

# HISTORY OVERSHADOWED BY TRIVIA

**Regional Media Coverage of  
Radovan Karadzic Arrest**

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## INTRODUCTION:

For the media, the arrest of Radovan Karadzic was certainly the most interesting event of 2008. However, a general look at media reports in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Kosovo reveals that, while the public was almost overloaded with news pertaining to the arrest, it was at the same time deprived of certain basic, but very important, pieces of information.

The event also underlined the extent to which the media and society remain divided. It became increasingly clear that, in all the countries in which the monitoring was conducted, political propaganda was of crucial significance in influencing the media's approach.

Officially, Karadzic was arrested on July 21. The first items of information concerning the arrest were leaked that night, but the front pages of most print media in the former Yugoslavia did not publish their first photographs and headlines related to it until the following day.

For ten days, that is, until Karadzic appeared before the Hague tribunal, media outlets competed with one another to publish as many texts as possible, obtain the most exclusive information and be the first to present them to the public.

Those who monitored these texts found that the public was bombarded with sensationalist reporting during this period.

Most published items pertaining to Karadzic's secret life during the 13 years he spent in hiding originated from unnamed, apparently "well informed", but unidentified, "sources". These informed the public about what could be found in the apartment in which he had allegedly lived, how he named the flowers that he grew, what he ate and drank, where he spent his summer vacations, and so on.

At the same time, the media provided little information about who had enabled Karadzic to evade justice for so long. Some weekly magazines tried to answer this question, but their alleged sources of information were almost non-existent.

Reporting on the event thus showed how much the region and its media lack a tradition of investigative reporting, which has still not

managed to develop in the monitored countries.

After reading about Karadzic over these ten days, the public in the countries covered by the monitoring project was not really informed about how he had actually spent the past 13 years, which was a very important piece of information, considering that he was one of the world's most wanted people during that period.

One analyst's realistic assessment was that the sources of political propaganda in various countries did whatever they could to distract the public from the most important issues and make the media focus instead on trivia.

Media reports on the arrest proved how deep the region's territorial, national and ideological lines of division, fortified during the course of the war, remain today. Some media outlets showed obvious sympathies with Karadzic, while others pronounced him guilty before he had even appeared before a judge. Few pursued neither course, trying to offer impartial, substantive information.

A reading of the analyses of the media monitoring conducted in these five countries over ten days will lead most readers to conclude that almost all the media neglected a very important story – that of the victims of the war, on whose behalf Karadzic was wanted for more than a decade.

It was because of them and what they experienced, those who survived and those who did not, that such grave charges were pressed against him in the first place. But the media largely forgot the plight of those people whose lives cannot be returned or restored either by his arrest or trial. The media pushed them into the background.

The media reports published over these ten days in July 2008 represent a significant historical archive, which is why the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network decided to prepare this overview. This publication will provide important data to journalists, historians and many others working in the fields of human rights and transitional justice.

What now lies ahead is the trial, which, naturally, will also receive much attention. The data presented there, and the facts determined by the verdict, will certainly affect the public throughout the region.

It may well be worthwhile undertaking a similar monitoring project in several years' time, once a verdict has been reached, in order to shed light on the developments that will have occurred in the media and society in the meantime. This would help reveal how much time is needed to heal societies deeply shaken by wars, and if such healing is, in fact, at all possible.

# **ANALYSIS**





## CRIMINAL OR POET?

*By Nidzara Ahmetasevic in Sarajevo*

To the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the arrest of Radovan Karadzic, indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, ICTY, for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, was a true sensation, and one to be exploited day after day.

It is also clear that, owing to the lack of firm information about the arrest and "secret life" of the alternative medical practitioner, "Dr Dabic", the media resorted to publishing speculative and unconfirmed information, which was quite often almost impossible to believe or to take seriously.

At the same time, the victims on whose account Karadzic was indicted in the first place tended to be left behind. In some cases, their stories were reported solely to fill empty space on pages dedicated to other, more sensational, news items.

As far as Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, analysis of media reporting in its two entities, Republika Srpska and the Federation, shows that they focused on different issues, depending on the ethnic character of their readers.

In their reports published in this period, the media did not refrain from using the language of hatred either, motivating animosity and intolerance, mainly on national, but also on a religious basis. Once again, the media became a means of political propaganda and subject to manipulation by leading politicians, whose statements, regularly conveyed by the media, helped distract public attention from truly important issues related to this arrest.

It seems, following analysis of around 500 texts published between July 22-31 in five daily and three weekly newspapers, that professionalism once again stepped back, leaving sensationalism to fill the vacuum.

However, it is worth noting that in this respect the Bosnian media were not much different from the rest of the region's media.

What made reports on the arrest and Karadzic himself different from those published in other countries was the fact that somewhat more

attention was paid to what he had said or done before the 1992-5 war in Bosnia.

One day after the arrest, *Oslobodjenje*, the daily newspaper with the longest tradition in Bosnia, reminded its readers of what Karadzic had said at various public gatherings and assemblies before the war broke out.

Almost all newspapers cited the words he pronounced before the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991, when he warned Bosniaks [Bosnian Muslims] that they faced annihilation if warfare came to Bosnia.

The magazine *Dani* took such an approach, dedicating an entire issue to Karadzic and publishing articles about his arrest and reactions to it. The result was a chronology of his crimes as seen by journalists and columnists of this magazine.

Comparing the media in the Federation and Republika Srpska, the main difference was that the former wrote about Karadzic as a war criminal, even calling him a "monster" (*Dnevni avaz*), while the Bosnian Serb media, such as *Nezavisne novine*, mentioned in almost every article that he was "the first president of Republika Srpska".

Another difference was that Republika Srpska media concentrated more on the political disputes between the two entities' leaders that were sparked by the arrest than on the actual arrest and indictment.

One night after the arrest, some Federation leaders addressed the public, not only welcoming the arrest but also calling for the abolition of Republika Srpska.

The politicians in the Serb-dominated entity reacted almost immediately, condemning the statements. A political dispute was thus begun, one which has outlasted the period covered by this monitoring. Indeed, it increased tensions so much that it led to a marked deterioration in the situation in the country, prompting representatives of the international community to express concern.

Much attention was paid to allegations concerning the existence of an agreement between Radovan Karadzic and the former US envoy to the Balkans, Richard Holbrooke. Karadzic and his associates, as well as some foreign and local diplomats, claim this agreement was concluded in 1996, as a result of which he withdrew from public and political life. The US authorities and the ambassador himself strongly denied these allegations.

The Bosnian media published many speculative articles concerning the arrest, pertaining to its place and time, as well as to the authorities that performed it and their reasons for doing so.

Columnists in the Federation media mostly claimed it was a political action undertaken by the new authorities in Serbia to further the country's integration into the European Union.

On the other hand, journalists in Republika Srpska praised the democratic outlook and progress of Serbia, claiming that the fact that Karadzic was arrested in Belgrade proved that Republika Srpska had not been involved in concealing the ICTY fugitive over the past 13 years.

The peak of sensationalism in the Bosnian media was certainly an article published by *Dnevni avaz*, alleging that police had found pornographic videotapes in the apartment in which Karadzic had been hiding, showing him with various partners. To *Dnevni avaz*, this meant that he was "bisexual". Day after day, *Dnevni avaz* described Karadzic thus and with other abusive words. Indeed, its journalists and editors sometimes seemed to be competing with one another in attaching new nicknames to him, using "monster", "butcher" and so on. On the day of his arrest, the front page of the newspaper contained a headline about Karadzic's capture and a photograph showing him holding a knife.

Readers of the daily newspapers in the two entities were thus overwhelmed with words of hatred.

Within its coverage of the event, *Oslobodjenje* published the first interview with victims of the war, quoting a woman who allegedly said: "Republika Srpska is full of killers." The same newspaper published a photograph of Milorad Dodik, the Serbian entity's prime minister, next to one of Karadzic, accompanied by the headline: "Continuity". It also published an article whose author concluded that "the Serbian people should not forget that most of them excitedly followed Karadzic's criminal appeal".

*Nezavisne novine* wrote that the Bosnian Serb prime minister's cabinet had received many telephone calls from people "using inappropriate and vulgar language and offences, based on ethnic and religious affiliation", adding that the calls came mainly "from abroad and from the Federation".

At the same time, the Republika Srpska media claimed it had tried to inform the public about events "in an objective manner", noting in their articles that "Dr Dabic" was a professional figure, as well as a writer and poet who had received awards for his work.

*Glas Srpske* carried a statement by Tanja Jovanovic, published in *Zdrav zivot* [Healthy Life] magazine, who was allegedly an associate of "Dr Dabic". "We are shocked. Our Dr Dabic was a fine man, with good manners. He was a true professional," it read.

An article on a father and son, Orthodox priests Jeremije and Aleksandar Starovlah, who were "beaten up" and accused of helping Karadzic hide in the course of an international military operation in Pale, was also published in *Glas Srpske*. It seemed like political propaganda. "Not even four years after the brutal Sfor [the former NATO military deployment to Bosnia] operation in Pale have the beaten Orthodox priests received any compensation," it said.

Overall, reporting on this event of such great importance to Bosnia and Herzegovina showed how much the country remained divided. The fact that some media presented Karadzic mainly as a poet, while others depicted him purely as a monster, only goes to show how well the divisions created during the war have survived.

However, the media were almost entirely in agreement when it came to victims: they all treated them as marginal. Over the ten days of this monitoring, some newspapers did not even give the victims of the war a mention.

It may be appropriate to conclude with a statement made by the *Oslobodjenje* guest columnist, Emir Suljagic, who did focus his attention on the victims.

Suljagic wrote that they were "now facing a years-long distressing and difficult trial, which will make these people suffer their traumas all over again. However, the wounds which will be reopened by this trial were never healed in any case".

## DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TABLOIDS AND SERIOUS MEDIA ERASED

*By Aleksandar Roknic, Belgrade*

Most analysts considered Serbian media reports on the arrest on July 21, 2008 of the Hague tribunal's most wanted indictee, Radovan Karadzic, as written in a sensational, uncritical and unobjective way.

The goal of such reporting was, in the case of most tabloid media, to make fun of the assumed identity of Radovan Karadzic, Dragan Dabic, to present him as a victim, and to push the crimes that happened during the 1991-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which he is charged as former president of Republika Srpska, into the background.

From the moment Karadzic was arrested, a veritable flood of unconfirmed information, mostly based on unofficial sources about his secret life, hit the print media.

Karadzic was officially arrested on July 21, although his attorneys claimed he was arrested three days before, on July 18. The exact place and circumstances of his arrest were never fully disclosed. This lack of available facts formed fertile ground for speculation.

On July 21, at about 22:30, when the Council for National Security and Office of the President of Serbia published a statement that Karadzic had been arrested by security forces, the media raced to publish often incredible items of information related to the circumstances and place in which it happened.

This initial period was marked by a lack of firm information, starting with the first reports that Karadzic was arrested in Belgrade's central Vracar district, and then in a residential building in the suburb of Rakovica, to information that he was in fact arrested on a bus going from New Belgrade to Batajnica.

Such guesses were updated with information related to his physical appearance – that he now had grey hair, a beard and moustache, was wearing glasses and was totally unrecognisable.

Officials later provided information about his arrest, but little else was available until a press conference held the next day by the coordinator of the Serbian government's Action Team for Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal, Rasim Ljajic, and Serbia's special war crimes prosecutor, Vladimir Vukcevic.

At this conference, Karadzic's assumed identity was disclosed, as were his occupation and personal appearance before the arrest. Following this announcement, an avalanche of speculation related to Karadzic's secret life began.

Of interest were issues such as whether or not he had a lover, how he had hidden himself, which types of diseases he cured as a doctor, which café he visited, which brandy he liked, what his favorite songs were when he played the the *gusle* [traditional Serbian stringed instrument], whether he sang about himself, what he was writing about in medical magazines, who his friends were and the impressions he left on his neighbours.

The Luda Kuca [Crazy House] café in New Belgrade, which Karadzic often visited, was written about, along with statements from its owner and staff. Soon, tourist agencies even began to offer bus tours of Karadzic's haunts, including this café.

This kind of reporting helped to turn the overall story about the indictee's notorious war crimes, including the mass murder of over 7,800 Bosniaks [Bosnian Muslims] in Srebrenica, into a story about Karadzic's "secret life".

The disappearance of a laptop containing data about his clients and his work, and its discovery some time later in a police station in Batajnica, as well as doubts about which security forces made the arrest, helped fuel an air of mystery and raise numerous doubts about the event among the public.

Further speculation that Karadzic was arrested on a city bus with a bag holding a towel, swimming trunks, toothpaste and toothbrush, on his way to take a vacation on the Croatian coast, contributed to this.

Hari Stainer from the Belgrade Media Center said the arrest of Karadzic was a big event for all the media, which focused at first on doubts as to the timing of his arrest and speculation as to where it occurred. "The official version of his arrest was chaotic," he said. "That made journalists forget basic rules, but it was very hard to stick to such rules."

Stainer said the media "totally forgot who and what Radovan Karadzic is, and what he is being charged with before the Hague tribunal. These facts were rarely mentioned in media reports. Karadzic was not just a psychiatrist."

In addition, Stainer said it was very hard to see much difference between reporting in the serious newspapers and the tabloids, as even the serious newspapers adopted a tabloid approach, although

he again attributed this to the chaotic circumstances and official statements.

Any distinction between tabloids and serious media was almost erased, as newspapers raced to publish often incredible items of information related to Karadzic's secret life in Belgrade.

The goal of the so-called "patriotic" tabloids was to take the whole story about Karadzic in one direction: that he was a master of disguise, the man who had fooled all the world's security agencies. The idea was to make the public resist the idea that Karadzic would end up in The Hague, now that he was under arrest.

Srecko Mihajlovic, a researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences, said this "tabloid" manner of reporting adopted by the majority of the media when it came to the arrest and transfer of Karadzic should be understood as an example of "media kitsch".

The substance of this media campaign served to change the image of a man who left his people to suffer for more than one decade. Rather than talking about a man who participated in mass murder, "We got a story about a heroic genius hiding from domestic head-hunters and from the whole world," Mihajlovic said.

Few mentioned that Karadzic's deception was carefully assisted by numerous helpers in the police and secret services, or that his copy of the identification papers of a farmer from Ruma was issued to him at a police station. The media again turned this into a story about his success in hiding from the police.

This was also the case with the fact that Karadzic was found to be "hiding" in a New Belgrade residential building at 267 Jurij Gagarin Street. Ratko Mladic, the other top Hague fugitive, was rumoured to have hidden at one time at number 118 in the same street.

Rade Veljanovski from Belgrade's University of Political Sciences said that the basic divisions in the media, created in the Nineties, remained strong to this day.

"Then, some of the media supported the politics and regime of Slobodan Milosevic and some media were against," he said. "But not only does it [the division] still exist, it has decreased by only a very small margin since the Nineties.

"Within the intellectual elite, there is no real reconciliation, and in politics there is only an apparent reconciliation between Democrats and Socialists," he added. "But the foundations of those who supported everything that was done 'in the name of Serbia and in Serbia's interest' still exists.

"Even today, intellectual circles and media make heroes of those who organised such politics and carried out crimes and try to have such people remembered as men who fought for the patriotic interest of the Serbian people," Veljanovski stated.

According to him, some of the media are aware of the lack of objectivity in such an approach and attempt to form a true picture of events, "but even today we have media that are ready to justify everything that Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic or Slobodan Milosevic and Vojislav Seselj did, and to describe them as patriotic acts.

"We almost have a kind of balance between the 'quasi-patriotic' approach and an objective, professional and ethically correct form of journalism.

"In the case of the arrest of Karadzic, there was more sensational than objective reporting. Even the media which normally take an objective approach..., the moment the news about Karadzic's arrest broke, adopted a sensational tone, stressing how he looked, how he was described by people as a great man, how people visited him for therapy," Veljanovski stated.

"It should be recalled who Karadzic really was during the Nineties and why he was hiding from the public eye. That is the substance of the story, not the fact that he was a favourite among his neighbors or that he provided them nice therapy treatments," Veljanovski concluded.

Until Karadzic's delivery to The Hague on July 30, the most fantastic headlines appeared in the media, such as "Serbian beasts arrested Karadzic", from the daily *Pravda*. Defence of the Hague tribunal indictee soon started in the same newspaper, with the headline, "Karadzic is not guilty", based on a statement supplied by his brother Luka Karadzic.

Zvonimir Trajkovic, a former adviser to Karadzic, expressed doubt about the identity of Dr Dabic and that Karadzic would have a fair trial at the Hague tribunal. *Pravda* duly published an article entitled "Court Martial for Radovan".

The tabloid *Kurir* meanwhile rushed to expose an agreement allegedly made in 1996 between Karadzic and the former US envoy to the Balkans, Richard Holbrooke, whereby Karadzic would withdraw from political and public life in exchange for his freedom from arrest.

Soon after, the same newspaper attempted to determine who was responsible for the arrest of Karadzic, with articles entitled "Who sold Radovan?" and, in answer the next day, "They who supported him sold him too".

The tabloids soon decided that those most responsible for the arrest of Karadzic were Serbia's president, Boris Tadic, and war crimes prosecutor, Vladimir Vukcevic.

*Pravda* explicitly stated that "Vukcevic has sold Radovan", and published statements given by relatives of Tadic in which they renounced him because of the arrest.

One consequence of this was that the president, the war crimes prosecutor and his spokesperson, Bruno Vekaric, were frequently



threatened. Vekaric was told that an explosive device had been set up under his car, while other staff at the special court for war crimes and organised crime also received threats.

Threats directed at President Tadic were even more aggressive, accusing him of having "sold the whole Serbian population" and vowing that "He signed his own death warrant with the delivery of Radovan" and "He will end up like [assassinated premier Zoran] Djindjic".

As many of these threats and aspersions came from the direction of the Serbian Radical Party, the state prosecutor announced that he would examine some of the statements made by one of its deputies, Vjeric Radeta.

For almost ten days, the media provided "adjusted" information related to the days that Karadzic spent in detention in the building of Belgrade's special war crimes court.

The focus of the print media was Karadzic's religiosity, inspiring *Kurir* to publish a story that "Karadzic received communion on the holy day of the Assumption of Mary" and "will start to eat normally after an extended fast", but "will not start with meat".

Karadzic's cousin Dragan Karadzic told that tabloid that for years Karadzic had not eaten any meat, except fish, but also that he ate "everything else – milk and milk products, cereals, vegetables, fruits".

*Vecernje novosti* dealt with similar subjects and discovered that Karadzic "drinks only water and reads Bishop Nikolaj" in detention, and that he does not starve, "but that he fasts". *Kurir* published that "Radovan only reads *Kurir* and the Bible".

*Glas Javnosti*, under the headline "Radovan sleeps peacefully and is not under any therapy", also wrote about Karadzic's detention and about his meetings with an investigative judge, saying that "he did not show fear, but respect" before the latter.

*Politika* wrote about the family members in Karadzic's village of Petnjica who were proud of him, including Julka Karadzic, who reportedly stated that he "defended Serbs, and he got arrested by Serbs".

The Karadzic mystery deepened with the alleged existence of the non-arrest agreement with Holbrooke, as well as rumours that an award of 5 million US dollars had been paid to an unknown person for information about Karadzic's identity and residence.

Karadzic's past life as a doctor of alternative medicine provided the tabloids with more incredible articles concerning the healing powers of "Doctor Dabic".

"Sexologist from Vienna", Dr Dabic "made babies", "Radovan was seen with a beautiful woman", "Yesterday Radovan had a 45-minute hair cut", "Two lives are not enough for Radovan" and "Karadzic: Forgive me for Dabic" were typical headlines in the print media.

Along with this, *Blic* devoted more attention to Karadzic's love life and rumoured relationship with Mila Cicak, who was allegedly "mysterious Radovan's companion". She, however, denied all such allegations and threatened lawsuits against any media that placed her in an emotional relationship with Karadzic.

Stories also appeared, claiming that Karadzic had been traveling in various countries in the region, including Croatia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Austria, and even Italy, where, according to *Kurir*, he "watched football matches between Lazio and Inter" since he is a huge football fan.

The Karadzic story moved up a gear when photos from his detention cell in the special court were published. It was alleged in the media that the war crimes prosecutor's office sold Karadzic's photograph for 10,000 euros. The prosecutor's office denied those reports.

The stories on Karadzic's double life were silenced around the time of his extradition to the Hague tribunal when, for a few days, the mystery of his disappearing laptop took centre stage.

Again, the print media read this story in two ways – the tabloids as further support for the thesis that everything was unclear regarding Karadzic's arrest, while the serious media did not accord it much significance.

As from the outset, the tabloids tried to fuel suspicion that somebody had been changing and adding data to the computer after Karadzic's arrest. Thus, for *Kurir*, it became the "Mystery of the laptop". An expert was also engaged by *Kurir* in order to determine whether and when the laptop was last used.

Karadzic's first appearance in front of the judges of the Hague tribunal, his "new" look and claims that he was in fear for his life completely overshadowed all the earlier guesswork regarding his hideaway during the past 13 years.

## READING BETWEEN THE LINES

*By Nedjeljko Rudovic, Podgorica*

The two most influential daily newspapers in Montenegro reported on the arrest in July 2008 of Radovan Karadzic from very different angles, underlining the stark divisions and continued strength of pro-Serbian sentiment there.

While the daily newspaper, *Vijesti*, treated the arrest of Karadzic, who was born in Montenegro, as the start of a process to bring satisfaction to the victims of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, its counterpart, *Dan*, all but glorified Karadzic, accusing the government of Serbia of betrayal after local police arrested him in Belgrade, and criticising the Hague tribunal where he will be tried.

Reports in *Vijesti* viewed Karadzic's arrest as a sign that justice might be achieved, while *Dan's* articles evinced a spirit of resignation with regard to the arrest.

These two best-selling Montenegrin dailies followed the events after Karadzic's arrest closely, informing the public of everything, from details and assumptions regarding his arrest to all available information, even unconfirmed reports, regarding his private life while in hiding.

Bearing in mind that the media's focus was first and foremost on the intriguing details of Karadzic's life as a fugitive with a false name, it would be fair to conclude that, in the first few days following his arrest, the actual indictment against the former leader of the Bosnian Serbs, and the crimes listed therein, were more or less ignored.

Instead, a sensationalistic approach towards information was present in both newspapers. At the same time, it should be noted that hate-speech concerning or directed towards Bosnian Muslims – against whom the crimes for which Karadzic was indicted were committed – was nowhere to be seen. This could be regarded as progress, since hate-speech towards Muslims and Croats in the Montenegrin media was very much present in the 1990s.

On this occasion, those media seen as closest to Serbian nationalist politics directed their cutting remarks and heavy qualifications more

towards the Serbian government for having arrested and dispatched to The Hague a Serbian "patriot".

*Vijesti* journalists seemed convinced that they had followed the events that came after Karadzic's arrest in a professional manner. *Dan* journalists, on the other hand, claimed they had listened to the "pulse" of the common people. Many representatives of the media community in Montenegro considered that emotion had overbalanced facts in much of the latter's reporting.

*Vijesti* and *Dan* are the two most influential daily newspapers in Montenegro, covering more than 80 per cent of the daily news audience, while reflecting two very different currents in society. *Vijesti* supported independence for Montenegro and its separation from the former loose State Union with Serbia. *Dan*, on the other hand, lobbied for the survival of the union, remaining the main promoter of Serbian national sentiment in Montenegro in the media.

Since Montenegro's proclamation of independence, following a referendum in May 2006, *Dan* has profiled itself as a newspaper representing the interests of those opposition parties that represent the Serbian community in Montenegro. According to the last census, conducted in 2003, Serbs make up 32 per cent of the country's population.

While *Dan* shows an obvious inclination towards the Serbs, *Vijesti* articles show a clear critical distance from these people, as well as from all actors in Serbian nationalistic politics.

Monitoring of *Vijesti* articles revealed that the newspaper provided mainly agency news. Besides writing about the facts related to the arrest of Karadzic and the crimes with which he was charged, it also paid close attention to details related to his life on the run.

In one of its articles, for example, *Vijesti* called him a "Bosnian butcher" and wrote about the compensation that Karadzic ought to pay to victims of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In a *Vijesti* supplement, a comment article by Balsa Brkovic described the crimes with which Karadzic was charged, referring to him as the "war criminal murderer of Sarajevo".

*Vijesti* reported on the protests held in various towns of Republika Srpska in support of Karadzic, under the headline: "Walking for Srpska and the Power of Prayer".

*Dan*, on the other hand, noted that, while he was in hiding, Karadzic "wrote articles for specialised magazines, as a prestigious expert". *Dan* entitled one of its articles: "The Hague servants embarrass themselves".

This newspaper conveyed numerous reactions by officials expressing disapproval of the arrest of Karadzic and criticism of the work of the Hague tribunal.

*Dan* dedicated much space to a piece of reportage from Karadzic's native village of Petnjica, entitled: "Serbs Proclaim Tadic a Renegade". In this article, the author reported statements made by various cousins and neighbours of the war crimes indictee who resented the arrest and placed the blame for it chiefly on the Serbian president, Boris Tadic.

*Dan* also published a commentary entitled "Victim of Conspiracy", in which the author claimed that "the Western powers" had joined forces against the Serbs with a view to "transferring responsibility [for the war] onto the victim".

Another article, written on the initiative of a group of citizens from Piva, the home town of President Tadic's family, was entitled: "Piva Residents Forsake Tadic". It claimed many people in Piva wanted Tadic officially expelled from his clan, owing to "the dishonour caused by the arrest of Karadzic".

The same newspaper wrote that Karadzic regularly read *Dan* while in custody, news that was confirmed by his nephew, Dragan Karadzic.

"I visited him yesterday, just like every other day. He spent a good deal of time reading your newspaper. He is interested in what is going on in Montenegro and what *Dan* writes about him," Dragan Karadzic told the newspaper.

In the foreign politics column in *Vijesti*, Nada Vujovic claimed that her newspaper had reported on the arrest in a balanced and objective manner.

"The public was very much interested in the data on Karadzic's life on the run, as well as in the arrest itself," she wrote.

"For this reason, we focused on the 'daily' aspects of the story, but we did not forget the crimes with which he is charged. Considering that the articles published in *Vijesti* contained information taken from several foreign media outlets and agencies, including Serbia, I consider the reporting on Karadzic was well balanced and that our readers thereby obtained objective information."

Mitar Rakcevic, a *Dan* journalist who covered the arrest of Karadzic most of the time, said that his newspaper had simply "fulfilled the expectations of 80 per cent of Montenegro's citizens".

"I think most people in Montenegro resented the arrest of the former Republika Srpska president, in particular because he was born in Montenegro. *Dan* was just conveying the voice of the common people, which the media should do in any case," Rakcevic said.

The reporter said this did not mean a person should not be held responsible or tried for crimes of which he was suspected.

"However," he went on, "almost all the media in the former Yugoslav countries convicted him even before he appeared in court for the first time.

“One might logically expect that people in Montenegro would feel acrimonious about this, considering that the Hague tribunal earlier acquitted of all charges [the former Bosniak military commander in Srebrenica] Naser Oric and some Kosovo leaders suspected of having committed crimes against Serbian people.”

Evaluating the coverage overall, the head of Montenegro’s Media Institute said there was a fine line between emotions and facts in journalism.

“While a reader is [often] emotional, journalists should present facts,” said Radojica Bulatovic, director of the institute.

“I consider that emotions prevailed in *Dan’s* articles. Only a cold, professional processing of information can result in avoidance of the misuse [of information] for political or nationalistic purposes,” she added.

## KARADZIC AS CELEBRITY

*By Goran Jungvirth, Zagreb*

Although many Croatian citizens and media were happy to see Radovan Karadzic, one of the most wanted war crimes fugitives, arrested in late July 2008, most coverage of the event consisted of reporting on his transformation into a pseudo-doctor, his holidays in Croatia and his alleged affair with a woman who accompanied him during his lectures on alternative treatments.

Reporting on the genesis of his crimes, the background to his installation as head of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia, the indictment against him and strategy of the prosecution at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, ICTY, as well as the feelings of people who suffered as a result of his policies, was largely absent.

Political analysts, as well as those who follow war crimes, said this reflected a trivialisation of the media in general, as well as the influence of political interests.

On one of the leading online forums in Croatia, *www.forum.hr*, Croatian readers commented that most of the media relished stories about Karadzic's holidays on Ciovo island in Croatia.

"Drinking brandy and listening to Serbian traditional instrumental music, giving lectures on bio-energy and healthy living, and having sex with the mysterious Mila, the evil-doer appears such a hero," one forum user, "Cordon", wrote in late July 2008.

The media reported little about the crimes committed in Bosnia in the first half of the Nineties, preferring details and speculation about Karadzic's time in hiding, which lasted for more than a decade.

In other words, they wrote more about his alter ego, the healer Dr Dabic, than about the wartime Karadzic, described in his ICTY indictment as one of the masters of the most brutal experiment in ethnic cleansing in postwar Europe and charged with grave crimes, including genocide (the gravest crime in international law), participation in genocide, extermination, murder, premeditated murder, persecu-

tion, deportation, inhumane acts and other crimes against Bosnian Muslims, Croats and other non-Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to that charge-sheet, Karadzic participated in, and was one of the leaders of, a joint criminal enterprise to obtain control over those areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed as Republika Srpska [the Serbian Republic], and significantly reduce the non-Serbian population there.

To achieve this goal, which is illegal under international law, Karadzic and others committed grave crimes to make the non-Serbian population leave these areas. Those not willing to leave were deported while others were killed.

In online discussions, conflicting opinions were expressed by Serbian forum users who supported Karadzic, and Croatians who saw him as a criminal.

One pro-Karadzic blogger, "Alimpije", commented: "You would have liked him to have been hiding in a cave, eating roots. He even dared to drink brandy and play the *gusle* [traditional Serbian stringed instrument], while holding lectures on life. And sex. It is strictly forbidden for indictees to practice it. But, you know, he is much more capable than you think.

"I congratulate him for having led such a life. In other words, how dare he have fun when everybody is looking for him? It is awful he even had a lover. So who is the fool now?" Alimpije wrote in July.

Croatian forum user Kristina commented on the media excitement that accompanied the story. "I am sick of this. I am sick of listening to 'thrills related to Karadzic' as the top news every morning," she said.

"I am sick of the fact that ...cover pages will be dedicated to him over the next 10 days. The only dilemma is what the title of today's episode will be."

She added: "Today's title is: 'He played the gusle in bars', and tomorrow it may be: 'He planned on moving to Split'. The day after tomorrow: 'He cured 17 people.'"

"Karadzic is number one everywhere now. But this is understandable because the media use him to sell more copies."

Four months on from the arrest of Karadzic, many Croatian citizens, interviewed by Balkan Insight, expressed dissatisfaction with the way the media reported on his arrest.

"The media reporting on his arrest looked as if they were trying to promote a pop star and not report on the arrest of a war criminal. It was as if he was a celebrity," complained Aleksandar from Makarska.

"They wrote about this instead of writing about war crimes and his responsibility for the course of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina."



Aleksandar recalled how the media had concentrated on Karadzic's favourite places, his alleged foreign travels, his favourite restaurants and so on, "creating unnecessary fame, instead of writing about more important things. They wrote about him as if it were about Andy Warhol and not a war criminal".

Amar, from Zagreb, who reads the Bosnian media as well, said even outlets there had reported about Karadzic's arrest in a strange manner, "because they wrote about people celebrating in the streets and not about how he managed to hide for 13 years and evade justice.

"In Croatia, they reported about the subject in a humorous way... Nobody wrote much about the fact that Serbia was doing this [the arrest] because of the EU and not because of a real need and wish to have war criminals tried."

Vesna Terselic, director of Documenta, a non-profit centre that monitors, analyses and reports on war crimes justice said that the media paid little attention to the crimes with which Karadzic was charged, or to the victims, focusing instead on the notorious indictee's life and speculation about what he had done each day of his years on the run.

"What we have here is a wrong editorial and journalistic diagnosis. They think that us readers want to read this gossip and that we are more interested in that than in the crimes with which Karadzic is charged," she said.

"After his arrest, the media should have focused its attention on reminding people of his crimes and the victims. And I think that, as readers, we should ask ourselves whether we want to read all this 'gossip' presented by the media now. Editors should check what we are interested in.

"As a person dealing with wartime events, I think readers want to read about facts and not about alleged things. I always mention this to editors during the course of our interviews," Terselic said, adding that this was backed up by research undertaken among Croatian citizens by Documenta in 2006.

"If the arrest of a criminal charged with genocide motivates journalists and editors to write primarily about frivolous details from his time in hiding, it shows us that the authors are no longer aware of what the media should do, because they want to amuse readers with frivolous details instead of presenting us with facts about the crime," she continued.

"In my opinion, the media base their actions on the wrong perception that readers do not want to read about crimes any more. I am one of many readers who appreciate investigative reporting, and want more, respecting the suffering of the victims," Documenta's chief said.

Independent media analyst Davor Gjenero said the media had acted in this way for several reasons. "On one hand, all the media are trialised in general, and deal with all issues in such a way," he said.

"Another reason is the fact that the Croatian public want, in some way, to leave behind the war in the former Yugoslavia, so there is no serious reporting on any process related to war crimes. A bit more attention is paid to the trial [at The Hague] of [Croatian generals] Gotovina, Cermak and Markac [charged with crimes committed during a 1995 military operation against the Croatian Serbs], but this is also superficial.

"The trials of criminals who committed crimes in Croatia were even more marginalised. The reason for this is an unreadiness to face the past and a wish to maintain established national stereotypes."

According to Gjenero, the media's attitude towards Karadzic's arrest was directed partly by intelligence groups from Serbia, who have an interest in preventing any real process of facing up to the past - something which was gladly accepted in Croatia.

"The same thing happened with [general] Gotovina's arrest, which the media treated in a similar way," he said.

"The Croatian public mentions Srebrenica as genocide but there is no full awareness of the frightening character of the crime or of the sophisticated level of organisation accompanying it.

"An awareness of those facts would put the things that happened to Karadzic from 1995 until now in some context," Gjenero concluded.

## THE TWO LAST CARDS

*By Krenar Gashi, Pristina*

The Kosovo media gave the arrest on July 21, 2008 of war crimes fugitive Radovan Karadzic an important place in the news schedules. While the arrest itself made the front cover in most media, the follow-up to this event also produced many surprises for Kosovo's media scene.

Newspaper front pages and radio and television continuously carried full reports on the arrest and its aftermath, the fugitive's false identity, and his life in hiding.

Kosovo media managers said the news was of great importance to their audiences. Although Karadzic was not involved in the Kosovo conflict of 1998-99, many there saw him as a key part of a regime that committed grave crimes in their country.

Karadzic was arrested a short time after Kosovo's constitution entered into force, and as the new EU law-and-order mission, EULEX, was planning to establish itself in the newborn state.

Coverage of the development, overall, was comparable to that of a very important international story, editors from Kosovo media said, recalling a high level of objectivity in most reports.

The more or less continuous television coverage was followed by debates in the broadcast media. Print media news reporting also triggered many comments and opinions.

While newspapers contained longer feature stories and more original background information on Karadzic, broadcast reports were largely driven by the supply of wire agency news from outlets such as Associated Press and Reuters.

"Bosnia's butcher caught in the middle of Belgrade" was the headline on the front page of *Koha Ditore*, Kosovo's most respected daily newspaper, a day after the arrest.

"We had no doubts about whether to run it on the front page or not," said Agron Bajrami, the editor-in-chief. "It was certainly a cover

story. We were just waiting for some more information,” he added, recalling the events of late Monday night, July 21, when the office of Serbia’s president, Boris Tadic, announced the arrest.

Sylejman Shaqiri, the editor-in-chief of the public broadcaster, RTK, agreed. According to Shaqiri, Karadzic’s arrest was not only a top story in Kosovo because he was a fugitive for such a long time and people were curious to hear about his capture:

“[W]e have seen Serbia use Karadzic and [former general Ratko] Mladic as the last two cards it holds against Europe in its opposition to Kosovo’s independence,” he said.

Shaqiri explained that Brussel’s insistence that Serbia cooperate with the Hague tribunal as a precondition to its European integration was perceived in Kosovo as directly related to its own fate.

“In the context of Kosovo, Karadzic’s arrest was an act from which Serbia benefited,” agreed Bajrami, who, although happy with the overall coverage of the event, would have liked to have a correspondent in Belgrade at the time in order to have more exclusive insights.

However, news about Karadzic’s arrest was seen as good news by most ordinary Kosovars, Mentor Shala, a journalist, said: “Although he did not directly affect our audience, as he waged no wars here, he was still [seen as] a part of the structures that waged war against Kosovo Albanians later on.”

Mufail Limani, the editor of RTKlive, the wire service of RTK, said the service published the news on Karadzic’s arrest immediately after it was released, and that it remained a top story for the rest of the day.

Limani recalled that this was the only story about the arrest of a non-Kosovar for war crimes that had ever made the front pages, except for that of Serbia’s former president, Slobodan Milosevic.

“The story was followed up by many reports regarding Karadzic’s life in hiding,” said Limani.

The broader public was greatly interested to know more about how Karadzic had lived under the name of Dragan Dabic in a residential district in Belgrade.

“I was really curious to know. I checked all the sources on the Internet and read a lot of stories revealing his second life,” said Shqipe, a student at Pristina University.

The media followed the audience’s preferences. Photographs of Karadzic from the early Nineties were shown next to photographs of him as Dragan Dabic. The Santa Claus-like figure, with his long white beard and long hair, could only be identified as Karadzic by his eyes.

Journalists were also interested to know facts about Karadzic’s false identity, and many stories were aired and printed on this matter.

Enthusiasm to cover the legal process against Karadzic in The Hague

fell, however. Media professionals said the level of interest in Kosovo in this trial was very low.

"Besides," said Mufail Limani, "the ongoing hearings require legal expertise in order to be properly covered. We don't have that expertise and the topic is not worth it."



## **MONITORING**





## BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

### Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Coverage of the arrest of Radovan Karadzic in three daily and two weekly newspapers in the Federation, the dailies *Oslobodjenje*, *Dnevni list* and *Dnevni avaz*, and the weeklies *Dani* and *Slobodna Bosna*, was examined.

The monitoring covered 147 texts published in *Oslobodjenje* between July 22 and July 31, 2008. On July 22, the front page showed a picture of Karadzic, accompanied by the headline: "Radovan Karadzic arrested after 13 years". The coverage focused mostly on the reactions of foreign and local officials, including Bosnian presidency member Zeljko Komsic, who said it was "a big step not only for Bosnia but for justice in general ... Each day of delay in arresting those persons indicted for war crimes constitutes a loss to the victims' families. I am pleased because one of the persons most responsible for the evil that happened during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has now been arrested."

*Oslobodjenje* recalled Karadzic's political career as one of the founders of "a separate assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina on October 24, 1991", noting that the assembly declared "the Republic of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina on January 9, 1992, while, on February 28 of the same year, the republic's constitution was adopted, declaring that the territory of the republic comprised Serbian autonomous regions, municipalities and other Serbian ethnic entities in Bosnia, while the republic itself was to remain a part of the Yugoslav Federation."

It also mentioned that Karadzic became the first president of the Bosnian Serbs, based in Pale, on May 13, 1992. "After having taken over the position, his theoretical responsibilities included command over the Bosnian Serb army, as well as the right to appoint, promote and dismiss military leaders".

Editor Ahmed Buric wondered what benefits his arrest would bring to the authorities in Serbia and Republika Srpska. This issue was mentioned in many pieces of analysis in Bosnia and Herzegovina following his arrest. Buric wrote: "Who knows what kind of a deal the new

Serbian authorities have made? Is it about faster accession to the European Union? Is it about leaving Dodik alone and not trying his criminal acts? There is a bit of everything in it, for sure”.

*Oslobodjenje* stated that Radio and Television Republika Srpska did not announce the news of the arrest until “nearly 40 minutes after it had been broadcast all over the world. Instead of the usual practice (interruption of the regular programme to broadcast extraordinary news), they put up a text line with information about Karadzic’s arrest during a film... It is therefore good to remind people that the general director of this public service, Dragan Davidovic, was wartime minister of religion of Republika Srpska... Whether by accident or not, the first CNN news on the arrest broadcast clips showing Davidovic standing next to Karadzic”.

The following day, on July 23, more details on Karadzic’s time in hiding and arrest were revealed, including, among other things, his use of the false identity of Dr Dragan Dabic. *Oslobodjenje* wrote that, prior to his arrest, Karadzic “was last seen in Han Pijesak in July 1996. The criminal now has a longer beard than in 1996 and ties his hair up on his head. He was often dressed in black and acted in bohemian fashion. He never discussed politics”.

On the same page, writer Predrag Matvejevic concluded: “Serbia has got a special chance now: to show how mature it is, more mature than others and maybe even more mature than itself”.

Two days after the arrest, *Oslobodjenje* published a story about a war victim in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Hajra Catic, president of the Women of Srebrenica Association, said Republika Srpska was “full of killers. We should bear in mind that not one person whose name is mentioned in the list made by the Srebrenica Commission has been arrested”.

With many articles, the headline did not reflect the content of the text that followed. For example, in the article entitled “25 counts fewer: How [former Hague chief prosecutor Carla] Del Ponte has simplified the case”, the author in fact wrote that, while the chief prosecutor had shortened the indictments against Karadzic and Ratko Mladic [Karadzic’s wartime military commander who remains on the run], by separating them, the result was in the end the same.

“An *Oslobodjenje* journalist’s confession: I was Karadzic’s friend” presented the recollections of Sefko Hodzic. He concluded by saying that he believed he would be a witness at the trial, where he would hopefully get “an answer to a question I asked myself during the course of the war: How is it possible for a doctor and poet, who gladly helped people for years and sang against evil even in his dreams, to be transformed so easily and so quickly into one of the gravest criminals in the world history of war?”

On July 24, *Oslobodjenje* accusingly compared the current leaders of Republika Srpska with those of the wartime era. The front page showed a photograph of Milorad Dodik, the prime minister, next to

Karadzic's photograph, with the title: "Continuity". Inside was a photograph of Dodik giving the traditional Serbian three-fingered salute.

Another text, datelined Banja Luka, said that the Republika Srpska prime minister had "expressed his wish" to meet members of the Karadzic family, announcing that the Bosnian Serb government would help them visit the indictee in The Hague.

Like many other Bosnian media, the daily newspaper featured an article on the fact that a page for Dragan Dabic had been opened on Facebook and, in just one day, "gained almost 400 fans" who, judging by their comments, thought he was "a legend, king, hero, Serbian David Copperfield...genius and so on".

On the same day, speculative articles were published concerning the possible payment of a reward to persons helping to find Hague war crimes fugitives. The US government had pledged 5 million US dollars in that regard, while the Serbian government had offered a reward of more than one million dollars. Here again, the *Oslobodjenje* article's headline and text were out of sync: while the headline suggested that the award had been paid, the text described how the web page containing data on this issue had not been updated for some time.

The newspaper published many articles whose authors offered their personal viewpoints either in the text or headline and subheadings. In one, the author said the Serbian people "should not forget that a majority of them enthusiastically followed Karadzic's criminal call".

On July 25, most articles detailed the presumed existence of an agreement between Karadzic and the former US envoy to the Balkans, Richard Holbrooke, guaranteeing the former's freedom from arrest. In one article, *Oslobodjenje* quoted Aleksa Buha, former Republika Srpska foreign minister, saying that such an agreement existed and he had the documents to prove it.

While monitoring how the situation was developing, *Oslobodjenje* also wrote that, "according to his defence attorney", Karadzic spent his time reading the Bible in an apartment-type cell with a separate bathroom and had told his attorney that being on the run had not been difficult as he gone to football games and appeared in front of cameras, sure that nobody would recognise him".

On this day, a regular column started with a joke about what Ratko Mladic did and said before the arrest:

"After having undergone plastic surgery in Belgrade, Ratko Mladic went to a market place, approached an old lady and asked how much the cream was. She said: 'It's 200 dinars, but for you, Ratko, I will charge only 150'. Mladic was upset and went back to the plastic surgeon, telling him he hadn't done a good job since an old lady had recognised him in the street. The surgeon was surprised and made some more corrections. Ratko went back again to the market place, approached the same old lady and asked her the same question. 'But

I told you already. It costs 200 dinars, but you, Ratko, should pay 150'. Mladic was surprised and asked her how she had recognised him. 'Because I am no old lady. I am Radovan.'

The journalist went on to explain that "The truth is somewhat different... He [Karadzic] did not recognise Mladic, but the other way around". Touching thus on speculation that Mladic was "the one who gave Karadzic away in order to prevent his own arrest", he concluded that "this is ...a story which will be continued in The Hague".

*Oslobodjenje* published a few lines on events and reactions among ordinary citizens in Republika Srpska, including an item on posters put up in Visegrad, eastern Bosnia, containing the following slogans: "President, we are by your side", "General, we shall not give you away", "General, we are all your helpers", "You are our hero" and "Serbian hero". They were removed immediately.

On July 26, *Oslobodjenje* carried a piece of news first broadcast by Belgrade-based television channel B92 concerning the results of a public opinion survey in Serbia, according to which 70 per cent of citizens supported cooperation with the Hague tribunal, but 54 per cent of them did not support the extradition of Serbian citizens to it: "One third of Serbian residents see Karadzic as a hero, while 42 per cent do not consider him to be a hero; 17 per cent of people think the first president of Republika Srpska is a war criminal". The title of this article was "Survey among Serbian citizens: One third of people think Karadzic is a hero".

Emir Suljagic, journalist and publicist, was guest commentator of the day. He said Karadzic's arrest represented only the beginning of another painful chapter for the victims, "because they are now facing a years-long distressing and difficult trial, which will make these people suffer their traumas all over again. However, the wounds which will be reopened by this trial were never healed in any case".

On July 27, *Oslobodjenje* published an article on the connection between the Serbian Orthodox Church and Karadzic. The author says Karadzic was visited by the Metropolitan of Montenegro, Amfilohije, who blessed him. "Following an eight-day fast in which he consumed nothing but water, prior to his arrest, Karadzic confessed and received holy communion," *Oslobodjenje* wrote, citing sources in the Orthodox Church.

One day later, on July 28, the paper reprinted an article published by the British newspaper, *The Observer*, authored by former High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina Paddy - now Lord - Ashdown. In it, he claimed that "Bosnia and Herzegovina was closer to breakup than at any time since the end of the war". He also wrote that the EU had to invest "more effort in order to prevent a possible division". Noting that Karadzic was finally on his way to The Hague, he added that "the division of Bosnia of which he dreamed is now much closer to fulfillment than ever, since he became a fugitive". This article attracted even more attention from the local and international public than the arrest itself.

An interesting story published by *Oslobodjenje* concerned Robert Kaplan, a “forensic psychiatrist” who has written a book entitled *Medicine Murders: Analysis of an Upsetting Phenomenon of Doctors who Commit Murders*, to be published in 2009.

*Oslobodjenje* took parts of the book from the Austrian media. This article noted that in 1993, “A new term was included in the lexicon – ethnic cleansing. Karadzic, the central figure of destruction, organised a band around Sarajevo, targeting grenades at the hospital in which he used to work, killing his colleagues and patients.” In addition, it published a section in which Kaplan said that Karadzic, “as a genocidal killer, was an extreme but not unusual example of clinicide, the phenomenon of doctors who commit murder”.

On July 29, two days before Karadzic’s extradition to The Hague, the main news item published in *Oslobodjenje* was the reaction of the Office of the High Representative, OHR, to political disagreements in Bosnia over the arrest. The article was entitled: “*SDS should clarify it’s war crimes legacy*”. This statement was actually a reaction by the OHR to the visit made by the president of the Serbian Democratic Party, SDS, to Karadzic in the Belgrade detention unit.

On July 30, *Oslobodjenje* published some speculative news concerning the extradition of Karadzic to The Hague, claiming it would be a secret operation and that “it was not possible to obtain data on it at The Hague or in Belgrade”.

On July 31, 2008 Karadzic was extradited to the Hague tribunal and due to make his first appearance before the judges. This event was announced on the front page of *Oslobodjenje* with a picture of Karadzic in wartime and in uniform. Citing news agency reports, the article indicated that he was now being held in the tribunal’s detention unit in the Netherlands.

***Dnevni list***, published in Mostar, did not produce its first article on the arrest of Karadzic until July 23. In the preceding days, almost all the texts it featured on the event were taken from other media. A total of 41 articles were analysed, starting from the first day of the newspaper’s original coverage, when its front page bore a photograph of Karadzic in uniform next to one of “Dragan Dabic”. The photographs were accompanied by the title: “The most wanted ICTY [International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia] indictee lived freely under the name of Dragan Dabic: Karadzic cured people in Serbia”. The subheadings read: “Sarajevo celebrates, RS [Republika Srpska] shocked” and “Now it’s Mladic’s turn”.

On the same day *Dnevni list* published an eight-page “dossier” containing reports from Sarajevo and Pale.

“While the citizens of Sarajevo celebrated, shock and disbelief could be seen among the citizens of Republika Srpska. However, apart from in Sarajevo, no gatherings or incidents were recorded in any Bosnian towns. Residents of the first capital of Republika Srpska [Pale] are angry and disappointed that Radovan Karadzic has been

arrested. Their pain is even greater because this arrest was not the result of a move by the international community, but an action to arrest the most wanted ICTY fugitive by Serbian forces”.

Photographs of empty streets in Pale and Karadzic’s house, where journalists waited for some family members to appear, as well as of the celebration in Sarajevo and wartime and pre-war images showing Karadzic and his family, were published.

On July 24, *Dnevni list* published a dossier of several pages, containing mainly agency news. The main article started with news that, after visiting him, Karadzic’s brother Luka said that Radovan “really feared for Republika Srpska” and was “not concerned” about any other issues.

It also conveyed a statement by Karadzic’s attorney Svetozar Vu-jacic that his client had been living in a rented apartment in Jurij Gagarin street in New Belgrade for a long time. “We should remind you that, some time ago, Carla Del Ponte claimed Ratko Mladic had been hiding in the same street. Later on, [Hague tribunal war crimes indictee] Zdravko Tolimir claimed to have been arrested in the same street in Belgrade, and not on the border between Serbia and RS,” *Dnevni list* wrote.

The paper was preoccupied with sensationalistic news as well, as seen in an item on Karadzic’s alleged lover, Mila Cicak, which reported that he had taken a new woman “as part of his new image”.

On July 25, an article on the cover page bore the heading: “Prior to coming to Belgrade, was he hiding in monasteries?” The author cited Belgrade media, which in turn referred to “well-informed sources”.

A text, subtitled “Career”, stated that “Dr Dabic” had treated famous patients, including “a few singers and sportsmen, as well as a known politician with back problems”. No names were mentioned, but “one of Dabic’s employers” was quoted as saying that he earned between 300 and 800 euros per month, and that patients appreciated him very much for being “a doctor who was full of understanding”.

On July 26, a text on the protests held in Republika Srpska and Serbia appeared on the front page. The article, based on agency news, said that “the participants who gathered there carried photographs of Karadzic and [war crimes indictee and Serbian Radical Party leader] Vojislav Seselj, as well as placards urging Ratko Mladic not to surrender and comparing [the Serbian president] Boris Tadic with [famous historic Serbian personage] Vuk Brankovic”.

It also quoted Karadzic’s attorney as saying he had a message to convey from his client in prison, in which he maintained that his only wish was for journalists to “leave him alone, stop following, overhearing and mistreating” his relatives and “200 to 300 friends”.

*Dnevni list* published an entire supplement on Karadzic on July 27. It focused on what Karadzic might say before the Hague tribunal and

contained a comment by the columnist Pejo Gasparevic, who said that the arrest was "one of the biggest events in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the past war". Gasparevic said that the arrest was more important than that of the former Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic.

*Dnevni list* focused on information about the alleged "non-arrest" agreement. The newspaper published an interview with a former senior Bosnian government official, Muhamed Sacirbegovic, who said that he had found out in the summer of 1996 that Karadzic was going to withdraw from the SDS, adding that US envoy Richard Holbrooke had mentioned "a deal" several times when explaining how he had managed to persuade Karadzic to withdraw. "However, neither Holbrooke nor the US State Department ever publicly explained what was offered to Karadzic and how he was motivated and persuaded to leave so quietly. Obviously, they would like us to believe that this was a unilateral decision, despite the evidence provided by many people to document the deal," Sacirbegovic told *Dnevni list*.

On the same day, the paper published an interview with Hajra Catic, president of the Association of Srebrenica Women, and Nura Begovic, an association member. Catic said that the victims now had "a small sign of hope that justice would be achieved", while Begovic said the victims had often told Carla Del Ponte that the Serbian authorities knew the whereabouts of Karadzic and Mladic.

On July 28, *Dnevni list* focused its attention on the article published by Paddy Ashdown in *The Observer* newspaper in the UK and speculation over Karadzic's alleged lover. With regard to the latter, it published an agency news item containing a statement by Mila Cicak in which she expressed her shock at having found out "the truth about the man with whom she used to spend time".

One day later, on July 29, attention was focused on the way in which Karadzic was arrested. A text based on agency news wrote that Serbian intelligence had followed and filmed "Dragan Dabic" for two months, "as they suspected that he was ICTY indictee Radovan Karadzic". It said they reached him after the secret police central office received an anonymous phone call. It also claimed that they had had problems determining Dabic's identity and so approached him as patients, while "one associate became a close friend of Mila Cicak".

One day before his extradition, *Dnevni list*, just like other newspapers, speculated on where and how Karadzic would be housed in the detention unit.

On July 31, when Karadzic was extradited, the front page contained an announcement that he was due to appear before the Court on that day and that the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Miroslav Lajcak, had decided to return documents confiscated from his family on January 9, 2008.

Agency news dominated this day as well. Among it was an item reporting that Bozidar Vucurevic, a founder of the SDS, said that he

had kept safe some documents that showed that Karadzic's orders had protected civilians, prisoners of war and all people, "irrespective of their religious or ethnic affiliation". He said: "These are historic documents which will be needed to determine the truth that must come out."

Most of the texts monitored for this project were published by ***Dnevni avaz***. A total of 156 of the daily's articles were reviewed, the first of which were published one day after Karadzic's arrest. *Dnevni avaz* is the only newspaper in Bosnia and Herzegovina with correspondents in Belgrade, The Hague and other towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*Dnevni avaz* reported on the Karadzic arrest in a specific way. Most items of information were published as "exclusives" and many interviews with foreign and local officials were conducted. Notably, words like "monster", "criminal" or other accusatory words were attached to Radovan Karadzic's name each time it was mentioned.

Often, headlines did not reflect what was actually written in the articles they introduced, and sensationalism appeared to be the only criteria for the selection of texts.

On July 22, the front page showed a photograph of Radovan Karadzic holding a knife, with the headline: "Karadzic, the most wanted war criminal finally arrested".

Of all the reactions by officials, *Dnevni avaz* gave prominence to a statement by the head of the Islamic Community in Bosnia, Reis Ulema Mustafa efendi Ceric, who said he was "pleased, because the genocide victims have at last seen some satisfaction as a result of this act". The reactions of victims and politicians followed.

*Dnevni avaz* also "learnt" that, besides the Serbian secret service, BIA, and the Bosnian Intelligence and Safety Agency, OSA, US intelligence also participated in the arrest: "One thing led to another. Then a search of Radovan Karadzic's house in Pale took place last week. Our interlocutors say that key evidence was found during the course of the search. Those pieces of evidence confirmed all previous suspicions". It did not mention who the interlocutors were or what their field of expertise was. This information was repeated on a number of occasions during the following days.

On July 23, the front page announced: "Criminal worked as a doctor under the name of Dragan Dabic", as well as a dossier on the "Monster at The Hague".

*Dnevni avaz* often referred to texts published by Serbian media, introducing a column in which it briefly conveyed what the Serbian print media had written.

It also published a report from Pale and photographs of the Karadzic family house. "Of all the Pale residents who were asked to comment



on Karadzic's arrest, only a few wanted to speak and introduce themselves. One said he was sick of heroes on all sides, adding that he thought that Karadzic would be better off at The Hague than the Serbs were in Pale".

On the second day after the arrest, *Dnevni avaz* published a story on the Srebrenica genocide victims who said that it was good that Karadzic had been arrested, but that his crime "and our pain" had not disappeared because of this.

A dossier was also published in the newspaper's supplement. A photograph of Karadzic smiling appeared on the front page, above a collage of photographs of scaffolds, with the title: "Hangman at The Hague". The dossier also contained his biography, entitled: "From a Durmitor psychiatrist to Hague indictee".

The same dossier contained an extract from the indictment against the "miscreant" Karadzic, as well as a reminder of his speech before the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991, in which he charged Bosnia's non-Serbs with trying to take the republic "to the motorway of hell and suffering, which Slovenia and Croatia have already taken," and warned them: "Do not think that you will not take Bosnia to hell and perhaps lead the Muslim people to extinction, because the Muslim people cannot defend itself if the war starts here".

On July 24, *Dnevni avaz* published an "exclusive" announcement for a report that "The Hangman asked for water and tablets in the detention unit". In another article it was reported that [then Serbian prime minister, Vojislav] "Kostunica was the key protector" of Karadzic, referring once again to "well-informed sources".

"Even a brief glance at Radovan Karadzic's new look clearly shows it was designed in such a way as to enable him to hide quickly as a priest. It is obvious his long hair and beard were created because of that. The Serbian Orthodox Church never tried to hide its inclinations towards this man of slaughter and nobody should be so naïve as to have any doubt that the Church sheltered Karadzic, when needed," *Dnevni avaz* concluded.

That day, *Dnevni avaz* published an exclusive piece of news in which it said that Mark Harmonn would be a prosecutor in this case. Although it did not refer to any sources, the information proved correct.

On July 25, the front page announced that Karadzic had lost a lawsuit in the US in 1997, which meant he had to pay 36 million Bosnian Marks (18 million Euros) to victims "or his property would be confiscated". This time, *Dnevni avaz* named its source as Raffi Gregorian, Principal Deputy High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, who said that "Karadzic owes a few billion dollars to victims", adding that, "because of that, his real estate and other assets were of interest to the Office of the High Representative, OHR, and the European Union's military deployment in Bosnia, EUFOR, which recently measured his house for this reason".

International officials in Bosnia made a decision to freeze Karadzic's property in Bosnia, as well as the accounts of his family members. The latter's personal documents were also confiscated.

Like the Bosnian Serb media, *Dnevni avaz* paid much attention to political disagreements between Republika Srpska and the Federation. The High Representative, Miroslav Lajcak, commented for *Dnevni avaz* that he had expected a decrease in nationalism in Republika Srpska following the arrest, "but something quite opposite has happened, as everybody is now competing for the title of Biggest Serb". Lajcak also criticised politicians in the Federation for expressing their hostility to the existence of Republika Srpska, "even though they all know it is in the constitutional definition of the country".

"They are acting like children. When they are a majority, they implement their intentions without paying any heed to others, but when they are a minority, they are afraid and want to be comforted," Lajcak said.

One day later, on July 26, a commentary by journalist Edina Sarac was published on page three, in which she wrote about "the new government" in Serbia "having the courage to arrest the Durmitor psychiatrist, to whom Vojislav Kostunica and his colleagues offered a safe haven over the past 12 years and provided with intelligence information".

A correspondent from The Hague wrote about what "the Durmitor monster" could expect upon arrival at the detention unit, mentioning that "a 15-square-metre cell will be his new home, which is the same as the one in which the Balkan butcher Slobodan Milosevic spent the last five years of his life, listening to the music of Frank Sinatra".

The same day, it published an article based on a conversation with Karadzic's former colleague, psychiatrist Senadin Ljubovic. The title indicated that "Karadzic was a victim of sexual abuse". In an attempt to make the image of Karadzic as atrocious as possible, *Dnevni avaz* quoted this doctor as allegedly saying that Karadzic had a multiple personality disorder, adding that "more than 90 per cent of such persons were abused when they were kids. His father was tried for incest with his cousin... I cannot claim, and I am against psychological speculation, but I believe he was a victim of severe sexual abuse in childhood".

The same day, *Dnevni avaz* published an article from *The Washington Post*, authored by Richard Holbrooke. It appeared with the headline, "My meeting with a murderer", although it cannot be concluded from the article that this was originally written by the author.

On July 27, *Dnevni avaz* started publishing texts concerning Karadzic's eventual extradition and speculation about when this might happen. It wrote that "the criminal" would be in The Hague next week.

One day later, the front page carried another exclusive, announcing that former ICTY prosecutor Sir Geoffrey Nice was urging that Karadzic's trial be conducted in Sarajevo.

"Over the past seven days, I realised that it would appropriate to hold his trial in the region, primarily in Sarajevo. Victims would be able to listen to evidence presented in their own language and meet him [Karadzic], face to face, while the media would report on it", he was quoted as saying.

One day prior to the extradition, on July 29, *Dnevni avaz* speculated that, were he alive, Milosevic would tell Karadzic: "Shaggy, didn't I tell you to be careful with what you say over the phone and at assembly sessions?" This was based on a number of intercepted conversations played during ICTY trials in which Milosevic used a nickname based on Karadzic's thick and unruly head of hair.

Following this article, which recalled the previous day's news that the former prosecutor had urged the trial to be conducted in Sarajevo, *Dnevni avaz* published the reactions of victims who rejected the idea. The title of the text was: "The butcher can only be tried in The Hague".

"Victims of Karadzic's regime, which 'killed everybody, irrespective of gender or age', consider that the Durmitor butcher, who is awaiting extradition to The Hague, should by all means be tried by the international war crimes court".

On July 30, *Dnevni avaz* published a short text, entitled "New details on war criminal's psychological profile: Bisexual monster", reporting that the investigation conducted by Serbian intelligence services had revealed details on Karadzic's time in hiding "which were irrelevant to the victims, but shed light, to an extent, on his psychological profile." According to the newspaper, "Besides some pornographic material found in his apartment in Belgrade, some of which was taped by him, it was discovered that the criminal is bisexual!"

On July 31, a text was published with the headline: "Criminal Radovan Karadzic arrives in The Hague: Butcher of Pale in Scheveningen".

"While yellow-suited cleaners collected garbage from Belgrade streets, as well as bottles, glass, rocks and pieces of flower pots, and Serbian policemen and supporters of the Durmitor monster tended their wounds gained in a real street war, three armoured vehicles left the parking lot in front of the special court in Belgrade yesterday morning and headed towards Surcin airport," *Dnevni avaz* wrote.

Weekly magazines in Bosnia and Herzegovina published just one issue during the period monitored. In the Federation, the two highest circulation magazines were reviewed – *Dani* and *Slobodna Bosna*.

***Slobodna Bosna*** was published on July 24, with a front page announcing the arrest of Karadzic and an analysis on his time spent in hiding.

In an attempt to present some new information, they wrote about "a mysterious doctor, Veselin Savic", who was "some sort of a guru who received hundreds of prominent Serbian politicians, writers, pro-

fessors and doctors in his consulting-room". The title of the text was: "Karadzic's arrest: Are Serbs 'crazy' or besotted?"

The article further indicated that Savic, "a famous Belgrade psychiatrist" and Karadzic's "spiritual guru", declared him "the man of the nation".

Senad Avdic, editor of *Slobodna Bosna*, analysed "the eight most important facts related to Karadzic's arrest", claiming that BIA agents had followed Karadzic "for at least three years".

"Whether they arrested him on a bus on Friday or in the park on Monday was a marginal and technically irrelevant factor in the entire operation," Avdic wrote.

Columnist Andrej Nikolaidis wrote about Karadzic, concluding that, in his life, "he established many alternative eco-villages: with no living people in them to contaminate the natural environment. He led a war that was an alternative to all other wars and moral codes. He offered a strong alternative argument to those who advocated the thesis that genocide could not happen in Europe after the Second World War. He made Srebrenica an alternative town - a genocide monument".

**Dani** made a retrospective of articles written by its authors covering the period from the war until the present day. Writer Marko Vesovic, a columnist, wrote that, for Karadzic, everything around him was "Serbian".

"The Pale writer is a Serb 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 12 months a year. He is a Serb when he writes and when he sneezes, he is a Serb when he is with assembly delegates and with a woman, the Pale writer, sitting on a Serbian chair, at a Serbian desk, in a Serbian room, wrote, using a Serbian pen, dipping it in Serbian ink, over a Serbian paper about Serbian birds, which fly over the Serbian sky in a Serbian way, and about Serbian fish, which swim in a Serbian style in Serbian water, while inhaling Serbian smoke from his Serbian pipe and exhaling it into the Serbian air. Because the Serbian people are the best in the world, and that is the end of the story."

A comment by editor Vildana Selimbegovic said that "the creator of hell is one step away from court and, despite the fact that our minds tell us that there can be no adequate punishment for him, the creator of the siege, commander of genocide, promoter of murder, deportation, rape... faith that the crime will be penalised... has returned, although accompanied by disbelief that Radovan Karadzic was arrested in Belgrade."

It was interesting to read a comment by Svetlana Cenic, former *chef-de-cabinet* of one of Karadzic's wartime associates, Nikola Koljevic. Cenic, who now lives in Banja Luka, said that she felt "extremely stupid" because the two different parts of her country had expected her to react in different ways to the news of his arrest.

"I see all this as a burlesque, as a show for the people and ethnic groups. The most wanted man was surprisingly captured, after having hidden for more than a decade, and was caught on a bus! The whole world tried to find him, not one single day had passed without mentioning him. And, look what happened. He is in Belgrade, riding a city bus. Come on?!"



## Republika Srpska

In Republika Srpska, two leading daily newspapers, *Glas Srpske* and *Nezavisne novine*, and one weekly, *Novi Reporter*, were examined.

The two daily newspapers published the news of Karadzic's arrest one day later than other media in Bosnia. In the following days, until his extradition, they dedicated somewhat less space to this subject than other media there and in neighbouring countries.

In general, the Republika Srpska media concentrated mainly on the "conflict" generated by the arrest between politicians from Bosnia's two entities. In only a few instances were war victims or the indictment also mentioned.

In *Glas Srpske*, a total of 46 articles published between July 23-31 were reviewed. The first piece of news was published under the following heading: "Radovan Karadzic arrested in Belgrade when trying to move from one location to another: He worked as a doctor under a false name".

The article said he had lived and worked under the name of Dr Dragan Dabic in Belgrade, practiced alternative medicine, and that those who met him every day did not know of his real identity. These pieces of information were followed by reactions, mainly from Republika Srpska officials, to statements given by Federation politicians. Only a few referred to Karadzic's arrest and its ramifications for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska.

Under the title, "Individual guilt – Republika Srpska is a permanent category", *Glas Srpske* published a reaction by Milorad Dodik, the Bosnian Serb prime minister, who said his entity "was facing many unaccountable statements by unaccountable politicians from Sarajevo... Republika Srpska was not made by Karadzic but by the people. It is, therefore, improper for politicians from Sarajevo to ask for Republika Srpska to be tried at Karadzic's trial. At this moment, it is necessary to start the process of apologising to Serbs, for the sake of the future and tolerance in the region".

Over the following days, disagreements between politicians were the focus of *Glas Srpske* articles. News about "Dr Dabic" received less space.

On July 23, the first big text on "Dragan Dabic" as "spiritual healer" was published. It wrote that, "over the past few years, he was often invited to various medical conferences in Serbia". *Glas Srpske* mentioned that this information was taken from "web portals".

The commentary of the day was by journalist Goran Maunaga, focusing on the two leading Bosniak politicians. "Sulejman Tihic and Haris Silajdzic did not, naturally, have the strength to congratulate Serbia, like all other diplomats around the world. Instead, they called for the annulment of Republika Srpska, calling it 'Karadzic's creation'," he wrote. "If, as officials the world over say, Serbia contributed to peace and reconciliation in the region by this act, what contributions do Bosniak politicians make in using the language of hatred?"

Tihic is head of the leading Bosniak party, the Party of Democratic Action, while Silajdzic was then president of the Bosnian Presidency and leader of the [Bosniak] Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina, also based in the Federation.

*Glas Srpske* published a reaction by Ljiljana Zelen Karadzic, Radovan's wife, who said she had been shocked by news of the arrest. The text was accompanied by a photograph taken from the Karadzic family album, showing a domestic scene of Ljiljana offering coffee to Radovan.

Two days after the arrest, on page five, *Glas Srpske* published Radovan Karadzic's biography without mentioning the wartime period. It began with his arrival in Sarajevo in 1960, continued with his education and mentioned that he then went to the USA, "where he studied psychotherapy and American poetry". In 1989, he "established the SDS" and, in 1990, was elected party president. On January 9, 1992, "the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared, which was then renamed Republika Srpska. He was its first president". After that, the biography mentioned that, in 1996, "under pressure from the international community", he withdrew from public and political life, "and has been missing since then". It also mentioned that he had written "four books of poems", and was awarded for one of them, adding that "he continued writing while on the run".

On the first day that Karadzic's arrest was reported, attention was focused on texts praising the success of the "pro-Western government of Serbia".

One day later, on July 24, the front page announced an article about Karadzic's extradition and another on the life of "Dragan Dabic". Here, the newspaper republished a statement that had earlier appeared in the Serbian media, quoting Leposava Kron, a psychologist from Belgrade, describing Karadzic as "a person who needed public attention... Not having an audience represents some kind of suicide to him. He needs applause."

*Glas Srpske* continued with texts containing messages on the existence of Republika Srpska. "The title 'Srpska' cannot be questioned



by anything" was one of many similar articles published at the time. The text again quoted Milorad Dodik, who said that Bosniak politicians "dream every day about the RS being tried. To their regret, Srpska is more powerful and stronger every day, and its existence will not be questioned because Radovan Karadzic has been arrested".

On July 25, *Glas Srpske* wrote about the effects of the arrest. "The spectacular arrest, in particular Karadzic's new look, are at the centre of public attention even now, three days after the arrest, although the initial excitement in Belgrade has calmed down already. Karadzic's way of life looked like it was taken from a Hollywood film script. He managed to raise the ratings of all TV stations in Serbia and the circulation of print media too".

Fresh news items that were brought to the attention of the Republika Srpska public related to the possible return of personal documents to the Karadzic family. The documents were confiscated in January 2008 by order of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Karadzic family members asked for their return in order to visit Radovan while he still remained in Belgrade.

"At its session held yesterday, the Government of Republika Srpska said that it expected the OHR to annul its confiscation of the travel documents immediately".

*Glas Srpske* carried reports published in the Serbian media that Karadzic had completed "a training course in bio-energy and obtained the title of poison, gold and minefield general", as well as some pieces of information about the filing and unsealing of the indictment against him, and speculation over how his defence might be organised. It reported that the Hague prosecution had announced it would not let Karadzic represent himself at the trial, noting: "A law school professor and member of the defence team, Kosta Cavoski, said the Hague tribunal did not have any reason for not letting Karadzic defend himself".

An article containing a sort of chronology of the search for Karadzic was also published. It started and ended with a statement that he had been hiding successfully for years, and was entitled: "While journalists and senior diplomats thought they saw him in Republika Srpska, Dr Dragan Dabic cured patients in Belgrade: Karadzic completed bio-energy course". The text focused on actions taken by the international forces present in Bosnia to try to arrest him or to confiscate documents.

The Karadzic family was a subject of interest to *Glas Srpske* journalists on July 26. In a text entitled "Sonja Karadzic does not expect a fair trial for her father", it carried a report from a Dutch newspaper in which Sonja said she last saw her father in 1998, and that the family last had news that he was alive in "2001 or 2002". The article stated that the family "was eager" to recover their documents and other personal property".

The same day, the newspaper published a large story, accompanied by archive photographs and news reports, about a father and son, Jeremije and Aleksandar Starovlah, both Serbian Orthodox priests "beaten up" in the course of an Sfor [the former NATO military deployment to Bosnia] operation in Pale and accused of helping Karadzic to hide. The title of the text was: "The beaten Orthodox priests have not been paid any compensation, although four years have passed since the brutal Sfor operation in Pale". In one of the introductory texts, it was said that both men still suffered from the consequences of the beating and trauma.

On July 28, *Glas Srpske* wrote about the upcoming trial of Karadzic, carrying a statement by the Serbian media in which "attorney Mica Vladimirof" said he did not believe he would have a fair trial "because the world has already sentenced him as a war criminal".

The same page featured a brief news item on the alleged non-arrest agreement, focusing on a statement by Muhamed Sacirbegovic, former senior official of the Bosnian government. *Glas Srpske* referred to agency news, claiming that Sacirbegovic had said that "he knew" such an agreement had been reached.

On July 29, *Glas Srpske* journalists speculated on when the Karadzic trial verdict might be reached, stating that the latest deadline was 2010, "when the Hague Court was due to be closed".

It also carried a statement given by Dusan Ignjatovic, the Serbian director for cooperation with the Hague tribunal, to the Serbian media, in which he said, "I can already see that there is an idea to reduce the indictment to a minimum and organise a brief trial to take place as soon as possible".

On the last day of monitoring, July 31, *Glas Srpske's* headlines focused on the fact that the Karadzic family members had been returned their personal documents and started the procedure for getting new passports. It also reported a piece of news concerning Radovan Karadzic's extradition, citing the Hague tribunal's chief prosecutor, Serge Brammertz, as saying his arrest was "very important to the victims, who have had to wait for too long for his arrest, and to international justice, because it clearly shows that there is no other way than to arrest war criminals". Within the scope of this monitoring project, this was the first text from this newspaper to contain any mention of victims.

On the day of Karadzic's extradition, *Glas Srpske* published a long analysis entitled "Europe welcomes Radovan Karadzic's extradition: Serbia is getting closer to the EU". The author described how Javier Solana, High Representative of the EU, had congratulated Serbia and described the transfer of Karadzic from Serbia to The Hague as "an important step towards cooperation between Serbia and the EU". The same article mentioned that "delegates of the Russian Federation Council expressed their distrust regarding the objectivity of the Hague tribunal, pointing to its double standards".

In the course of this monitoring, 97 articles published in **Nezavisne novine** were reviewed. This newspaper has correspondents in Banja Luka and Sarajevo. It provided considerable coverage of Karadzic's arrest up until his extradition to The Hague, focusing mainly, as was the case with *Glas Srpske*, on the conflict between politicians and the Karadzic family.

*Nezavisne novine* did not report Karadzic's arrest in its July 22 edition, while the following day it carried a statement by Tanja Jovanovic "of *Zdrav zivot* [Healthy Life] magazine", with whom "Dr Dabic" had allegedly cooperated. "We are shocked. Our Dr Dabic was a fine man. He had good manners and he was a real professional," she said.

On July 24, *Nezavisne novine* contained a report covering the celebrations in Sarajevo that followed the arrest, Karadzic's indictment and reactions from his family. A short biography was also published in which it was stated that Karadzic was the first president of Republika Srpska. "Besides being involved in medicine and politics, Karadzic published several poetry books before the war, but his books were published and awarded after the war as well, while he was on the run. Karadzic speaks English and is married to Ljiljana Zelen. They have one daughter, Sonja, and a son, Sasa".

On July 25, *Nezavisne novine* carried a number of brief agency news reports, as well as articles by its correspondents from all over Bosnia. Among other things, it published the news that the Republika Srpska government expected the OHR to "revoke" its decision on the confiscation of the Karadzic family's travel documents immediately, in order to allow them to go to Belgrade to visit Radovan. The same article indicated that a session of the Visegrad municipal assembly was interrupted "in protest against the fact that the OHR and other competent institutions have still not returned the [Karadzic] family members their personal documents".

An article referring to the conflict between politicians from Bosnia's two entities pointed to the fact that Petar Djokic, president of the Socialist Party of Republika Srpska, had "expressed his concern over the atmosphere in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina following the arrest of Karadzic, which had generated a horrible campaign against Serbs and the RS in that entity".

"This is a provocative campaign, led by the politicians Haris Silajdzic, Sulejman Tihic, Zlatko Lagumdžija and others. There is also the reaction of the citizens of Sarajevo, shouting numerous offensive messages about the RS and Serbs during the course of street gatherings," Djokic said. Lagumdžija is leader of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an opposition party operating throughout the country.

One piece of news noted that "Dabic" had become a "star" on Facebook. The article said that a profile created on the popular web portal had gained "about 3,000 fans" in 24 hours. The article ended

with the author commenting that "Dr Dragan David Dabic" continued to be "one of the biggest stars of Facebook".

The text entitled "RS Prime Minister's Cabinet Insulted" said that the Bosnian Serb cabinet had received a number of phone calls from people who "made inappropriate and vulgar statements and insults, based on national and religious grounds". Referring to Vera Stajic, "assistant General Secretary for Information of the RS Government", *Nezavisne novine* wrote that most of those calls had been made from abroad, "but also from the Federation".

"We have not received such calls before. I suppose that they are connected to Radovan Karadzic's arrest," Stajic told *Nezavisne novine*.

Four days prior to Karadzic's extradition, on July 26, the newspaper published a story on the return of property and documents to his family. The article indicated that, under local laws, the property of the Hague indictee could only be confiscated "if it is proven that it was gained in a criminal way, or if it can be used to pay an eventual debt to the state".

This article was related to a piece of news that his property was originally frozen "so that it would not be used to aid his escape".

On July 27, in the column "Rekli su" ["They said"], a statement by Richard Holbrooke, "creator of the [1995] Dayton Agreement", was cited, in which he said: "Mladic is a typical killer. Milosevic was a banker, while Karadzic was an intellectual architect". This statement was presented separately from the rest of the column, making it unclear as to what its citation was intended to convey.

On the same day, a statement by Slavko Jovicic, "former president and founder of the Association of Detainees of Republika Srpska", was also reported. He said that he was willing "to make himself available" to support Karadzic's defence team. "I am the first who is ready to go to The Hague and testify in favour of the defence about the suffering of the Serbian people," Jovicic said.

On July 28, the front page contained a comment by the editor of *Nezavisne novine's* Sarajevo Office, Almedin Sisic, who said that political disputes following the arrest of Karadzic were "the best example of the profile [of the politicians] leading the country. It seems the bloodthirsty battle for dominion is not expressed in any other country as it is in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, the arrest of Karadzic, conducted two months prior to the elections, has led this country to boiling point, almost generating inter-ethnic incidents".

A day later, on July 29, speculation on Karadzic's extradition received most attention. *Nezavisne novine* referred to the Serbian media, which wrote that the entire procedure would be conducted in a confidential manner "in order to avoid media attention and planned protests in support of the former RS president".

Again, there was a reaction by the SDS, which invited politicians in the entity to "join forces in defending the dignity of Republika Srpska".

"These days, once again, we face expressions of animosity from Sarajevo and well-known anti-Serbian groups from abroad," *Nezavisne novine* reported, conveying the party's standpoint. It was further mentioned that "public statements by Haris Silajdzic, Sulejman Tihic and Zlatko Lagumdžija, as well as their former mentors Richard Holbrooke and Paddy Ashdown, directly or indirectly, connect the trial of Radovan Karadzic to the future of the RS".

On the last day of monitoring, July 31, a large article entitled "Serbia has come closer to Europe" alleged that the French Presidency of the European Union had described Karadzic's extradition as "important for Serbia in view of its accession to Europe".

A news item saying Greek attorneys were willing to help Karadzic defend himself was also published. This was allegedly mentioned by the president of the Greek attorneys' chamber.

The only weekly magazine monitored in Republika Srpska was ***Novi Reporter***, the most-circulated such publication in the entity. The issue published during the monitoring period was dedicated to the fact that "columns of celebrating, unrestrained Muslim youths in Sarajevo marked the arrest... [O]f course, it was not just the young Muslims who celebrated when Radovan Karadzic was arrested. This was done by the older ones as well, led by a passionate foursome, composed of Reis Mustafa Ceric, Sulejman Tihic, Zlatko Lagumdžija and, of course, Haris Silajdzic".

The magazine contained an analysis entitled "Guilty, until proven otherwise", also showing a photograph of the Hague tribunal building and one of Karadzic, altered so that he appeared to be waving. The analysis provided an overview of the indictments against Karadzic, from the first one filed in 1995 to the third, amended in 2002. It also mentioned possible influences on the trial itself and facts established in other trials conducted in The Hague.

The author stressed that Karadzic's fate was closely related to the judicial processes against Momcilo Krajisnik, Karadzic's former associate, currently on trial at The Hague, Biljana Plavsic, the former prime minister of Republika Srpska, and Radislav Krstic, a former general sentenced for crimes committed in Srebrenica. He reminded readers that these individuals had all "completed their Hague stories, except for Krajisnik, who is awaiting the results of the appellate procedure", adding that they were "all found guilty and sentenced to many years' imprisonment".

"In any case, if he is convicted, Karadzic cannot hope for a sentence less severe than the one given to Krstic," the author concluded, referring to his sentence of 35 years' imprisonment.



## SERBIA

Monitoring of coverage by the Serbian print media of the arrest of Radovan Karadzic encompassed the weekly news magazine, *Vreme*, as well as daily newspapers *Blic*, *Politika* and *Vecernje novosti*. A total of 570 articles published between July 22-31, 2008, the period between Karadzic's arrest and first appearance at the Hague tribunal, were analysed.

On July 22, all three daily newspapers published news of the arrest and the first reactions from Serbia and abroad. *Politika* wrote the most articles regarding the event, devoting more than 200 to the topic. *Vecernje novosti* followed with almost 200 articles.

*Blic* wrote the least number of articles on Karadzic, but the Hague indictee was on the front page of this newspaper every day during the monitored period. On ten occasions, news regarding the indictee occupied the largest part of *Blic's* front page.

The weekly news magazine, *Vreme*, announced three large articles on the "character and deeds" of the Hague indictee on its front page.

In *Vreme's* July 24 issue, along with a front page featuring the face of "Dragan Dabic" and headline "The fall of Radovan Karadzic", three articles regarding Karadzic's arrest, his "secret life" and "written works" could be found.

In the article, "Karadzic's secret life", entitled "Doctor Radovan and Mister Dragan", the author wrote about Dr Dabic's practice, lectures and public discussions, carrying statements by participants and visitors to such events. The interlocutors mostly spoke of their meetings with "Dabic" and the impressions he left.

"The lecture was interesting," one woman recalled. "In the beginning, looking at this man, he came across as an eccentric, a man living in his own world... I think about his perfect acting and the way he laughed in his eyes at all of us".

Apart from "Dragan Dabic", *Vreme* also wrote about Karadzic himself, reminding readers of the statements he made to different media from 1990 to 1995, related to the war in Bosnia. This part was entitled "Thus spoke Radovan".

In an article on Karadzic's "literary opus", its author described the indicted war criminal's book promotions, noting that it was by "irony of destiny that a man indicted for the worst criminal acts [was]... preparing new literary works".

***Politika*** was the daily newspaper that dedicated maximum attention to Karadzic's arrest in the period from July 22-31.

The first day after the arrest, on July 22, the newspaper published news and reactions of international officials, as well as those of Karadzic's spouse, Ljiljana Zelen Karadzic, mostly citing agencies.

The following day, more was written on Karadzic, with reactions of officials from around the world, Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia. *Politika* also devoted several commentaries to the arrest. Elsewhere, it wrote about the protests against the arrest, Karadzic's false identity, and his practice of alternative medicine.

On this day, information was given by Karadzic's attorney that he was apparently arrested three days earlier than announced.

Special attention was devoted to reactions from Bosnia in an article by *Politika's* correspondent from Banja Luka. The article compared the atmosphere in Sarajevo and Pale, condemning the celebrations in Sarajevo: "It was shown clearly last night in Sarajevo that the thesis of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, that the 'ethnic distance' between the youth in BiH is bigger today than it was among their fathers, mothers, uncles... is completely correct".

A report from Karadzic's home village in the Savnik area of Montenegro was published. *Politika's* journalist spoke to members of the Karadzic family there who remained "proud of their relative". The author devoted space to descriptions of the rural surroundings and the "strange silence" that ruled in the area.

"It was as if heaven collapsed on the day this area was surprised by the news that Radovan Karadzic had been arrested in Belgrade", the paper wrote.

In the edition of July 24, with reference to the identity that Karadzic assumed during his time in hiding in Belgrade, it was suggested that he took the name of Dragan Dabic from a member of the Republika Srpska, RS, army killed by a sniper, and that his identification card was issued to him in Ruma, northern Serbia. Journalists relied on "trusted sources" for this information, although there was no official confirmation of it.

Writing on Karadzic's time as Dr Dabic continued in an article entitled "Friendly Uncle Dabic", which carried the statements of his neighbours, as well as information from the shop and café near the building in which the disguised man had been living. "He was extremely correct with all his neighbours. He had a special relationship with the children. Because of his white hair and chin, the children called him Santa Claus," one neighbour said. The article reported a story from



the Crazy House café bar, according to which "Dr Dabic" had once rescued some homeless bees by making them an improvised hive.

"Radovan did not leave until he saved the very last bee," it claimed.

A biography of Karadzic was published in this edition, along with some of his statements, quotes from the Hague indictment against him and his "psychological portrait". A biography of "Dragan Dabic", taken from his web page, was also published.

An article on page seven recounted how Karadzic, while working as psychiatrist to Belgrade's Red Star football club, had helped them win a cup. Slobodan Antonic's commentary, in which he said that he "does not believe The Hague", continued on page 11.

The following day, *Politika* managed to get hold of Dragan Dabic of Ruma, whose personal data was identical to that used by Karadzic. Statements and data related to other men called Dragan Dabic were also published.

In the same issue, *Politika* published a map of Karadzic's and Ratko Mladic's movements during their years in hiding, followed by an article on Karadzic's "helpers". This article discussed whether those who knew where he was hiding would now face justice.

Attacks on journalists that occurred during the protests against Karadzic's arrest were also covered, citing many reactions from politicians and journalists associations, condemning such behaviour.

A commentary in which the author criticised the Hague tribunal's acquittals of Bosniak [Bosnian Muslim] military chief Naser Oric and the Kosovar paramilitary-turned-politician, Ramush Haradinaj, was published on page ten.

"Doesn't anybody have the strength to ask the judges how they could do this? There is no justification for forever proclaiming my people altogether guilty," Aleksandar Vulin wrote.

On the following page, a commentary by Dragoljub Zarkovic, editor of the weekly *Vreme*, appeared, claiming the fanciful stories about "Dragan Dabic" were deflecting attention from Karadzic himself.

"It happens sometimes that great dramas, personal as well as national ones, finish as burlesque, and that those burlesque circumstances prevail over the proportions and implications of those great dramas. It is the same thing with the case of Radovan Karadzic," he wrote.

One of the main stories in *Politika* on July 26 concerned the threats that Vjerica Radeta, a parliamentary deputy from the Serbian Radical Party, SRS, sent to the president of Serbia, Boris Tadic, along with the public reactions that they provoked.

"God punishes up to the seventh generation, and sometimes up to eleventh generations, so they should take care", Radeta said of the country's leaders and head of state.

Also in this edition, *Politika* carried a report from the Vienna daily, *Kurier*, that Karadzic had worked in Austria under the pseudonym, Petar Glumac. *Politika* also carried a statement by Raffi Gregorian, a senior official from the Office of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, given to the Sarajevo daily, *Dnevni avaz*, mentioning that Karadzic owed millions of Bosnian Convertible Marks to his victims.

*Politika* also wrote about the appeal made by Karadzic's lawyer, aimed at delaying his client's extradition to The Hague.

As the extradition of Karadzic to the Hague tribunal loomed, *Politika* focused more on the role of the international court and the different stances towards it. In its July 27 edition, its front page featured a commentary entitled: "Is there justice in The Hague?", in which it said that "justice for Karadzic" would mean an opportunity to silence all the stories regarding "heroics in crime". In this article, Ljubodrag Stojadinovic emphasised that "many think that the tribunal is not well-disposed towards Serbs".

The front page also announced an interview with Milorad Dodik, the prime minister of Republika Srpska, with the headline: "Sarajevo boils with desire for revenge". The main subject of the interview was the survival of the Bosnian Serb entity.

In his interview, Dodik said that Karadzic's arrest had stoked tensions, creating yet another chance for "a reckoning with Republika Srpska", because Bosniak politicians want to turn Karadzic's trial into a trial of Republika Srpska.

One of the stories published on July 28 was about the tailor, Novica Tasic, who "made trousers and took measurements for clothes" for Karadzic. A photograph of the tailor showed the clothes that he had supposedly made for the Hague indictee.

"After a few visits, the doctor started to address Novica as "Nole". With such proximity and familiarity, he conveyed to the tailor that he had problems with his trousers; the ones he has are loose, so he was forced to wear braces".

News of a rally organised by the SRS to protest against Karadzic's arrest was also reported on July 28. A commentary by the poet and journalist, Duska Vrhovac, in which she condemned the way the media had been writing in relation to Karadzic's arrest, appeared on page ten.

"Along with some accurate work, there is too much sensationalism, hate speech and sarcasm, inappropriate talk also, and very little clear editorial policy, clean and impartial information and constructive, professional and responsible commentaries and socio-cultural analysis", she wrote.

One of the main pieces of news on July 29 was the information revealed by the interior ministry that certain documents of the Republika Srpska army were found in Dragan Dabic's apartment. Karadzic's

lawyer, Svetozar Vujicic, responded by saying his client "has been preparing his defence for 10 years already".

An article headlined "Rally for Karadzic's support and against Tadic" appeared on *Politika's* front page on July 30, referring to the demonstrations in Belgrade against the arrest.

Also in this edition, *Politika* included an article on "The secrets of the Hague extraditions", in which, in the wake of Karadzic's transfer to the international court, journalists recalled the extraditions of the best known Hague indictees, such as Slobodan Milosevic, Vojislav Seselj and Stojan Zupljanin.

The article, "Who was arresting the indictees?", noted that "many arrests occurred in unclear circumstances and as a result of secret accusations".

News that Karadzic had been extradited to The Hague and would appear before judges for the first time was published on the front page of *Politika* on July 31.

The article quoted Karadzic's lawyer, who again talked about date of his client's arrest, as well as documents taken from him on that occasion. This was followed by reactions of numerous officials, "hailing" the extradition. There was also an article about the judge in front of whom Karadzic would appear, along with a summary of the indictment.

The article on pages six and seven was announced on the front page. It concerned the riots after the pro-Karadzic rally organised on July 29, including the numbers of wounded and arrests. Numerous expressions of disapproval of those acts were published, along with the reactions of the SRS officials who claimed the police had beaten them.

Many commentaries were dedicated to the aftermath of the rally on July 29. In one, Milorad Vesic criticised the SRS for the violence.

"Those who happened to be in Belgrade's city centre or in front of their television sets two nights ago must be asking whether they can believe their eyes and ears," he wrote. "Yesterday, their ears heard the Radical, Tomislav Nikolic, claiming that the police planned attacks on the participants at the rally. Two nights ago, their eyes saw police officers standing calmly in cordons, protecting certain locations, while the groups of youths who stormed them without reason threw everything they could find at them."

In the period covered by the monitoring, *Politika* reported on a daily basis on the impact of the Karadzic arrest on Serbia's relations with the European Union. Many commentaries were devoted to this issue.

It also reported daily on the impact of the arrest on Serbian politics, focusing on the postponed elections for the post of Belgrade mayor and the cancellation of a Serbian parliamentary session originally scheduled for the day of the arrest.

*Politika* journalists followed events at the special war crimes court in Belgrade on an hourly basis, while the statements of Karadzic's brother Luka and lawyer Svetozar Vujacic were published in every edition. Information regarding the Karadzic family in Bosnia was also published. A feuilleton, "Radovan Karadzic - Chronicle of a transformation", by *Politika* commentator Ljubodrag Stojadinović, was published from July 27-31.

Stojadinovic wrote about Karadzic's arrest and the events that followed, his years spent in hiding and the different assumptions about where he could have been, as well as his false identity ("As Dabic, Radovan looked so conspicuous that he remained unnoticed").

The author was sarcastic when referring to Karadzic's political life: "It looked as if Karadzic was a skillful politician, but only up until the point that those policies needed to be realised". While commenting on the media presentation of "Dragan Dabic", the author turned to satire: "He had a girlfriend, maybe one, maybe more. There are some indications that he fell in love. Some say that, because of this love affair, he does not need The Hague at all. It would be enough for him to fall into the hands of his wife, Ljiljana Zelen Karadzic, which is one reason why [High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Miroslav] Lajcak won't let her come to Belgrade!"

***Vecernje novosti***, Serbia's biggest selling daily, published the news of Karadzic's arrest on its front page on July 22. Apart from the reactions of the domestic and international public, this edition of *Vecernje novosti* also gave some information on the night the Hague indictee was arrested.

Thus, journalists reported the statement of his wife Ljiljana Zelen Karadzic, his brother Luka and lawyer Vujacic, who had already claimed that Karadzic was arrested on Friday, July 18 on a bus and that "they held him somewhere for three days".

Details of the indictment were published along with Karadzic's biography and speculation on the place and manner of his arrest, as well as a minute-by-minute reconstruction of the "events of Karadzic's arrest in the streets of Belgrade", from 22:30, when it was published that he was arrested, until 02:10 the next day, when police dispersed various protest groups that had gathered in front of the court.

In this edition, *Vecernje novosti* also reported on the celebrations in Sarajevo. It stated that "the capital looked like it did when it celebrated the victory of Turkey's national football team over Croatia". It said that the Bosnian media reported on Karadzic's arrest only after midnight.

The second day after Karadzic's arrest, his alter-ego, Dragan Dabic, definitely started to come to life. Dabic's picture appeared on the front page and articles on Karadzic were announced for the first seven pages of this edition.

The news columns that followed were full of information that Karadzic was hiding under name of "Dragan Dabic", and practicing alternative medicine and holding lectures. He had his own web page. The street where he lived in Belgrade (visited by the journalists) and the café bar where he loved to "play the *gusle* [traditional Serbian stringed instrument]" were described.

While it reported that investigators had begun reconstructing Karadzic's movements during his years in hiding, *Vecernje novosti's* journalists followed the path they themselves reconstructed, creating a deluge of largely unnecessary information. One such story concerned the man who leased the hall in Smederevo where Karadzic held a lecture. "I did not follow such programmes, so I was not in the hall on that particular day", he told the paper.

Reactions from Pale cafés and bars also featured in this edition, as did a reportage from Karadzic's home village, abounding in such unnecessary sentences as "no one wanted to talk".

An article entitled "All of Serbia's gossip and rumours regarding Radovan Karadzic's 12 years in hiding" was also published. It was accompanied by a map of "supposed locations where Radovan Karadzic has been".

In its July 24 edition, along with a front page entirely devoted to Karadzic, *Vecernje novosti* published various articles related to the war crimes indictee on its first seven pages.

These conveyed various details that the journalist "found out" during his vigil in front of the special war crimes court in Belgrade, including Karadzic's brother's statement that he was now clean shaven and had had his hair cut, an announcement by his lawyer that he would defend himself, and news of his behaviour in custody.

Reporting on the places visited by Karadzic during the last few months continued. "He purchased water in 5-litre packs. He told me once he never drinks water from the tap", said a woman from the shop he used to visit.

Although much was written regarding Karadzic/Dabic, little new information was presented. Journalists simply wrote anything they could find out that bore any relation to him.

Thus: "The modestly arranged Dabic apartment looms up through the keyhole of apartment number 19. A hat on the coat stand is placed near to the door. He had a few of them, and was wearing one when he was arrested".

Even statements from people who did not want to talk were mentioned, such as one man's order that the journalists "Get out immediately". Otherwise, this newspaper dwelled on "the disbelief" of people who said they had never imagined that "Dabic" was in fact Karadzic.

On July 25, *Vecernje novosti* also spoke with Karadzic family members in Pale. The article was full of compassion for them, which was

evident from comments, such as: "Radovan's children, wife and grandchildren want to hug him before he is sent to The Hague". The article was followed by a large family photograph from the wedding of Radovan's daughter Sonja. On the same day, the first speculation regarding Karadzic's alleged lover appeared. *Vecernje novosti* got this information from unnamed sources.

The July 25 edition also devoted its front page and seven other pages to Karadzic. The contents of the articles made clear that the newspaper accepted the claim of Karadzic's lawyer that his client was arrested three days before the event was announced, with the front page announcing: "Even six days after the arrest, the outcome cannot be anticipated".

"It's the sixth day now that the Hague indictee has not taken any food whatsoever", the article on page two reported. Statements from his brother and lawyer regarding his time in the custody of the Belgrade court were continuously published. *Vecernje novosti* also published an "exclusive" interview with Karadzic's brothers, who were "disgusted by the arrest".

Following the headline, "Ljilja has taken to her bed", and the subtitle, "We only want a hug", came a story from the Karadzic family home in Pale. The author sympathised with the family not being allowed to travel to Belgrade. "Who would be threatened by the Karadzics on their way from Pale to Belgrade? Who would be disturbed by one hug after 13 long years?" he asked.

More details about Mila Cicak, the woman said to have had a relationship with Karadzic, were reported. Although citing her full address, including even her apartment number, the author claimed to feel sympathy for the harassed woman. It was reported that she dared not leave her apartment and had resisted "the flashbulbs for 20 hours", but finally had to walk her dog, at which point the waiting journalists photographed her and showed her "jaded face".

This edition also discussed the strategy of the Hague tribunal, the trial, and the procedure Karadzic would have to go through after his extradition to The Hague. Journalists cited Nerma Jelacic, the tribunal's spokesperson, but paired her quote with the photograph of another person by mistake.

*Vecernje novosti* broke a new story about the real Dragan Dabics from Sarajevo, Ruma, Djerak and Borca, describing how they looked and what they did.

On July 26, an interview with Dragan Karadzic, Radovan's nephew, was published. He related how he had helped his uncle in his escape over many years and denied he had had a relationship with Mila Cicak, saying: "He grows flowers in his room. He gave names to his plants. One was [his wife's name] Ljiljana."

On page three, *Vecernje novosti* claimed to have published something very unusual – the testimony of Radovan Karadzic himself on his 13 years in hiding, "told through one of the friends that visited

him yesterday in the special court cell". It also wrote about the reward offered for information on Karadzic, but never given out, headlined: "They hunted for nothing".

Apart from the life of "Dragan Dabic", the newspaper also covered daily events in front of the special court in Belgrade, the appeal against the decision to extradite Karadzic, the date of his extradition to The Hague and the claim that he would be prosecuted only there. The protest rallies on the streets of Belgrade and the Karadzic family's inability to travel to the Serbian capital were also covered.

On July 27, Karadzic ceased to occupy the prime position on *Vecernje novosti's* front page. On this day, there was speculation about when he might be extradited to The Hague and who had visited him in the special court cell.

Elsewhere, in a statement given to this newspaper, Mila Cicak denied that she had had a relationship with Karadzic, while new reports appeared on the protest rallies that had been taking place daily in Belgrade since his arrest.

An analysis of the likely impact of the Karadzic trial on "the Dayton structure of Republika Srpska" was also published, the journalist presenting "the line of defence of the RS", that is, ways in which to protect the entity's survival, with reference to the Bosnian constitution.

Solidarity with the Karadzic family continued through the "testimony of Ivan, Radovan Karadzic's brother", in which the journalist wrote: "Sequence of the past. Sequence of the present. Here, there are photos, 13 years old and even older. Who could imagine that such an evil fate would strike the Karadzics so hard?"

On July 28, the impact of the arrest on the political situation in Serbia was discussed, as were threats made to Serbia's president, Boris Tadic.

*Vecernje novosti* also published an article about how the Serbian secret service had followed Karadzic for a long time. The article mulled over the reasons as to why the arrest had happened at this very moment, abounding in secret "data" on the course of action taken to discover Karadzic and the authentication of his identity. The author did not disclose his sources.

Reports also appeared that Karadzic had allegedly helped Slobodan Milosevic's defence by supplying him with certain documents. *Vecernje novosti* learned this from "well informed sources" that remained undisclosed.

On July 29, reporting on Karadzic focused on daily political issues, such as the cancellation of Serbian and Belgrade assembly sessions, and the preparations that Luka and Dragan Karadzic had to make before Karadzic left for The Hague.

The article covered details about the purchase of new clothes for Karadzic and the books he would bring "in the suitcase for The Hague". Judging by the way the article was written, the author had visited

a pharmacy with Luka and Dragan where they were "buying vitamins", since a conversation between them and the pharmacist was published.

On the same page, an article about the help Karadzic could expect from Serbia and Republika Srpska at the tribunal was printed. "Apart from his bare defence and faith in justice, Radovan Karadzic and his family cannot count on the same financial help given to other Hague indictees by the governments of Serbia and the RS," it said. "But if there are no marks or dinars, there are other valuable papers. For his defence, Karadzic will have the possibility of getting documentation from Serbia and the RS".

The headline on July 30 referred to a rally held the night before in Belgrade, organised by the SRS. "Rally in chaos" was published with a picture of clashes in the streets. Articles on pages four and 12 reported how the clashes had grown into a "street war".

Along with news that the "Serbian opposition held a protest because of Radovan Karadzic's arrest", and information regarding the number of wounded in the riots, the article contained messages from the rally sent to government officials.

"Gentlemen of the government, from today onwards you have on your back all Serbian patriots in parliament and on the squares. There is no agenda any more. Our agenda is Radovan Karadzic", Tomislav Nikolic, vice-president of the SRS, was reported as having said.

Karadzic was returned to the front page on the day of his extradition, July 31. Along with a large picture of the Hague indictee, the headline was: "They condemn him for everything". The reactions of international officials, hailing Karadzic's indictment, were then reproduced.

Journalists from *Vecernje novosti* stayed loyal to their day-to-day tradition and published more statements made by Karadzic's lawyer, this time saying that he had not appealed against the indictment and that Karadzic would not make a plea in relation to his charges straight away.

An article on page two recounted "how he was preparing for the journey and how he spent his last hours amongst Serbs", with the author describing Karadzic "packing" and his travels to The Hague.

"Four years ago, not so long ago, he published a novel called *Mysterious chronicle of the night*. His last novel. This last prisoner's night is a new mysterious chronicle. In the early evening, they say, he was completely calm; while they were fighting for him on the streets of Belgrade, he packed his belongings; when they ended - he set off on a difficult and uncertain journey...at exactly 03.45. Daybreak awaited him in The Hague! What a night, what a chronicle!"

It also noted that High Representative Lajcak had suspended his earlier decision to deprive the Karadzic family of their personal documents, but only after Radovan had arrived in The Hague.



On July 22, the front page of daily *Blic* informed its readers of Karadzic's arrest, and on page four published the news that he had been arrested three days earlier. "According to *Blic's* findings, from a source close to the investigation", he was located one month ago, it said.

On the same day, a short biography of Karadzic was published, as well as reactions from politicians from both Serbia and Bosnia, and a short description of the atmosphere in Republika Srpska and the Federation.

*Blic* also carried the statement of Radovan's brother Luka and the reaction of his wife Ljiljana Zelen Karadzic, which she gave to other media.

The front page articles reported on who "Dragan Dabic" was, its main interlocutors being persons who were in contact with him. They described what kind of person he was and the impression he had left on them.

An unnamed interlocutor told *Blic* about "the practice of Doctor Dabic", and how he "healed by the use of hand movements". The owner of the café-bar, Crazy House, neighbours from the building in which he lived and the shop assistants in the store where he bought his groceries all give their impressions of him.

"I remember what he said that night: 'My children, you are Serbia's riches and you should always cherish the the *gusle* and our traditions'", an interlocutor from Crazy House said.

Conversations with the inhabitants of Batajnica, where Karadzic was allegedly arrested, were also published. The author began with information that Karadzic was arrested "already on Friday [July 18]", and that the paper found this out from "a vendor who wanted to remain anonymous; she found this out from a customer".

More details on the arrest itself were revealed in this issue, with the author calling on "a *Blic* source". This "source" quoted what Karadzic said to his lawyer in "a confidential conversation", and also what he said to local judges.

On the day after the arrest, *Blic* published an interview with Javier Solana, the EU's foreign policy chief, in which he said the arrest would help Serbia on its path to the EU.

On July 24, the newspaper wrote about the real Dragan Dabic from Ruma, raising suspicions that Karadzic took the identity of a "fallen reservist".

The front page demanded to know "Who is Mila Cicak?", with statements about Karadzic's alleged lover from people who knew her appearing on page four, including one saying "She dresses, not at all extravagantly, in jeans and a tunic".

She was described as looking younger than her 53 years, and as someone who "likes to enjoy herself, go out on the river, have a nice

meal." Her address and a photograph of her apartment were also published. The only named interlocutor was "neighbour Mica".

On page three, *Blic* published information from Karadzic's lawyer, claiming that his client would defend himself and that he denied allegations regarding his lover, emphasising that "he has always had traditional principles".

The lawyer spoke about the conditions in prison. "The guards are extremely correct towards him (Karadzic), but only official communication is allowed, which starts and finishes with: 'Yes, please, do you need something?' and suchlike". The only thing he asks them for is mineral water, which they bring from the canteen."

A large article on page six covered Karadzic's "transformation" and changed appearance, with some psychiatrists and actors discussing this for *Blic*.

The main news on July 25, judging by the front page, was about Karadzic's mentor Mina Minic, who said he had "brought Radovan into the world of bio-energy".

"He was a little bit disheveled and I accepted him as a tired man. I offered him accommodation. He wanted to see everything so I gave him the name 'David'," Minic said.

A smaller insert within this article claimed that Mila Cicak had known Karadzic's real identity, quoting *Blic's* "trusted sources".

A commentary on page two by Pedja Obradovic said the various "Dabic" stories had overshadowed the crimes for which Radovan Karadzic was indicted.

"For the trees of the soap-opera on the secret life of Radovan Karadzic, the wood of the terrible accusations... cannot be seen", he wrote.

An article on threats sent to Serbia's "top state officials" was published, as were reports from the Croatian media about Karadzic's summer vacation in Croatia in 2006 and information about, and interviews with, the other Dragan Dabics from Ruma and Sarajevo.

On July 26, the information on Karadzic's 2006 summer vacation in Croatia was provided in more detail, along with reports, citing Croatian media, that he had "cured people in Europe, using a Croatian passport". Austrian media were cited in a report about his identity there as "Petar Glumac".

*Blic* also wrote about how Karadzic "took millions from the RS Central Bank" in 1997, citing a statement made by Bosnian Serb premier Milorad Dodik in 2005, and parts of former Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic's book, in which she speaks about "Karadzic's fraudulent behaviour".

On this day, the pages of *Blic* contained information about a possible date for Karadzic's extradition to The Hague, protests in the streets of Belgrade, "prayers for Karadzic" organised in Republika Srpska,

High Representative Lajcak's statements regarding the return of personal documents to Karadzic family members and, finally, about Radovan's years in hiding.

On July 27, the daily published information on how Karadzic was anonymously denounced to the BIA secret service, which it found out from "sources close to the investigation". Thus, it reported that BIA officials were following Karadzic and working on his identity check right up until his arrest.

On page two, an interview with Milorad Dodik was published, in which he emphasised that he "expects a fair trial in The Hague", and that Karadzic's arrest was being treated in Republika Srpska as "a normal event".

The life of "Dragan Dabic" was covered on July 28 too, when *Blic* published "testimony of the herbalist Vojislav Djudurovic from Banja Luka", who "spent a few nights at Dabic's place".

"To our question about whether he gave him a present, Djudurovic says: 'I brought him an elixir for the heart and also a few products... The next morning, I woke up early, took a shower and smeared myself with apple vinegar, which I also recommended to Dabic as an excellent morning stimulant... he showed me his pendulum, and I showed him my mashed chestnuts, as a source of health'".

On the following day, *Blic* described how "Radovan's helpers now protect Mladic", and cited some former employees of the investigative bodies as believing the remaining Hague outlaws were hiding in the same way as Karadzic had.

On page six, the newspaper reported that the extradition procedure was underway, while, further on, it wrote about the protest of the Serbian Christian-Democratic Party regarding the fact that "Karadzic is visited by whomever, whenever, he wants", while such a privilege was denied to other prisoners.

On July 30, *Blic's* reporting focused on the aftermath of the rally held the night before, which ended in riots. Following the headline, "Hooligans wrecked Belgrade again", a detailed report was provided on the rally organised by the Radicals.

In the page four article, "Special plan for Karadzic's extradition", the author discussed the manner in which the Hague indictee could travel from Belgrade to The Hague. It recalled the extraditions of Slobodan Milosevic, Stojan Zupljanin and other indictees.

"That's him!" was the headline in *Blic* on July 31, along with a large new photograph of Karadzic and detailed description of his new look. "Dressed in a light blue shirt with a little emblem of the American flag, he does not look too worried," it said.

The main news of the day was the transfer of Karadzic to The Hague, which *Blic* journalists "follow" minute by minute in front of the Bel-

grade court and at the airport. There were photographs of vehicles in front of the court and at the airport, as well as of the Dutch helicopter that transferred him to his prison cell.

*Blic* also published positive reactions to the extradition, along with information that Miroslav Lajcak had handed back personal documents to the Karadzic family, as well as a summary of the accusations.

Karadzic's first appearance in front of the judges in The Hague was announced on the front page, mentioning that his lawyer had said he would not immediately plead as to the charges.

On the day of the extradition, the paper wrote about the riots after the rally organised by the SRS, with the following headline: "Radicals responsible for riots."

On page 42, *Blic* assessed the damage caused by the riots in Belgrade. It said that, within half an hour, the "hooligans" had caused 3 million dinars' (31 800 Euros) worth of damage. A large article on this was followed by many photos in which the results of the riots could be seen.

## MONTENEGRO

The newspapers in Montenegro whose coverage of the arrest of Radovan Karadzic was monitored between July 22-31, 2008 included the dailies, *Vijesti*, *Dan* and *Republika*. During the period of analysis, about 80 articles were published on Karadzic, while two front pages in *Vijesti*, four in *Republika* and six in *Dan* were dedicated to this subject.

Here, the publication of long articles loaded with different aspects of the topic was especially characteristic, as was the separation of articles with numerous sub-stories that were often thematically unrelated to one another. It was clear that, when it came to covering the Karadzic arrest, the Montenegro media relied explicitly on the reporting of other media and news agencies.

In *Republika*, news of the arrest of Karadzic was published on the front page on July 22. Along with basic information, the article mentioned the crimes for which the former leader of the Bosnian Serbs was indicted and the statement of the chief prosecutor at the Hague tribunal, Serge Brammertz, in which he "welcomed the arrest". Although the article was signed, it was in fact a compilation of reports made by other media.

The next day, a story about Karadzic was published in a new context. On the front page, a photograph of "Dragan Dabic" appeared, with data related to his fake identity over the years and the headline: "He walked across the whole of Serbia".

The following pages related to the kind of person "Dragan Dabic" was, who had contact with him over the past years, and details about his practice and his occupation with alternative medicine. The story was expanded to include an "interlocutor who wanted to remain anonymous", who spoke about having tea with him on the Terazije square, in central Belgrade.

The same day, the paper carried news agency reports about how Karadzic had been visited in detention by his brother Luka, and how the other family members were unable to travel from Pale in Bosnia to visit him because their travel and identification documents had been confiscated by order of the High Representative to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Miroslav Lajcak.

A sub-story within this article, entitled "Arrested on Friday?", contained a statement by Karadzic's attorney that his client was arrested three days before the news was published, that is, on July 18.

Additional articles contained information about the prisoner's extradition to The Hague and protests in Belgrade, as well reactions from other international players, including the European Union, the USA and NATO, to his imprisonment. Here, it was highlighted that the event had "opened the doors of Europe to Serbia". In addition, the reactions of officials from Serbia, and from the other regional capitals of Sarajevo, Zagreb and Banja Luka, were published.

On July 24, the front page of *Republika* announced new information given by people with access to Karadzic in his detention unit – namely his brother and attorney – stating that he wished to defend himself before the international court. "He looks exactly like he did 14 years ago. Shaved, with his hair cut, and surprisingly – he does not look older at all," his lawyer, Svetozar Vujanovic, was cited as saying.

The same article provided more details about the earlier arrest of Karadzic and insinuations that he was kidnapped, as well as reports about protests in Belgrade and information related to Karadzic's supposed lover.

The first occasion on which *Republika* did not refer to other media reports was when it published an article about Karadzic's relatives from his native village of Petnjica; this was because a *Republika* reporter had visited it and produced a short reportage in which he followed two elderly people, Nedeljko and Julka Karadzic, who stated that Radovan was a good man and should not have been arrested.

"He defended the Serbs and he was arrested by Serbs... I always supported him and will continue to do so because he is not a war criminal as indicted. He was the Karadzic family's best member, and look what has happened to him in the country he loved the most. They really went too far this time", Julka Karadzic stated.

On July 25, Karadzic did not appear on *Republika's* front page. That day, the newspaper wrote on pages 12 and 13 about the possible modification of his indictment, the crimes with which he was charged, the protests against his arrest, a Dragan Dabic from Ruma and where Karadzic had hidden over the past years.

"One of the locations in which Radovan Karadzic stayed was an apartment in a street in Zemun. The Hague indictee visited his friend Mileva Cacak at this location during his last years in hiding... and this fugitive from The Hague spent his summer holiday in 2006 on the island of Ciovo, near Split," the article read.

Page 13 contained an article about Karadzic's "embezzling", which carried parts of a book written by former Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic and statements made in 2005 by Milorad Dodik, prime minister of Republika Srpska. The article stated that Karadzic "took about 36 million marks from the National Bank of Republika Srpska".

Following the practice of the past few days, on July 26 *Republika* published a number of overlapping pieces of information about Karadzic and his alter ego, Dragan Dabic. There was also a story about Karadzic's stay in Vienna, and information about him living under the identity of Petar Glumac.

"Yesterday's edition of the Vienna *Kurier* said that the most-wanted Hague indictee lived under the name 'Pera' and supposedly treated patients in the Austrian capital, where he came with a Croatian passport", it said.

On the same day, an article was also published about the threats directed at the Serbian president, Boris Tadic, by Vjerica Radeta, a member of the Serbian Radical Party. She was reported as sending Tadic a message that "treason is something Serbia does not forgive".

On July 28, an interview with Momir Stanojevic, a former member of the Serbian military security agency, BIA, was announced on the front page, in which he stated that Rade Balutovic, BIA's former director, was the person who "delivered Karadzic". This was also the title of the article.

"The story that the recently appointed chief of the Security and Intelligence Agency, Sasa Vukadinovic, succeeded in locating and arresting the most sought-after Hague fugitive only 24 hours after his appointment is one that even small children in Serbia would scarcely believe", the article began.

This edition also contained information about what the arrest of Karadzic might mean for Serbia regarding its path to the EU. Tanja Miscevic, chief of the Serbian government's EU office, spoke about this issue and described the whole event as putting "additional wind into the sails of European integration".

On page 12, the paper published some bizarre information regarding a visit by Karadzic to Italy, when he apparently watched football matches played by the clubs Inter and Lazio, and about how much he liked Venice – all based on statements given by Karadzic's nephew Dragan. A file that accompanied this article noted that Inter and Lazio were football clubs "with mainly right-wing supporters".

**Vijesti** published information on the arrest of Radovan Karadzic on its July 24 front page, reporting that he was in the detention unit, shaved and with a new haircut, and looking "like he looked before".

A large article on pages eight and nine referred to various agency reports and articles in the Serbian and foreign media. It discussed a possible date for Karadzic's extradition and complaints concerning the decision to execute it. It also conveyed claims made by his lawyer that Karadzic would defend himself before the international tribunal, and that he had intended to surrender himself next year "in order to have a trial in Serbia". His claim that Karadzic was arrested three days before the news of the event was published was also reported here.

This article also included all available information related to Karadzic's false identity under the name of Dragan Dabic, his visits to the "Crazy House" café-bar and other stories. The article covered Mila Cicak, "the woman who was supposedly the love of his life", and cited a statement by Karadzic's daughter, Sonja, thanking Milorad Dodik, prime minister of Republika Srpska, for the assistance he had offered them, while refusing to comment otherwise on stories about her father's arrest and his false identity.

On the same day, *Vijesti* also recalled the crimes with which Karadzic was charged and in one part of an article referred to him as a "Bosnian butcher".

On July 25, *Vijesti* carried a statement by the leader of the Democratic Union of Albanians, Ferhat Dinos. He said Karadzic's arrest and "the euphoria related to his extradition" could encourage more decisive action by Montenegro concerning recognition of Kosovo.

On page 12, in an article entitled "Who issued identification documents to Karadzic?", numerous news agency reports were cited to show that the personal identification data used by Karadzic matched that of a man from Ruma in northern Serbia. It carried a statement by the brother of one Dragan Dabic from Sarajevo who said he was "astonished" that Karadzic had used his name.

On July 26, the newspaper reported mainly about the timing of Karadzic's delivery to The Hague and the possibilities of his defending himself before the tribunal there. These articles recalled that Miroslav Lajcak, High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, had not yet made a decision on the return of personal identification and travel documents to Karadzic's family in Pale.

Three smaller stories followed this article. One covered the course in "bio-energy" that Karadzic had completed while he was a fugitive, a second described the places in which he had hidden during his time on the run (referring to the Vienna *Kurier*: "Doctor Pera has healed even in Vienna"), while the third discussed the damages Karadzic was due to pay to victims of the war in Bosnia, as awarded by the US courts.

On the same day, on page 30, the newspaper carried a text from Reuters related to the subject of Karadzic's indictment and what the trial itself might uncover.

"The court trial should go through the whole mass of evidence: starting from his secret deal on immunity with Richard Holbrooke – which Holbrooke denies – to the details related to unknown crimes," Reuters was cited as reporting.

On the same day, on the front page of *Vijesti's* supplement, a comment by Balsa Brkovic was published. Here, he talked of the crimes with which Karadzic was charged, and the way the world was already "pre-judging him" - "war criminal", "killer of Sarajevo", and so on. Brkovic also talked with some irony about the indictee's fake identi-



ty. "It was logical that Dabic, as a psychiatrist indeed, felt at his best in the Crazy House," he wrote.

July 27's edition was also marked by citations from other media. These stated that there was no information about whether an appeal against Karadzic's extradition had been submitted by his lawyer or not, and covered the procedure prior to his transfer, his arrival to The Hague and his indictment.

The same article carried an interview that Dragan Karadzic gave to Belgrade's *Vecernje novosti*, in which he stated that he was "Karadzic's sole helper".

This article also wrote about the peaceful protests held in towns and cities in Republika Srpska, titled "Walk for Srpska and the power of prayer".

Reporting by *Vijesti* regarding Karadzic ceased until July 30. Then, along with an article claiming that, following the Karadzic arrest, Brussels was considering a temporary trade agreement between the EU and Serbia, an article by the London *Guardian* was republished. This analysed the progressive character of Boris Tadic, president of Serbia, and the prospects of joining the EU for Balkan countries.

"Let's say loudly what's been whispered in each European office; the project of the European Union is not complete until the Western Balkan countries are members as well," the article was cited as saying.

On July 31, the day of Karadzic's extradition to The Hague, the indictee found himself on the front page of *Vijesti*, along with the statement: "Karadzic before the tribunal".

Besides information related to the process of extradition, his biography was published, along with selected quotations from his Hague indictment. For the first and only time, referring to various agencies, *Vijesti* published a story about victims of the war in Bosnia.

"Genocide, siege and massacre for most people in Bosnia are much more than words written in Karadzic's indictment. They represent years of suffering, death and nightmares that will always haunt them." "Karadzic took away my life, stole my youth; he stole everything from me", a woman identified as Edina stated in the same article, alongside numerous such statements from other victims.

This edition also published *Vijesti's* own article on the rally held in Belgrade in protest against Karadzic's arrest, in which Dobrilo Dedeic, a deputy of the Serbian List, took part.

"It is true that Boris Tadic served us tear gas for dinner," Dedeic told *Vijesti*, along with a comment that the Serbian president had "betrayed the most expensive head in the world today".

**Dan** reported Karadzic's arrest immediately the following day, July 22, when its front page announced: "Former president of Republika Srpska arrested".

An article on pages eight and nine, along with basic information regarding the arrest, featured recollections of Karadzic's hideaways over the years. The article also mentioned the crimes with which he had been indicted and his biography.

The same day, *Dan* carried the first reactions from Serbia, as well as from Serge Brammertz, chief prosecutor at the Hague tribunal.

On the following day, along with many more domestic and foreign reactions to the arrest, *Dan* carried details of the life of "Dragan Dabic", that is, stories of how Karadzic worked as a doctor of alternative medicine and gave numerous lectures in Serbia. "As a prominent expert, he wrote for specialist magazines", it stated.

On the same day, Svetozar Vujacic, Karadzic's lawyer, told the media assembled in front of the special court in Belgrade that the indictee had been arrested three days earlier than stated, which *Dan* also covered.

On page nine, *Dan* carried a statement made by Andrija Mandic, leader of the Serbian National Party, criticising the Serbian political elite because of the arrest. The headline read: "Disgrace of the Hague servants". Mandic praised Karadzic, saying he fought for the Serbs in Bosnia, while expressing an equal amount of distrust of the Hague tribunal, referring to it as "an instrument for the artificial assignment of guilt to the Serbian people alone".

Apart from this reaction, *Dan* carried numerous others in which various officials expressed disapproval of the arrest, as well as of the activities of the Hague tribunal.

Much space on the pages of *Dan* was devoted to reportage from Karadzic's home village of Petnjica, under the headline, "Serbs shout: Tadic is a traitor", including statements from relatives and neighbours of the indictee voicing disgust over the arrest.

On July 24, the Montenegrin daily carried another statement by Karadzic's lawyer, this time emphasising that his client had wanted to surrender at the beginning of 2009, so as to have his trial in Serbia, and insisting once again that he was arrested on July 18, not July 21.

In the same edition, articles appeared on Karadzic's visits to the Crazy House café-bar, where he "drank plum brandy and played the *gusle* [traditional Serbian stringed instrument]", and the shop where he bought his food and was remembered for his unusual behaviour: "He used to saying that his beard and hair helped him to receive energy."

This edition of *Dan* also informed readers of the appeal of numerous dignitaries to Miroslav Lajcak, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, that he authorise the return of personal documents seized from members of the Karadzic family, so as to allow them to visit Radovan in Belgrade.

A commentary by Veselin Djuretic, member of the Committee for Truth for Radovan Karadzic, was published on page 18, with the headline: "Victim of a conspiracy". In it, the author claimed that the "Western powers" had plotted against the Serbs and that their main aim was to "transfer the responsibility [for crimes] onto the victim".

He continued: "History will show: Karadzic and his Serbian people are victims of a worldwide conspiracy... I am sorry Dr Karadzic ended up in The Hague, which is a symbol of servility towards Western policies that lack any principle."

In the next day's edition of *Dan*, one of the main news items regarding Karadzic referred to an initiative started in the Montenegrin towns of Pluzine and Niksic in connection with the arrest, headlined: "Inhabitants from Pluzine give up on Tadic". The purpose of this initiative was to exclude Tadic from his ancestral Pivljani clan because of "the disgrace that he has brought on them by arresting Karadzic".

*Dan* carried statements by Aleksa Buha, former foreign minister of Republika Srpska, given to *Vecernje novosti*, regarding the existence of an agreement between Karadzic and "The White House", in which he allegedly agreed to leave politics in exchange for freedom from arrest and a Hague indictment.

The same day, a statement from his lawyer was also printed, in which he said three witnesses had told him that Karadzic was arrested on July 18, as opposed to July 21. An article taken from *Slobodna Dalmacija* reported that the indictee had spent a summer vacation near Split.

In the same edition, *Dan* published a piece of reportage from the Belgrade café-bar, Crazy House, in which regulars spoke about the songs Karadzic liked, what he used to drink and what he talked about.

On the fifth day after Karadzic's arrest, *Dan* reported on the indictee's health, behaviour and activities in the prison cell of the Belgrade court. "The former president of the RS, Radovan Karadzic, is in excellent health and his blood pressure today is 130 over 80, which is ideal, considering his age," the text stated.

On the same day, two articles with a similar context were published. The first was signed by 25 Montenegrin writers of Serbian origin while the second was a press release of the Association of Serbian Writers from Montenegro and Herzegovina. Both described the arrest as "treason" and contained sharp criticisms of the Hague tribunal.

"It was not Radovan Karadzic and his soldiers who committed the massacre of the innocent and unarmed members of the JNA in Sarajevo's Viktor Bubanj barracks. Alija Izetbegovic did that," the first article said, referring to the wartime leader of Bosnia's Bosniak community. "It is notorious that, for us Serbs, there is no justice but only injustice at the so-called Hague tribunal."

The most important news, according to *Dan's* front page, was that the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, Amfilohije, had visited Karadzic and given him Holy Communion.

On the same day, news of the many Karadzic support rallies in Republika Srpska was reported. A statement from Radovan's nephew Dragan was also published, in which he claimed he was his uncle's "only helper".

An article on the same page reported how Karadzic had appeared in Vienna under the name Petar Glumac, or "Doctor Pera", citing the Austrian media.

On July 28, *Dan* continued to write about how the Hague indictee, during his period in hiding, used "special channels" to deliver documents and thus help the defence of the former Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, and the Serbian Radical Party leader, Vojislav Seselj. This information was confirmed for *Dan* by Milivoje-Bata Ivanisevic, a member of the International Committee for the Defence of Radovan Karadzic and a member of Milosevic's defence team.

Another part of the article quoted Dragan Karadzic as saying that his uncle read *Dan* while in custody. "I visited him yesterday, just like on any other day. He spent a good portion of time reading your newspaper. He is interested in what is going on in Montenegro and in what *Dan* says about him," Dragan was cited as saying.

On July 29, *Dan* reported news from different agencies, referring to "sources from the special court", that Karadzic "is calm and unconcerned before his extradition to the Hague tribunal", along with detailed information about his stay in custody.

"Sources from the special court say Karadzic spends his time in a shirt, short pants and slippers, and that he wore a suit only once, two days ago when he was visited by Metropolitan Amfilohije. They say that, after the conversation and Holy Communion, Radovan was smiling all the time," the article read.

*Dan* carried "local media" articles regarding statements made by Muhamed Sacirbegovic, former Bosnian ambassador to the United Nations. In them he confirmed the existence of an agreement between the US administration and Karadzic, guaranteeing the latter's non-arrest. Aleksa Buha's statements, as well as those made by other politicians from that period, were cited as further proof that this agreement existed.

Apart from this, one interlocutor for *Dan* "who wants to remain anonymous" testified about the overall situation during the period when Karadzic was making his decision to withdraw from public life.

Meanwhile, *Dan's* banner headline for July 30 was: "Tadic is a traitor". The article concerned a protest rally held in Belgrade on July 29. The largest amount of space was devoted to the atmosphere at the rally and the speeches made there, some of them by Montenegrin politicians. Only later was it mentioned that "severe clashes with police" occurred, along with the claim that the Belgrade "police were beating [people] without mercy" during the rally.

The following day, the main news was that Karadzic had been extradited to The Hague and would appear before the judges for the first time. The paper also carried statements made by the chief prosecutor at the press conference held after the extradition.

Several smaller stories in this article contained different pieces of information – that personal documents had been returned to the Karadzic family in Bosnia, that Tomislav Nikolic, vice-president of the Serbian Radical Party, had made accusations that “Tadic and the Ministry of Interior are guilty” for the clashes in Belgrade. A statement by Predrag Popovic, president of the People’s Party in Montenegro, was included, as was information on the number of people wounded during the support rally for Karadzic.



## CROATIA

Monitoring of the Croatian media's reporting on Radovan Karadzic's arrest was conducted from July 22, the day after the event, until July 31, Karadzic's first appearance at the Hague tribunal, and covered two weekly news magazines, *Nacional* and *Globus*, and three daily newspapers, *Jutarnji list*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Vijesnik*.

In total, 186 articles were reviewed. The best-selling daily newspaper, *Jutarnji list*, devoted most attention to this event and published its first article on it the day after the arrest. The same day, the news was published by *Vijesnik*, while *Slobodna Dalmacija* published its first report on this topic on July 23.

Weekly magazines concentrated more on analysing aspects such as Karadzic's hideaway and possible helpers. Articles by prominent commentators in those magazines were also devoted to the arrest and its ramifications.

**Globus** published one edition between Karadzic's arrest and extradition to The Hague, which appeared on July 25. The introductory commentary by Tanja Torbarina opened the coverage of Karadzic. Torbarina, looking at the flood of news published that day, pointed out the absurdity of the media competition to have most information on the event. She wrote that, when Karadzic was arrested, he was preparing to go and spend his summer vacation on the Ciovo peninsula, near Trogir.

"He was already packed when he was arrested in Belgrade. Presumably on the bus. He was tired of giving lectures about meditation... It is normal that he was occupied in alternative medicine, on the following principle: he who is not killed stays alive."

*Globus's* front page introduced the five pages of analysis that followed with the headline: "We discover: spy who betrayed Karadzic". In this article, the weekly expanded on the theory that "Rade Bulatovic, the recent head of the [Serbian] secret services, BIA, who was in charge of securing Karadzic's hideaway for years, last week, after he quit the post, discovered where he was hiding." Most sources in the article remained unnamed, although they were reported to be "well informed".

Pointing out the significance of the arrest, columnist Jelena Lovric commented: "The arrest means the end of the war in the Balkans". She concluded that "bringing to justice the most important monster from Milosevic's entourage will make it possible to conclude the conflict".

She also wrote that Croatian agents had for years been helping to ensnare one of the most wanted fugitives from the former Yugoslavia, but that "all details regarding the arrest, and especially regarding cooperation between [secret] services in the period around Karadzic's arrest, are concealed; the public will not find out anything as long as the documentation remains sealed as a state secret... and according to our source, the state secret seal will remain in place for at least as long as Ratko Mladic is at large".

**Nacional** published two issues in the period between Karadzic's arrest and extradition. The first, which appeared on July 22, carried only news of the "huge gain for [Boris] Tadic ... while [Vojislav] Kostunica and the Radicals are the losers".

Boris Tadic is president of Serbia, while Vojislav Kostunica was until recently Serbia's prime minister. After the arrival of a new government in Serbia, with Tadic as its leader, the time for change in the Serbian police and intelligence structures had come, the paper opined.

In its July 29 edition, *Nacional* analysed the arrest by mulling over the possible consequences for the Serbian authorities. Columnist Srecko Jurdana wrote that Karadzic had been hiding in such a way that he was transformed from his original caricature into an unrecognisable alternative and, by doing so, had turned "from mass murderer to mass healer".

Jurdana concluded that a detailed investigation of the background of Karadzic's false identity "could fundamentally shake the Serbian state and society, which is already sick enough of the [radical nationalist] Chetnik ideology, so the real information regarding this phenomenon will not be given out".

The main accent in reportage of pro-Karadzic protest rallies in Belgrade was placed on how Serbia might profit from the arrest. A comment by Luka Karadzic, Radovan's brother, was published, in which he said that, following the arrest, a "serious state would have said: 'Sorry, we had to do this so that Serbia does not suffer, so that no one could spit on it again, and no one could ever try to prove in rigged trials that Republika Srpska is a genocidal creation'."

*Nacional* then devoted attention to Karadzic's victims through the testimony of Jadranka Cigelj, a former detainee of the Omarska prison camp in north-west Bosnia, who in 1997, along with other female victims, sued Karadzic in the US courts and won, obliging him to pay them 745 million US dollars. This was the only article in this edition to talk about the victims and the acts for which Karadzic is indicted.

As for the daily newspapers, *Vijesnik* and *Jutarnji list* published news of Karadzic's arrest on their July 22 front pages, but inside were able



to provide only the basic information available at the time of going to press.

On its first day of covering the Karadzic arrest, *Vijesnik* concentrated on reactions from around the world and in Bosnia and Croatia, but the following day, on July 23, published more articles regarding the event and Karadzic himself, some of which were announced on the front page.

The articles that attracted most attention were those on the false identity of Radovan Karadzic, who was allegedly hiding under the name of Dr Dragan Dabic, practicing alternative medicine and writing in the magazine *Zdrav zivot* [Healthy Life]. In order to underline the absurdity of this situation, *Vijesnik* journalists cited an article that "Dabic" had published there, entitled: "Help is always possible. You will never be alone or helpless again. We, all our experts, are with you".

The same pages contained an article on how the arrest was prepared, reporting that it was carried out "on the number 73 bus". The report was based on Serbian media reports, unnamed sources and the statements of some people close to the detainee himself. "They approached him from the back and put a hat over his head and eyes so that he could not see anything", Karadzic's lawyer was quoted as saying. *Vijesnik* also published parts of the indictment against Karadzic.

Commentator Fran Visnar also wrote about the time Karadzic spent in hiding, describing the arrest as "a real masterpiece by Serbian intelligence", adding that "experienced security experts from the region, as well as foreign ones, claim almost without exception that Karadzic could not have imagined such trickery". Visnar concluded that "it is hard to talk about justice in Southeast Europe after what has happened here, but the fact is that Karadzic's extradition to The Hague will mean the victory of justice".

On July 24, *Vijesnik* concentrated on the reasons why Karadzic was not arrested earlier, along with a comment that Karadzic's case "is an interesting tale of the international community's lack of efficiency in preventing crises or in correcting their consequences".

Another focus of media attention was Karadzic's legacy, or, as a *Vijesnik* journalist called it, the fate of "the Republika Srpska project". The author noted that "its present political organisation is directly connected to the results of the war ... and the current national structure of the population in many parts of BiH is also a direct result of the war and other crimes".

*Vijesnik* authors rarely refrained from making comments. In one article, for example, Radovan Karadzic was compared with the 1940s Chetnik leader, Draza Mihajlovic. "The resemblance is too obvious to be accidental! Butcher and poet, Radovan Karadzic at the moment of his arrest looked amazingly like the Chetnik leader Draza Mihajlovic. On purpose or by accident, but more likely on purpose, it is clear that, through his image, Karadzic also intended to show he was a

follower of the Chetnik ideology, for which both he and Draza committed crimes.”

On July 25, *Vijesnik* was still occupied with Karadzic, publishing, among other articles, an analysis in which it described Karadzic’s trial as the trial of his ideology also.

“It means that Republika Srpska should also find itself with the rank of indictee, since the deportations and mass executions and genocide were conducted with the purpose of establishing this para-state entity,” it said.

Karadzic was on the front page again on July 26, introducing an article claiming that his arrest was “planned for a long time, and very carefully, by the top ranks of Serbian politics”.

“They carefully planned the effect that such a move would have on public opinion in the states that were victims of Serbian aggression,” the author wrote.

The article insisted that Karadzic’s arrest “does not herald any discontinuity in the politics of SANU, [the nationalist-leaning Serbian Academy of Arts and Science] which, in its hardline version, was led by [former Serbian leader Slobodan] Milosevic, and in the soft one, by [Vojislav] Kostunica.

“Only if his [Karadzic’s] arrest is followed by Mladic’s, and his extradition to The Hague, will it be possible to believe that there is any willingness [in Serbia] to face up to the past and discontinue the politics that sparked the war in Yugoslavia”, *Vijesnik* both reported and commented.

On the same day, it published a commentary entitled “The emperor is naked!” in which the author warned that, instead of feeding the fascination with “Dr Dabic”, it would be better to turn people’s attention to the Hague tribunal and the “indictment” of Republika Srpska.

“Republika Srpska is his ‘child’, his invention, his life project, for which ethnic cleansing and innumerable massacres of the non-Serbian population were merely an indispensable Machiavellian way to make this immense project possible,” it said.

*Vijesnik* ended its extensive reporting on the arrest on July 31 by publishing an article entitled “Doctor Death finally in The Hague”, which stated that “the notorious criminal, Radovan Karadzic, the man responsible for the deaths of thousands of people and who forever ruined thousands of families, the man who, after the Nazis, again tried to make the extinction of people operational just because they were of a different religion or nationality, finally ended up in The Hague”.

**Jutarnji List** carried a huge photograph of Karadzic on its July 22 front page, with the headline: “Serbs trade Karadzic for the EU”. “Finally” and “Butcher in handcuffs after 13 years” formed the title and subtitle, suggesting the direction in which the report would go.

The article itself was devoted to the arrest and contained the basic information available, along with reactions to it, but its emphasis was on the role of the Serbian police and BIA intelligence services. It concluded by saying that the arrest would speed up Serbia's path towards European Union membership.

The author cited the EU enlargement commissioner, Olli Rehn, who said that Karadzic's arrest was "crucial for the European aspirations of Serbia". The counts on Karadzic's indictment were mentioned, along with allegations about the existence of a non-arrest agreement between the former US Balkan envoy, Richard Holbrooke, and Karadzic.

On July 23, most of the newspaper was devoted to the arrest. There was news on page four of the pro-Karadzic protest rallies held in Belgrade, under the title: "You betrayed Serbia". "Several hundred members of ultra-nationalistic association Obraz, and a smaller number of older people, mostly Bosnian Serbs who support the Hague indictee, Radovan Karadzic, protested yesterday afternoon on Belgrade's Republic Square, chanting Karadzic's name and threats to the Serbian authorities, but police quickly dispersed them from the main square".

In a way, the author praised Serbia's authorities and pointed out the changes that had occurred in the country. But he also wrote that the Serbian police force had distanced itself from the arrest. "Every pro-European analyst assesses that this arrest is useful for Serbia and the region as a whole", he concluded.

An article also appeared on the front-page, with the headline: "Karadzic not enough – EU tells Belgrade – deliver Mladic". Here, *Jutarnji list's* Belgrade correspondent also wrote about Karadzic's false identity, and that he had "overgrown, long grey hair tied up and ... [was] visibly thinner, so that he was unrecognisable, looking like a monk".

Commentator Davorin Butkovic asked "Who will be held responsible in Serbia because the Serbian authorities... protected this disgusting war criminal for years".

*Jutarnji list* published an interesting article, "Biography of a criminal", by Pero Zlatar, who claimed he knew Karadzic before the war and described him as "a gambler and womaniser".

"He was a bad poet. He entered politics in the Eighties... War turned him into one of the worst criminals that this region remembers". He recalled that Radovan was the oldest child of "mother Jovanka and father Luka", and that his father was from "Vasojevic's tribe" and "was a Chetnik, sentenced to 15 years' [imprisonment] in 1945". In every possible way, the author painted a black picture of Karadzic, suggesting his evil qualities came from his family.

On July 24, Karadzic featured in the main pages of *Jutarnji list*, but the focus was on the protest rallies in Belgrade. The main photo-

graph showed police clashes with the demonstrators. *Jutarnji list* also published a report from *Slobodna Dalmacija* that claimed Karadzic had spent his summer vacations in Croatia.

"The family who rented him an apartment wants to remain anonymous but confirm that, after they saw the photo of the man arrested, they recognised their former guest". The report also said that family had checked the guest book and seen the name Dragan Dabic there.

On the same day, in an article entitled "He played the *gusle* [traditional Serbian stringed instrument] in Crazy House – but did not sing so as not to be recognised", *Jutarnji list* described the places where Karadzic used to hide. Elsewhere, an interview with "psychologist Rudolf Gregurek" analysed the behaviour of "the butcher" and claimed Karadzic was "narcissistic".

On July 25, *Jutarnji list* wrote about "the search for the real Dragan Dabic", and concluded that "a complete mess has emerged regarding Karadzic's false identity: it is neither clear whether he had real or fake identification documents with the name of Dragan Dabic, nor whether he took the identity of a living or dead person".

On July 26, *Jutarnji list* wrote for the first time about the rape victims from Bosnia who sued Karadzic in the US. The information was taken from the Sarajevo daily, *Dnevni avaz*.

Because of a lack of information, it was noticeable that all media frequently relied either on one another or on the international media for their material. This was the case with the story that Karadzic had carried a Croatian passport and once worked in Austria as "a healer called Pera", which *Jutarnji list* took from the Austrian daily, *Kurier*. *Jutarnji list* also wrote that he had spent time in Italy and that, during those visits, he had stayed in the apartments of members of the Serbian diaspora, sometimes healing patients suffering from "erectile disfunction".

"Different healers who claim that they worked with Doctor Dabic are contacting the Serbian media. Supposedly, they have seen him in temples and churches, but the Orthodox Church has denied this". This article was accompanied by a statement and photograph of Mila Cicak, who is reported as saying that "Dr Dabic was a saint, but I was not his lover".

On the same day, *Jutarnji list's* supplement was largely devoted to Karadzic's arrest. Among other articles, it contained an essay by Sarajevo-born writer Miljenko Jergovic in which he wrote about his pre-war meetings with Karadzic. "With today's vocabulary, it could be said that Dragan Dabic is a life coach, and Radovan Karadzic, a death coach. Their DNA is the same, but everything else is different," Jergovic concluded, ironically.

The front page of the newspaper's July 27 edition announced an article on how the Croatian police were investigating whether Karadzic

had been hiding under the identity of Petar Glumac, with a Croatian passport. It featured a statement given by Nikola Glumac, Petar's nephew, to Croatia's HTV broadcaster, saying that his uncle worked in Vienna as a healer and closely resembled the "new" Radovan Karadzic. "When I saw the photograph on television, I said, 'That's Uncle Pero'", *Jutarnji list* reported.

Also in this edition, *Jutarnji list* journalists occupied themselves with speculation on Ratko Mladic's arrest, and conveyed the reactions of international officials to Karadzic's recent capture. They carried a statement by Richard Holbrooke, saying that Karadzic "deserves the death sentence" and that he would do all he could to ensure that "Karadzic stays behind bars forever".

On July 28, *Jutarnji list's* front page featured parts of the Karadzic indictment, along with announcements about his possible extradition. The following day, the fourth page contained a photograph of the Serbian court in which Karadzic was initially detained, with the headline: "Karadzic got a suitcase for The Hague", again citing the Serbian media.

On the second page of the July 30 edition, the short article, "Tourists to visit Karadzic's haunts", reported that the place in which he was hiding, and various places he visited, were to be packaged as Belgrade tourist destinations. Further on, on page six, another article concluded that, by "publishing dubious stories", the attention of the public was being diverted from the fact that Karadzic was responsible for some of the worst crimes.

"For many, he is a real Serbian hero and, abroad, it is very convenient to hide [the truth about] his criminal past in a media fog because it recalls the not too distant political past of Serbia itself."

***Slobodna Dalmacija*** published only the news of Karadzic's arrest on July 22, but then dedicated almost the whole of its July 23 edition to the event. On the front page, a photograph of "Dragan Dabic" was published, with the subtitle "Butcher - alternative man" and title "Arrested prior to his vacation in Split". On page four, an article described how Karadzic had been hiding under a false identity and working as an alternative doctor, and that when he was arrested, police found pairs of shorts and swimming trunks in his bag. Most of the articles were based on unconfirmed information.

Journalists at *Slobodna Dalmacija* referred to the Belgrade media and to reports about the indictment of Karadzic, as well as to the decision on his extradition. Claims made by Karadzic's lawyer that his client was arrested three days before the officially announced date were also published. *Slobodna Dalmacija* provided a short biography of Karadzic, beginning with his birth and ending in 1995, when the first indictment against him was issued.

In the comment, "Camouflage of evil", its author wrote that, "with the discovery that Karadzic lived under a false identity in the centre of Belgrade, and that he performed alternative medicine with a grey

beard, the traditional Serbian saying – ‘Go and cure yourself’ – has taken on an entirely new meaning.”

*Slobodna Dalmacija* concluded that Karadzic was arrested as the result of a political directive. The same masters that once protected the war criminal “finally deliver him to the Hague tribunal”.

One new element was a summary of Karadzic’s literary opus, entitled “Black rhymes: in his poems, the Hague indictee was impressed with death, murder and making others suffer”.

On July 24, a comment by Senol Selimovic was published, entitled “Smoke and death”. The author noted that the former Yugoslav states were far from reconciliation. “Here, we do not reconcile so quickly or easily as the Germans and French do. We have fun with our wars for a much longer time”, he concluded, ironically.

On July 25, *Slobodna Dalmacija* provided “the exclusive story” about how “Dr Dabic” spent his summer vacations by the Adriatic. It wrote that in 2006, Karadzic spent ten days in a rented apartment in Okrug “with an unknown woman, just like ordinary tourists”. It cited the statement of a local man, Stipe Bilic: “The idea that the war criminal was staying in our place is a bit uncomfortable, but on the other hand, maybe it only proves we have the most beautiful beaches in the world”.

On July 26, *Slobodna Dalmacija* devoted an entire supplement to Karadzic, with the main article focused on the secret deal allegedly hatched between him and Holbrooke, regarding his non-arrest.

The article reported that the election headquarters of John McCain, the Republican candidate for the US Presidency in the 2008 elections, decided to publish the claims that the Democrats’ former peace envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Holbrooke, had signed this agreement “in order to undermine the moral credibility of Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama”. The paper did not cite any sources for this information.

On July 27, the news dominating the newspaper’s main headline was the transfer of Karadzic to The Hague and his lawyer’s plans to do all he could to “postpone the inevitable”.

Speculation also extended to Mila Cicak, Karadzic’s alleged lover. *Slobodna Dalmacija* carried news from the Associated Press agency that she “had a love affair” with “Dr Dabic”, but that she denied this. “Mila decided to sue the Serbian tabloids for defamation.”

“I am an innocent victim who is being discredited and used to disrupt relations between Karadzic and his family”, Cicak is reported to have said.

The number of articles on Karadzic fell in all the daily newspapers as the days passed. On July 30, *Slobodna Dalmacija* wrote about the crimes he was accused of and his extradition to The Hague, and

carried a story about Fikret Alic, a former detainee from the Omarska camp in Bosnia. Some short news from the Bosnian media was also published, in which police were reported to have found "porno footage" in the apartment where Karadzic lived, which turned out to be "hardcore pornography".

Also on July 31, *Slobodna Dalmacija* wrote about the transfer of Karadzic to The Hague in the article: "The butcher is extradited". Here, it announced that Karadzic intended to defend himself at the tribunal.





## RADOVAN KARADZIC

Radovan Karadzic was born on June 25, 1945 in the village of Petnjica, in the Savnik municipality of Montenegro. He completed elementary school in Montenegro and then moved to Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he finished medical high school and university, and became a specialist in neuropsychiatric medicine. He worked in several Sarajevo hospitals and clinics, and for a period in Belgrade.

In the mid-Eighties, he spent 11 months in detention, charged with fraud, but was discharged for lack of evidence.

In the late-1980s, he began involving himself intensively in politics in Bosnia and in 1990 took part in founding the Serbian Democratic Party, SDS, becoming its first president.

The party joined the so-called "anti-communist coalition" with the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Union, which won Bosnia's first multi-party elections in November 1990.

Karadzic became notorious for a speech delivered in October 1991 to Bosnia's parliament, warning that Muslim Bosniaks faced annihilation if they attempted secession from Yugoslavia.

"Do not think that you will not take Bosnia and Herzegovina to hell, and the Muslim population towards disappearance, because the Muslim people cannot defend themselves if war happens here," he said.

After declaring the independence of the Bosnian Serb Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, later renamed Republika Srpska, on January 9, 1992, Karadzic became its first president.

From December 17, 1992 to July 19, 1996, when he resigned, Karadzic was sole president of Republika Srpska, and, as such, commander of the Army of Republika Srpska.

The Hague tribunal prosecution raised its first indictment against the leader of the Bosnian Serbs on July 1995, which was expanded in November 1995 to include charges of genocide over the events in Srebrenica.

In April 2000, the then-chief prosecutor, Carla Del Ponte, merged the two indictments, which had a total of 36 points, into one with 11 points.

Karadzic withdrew from political and public life in 1996, shortly after an international warrant for his arrest was issued.

However, he was not arrested until July 21, 2008 in Serbia, where it was discovered that he had been working as a practitioner of alternative medicine under the name of Dragan Dabic.

The Hague prosecution modified the indictment on September 22, 2008, adding charges for genocide in Srebrenica and ten other municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He is also charged with various crimes in a total of 27 municipalities, as well as for terror and murder of civilians during the siege of Sarajevo.

"From October 1991 until November 1995, Radovan Karadzic participated in comprehensive crimes with the goal of the permanent eviction of Bosnians and Croats from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina," the indictment reads.

Prosecutors in The Hague maintain that Bosnian Serb forces under his control and command committed these grave crimes, and that he also failed to take any measures either to prevent such actions from occurring in the first place, or to punish such crimes after they had happened. Radovan Karadzic is married with two children and has also published five books of poetry and a novel.