

Geoffrey Nice, Gresham Professor of Law
1 October 2012 Barnard's Inn Hall

Slobodan Milošević

Deranged political dictator or a politician
drawn by events into temptation and to
make bad – criminal – decisions?

A man so different from the rest of us
that we can disregard what he did now
his trial is over?

Milosevic Trial Statistics

- 467 days of trial
- 408 witnesses
 - 296 live Prosecution witnesses
 - 59 written form Prosecution witnesses
 - 52 live Defence witnesses
 - 2 Trial Chamber witnesses
- 49,191 pages of trial transcript
- 5759 total Prosecution exhibits (approximately 150,000 pages)
- 2107 total Defence exhibits (approximately 25,000 pages)
- 157,500 pages total exhibit and witness disclosure
- 1,000,000 pages of exculpatory material disclosure



1945-1991
The Socialist Federal
Republic of Yugoslavia

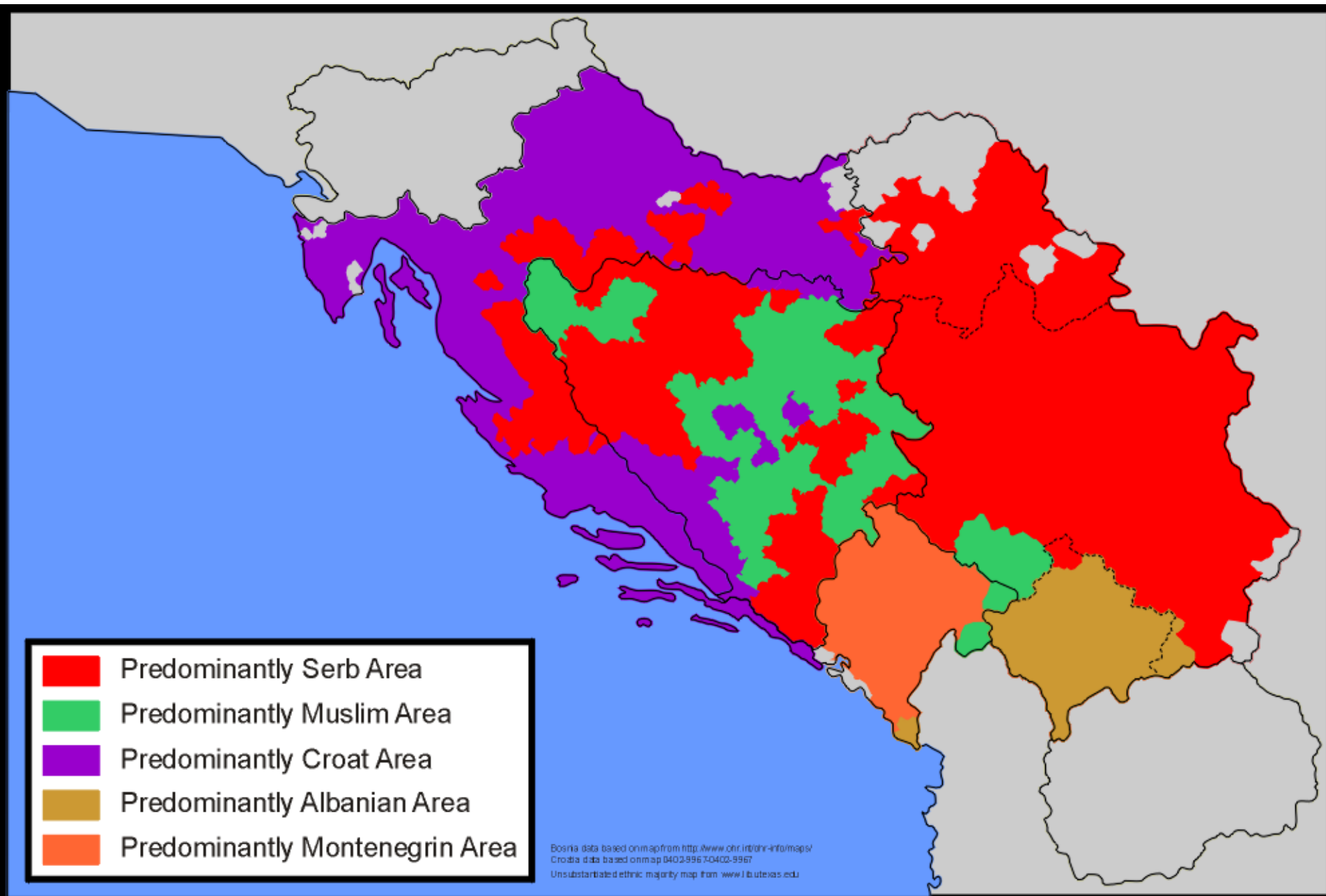
**Slovenia declares independence
25 June 1991**

A map of the Balkan region with color-coded countries: Slovenia (yellow), Croatia (purple), Bosnia (cyan), Serbia (red), Montenegro (light green), Kosovo (dark red), and Macedonia (olive green). The Adriatic Sea is blue, and landmasses outside the region are grey. Four white text boxes with black borders provide independence dates. Red lines connect the boxes to their respective countries: from the top box to Slovenia, from the second box to Croatia, from the third box to Bosnia, and from the bottom box to Macedonia. The lines for the first three boxes end in dots at the bottom of the map, while the line for the fourth box ends in a dot on the right side.

**Croatia declares independence
25 June 1991**

**Bosnia votes for independence
29 February 1992**

**Macedonia votes for independence
08 September 1991**



Greater Serbia



CROATIA

Indictment of 32 counts for offences alleged
between August 1991 and July 1992

- **14,433 Croats, killed** (soldiers and civilians)
- 1,658 Croats, missing (soldiers and civilians)
- **4,000 Serbs, Killed** (mainly para-military troops)

Serb Autonomous regions within Croatia



Borisav Jović Former President of Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) before the conflict and a colleague of Milošević



President of Croatia Stipe Mesić



Vukovar



Vukovar



Vukovar



Dr Vesna Bosanac Director of the Vukovar General Hospital

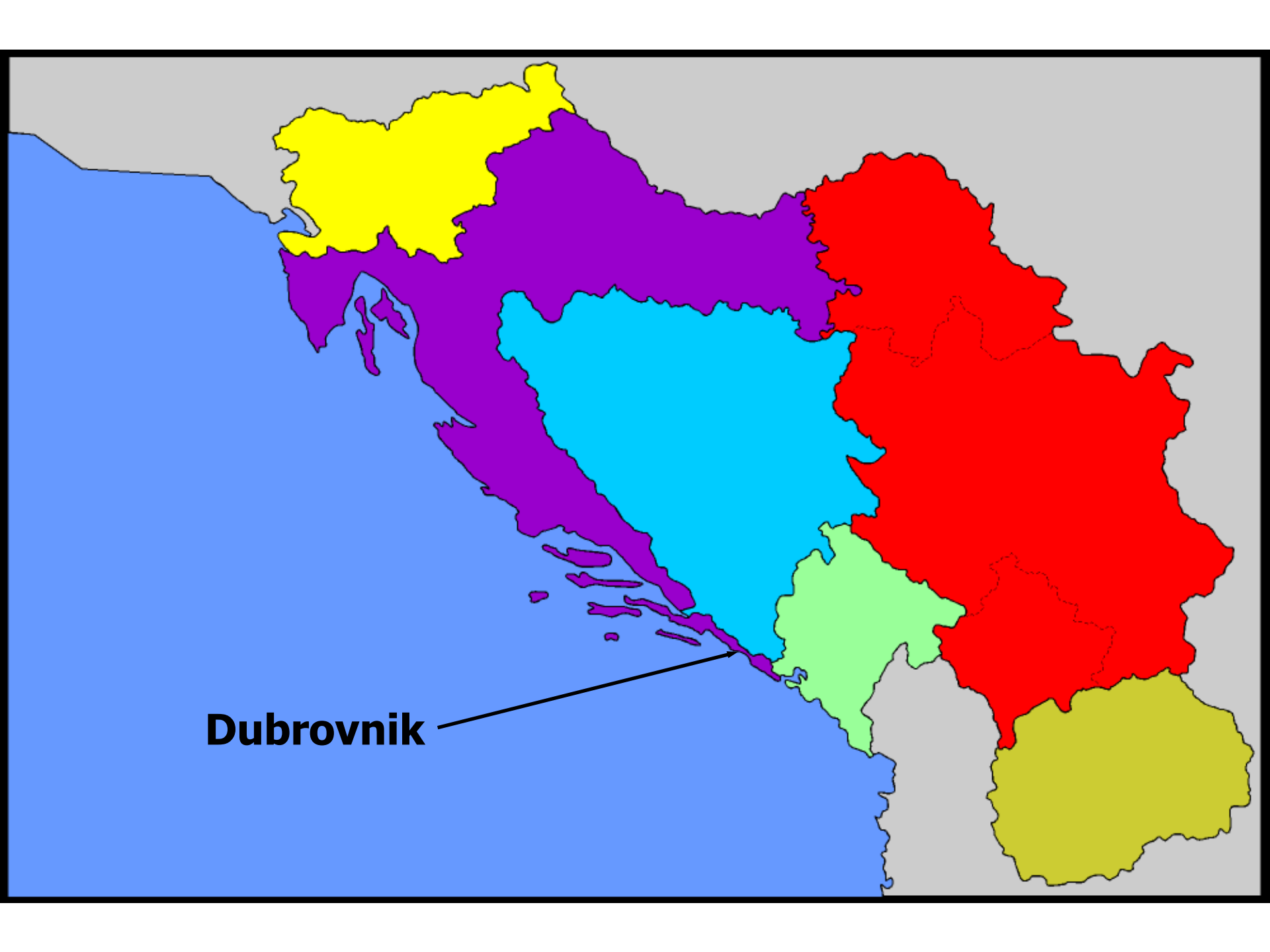


18.11.1991.- Ovčara. Prebrojavanje zatočenika



Dubrovnik

Wanton Destruction - October to December 1991



Dubrovnik









General Nojko Marinović, Defender of Dubrovnik



Pero Poljanić mayor of Dubrovnik



Petar Kriste Croatian minister



Hrvoje Šarinić Chef de Cabinet of President Tudjman



Milan Babić



Milan Babic





JSO Kula Camp Video



JSO Kula Camp Video



JSO Kula Camp video





SE

0:19:43







BOSNIA

Indictment of 29 counts for offences alleged
between March 1992 and December 1995

Deaths between 90,000 and 104,000

Srebrenica deaths alone 8,000

Bosnian Serbs' May 1992 Decision on Strategic Objectives of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina

1. **Establish State borders separating the Serbian people from the other two ethnic communities;**
2. Set up a corridor between Semberija and Krajina;
3. Establish a corridor in the Drina river valley, that is, eliminate the Drina as a border separating Serbian states.
4. Establish a border on the Una and Neretva rivers;
5. **Divide the city of Sarajevo into Serbian and Muslim parts and establish effective State authorities in both parts.**
6. **Ensure access to the sea for Republika Srpska.**

Intercepts

- Intercepts were taken by B-H official state security unit (May 1991-May 1992), before Karadzic moved to Pale
- OTP could thus use them officially
- It was Karadzic's phone that was tapped

Intercepts

“(...) the Serbs will not be divided into several states. That should be premise of your thinking”.

“Please let’s move. We don’t give in to anybody anymore. And if they want to fight, we’ll fight . . . And they should go to hell, whoever wants to fight us, we’ll fight and we’re stronger . . . Who wants to join Alija to beat us, he may. He will lose”.

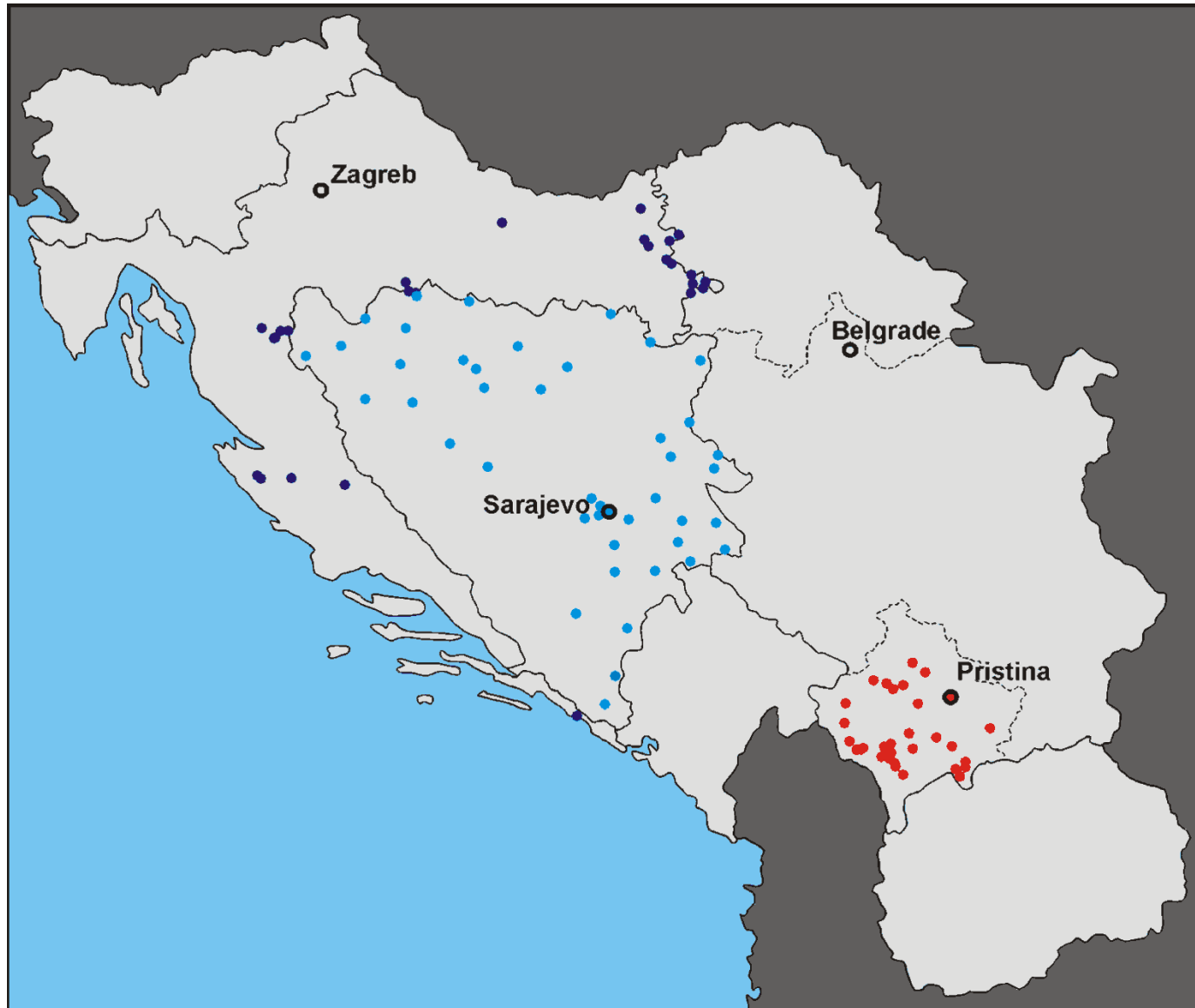
Supreme Defence Council Meeting 30th August 1994

*“Therefore, a sound national policy must take all this into account. **We have actually been offered to expand the territory by one-fourth,** because Yugoslavia's territory is 102,000 square kilometres, and to increase the population by one-tenth! **And to legalise it as well!** And even to have a confederation right away! Kozirjev told me that quite clearly. The leadership of Republika Srpska knows that in that way we shall be given the right to legally defend those borders (....) In this manner, we shall be legally entitled to defend the borders. At the same time, there is an offer to create a military alliance with Russia, which would ensure supply of military and other equipment and set up a safe and solid defence system, a single strongest army in the Balkans, etc. “*

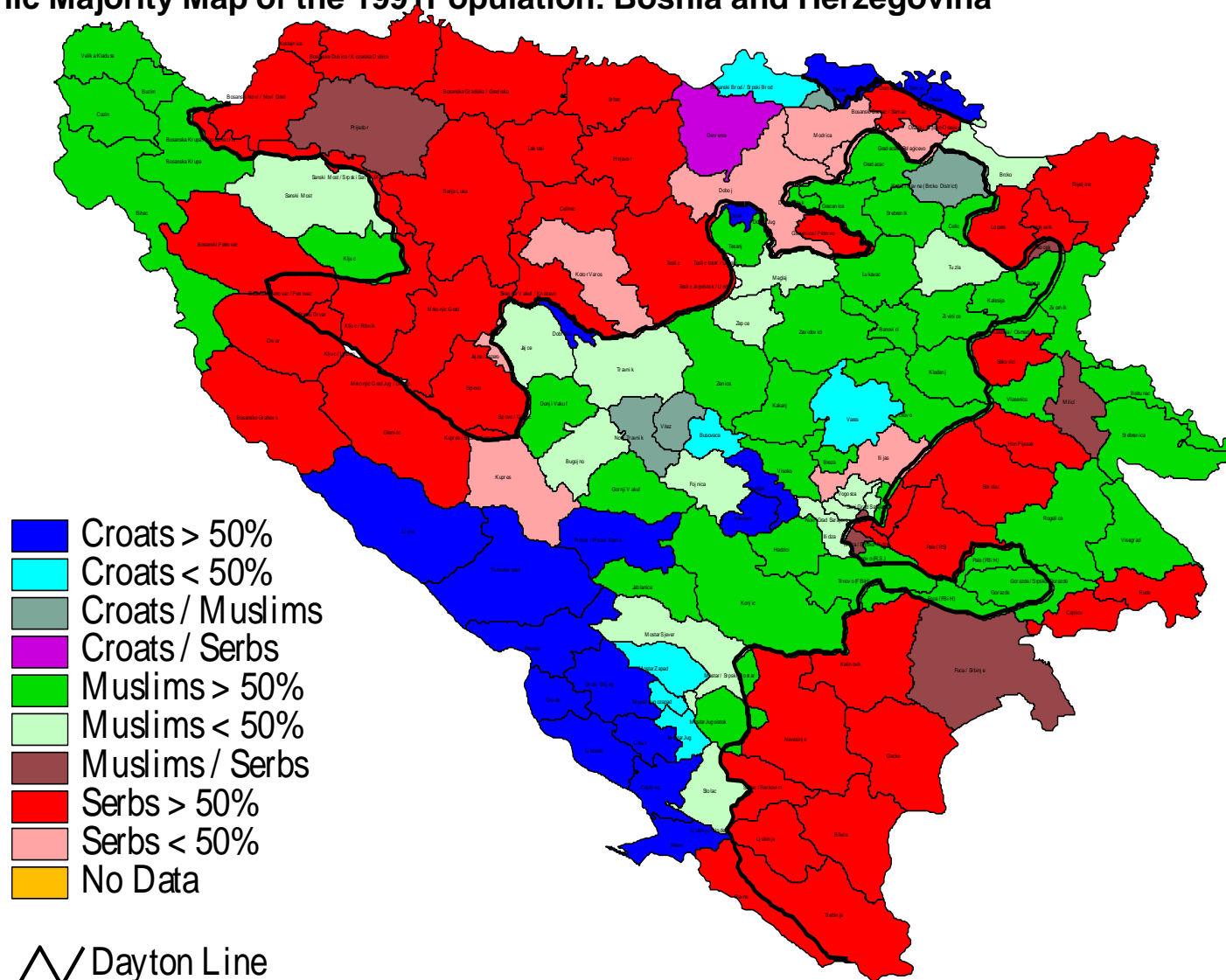
SDC Meeting 25 August 1995

if the Muslims refuse the peace solution they will be told that they are to be left alone with the sword of Damocles hanging over them in the form of General Mladić.

The crime sites investigated in all three Milosevic Indictments



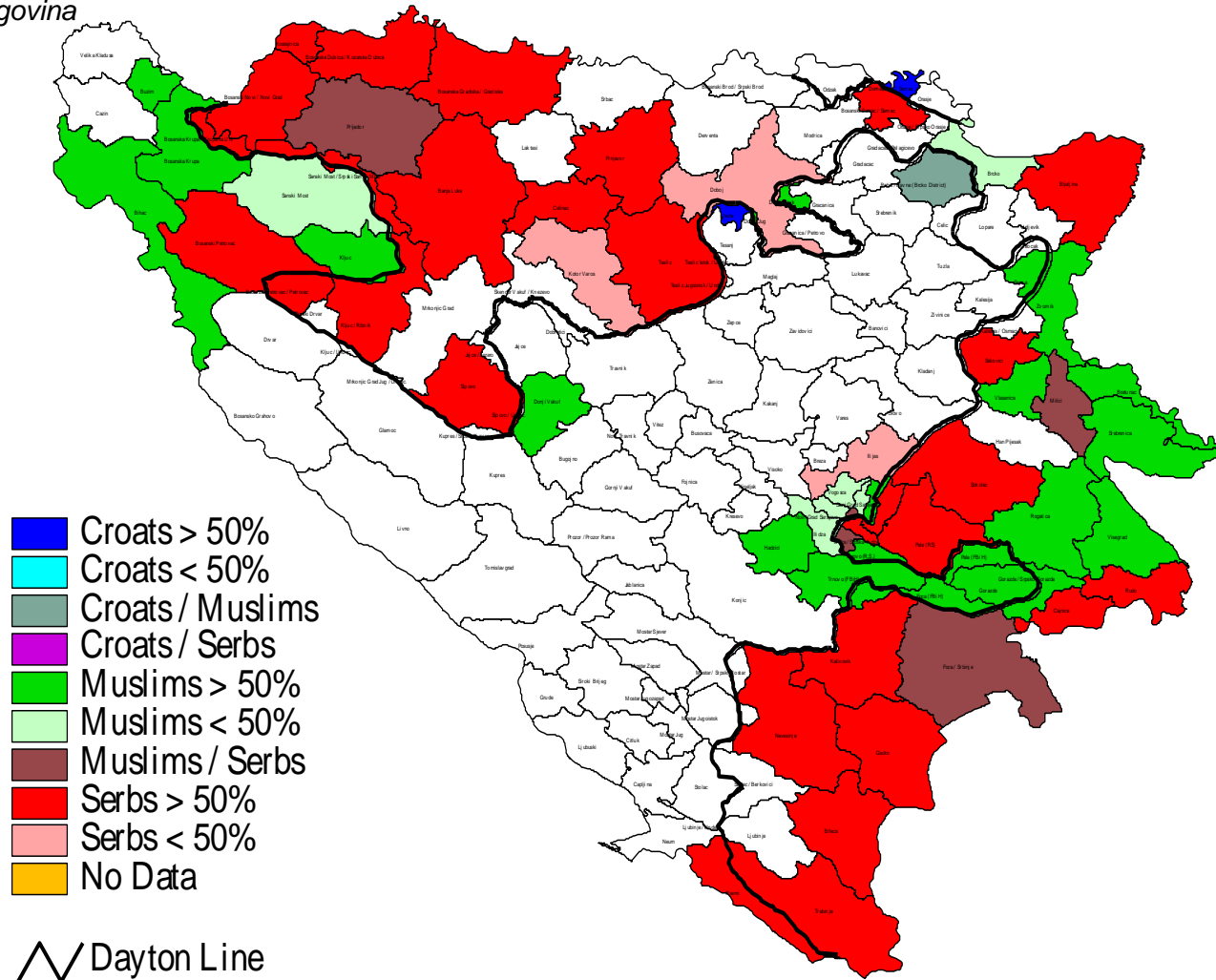
Ethnic Majority Map of the 1991 Population: Bosnia and Herzegovina



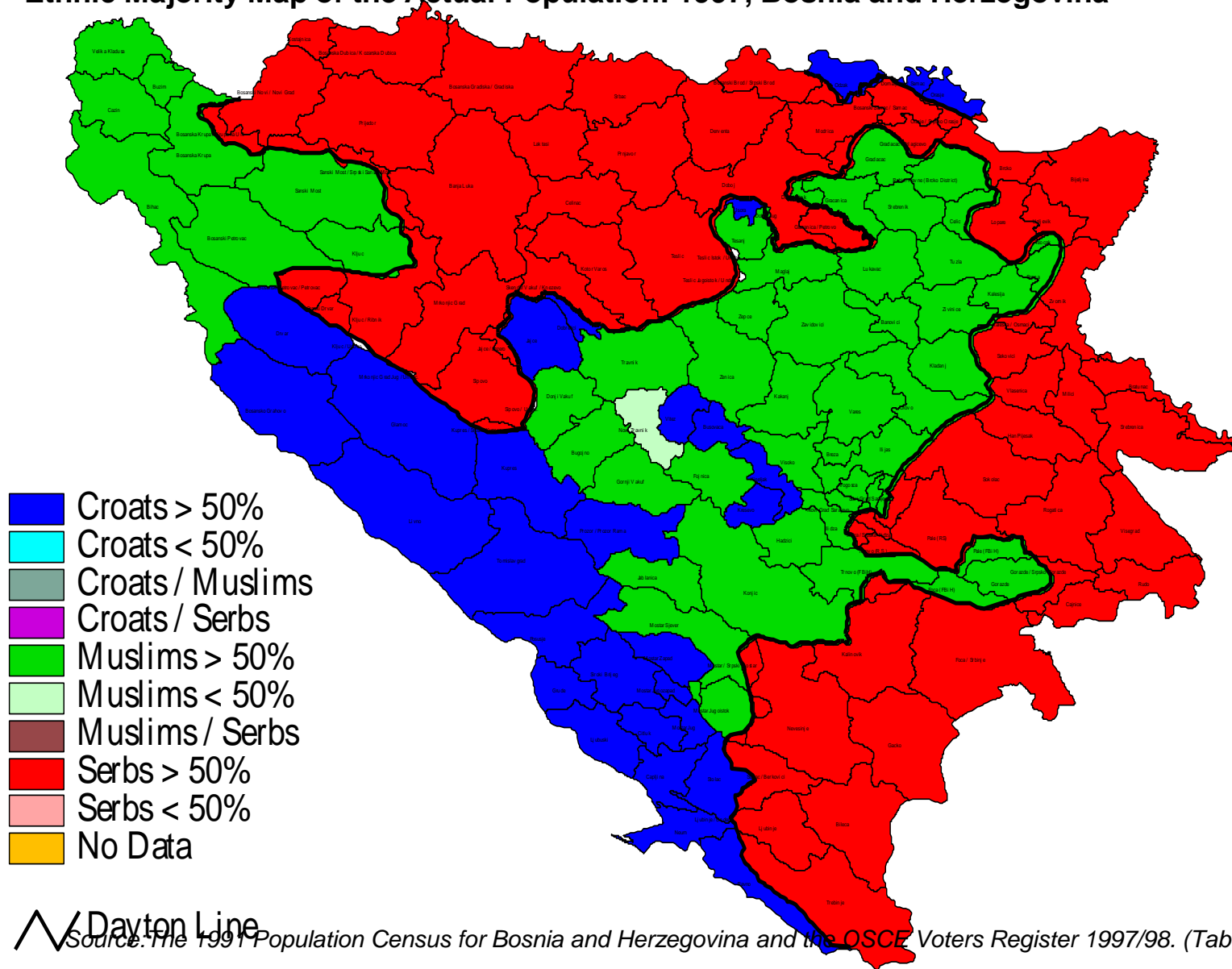
Source: The 1991 Population Census for Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Tabeau (ed.), 2009)

Ethnic Majority Map of the 1991 Population: MILOSEVIC Indictment Area

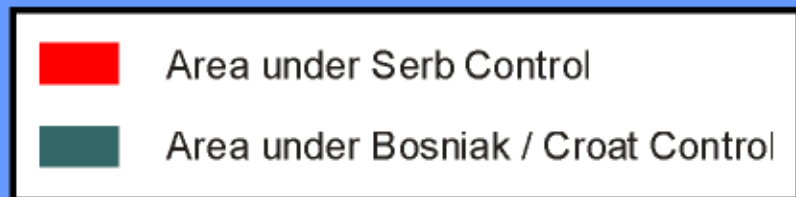
Source: *The 1991 Census for Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Extracted from the Map for Bosnia and Herzegovina)*



Ethnic Majority Map of the Actual Population: 1997, Bosnia and Herzegovina



Srebrenica



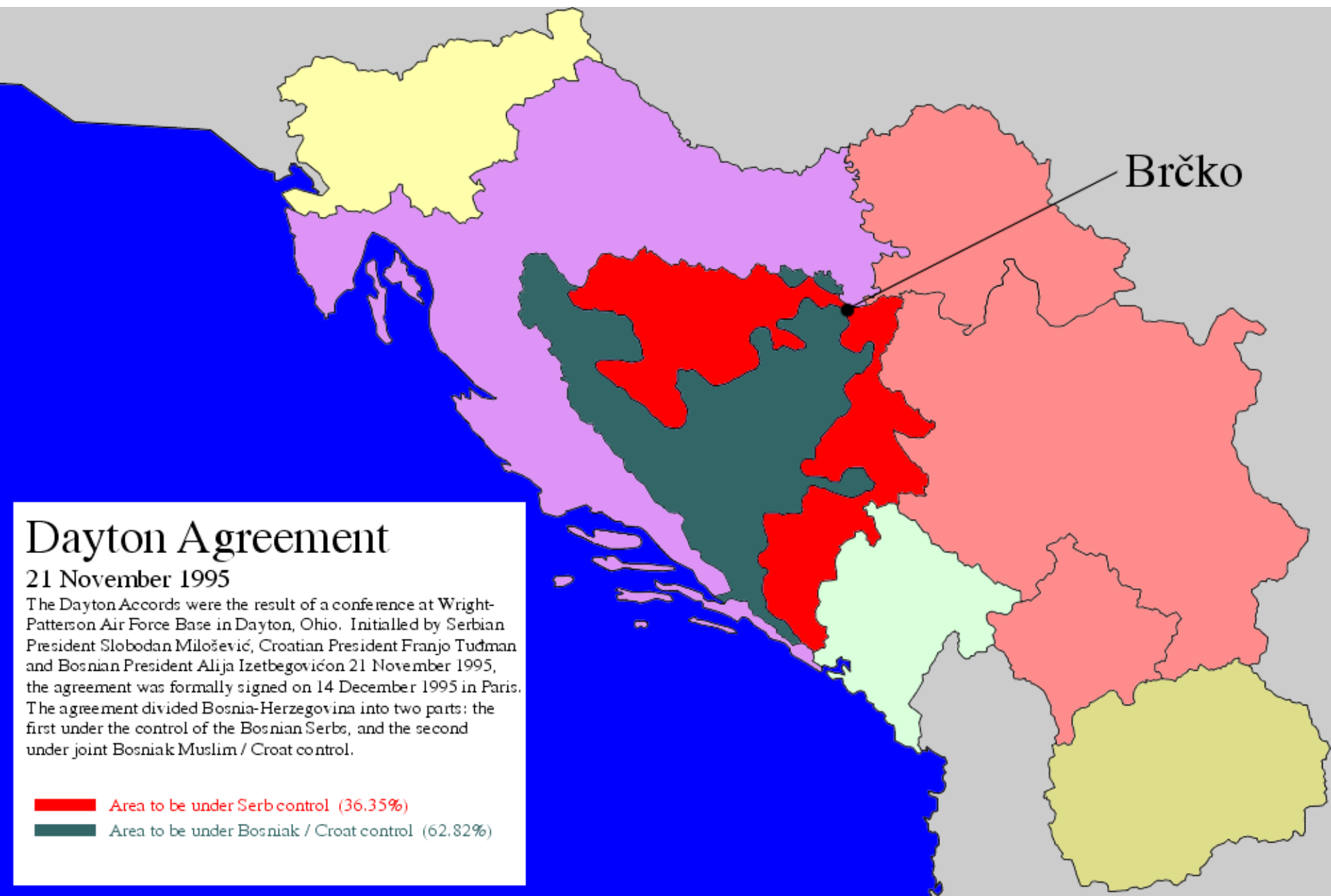
Dayton Agreement

21 November 1995

The Dayton Accords were the result of a conference at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. Initialed by Serbian President Slobodan Milošević, Croatian President Franjo Tuđman and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović on 21 November 1995, the agreement was formally signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris. The agreement divided Bosnia-Herzegovina into two parts: the first under the control of the Bosnian Serbs, and the second under joint Bosniak Muslim / Croat control.

- Area to be under Serb control (36.35%)
- Area to be under Bosniak / Croat control (62.82%)

Brčko



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02963416



02963417



02963418



02963419

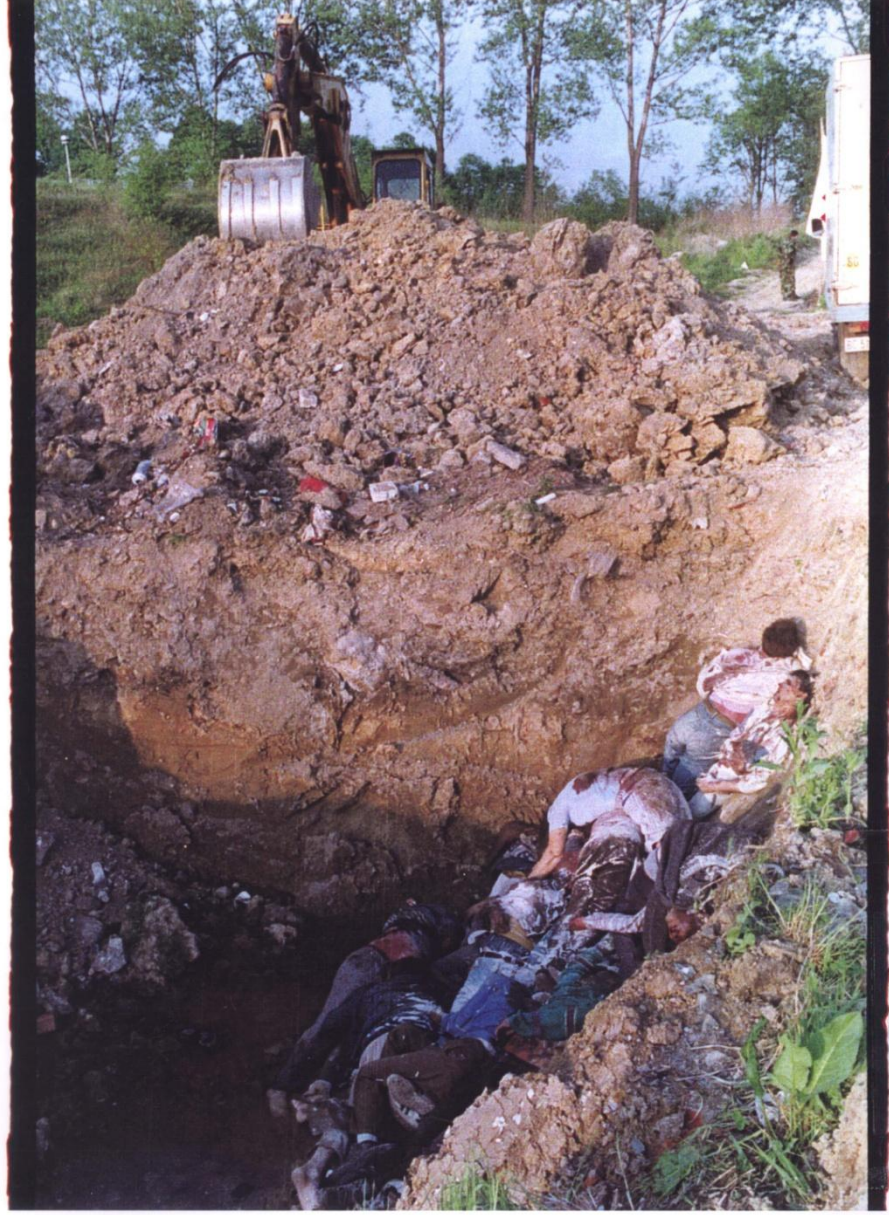


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A video still showing a religious ceremony. On the left, a priest in dark vestments and a tall black hat holds a small wooden cross. He is looking towards a man in the center. The man has a very short haircut and is wearing a dark, short-sleeved button-down shirt. He is holding a small, dark, rectangular object in his hands. In the background, two other men are visible. One is wearing a dark vest over a light shirt and has a backpack. The other is wearing a dark shirt and has a mustache. A black flag is visible in the background. The scene is outdoors with a light blue sky.

19:37
25. 6. 1995









DAYTON AGREEMENT



Official Dayton Signing Ceremony in Paris - 14 December 1995

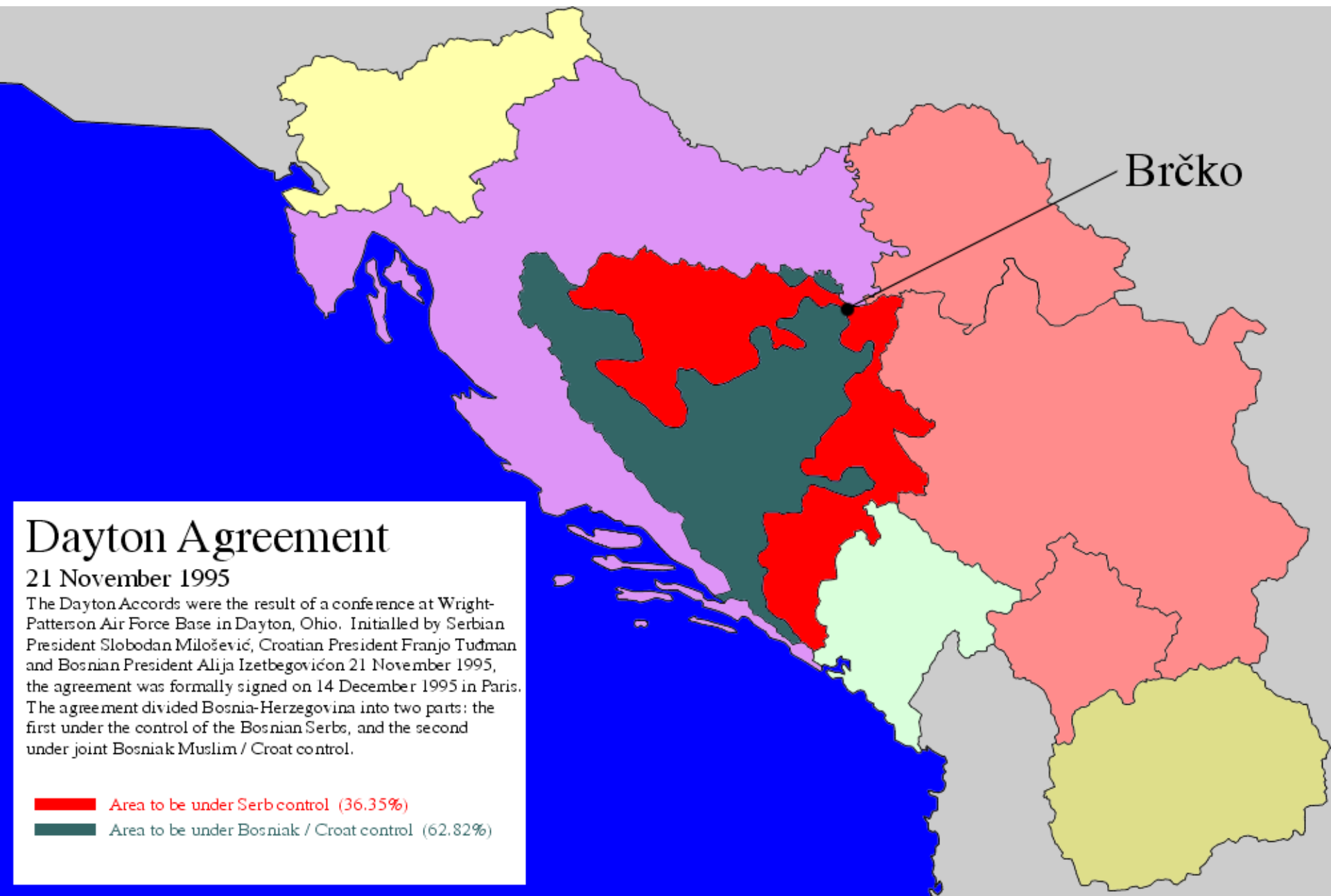
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- Area to be under Serb control (36.35%)
- Area to be under Bosniak / Croat control (62.82%)

Brčko



KOSOVO

Indictment of 5 counts for offences alleged
between January 1999 and June 1999

Deaths probably in range 8,000 to 12,000

Lord Ashdown



Lord Ashdown

‘There were some houses below us, which I would estimate at about two kilometres range, perhaps slightly less, that were being individually targeted by a tank.there were collections of armoured personnel carriers and **tanks gathered, waiting to conduct further attacks...two tanks** going away from me, towards Djakovicaon the roadside and were **systematically, and in turn, firing at one house in the village after another, from the roadside....**it was perfectly possible to hear small-arms fire as well as tank fire.although I cannot, of course, say to the Court that there was no return fire from any of these houses, I can say that I never heard or observed any return fire from these houses.’

Lord Ashdown

Mr MILOSEVIC: Do you know anything about the NATO aggression that was carried out against Yugoslavia on the 24th of March, 1999?

Paddy ASHDOWN: Mr. Milosevic... I think it's worth pointing out that the estimates are that in this period, **long before the NATO aggression, more than 300.000 Albanians had been driven from their homes by the action of your troops.** So these were entirely the responsibility of you, of your troops... They are nothing to do with the NATO aggression... **And I warned you that if you took those steps and went on doing this, you would end up in this Court, and here you are**

Dubrava Prison Massacre



PHOTOGRAPH JZ-1

K0226128



PHOTOGRAPH JZ-6

K0226133



General Obrad Stevanović



Witness
Stevanovic

Excerpt from Milosevic Trial Transcript





IVAN STAMBOLIC

