as a prosecution witness before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the trial against Naser Orić. He testified about the circumstances of the events in Srebrenica during his stay there. When asked if he had had any dilemma about whether to accept the prosecution's request, Birtley says: "This was very much the decision that I'd made and I couldn't in all honesty find a reason not to do that, because it was unlikely that I was going to be saying anything different to what I had already said in my reports and also I did extensive interviews after I came out of Srebrenica, for example. I did literally hundreds of reports when I was in Bosnia about all aspects and I had absolutely no qualms whatsoever about talking about anything that I saw and witnessed there."

As an experienced journalist, Birtley sees bias as one of the problems in today's journalism: "I can't remember when I was a young youth or whatever thinking these newspapers or these programmes as biased, but I've come to realize that there's a tremendous amount of bias in the media. And certain newspapers, certain programmes will see things in a completely different way and ignore what I call are the absolute facts."

Veton Surroi (Kosovo)

Veton Surroi was born in 1961 in Pristina. He graduated in English language and literature at UNAM (*National Autonomous University of Mexico*). He started his career in journalism at *Rilindja*. When the legal conditions were created for the founding of private media in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Veton started the weekly publication *Koha* in 1990, which became a daily newspaper seven years later, called *Koha Ditore*, which in turn would eventually become one of the most influential media outlets in Kosovo. Given that his active involvement in political life in Kosovo restricted him in terms of media ownership, he entrusted his sister with the publishing business.

Veton Surroi testified three times before the ICTY in the trials against Slobodan Milošević, Vlastimir Đorđević and Nikola Šainović et al. All three indictments related to Kosovo. Surroi was called by the prosecution, not because of his articles in the newspaper, but to explain and contextualize the situation in Kosovo during the trials, from human rights to the situation in the media. In his interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Surroi said: "In all three trials, I was asked to show how I saw the conflict, since I was part of the leadership that was in favour of peaceful resistance in the late '80s and early '90s in Kosovo."

Surroi had no doubts about whether he should travel to The Hague to testify before the ICTY. "My first reaction was, without a doubt, that I would participate, especially in the case of the Milošević trial, because it was a moment of justice, it was a pleasure to meet Milošević in The Hague, not in his residence. He was the accused and I was a witness for the prosecution against him."

After the end of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, Surroi, both as a politician and a journalist, believes that today's societies have not 'sobered up' from nationalism. An example is the glorification of convicted war criminals, which Surroi calls "impossible narratives", which were unimaginable, for example, in Germany after World War II.

When asked how much journalism has changed between the time he started working in journalism and today, Surroi says: "Well, it has changed fundamentally. Now we live, I hope, in a time of a rebirth of the need for journalism. We have information hyperproduction, which means that the capacity to produce information has never been greater. But the capacity for processing it is low. And so the unprocessed information that circulates on social media is information that becomes a toxic element in society. Therefore, there is capacity for disinformation, but not for information."

Zvezdana Polovina (Croatia)

Zvezdana Polovina was born in 1956 in Vukovar. She studied mathematics and physics at the University of Osijek. She started working at radio Vukovar in the middle of 1990 after she won a singing competition, *Prvi glas Vukovara*. Mirko Stanković, the editor-in-chief of Vukovar radio at the time, invited her to come for a test, because they wanted to hire an announcer. She passed the audition successfully. So, in July 1990, Zvezdana Polovina became part of the radio team, which, less than a year later, would become the only voice from a city under siege - Vukovar. The young team of journalists consisted of Josip Esterajer (30 years old), Vesna Vuković-Orešković (23), Alenka Mirković-Nađ (27), Zvezdana Polovina (36) and her husband Branko Polovina (41), as well as Siniša Glavašević (31). Branko and Siniša were killed after JNA units and paramilitary forces entered Vukovar.

In her interview with *Mediacentar Sarajevo*, Polovina testified in detail about events immediately before the fall of Vukovar. After it became clear that Vukovar could no longer be defended, and that evacuation from the city had begun together with the command, some of the Radio Vukovar staff decided to stay. Vesna Vuković-Orešković, Zvezdana Polovina, Branko Polovina and Siniša Glavašević stayed in the city. They were at the Vukovar hospital when the JNA and paramilitary forces entered Vukovar. "After some time, a soldier of the Yugoslav People's Army entered our room, opened the door and said: 'Come out, you all have to leave the hospital,' and as we were leaving the hospital out the back exit, there stood the accused and later convicted - but in my opinion, convicted very lightly, he should have received a much bigger punishment - so there stood Veselin Šljivančanin, who said: 'The men go to the left, the women and children to the right,' and that's how they separated us. Branko only managed to give me a travel bag and in that bag were some of his clothes and a diary in which he had written some things that were very important to him.

So we stood for a long time, they on one side, we on the other, the women and children. Some women approached Veselin Šljivančanin, they said, they asked him: 'Why did you separate us?' because after a while, the men had been ordered to go to one side, not towards us, but opposite us, and they walked in a column around the corner of the hospital and that's when I last saw my husband. As they left, some women asked Veselin Šljivančanin where they were taking the men: 'Why did you separate us? Where are you taking them?' and Šljivančanin replied: 'They are only going to the barracks for a short interrogation and they will follow you later.'"

Although she worked as a journalist for a limited time and only during the war, Polovina tells *Mediacentar* that the argument about journalism being the first draft of history makes sense if the journalist tells the facts. "The time of war itself - because war does not happen every day, that is, from a global point of view there are wars every day, but in a particular territory, we are looking at our country Croatia and the city of Vukovar - it can be said that in a way we wrote history. I mean, it's a difficult topic, but we are participants in history, and as to whether our reports were woven into that history, I believe in a way they were."

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SRBI SU SVOME MAJMUNU VEĆ DIGLI SPOMENIK

NEPROLAZNA SLAVA: Nedavno otkriveni spomenik majmunu Samiju, slobodarskom duhu koji je u dva navrata svojevoljno napuštao beogradski zoološki vrt

(Vreme, 20. srpnja)

KAD ĆEMO MI NAŠEMU?

Feral Tribune, Split, 29 July 1996
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