



To Božo Knežević

*Without whose determination, talent and courage there would be no
"Storm over Krajina"*

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FACTUM



CENTAR ZA DRAMSKU UMJETNOST

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STORM OVER CROATIA

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A WORD TO BEGIN WITH

The case of the film Storm over Krajina, as well as this book which will attempt to examine it, is not only a chronicle of reactions to the broadcast of a documentary film and the events following it. It is, at least in our opinion, a paradigm of the contemporary Croatian reality. In the whole history of Croatian documentary production, no film has ever caused such violent reactions as Božo Knežević's film Storm over Krajina. Public protests, parliamentary debate, calls for ministerial resignations, intense activity on web-forums, anonymous calls and threats, making of a "counter-film" - to bystanders all these seemed like completely inappropriate reactions to a documentary feature. However, there were good reasons for them.

Naturally, it all began with the fact the crimes depicted in the film actually took place. This, after all, was witnessed by the participants in the events. Immediately following the "Storm" military operation several hundred civilians were killed, tens of thousands of houses burned down. And not only that. The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) government concealed these crimes, kept them secret and even justified them, more or less sheepishly, with the famous Croatian ex Chief Justice Milan Vuković "thesis" that "in the defensive war Croatia could not commit war crimes." Unfortunately, it soon became apparent that not even the new government, elected after the victory of the democratic coalition at the beginning of 2000, could (would, knew how to, wanted to) introduce important changes in perception of many relevant issues, one of them being the (for this story essential) attitude towards the war crimes committed by the Croat side.

Whether due to internal divisions, the historical complex of underpowered "Croathood", the fear of reactions or simply conformism, the government would not, could not or was not allowed to, explain to the Croat citizens the difference between the great majority of self-sacrificing, courageous and patriotic defenders and a handful of war profiteers, even criminals, who, from their advantageous yet tricky position, through connections with a part of the right wing political elite, managed to take virtually the whole country hostage of their position.

Hence it doesn't surprise that in the whole war and post-war period, Croatian Television, an institution that never managed to become a true institution of civil society, did not produce a single coherent film, program or a show dealing with war crimes committed by the Croat side. Little wonder then was the fact, probably unprecedented in the annals of modern television, that in the case of Storm over

Krajina “certain circles” at the Croatian Television (HTV) encouraged writing against the film their network was only (and this, too, under pressure) yet to show. This was the state of affairs in the spring of 2001 when Storm over Krajina premiered, a film about the crimes committed by the Croat side in 1995, following the “Storm” military operation. Then it all began. All you can read about on the pages of this book. But before I leave you to this hopefully gripping reading matter, allow me to share with you the feelings overcoming me while I leaf through these pages today:

_ a sense of **pride** because of the fact we made Storm over Krajina - not only the first Croatian, but for the time also the only documentary film in the region, which had enough courage to speak about the crimes committed by “our side”. This fact only gains in importance in present political situation, where it is still the only such film ever aired on the national television.

_ a sense of **satisfaction** because “average TV viewers” recognized this film’s importance and the process started by the film - and following the Latinica talk show in which the film was shown, a great majority of 75 percent of the viewers answered affirmatively to the question whether all war crimes should be punished and proceedings against the perpetrators of these crimes instituted. Similar figures were obtained in the poll carried out by the daily Jutarnji list, whereas a poll taken by the Media Meter opinion agency showed that 51 percent of the persons polled found Knežević’s film to be authentic.

_ a sense of **disappointment** owing to the fact the ruling political elite, president excepted, did not recognize the “minor referendum” of the silent majority of Croat citizens, but rather used the familiar “swap thesis” maneuver and, instead of denouncing the events shown in the film, they publicly condemned the makers as well as the film. Thus yet another opportunity to open a serious dialogue and come up with adequate answers was lost. The catharsis process, essential for the actual ending of the war, was once again stopped before it even began.

_ a sense of **shame** because so few independent intellectuals, artists and organizations had the courage to defend - not so much our position, but our right to it. The “Croatian silence” syndrome, ubiquitous in those circles, took its toll once again.

_ a sense of **sorrow** and **guilt** because Božo is no longer with us, having left at the height of attacks on the film; bitter but not scared, worried but not disappointed.

_ and, finally, a sense of **hope** that it was not all in vain.

Professor Nenad Puhovski

Program director of the FACTUM documentary project

Producer of the film Storm over Krajina

THE SOUND AND THE FURY - THE "STORM" CASE

It will go down in the Croatian documentary history that on March 10, 2001 at the 10th Days of Croatian Film, the 50-minute long Božo Knežević documentary film Storm over Krajina was publicly screened for the first time. Knežević had worked on the film for a whole year.

During the first two festival screenings, the film was seen by some four hundred people. In a newspaper article, it was noted that the audience watched the film "in dead silence", with just a sporadic shout, "What about Vukovar?"

The silence lasted for a very short time: the later life of the film - for Croatia this certainly was an unprecedented case - could be described, without exaggeration, with the Shakespearean phrase of "the sound and the fury".

The crucial thing, needless to say, was the television.

Croatian television showed Storm... on Monday, 1 October 2001, in the TV show Latinica.

Following almost a half-year long process of "reviewing the case", the HTV management reached the decision about broadcasting the film as part of the talk show. Well aware of the explosive potential of Storm..., partly due to the proverbial opportunism and partly to the genuine opposition towards the film's contents, HTV executives spent the six months from the 10th Days of Croatian Film until the film's TV premiere weighing up all the options they had at their disposal regarding the issue.

There was a suggestion for Knežević's film to be aired in a special show, with guests who would comment the viewed material; then there was the option where Storm... would be shown as one in a series of documentaries dealing with Serb crimes. To be sure, there was also the option of not showing the film at all, but a great public pressure in the spring and summer of 2001 made this option too risky. Finally, even the President's office openly stood in favor of broadcasting the film, judging it "worthy of showing".

This was the response which stood alone among the Croatian leadership, despite the fact that the Ministry of Culture was, with 92,000 kn*, one of the film's co-producers. The suggestion coming from Stipe Mesić's office obviously had no executive power, but it was invaluable for creating general atmosphere surrounding screening of the film.

On the other hand, since Croatian Television was bound by contract to the Factum film company and obliged to broadcast their documentary films, it would have been evident that the film had been "shelved" out of political reasons.

Consequently, the Croatian radio and television (HRT) Council finally resorted to the "most elegant" solution: at the Council Conference held on 30 August it was announced that the film would be aired as part of the Latinica talk show. In the Croatian Television, no one openly articulated the alternative, which in every other case would be a normal and the only natural solution - for the film to be aired independently, without any accompanying studio debate.

III It is a somewhat bizarre fact that Latinica was in that early autumn of 2001 an integral part of the HTV entertainment program. Yet, its structure seemed the least problematic to the HRT executives; the studio discussion was a given because of the show's form - such was the structure of every Latinica - therefore all the accusations about purposefully "lecturing" the audience would be dispensed with in advance and the guests-commentators could be chosen (legitimately) so as to represent several possible ways of interpreting the film.

Participants in the studio discussion were Maja Freundlich, HDZ vice-chairwoman; Drago Pilsel, columnist of the Rijeka weekly Novi list; Vedraņa Rudan, columnist of the Split weekly Feral Tribune, attorneys Anto Nobilo and Željko Olujić and the author of the film, Božo Knežević. Representatives of the Croat army and Ministry of Defense, General Janko Bobetko and some other intended speakers, were invited but they declined the invitation.

Stands taken by the guests of Latinica marked the crucial points of the public discussion about the film, which went on for months following its airing on the Croatian Television.

Maja Freundlich pointed out that this film was made principally to stress that *"there were criminals and villains on both sides"*.

According to Maja Freundlich, the film was clearly attempting to "alter, distort the truth about the events of the Homeland War". In her opinion, Storm over Krajina was being deliberately silent about the Croatian victims, tending to portray "isolated incidents" such as the Grubor village crimes as a rule, not an exception.

"Everything that happened during the 'Storm' were isolated incidents which have been dealt with by the Croatian legal system in 1500 trials", said Freundlich. The film creates an impression of the Serbs' endangered condition, said Freundlich, *"so that new conquests can be planned"*.

In contrast to the HDZ vice-chairwoman, Drago Pilsel said that Storm over Krajina "shows only a fragment of the horrors that happened following the Storm".

"I was there", said Pilsel, "I saw slaughtered people, burnt-down houses. Those were not isolated cases... The sum of those incidents speaks of Croatian political intentions."

Vedrana Rudan described Storm over Krajina as a "banal war story". *"Tudman wanted to free Croatia and he succeeded at it. He wanted to cleanse Croatia of Serbs and he succeeded at it, and it is notorious. What bothers me personally is"*, she added, *"- if this is Croatian politics - which I believe it is - why it isn't acknowledged"*.

Željko Olujić commented on the Croatian Helsinki Committee (HHO) estimates of the number of civilians killed in sector South (410) and the number of houses torched in the area of former Krajina (about 20,000).

"Makers of this shameless anti-Croatian film actually admit they are lying", said Olujić, *"they are telling untruths, because in their film these things are nowhere to be seen. A good number of the intact houses are seen in the film, and this is undisputable."* At the very end of the film the authors lend point to, Olujić says, *"the assertion that 410 Serb civilians were killed and - listen to this! - At least twenty thousand houses burnt down. This, in the criminal-justice sense, in case nothing was proven - and nothing was proven by this film - is worth nothing."*

In his opinion, the film is an extremely anti-Croatian product, which "nowhere mentions that Croats have a right to their own state."

Anto Nobile expressed a completely contrary view. *"Personally I am much more inclined to trust HHO than the Tudman regime. They maintain 20,000 houses were burnt down - I have a figure of 22,000 houses burnt down - also on such a wide area it could not be a case of an incident."*

"In order for 22,000 houses to be burnt down, battles had to be fought for weeks", said Nobile, "and there were no battles. Therefore, we can directly assume that it was a case of large-scale organized crime, for which no one was ever held responsible, so it figures that (it) was either ordered or authorized by the leadership..."

Film's author Božo Knežević explained that his motive for making the film lay in *"what HTV did not do, or rather, what it kept silent about."*

"My documentary activity can neither give nor take away the legitimacy from the 'Storm' military operation", said Knežević. "What I was interested in was the development of an atmosphere in which such atrocities were possible."

At the end of the discussion, all participants agreed on the thesis that all war crimes should be punished and their perpetrators prosecuted...

IV An intense discussion on Storm... continued in all media for almost a year following the first screening of the film. Hundreds of newspaper articles were written about it, many unusually impassioned discussions were held on the web, and in the campaign against Knežević's film opponents of Storm over Krajina employed an extremely unusual method: soon following the television premiere of the film, they produced a counter-film, a thing called Amacord 1991-2001.

Amacord was to prove that Božidar Knežević was - ethnically, politically, ethnopolitically, professionally and morally - not entitled to make a film about the Homeland War. In the global persecution of Storm over Krajina, made by Božidar Knežević and the film's producer Nenad Puhovski, Amacord was definitely the most bizarre instrument of contest.

Storm over Krajina was aired on the Croatian Television on Monday, 1 October 2001. Exactly a month later - barely a month later - 1 November of the same year, Amacord... was screened at the Zagreb Cultural Information Center (KIC). The film was put together using archival materials from Yutel - the television company for which Božo Knežević worked during 1991 and 1992, having left Croatian Television.

Materials used in making Amacord... - Yutel professional tapes with original footage as well as final versions of Knežević's feature stories - film's author Pavle Vranjican had allegedly obtained accidentally, having bought them a long time before from an ex Yutel employee, for \$450. As a "penniless producer", he had purchased the tapes to use them for his own work and they just lay unused on the bottom of his drawer until Amacord....

It is, nevertheless, much more likely that the tapes had been stored in various “archives” and that the preparations for Amacord began almost immediately following the first public screenings of Storm over Krajina...

On Tuesday, November 6 of the same year, Božidar Knežević was dead. In a Renault Scenic, he and a passenger, Borivoj Franceschi, crashed into a tractor-trailer coming from the opposite direction nearby Bruvno in Lika. At first it was suspected that the accident had been arranged. Police expertise proved these suspicions unfounded. Yet, there is no doubt that the atmosphere surrounding Knežević for several weeks prior to his death had considerably added to a lapse in his concentration, which may have proven fatal on that day. His brakes may not have given but his nerves undoubtedly had.

A year later Amacord was to open the next, 11th Days of Croatian Film, which completed the cycle of scandals in the most ignominious manner.

Why did Storm over Krajina provoke such conflicting reactions? One cannot overlook the fact that for months and even years before the film was made, the Croatian press had been publishing exhaustive reports on crimes that were equally or even more appalling than those that occurred in Grubor and Varivode, described in the film. General public was relatively well informed about the events preceding “Storm” as well as those following it. Yet, the power and influence of the television medium added to the dramatic perception of the film, which was seen in Latinica by 47.95 percent of Croatian viewers - an unprecedented phenomenon when it comes to documentary film. **V**

In retrospect on the phenomenon of Storm over Krajina, Slobodan Šnajder graphically explained why Storm was in fact so dangerous:

“Without a doubt, in daily papers and weekly magazines, Croatian public could read about things even worse than were those shown in the film by Knežević and Franceschi”, wrote Šnajder in Novi list, on Knežević’s death.

“But the only thing that truly counts is television. It was only in Latinica that the political elite, up to their necks in what the film showed, really felt threatened and decided to close ranks, ready to go all the way against “the Cyrillic”, for whatever was meant by it.*

To be exact, the film showed nothing that had not been said or even seen in fragments before. Even worse things had been seen on television. What the film did was merely to intelligently connect, in form of cause and effect, things that the viewer can perhaps (but even this with difficulty) handle only in fragments.

* *“Latinica” also stands for the Latin script, used by Croats; “Cirilica” (here translated as “Cyrillic”) is used by Serbs;*

The film showed crimes committed by individuals but it also “nailed” an atmosphere of a frenzied community, which encouraged, approved and concealed the crimes. The crimes were, and this we have known all along, of such proportions that it took a great deal of organizing just to conceal them; in terms of quantity alone they were so massive they should have been regarded as national terrorism, a doctrinal terror campaign planned (by the so-called writing-desk perpetrators, primarily Tudman), arranged with the arch-enemy and mercilessly executed. It was not just a case of the margin of a momentous military operation gone berserk (the operation itself being considered some kind of a special achievement!), certainly not a case of random, unrelated incidents, but rather a deliberately executed “cleansing of territory” in the spirit of “final solution” Croatian style. Hunting down old Serb men in the Croatian rear during the so-called post-Storm period was no different from the Ustasha*savagery at the very same locations in WWII, just as the encouraged and approved persecution of the so-called urban Serbs was no different from the methods described by Ivo Goldstein in Holocaust in Zagreb, his recently published landmark-book. Knežević’s film does not insist on the brutality of details - I’m certain, I even know for sure, that the cameras recorded things far worse - but it points to a very dangerous correlation...”

V I On the pages of this book, you may read about how the public - Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian etc. - reacted to exposing of this “dangerous correlation”. The book includes, without prejudice, almost all relevant articles (news, reports, comments, columns) written in the year marked, in its own way, by Knežević’s film.

Articles and web discussions have been abbreviated for obvious reasons. For easy reference, the original article layout (over-headings, headings, subheadings, inter-headings) has been replaced with our layout.

Boris Rašeta

STORM OVER KRAJINA IN SERBIA

Film Storm over Krajina was broadcast on B92 Television and the TV stations members of ANEM (The Association of Independent Electronic Media) 3 times altogether. I have no knowledge of how much interest in the story was shown by the major, national televisions such as the Serbian Broadcasting Corporation (RTS). I remember that in August of 1995 TV stations did everything within their powers to minimize and conceal this event, just as they keep avoiding "picking through" the painful past seven years later. In tragedies of great proportions, roles of the hunters and the hunted, victims and perpetrators, are often confused and manipulated so much that it becomes difficult to have an objective perspective. In our context, the context of the Balkans, what is needed is not only a temporal distance but a distance from national loyalties as well. It is one thing when the British make films about the sufferings of the nations and actual tragic events taking place in these parts; it is another thing when the story is told by those who are themselves victims; and it is yet something completely different when contemporary annals are written by the people of the nation or the country where the story actually happened. The inside story is always the most convincing one. It has a therapeutic as well as subversive effect on its own environment and the environment to which most of the victims belong.

For the B92, "Storm" has a special meaning. From its very beginnings, our TV station was proclaimed traitorous by the Milošević regime and I was proclaimed a "genetic traitor" at the RTS (Serbian Broadcasting Corporation). Following the same pattern, Serb leaders in Croatia as well as those in Bosnia and Herzegovina found us insufferable, we could not get accreditations and so on. When "Storm" began and when we saw Milošević regime turn its head away from the exiled, manipulated people - we started a large-scale humanitarian campaign in which Belgrade citizens, taxi drivers and many others took part, trying to reach the

refugee columns with as much of the badly needed help as possible. Those days we were all confused - those of us who recognized the extent of Milošević regime deceptions equally as the refugees denounced by the regime that they had trusted and followed so blindly. The regime was taken by surprise, not having expected that the traitorous B92 would do something of the sort - there were even attempts to prevent the efforts of the humanitarian campaign, remove it from the city center, control it... We thought this would make good grounds for sobering up from national hysteria, unreserved trust in the authoritarian regime and the leader who only ever committed evil. Nonetheless, it did not happen for a long time to come. As we were filming reportage among the refugees exiled by the "Storm" whom Milošević had sent to Kosovo, we were expecting to find them outraged and angry with the cynical villain who wanted to use human suffering to improve the demographic structure of Kosovo. Yet, we still found Milošević's pictures adorning the walls of the refugee's provisional accommodations.

It was also possible to stage-manage the event because of the loss in communication and the lack of fundamental, comprehensive testimonies coming from the Croatian sources. Storm over Krajina was the first, powerful, impressive work - an extremely convincing testimony to evil always being evil, regardless of who commits it and for what purposes.

At the same time, Storm over Krajina is a real challenge for artists, writers, film directors, journalists and others to tell their own stories - stories about the force of evil and its potential national mimicry. Serbia and Serbian public at times seem completely closed for such a painful introspection, and at times astonishingly willing to face their past. Interest for this subject is doubtlessly great, regardless of the fact there is still no uniform political spirit in which to start the difficult process of facing the past, the truth and reconciliation. The more "inside" stories we have, the more possibilities there will be to face the truth and our own responsibilities. Without this, reconciliation is unthinkable. On one condition, of course - that the stories be told professionally, seriously and objectively.

This process was started by Storm over Krajina.

Veran Matić

B92 RTV Editor in Chief

THE BEGINNINGS

original documents of the *Storm over Krajina* film project

PRODUCER'S EXPOSITION

The film deals with one of the most significant and most dramatic subjects of the newer Croatian history - the events taking place in Krajina following the completion of the "Storm" military operation. How dramatic, even traumatic this subject is, was best demonstrated recently in the Croatian parliament when minister Čačić gave a speech about his own post - "Storm" experience, and the kinds of reactions this speech provoked - in parliament as well as outside of it.

There is probably no author who could dedicate himself to this subject with more knowledge of the matter than Božo Knežević, a longtime author and editor for the Zagreb Television, Croatian Television and Yutel - the man who, with a camera in his hand, for all these past ten years, bore witness to the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia - and did this for such respectable networks such as ARD, ARTE, SAT 1, SRG, WDR, ZDF, YLE etc.

In view of all this, I deem it necessary for the Film Board of the Ministry of Culture to finance this film.

/ Nenad Puhovski, FACTUM /

SYNOPSIS OF THE FILM STORM OVER KRAJINA

Recently in parliament, when minister Radimir Čačić spoke about torching of Serbian houses in Krajina immediately following the “Storm” military operation, his speech caused a violent reaction among the members of the once ruling and now opposing HDZ party. So severe it was that they called for his resignation. What was it really like in Krajina those days? How much truth was there in Čačić’s words, in the accusations made by international organizations and Croatian non-governmental organizations, regarding the post-“Storm” crimes? Could it be true, as claimed by the Croat army, that it is all part of the “scenario” aiming to criminalize the Homeland War? And, finally, what is the situation in Krajina today? The subject of our film are the events which took place in two Krajina villages - Grubor and Potkonje; the events which happened just then - immediately following the “Storm”, their echoes and their consequences on the present. Using eye-witness reports of those who were in the villages, as well as the reports of the UN TV crew, we will try to reconstruct the events taking place in the villages at the time. We will also visit them today in order to find out what is the current situation there and how they look upon the events of 1995..

Film structure:

1. Prologue. Croatian parliament. Čačić speaking. Reactions..
2. Beginning of the “timber” revolution near Knin. Rebels at the barricades. Torching of the Croatian villages, Croat refugees from Krajina. Chetniks*
3. “Storm” military operation starting. Public announcements of the operation beginning, president Tuđman appealing to the Serbs not to leave. An atmosphere of victory, footage of Croat troops marching in. Arrival of president Tuđman.
4. Knin at the beginning of September 1995. Half-deserted town. Broken shop windows, soldiers, things thrown out of the apartments of the exiled Serbs. Villages burning near Knin. First Croats returning to their homes..
5. 1995. UN TV crew filmed scenes of the burning Grubor village and the two old men murdered in the village. General Čermak, the commanding officer for the Knin area, says for the UN TV that torching of the houses should be regarded as individual incidents, not a large-scale occurrence in the area under his jurisdiction.

6. Five years later, we ask General Čermak about what went on in the area of Kninska Krajina during that time. At the time, members of the UN sent completely different reports on the conditions under Čermak's command. In the film, some of the UN officers also reconstruct the events following the "Storm" military operation. In a refugee camp, we talk to the Serbs from Knin who are under UN protection.
7. We follow parallel stories of Croats from Potkonje village, who had to leave their homes and seek refuge after 1991, fleeing from the terror of the so-called SAO Krajina government, and the Croats who returned to their homes after the liberation of the Krajina area.

In the footage filmed in 1995, they talk about their sufferings and their feelings upon returning to their villages.
8. Five years later, we ask the same people, from both ethnic communities who were witnesses and victims of the war, about the period and the prospects they and their families have living in the Knin area.

What could be the future of Krajina?

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Božidar Knežević was born in 1952 in Titograd, Montenegro. He graduated from the Zagreb College of Political Science in 1975. From 1977, he worked for Zagreb TV as the editor and director of the Educational program. He created over thirty educational and documentary programs produced by the Zagreb TV.

In 1987, he got a special training in television direction in Hilversum, Netherlands. During 1988 and 1989, he worked as a special reporter from Czechoslovakia on the eve of, during and following the political changes of September 1989.

From 1991-1992, as a reporter and an editor at the Yutel, he covered the events in Slovenia and Croatia.

Since mid-1992, as a free-lance journalist and TV cameraman, he worked for various European television networks (ARD, ZDF, SAT1, YLE, SRG, ARTE and others) covering war developments in crisis areas of Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Montenegro. He authored several 10-minute television stories aired on SRG, YLE, TV NOVA, WDR etc.

MINISTRY'S DECISION ABOUT SUBSIDIZING THE FILM STORM OVER KRAJINA

Republic of Croatia, Ministry of Culture; Zagreb, Trg burze 6, represented by Minister Antun Vujić, Ph. D. (hereafter: Ministry)

and

Drama film project FACTUM, Zagreb, Hebrangova 21, represented by the executive Nenad Puhovski (hereafter: the Producer)

CONTRACT

on using the Ministry of Culture funds

- I Parties to the contract hereby verify that by the Decision of the Minister of culture funds were appropriated for production of the documentary feature with the working title

STORM OVER KRAJINA

written and directed by Božidar Knežević.

The film has been accepted whilst in production and by signing this Contract, the Producer is assuming the obligation to complete the film.

- II Prior to signing the Contract, the Producer is obliged to provide a written consent whereby he accepts the Rule book on the criteria for selection of publicly needed programs in the field of film and the funding thereof, from 10 April 2000.
- III For the execution of the program as stated by the Clause I of the Contract, Ministry binds itself to provide funds in the amount of **92,000 kn** (ninety-two thousand kuna)
Funds from the Clause II of the Contract will be put into the Producer's transfer account depending on the process of the project execution and inflow from the budget. (...)
- XI Three (3) identical copies of the Contract have been made - Ministry will keep two (2) and the Producer one (1) copy of the Contract. (...)

Zagreb, 10 July 2000

On behalf of FACTUM
Producer: *Nenad Puhovski*
Director: *Božo Knežević*

On behalf of Ministry of Culture:
Minister *Antun Vujić, Ph. D*

FIRST REACTIONS

FILM STORM OVER KRAJINA INTRIGUES WITH ITS SUBJECT MATTER

(...) Standing out among the films made for TV was "Vilim" by Biljana Čakić, portrait of the actor Vili Matula who talks about his professional ups and down, courageously and without pretense. Also in the made for TV category there was "Storm over Krajina", a film with an intriguing subject matter. Using eyewitness reports as well as archival materials from various TV networks, it deals with war crimes in the Knin area following the "Storm". (...)

/ Marcella JELIĆ in Slobodna Dalmacija, 11 March 2001 /

PAVIČIĆ : FILM STORM OVER KRAJINA REVEALS AUTHOR'S DEEP AND PRINCIPLED REPULSION TOWARDS IDEA OF CROATIAN ARMED RESISTANCE IN THE HOMELAND WAR

War crimes committed by the Croatian side in the Homeland War are the topic of the day and a subject causing violent political confrontations. This issue, however - as many other issues of social importance, for that matter - had not found its place in the Croatian documentary film. The fact should not be very surprising considering that the Croatian Television (HTV) until just recently had a monopoly on documentary production. Everybody knows how HTV has been treating social reality for the past ten years. It was the documentary section of the HTV which stood as the citadel of the former political system's ideology, producing Kosovac's hagiographical documentaries about Tudman and similar.

Unsurprisingly, things changed. Now it is not just the Croatian Helsinki Committee (HHO) and a few journalists discussing Croatian war crimes, but practically everybody. Independent documentary productions are simultaneously springing up in Croatia. The most important of these is the Factum film company headed by Nenad Puhovski, which has been documenting the suppressed fragments of reality over the past years. Factum also produced the first comprehensive documentary attempting to deal with the subject of Croat crimes in the Homeland War. The film is "Storm over Krajina", made by an ex HTV reporter, Božo Knežević. It was screened on Friday, at the Croatian Short Film Festival where it attracted a lot of attention.

"Storm over Krajina" deals with the crimes committed during and after August 1995, particularly in sector South. According to the HHO figures, during the first

hundred days after the liberation, 410 people were slain and several thousand houses burned down.

The documentary film by Knežević was obviously intended mainly for the younger audiences and the overseas, thus much of the film time is spent explaining the historical and the political context. Following the case study principle, Knežević thoroughly examines several major mass killings (Grubor, Varivode) by interviewing the witnesses, foreign observers and the HHO activists, Žarko Puhovski and Ivan Zvonimir Čičak. Of the then Croat people in authority, the only interviewed person in the film was General Ivan Čermak.

In the film, Knežević correctly presents the facts, their development and their character. However, the film reveals author's principled repulsion towards the idea of Croatian armed resistance in the Homeland War. Author fairly systematically portrays the HV (Croat army) as a mean military machine. Hence, he frequently puts scenes of massacre in the same context with scenes of Croatian military kitsch such as music videos by Thompson, Đuka Čaić and Tuđman's parade. In doing this, however, he does not take into account the fact this military tastelessness was more a helpless swanking of the weaker side than a real display of power. With this material author intended to corroborate Nenad Puhovski's thesis that the vengeful outbreak following the "Storm" had been inspired by the production of hatred in the media.

The thesis, accurate as may be, does not by far exhaust the problem because the hatred spiral in the ethnically mixed areas still had other, more significant sources - most importantly war sufferings on both sides, particularly Croatian.

In present context, what is fascinating about the Knežević film, are abundant archival materials that verify the malicious delight with which the Croatian leadership greeted the "tractor" exile. In the situation when ICTY* contemplates whether "Storm" was a case of deliberate ethnic cleansing or ethnic cleansing was merely an unfortunate side-effect of the operation, parts of this material will also be examined by the Hague prosecutors - with much interest. It is important and good that "Storm over Krajina" was made, as Croatian public must be aware of the things the film discusses. Thus, it is a pity that the author had not shown more political correctness.

/ Jurica Pavičić in Jutarnji list, 11 March 2001 /

NENAD PUHOVSKI : ADJECTIVES THAT CAN BE INTERPRETED AS ACCUSATION, EVEN DENUNCIATION

In this year's 11 March issue of Jutarnji list, under the title "'Storm over Krajina' - a film of hatred", film critic Jurica Pavičić reviewed the eponymous film produced by Factum. Not wishing to discuss the merits of film criticism, I would still like to comment on the adjectives that could be interpreted, particularly in the context of our tumultuous reality, as accusation, even denunciation.

First, his statement that the "film, however, reveals author's deep and principled repulsion towards idea of the Croatian armed resistance in the Homeland War." This is a very serious accusation suggesting that the author of the film holds the opinion that Croatia should not have defended itself when it was under attack. Even disregarding the fact only a brainless person could advocate such an idea, it is still questionable how the author of the article could be that confident as to which ideas author rejects and which ones he accepts on principle.

Somewhere else it reads, "In the situation when ICTY contemplates whether "Storm" had been a case of deliberate ethnic cleansing or ethnic cleansing had been merely an unfortunate side-effect of the operation, parts of this material will also be examined by the Hague prosecutors - with much interest". Ignoring the question of where the author of the article got the information on what Hague Tribunal is doing, this proclamation puts the authors of the film in the direct position of tribunal's collaborators, thus - as popularly viewed - also "traitors".

Finally, the thesis that "...the vengeful outbreak following the "Storm" was long-stimulated by the production of hatred in the media" was misquoted as mine. It in fact belongs to Žarko Puhovski, the chairman of the HHO.

At the press conference missed by the article's author, I said this film was only a minor attempt to open certain discussions that are, unfortunately, inevitable if we want to really end the war. And if they are to effect in this kind of accusation and potential inconvenience as the price we all have to pay, so be it.

As so far, each of us will have to answer to their conscience first.

/ Nenad Puhovski, 11 March 2001 /

STORM OVER KRAJINA - FILM DEALING WITH HOT POLITICAL TOPIC

There were not many surprises at the award ceremony of the 10th Days of Croatian Film. The documentary film by Biljana Čakić-Veselić called "Dečko kojem se žurilo" (The Boy Who Rushed) was screened on the first day of the festival, instantly charming the audience as well as the judges and the critics. (...) Although the film is packed with emotions, the director managed to avoid sentimentality. This fact was perhaps crucial for "Dečko kojem se žurilo" to become a three-time winner of this year's Days of Croatian Film. (Grand Prix for the best film, best direction and an Octavian award for the best documentary film). (...)

There were some interesting films at the 10th Days of Croatian Film, which went well with the audience, but were not awarded by the judges or the critics. In particular, a Božo Knežević documentary "Storm over Krajina", which created quite a stir. This came as no surprise since the film handles a hot political topic - events taking place following the "Storm" and the crimes committed against local Serbs. (...)

Overall, the 10th Days of Croatian Film demonstrated Croatia has a powerful and high-quality documentary production and perhaps we could hope for better quality and greater number of short films as well as feature films in the future.

/ Goran Jovetić in Vjesnik, 13 March 2001 /

KNEŽEVIĆ : NOW GREATER PART OF "KRAJINA" AREA IS CLEAN, NOT JUST ETHNICALLY CLEAN BUT CLEAN OF PEOPLE, WITH GRIM PROSPECTS

You envisioned this film without a narrator, allowing "images to speak for themselves", but this kind of approach of letting the viewer draw their own conclusions can easily lead to wrong interpretation.

Obviously, this method was chosen intentionally, after a great deal of thinking. And, as you can see, it isn't simple at all. But while I was considering whether to guide the viewers using a narrator or let them draw their own conclusions, what decided in the end was the fact I personally do not like it when someone tries to explain to me what they wanted to say with a film.

Considering the reactions, do you think that by using this method of direction you were understandable enough? What was the exact authorial intention of the film?

Judging by first reactions, I was quite clear. Despite the fact the film is composed of hundreds of documents, it has its own dramaturgy and I think that throughout

the entire 50 minutes of the film the viewer is kept interested. The film consists of documents about the events and different versions of those events.

I believe the problem is not clarity; the problem is rather the painful process of facing the darker side of the things which happened only recently and about which an idealized picture had been created for the public.

What were the objections to your film?

I find it difficult to discuss this since the film was screened only once and there were probably only one or two reactions in the papers. Somebody wrote it was a simple TV reportage, which should have been shorter. If this was a criticism of the film's dramaturgy, to me it seems rather poor, at least considering first reactions from the audience. Other objections, which are simply beyond criticism I think pointless to respond to because those value judgments or (d)evaluations have a political pretext. (...)

If revenge is the result of ethnic cleansing politics, what are its consequences for the state of Croatia?

Unfortunately, regardless of late president Tudman's declarations or even his intentions in the course of, or after the "Storm", greater part of the area is now clean, not only ethnically clean but clean of people, with grim prospects of development in foreseeable future. Today this area is a desert.

/ Danijela Merunka in the Republika, 14 March 2001 /

KNEŽEVIĆ : POLITICAL CORRECTNESS WAS NOT MY MAIN CONSIDERATION - WERE IT SO, I WOULD HAVE TAKEN UP MORE APPEALING SUBJECT

In 1991, after several years of working at the Zagreb Television, Božo Knežević, a reporter, film director and cameraman, left the company (as he stated) of his "own accord and to mutual satisfaction".

He worked for Yutel for a while after which he went into freelancing. At the recent CSFF in Zagreb, his 50-minute long documentary film "Storm over Krajina", dealing with war crimes committed by the Croatian side in the recent war, was received with special interest.

Audience sat through the film in dead silence, overwhelmed, and when the film was over, several viewers expressed their indignation shouting "What about Vukovar!" (...)

Your documentary "Storm over Krajina" addresses the painful subject of war crimes in Krajina during and following the "Storm". The film provoked indignant shouts. Did you expect that kind of audience response?

I am extremely pleased with the audience response at the Days of Croatian Film. There was some disapproval, but those were individual cases, of basically two or three audience members. Everybody else watched the whole film in one breath. They found it shocking, which is understandable because the darker side of the war in Croatia had not been discussed before. When I say this, I refer to the most influential media such as Croatian Television, while Feral, Nacional, Novi list and some other Croatian newspapers and magazines wrote about it extensively.

One gets the impression that the majority of the film critics kept silent about your film - ignored it even. Is this because they were not ready to face its unpleasant subject matter?

Unfortunately, I did not have access to everything that was written about the film because I have been out of the country for a while now (I am currently working on a major documentary project in Montenegro). But when I let myself get involved in the project, I was prepared to face criticism which I knew would not always be about film.

A critic reproached you for not having shown enough "political correctness", since the film could be used by the Hague investigators for verifying the thesis that "Storm was the case of deliberate ethnic cleansing". What do you say to that kind of accusation?

While I was making the film I wasn't really thinking about "political correctness", nor is that the job of a filmmaker. It's a politician's job. I would have been much happier if this correctness was employed when and where it should have been; in that case, I would have made a film with a different, much more appealing subject. It is pretentious to believe this film would be of any use to Hague Tribunal since they doubtlessly have much more important data and evidence than those that I had - I made the film using only the publicly available records.

/ Mira Babić in Blic, Belgrade, 2 April 2001 /

NENAD PUHOVSKI : PEOPLE SHOULD BE TOLD THE TRUTH

On the second day of the international human rights festival One World, visitors could see films produced by Factum, an independent Zagreb film company. Selected films ("The Boy Who Rushed" by Biljana Čakić, "Terra Roza" by Aldo Tardoci and "Storm over Krajina" by Božo Knežević) deal with the war, which in the previous decade radically marked the former Yugoslavia area.

"In the four years it has been active, the Factum film company has produced nearly 40 films on various topics. However, it seems to me that everybody in this area (some more and some less) needs to face what happened recently. Bearing in mind Factum is just being introduced to you, I consider it necessary for people to be told the truth and it seems I was not mistaken", said Nenad Puhovski for "Glas" (The Voice). Puhovski is the head of Factum, a producer, vice-dean of the Zagreb Academy of Dramatic Arts and professor of documentary direction at the Montreaux Radio and Television Academy.

"Storm over Krajina", a Božo Knežević film dealing with what really happened during the 1995 "Storm" military operation, caused the strongest response of the Belgrade audience. It wasn't given a very warm reception in Croatia ...

I wouldn't say the reception was cold. It is rather that it was powerful, polarized, which is completely normal because the community is polarized. It is about something we all, you and us both, need to face as we need to face other issues, too. For me this film witnesses the beginning of the real, true, democratic maturation. Five years earlier, this kind of film could not have been made or the consequences would have been indeed dreadful. Now we have started to talk.

/ Ivana Semerad in Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 4 June 2001 /

EACH CUT IN KNEŽEVIĆ'S UNLIKEABLE DOCUMENTARY REVEALS AVERSION TO THE IDEA OF CROATIAN ARMED RESISTANCE, YET THE COMPILED FOOTAGE DOESN'T LIE

Official history will state plainly and in brief, that in August 1995, in a military operation called "Storm", in only five days Croat army managed to liberate three out of four occupied Croatian sectors and eliminate the rebel state of Krajina that had not been recognized. Because of "Storm" Croatia became an integrated, regular state, whereas the Serb population, after five centuries of living in the area, all but disappeared from Lika, Kordun and northern Dalmatia.

There are as many microhistories of "Storm" as there are people to tell them. The personal history of "Storm" by yours truly is fatefully linked to the urology ward of the Split hospital. A truly minor, routine surgery brought me to the ward in the spring of 1995, just as yet another draft notice was delivered to my home address - a draft notice for the same home-guard unit in which I was "scraping the hills" during 1993 and 1994. Had it not been for a simple urological coincidence, I would have been rushing with the same home-guard team and thousands of Dalmatian students, workers and those out of work, into what was known as the sector South, partici-

pating in an action, which was six years later to become a court case in The Hague. That August people I knew - neighbors and old fellow fighters - returned to Split in the state of shock. In most of the "minor" participants in the war, a sense of hygienic relief because "Krajina" no longer existed was mixed with horror because of the barbaric context and form taken by "Storm" over the few days following its completion. But perhaps it wasn't the killing that horrified people the most: killing is, after all, what war is all about. Besides, the worst massacres happened out of sight, far from asphalt, in the sticks.

What appalled them was the plunder. They were disgusted with civilians and soldiers dragging VCRs, coffee machines and tools out of the houses, policemen at check-points charging \$100 to let a tractor through, a little less for a cow. In the course of "Storm" Croats showed a face so similar to the Montenegrin during the occupation of Konavli* - a Croatian civilized western mask melted as a naked lie in sector South, and most people returning from the war during those weeks were finding it hard to accept this fact.

A long time ago an arrow was fired and now, six years later, it has flown back to kiss the face of the one who had fired it. Now someone has to collect the bill. But the bill will not be collected by the chicken-thieves who, in the summer of 1995, stole cows from other people's stables or CD players and toasters from other people's apartments. In the name of these chicken-thieves, the bill will be collected by the two personifications, two generals whose Christian sin can probably be best described as the sin of omission. Ultimately, we are all also going to pay. As an ancient evil from a teen horror, days of violence and terror have come back to divide the nation, rock the government that is heading for a fall and bury the Croatian dream of reform, which never developed further than the fetus stage anyway. If someone put up a banner saying, "We are all Gotovina**", they would be telling the naked truth: it is generals who are going to The Hague instead of thousands of small, nasty criminals who will get away with it, who are in no danger whatsoever - perhaps still listening to the music on a stolen stereo system.

It seems that Croatian position and opposition are mostly infuriated by the section of the (still confidential) bill of indictment stating "Storm" was a case of deliberate ethnic cleansing.

Croatia cannot defend itself against accusations of chicken thieving and arson, but with all its might it will attempt to prove that the "tractor exile" - filmed that August by Sebastiao Salgado, the Brazilian king of photography - was the result of panic, and not something desired and planned by Croatia. Proving this will be a difficult and an uncertain process.

Best witnesses for prosecution will be exactly those who are now the loudest

* An area near Dubrovnik

**A Croatian general who participated in the Homeland War and is now wanted by the ICTY

against The Hague and prosecution: the politicians of the HDZ party. In order to realize it one only has to see "Storm over Krajina", a documentary film made by the Zagreb reporter Božidar Knežević. It is a rather unlikable documentary revealing a deep revulsion to the idea of Croatian military resistance in each cut.

Yet, the compiled footage does not lie. It shows numerous HDZ people openly gloating over the fact the Serbs are gone, warning them not to come back. If those tapes were shown in court tomorrow, it would crush any defense provided by Račan and Granić while they are, in a paradoxical patriotic pirouette, waging war for the honor of their adversaries who in addition resent this defense.

In this dirty bathwater gushing from the cellar, the least innocent is The Hague. The Hague wanted list, with names of the two generals, which we all know (although we should not) leaves a bitter, alkaline taste of an incomplete, compromised, political justice. One cannot help feeling The Hague is persecuting precisely persons A and B out of a single prosaic reason: because it can.

The Hague cannot prosecute all those chicken-thieves who really committed ethnic, appliance and cattle cleansing of "Krajina": The Hague is, namely, unable to track them down because it is a job requiring skill and effort.

The Hague also cannot prosecute those who truly wished for a Serbless "Krajina", those who created such an atmosphere and pumped in the hatred without which this August disgrace would not have happened.

The Hague cannot prosecute them because the two chief culprits are dead and if they reach out for any of the side-politicians, they will provoke such crisis in Croatia as to sink the government that is at least somehow collaborating with The Hague.

The moment charges are made known, everything will be clearer. As for now, one cannot help feeling that The Hague is not looking for people but rather personifications: persons in positions low enough that their going to The Hague would not shatter the skies, and still high enough for their possible punishment to serve as the "cover" for sins of thousands, creating an illusion of justice being done.

The day when the person A and the person B actually find themselves in a cell in Schevening, it will not be because Croats have experienced a moral catharsis or because they wanted to wash away the chicken-thieving sins of a hot ancient summer. It will be because Croats wanted Euro-laden wallets and blessings of global capitalism, and such a holy purpose needs a few sacrifices. In this way, both politically and morally, Croatia will bury the Tuđman era with a true Tuđman-style gesture: throwing, for the Holy Purpose, a handful of dispensable human chips on the card table

/ Jurica Pavičić in Jutarnji list, 14 July 2001 /



INTERMEZZO

HTV : WE CANNOT BROADCAST THE FILM JUST LIKE THAT - IT EMPHASIZES CROATIAN GUILT



Storm over Krajina, a documentary film screened this spring at the Days of Croatian Film, shocking the small Zagreb audience and causing much controversy, has been “filed away” in the archive of the Croatian TV (HTV) until further notice.

The 50-minute long portrayal of the crimes - arson and murders - committed by Croat soldiers two days after the “Storm” operation, was compiled by the TV cameraman Božidar Knežević. At the time when Croatian generals are being taken to The Hague and national passions are running high, the HTV is refusing to broadcast it.

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There was a moment when the office of the President of the Republic seriously considered finding a sponsor willing to pay for an hour of prime time TV in which the controversial documentary would be aired. The President's office informed the HTV management about the idea, but since the HTV immediately after started negotiating for the film's rights, the idea was given up. The HTV management explained the idea was rejected, among other things, because of the new HTV Law that prohibits sponsored political programs because political programs are controlled by the HRT Council. Instead, the HTV started buying off a whole series of films produced by the Factum media company run by Nenad Puhovski, among which was also Knežević's documentary. The films were to be aired as their rights are purchased, except for Storm over Krajina.

HTV explained it with "We cannot broadcast the film just like that!" At a time when General Rahim Ademi has gone to The Hague because of the crimes allegedly committed in the Operation Medak Pocket, and an arrest warrant has been issued for General Anto Gotovina for crimes committed following the "Storm" operation, HTV executives believe broadcasting this film would be nothing but "adding fuel to the flames".

"The documentary takes the Serb point of view, portraying Croat soldiers as criminals and murderers, neglecting the fact that some of these crimes have been prosecuted", we were told by our source close to the HTV management. They explained that the film has not been shelved but will be aired in the future, when the time is right for it.

And it would not be broadcast just like that! It is a familiar Croatian TV strategy, known from the times when the HTV was still run by Obrad Kosovac, that when there is a "delicate" or politically provocative topic, a special show is put together with guests and introductory commentary, which are to explain to the viewers how they are to interpret what they are seeing. The same is going to happen with Knežević's documentary. The HTV claims Storm over Krajina will be dealt with in an appropriate manner, with commentary and suitable guests, which will be sure to explain what torched houses, corpses and ruins really meant. Was it a Croatian military action aimed to liberate the land or was it an organized war crime against Serb civilians? When HTV found out this article would be printed in the Nacional, Mirko Galić ordered Krešimir Macan urgently to call all newspapers, in order to reduce the article's effect. So, Macan spent the whole Monday phoning dailies, telling them

how HTV management was “shocked by the pressure” exerted by the President’s office to broadcast the film at all costs on the anniversary of the operation “Storm”. “No chance”, HTV management said, adding it was nonetheless arranged for the film to be broadcast in late August or early September, but together with documentaries about Serb crimes. “We do not want the idea of Croatian guilt to be emphasized in this manner. Our intention is to present Croat viewers with the full story, from both sides.” The President’s office firmly denied insinuations it was exerting political pressure for the film to be shown in full and without commentary.

/ Tomislav Klauški in the Nacional, 31 July 2001 /

ARGUMENT BETWEEN PRESIDENT’S OFFICE AND HTV ABOUT CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENTARY CAUSED UPROAR AT HTV

President’s office did not insist on buying Croatian television time in order for the controversial Božo Knežević documentary film “Storm over Krajina” to be broadcast, we were told by the Office yesterday.

After behind-the-scenes rumor was spread that President’s office had demanded broadcasting of this hour-long documentary and that the HTV allegedly refused to comply, on Monday we were informed by one of the Office staff members close to the President that the Office representatives once indeed did tell some HTV executives they were considering the option of finding sponsors so that the film could be aired.

However, no specific arrangements, let alone demands for the film to be aired, were made. According to our source, after this they did not speak to the HTV executives again, nor is the President’s office interested in what happened afterwards.

HTV spokesperson Krešimir Macan said that according to the new Law on HRT, it is no longer possible to buy television time, i.e. no political or religious ideas can be advertised as part of television program, it now being regulated by the new legislation. (...)

Off the record, at the HTV they say that the President’s office insisted on the timing of broadcasting Knežević’s documentary, i.e. that the film be shown at the height of the public discussion about Hague Tribunal. HTV will broadcast the film in late August, because it says so in the yearly program plan, said our HTV source. (...)

/ Bisera Lušić in Slobodna Dalmacija, 31 July 2001 /

STORM OVER KRAJINA LAYS EQUAL BLAME ON SERBS AND CROATS

At such troubled times that Croatia is going through - facing The Hague prosecutions and internal dispute on the character of the Homeland War, a documentary film called "Storm over Krajina", soon to be aired on HTV, will certainly add more fuel to the flames. (...)

One gets the impression that this film is trying to lay equal blame on Serbs and Croats. It starts and ends with Radimir Čačić's speech in Parliament of last May, when he said crimes were committed by both sides and that both sides were guilty. Film's authors take this even further so that, apart from making the victim and the aggressor appear equally guilty, they also support the thesis that 1991 was a replay of 1941, that Croats were getting their revenge for what they suffered after 1945, and that Serbs then responded in kind, for everything they suffered during the Independent State of Croatia (NDH).

So, at the beginning of the film, they simultaneously show images of both sides "sharpening knives" - Tuđman talking about the NDH as an aspiration of the Croatian people as well as Jovan Rašković sending the message that Serbs would be fighting with their bare hands. In the film, year 1991 ends with Vukovar and Škabrnja, and then authors make a leap to 1995 and the "Storm", which they portray as a deliberate political act with the aim of cleansing the Croatian territory of Serb population.

In the same fashion, Žarko Puhovski said that "Storm" was arranged between Tuđman and Milošević and that it was "promptly executed", adding it was "the last thing they should be reproached for, since heavy losses were avoided." (...)

/ Zvorimir Despot in Večernji list, 31 July 2001 /

TOMISLAV JAKIĆ : FILM WORTHY OF SHOWING

"Whoever it was among the HTV ranks that said the President's office had asked anything of the HTV, especially concerning broadcasting of this film, was lying.

The only thing the HTV was told was that the President's office was considering the option of finding a sponsor to buy 50 minutes of TV time in which the film

would be aired, nothing more. There was no talk of any dates; we only said we were considering this option. Three days later we were informed by the HTV that they were negotiating with the producer and that the film would be broadcast - something they told you, too. This is a conscious, deliberate attempt to misinform the public - it is hardly a coincidence that they want to make it seem it was President's office demanding the film to be aired on August 5.

We merely consider the film worthy of showing", said Tomislav Jakić, President's international political advisor, to the question whether President's office demanded for the film "Storm over Krajina" to be aired, as claimed by the HTV people.

/ zde in Večernji list, 31 July 2001 /

MACAN : BROADCASTING ONLY STORM OVER KRAJINA WOULD SEEM LIKE AN ISOLATED INCIDENT

Croatian Television would broadcast the documentary film "Storm over Krajina" in late August or early September, as the HTV spokesperson Krešimir Macan said to Vjesnik. The 50-minute long Božo Knežević documentary "Storm over Krajina" depicts crimes, which took place two days after the "Storm" military operation.

"Broadcasting of the film will be followed by a commentary and a round table discussion. Furthermore, in a kind of documentary series, we will also show documentary films dealing with crimes committed by the Serb side, since showing only "Storm over Krajina" would seem like an isolated incident", said Macan, adding that in this case the HTV will act like a real public television, allowing the viewers to see both sides of the story.

The HTV spokesperson denied quotes in the Nacional weekly magazine saying that on Monday, after having found out about the article, which was to be published in the Nacional, he kept phoning various newspapers expressing his shock at the pressure exerted by the President's office for the film to be shown on the "Storm" anniversary.

/ Anuška Fjodorović in Vjesnik, 1 August 2001 /

SANADER : I HAVE NOTHING AGAINST DOCUMENTARY FILM PRODUCTION - WHAT WE ARE AGAINST IS DISTORTION OF TRUTH

Commenting on the demand allegedly made by the President's office for the HTV to air the documentary about the crimes committed after the "Storm" operation on August 5, National Thanksgiving Day, the HDZ president Ivo Sanader said this was a historical date for people of Croatia and that neither HDZ nor majority of Croatian citizens would be celebrating it in the way suggested by the President's office.

"That day we will think about the heroes such as generals Gotovina and Ademi, yet I stress we have always condemned all crimes committed after the operation and Croat army was certainly not behind them. It is in everybody's interest to know the truth. I have nothing against documentary production, but we are against distortion of the truth", said Sanader, adding the HDZ thinks it unacceptable for the President's office to have offered to pay for the airing of the film.

/ G.J. in Vjesnik, 1 August 2001 /

PUHOVSKI : CERTAIN HTV CIRCLES LAUNCHED CAMPAIGN AGAINST FILM

Regarding the recently published articles, discussing the possibility of airing the Božo Knežević film "Storm over Krajina" on the HTV, the producer, Factum, issued the following communication:

Factum suggested a contract should be drawn for the HTV to broadcast Factum's recent documentaries, including "Storm over Krajina". After the talks, two weeks ago, I sent a draft of the contract to the HTV. However, even though last week I even sent them a reminder, I did not get a reply. Instead of replying, certain HTV circles have apparently launched a campaign against "Storm over Krajina", probably calculating that in this way they would conceal the fact they themselves never addressed a similar subject.

For that reason, at the moment it is still completely uncertain whether and under which conditions the HTV will broadcast the new Factum film series, including "Storm over Krajina".

We are aware of the interest of the President's office for this film to be aired. Foreign TV networks (including those from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) are also interested in broadcasting the film. However, we consider it a duty of the

HTV, as a public television (its role in the previous period deserving a special study), to inform the public of quality independent film production and to broadcast such films as part of regular program.

Therefore, until HTV has decided whether they would sign the contract on broadcasting the film, we have postponed all negotiation on its potential broadcasting by other Croatian and foreign TV networks - naturally, as long as their decision is made reasonably soon. If the HTV refuses to broadcast the films, or presents us with unacceptable conditions, we will find a way - as we have always done so far - for our films to reach the audience for which they were intended.

And as for certain articles which, in a petty-political manner, wish to pass judgment on the film and its authors even before the film is aired, they only reveal their dis-orientation in times when it is essential to be creating tolerant dialogue", says in the communication issued by professor Nenad Puhovski, Factum chief executive.

/ N.N. in Večernji list, 2 August 2001 /

MACAN : FILM WILL BE BROADCAST AS PART OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN DOCUMENTARY SERIES


Documentary film "Storm over Krajina" will be broadcast by the HTV in late August or early September, said the HTV spokesperson Krešimir Macan. He also said that following the broadcasting of the film there would be a discussion in which everybody who has anything to say about "Storm" will take part. (...)

Macan said he did not understand the intent of the Factum communication claiming that broadcasting of the film was still uncertain. According to Macan, three weeks earlier the HTV had accepted Factum's offer to broadcast the film and, as long as there was still interest on producer's part, signing of the contract was just a formality. As he said, the contract has not yet been signed because of vacations, which are also the reason why the exact date of broadcasting the film is also still unknown.

Factum's chief executive Nenad Puhovski disagrees that signing of the contract could be a formality, saying the HTV had no right to broadcast the film before the contract was signed.

According to the draft of the contract, if Factum's film were not broadcast in standard format - for instance if it included a studio discussion - it would have to be shown in full, and the film's author (or a person authorized by him) would have to participate in the discussion.

/ SEL.COM WEB, 1 August 2001 /



MANY PEOPLE FROM HTV ARE QUAKING IN THEIR BOOTS BECAUSE OF BROADCASTING OF FILM WHICH SHOULD BE SHOWN FOR CROATS TO FINALLY FACE THE TRUTH

(...) Ah, if one could only do away with the unpleasant witnesses now: independent news reporters or members of the Croatian Helsinki Committee, or even documentary footage, such as filmed by my colleague Božo Knežević immediately following the "Storm", which, destroying the false myths, have been witnessing for years there were crimes, and that these crimes had to be committed by someone. However, instead of broadcasting the film Storm over Krajina, which they bought the rights to, instead of finally directly confronting Croats with the other side of the stormy truth in the same way it was done by the Serbian Television when they aired the shocking documentary about Serb crimes in Srebrenica on the eve of Milošević's leaving for The Hague, at the HTV they brazenly say they would broadcast the documentary when and how they see fit.

Naturally, it is easy to understand why so many of the television storm troopers are quaking in their boots, since the footage of the ex HTV cameraman, among other things, reveals the role of those among them who would, without any ethical hesitation, in the name of fatherland, show a shot of a dead civilian and in front of him recite the ominous words "justice found this outlaw at the forest's end". It is exactly because of this kind of ethnicist justice jubilantly exercised by Tudman's media warriors - first at home and then during Croatian aggression on Bosnia (which should make a case in some court, too) - that Croatia is being held in permanent international contempt.

Or perhaps this so-called public television wants to "protect" the public from the insufferable images of executed Serb civilians, charred remnants of tens of thousands of Serb houses... And that's why it also refuses to remind Croats of the historical Freedom Train going through Krajina, clean at last, carrying Father of all Croats, a name off The Hague wanted list, as he is sending a message of a euphoric "Good riddance!" to the exiled Serbs, or disdainfully commenting how "They left without having time to take along their filthy foreign savings and their dirty underpants."

But it also may be so that the truth mercilessly revealed by a documentary report really does not suit the semi-official advice that the crime better be forgotten.

And, finally, why risk broadcasting the document which could well shake the idyll of everybody's guilt Račan is advocating, only because of crimes committed by a handful of Tudman's fanatical hirelings. That is why the HTV management decided (was this without consulting the Prime Minister?), in the manner of Tudman's former top propagandist Obrad Kosovac, if they broadcast the controversial documentary at all, to broadcast it together with a film about Serb crimes, and also with a studio discussion. That way the idiots that the government, I mean television, take the public for will not believe what they see with their own eyes.

And, anyway, brotherhood and unity or national homogenization always require collective blindness.

/ Heni Erceg in the Feral Tribune, 4 August 2001 /

FILM ABOUT GREATEST SERB EXODUS DISTURBING CROATIA

Božidar Knežević's film Storm over Krajina (2001) demonstrates that in comparison to Yugoslavia, Croatia keeps sinking deeper and deeper, says the German radio station Deutsche Welle.

In the introductory part of the film composed of TV archival materials, Knežević reconstructs the events preceding the war in Croatia only to focus on the familiar horrors taking place in Krajina after the "Storm". Alongside these scenes we hear Croat army (HV) leaders' statements in which they openly lie, deny the crimes, and then we are given the figures - of people killed, houses burned down, together with statements by several international representatives (UN) as well as former and current chairmen of HHO, Ivan Zvonimir Čičak and Žarko Puhovski, Ph. D. (...)

Do the new HRT people have the courage to broadcast Storm over Krajina at this time?

According to the Deutsche Welle commentary, it "obviously is not the case".

/ I. S. in Glas javnosti, Belgrade 4 August 2001 /

CROATIAN TELEVISION CONCEALING CRIMES COMMITTED AFTER THE “STORM”

“I traveled all over former Yugoslavia during the war and I don’t think crimes are a Croatian particularity. But they are the particularity of war, especially this one with the subtext of the idea that only those who are genetically the same can live together”, said Božo Knežević, the director of the documentary film *Storm over Krajina*. It is still uncertain exactly when and with what kind of garnishing this film will be aired on the HTV. (...)

Storm over Krajina had its premiere last year at the CSFF. Critics praised you but also complained about your lack of political correctness. HRT is now complaining about basically the same thing. What do you have to say to that?

I am not to exercise political correctness but to convey facts about certain events as truthfully as possible. It is cynical to expect political correctness from a documentary filmmaker when at the same time it goes without saying that it is unnecessary to demand the same from those making decisions concerning lives and deaths of thousands. By the way, during the screening of the film in the Zagreb Kinoteka, there were two specific reactions: “What about Dubrovnik?” and “What about Vukovar?” However, the film shows the well-known image of chetniks in Vukovar singing “There’ll be plenty of meat, we’ll butcher Croats”, as well as the figure of 1865 victims exhumed in this area. Besides, the same kind of criticism could be directed at a person making a documentary about Vukovar, that they did not devote enough attention to the sufferings of Serbs in Jasenovac*.

Storm over Krajina was also screened at the See Docs festival in Dubrovnik and it was shown as part of the informative section of the human rights festival in Belgrade. It is interesting that there were some strong reactions during the Belgrade screening, too, precisely to the part of the film talking about Vukovar - more precisely, critical was the scene of chetniks entering the devastated town, and them singing “There’ll be plenty of meat...”. They said it was an attempt to portray Serbs as chetniks.

In your opinion, why is HRT trying to “protect” the citizens from the information about the events following the “Storm”?

The biggest problem is the stand of the HTV on the subject of my film, which is a document about “Storm”. Another problem is also the way in which the HTV has been portraying (or rather concealing), even directly falsifying those events. If any-

one is to blame for the fact Croatian public is, as they claim, unable to accept the truth, then it is the HTV. In my film - if you pay attention to what happened in Plavno (Grubor village), compare the dates when the massacre took place and when the HTV made their reports, you'll see what I'm talking about.

The Plavno crimes, namely, happened on 25 August. Less than an hour later, the UN TV arrived and spent the whole day filming - they got two tapes of footage. Two days later, after the Freedom Train event and after the whole media world was discussing it, the HRT decided to employ counter-propaganda. Čermak and HTV "reconstructed" the event, as if it had happened on the very same day, not a few days earlier, and deluded the viewers into thinking that nothing had happened. (...)

How did you make the film and where did you obtain the archival footage?

It took us a year to make it. The archival footage was partly my own, partly filmed by the UN TV and a good part was taken from the HTV archives. My footage was filmed on the 4 and 5 September, under the UN police protection. The month following the "Storm", I spent in Krajina. I went there several times, working for various TV networks. One could get there but it was difficult to work, we always had to be under the UN police protection.

We could not go out filming without them. A few times that we happened to be alone, we were immediately approached by people in uniform asking us what we were doing and for whom. They were less suspicious when it was a German network that we worked for. It was very difficult to get someone from the Croat army, so we had to quit.

While I was planning the documentary, I also tried to speak to Čermak. Although he was making plenty of statements at the time, as the commanding officer of the Knin area, he refused to talk to me via his lawyer. At any rate, he was bound to know about everything happening under his command. I would like to have been able to look into the Croatian Ministry of Defense archives as well, but our attempts were futile.

How did it feel, arriving to Krajina?

I felt very uneasy. As a crew, we also felt uneasy, apropos working conditions. We felt as if something was happening there, a lot more than met the eye, but we had no opportunity and often no courage to do anything. Unless we were under the UN protection, we didn't dare go anywhere. The whole time we were aware that at any moment an armed person could come and take away our tapes, which would have been the least of our worries. At the outset of "Storm", a BBC cameraman was killed, which was also concealed by the HTV because he was shot by a HV mem-

ber while filming houses on fire somewhere in Banija. The official HTV report said he was killed by the remaining chetnik gangs. This was an example of what could happen to other reporters as well. The problem with "Storm" was that torching of houses and murders kept happening even a month following the operation. And the police attention was more often focused on preventing the electronic media from recording the crimes than preventing the crimes from happening.

A while ago Serbian TV B92 aired the film about Serb crimes in Srebrenica...

Both here and in Serbia people still have no knowledge of what happened, I think it's even more so in Serbia. However, together with political changes, what happened in Serbia was a radical change in the administrative structures of television - new people came who hadn't spent ten years working continuously, so their conscience was clear. This has yet not happened at the HTV, so I can understand their resistance. But it is neither here nor in Serbia that people can fully grasp everything that was done on their behalf and in the name of national aims. A single documentary, radical as may be, cannot change people's psyche.

/ Andrea RADAK in Slobodna Dalmacija, 4 and 5 August 2001 /

SOON WE, THE CROATS, WILL BECOME CHIEF CULPRITS FOR THIS WAR

Have we really come that far, is the time really ripe for broadcasting of the film "Storm over Krajina"?

We must have made some terrible mistakes because it is incredible how quickly the roles in the Homeland War were reversed. Here we are, soon we will be the chief culprits, if things keep on happening at this speed and if we remain so inert. Ridding themselves of guilt, very swiftly and nimbly, Serbs are launching a counter-attack, once more altering our history - in the moment we thought it could never happen again. This film has its place and its role in the process, too. (...)

/ Letters to the Editor: Mato Šarić, Dubrovnik in Vjesnik, 6 August 2001 /

“THERE’LL BE MEAT, CROATS KNOW IT”

(...) This Knežević told our reporter that the HTV was to blame because his film has not yet been aired on the national television and that they were concealing the “Storm” crimes.

Judging by what has already been heard and said about this film after its premiere - and a critic’s comment that the author did not show political correctness is just watering-down the fact of the whole project being made in order to portray the “Storm” military operation as a planned and systematically executed action against Serb population in Croatia - the HTV has every right to take such a work with reserve and broadcast the film accompanied by a commentary and appropriate guests, at any time TV management sees fit. That is why Slobodna Dalmacija is giving Knežević so much space on National Thanksgiving Day and it is, with all due respect, sad.

If nothing else, it is sad because Knežević “bragged” about the scene in his film showing chetniks singing a famous song “There’ll be plenty of meat, we’ll butcher Croats”, modestly wanting to admit his compatriots were not innocent in the recent war either. And everything is left at that, while it is a well known fact that English subtitles to this song read “There’ll be meat, Croats know it”. Naturally, Knežević was silent about this, the reporter unfortunately did not ask him anything about it, and the person who commissioned the whole thing did not get involved either. The idea is obvious to anyone - to make everyone look the same to those (who also, sure enough, funded the film) watching the film abroad.

Yet everybody knows well what were the cause and the effects of the tragic events, which befell our Croat people in the Homeland War. Everybody knows who the victim was and who the perpetrator was.

Always underlining only the worst (and there was unfortunately some problematic behavior of certain individuals in the Croat army, waging a just war for liberation), constantly attacking people such as bishops, sportsmen and others raising their voices in defense of Croatian generals, against their extradition to The Hague - many of our colleagues also take side of those involved in the anti-Croat propaganda, such as Knežević and alike. In the above-mentioned interview he also said the HTV was alarming Croatian public, creating tensions by widely publicizing views of those who have, for a year now, been giving support to those whom domestic or Hague Tribunal suspect of having committed war crimes.” (...)

/ Ivan Ugrin in Slobodna Dalmacija, 7 August 2001 /

CROATIAN HTV BOUGHT THE RIGHTS TO BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ'S FILM ONLY TO PREVENT ITS BROADCASTING

(...) In any case, film Storm over Krajina is in a safe place. Since the HTV bought the rights to it, they can autonomously decide what to do with it. They might broadcast it in a month, or they might broadcast it in four years. Or never. All of it just to keep national conscience clear, says a Nacional article.

/ N.N. in Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 9 August 2001 /

WHY WOULD PRESIDENT'S OFFICE SPONSOR THIS FILM?

On the occasion of the announcement that the HTV may air the Božo Knežević documentary Storm over Krajina (script and instructions provided by Puhovski Bros. - film director Nenad and the HHO chief Žarko), you said that the Office did not demand this film to be aired, but was "considering the option of finding a sponsor to buy 50 minutes of TV time for the film to be shown".

Given that the film ("starring" Žarko Puhovski and Radimir Čačić, accusing HV of war crimes) has already been faced with condemnation at this year's CSFF because of its obvious bias and because it made Croats and Serbs seem equally guilty for the war, why would the President's office look for a sponsor to pay for HTV time? Or maybe this is exactly why you are doing it - to make sure the film will be aired?

/ N.N. in Hrvatsko slovo, 10 August 2001 /

BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ AND HIS KRAJINA, ALL HE NEEDS NOW IS RAČAN

Who is Božo Knežević - that was, namely, his name in 1997 when he was brought to Zagreb TV by his patron last-namesake, the then RTV Zagreb CEO, a Serb from Očestvovo, Veljko Knežević.

Having completed KOS* education in Belgrade, Veljko Knežević "found" himself in Zagreb, working as the editor of Kulturni radnik (Cultural Worker). His star was

44 * Former Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service

** In the late 1960s, the Croats pressed for broader autonomy but this process was stopped . .

to shine brightly after the events in Karadjordjevo in 1971**. That is when he took the place of the dethroned "Croatian Spring" activists. First, as the editor-in-chief of the Zagreb Radio, then as the Zagreb Radio executive manager, then editor-in-chief of the Zagreb TV, then Zagreb TV executive manager. He disappeared from the RTV Zagreb at the same time as Božo Knežević. At the HTV headquarters in Prisavlje 3 the rumor was some of our refugees had seen them together in Knin. Launching the Serb Krajina TV, I guess. (...)

Why am I writing all this? I felt the need to do it after reading an article in Slobodna Dalmacija (Forum section) called "Croats know it" by Ivan Ugrin. In the article Mr. Ugrin writes that, in the English translation of his film, Božo Knežević falsified words of the chetnik cannibalistic song, so instead of "There'll be plenty of meat, we'll butcher Croats", he wrote "There'll be meat, Croats know it" - in order to conceal the chetnik taste for Croat meat from foreigners watching the film. And they who lie once, especially about such wicked and important things, they are always capable of lying and forging facts to their own benefit. (...)

Yet, the saddest thing is that Božo's film was co-funded by the Croatian Ministry of Education (paid by us tax-paying Croats), as Mr. Mato Šarić of Dubrovnik said in Vjesnik of 6 August 2001. Some newspapers even wrote about president Mesić's demand for HTV to broadcast Božo's film on National Thanksgiving Day.

A. Kalebotta, Zagreb

PS This was later denied by the president's advisor Tomica Jakić, but Mr. Jakić is also one of those who left the HTV immediately after Mr. Veljko Knežević. He later "found" himself in Prague working at the American Radio Free Europe.

/ NAŠICE ON-LINE, 18 August 2001 /

THE MINUTES

of the 2 HRT Council conference, held on 30 August 2001 in the HRT building, Prisavlje 3, first floor, room no. 513

(...)

Addendum 8

8.4. Mr. Čović read the questions given to him in written by Mr. Jakša Kušan. First question was, Can the HRT or individual HRT workers be making deals with foreign branches of Croat political parties as suggested in the attached invitation by the Democratic center in Switzerland?

And the second question was, Will the film "Storm over Krajina" be aired - this question was posed by Mr. Goldstein. M. Nemčić, the acting chief executive, replied to these questions at once. (...)

About the question which was also posed by the public regarding broadcasting of the film "Storm over Krajina". Last year we started cooperating with Factum and they now have a reserved monthly slot for broadcasting documentaries. In July we talked about a documentary series which we will begin showing as of 1 September. "Storm over Krajina" was also among these films and we expressed our interest in broadcasting it as part of the HTV program. The film is scheduled for airing and it is going to be shown in the first "Latinica" of the season. A Factum representative will also take part in the show. HTV archival materials were used in making of many of these films, and this is how Factum and HTV cooperate.

(...)

LATINICA AND AFTERWARDS

BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE NEW LATINICA SERIES: GUESTS WHO DID NOT SHOW UP CLAIM THE SHOW WOULD TAKE WRONG COURSE!

During the first three days of this week, Latinica crew led by Denis Latin made the first three shows named "Storm over Krajina", "Sinjska alka" and "Honesty" which will be aired on the 1, 8th and 15 October respectively. Since, as Ekran reporters, we were present during the making of the first two shows, we can say that it was, as far as topics were concerned, predictably intense. The debate was hot, yet we must also admit we were more than disappointed by the fact some of the most eagerly expected guests had not shown up.

Namely, although the first show kicked off with airing of the controversial Božo Knežević documentary film Storm over Krajina produced by Nenad Puhovski, focusing on the events of 4 August 1995 and after, and although there was a heated exchange in the studio among the film's author, Anto Nobile, Željko Olujić, Drago Pilsel, Maja Freundlich and Vedrana Rudan, still, a major drawback of the show was the fact there was no one there representing the Croat military force (which carried out the said operation of liberating the occupied areas) for they refused to take part in the discussion. One can only guess what generals (including Janko Bobetko) would have had to say to the accusations that members of the Croat army abused and murdered Serb civilians, plundering and torching their houses.

It was not only the commanding General Bobetko who sent a communication announcing his boycott of the show on behalf of the Society of National Pride and Honor "Viribus unitis", having judged the mentioned documentary anti-Croat, but all other HV representatives also failed to appear in the show, even though only a few hours earlier some of them confirmed they would come. The public did not deserve this.

For who has more right to speak for Croatia about the liberation of the area than them and the exiled population.

But only by using the power of truth, arguments and by admitting guilt - if there was any.

And that there was some, was shown in the film excerpts where it is also confirmed by Radimir Čačić and Ivan Zvonimir Čičak - something that was also attested to by Drago Pilsel's personal experience. He said:

"Those days, walking for miles, I saw murdered Serb civilians and burned down houses. That is why I agree with what Žarko Puhovski said in the film - that it was good most of the Serbs had left the area at the time because, if they had not, I'm sure blood would have run deep... That is why I'm ashamed of living in the country where crimes are swept under the carpet."

His viewpoint was supported by Anto Nobile and Vedrana Rudan who said:

"Tuđman wanted to cleanse Croatia of Serbs. Since he had two Serbs in his own home, why didn't he put them on a tractor and let them go?"

This caused violent reactions of Željko Olujić and particularly Maja Freundlich who, obviously well prepared, retorted every so often that everything previously said were blatant lies. She was constantly urging one should bear in mind who started the war in the first place, whose land it was waged on, how many victims there were on the Croat side, firmly concluding at last:

"Operation "Storm" was as clean as a whistle!"

It was evident that everything Maja Freundlich said managed to throw the Feral columnist Vedrana Rudan off balance. Once she even addressed Denis Latin, the host of the show, with

"Come on, calm the woman down! Turn her off! The lady is German and I don't know how she can be fighting for Croatia!"

Temperature of the show was also raised by the pieces called "The Promised Land", "Revolution Devours Its Own Children" and "Crime and Punishment". (...)

/ Božena Matijević in Večernji list, 28 September 2001 /

MANY QUESTIONS WILL ARISE AFTER TONIGHT'S BROADCASTING OF STORM

(...) The controversial Božo Knežević documentary film Storm over Krajina will be shown in tonight's episode of Latinica. Since this is the first film handling the subject of war crimes during and after the "Storm" operation, one can expect its broadcasting to raise many questions, mostly because of the impression that the film attempts to make it seem as if Croat and Serb soldiers were equally to blame. (...)

/ KLIK, 1 October 2001 /

STORM OVER KRAJINA AIRED

(...) The controversial documentary film Storm over Krajina was shown in full last night in Latinica. The Božo Knežević film deals with the crimes against Serb population and their property, which, according to witnesses and participators in the film, were committed by the members of the Croat army in the course of and following the military operation "Storm". (...)

/ KLIK, 2.October. 2001 /

HONOS : THE FILM IS A SHAMEFUL FABRICATION...

The Association for the Protection of Homeland War Values (HONOS) said the film "Storm over Krajina", shown in last night's episode of "Latinica", was a shameful fabrication of the truth about the Homeland War - both in its contents and its intentions. Trying to reduce "Storm" to few individual crimes committed by the operation margins, (crimes now being tried in Croatian courts) whilst disregarding the actual politico-historical context and the relation of cause and effect - so far this is the most blatant attempt at deceiving Croatian public... (...)

/ HTV WEB, 2 October 2001 /

HDZ : WE CALL FOR GALIĆ AND LATIN'S RESIGNATIONS!

"Latinica" talk show in which the film "Storm over Krajina" was aired, displayed scandalous views on Homeland War, served to discourage Croat defenders, and weaken the power and will of the Croat people in their defense of national interests, above all national security of the Republic of Croatia, said in the communication issued by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

The political aim of this prejudiced show was to make it seem as if Serb aggressors and Croat victims were equally guilty, the ultimate effect being absolving those who started the war of responsibility, said HDZ. This viewpoint is degrading to Croatian defenders and that is why the HDZ calls for the resignations of the HRT general manager Mirko Galić and the author of "Latinica", Denis Latin.

Regarding this, the HDZ also stated that Croatian Radio and Television was a public television funded by the TV subscribers, and they appealed for all HRT subscribers to stop paying until, as they said, those responsible for spreading lies, hatred and humiliation have not submitted their resignations.

/ HTV WEB, 2 October 2001 /

GALIĆ : "LATINICA" IS A JOURNALISTIC ATTEMPT AT INTRODUCING CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS

The HRT executive manager Mirko Galić said that television merely brought the subject up, and that they wanted to reserve judgment on it. The judgment would be passed in history and, in some part, courts, he said.

"Television is there to introduce various subjects, which was in this case done without the intention of passing judgment, it being only one of the possible view-points", said Galić, adding that last night's "Latinica" was a journalistic attempt at starting a discussion on the subject, however controversial it may be. Galić also said now was surely a much better time for raising such questions than ever before.

/ T.P.Š. in Jutarnji list, 2 October 2001 /

BREŠAN : SUCH FILM NEEDS TO EXIST

Film director Vinko Brešan said he could not comment on the political aspects of the film and that, as representing the co-funder of the film, the Croatian Ministry of Culture, he could not discuss its value as a film either.

"Nobody mentioned anything about the film being good or bad anyway, but I think such film needs to exist", said Vinko Brešan.

/ HTV WEB, 2 October 2001 /

ORGANIZATION OF MOSLAV ASSOCIATIONS : THERE IS ONLY ONE TRUTH ABOUT THE HOMELAND WAR

Professor Mario Marot, president of the coordinating body of the Homeland War associations of the Sisak-Moslavina County, said at a press conference in Sisak that the army of "Serb Krajina", under the command of general Novaković, with tanks and armored cars ran over Serbs leaving Croatia during operation "Storm", on the road connecting Glina and Dvor.

He said that during the first days of "Storm", Croat armed forces were not yet in the area, which makes accusations of Croat army having killed civilians in the column completely unfounded. All this could be verified by the people who were in the column as well as their relatives living in Sisak and Banovina, said professor Marot.

He said there was only one truth about the Homeland War. There were some members of the Croat armed forces who did commit crimes during the military actions, but the Croatian courts passed over 1,700 sentences for murders, plunder and arson.

He also said that the members of the Croat army treated those Serb civilians who remained at their homes in the Banovina area with dignity and due honor.

Representatives of all seven Homeland War associations from the area were present at the Sisak press conference.

On behalf of over 8,500 members, Organization of the Homeland War associations of the Sisak-Moslavina County fiercely protested against biased and false information about the events taking place on the road connecting Topusko and Dvor in the course of the liberation action "Storm", as presented in "Latinica".

They said that "Latinica" perpetuated the process of criminalizing Croat soldiers and liberators, as well as the whole Homeland War as the foundation stone of the present Croatian state. The Organization said they would stand against all such attempts.

/ HTV WEB, 2 October 2001 /

LIOVIĆ : SERBS WILL BE SERBS - I'M REFERRING TO DENIS LATIN

Croatian Invalids of the Homeland War (HVIDRA) president Marinko Liović condemned the film and said Croat Television was even worse than the Yugoslav television. "This is disgraceful - nobody talked about the 640 Croats killed in the UNPA zones. One simply cannot trust this film. Those hags were not reliable witnesses", said Liović, adding that Serbs would be Serbs. He explained he was referring to Denis Latin, author of the show.

/ Jutarnji list, 2 October 2001 /

LATIN : I HAPPEN TO BE A CROAT

"Latinica" author and host Denis Latin yesterday commented on HVIDRA's president Marinko Liović's remark "Serbs will be Serbs" and his explanation he was referring to Latin. "Liović lied about my ethnicity. I happen to be a Croat", said Latin.

/ tpš, Jutarnji list, 3 October 2001 /

FREUNDLICH : FILM BRINGS SHAME ON SERBS IN CROATIA

"First, the fact such film was made brings shame on Serbs in Croatia, and second, if HTV was an American television, it would be defending principles of humanity from the genocidal aggressor. Broadcasting of this film made us all witness to the political attempt to denigrate and slander our defensive war. We all need to stand

firm against it because it is a matter of survival for Croatian people and national independence”, said the HDZ deputy president Maja Freundlich.

/ A.Pl. in Jutarnji list, 2 October 2001 /

— **BOBETKO : FILM IS THE SERBIAN VERSION OF THE EVENTS**

(...) In the Monday episode of the show “Latinica”, host Denis Latin said members of the Society of National Pride and Honor “Viribus unitis” had also been invited but the commanding General Bobetko sent a letter, which Latin then proceeded to read. In his letter, among other things, general Bobetko said that Božo Knežević’s documentary film was “obviously the Serbian version of the events”, so its aim was undoubtedly to devalue the Homeland War and to slight those who participated in it. Refusing to take part in “Latinica”, General Bobetko said there were living witnesses, people who planned and ran the military operation “Storm”, and they were the only reliable witnesses of war - not a commissioned film about the so-called sufferings of Serb civilians.

/ Hina in Vjesnik, 2 October 2001 /

— **ČERMAK : VARIVODE HAPPENED, THAT’S A FACT**

“It is out of the question that there was any ethnic cleansing of Serbs after the “Storm”. There were individual cases which have, however, been investigated. There are police reports for 21 cases of Serbs being murdered”, said general Čermak last night.

“Varivode did happen, that is a known fact. Witnesses shown in the film are people who lived in nearby villages. Only a part of the events was shown in the film. As for my own statements, I can say that none of them were given in full”, said General Čermak.

/ V.B. in Jutarnji list, 2 October 2001 /

— **PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS INSULTING CROATIAN NATIONAL PRIDE AND DIGNITY**

HVIDRA and the National Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War will organize a peaceful protest on 20 October on the Zagreb Jelačić Square. “We invite all societies, political parties and well-meaning citizens to join the protest against the present government insulting Croatian national pride and dignity and whose actions jeopardize Croatian sovereignty”, said HVIDRA’s

President Marinko Liović on Tuesday at the press conference, organized in Zagreb by HVIDRA and the Headquarters. (...)

Dubrovnik-Neretvian County Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War joined the National Headquarters action and introduced their program. On the occasion, members of the county Headquarters discussed documentaries about Dubrovnik and about the military operation "Storm", aired by the HTV. Talking about the film dealing with the events in Dubrovnik and around it during the 1991 aggression, Headquarters member Igor Žuvela said the film paid more attention to the writers of books and negotiators than defenders. "Having seen the documentary shown in "Latinica", portraying defenders as the worst kind of criminals, we wonder how Croats can do that to each other. During Yugoslavia children played partisan games, now Croatian defenders are being portrayed as revolting", said Žuvela. (...)

/ Daniela Dujmović and Anton Hauswitschka in Vjesnik, 2 October 2001 /

75 PERCENT OF THE VIEWERS PHONING IN BELIEVE THAT ALL WAR CRIMES SHOULD BE DEALT WITH, REGARDLESS OF WHO COMMITTED THEM

Over 7,425 viewers phoned "Latinica" the night before last, either to comment or to take part in the phone-poll. According to Denis Latin, this was an all time record.

To the question: "Should all war crimes be punished and their perpetrators prosecuted, regardless of who they are?" of 2,094 calls, 75 percent replied affirmatively and 25 percent took the opposite stand.

YES

Of the 75 percent viewers who agreed:

1. 66 percent - think criminals have to answer for their crimes
2. 4 percent - consider it a prerequisite for European integration
3. 8 percent - it should be done in reverence for the victims

NO

Of the 25 percent viewers who said no:

1. 70 percent - think one cannot punish those who were defending their own
2. 1 percent - think real culprits have taken good cover
3. 4 percent - only if other sides persecute their criminals as well

/ Jutarnji list, 3 October 2001 //

— HKDU : TELEVISION WAS USED FOR ANTI-CROATIAN PURPOSES

Croatian Christian-Democratic Union (HKDU) said today that the main purpose of the Božo Knežević film “Storm over Krajina” was to criminalize and denigrate the Homeland War and to marginalize its importance.

The film (which HKDU characterize as propaganda) was aired by the HTV on Monday in the prime time TV show “Latinica”. In the communication issued today, HKDU vehemently protested against using national television for anti-Croatian, thus anti-national purposes.

/ Hina, 3 October 2001 /

— PHONES RINGING ALL NIGHT AT HTV!

Following “Latinica”, the HTV phones kept on ringing and “Storm over Krajina”'s author Božidar Knežević said, “I would have filmed the area under Serb occupation, too, if I had been able to get there”. (...)

“This film would not have been made had the HTV been doing their job during the past ten years - had it been a public, not a political service. We did not want our film to be mere propaganda as has always been so far. As for the indignant viewers calling into the show, I think it was exactly the HTV which created such an atmosphere over the past ten years, and it will take more than a few shows or films to change people’s minds”, said Božo Knežević.

As an example, he mentioned the Grubor village incident of 25 August 1995, when the footage filmed by the UN TV went around the globe. Knežević said the HTV had the tapes but decided to send its crew there two days later and finally broadcast falsified tapes. (...)

/ Tina Premec Štambuk in Jutarnji list, 3 October 2001 /

— HEADQUARTERS : THIS IS DECLARATION OF WAR TO DEFENDERS

Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War organized a protest to take place at the Jelačić Square on 20 October at 12 h. Headquarters vice-president Petar Kačunko said that what was going to be said at the protest would surely not be pleasant to the government so there could possibly be trouble.

“TV shows about “Storm” declare war to Croatian defenders. Why wasn’t there anybody who had participated in the ‘Storm?’” Headquarters wants to know.

/ S.L. in Jutarnji list, 3 October 2001 /

ČONDIĆ I LIOVIĆ READ THE COMMUNICATION AND CALLED TO PROTEST

Commenting on the documentary film shown in "Latinica" the night before last, Liović said he "needed a translator watching it".

"The evidence wasn't even circumstantial - those things were pure insinuations. Why didn't they talk about who killed Croat citizens? Who killed 290 children, 15,500 Croats, who is responsible for 3,000 imprisoned and for 200 wounded, slain in the Vukovar hospital?" asked Liović. (...)

/ N.N. in Jutarnji list, 3 October 2001 /

HTV FINALLY BROADCAST STORM OVER KRAJINA

The night before last, in the popular TV show Latinica, HTV broadcast the Božo Knežević documentary film Storm over Krajina, dealing with war crimes committed against the Serbs during and after Croatian military operation "Storm" in 1995. (...)

In the studio discussion that followed, HDZ deputy president Maja Freundlich and attorney Željko Olujić said film was an extremely anti-Croatian attempt at distorting the truth about the Homeland War.

In contrast, attorney Anto Nobile said that what happened after the "Storm" was a crime of great proportions, which was either ordered or authorized by Croatian leadership and Drago Pilsnel talked about the crimes against the Serbs, which, as a reporter, he could witness personally.

/ Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 3 October 2001 /

DENIS LATIN SURPRISED BY HDZ AND MAJA FREUNDLICH REMARKS

Denis Latin expressed his surprise at the HDZ remark that "Latinica", in which the film "Storm over Krajina" was shown, was "*founded on a scandalous viewpoint of the Homeland War*", since the HDZ deputy president Maja Freundlich had also taken part in the show and had been previously "informed on the guests and content of both the show and the documentary".

"The show expressed various viewpoints and beliefs, which is very professional and in line with the journalists' code and principles of public television", said Latin. He also said one of the most common complaints of the viewers phoning in was about Maja Freundlich, the HDZ deputy president, being given so much of the show time.

/ Hina, Novi list, 4 October 2001 /

POT OF EVIL

I asked the colleague whose opinion I hold in high esteem what he thought of the last "Latinica". *"Everybody's eating from the same pot of evil"*, said he, "pay no mind, build!" This could be an important word of warning: for the pot of evil is as magic as the pot of gold - regardless of how much you scoop up, it always stays full!

Did some Croats commit crimes against Serbs in the war started by the Serb leaders, waged against Croats? They did. Should these crimes be processed? They should. Should they be discussed publicly, the most publicly - on television? It is essential.

So how can anyone say, *"Everybody's eating from the same pot of evil"*?

Would it not be laying the same blame on those with courage to talk about the crimes and those who covered them up, thus consenting - encouraging them even? It would not: it is a valid request that those who feel qualified to lecture everybody, talk about evil in such way as to help breaking the chain of crimes. Can one talk in such a way anyway? Yes, they can! But not by creating balance among the crimes committed by different sides! Because balance is always artificial - thus fake - thus insulting - thus calling for more crimes. But neither by using the so-called "integral" talk: it is impossible, and so it also leads to covering up, injustice and, again, crime.

One needs to have the courage to ask, "What does 1991 mean in the history of Serbs and what does it mean in the history of the Croatian people?" Those disgusted with comparing crimes during the respective Pavelić, Tito and Tudman regimes, because "all crimes are the same" - ought to keep their peace.

/ Duško Čizmić Marović in Slobodna Dalmacija, Thursday, 4 October 2001 /

GALIĆ : RESIGNATIONS WILL SOLVE NOTHING

"There was a hot debate in the show, involving different opinions, including the opinion of the HDZ. The film presented only one of many viewpoints on the Homeland War. It is a documentary story one can find fault with, but it doesn't change the fact we need to be able to handle opinions we can't agree with", said the criticized HTV chief Mirko Galić, adding:

"My resignation would solve nothing, nor would Latin's. I stand behind Latin and his right to work in this house freely as anybody else, as long as he stays within professional boundaries. He did not cross them. HDZ cannot see wood for the trees. Nobody is disputing the grandness of the Homeland War, but criminals should be prosecuted - two thirds of the 7,500 viewers phoning in to vote confirmed this. Discussing this subject is beneficial to the real defenders", said Galić.

"We did our job professionally and aired a documentary film unseen before. The film was discussed in 'Latinica', and we can discuss it further, but nobody can say we were one-sided about it. Crimes committed against Croats were also subject of several 'Latinica' shows this year", said Latin, adding it was time to openly discuss those painful subjects as well.

/ dti in Večernji list, 4 October 2001 /

SNH AND HND: IMPERMISSIBLE PRESSURE ON JOURNALISTS

The Croatian Journalists' Union and the Croatian Journalists' Association warned all journalists and media workers of the latest impermissible pressure exerted by the HDZ on the media and journalists, demanding for Denis Latin, journalist and author of the TV show "Latinica", to resign - as they disapprove of the contents of the "Storm over Krajina" episode of "Latinica". (...)

/ Slobodna Dalmacija, 4 October 2001 /

AMNESTY CANNOT BE GRANTED TO THOSE WHO MAY HAVE COMMITTED WAR CRIMES ONLY BECAUSE THEY WORE CROAT DEFENDER'S UNIFORM

Predictably, the Association for the Protection of Homeland War Values (HONOS) accused the HTV and "Latinica" authors of doing the dirty work for the "present regime". According to them, broadcasting of "Storm over Krajina" created a more favorable climate for arresting Croat defenders, despite the fact 20,000 Serbs had either been granted amnesty for similar crimes, or the court proceedings against them have been abandoned.

What is true of all of these things?

The truth is that Croatian judicature is canceling those proceedings against the presently inaccessible defendants. General Attorney's Office explained this with the desire not to spend money and time on trials, which would only have to be repeated when the defendants become accessible.

The truth is also that recently there have been legal proceedings instituted, or charges pressed against certain Croat citizens who wore Croat defender's uniform during the war. The truth is also that a defender's uniform cannot be a reason to grant anyone amnesty if they may have committed war crimes - there is neither statute of limitations nor amnesty for war crimes.

Besides, the same was claimed by the Croatian government when they, as part of the agreement on peaceful reintegration of Podunavlje, accepted for Croatian judi-

capture to prosecute only a few Serb citizens accused of crimes committed in east Slavonia, Baranja and west Srijem.

Croatia was hard-pressed by the West to accept this and afterwards the HDZ leaders claimed it did not mean they were giving up persecution of those who had committed war crimes, since there was no amnesty for war crimes. HONOS leaders know this too well, for all of them were members of the then ruling political elite.

The truth is also that the present government keeps repeating they would not allow criminalizing of the Homeland War or the triumphant actions such as "Storm" or "Flash". But it would, as repeated on numerous occasions - exactly to protect their significance - prosecute those who broke the rules of war and humanity.

Of course, one does not have to take their word for it. Certain Croat citizens obviously never will. That is their right. But their opinions will not gain in credibility if they are supported with half-truths and blindness to the truth regarding the events from the times of their favored political rule.

/ Sanja Kapetanić in Vjesnik, 4 October 2001 /

HDZ WANTS INFORMATION ON VIEWERS' REACTIONS

The HDZ yesterday sent an open letter to the HRT chief executive Mirko Galić, concerning the program called Echoes of the day, aired on Tuesday in which Denis Latin revealed some of the viewers' reactions to the Latinica show.

In the letter, the HDZ demanded that the HTV, as a public television funded from the national budget and mandatory TV subscription of Croatian citizens, disclosed to the HDZ as well as the Croatian public, viewers' reactions to the show - in the same way they disclosed them to Latin who had freely used them in Echoes of the day. The HDZ said the reactions of the people phoning the HDZ headquarters and the HDZ MP club for the past two days were opposite to the reactions cited by Latin.

/ D.Pr. NOVI LIST, 4 October 2001 /

WE INVITE OUR COLLEAGUES TO SOLIDARITY

By calling for resignations of the HRT Chief Mirko Galić and the author of "Latinica" Denis Latin because of airing of "Storm over Krajina" in the said show, the HDZ has once again demonstrated it is a party willing to suppress freedom of information and persecute journalists, which is against the Croatian Constitution.

Although we are critical of the way our member Mirko Galić has been doing his job as the head of the HRT - personally taking part in attacks and censoring of the

Forum 21 activities - this group represents the view that public television cannot exist if political forces keep trying to control the HTV, which the HDZ party undoubtedly intends to do if it comes to power again. Therefore, we protest against such political assault on the HRT chief executive.

As for our colleague and Forum 21 member Denis Latin, the sole fact he was the HND's candidate for the journalist of the year award confirms he is a skilled reporter who values high ethical standards of journalism and with his "Latinica" shows, such as this one condemned by the HDZ, HONOS and Headquarters for the Defense of the Dignity of the Homeland War, together with his assistants, has been expanding the space of media freedom for years. Rejecting this outrageous pressure and haranguing of Denis Latin, "Latinica" crew as well as the author and producer of the film "Storm over Krajina", Božidar Knežević and Nenad Puhovski, I hereby invite all colleagues to solidarity in defense of our profession from the enemies of democracy and human rights.

/ Drago Pilsel, president of Forum 21 in Slobodna Dalmacija, 4 October 2001 /

ECHOES FROM SERBIA: "WHERE'S OUR SOUL GOING TO?"

Of several reactions to the news about broadcasting of Storm over Krajina, these were the most typical on the web pages of the Belgrade radio B92.

Following this film's broadcast, 74 percent of the Croatian public condemned the crimes and thought truth had to be faced and those who committed crimes be punished. Here in Serbia 90 percent of the public (ordinary citizens as well as public persons) condemned the authors and program editors who showed the film about Srebrenica. They DID NOT condemn the crimes - they justified them with "they did the same to us". Where is this people's soul going to?

Good for you, Croats! And what are we waiting for? We cannot go into the normal world with ministers/generals suspected war criminals.

/ N.N. in Novi list, 4 October 2001 /

UNEXPECTED REACTIONS TO THE FILM

After the Storm over Krajina premiere, passions in Croatia were running high but there were also some unexpected reactions: as much as 75 percent Croats thought murderers of Serbs should be tried. (...)

/ Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 4 October 2001 /

LALIĆ : ALMOST EVERYBODY KNEW ABOUT THE CRIMES WHILE THEY WERE STILL HAPPENING

(...) *"The main impression I had while watching the film was these crimes had nothing to do with either politics or the war, neither Serbs nor Croats. In my mind, there were only categories of good and evil or, if you will, life and death. Completely naked, a member of the human race, horrified, I stood in front of the TV screen and I could not care less about who killed these old men, who torched and blew up those houses. I was appalled by the human race as such"*, said sociologist Dražen Lalić, Ph. D, still under strong impression of the Knežević's documentary.

He said it obviously was not the first time he faced those crimes since everybody had known about them while they were still happening - almost the whole city of Split was witness to the sales of household appliances and private property stolen from the Serb houses after the "Storm".

This, however, did not diminish Lalić's feeling of horror and guilt. *"I felt guilty about everything, not as a Croat but as a human being. And I think it's high time we stopped being Croats, Serbs, leftist or rightist and start just being humans. It is a matter of sacredness of life as universal human value and so, in terms of Christian theology: let us stop doing unto others what we do not want to be done unto us and let us stop justifying such behavior"*, said Dražen Lalić.

He said such a horrifying film was garnished with even more horrifying litanies delivered by Maja Freundlich and Željko Olujić, tirelessly trying to relativize crimes against old men, despite the fact no one for a moment suggested Serbs were not aggressors in Croatia. According to Lalić, the only thing more terrible than the fact people who committed those horrors are still walking freely among us is the fact there are people capable of justifying such crimes and comparing one crime with another. - This is not just evil, it is pure, concentrated evil - said Dražen Lalić.

"The film is completely legitimate and necessary. Some may agree or disagree with what it is showing but bringing its airing into question is impermissible, if for nothing else than because of freedom of public expression", said the IDS* MP Damir Kajin.

Repeating he was one of the first people to discuss crimes and arson taking place following the "Storm" publicly, he said it was indisputable that those things happened, as indisputable as the legitimacy of Homeland War and "Storm" itself.

"Crimes following the operation are our inescapable reality", said Kajin, *"but they do not cancel out legitimacy of our defense. Crimes have to be condemned as well as politicians rubbing shoulders with Milošević, arranging 'humane relocation of population', although we can rightly ask ourselves how many people would have been killed had there not been a Serb exodus"*, said the IDS deputy president.

Saying it should never be forgotten war was started by the Great-Serbian attack

on Croatia and that around 14,000 Croat citizens were killed as well as hundreds of thousands displaced and exiled in it, Kajin also said that it, however, could not serve to pardon anyone else's crimes, because nobody's tragedy should be ignored, devalued or forgotten. Also, nobody could prevent others from judging "Storm" by the murders committed after it.

Ret. general and an independent military analyst Martin Špegelj told us that neither he nor many other people involved in politics or army, active in defending Croatia and liberating occupied areas, were surprised by the information disclosed in Knežević's documentary.

"This film could be shocking only to the general public, who, on Monday night in 'Latinica', for the first time directly faced the actual crimes committed after the 'Storm'", said the former Minister of Defense. Analyzing media reactions to this controversial film, Špegelj said wide publicizing of crimes committed by the Croat side had obviously been necessary in order for Croat citizens to face the darker side of the defensive war. However, what bothered him were some superficial comments, which labeled events following "Storm" and "Flash" operations as the "crimes of the Croat army".

"It wasn't the whole army killing old men and torching houses. This dirty work, on the wings of chaos, was done by the uniformed dogs of war", said Špegelj, adding brutal killings shown in the film were actually a consequence of the HV lack of preparation and them neglecting the set military postulates of extreme discipline and absolute obedience of soldiers to their commanders. This, said he, made it possible for the mob - most of them not even part of the regular HV structure, to commit crimes on behalf of that same army.

/ Davor Krile and Marina Karlović-Sabolić in Slobodna Dalmacija, 4 October 2001 /

52.2 % OF PEOPLE THINK THE FILM SHOULD HAVE BEEN BROADCAST WHILE 41% DISAGREES

Findings of the poll carried out by the Zagreb agency Media Meter and Jutarnji list showed that 52.2 percent persons polled thought the film should have been broadcast, whilst 41 percent disagreed. The poll showed 11 percent persons polled firmly believed that Croats had committed crimes against Serbs immediately after the "Storm", 30 percent thought this probable, 16 percent found it totally unbelievable and 21 percent mostly didn't believe such claims.

Immediately following the airing of the film, 23 percent were shocked and astonished, 22 percent felt sad, 20 percent felt ashamed and disappointed, 10 percent were indifferent and 4.5 percent were happy and contented.

/ Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 5 October 2001 /

— ZONE OF ANTI-CROAT BRANDS

Latin started the season forcefully. He was right. Several reasons underline such an authorial decision. The first is that everybody had been discussing “Storm over Krajina”, but nobody had seen it. Moreover, even on Tuesday morning, people had to present their viewpoints on the problem, even argue with those of different opinion, not having seen the show at all.

It was known beforehand that this documentary would inflame feelings, mostly political. But politicians complaining and calling for resignations are just doing their job. Just as Denis Latin did his. In the end, there is the fundamental right everybody has - to see a film like this one, if they want to, and judge it for themselves. It is true the film is tendentious, and it is even truer that documentary filmmakers, backed by humanitarian organizations, did not record sufferings on Ovčara, in Škabrnja... and thousands of other places where Croat blood was spilt. Yet, it cannot be the reason why we should not now talk about the need to prosecute all war criminals - which was proved by the discussion in “Latinica”, and all time record figures of viewers phoning in to vote. Once again, Latin opened one of the doors leading to social catharsis, which in this moment means consciously going into the zone where it is very easy to be branded as anti-Croat.

In the first show of the season, Latin got it right with the guests, too. As loud and non-parliamentary (just a euphemism for bad manners) as they were, they all had enough room to express their opinions clearly, which was the best possible way for the public to create their own opinion about them. (...)

/ Bojana Radović in Večernji list, 5 October 2001 /

— MONDAY - WEAK COMMENTS, SHORTAGE OF BREATH, NONSENSE

At last, the controversial film about the crimes of the Croat army “Storm over Krajina” was broadcast by the national television. Shown in the popular TV show “Latinica”, the film was followed by a studio discussion, or rather dispute, between our leftists and rightists. The two right-wing intellectuals simply denied all crimes, claiming the film was falsifying facts and that there were no proofs that Croat army killed civilians and torched houses. They described some 20,000 torched houses as an incident. On the other, left side, there was pure amateurism, with only few exceptions. Weak comments, shortage of breath, nonsense for which there was no excuse. And finally, a pleasant surprise: viewers’ vote was in film’s favor.

/ Diary of Nenad Mišćević, professor of philosophy,
www.danas.org, 6 October 2001 /

HENI ERCEG : IVAN ČERMAK AND NADA ŠURJAK FALSIFIED CRIME REPORTS

(...) Croat television was particularly successful at it, hence the pretend incredulity of the public and vulgar HDZ reactions caused by the documentary Storm over Krajina, recently shown in Latinica.

Would the same public now feign shock if this television, instead of brazenly filling their viewers with Tuđman propaganda, reported, for example, that Dubrovnik had been deliberately left without weapons by order of the Leader, that its citizens were getting killed because of Tuđman and Milošević crack-brained deals? Or if the HTV gave the real truth about the crimes following the "Storm", instead of false reports manufactured by the TV's employee, certain Nada Šurjak, still ubiquitous on the TV screen, who, in patriotic cooperation with the commander of the Knin area Ivan Čermak, deliberately lied about the crimes, falsifying the actual event - a multiple murder of old Serbs committed by members of the Croat army.

/ Heni Erceg in the Feral Tribune, 6 October 2001 /

SENJANOVIĆ : I CAN'T WATCH CRIME NO MORE

I tried watchin' Latinica wid Storm over Krajina but I couldn'. Is nice they showed it, is good truth's comin' out, but I can't take it no more. I had my share of horror, sufferin', brutality. I can't take another gram. No way I'd go thru it again. An' government could spare us from it, too. Let them courts, prosecutors and police work, but don't bombard me with it no more. And when those HQs start tellin' me it's normal to kill Stevo cos Duško killed Ante, I'll lose the bit of nerves I got left. If I weren't this crazy about Split, I'd leave tomorrow.

/ Đermano Senjanović-Ćićo in the Feral Tribune, 6 October 2001 /

OLUJIĆ : COULDN'T CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED BY CHETNIKS IN RETREAT?

Film Storm over Krajina is an extremely anti-Croat piece of work. It never mentions Croats have the right to their own state. Couldn't these crimes have been committed by chetniks in retreat?

Željko Olujić, attorney, in Latinica on HTV

/ Feral Tribune, Greatest shits, 6 October 2001 /

JERGOVIĆ : PEOPLE LIVE UNDER ANESTHETIC

“An inter-heading in your story collection Sarajevski Marlboro (Sarajevo Marlboro) is “Who will be the Witness”. The only story to follow is in second person and acquires strange meaning, attempting to prove to the people that the experience of listening and watching had made them witnesses and if they did not step forward they were also accomplices. People in Belgrade still do not seem to have come out of anesthesia. What is it like Zagreb?”

Witnesses in my book were books burned down in the Sarajevo City Hall by an incendiary bomb in August 1992. Boro Pištalo, a great man, also the father of Vlado Pištalo, was the library manager, who spent months trying to save the surviving books. Uncle Boro was thus saving my witnesses, witnesses to the culture in which I grew up. As for the other kind of witnessing you asked me about and lives under anesthetic, I'm afraid that not even self-sacrificing librarians could help with that. Belgrade citizens are finding it hard to face the naked truth about Vukovar and Srebrenica, as well as what happened to Albanians in Yugoslavia in 1981, much in the same way as Zagreb citizens are finding it hard or impossible to face the naked truth about Croat crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, what happened in Krajina after the “Storm”, or what their fellow citizens with Serbian names were going through in the 90s. Yes, people live under anesthetic.

I have no idea how much longer it is going to be so, but I'm afraid there's no one there to wake them up. Not even films such as the one about Srebrenica broadcast in Belgrade or Storm over Krajina broadcast the other night by the Croatian Television, in which one could clearly see torched villages and slaughtered old men. Our folks have problems apologizing and asking for forgiveness, although it would be much easier if they did it on occasion. To apologize to the neighbor Jovo* or ask forgiveness from the neighbour Azem** would be much more constructive than throwing empty words and questions of who it was who made us fall out. But to apologize to the specific Jovo from Zagreb and the specific Azem from Belgrade - not for what you did, but for what others have done to them. It seems to me this would be some kind of an escape from apathetic torpor.

/ Milica Jovanović in Vikend Danas, 6 October 2001 /

SERBS WRITING OUR HISTORY AGAIN - THAT WILL NOT DO!

(...) Ivan Jarnjak said Croatian citizens have “sobered up” from last year's 3 January elections, and they were now disappointed because the government they had elected did everything they could - not to do well. In particular, he mentioned film “Storm over Krajina”, shown in “Latinica”. He said it was a disgrace that Serbs were writing our history again. That, said he, would not do.

/ Toni Paštar in Vrljka On-line, 7 October 2001 /

64 * a typical Serb male name

** a typical Muslim male name

RIGHT-WING REACTIONS CONTINUING PRESSURE ON PRESENT GOVERNMENT

Stormy reactions of the Croat right-wing political circles to the recent HTV airing of the documentary film "Storm over Krajina", dealing with crimes against Serb civilians committed in the course of the Croatian military operation "Storm", are in fact just continuation of constant pressure on the present government - pressure it has been under since coming to power, early last year.

The circles led by the HDZ and the War Veterans' Society reacted in a similar fashion on many other occasions, mostly after the government had made a move concerning the "homeland war", as the recent civil war is dubbed in Croatia - which they did again following the airing of the documentary in the popular HTV show "Latinica".

Accusations that the government was "criminalizing the Homeland War" and laying equal blame on the victim and the aggressor, and similar, were also uttered in Parliament on signing the Declaration about Cooperation with Hague Tribunal, and particularly when General Mirko Norac was to be arrested for crimes against the Serb civilians in Gospić, when protests were organized throughout Croatia. (...)

/ Veljko Kalinić in Glas javnosti, 8 October 2001 /

AIRING "DOCUMENTARY" "STORM OVER KRAJINA" AT THAT TIME WAS BY NO MEANS COINCIDENTAL!

As a regular reader of the Vjesnik on-line edition, I want to comment on the article called "Anarchy at the HTV" of 3 October 2001. Since I cannot receive the HTV broadcast, I have not had the opportunity to see the controversial "documentary", but I want to bring your attention to these facts:

Why was this "documentary" broadcast on the very eve of pronouncing the four Hague indictments for bombarding of Dubrovnik?

Why was it broadcast on the very eve of Hague Tribunal indicting Milošević for crimes in Croatia?

Why was it broadcast just before several contracts were to be signed, on Croatia joining the EU?

Can anybody in their right mind still believe that the Great-Serbian extremists really relinquished fighting Croatia after they had been defeated in the war? They have only moved to another, equally lethal battlefield - the media battlefield. That is why there is not only anarchy at the HTV, but unfortunately something far more dangerous. It seems that the HTV, too, had fallen victim to those extremists and became their mouthpiece. When they could not completely succeed in their plans to clear

Milošević of accusations for crimes committed in Croatia, they were left with an ammunition reserve - this "documentary". This "documentary" thus covers marginal aspects of the operation "Storm", not the military and political aspects of Croatian defense from the occupation by a foreign military force.

/ Josipa Rudinski, Melbourne, Australia in Vjesnik, 8 October 2001 /

NEW PROGRAM SEASON OF THE PUBLIC TELEVISION

In the country where extremist forces are never at rest, one needs courage to talk about another kind of truth, and Latin had that courage. It seems television management has loosened up a bit so we may get to see more of "other sides of the coin" from various spheres of life, not only the Homeland War. (...)

/ A.L., Međimurje, 9 October 2001 /

SNH AND HND PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

(...) The Croatian Journalists' Association (HND) and the Croatian Journalists' Union (SNH) warned all political parties as well as all those trying to impose censorship that it is against the Croatian Constitution, Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights and civil liberties. The SNH and the HND thus call for all journalists and media workers to show professional solidarity and the solidarity within the union, essential for protecting freedom of the media and journalist rights.

Jasmina Popović, president of SNH

Katja Kušec, SNH-HRT-HTV bloc leader

Dragutin Lučić, president of HND

/ HINA, 9 October 2001 /

LATIN : HDZ PEOPLE NOW WANT TO "INVESTIGATE" PEOPLE'S OPINIONS INSTEAD OF INVESTIGATING CRIMES OF THE PAST TEN YEARS

(...) Those who kept silent about the ongoing terrorism and unpunished killing (not only of Serb citizens) for a decade, whether in power or in opposition, cannot be the ones fighting evil since through their inactivity they participated in creation of evil. (...)

Sanader's willingness to sit at the same table with Tomac, Adlešić and Linić fascinatingly reveals the fear spreading among the HDZ ranks. None of their demands sent during the previous days for Galić and I to resign were ever signed.

Persecution was shrouded in the form of “HDZ head office”, and in their hysteria and fear, they dared ask us to let them have the tape recordings of the viewers’ comments following the Latinica in which film Storm over Krajina was showed. The HDZ bunch now want to “investigate” people’s opinions, instead of investigating every crime, arson and plunder committed over the past ten years and prosecuting the perpetrators. Their indifference and disinclination towards Milošević’s imprisonment in The Hague is now most graphically revealed as the fear of same principles being implemented in Croatia, and their participation in political life as a foolish attempt to prevent it at all costs. Croats cannot commit crimes, said Milan Vuković once, and, as of then, all has been left at that one single pseudo-argument. (...)

/ Denis Latin in the Nacional, 9 October 2001 /

RAČAN ON STORM OVER KRAJINA

Answering to the MP questions this afternoon in Croatian Parliament, Prime Minister Ivica Račan said he did not want to polemicize on the merits of the film “Storm over Krajina”, but that personally he was not happy to see how the film had polarized the public opinion, provoking confrontations.

Račan said democratic Croatia should be able to rise to such challenges. He confirmed that the Ministry of Culture had co-funded the film, adding the precise data on the matter would be available later.

He said that the state, unfortunately, in that and other cases, participated in the funding of various institutions and groups which repaid by spreading hatred and intolerance.

The problem arose when radical extremist views met head-on, said the Prime Minister, adding that then both sides fiercely attacked what should be and are the Croatian government’s political principles.

Anto Kovačević of the HKDU (Croatian Christian Democratic Union) asked this afternoon what interest Government had in co-funding the film “demonizing the Homeland War” and “establishing Serbian terrorism”.

/ HINA, 10 October 2001 /

RAČAN : PROBLEMS ARISE WHEN EXTREMIST LEFT AND EXTREMIST RIGHT CONFRONT EACH OTHER

Controversy started with the HTV airing of the documentary film Storm over Krajina. The HDZ MP Ante Beljo said that president’s advisor Tomislav Jakić had personally requested the film to be aired by the HTV on Croatian Statehood Day.

Beljo then read out the summary representing the documentary at film festivals.

“Operation ‘Storm’ was the name for ethnic cleansing of Serbs from the area known as Krajina, carried out by Croats. Croats exiled 500,000 people, committing various crimes in the process. With this groundbreaking film the producer accuses his own people of crime.”

Beljo asked Račan whether he would call for Minister of Culture Antun Vujić to resign, since his ministry co-funded the film.

Prime Minister said he was not pleased with how the film was being promoted, adding that kind of “slandering the ‘Storm’ and the Homeland War are unacceptable for this country and all democratic people living in it.” Račan said one should “consider democratization of the cultural sphere and cultural workers’ rights so that, instead of bureaucracy, Government makes decisions concerning the cultural sphere.”

A similar question was posed by Anto Kovačević (HKDU). Prime Minister Račan told him that the precise figures on funding the film would be sent to him later. He said that the Government had less say in the matters of the HTV than the Parliament, adding, “In Croatia problems arise the moment the extremist left and the extremist right meet.”

/ Zlatko Crnčec and Saša Vejnović in Novi list, 11 October 2001 /

— JAKIĆ: BELJO IS LYING!

President’s international political advisor Tomislav Jakić, accused of having personally urged for the film Storm over Krajina to be aired by the HTV on Croatian Statehood Day, said there was not a “grain of truth” in MP Anto Beljo’s claim.

“I invite the MP to present the Croatian public with material evidence for what he claimed in the Parliament. Until he has done so, under full responsibility, I publicly declare he is lying”, said Jakić.

/ D.Pe. in Novi list, 11 October 2001 /

— “STORM OVER KRAJINA”’S PRODUCER REACTS TO MP BELJO’S CLAIMS

Producer of the documentary film “Storm over Krajina” Nenad Puhovski sent an open letter to the Member of Parliament Ante Beljo, observing that Beljo never considered the fundamental question - whether the facts presented in the film were true.

In his letter Puhovski said that in many commentaries, arguments and attacks on the film, nobody ever disputed the facts presented in it, not even General Ivan Čermak, one of the people best informed about the case. What can and should be discussed are the film's style, methods or its form, said Puhovski.

Now that Croatia is a safe, stable and democratic state it should primarily be defended by truth, even when that truth is unpleasant - or painful, said Puhovski. He said that in 1991 Beljo, as the then deputy Minister of Information, requested Puhovski to grant him the right (which he did) to copy and globally distribute his film "Vukovar, nepokoreni grad" (Vukovar, the undefeated town). Puhovski expressed his amazement at the fact Beljo, a member of the HRT Council and an MP, had never wanted to discuss documentaries aired by the HRT during the HDZ rule - in which facts were systematically distorted, covered up and falsified.

Commenting on Beljo's remarks about the "hate speech", Puhovski agreed it was a vital issue and said Factum Film Company would cover it in a special film analyzing how media had been responsible for the war by spreading hatred and xenophobia.

Puhovski also commented on Beljo's remarks of yesterday that the film was being promoted at film festivals with text saying operation "Storm" was the name for ethnic cleansing of Serbs in the area called Krajina. Puhovski said this promotional text was published by the organizers of the Hampton documentary film festival on their own initiative, without Factum's knowledge, and it would be replaced with Factum material starting with the sentence that "Storm" meant final liberation of all occupied Croat territory.

/ HTW WEB 11 October 2001 /

HDZ'S DEMANDS FOR HRT TO REPLACE MEDIA WORKERS ARE CONTRARY TO MODERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL CULTURE AND PRACTICE

CROATIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION

COMMITTEE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE CODE ON

EMPLOYMENT AND CONDUCT OF THE HRT EMPLOYEES

Under Article 13 of the Code on employment and conduct of the HRT employees, on their regular meeting held on 11 October 2001, the Committee for implementing the code issued the following:

COMMUNICATION

The Committee for implementing the HRT Code will not bow to the heavy political pressure HDZ has been exerting on the HRT, as demonstrated by the party's communication of October 2 of this year, issued on the airing of the documentary film Storm over Krajina in the TV show Latinica.

The Committee rejects the unwarranted HDZ demand to remove Latinica author Denis Latin from his position, reasoned with narrow-minded political views and petty politician evaluation of the show and its aims. Such a demand is unjustifiable particularly since the HDZ was represented in the cited show, by which fundamental standards of the journalist profession were met. Not wishing to make value judgments or judge Latinica's worldview, the Committee emphasizes that the show did not violate any regulations of the Code on employment and conduct of the HRT employees. Moreover, it is exactly by taking up the most delicate topics that the HRT develops as a European public television.

With regard to the request for replacing the HRT chief executive Mirko Galić, the Committee suggests that the HDZ, instead of inviting the public to violate the law, once again peruse the Law on Croatian National television (HRT), which fully regulates the executive's authority as well as the procedure of selecting or relieving them of office.

The Committee asserts that the HDZ demands for media workers to be replaced are contrary to the modern European political culture and practice and unacceptable in democratic countries. The fact such political pressure is possible in Croatia demonstrates that our political parties have not yet abandoned authoritarianism and attempts to gain an absolute control of the media.

The Committee hereby reminds the HDZ that, by appealing to citizens not to pay the TV subscription, they publicly encouraged violation of the law, which is surprising for a party participating in law enactment and the one accepting democracy and parliamentarism as means of political struggle.

The Committee wants to draw your attention to the intimidating tone of the aforementioned communication, in which HDZ calls to lynch and tries to manipulate the public for their petty political interests. Therefore, the Committee warns the HDZ that under current social conditions they should accept full responsibility for all possible tragic events that may ensue from imminent individual threats to health and lives of the HRT employees.

Members of the Committee for implementing the HRT Code:

Joško Martinović, Katja Kušec, Jadranka Rilović, Velimir Đuretić, Ante Bekić, Damir Dević

FALL SEASON STARTED

POLL RESULTS : HTV'S FALL SEASON PROGRAM SCHEDULE CONFIRMS DOMINANCE OF DOMESTIC SHOWS AND SOCCER

(...) According to the poll carried out by the Metron/Vectura Company, each viewer is important in the war for audience between Željka Ogresta and guests and Latinica. The poll also showed there were no negative reactions to rescheduling Latinica from Friday to Monday and the show TV interview - 21st Century thoughts from Monday to Wednesday.

HTV ratings:

1. Dnevnik (prime time news program) - 57.14 percent
2. Film "The Cashier Wants to Go to the Seaside" - 50.57 percent
3. **Latinica: "Storm over Krajina" - 47.95 percent**
4. Soccer, WC qualifier: Croatia vs. Belgium, live - 31.39 percent
5. Željka Ogresta and guests - 27.31 percent
6. Echoes of the day - 26.53 percent
7. Defiance flowed through Dubrovnik ten years later - 26.08 percent
8. A Global sit-together - 25.03 percent
9. Together towards the stars: Nina Badrić - 24.58 percent
10. Croatia today - 24.11 percent

/ T. Pacek in Večernji list, 12 October 2001 /

THE ELUSIVE CATCHERS OF HATE

(...) First those in power demonstrate they are incapable of recognizing hate speech. A while ago in Parliament, Prime Minister Ivica Račan placed the recently aired film Storm over Krajina in the same context with works spreading hatred and intolerance. It is a documentary film, the first one to confront the Croat TV audience with the crimes committed in the course of Operation Storm. In this way, Račan agreed with the thesis of the extremist right which attacked the film as the work of Great-Serbian propaganda.

To be sure, part of the public was infuriated by Storm over Krajina. This, however, does not mean the film itself is an invitation to hate. Of course, only if every attempt at facing the fact Croat side also committed crimes in the recent war is not considered production of hate. Prime Minister of a democratic country should recognize the difference. (...)

/ Jelena Lovrić in Novi list, 12 October 2001 /

— CROAT GOVERNMENT CREATING CIVILIZATION OF SERILITY

(...) A while ago, I was in the company of a younger colleague from the University and one of the journalists deciding what we are going to watch on HTV. I was surprised when the colleague repeated the story constantly being served by the media, that we made a mistake of not prosecuting our own criminals on time. Wanting to support my colleague, the HTV man said, *"Yes, even the French have started prosecuting their criminals from Algeria."* They did not realize those two statements did not quite match. I said, *"Dear colleague, see what the man is telling you? That 'on time' of yours is some fifty years. After all that time, the French are prosecuting their soldiers in a foreign country. Whereas we defended ourselves and even won the war."*

"But we are a small country... We have to..." he struggled. I said, *"This is how good servants think, those who wish to anticipate their boss's desires. They want to guess their desires and serve them even before they have given orders."*

In many commentaries of the recent Latin's Cyrillica, hardly anybody noticed that this need for the ideal servitude was the main feature of the show.

/ Josip Pečarić in Hrvatsko slovo, 12 October 2001 /

— NOW THEY'RE FIGHTIN' BATTLE FOR BALKANIA!

Me uncle, when that Great-Serb poet and ideologist Matija Bečković warn'd, *"We'll be chasing one another yet"*, I tho he'd gone mad and threatenin' cos he felt helpless, but now I see his threat bein' made good. We didn't know what methods he'd use or who'd be his soldiers, but now is all clear. No more battles for Yugoslavia or Great Serbia, now they're fightin' the battle for Balkania, which is all the same to us. That's why among Croats there's a secret ideological-media-terrorist organization call'd "Al Balkanaida"! First and fiercest, they attack'd the homeland war and Croatian defenders. Wid a suicidal and anti-Croat show "Storm over Krajina" they stabbed our honorable war in the back. This psycho-terrorist assassination was attempted by the "blackhanders" Gavriilo Latin, Vasa Nobilo, Apis Pilzel and Draža Knežević. There! Now "Al Balkanaida" net is spread all over the Croat media, controllin' it almost completely. Great-Serbian informants switch'd identity, even underwent plastic surgery, just to carry on with their dangerous plan, code name *"We'll be chasing one another yet!"* (...)

Yours,

Ognjilo

/ Hrvatsko slovo, 12 October 2001 /

ZLATKO TOMČIĆ : THE FILM IS BIASED

I am not sure it was the best move to show what was shown in Latinica in a most inappropriate manner. The sole airing of the biased documentary film Storm over Krajina could in certain individuals and groups arouse hatred, even desire for revenge.

Zlatko Tomčić (HSS), the Chairman of the Croatian Parliament, interviewed by Slobodna Dalmacija

/ Feral Tribune, Greatest shits, 13 October 2001 /

TOMČIĆ : CRIMES SHOULD NOT BE TACKLED BY MEDIA BUT BY INVESTIGATING AUTHORITIES

Personally, I even believe that so much time has passed since the "Storm" and those events that they should no longer be tackled by the media but exclusively by the lawful and investigating authorities.

/ Feral Tribune, Greatest shits, 13 October 2001 //

ERCEG : CHAIRMAN OF PARLIAMENT DECLARED OPEN SEASON ON AUTHORS OF THE FILM STORM OVER KRAJINA

(...) Why be surprised at all? Why, this is the country where even the head of parliament, declaring open season on the authors of the film Storm over Krajina, says that a document about the execution of old Serb men in Krajina was just a provocation and tendentious work, and that the media had no business tackling the crimes because they are matter for courts.

(...) Burdened by the guilt of his own silence, in the best manner of his predecessors, Mr. Račan also said that the documentary film about crimes after the "Storm" was *"spreading hatred and intolerance"*.

/ Heni Erceg in the Feral Tribune, 13 October 2001 /

KNEŽEVIĆ'S LITTLE FILM "STORM OVER KRAJINA", MADE IN THE SPIRIT OF YUTEL, IS BELOW THE STANDARD OF THE FORMER JNA PRODUCTION

Storm over Krajina has passed. But talking about it has not stopped. Those who are glad it was broadcast talk about it as much as those who are not. Their stories are probably not much different from what they were before they saw "Latinica".

Starting in the apartments and in coffee bars, the story about the Krajina "Storm" came as far as the parliament, where MPs wanted to know what Ivica Račan thought about it. Judging by what the head of government said - he had not quite liked it. And what he said wasn't liked by some other people, who had liked Storm over Krajina and were glad to have seen it.

Uneducated in the field of film, Božo Knežević did what he could. And disappointed those who had hoped it would be something mean and so far unseen, something to completely turn pictures of recent history upside down. Instead, they got old pictures in new frames, a little film below the standard of the former JNA* production. The famous Zaninović of the army's "Zastava film" is Orson Welles compared to Knežević. Those fearing the film would be something new and shocking were also taken by surprise. Instead of something new, they saw something they had already seen before, now only edited anew. And the new thing was made even less convincing with the unimpressive witnesses - toothless hags with their third-hand stories. If Knežević had a better film education, if he was more an author and less a propagandist, the film would have been perceived differently even by those who disagreed with it.

If airing of Knežević's film was supposed to assist Croatia in undergoing catharsis or "cleanse" those denying the thesis that *"Croat soldiers committed crimes, too"*, it failed. Instead of being a cathartic experience, it only aroused more anger. The Prime Minister talked about an invitation to hate. They accused him of *"not being able to recognize hate speech"*. Because, by recognizing it in Knežević's film, too, he agreed with the *"thesis of the extremist right"*. Jelena Lovrić attacked him for it and said he was enforcing balance, and that Knežević's film was not an invitation to hate, unlike the reactions to it. That kind of speech said nothing about the film but once again served as witness to our old divide - only widened by this film.

Accusing Knežević of editing his views on the "Storm" in the film is just as foolish as Knežević trying to convince us he would have made a film about Serb crimes, if only he could have gone *"over"*. Who would have stopped him? Just to show them his Yutel card would have been enough for them to let him across any barricade. Indirectly, the story about Knežević could be, in part at least, a story about the (insufficiently clear) role of Yutel in recent history and in the war. At Yutel there was a crew of believers in the *"Kiss and make up, it's nobody's fault"* motto. Marković's reform was their refuge from the expanding Serbian chauvinism and, also, it was the highest level of Croathood they could tolerate. In the Yutel-reduced picture of reality, much was removed and turned upside down. Perversion reared its ugly face when TV showed a dreary column of homeless people leaving the town on the Vuka and the Danube, followed by the SMB army coats, and when Yutel declared, *"Vukovar is free"*.

There was nothing particularly odd about Božo Knežević leaving Veljko Knežević's television and ending up at Yutel. His Storm over Krajina is not just a result of living with his uncle, but it is also a product of a Yutel way of thinking. A person with a Yutelo-Knežević history could not - and why would they? - make a film much different from Storm. If somebody with a different history, with a different political and cinematic attitude made a film about Croatian traumas, there would probably still be objections to it. Still, the image of, for instance, Milan Paroški raging in Jagodnjak in Baranja *"This is Serbian land and if someone tells you it isn't, you have the right to shoot them like a dog"*, and a surreal image of Vukovar with drunken chetniks growling *"There'll be plenty of meat, we'll butcher Croats"*, could make for not only a natural, but also a logical whole.

It is out of place to criticize Knežević for having done something nobody from the other side endeavored to do. Nobody ever prevented any serious, competent Croat film director from making his or her own film about the "Storm". Or Vukovar. Or the Homeland War. There was plenty of persuasive film material, particularly for making documentaries. But it seems there wasn't enough will. Knežević did not lack will. And his film will remain as a document of a time, regardless of what we think of that film. His views can be questioned. Other films will never be questioned. Not because they are unquestionable. Because they were never made.

/ Milan Jajčinović in Večernji list, 15 October 2001 /

STORM OVER KONZERTHAUS

With 92,000 kuna, Ministry of Culture co-funded the film "Storm over Krajina", in which foreign officers are incredibly surprised at how easy and indeed painlessly the Croat army entered Knin. Of course, the decision making process at the Ministry is currently still rather decentralized - it was not only the minister making decision about funding the film - the decision was made on the recommendation of the documentary film commissioner, Vinko Brešan. However, Minister Antun Vujić told HTV reporters that the original script had not been followed closely since the final version of the film was different from it - still, the Ministry would not demand a refund of the mentioned 92,000 kuna! Because of artistic freedom, I suppose...

(...) However, the Ministry was right about one thing. In the version seen by the Croat Television viewership, "Storm over Krajina" was certainly more interesting to the typical TV audiences worldwide than some classical concert in Vienna Konzerthaus. Anyway, a stormy-gray film about the Homeland War confirms the impression international community has of Croatia much better than a powdered

concert of the Zagreb Soloists and pianist Đorđe Stanetti in one of the most prestigious concert halls in the world. From that perspective, the propagandists have hit the bullseye, with the help of state money!

/ Denis Derk in Večernji List, 15 October 2001 /

— VUJIĆ SCORING AN OWN GOAL FOR CROATIA

The prestigious Hampton international film festival (HIFF) is being held from 17-21 October this year in the small town of East Hampton in the American state of New Jersey. I should mention to the uninitiated that Hampton (barely a hundred miles away from New York) is well-known for being a hang-out for the American political elite and is filled with summer houses of the rich and the powerful who spend there their time off in the company of their equally powerful friends - creators of politics of the most powerful country in the world. The town is a sort of an American counterpart to Europe's St. Moritz. (...)

And, I'll be damned, of ex Yugoslav countries included in the festival program, there are two Croat films, two Serbian films, one Montenegrin, one from Kosovo and five from Bosnia. An interesting ratio, wouldn't you say. And it would all be sort of alright if one of the Croat films wasn't "Storm over Krajina", directed by an ex Yutel reporter Božidar Knežević, and recently shown in the TV show "Latinica" on Croat Television, throwing the Croat public into turmoil. Knežević's piece of work is advertised on the Festival web pages as "a heavy Croat self-accusation of committing crimes over Serbs in Croatia". The other Croat film, by the way, is a short documentary by Zvonimir Jurić called "Tvrđa 1999" in which the author, with a subtle approach, ponders over his native town of Osijek and fates of past and present generations, without particular political connotations.

But, let us go back to Božidar Knežević and his piece of work. The official Festival catalogue advertised the "Croatian" film as follows: *"Operation 'Storm' was the name for ethnic cleansing of Serbs from the area known as Krajina, carried out by Croats. Croats exiled some 500,000 citizens, committing various crimes in the process. Archival material and eyewitness testimonies were used in this groundbreaking and original film - an appeal to the filmmaker's own people to assume responsibility for their crimes."* And just as I thought this was the height of impudence and that the Republic of Croatia should, via their embassy in Washington, officially distance itself from the film and protest against it being included in the festival at all, I was appalled by the fact Knežević's "Storm" had been co-funded by none other than the Croatian Ministry of Culture!

With good reason, one should ask oneself why Minister Vujić granted government funds to a film denigrating Croatia. Still, Račan recently stated he was not happy about the conflicts the film had caused, but that democratic Croatia should be able to rise to such challenges. (!) To the question about Vujić potentially being responsible, he answered the Minister would have been responsible only if he was the only person to decide, which was not the case since there was a special committee deciding on it. Even if we suppose the special committee had recommended the film, impressed by an enormous artistic value of Knežević's work, it is quite unconvincing that a recommendation of a professional body should be the only criterion when it comes to spending government funds. It is also improbable that Minister Vujić did not have to sign the check for 92,000 kn coming out of the budget, or, what's more important, that the Minister is not at all consulted about which projects would be supported by his Ministry and which they would ignore. (...)

/ Marica Risek in Dom i svijet, 15 October 2001 /

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CULTURE MINISTER ANTUN VUJIĆ

(...) Film's aim was to deny the responsibility of the Serbian aggressor on the Republic of Croatia and to lay equal blame on Croat defenders and Serb invaders. The film distorts the truth about the Homeland War, devaluing Croat defenders and deceiving Croatian public.

(...) Just as the Serbo-chetnik criminals committed aggression against the Croat people ten years ago, your Ministry, with a subsidy of 92,000 kuna, has now committed aggression against the Croatian culture.

That is why the Croat Pure Party of Rights (HČSP) demands that you, Mr. Vujić, immediately submit an irrevocable resignation as the Minister of Culture in the Republic of Croatia.

/ Goran Rohaček, president of the HČSP Međimurje County Council, Međimurje, 16 October 2001 /

AN UPSET NATION

Reactions to the documentary film by a former Croat Television cameraman and later a freelance reporter, about the sufferings of the Croatian Serbs in the Knin Krajina in 1995 following the "Storm" military operation, have contributed to the unwillingness of the general public to make an attempt at bonding with their Yugoslav neighbors. The 50-minute long documentary film Storm over Krajina

upset the Croat public almost as much as the sirens of 1991. Knežević's film depicts crimes committed against Serb civilians and it shows the villages in Knin Krajina, which burned for days after the "Storm" operation. The film by a former HTV cameraman, who in 1991 started working for various news companies worldwide, upset the Croat nation more than the extradition of all generals to Hague Tribunal. One of the saddest assumptions was that it was a "Serbian pamphlet", a film ordered by the "enemy", made by a director plotting against Croatia. Film Storm over Krajina begins and ends with a speech by the present minister of restoration in Račan's government, Radomir Čačić, delivered in Croatian parliament, about the villages of the Knin Krajina being systematically torched so that Serbs would never return.

It was extremely difficult for the nation to accept documentary records wordlessly speaking of no war ever being completely just. A great number of Croats suspected it to be a falsification, some of them called for lynching "enemies of Croatia", and an overwhelming majority thought - since Croats were victims in the war, after all - these "individual incidents" were a common occurrence in a defensive war. Božidar Knežević's film, produced by the Zagreb Factum film company, was broadcast on the Croatian national television after many internal as well as public discussions about whether the nation needed that kind of truth. The rumor has it that it was the Croat president who insisted it be broadcast, and the main HTV argument for airing of Storm over Krajina was the fact many big European TV networks had already broadcast Knežević's film and a network particularly interested in buying the rights to it was the Serbian Radio-Television. This should serve as the ultimate proof for the "psychological obstacles" to bonding with Serbs and Serbia, as recommended by the national diplomacy. Past ten years flowed through Croatia like water. When the floodwaters retreated, the old question rose to the surface once again - who started it?

/ Zorica Stanovuković in NIN 18 October 2001 /

THE CYRILLIC LATINICA

We found the first Latinica of this fall, shown on Croatian Television on the 1 October, to be in the familiar anti-Croat spirit. The same opinion was expressed by the renowned attorney Željko Olujić in his (re)marks on the introductory film Storm over Krajina. Balance of forces in the studio was also something already seen: five participants on the side of Balkania and only two for the state of Croatia. This plan met the requirements: for those who would say what they want not to hear what they do not want to hear in the same amount.

/ Ivica Karamatić, Posušje in Hrvatsko slovo, 19 October 2001 /

TO DRAGO PILSEL AND ALIKE

Regarding your appearance on the TV show "Latinica", the episode called "Storm over Krajina", aired on the 1 October 2001, I would like to say to you personally, Drago Pilsnel, you who had the audacity to compare Maja Freundlich with the war-monger and criminal Vojislav Šešelj (seen in his element in the film, too), simply: "Shame on you" - if only you had any shame at all. (...)

From the faces of all you like-minded people, including Anto Nobile, general Tihomir Blaškić's attorney, who has so far got millions out of the trial, one could read bad playing of the role I believe you were all well paid for. (...)

For instance, in this "Latinica" and that pseudo-documentary film "Storm over Krajina", they mention around 20,000 Serb houses burned down after the "Storm" - a figure Nobile, accusing the Croatian government, corrects to 22,000.

The question is, who counted all these houses and who burned them down, because it could also have been done by the owners while leaving - thus it was surprising, unless he was ill intentioned, for a lawyer to say it.

But if it, God forbid, were the truth, then I am asking you - what is that compared to 183,526 damaged or destroyed residential buildings (the fact quoted from the newest, third volume of the Croatian Encyclopedia, the chapter about the Homeland War), not to mention all the destroyed sacral, cultural and public buildings during the aggression of the Great-Serbiens, mostly chetniks from Croatia - which is something nobody is answering for?

Dr Ružica Čavar, president of Croatian campaign for life and family

/ Hrvatsko slovo, 19 October 2001 /

HTV SERVING THE "NEW TRUTH"

(...) Latin's "Latinica" showed Knežević's film "Storm over 'Krajina'" and similar recordings of the crimes committed by Croat soldiers against helpless Serb civilians. There was almost no difference between the idea or purpose of the scenes in the film and the scenes shown during the war by the Serbian Croativorous propaganda machine, sometimes managing to fool even the BBC. Author's choice of subject as well as editing of the material do not even attempt to conceal his intention of justifying chetnik war crimes - the film never even mentions them! The well-tuned duo Puhovski&Pilsel pillories all those who saved Croatia - the military and government leadership, the soldiers who honorably defended their home - talking only about the misdemeanors of the "dogs of war", without which there is no military conflict anywhere in the world. Presumably, it should serve to person-

alize guilt, but at the same time, it advertises the idea of a pointless war made by a traitorous government of criminals.

As 3 January 2000 is wearing on, it is getting increasingly clear that we are forced, wholeheartedly and deliberately, into renewing the notion of everybody's responsibility: formerly ustashas, today once again a genocidal nation of criminals. With Belgrade laughing sneeringly and The Hague Chief Prosecutor smiling approvingly.

/ Hrvatsko slovo, 19 October 2001 /

AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT ANTE BELJO TO THOSE PROPAGATING "DOCUMENTARY" FILM "STORM OVER KRAJINA"

Numerous articles have been published in Croatia as response to Nenad Puhovski's open letter addressed to me, which I never got, leading to conclusion the letter was actually never intended for me - it was rather a futile attempt of Mr. Puhovski's to justify a shameful film in the eyes of public.

I am still, as most Croats, deeply disappointed and shaken by the fact film "Storm over Krajina", which is nothing but gruesome anti-Croatian propaganda of the worst kind, was funded by taxpayers' money, in time when government is trying to save on even the most socially handicapped Croat citizens.

If the Hampton Film festival organizer, after seeing the film, decided that in it we accused ourselves of crimes, then it means that the film left him with such an impression, just as it left all of us here with the same impression, just as it would leave all those who will ever watch it with the same impression. Of little importance is thus Puhovski's plan to change the lines advertising the film to: *"The 'Storm' meant freedom for the whole occupied Croatian territory"*.

The inevitable conclusion of those who will watch the film in the end will still be summed up in the words of the film festival organizer: *"Operation 'Storm' was the name for ethnic cleansing of 500,000 Krajina Serbs"*, and further, *"with this groundbreaking film the producer accuses his own people of crime"*.

Savo Štrbac, an ex attorney from Zadar, a *"minister"* in the so-called SAO Krajina and the acting president of the Serbian organization "Veritas" in Belgrade, recently said, *"If the commanders of the most important Croatian military operations are found guilty in The Hague (something we are working on), then these commanders will be officially known as war criminals (Gotovina and other generals, A.B.), and operations they had conducted will officially be known as criminal activities. A war involving criminal activities cannot be defensive or a "homeland" war - it is rather a war waged by aggressors and criminals. For this reason, a state growing*

out of crime cannot continue to develop - it needs a change in structure. This is an opportunity for us Serbs to establish sovereignty of the Republic of Serb Krajina, using all legal and legitimate means."

If some Serbs, as Savo Štrbac noted, recognized events surrounding the Homeland War as criminalization based on which they would claim right to "*Krajina*", asserting that Croatia, as a state growing out of crime, has no right to independence, if a film - authorized by the Croatian Ministry of Culture - left even the impartial people with an impression of trying to accuse its own people of crimes, if in Croatia Croat defenders feel the need to organize themselves into a Headquarters for the Defence of the Dignity of the Homeland War - then it is really high time for some of those in the power to ask themselves: aren't we, in fact, doing something terribly wrong?

We Croats must be really the greatest masochists in the world, using our taxpayers' money to fund lies about our own genocidal nature, even when it is blatantly obvious it is a defensive war, recognized as such by all relevant officials in the world, as well as the international media!

In the film, Mr. Puhovski referred to the truth. But if Mr. Puhovski really cared about the truth he would have shown the whole of it, not only a segment which - taken out of the whole, with a switch in the cause and effect thesis - created a completely different impression of the whole. Images of the Freedom Train followed by the images of "*the monstrous Croat crimes*" clearly attest to the propagandistic character and task of the film. Why didn't the film mention events (establishing of various "autonomous Serbian provinces") and crimes committed in the area from 1990 until 1995? Why didn't they mention the "*Krajina government*" commands for Serbs to retreat from Croatia and president Tudman's message to the same people to stay in Croatia?

Why didn't they interview at least some of the Serb exiles, now living in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, about how they were forced by the so-called "*Krajina*" militia forces to leave their homes, in order to stage a call for foreign intervention, and how they were forced to destroy their own property just so that "*ustashas*" wouldn't take possession of it?

Mr. Puhovski holds it against me that I, as a member of the HRT Council, never spoke about documentaries broadcast by the HTV during the HDZ "*rule*", in which the truth was supposedly "*systematically distorted, covered up and falsified*". What is Mr. Puhovski trying to say?

Were crimes taking place in Voćin, Čelije, Dalj, Lipik, Pakrac, Slavonski Brod, Ilok, Škabrnja, Kijevo, Novigrad, Osijek, Dubrovnik, Vukovar - lies? Were those events and those films - fabricated?

Films like "Storm over Krajina" - using various fragmented recordings of individual reporters with clear motives, edited according to somebody's dirty daily political needs and attempts at "de-Tudmanizing" and de-Croatizing Croatia - serve to methodically put blame on Croat people, like those organizations and individuals who, in a frantic search for the "crimes" of Croatian defenders in Krajinić, digging up graves in Knin, found only bones of Italian soldiers from WWII. Wasn't their accusation of Croatian defenders - a lie?

Watching this film, a switch in the cause and effect (of war) thesis offers itself to the uninformed (most of them in America are) - a switch in the thesis about the victim and the aggressor.

No war is holy - the only war that is just is a defensive war. The side that was pushed into the war, which did not want it, which was unarmed and which only fought on its own territory and exclusively in self-defense - cannot be accused of genocide.

There are innocent victims in every war, there are individual crimes of which many in Croatia have already been convicted, but - I have never heard of a country, even among those waging wars on foreign territory, to (in the name of any kind of democracy) represent its army in the way Croat army was represented in this film.

The thing constantly being hushed up (to whose benefit I do not know) is the fact that - despite the force and the intensity of Serbian aggression and a fourth of Croatian territory being occupied - during the war, the Croat people treated Serb population with much less hysteria, in far milder anti-Serbian atmosphere than America has been treating their citizens of Islamic origin after the 9/11.

Gentlemen propagators of the film, a Croat man can recognize all those who, promoting foreign interest, readily tell half-truths, making our defensive war look like one of the most inhumane aggressions Europe has seen in the past century, thus minimizing all patriotic, liberating and humane significance of the Homeland War.

Is this film not part of the same propaganda remembered from the films "*Magnum Crimen*" by Viktor Novak and "*Okupacija u 26 slika*" (Occupation in 26 pictures) by Lordan Zafranović?

(...) And as for those who lightly use the cheap phrase "hate speech" to label anyone who thinks differently, they should know that a label cannot substitute an argument.

All those behind the film know that the Croat people can be forced into the third Yugoslavia only with the "*genocide*" label.

/ Dom i svijet, no. 357, 22 October 2001 /

CULTURE MINISTER'S ANTI-CROATIAN DIRTY WORK

(...) As a citizen of this country who remembers the terror of the Karageorgevich rule and the empire of Josip Broz, I suggest and demand that:

The names of all partakers in this anti-Croatian dirty work of the minister and his assistants, i.e. advisors, as well as the names of the Committee members who appropriated funds for making of this pamphlet - be publicly printed in daily press.

President immediately remove minister Vujić from office. A man who uses our money to fund such films cannot be a minister in the Croatian government.

/ Ivan Polić, Zagreb in Večernji list, 22 October 2001 /

I'M WATCHING LATINICA ON HTV SO DON'T TAKE IT AMISS IF I'M A LITTLE PISSED-OFF

(...) And here's another proof that quoting history to Serbs and Croats of today doesn't help much: during the worst fights in Bosnia I was in Copenhagen, working as a translator at a meeting between three kinds of Bosnians (i.e. their health ministers) and the World Health Organization. In the delegation from Pale, there was a certain Mrs. Travanj*. Chatting during the break, we broached the subject of her last name and its origin. She was wondering why she had it when she was a Serb. I told her about the time when folk-names for months were all the same for Serbs and Croats, who didn't even know they were two different people (as one tribe they founded a settlement, and that Greek - Porphyrogenet, was that his name? - called them "Serbs or Croats" and so on). I mentioned the Knjaz Decree. "So, they stole that from us, too", was all she said.

Serbs and Croats of today do not seem to get it that they have become it as result of Romanticism and national movements of France, Italy and Germany. Even then, they emerged not as conflicting but as brotherly nations, united in their struggle against the Turkish, Austrian and other invaders.

I am watching "Latinica" show on Croatian Television so don't take it amiss if I'm a little pissed off. Today they are talking about Stolac. The other day it was "Storm over Krajina". And now I remember the 8 o'clock news my grandpa from Dubrovnik anchored in the 1980s and his description of unveiling the monument to Dživo Gundulić. Him saying how Croats as well as Serbs gathered and celebrated, how Croats only sang whilst Serbs sang and danced. That was the only difference the man noticed.

/ Cvijeta jaksic, pvc@xnet.it, 22 Oct 2001 /

* Croatian name for April

KNEŽEVIĆ : NO CRIME CAN SERVE TO JUSTIFY ANOTHER CRIME

How do you comment on the fact Storm over Krajina was made by our man, whilst the film about Srebrenica was made by a BBC reporter?

First, I don't know if I am an "our" man anymore, being part of the so-called interior emigration. Montenegrin by birth, I studied and worked in Zagreb, not being a Croat citizen - so some might say I had no right to make this kind of a film. So, basically, I am a stateless person who couldn't remain indifferent to the fate of my yesterday's homeland, to the fates of my yesterday's neighbors. (...)

There can be no talk of anybody's or any kind of guilt unless we start with the individual. What are you, Božidar Knežević, guilty of?

I feel guilty for what was done in my name: the Montenegrin men who attacked Dubrovnik, the innocent Muslim people who were burned to death by Montenegrin chetniks on Kalinovik in 1992, or those persecuting Muslims all over the world. I am ashamed, for example, because I could get out of Sarajevo, where I spent the whole war, any time I wanted because I had a press card.

I didn't make the film because I thought Serbs were innocent. What interested me about the whole story was that the fact of Serbian guilt (and they were guilty of blindly following the politics served by Belgrade, about the ustasha danger, so in 1991 they rebelled and committed crimes against Croats in Vukovar) did not give anyone else the right to do the same, to retaliate in kind...

/ Dubravka Vojvodić in NIN, Belgrade, 25 October 2001 /

LATIN : BECAUSE OF THREATS AFTER "STORM...", I HAD TO EMPLOY SECURITY GUARDS

Which one of your Latinica shows has given you most satisfaction so far and why?

I was most pleased with two shows - very important ones - one was about Ankica Lepej, in which 100,000 people showed they trusted Ankica Lepej and only 10,000 believed Ankica Tuđman, in that all too familiar financial affair. This year, the most important show for me was the one in which we broadcast the documentary film "Storm over Krajina" by the late Božo Knežević - because we showed courage. Of

course, reactions followed. It didn't matter whether the film was good or bad, what's important is that we showed, through our reportage and in our style, that crimes in Croatia could have been committed by our side, too. For our Croatian swampy backwater - it was a huge thing. The saddest thing of all is that the whole issue is still being made to seem as if it was a matter of perspective. In parliament, a certain Ante Beljo said the film was garbage etc. People still don't want to face the truth, the reality - it doesn't bother me.

At the recently held yearly HND (Croatian Journalists' Association) assembly, there were suggestions Headquarters for the defense of the dignity of journalists should be founded. What is your view on the initiative?

I think the idea is great - being reporter is getting increasingly dangerous. I, for instance, regularly receive hundreds of threats, and at one point, I even had to employ security guards. Several journalists were even held hostage at some point, so one could expect crime increase and our profession is, not only now but it also was during the war years, very dangerous and risky, and I think that we should be able to get ourselves organized within our guild - to find ways to protect our colleagues - physically, financially and in all other ways possible.

Who are the people threatening you?

Those I mentioned - the people who have not made a clean break with hatred and hate speech.

/ Jozo Petričević in Novinar, 10 November 2001 /

MINUTES

from the 5th regular HRT Council meeting, held on the 21 November and 6 December 2001 in the HRT Home, Prisavlje 3, first floor, room no. 513

(...) Mr. Čović continued discussing the issue of program realization, commenting again on the already stated objections, taking an in-depth look at the "Latinica" show, in particular the episode in which film "Storm over Krajina" was shown.

His opinion was that in "Latinica" issues of extreme importance for our society were treated superficially, and that from its beginnings "Latinica" worked on cre-

ating more tension in our society, when after all the human tragedies and sufferings caused by war we should work on developing our society and help ease those tensions, support natural development which would result in production.

This is also a task for the HTV, and "Latinica" show, especially the said episode, contributed to this process in an ugly, negative way, causing more tension by unprofessionally treating a crucial question, to which there are more sides than one. This could also be seen from the viewers' reactions (as recorded by the Viewers' Service). This subject should have made for a whole TV project. It points to the weakness of the HTV - the lack of such projects, research projects, which would help for those painful subjects to simply surface to consciousness via TV screen. He then read in the papers that Mr. Čondić made a "counter-Storm", which later proved to have been untrue.

So, from this one can clearly see what the crucial problem is. It is the lack of research and critical, intellectual approach to such issues, in order to tell both sides those painful truths and for everyone then to accept them. With this kind of partial truths more of negative feelings and tensions in society are generated, which is not good.

(...) Mr. Antoniazio said that in discussions like these one should differentiate live shows from edited shows. Editing works miracles. And "Latinica" was edited. Therefore, responsibility lies solely with the editor.

(...) Mrs. Gačešić-Livaković remarked on the episode of "Latinica" in which the film "Storm over Krajina" was shown - regarding what was said earlier about the show being pre-recorded and the fact that in this way some serious accusations against certain people could have been edited out. She exemplified this with specific moments from the show when the host said nothing to the insults hurled at certain guests. She said Mr. Latin was too good a journalist to be making superficial shows, not responding to individuals throwing insults at the guests. She was also astonished by the choice of "Latinica" guests, i.e. how they were being invited according to their political orientation - chosen exclusively so that one political-ly recognizable side would dominate. She further remarked on the TV 8 o'clock news segment when, on "Storm over Krajina" author's death, they broadcasted the letter written by an independent producer from some Factum film company, containing monstrous accusations against all those who had an opinion different from his. In this letter, without any concrete evidence, he expressed doubt about the filmmaker's death being accidental. No news about death of any great Croat

man had ever been announced on the TV News in the same way like the death of this film's author, who had not even been a Croatian citizen. In this day and age, in Croatia still burdened with the horrors of war, anyone who can make such a film and even have it broadcast on prime-time Croatian Television should face the possibility that some people may not like it and that they would have to provide them with some answers. But, also, the HRT did not want to air the response to this film. At the time, it would have made sense. Now it probably would not because the author of the film is dead.

Mr. Kušan's opinion was that there have obviously been some omissions, considering everything previously mentioned.

(...) Mr. Grivičić's view is that some segments of the HTV news program can indeed be tendentious and that it was the reason why some people had left the HTV, but in his opinion not enough of them, because there are some more who should. This Council's task is to protect each journalist's freedom to work, but this support could not be unlimited and unconditional, because Council's task is also to evaluate whether there had been any professional departures and mistakes and to warn about such occurrences, so those responsible can answer for them. (...)

Because of everything that had been stated in today's discussions, and considering all, the HRT Council would have to start making decisions, which the editors of individual programs and the editor-in-chief would have to abide by. He asked if he could be told how much it cost to make "Latinica", "Forum", TV News and a music show. Such information was important for evaluation of each program, taking into account its contents, viewer ratings and quality.

/ Minutes were written up by Jadranka Šaško, HRT Council secretary /

PUHOVSKI : NOTHING COHERENT WAS SAID ABOUT THE FILM IN CROATIAN PARLIAMENT

Over the years, Nenad Puhovski, an eminent Croat intellectual, filmmaker, professor at the Zagreb Drama Academy and program manager of the "Factum" Center for Dramatic Arts, has suffered considerable inconvenience and attacks because of his democratic, anti-nationalist stance and work. But he came under the fiercest attacks over the recent few months as the producer of the film Storm over Krajina screened for the first time in spring at the Days of Croatian Film in Zagreb, and broadcast on Croatian Television in the Latinica show in early October.

What do you say to the reactions of some high-ranking officials in the present government?

When the question of the film was raised in parliament, the present government was noncommittal. In my opinion, there were two possible reactions - to say "Excuse us, we won the election, we appointed ministers, we called the election etc. so the film was perfectly legal and legitimate", or they should have told the former political elite, now opposition, "Gentlemen, you are discussing wrong things. The problem is not what the film shows, the problem is what you did, and the fact you are the ones responsible for what the film shows". It was amazing that nobody in Croatian parliament said any of it.

How will this film be received in other countries?

I hope that outside Croatia, at least to some extent, the film will avoid being used at "crime auctions". That is not what Storm over Krajina is about. The film captures a situation, a dark side of the war, a small segment of what happened in those areas where "Storm" took place, after the "Storm" etc. Of course, we could discuss different interpretations, but the facts remain - villages were torched and people were killed. Still, it needs emphasizing that in the whole former Yugoslav area we were the first and the only ones to make such a film. The film about Srebrenica was made by the BBC. So, there is still nobody either in Serbia or in the rest of the former Yugoslav area to have found enough courage to do such a thing. I don't think it was a particularly heroic act, I am merely stating the fact. There will come a time when other ex Yugoslav countries, too, will have to deal with the subject of war crimes themselves. The sooner, the better.

/ Blic, Belgrade, 20 November 2001 /

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON *STORM ...*

CROATIAN PARLIAMENT

10 October 2001

Transcript of the morning sitting

Kovačević, Anto :

Mr. Prime Minister, what was the interest of the Croatian government in funding the anti-Croatian film "Storm over Krajina", monstrosly demonizing the most glorious Croat victory in the Homeland War, which broke the spine of the Great-Serbian fascism and destroyed the myth of Serbian invincibility, as well as establishing Serbian terrorism, which aimed to destroy the Croat state. Just picture post-9/11 Osama Bin Laden on the American television explaining to American people how bad their politics is.

On numerous occasions, you insisted and called for ending of hate speech.

Why didn't you react to such a film, its sole leitmotif being pathological hate for everything Croatian?

Thank you.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you for your question. Who will answer? Prime Minister, Mr. Ivica Račan.

Račan, Ivica :

Personally, I don't know how this film was funded. Ministry of Culture co-funded it - precise data on the matter will be available shortly. I do not wish to polemicize on the merits of the film. I have already said I was not happy to see how the film has polarized the public opinion, provoking confrontations, but democratic Croatia should be able to rise to such challenges - that is my opinion. Another thing, we will have to examine, not only in this case but in many others, whether and if we contribute to hate speech. Unfortunately, and I cannot go further into detail, I am responsible to answer your question, it would turn out that as a state we unfortunately participate in the funding of many groups and institutions which repay the democratic state by spreading hatred and intolerance in Croatia, freely and without an embargo, which is a more complex problem.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you.

An additional question by Mr. Anto Kovačević :

Increasingly, the HTV is becoming a testing site for opinions of those who never wanted Croatia, and in the past 150 years of Croatian political history, treason has been the most lucrative business. By the way, congratulations to those who made this film, to those who aired it, because they finally did good for Croatia and Croat people - Croats are finally united.

I hereby ask you to do everything in your power to air the film once again and, believe me; the voters will say "no more" forever. Thank you.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you. Yes, you may give an additional speech. Prime Minister, Mr. Račan.

Račan, Ivica :

As for the HTV, you well know it comes within your competence, or the competence of parliament rather than the government, as far as the competence goes. I remind you of something you should already know.

And as for the first part of your comment, I just want to say this - problems in Croatia arise at the moment when radical extremist views from both sides meet head-on, from the left and from the right side, and as you could see, then they all savagely attack what should be national politics and what is the politics of the government.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. (...)

— **Beljo, Ante :**

Dear Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, this today's question of mine was meant for minister Vujić, but since he is not present here, I will then ask you. It wasn't meant for today, but here. The question concerns daily persecution and defamation of the Croatian defenders in this independent, democratic country. On Tuesday 1 October, on Croatian Television in the "Latinica" show, we had a chance to watch an anti-Croat propagandist film, akin to those from the Yugoslav Ranković era, entitled "Storm over Krajina", made by Božidar Knežević and Nenad Puhovski, and produced by the Zagreb Factum film company. My friends and I were flabbergasted when, at the end of the film, we read that this film had been supported and co-funded by the taxpayers' money, thus my own money as well, via Ministry of Culture, headed by Mr. Vujić. The HTV bought the rights from the producer, so the film was also paid for from our TV subscriptions and, as I was told, for a price much higher than average. Production of "Latinica" and its prime-time slot are regularly paid for by the HTV subscribers. A few days ago, from a friend in New York I received a film program promoting films from ex Yugoslav countries, all under the title "Conflict and Resolution", at the prestigious International Film Festival in New York, on the 18, 19 and 20 October. As part of the program, "Storm over Krajina" will be screened on Thursday 18 October at 2:30 pm.

— **Tomčić, Zlatko:**

Thank you, your time is up. Deputy Minister of Culture Mrs. Cvjetičanin will answer your question.

— **Cvjetičanin, Biserka :**

Mr. Beljo, this film, which was broadcast on TV, had indeed been co-funded by the Ministry of Culture with 92,000 kuna, but the film had gone through standard competition procedure. Ministry of Culture invited applications and a committee of cinematography and film experts gave their verdict, deciding the film was good. Since 3 January of last year, the Ministry of Culture has constantly been working on democratization, decentralization and de-monopolization of culture and that is the job of cultural workers, experts on culture who decide on the quality of submitted screenplays for short as well as feature films.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you. An additional question, MP Ante Beljo.

Beljo, Ante :

In the description of the film, now I'm talking about the film which was included in this film festival and advertised as, now I'll tell you... it says, and I quote: "Operation 'Storm' was the name for ethnic cleansing of Serbs in the area known as Krajina. Croats exiled 500,000 inhabitants, committing many crimes in the process. In this cinematographic breakthrough archival materials were used as well as testimonies with which the producer accuses his own people of crime." Then it says about the author, that he was born in Podgorica, former Titograd, Montenegro, that he worked at the HTV - I would add while Veljko Knežević was the chief executive - and then... it's all in here.

Will you, Mr. Prime Minister, call for your culture minister's resignation - who funded this film in full or in part, it's all the same, with taxpayers' money, giving it Croatian Ministry of Culture's seal of approval, thus making it hundred times more damaging for Croatia and Croat people. That is my question. Thank you.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you, Mr. Beljo. Prime Minister will now reply.

Račan, Ivica :

Mr. Beljo,

We could open a wider debate on this film, for all members of parliament, and government, too, to participate in. Then much more could be said about it, right now it is not possible. What I want to say once again is that I am not pleased about what happened in this, shall I say, democratic country. The problem is not so much in the making of such a film, which a fully democratic country should be able to tolerate, but the film propaganda... the propaganda. It is a completely different issue. Making of this film is one thing, propagating it is another. Yet another thing is what you just quoted, which is, of course, completely unacceptable -

but it is not propaganda, that will be held responsible for it. This context, defamation of "Storm" and Homeland War, is something this country and all democratic people in it cannot accept. We, therefore, cannot be held responsible for those all too familiar theories about the Homeland War, coming from all sides which, to put it mildly, are not in our favor, or those who, until recently, were our enemies.

As for the democratization of the cultural sphere, I suggest we deal with the report on the state of affairs in that sphere, and on the right of cultural workers to decide on projects in particular cultural spheres. Whether we should introduce some changes, should I say a regime, we will yet have to see.

And as to your question, I would like to propose reconsidering democratization of the cultural sphere, regarding the rights of cultural workers to decide about the achievements in the cultural sphere, instead of bureaucrats and the executive branch of government. I agree this item should be included on the agenda.

— **Tomčić, Zlatko :**

Thank you. Interrupting, Mr. Ante Beljo.

— **Beljo, Ante :**

Mr. Prime Minister, this film has nothing to do either with the truth, or with culture, it is nothing but the Ranković kind of propaganda. The film was to be broadcast on the Croatian Television on Croatian Statehood Day at the specific request of the President's office, and Mr. Tomislav Jakić - it's all out, it's no secret.

The question here, the key question is, if the film had been produced by, say, this Serbian "Veritas" society, it wouldn't have been half as bad, but the film had been given Ministry of Culture's seal of approval and it is something horrible, far more horrible than those Ranković's films about Jasenovac we watched in the 1960s, which came from Belgrade and which were even followed by murders. Somebody needs to shoulder responsibility for this. If for no one else, it should be done for Croat citizens of New York and of the USA, who are, in this day and age, faced with terrorism and they don't need more terrorism coming from Croatia with the Ministry of Culture's seal of approval. Thank you.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you. Do you wish to respond? Please.

Račan, Ivica :

Mr. Beljo, as I proposed earlier, the decision-making process in the cultural sphere can also be discussed as part of that debate. And if this parliament agrees that we should restore things so that it is only the Minister and the Ministry to decide on all projects in the cultural sphere, then responsibility will also be attributed accordingly.

But if there is going to be democracy and democratization of decision-making in the cultural sphere, then we have to take some risks - which in this case proved unfortunate.

Tomčić, Zlatko :

Thank you. Mr. Beljo, we could be interrupting members of the government ad nauseam, but I think this proposal is acceptable and if such an initiative is introduced, this parliament will discuss what Prime Minister has talked about. I think there is no need to be outwitting one another anymore. The proposal is acceptable, now someone just needs to undertake the obligation...

Beljo, Ante :

For certain ministers' deeds leading to tragic consequences, parliamentary debate is not enough...

Tomčić, Zlatko :

But please, do not interrupt. Do not interrupt. Thank you.

WEB DISCUSSIONS

HRVATI.de

politics and economy

HTV1 : Storm over Krajina < Mon 8 pm, phone: 060 401 >

Pozornik / Patrolman /

< 10/1/01 9:31:54 pm >

SINCE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FORCED CROATIA TO GIVE AMNESTY TO THE SERBS, IT WOULD ONLY BE FAIR IF CROATS WERE GRANTED AMNESTY AS WELL. IF THERE'S GONNA BE A TRIAL, THEN LET'S PUT EVERYBODY ON TRIAL, FROM GUERNICA, DRESDEN, POLTAVA, SEVASTOPOL, KATYN, ETC, ETC, ETC.

Muha / The Fly /

< 10/1/01 9:51:15 pm >

Is that so, you bearded Krajina - crimes before and after... Were you in the tractor-reilly as well? With a stolen Croatian bike and fridge on it? Pozornik, only there Ams didn't tell on Ams, Russians on Russians... Did you know that Denis Latin shit himself in Petrinja barracks in 91, honest, literally shit himself when he saw the chetniks?

Pozornik

< 10/1/01 11:12:42 pm >

I know they didn't, like the French didn't for Biafra or Catanga etc. Like the British didn't for the Golden Temple in Amritsar where they killed... during prayer, 8,800-9,000 unarmed Sikhs. Like the Ams didn't for Mi-Lay, napalm on children, Nor did Turkey for Armenians. There were more casualties in Ravno village, than during and around the Storm. Nobody's charged with Ravno crimes, they don't have a film funded from the Croatian national budget, on crimes committed against non-serbs in Croatia, like this film is funded from the budget. One thing I know: who forces a separate, ie special treatment of Croatia, that's not within the standards applied to everybody else, forces a new war, new bloodshed. If this continues, by spring we'll have Storm 2, ONLY THEN THEY'LL BE RUNNING AWAY IN BUDGET BMWs and AUDI sixes, route dutyfree-Ljubljana-International Community.

Predsjednik / President /

< 10/1/01 11:42:54 pm >

20,000 torched houses? Since they're so preoccupied with torched houses, then why don't they give the nation, ie viewers, information like where these houses stood (street, number). In the first film they kept mentioning the number 20,000, but I only saw a couple of houses burning, and even those filmed by the UN TV, which is very interesting. The Novi list reporter says he told Budiša "look, that village is burning, that village is burning", while interestingly enough, he didn't film "the village burning" even though he said he had a camera. Why doesn't nobody mention the possibility of Serbs torching the houses on their way out of Croatia (anyway, most of them weren't their houses to begin with)? (...)

Pozornik

< 10/1/01 11:45:02 pm >

Because this film was made by communists who wish to destroy Croatia and Croats. They even wanted to air it on the anniversary of the Storm!

Pit

< 10/2/01 6:45:06 am >

... so, where's the point in all this? Make no mistake about it. Criminals ought to be punished - all of them. Not give amnesty to some, and try others, regardless of nationality. The Serbs are returning... which is OK... some are given back their property... which is OK. What seems to me very dangerous is this: now they're no longer attempting to lay equal blame on the aggressor and the victim, but have even gone a step further. Serb crimes are downplayed, while possible Croat crimes within certain operations are emphasized, questioning the credibility of said operations. Latin and Latins didn't air a single show about the attacks on Croat towns and villages, the Croat exodus, they're not letting Serbs speak up about crimes which have brought shame on the Serbs. Such things only harm Serbs while wounds are still fresh and they do not contribute to the reconciliation and betterment of Serbs in Croatia.

Velebit

< 10/2/01 8:07:04 am >

Pit I'm on your side 100 percent. Not a single crime ought to be hidden. Not a single innocent citizen ought to be in any way damaged. Right?

Politix

< 10/2/01 9:09:20 am >

This is not talked about because Latin is a no-balls man like the entire HTV because they're nothing but paid scribblers, of a characterless and primitive regime at that. And under regime I mean the group of politicians in power, who only worry about European diplomats knocking on their door and calling them to account for spoiling the atmosphere of reconciliation.

No, let them be, Latin has done more for the fall of this government than the expert on economy Mate Crkvenac.

Predsjednik

< 10/2/01 9:50:08 am >

After this film I'm prepared to hang Latin by the balls on top of the Knin fortress.

Predsjednik

< 10/2/01 10:08:3 am >

I'd also add the film author speaks Serbian... Just so you know.

Tihomir

< 10/2/01 11:28:55 am >

Nenad Puhovski and brother. Everybody know what and who is behind the film. Real funny was that woman claiming to be a "lady". Savagely making fun of Tomčić and constantly insisting on Maja Freundlich's ethnic background. Bravo, a real lady! That I remembered and nothing else!.

Politix

< 10/2/01 11:32:22 am >

Was there that phone voting thing at the end of the film and how did it turn out?

Torcida TZ*

< 10/2/01 1:48:52 pm >

There was voting on the question: Should all war criminals be tried (ours included)? 74 percent yes, 26 percent no. And I believe Croatian people know what they're doing! If they had a voting like that in Serbia it would turn out the other way around...

Vlaj**

< 10/2/01 2:59:08 pm >

I had a good laugh watchin that rather poorly made documentary. And not a word should be lost on that Feral bum... we've been fucked... screwed...etc!

Nobilo was at his best again... he puts more faith in HHO than Franjo Tu_man's regime of ten years. He'd be better off explainin why Blaškić got 45 years on no evidence! I can imagine the amount of effort he put in provin Blaškić's innocence.

And one Serbian propaganda film like the other... only here we have the attempt to lay equal blame in process. And we better not be talkin about the film's funder. Croatian Ministry of Culture. Is there end to this farce?

Politix

< 10/2/01 6:11:09 pm >

Ministry of Culture: Was ist das? An Ante Vujić, a top-class drunk on the Square of Victims of Present Government.

Hladni / Cold Man /

< 10/2/01 8:01:57 pm >

One interesting detail about Mrs. Rudan. Believe it or not, she gets the Italian pension through her father (there are a lot of those in Istria). At a time, the Madam was employed as an associate for Radio Rijeka, but was removed during the Homeland War due to her "love for Croatia". When they removed her she said she'd come back as chief editor (instead of Travaš).

Has it crossed the madam's mind how (together with the rest of the scum, Puhovski for instance, they all are in their own way) her (their) time was coming? Even coming from Denis Latin, it's too much. Anyway, Maja Freundlich said it all bluntly.

predsjednik

< 10/2/01 11:29:06 pm >

Real funny was that woman claiming to be a "lady". Savagely making fun of Tomčić and constantly insisting on Maja Freundlich's ethnic background. Bravo, a real lady! I'd just add... does Maja Freundlich's ethnic background matter? She wants democracy, and is that what democracy's about?

ALL DIFFERENT - ALL EQUAL

That's the way it's supposed to be in real democracy. Just today I was watching a tape of the show. That Argentinean says he don't know what happened to his brother who's gone missing during the war. Well my opinion is that his brother disowned him when the Argentinean went over to the communists, which is why he didn't contact him (black humor). And did you notice how the patriots behaved politely and didn't interrupt the communists, while the communists tried to interrupt the patriots any way they could.

Torcida

< 10/3/01 9:53:16 am >

And you people don't know what you want! Now all of a sudden everybody like HDZ and talk against communists, and some 3 years ago everybody shat on HDZ and Tudman (Canjuga, Sheks). We're a people that's not used to democracy, before you couldn't curse the government so now we're on the loose.

I agree as well that the film wasn't truthful. Incidents committed by the Croat side mustn't be covered up, but it's a blatant lie that it was all organized. I just can't see what Franjo Tudman has to do with this film (only that present government allows the airing of what Franjo didn't in his time).

If HDZ wins the next elections Croatia will be worse than Albania.

Author

< 10/3/01 10:03:21 am >

What was it HDZ didn't show? Let's hear it!

And what is there for Ivica and Stevica "not to show"? They are controlling every newspaper except for Hrvatsko slovo whose subsidy was taken away by drunken Vulić because they "spread hatred". What is it then for the two of them to show or not to show when nothing that doesn't suit them can appear in public?

Or have you just landed?

Torcida TZ

< 10/3/01 10:44:07 am >

(...) Are ya really tryin to say this government runs the media more than the deceased (known as the king of censorship)? You can hate them for not being as much to the right as HDZ is and you can find an argument against them but this thing with the media you can never claim to be true if ya wanna stay grounded... You said it well about there not being anything for them to show or not to show, with this I agree because that's not their job. And if you like soccer then you'll surely remember how Dinamo* games were broadcasted as opposed to those of other Croatian clubs, how they showed mister President in the audience cheering his "sacred team" at least a dozen times during the game.

When did HTV show rallies where people booed Franjo and shouted something against him? Never, and you see that about Mesić every day. This TV today is neutral, this last Latinica's your ultimate proof! What interest would the government have making a show in which (a HDZ woman) Maja Freundlich turns out to be the smartest... None. And our former dictator did everything he could to manipulate with the HTV.

Actually, I don't give a damn about them...

Greetings to Politix, hi!

Politix

< 10/3/01 11:27:18 am >

This kind of censorship thing is a typical hoax bought into by those seeking revenge who are now running around passing on the same stories served by various NGOs. There's no doubt in my mind that FT adored himself and was prone to dictatorial behavior when there was need for it and when there wasn't.

But I'll allow myself a blasphemy here, something I said some ten years ago in a country on the other side of the globe and made everybody think I was crazy.

FT, such as he was, was more suited to the present Croatian situation than this government. For now, we still need a bit of (enlightened) dictatorship.

Here's an explanation for you.

The present, democratically elected government only in theory, is quite obviously turning Croatia into something it had been until 1990. Those who need more proof, let them go to the doctor's and have their perception checked (if there is such a doctor?).

predsjednik

< 10/3/01 11:34:35 am >

"I just can't see what Račan or Mesić have to do with this film (only that present government allows the airing of what Franjo never would have in his time)"

For your information tovar** (heh heh I'm a fan of Dinamo) the government funded the film with 92,000 kuna.

"If HDZ wins the next elections Croatia will be worse than Albania."

Why? Man people were badmouthing HDZ 3 years ago because they thought they were cheated, because the then opposition used Radio 101 and Jutarnji list, Novi list and shit like that to lie to people that there was some serious stealin going on in the country. There was stealin, every government steals... but HDZ didn't steal as much as these here talked promising HEAVEN if they got elected... And what happened later? Račan and Mesić saying "it's gonna be rough because it's only now that we understand the crisis and the debts we're in, because HDZ lied about the debts..." and things like that. Well fuck are ya really gonna believe that? That's a typically communist manuever of government takeover. The same thing happened in 1945. They were making promises left and right, that life would be better... and after the war stole from the peasants anything they could get their hands on, and the peasants didn't get a single dinar*** for it.

To get back to why three years ago they were cursing on HDZ and why now they love HDZ. I'd say probably because people saw how the communists (SDP****, HNS..) tricked them. SDP said HDZ was driving Croatia to ruin. Well hang on. In order for a country that has been through five years of war with half of it destroyed to develop, it takes AT LEAST 10 years to stabilize. HDZ was on the road to stabilization, but got prevented by external (ams and the like) and internal (sdp, hns) enemies of Croatia.

And a question for Feniks. If you're in favor of punishing every crime... then why didn't you as a young communist (at least) 40 years ago go protesting in front of the Belgrade city council about the trying of criminals who killed Croats at Bleiburg. Why didn't you go? Probably because that suited you, and now in your old age you're screaming about some crimes...

And what sort of crimes following the Storm are we talking about (civilian or not)? Killings of Serbs. Why? I consider them enemies. Why didn't they rebel against Serbian leadership during the so-called Krajina, to leave Croatia be. I can't say if at least one person did that.

*** currency of former Yugoslavia

**** Social Democratic Party, currently in power in Croatia

Četvrta Brigada / Fourthbrigade /

< 10/3/01 11:58:24 am >

If the HDZ and the Croatian block win the next elections, God willing, things are sure to pick up here in Croatia. I reckon HDZ learned from it's mistakes, and won't blow it once again.

Nobody's saying there wasn't individuals who offed a few old hags. But one thing's clear: Croatian Soldier didn't do no war crimes. That don't mean there was no individual crimes during the war. Not a single commander-in-chief ever issued a command, not even orally, to kill any civilian. In the beginning we defended ourselves as we could, because we didn't have no means for no offensives. During Storm the Croatian forces most arrived to empty towns and villages. Real fighting happened only the first day, the hardest on the Velebit and in the area around Gračac. The SHITTO Krajina's army had loose second and third lines, so when the first line went down, the fighting was good as over. As you know, during the Storm the first line was being pushed from 30 different strategic directions, they had nothing to fight with. Panick broke out among their ranks. So that later there was no serious fighting at all.

The Storm couldn't have been about some great ethnic cleansing, cause the damn Serb himself carried out the evacuation of civilians. And anyone who has the opportunity to read the Leader's commands know precisely that there were orders to spare the property and civilians. So that means everyone that did it was disobeying Leader's command. And that says it all. And anyway it was in Croatian interest to take prisoners to be later exchanged for our own.

All in all they are once again trying to impose the guilt of genocide on us. And that's the purpose of the whole story.

This government violates the constitution and democracy, the referendum that should been held ages ago was never held. They imposed the terror of censorship, there ain't a single independent newspaper in Croatia any more. Catching their own generals and defenders and at the same time giving amnesty to chetniks. Their time's up.

Feniks / Phoenix /

< 0/03/01 12:46:29 pm >

"Feniks, your stories are bedtime stuff, ain't nobody ever said that but seeing as you're one natural born liar, I'm not even surprised. You Serb scum."

As is custom "you clinched the matter"! As for the second part, forget it! In this forum you can hurl insults at Feniks all you want! If I were to retaliate in kind, Pit the Cerberus would erase my post in no time.

Mrki Kreso / Sullen Kreso /

< 10/3/01 1:13:57 pm >

"I just can't see what Račan or Mesić have to do with this film."

What's there not to see?

Mesić has to use all available means to prove that his testimony in The Hague had truth in it. That's why a lie has to be repeated a thousand times in order for it to become the truth. He don't care about the Croatian people and Croatian state, all he care about is covering his own ass. And Račan needs to belittle Tudman's work as much as he can and "prove" there was no need for war. This would put him into the lime light as the most prominent politician of the last two decades. For a communist leader that would be unprecedented in all transition countries.

Parity

< 10/4/01 9:02:37 am >

The objective of this show is clearly a Commie-Udba* plan of turning facts and the entire glorious recent Croatian history upside down: the liberation of Croatia is a crime, and there was no Serb aggression. That's what comrades Mesić and Račan need, as much as their sponsors from the ranks of world political mafia. The entire show is in fact one big pile of shit, a perfect reflection of the moral and spiritual state of this anti-democratic regime in Croatia.

One needs to commend, however, the things in the show that were good, objective, truthful, based on reason and facts, as well as what defended Croatia and Croatian interests from vile Commie-Udba deceits and accusations.

One needs to commend Maja Freundlich and Željko Olujić. These persons who were in this show assigned merely the function of giving aliby by those who staged this entire action of brainwashing "the broad masses", resisted firmly. Such persons should be backed, showing the current Mesić-Račan regime that the Croatian people will not accept such scenarios in which the Homeland War, the soldiers and Franjo Tudman are slandered, and in which scum like them surfaces.

kupa 01

< 10/4/01 9:29: 50 am >

Dear Sirs!

This is my first time on this forum so you'll show understanding for my nervousness. Monday evening, to my regret, I watched Latinica. In my opinion, it is not the

* Former Yugoslav state security service

film's airing that is questionable, the problem is that there is a whole lot more of what is not discussed.

It's the year 2001. Ten years ago, thousands of people were brutally killed in Croatia and not a word said about it. A few things about Vukovar, nothing special. Ten years ago, in early October, my little village (barely 40 houses) was burned to the ground. Seven people were slaughtered, later an old woman as well.

Everybody knows who did it (four villagers survived the horror), but nobody was ever held responsible, it was never in the papers or on TV.

And that village of mine is not an isolated case, there were even more people killed in the neighboring villages and the same thing happened in thousands of villages all over Croatia.

Why is it that nobody on the HTV talks about what went on 10 years ago? Why are all the newspapers silent?

It is not for me, because I remember. Many young people don't know anything apart from what is shown on TV.

And that's the problem.

How do you explain it to them that what the fancy TV reporters are saying is not the only truth?

How does one behave? What can I do?

Sincerely, Kupa.

Torcida TZ

< 10/4/01 10:32:45 am >

My dear forum guys

You overestimate the power of the Croatian President (chosen by the majority of Croats!). Like he executes every action personally; the man's got to have time for arrests, manipulating the papers and the HTV. (...)

Plus: if this HDZ was that great they wouldn't have been crushed at the last elections. (Only the diaspora - I don't know what business they've got voting in the first place - gave them 90 percent of their votes, so go figure...)

Just so you know I agree that film's exaggerated but it was called "Storm over Krajina" not the Homeland War, kupa 01. They couldn't have showed the whole story right from the beginning. I'm sure you're right about Vukovar, your village, etc. but this film focused on the Storm alone (by no means a crime, but heroicism!) But people who did crimes have to be punished, whatever side they fought on. And that was confirmed by phone voting that Croats feel that way, 74 percent: 26 percent..

kupa01

< 10/4/01 11:11:29 am >

I already said the problem isn't that film, but the fact that no films are shown on HTV dealing with what I writ about. The question in the phone polling was very distorted. The assumption, that can be read from this, is that there are Croats who think it's OK to commit crimes.

Such questions, of the kind: "Give me yes or no, does your father know you're queer" are all over the papers, and now the TV as well.

ajkula / shark /

< 10/4/01 1:11:19 pm >

I don't want to debate about anything with your kind I'll simply ignore you, because the likes of you helped me during the war. Namely they sent munition down the barrel..

Feniks

< 10/4/01 1:16:35 pm >

"In my opinion it's not the film's airing that's questionable, the problem is that there's a whole lot more of what's not discussed."

You mean, they committed far more crimes? Well one can't cram it all into the one hour of the film.

"ten years ago thousands of people were brutally killed in Croatia and not a word said about it. A few things about Vukovar, nothing special".

The film discusses the crimes committed by Croats against Serb civilians following operation "Storm". Innocent blood was spilt, and only few people were brutally killed during the war and that by twisted individuals (regardless of the side they were on).

"Ten years ago, in early October, my little village (barely 40 houses) was burned to the ground."

Also after operation "Storm" over 25,000 houses were burned down!

"Seven people were slaughtered, later an old woman as well."

That means crimes were committed! (...)

"Why is it that nobody on HTV talks about what went on 10 years ago? why are all the newspapers silent?"

Ask them! You write it down, they'll publish it!

"It's not for me, because I remember".

You better not forget it!

"Many young people don't know anything apart from what's shown on TV. And that's the problem".

What, according to you the TV should be airing pictures of crimes every day? Now that would be a real problem!

"How do you explain it to them that what the fancy TV reporters are saying is not the only truth?"

If they're talking about Varivode, then that's certainly not true about Vukovar! Or do you think reports should run like this: "Ten civilians were killed in Varivode, but on the Ovčara the Serbs killed 240 wounded from the Vukovar hospital!"

"How does one behave?"

Intelligently! A crime's a crime and should treat it accordingly!

"What can I do?"

Write in the papers! Make a film!

ajkula

< 10/4/01 1:33:14 pm >

Maybe you're mistaken, this ain't no HTV, this is Crapčan's Jutel, but when we come to power we'll restore HTV. This is for us a window into the world of truth.

Feniks

< 10/4/01 1:33:14 pm >

"That's way this is for us a window into the world of truth."

When you say "truth", you befoul it. You and the truth! Whatever!

ajkula

< 10/4/01 1:48:49 pm >

Penix, you're an UDBa man.

Feniks

< 10/4/01 1:48:49 pm >

Ajkula, you're crushing me! How did you see through me!? And disqualified me! Straight away.

ajkula

< 10/4/01 1:50:29 pm >

Penis, I'm sorry, I is wrong you're a KOS birdie*.

bosna5 / bosnia5 /

< 10/4/01 5:09:16 pm >

We're lucky ya weren't on the frontline, cos many wouldave lost their balls. & I saved my own neck by keepin it close to the tv & ccn & franjo's tv. as for the missin "argentinian", he's got a first & last name just like many innocent & patriotic victims. If you been to the church you'd know you don't fuck with the dead, especially them who are gone, carrying the name croatia in their hearts, and not deutch mark, or yer bill laden dollar. Shame on you president & you moderator that don't acquaint such characters to civilization.

death to fascism - freedom to the people!!

drnišanka / drniš woman /

< 10/4/01 6:54:23 pm >

Dear kupa 01, first of all I'd like to welcome ya to forum.hrvati.de. "All Croats in one place HRVATI.DE." is what ya probably saw writing on the page when ya get in...

It's nice to have ya with us... ya needn't be nervous... if ya want go the subforum "meeting". (...)

As for the last Latinica twas easy to see whose in charge here in Croatia and what their morals are. Disgusting! Croatian tv's no longer ours... like most of the media, if not all. Those media are now making a victim out of brutal aggressor!

I condemn all crimes especially against old and frail.

The Croatian army freed their country from the aggressor... of course there was vengeance but by individuals.

However, Croatia is a victim of aggression!!! Croatia had heavy casualties plus who can tell how many people are missing and whether their alive!? Uncertainty about where their loved ones are and whether their alive... that must be such a cross to bear for those struck by that misfortune. Tudman appealed to the Serbian people not to leave their homeland Croatia... but some wanted their mother Serbia and them that didn't were driven by force. Not by Croats but by their own Serbs. Eh now the world wants to remove distinctions between victim and aggressor...

Croats will not allow it, and those Judas who are helping them when are they gonna answer for it... hopefully!!!

* a pun, "kos" also means blackbird

Pit

< 10/4/01 8:06:17 pm >

If all that paperwork and all those films were merely in the function of exposing crimes committed by individuals on the Croatian side - there would be no problem. It is necessary for Croats to face their dirty laundry, the sooner the better for them as well as others.

However, this is about something else.

Like Croats were tormented about the Ustasha movement for 50 years, while many younger people had no idea who ustashas were. Even I who haven't read a single ustasha book am being called ustasha by some. And I've read a bunch of Marxist books and wrote speeches for comrade first lieutenant in the JNA, and union reports for unionists, I've got a lot of Marxist books in my library and not a single ustasha book, not calling me a Marxist. So, the goal is to accuse Croats of breaking up the best country in the universe and all around, of starting the war with the purpose of killing and exiling Serbs and, lastly, to declare the Homeland War a crime.

I hope you remember what the question in Latinica looked like.

And the footage?

The guy posing on the ground while them are kicking him... and stuff like that...

A house burning... whose? The number of 20000 houses is from the year 1991... not from the year 1995. Who was in "Krajina" at the time... I should think those were Croatian houses?

pozornik

< 10/4/01 10:49:09 pm >

Croats established a state, at the time of West - East interregnum in the area, and now the forces have consolidated so they're trying to either abolish the Croatian state, or make it counterproductive and pointless in the first place, make it repulsive to the very Croats. Later a NATOSLAVIA would be established on the principles - it's all fine as long as it's directed against Catholics, because Catholics are the only force able to offer resistance to the Masonic planetary almightiness.

kupa01

< 10/5/01 8:37:09 am >

Dear Drnišanka, thank you very much for your welcome and greetings.

It's nice to hear a good word from a good man. I've been reading hrvati.de for a long time, but decided to contact you only now.

It's not that the film grieves me, it's propaganda. The problem is that it was on the HTV, on the tenth anniversary of so many atrocities all over Croatia. Maybe something will happen. Last night on the eight o'clock news there was talk of the anniversary of the most brutal attack on Karlovac..

Pit

< 10/5/01 4:43:16 pm >

Interesting coincidence that this discussion and the film are being showed when many of our citizens are remembering the tenth anniversary of savage bombings of their towns...

I remember in my town July 4 - at least 500 shells were fired at the town, at the same time from their apartments Serbs were shooting at frantic people who ran the streets looking for shelter... On the eve of these anniversaries I'm watching the TV screen handcuffed volunteers who in those days had the balls to take a stand against those savages... In those days weapons for chetniks arrived in Croatia - today "documents" accusing volunteers arrive... same thing, different package...

Parity

< 10/8/01 9:26:19 am >

A message to croatian television and the editorial board of that establishment.

In the past few days HTV made it clear that for 10 anniversary they have the wish to devote little more time to Vukovar and Škabrnja.

- After HTV turned a deaf ear to devoting little more time to the unveiling of a monument to that bravest of all Croatian sons Franjo Tudman, sc D, the maker of a new Croatia.

- After Latinica, after the film Storm over Krajina and all the lies of the communist bolshevik proppaganda gladly accepted and aired by HTV.

- The people of Škabrnja send a message to Croatian television and its pro-communist editorial board - gentlemen, we don't need you!

We are victims of Serb agression on our homeland, your politics that you implement on HTV screens is well understood by all Croatian citizens. We don't want your offer, we don't want your help, because we know that with your help we would be seen by the Croatian and international public as agressors or would be portrayed as agressors and not our sweet Homeland Croatia as victim.

And Vukovar Croats should give them the same message.

HTV under the leadership of Galić, Latin and other cheerful (non)croats today does

no benefit to any Croat in the world nor can we learn anything useful from you. And our fathers would call you traitors, hirelings, you spit on and belittle the blood we spilt for the freedom of our sweet Homeland. Škabrnja is proud of all those who rose to defend their homes, eternal praise and glory to those who laid down their lives on the altar of Homeland's. Croatia is the only country in the world or in the history of this world that with the help of HTV and present government accuses its Country and people of crime and aggression. Our prospects are gloomy history owing to the bolshevik government in RH and HTV. How do you convince somebody of something else that is true, how do you explain it to some foreigner who doesn't know us that the film Storm over Krajina was made by a Serb, member of the JNA in 1991, who can you persuade of the truth that all of us and the entire Croatia were victims of Serb aggression.

Gentlemen Croatian history will be the judge of you.

Leave our fallen defenders to rest in peace. We don't need your propaganda, when we needed it you turned a deaf ear. For us in Škabrnja and for our Škabrnja people who are living abroad HTV (if we can call it Croatian anymore) is nothing more than a propaganda network of CKJ's or SDP.

Stay away from Škabrnja that we tell you publicly and openly. "GIVE ANYTHING FOR CROATIA, BUT NEVER GIVE CROATIA AWAY".

Parity

< 10/08/01 3:20:39 pm >

Academician Pečarić on Maja Freundlich

"I just came back from the HDZ Council in Mostar. I took advantage of the "commotion" and hitched a ride with Maja Freundlich, who was going there by car. Yesterday we were late at departure. Maja popped downtown and all the way people would stop her on the street and congratulate her. It was like that on the trip as well - wherever we stopped. And not just there. In Mostar - on the street, at the Council - the same. The police stopped us: "You're the one from Latinica? No need for papers, well done." And then comments would follow. Several times at the border. On return, it was even more interesting. "Don't worry, you did nothing wrong. Just routine inspection." And when the policemen realized who he was talking to, "You would've gotten off with anything!"

Ordinary folk probably don't even know her name. But they know the greatness of what she achieved with her superb appearance on the show. (...)

Yuja

< 10/11/01 9:39:41 pm >

I support the criticism directed to the HTV because in the last ten years it didn't show the suffering of innocent Croatian civilian victims. There are no brave Croats. The fact that once again a foreign woman turns out to be the bravest person in the area proves it.

Danke Deutschland - for the second time!

spokojan / peaceful /

< 10/31/01 7:55:07 am >

That film was made by a Serb Božo Knežević... he tried speaking Croatian but badly... there was a lot of Serb words there... at one point a Serb word popped out... then mister Olujić couldn't take it no more so he corrected him... to which the guy backed off with tail between his legs, correcting himself with the Croat version of the word. Mister Olujić was great in the show... and it's a good thing that Latin had this in his show because I hope Croats will realize what the intentions of Puhovski, Pusić, Račan, Mesić & co. are.

The makers of the film Božo Knežević and Nenad Puhovski... are very obviously trying to remove distinctions between the Croat army and paramilitary formations of Serb rebels and the JNA. As everywhere else, there are criminals, so why don't they try to prove it in the case of ww2 and why didn't they make a film about Bleiburg and the crimes of SFRY. It's obvious enough to the smart what the intentions of these people are. They just can't make peace with the fact that during the HDZ reign Croatia achieved independence and enjoyed military success and that it's a very measurable fact that every inch was liberated even though 1/3 of the country was occupied. That's a very measurable category and that's what's eating these people up. In their madness, they challenge even the greatest values of RH among which both statehood and sovereignty, and which are future of Croats and Croatia. (...)

To get back to the film... Storm over Krajina... even the very title of the film shows the intentions of its makers and how much August of 1995 pains them. But for us Croats that's the time of pride and glory. Now's the time of Puhovskis, Pusićes, Kneževićes... but the Croatian people are a bit tired of it all so they're lying low for a while... but their attempts are futile because more and more people are beginning to realize the greatness and accomplishments of the late president Franjo Tuđman, more and more Croats from Croatia. And to us Croats from BiH in the end he didn't do much good, only to the few who got rich on the wings of democracy and homeland war. But we forgive him to a great extent because we respect the fact the Republic of Croatia was created as a sovereign and free mother homeland of all the Croats in the world. For the first time Croats don't have to be under foreign rule but can go back to their home in their Croatia. If only things would look up for our homeland - I'm an optimist.

ILIRIJA

ILLYRIA.net - Forums

Controversial documentary "Storm over Krajina"!

Croatianess

In tonight's Latinica, they will show the controversial documentary film Storm over Krajina by Božo Knežević. Since this is the first film dealing with war crimes committed during and after the "Storm", one can expect it to raise numerous questions - mostly because of the impression that its aim is to lay equal blame on Croat and Serb soldiers.

Croatianess

Disintegration of the Croatian state continues with full force. Did Croat soldiers do the right thing when and if they liquidated Serbs - this shouldn't be taken out of context. Of course we Croats are happier when there are fewer Serbs in RH (except maybe SDP - since they are their voters).

XymoS

And where are you gonna put me? I voted for SDP and if they asked me, no Serb would have arrived to BiH after the "Storm". Not on their own feet.

Originally posted by Xymox

I thought something stank here, and look, it was Xymox. And why don't you Croats have your own language instead of speaking broken Serbian?

XymoS

You are naive, I'm not going to say stupid, although I think so. You better drop SDP! You think so? Who said it was me holding onto SDP? Was there a better choice at the last election? Come on, show some democracy and recognize my vote - if I could suffer 10 years of dictatorship under the guise of democratic election.

Darko

Croatianess, once again you use lies and imputations in style of Ivan Pašalić. You should know your fascists' days are numbered. I am no communist nor will I ever be.

Red stinker was indeed our late dictator (excuse me, president). He was Tito's red general - his kitchen boy.

Indeed, there are ex communists in the present government, but they are communists no longer and they never gave us any shit in communism either, at least not the bunch in the government now. And you can see those people are democrats - they can cooperate with five parties.

Nobody was fleeing parliament in 1991? Your lies are so transparent nobody believes that shit anymore! Who can HDZ cooperate with? Nobody.

Whose is totalitarian propaganda? HDZ's. Who went to war with Bosnian Muslims? And did the stupidest thing in Croatian history? HDZ and Tudman.

I remember well the htv 8 o'clock news from 1993 which even now makes me sick (it is probably still there in the htv archives), Tudman and Milošević drooling over the map of Bosnia and Milošević saying to Tudman: "Bugojno has always been Croatian!" And in return, Tudman "offered" him towns with Muslim majority. According to this plan, Serbs should have got 80 percent of BiH, Croats 10 percent and Bosnians 10 percent. Because of this Herzeg-Bosnia project and division of Bosnia, Croatia suffered international isolation and lost confidence of those who favored us in 1990/91: (Margaret Thatcher, Alois Mock, H.D. Genscher, etc.).

What would have happened had HDZ remained in power in 2000? Who would be in the government? Pašalić, Šeks and Krpina. Thieves Kutle and Gucić wouldn't have been prosecuted and Croatia would have been in complete international isolation. And don't mention Stalin. Of course Stalin is the same kind of human garbage as Hitler. Dirty propaganda machine of the drunken Šeks and his hdz-ilk equate present government with the time of Stalin. Why? Because they are incapable of offering anything to potential voters. They have no political program - they only know how to jeer at the present Croatian government. Nobody was comparing honorable Croatian defenders and chetniks - that is just another imputation of you and your kind! It's, however, about those who cannot bear the fact privileges they were unjustly granted in the former regime would be taken away. There was nowhere in the world so much injustice as Tudman's regime did to the Croatian people. And don't call me a commie or Yugoslav, because I am not nor have I ever been - unlike Tito's former general. You forget that in the early 1990s some 30 new national states emerged - and the fact some people proclaimed Tudman god, they did it only to create an alibi for an unprecedented robbery, economic crime, political crime against us the neighboring country and crimes in Croatia, which were deliberately never punished.

Croatia would have been without Tudman and his HDZ turds.

Stipe Mesić is a hero because he broke silence - I admire his courage, my hat goes off to him! People realized who the best man for modern Croatia was. That's why Stipe won the presidential election so easily! And that is what 85 percent of Croats

truly want - a Europe-oriented, developed, truly democratic country. Nobody wants either communism or Yugoslavia - it's the same shit as HDZ regime. So don't impute such things to me anymore. And don't be using "I love Croatia" just because you've got an inferiority complex. I know those "Great Croats" who brought greatest evil upon this land. They wave flags so hard, until their muscles go numb. All of it trying to deal with their frustrations by taking them out on others (some of them also to keep the privileges Tuđman gave them having taken bread from the people). It is necessary that we de-Tuđmanize this beautiful country of Croatia completely. Tuđman was a stinking bastard and one of the greatest evils in the history of this people. The son of a bitch wasn't visionary, no father of the nation, he was just a turd that infringed human rights, that committed crimes in a neighboring country against Bosnians, and in collaboration with Milošević, that was responsible for robbing this country, for the atmosphere in Croatia in the 1990s, charged with hatred and fear. And I'm not talking about Serbs now, don't try to impute it to me, I'm talking about Croats oppositionists who could have been killed for having a different opinion. Some were. Examples: Marina Nuić, Blaž Kraljević, Ante Paradžik.

HDZ was offering SDP a coalition, in case you didn't know, and the things it is saying about SDP today is something very similar to what it was saying about the HSLS* at the time. (...)

My Croathood is not questionable, but I wonder if you are a Croat! Cos how can creature like you be a Croat - Croats are famous for their antifascist tradition.

YOU saying you love Croatia is the same as a guy telling a woman he loves her, only to get a screw.

You don't love Croatia nor will you ever, so stop lying.

You are only capable of lying, manipulating and slandering, just like your cronies from HDZ and HIP, of everything else - you're incapable! (...)

You HDZ people are no makers of the Croat state, you're nothing but thieves, crooks and many of you are also serious criminals!

You people do not love Croatia so stop boasting about your so-called Croathood!

Croatiamag is no Croat, "Great Croathood" is his profession - such a liar, manipulator and criminal like you cannot be a Croat!

XymoX

You think so? Who said it was me holding onto SDP? Was there a better choice at the last election? Go on, show some democracy and recognize my vote - if I could suffer 10 years of dictatorship under the guise of democratic election.

Re: I do not accept SDP, voting for SDP - suicide. Croatian choice is better,

because the choice (SDP) of those who hate Croatia more than any other country in the whole world is no choice at all. Imagine Ingrid Antičević and Šime Lučin who joined SKH in 1990, after the fall of the Berlin wall, after the collapse of communist ideology, and what was their aim - preserving Yugoslavia. (...)

xxx

We will try you, Croatianness, because you support ten years of crimes in Croatia, unprecedented theft from Croat people and division of neighboring country's territory. You should know that your idol Tudman, if he was still alive, would be a convict in the Hague. And Croatia would have been without him and his turds.

Croatianness - CROATIAN SHAME!

gold mask

Tudman was a political donkey in the age of Tito. A book called "Events and testimonies" mentions Tudman, and only with the function of a "potentially dangerous nationalist element in Croatia"; Tito treated him like when he was chasing away a mosquito (that is how little this man mattered in those contexts).

Tudman boasted he had created the Republic of Croatia but he forgot that Tito with his partisan armies liberated Croatia, took back Istria, islands and good part of Dalmatia and established Croatia within the so-called Avonj borders - making its territory greater than ever before in the history. Tito gave Croatia a compact geopolitical frame.

Comrade Tito, those who appreciate what you did for each of the peoples of ex Yugoslavia are rare and few like those you led to the woods in 1941. And Tudman and Milošević are stealing your thunder, proclaiming themselves "fathers of the nation" or "national leaders".

Maximuss

So, with great interest I was awaiting the "controversial" film which allegedly proved Croatian crimes after the "storm". And, after the whole thing, I can say I have not seen anything so stupid in a long time. There were war crimes committed by our side, let's not pretend we're angels. Those war crimes should, of course, be punished in order to remove a stain from other fighters who defended their Homeland with honor. But, "Storm over Krajina" is such a shallow, perfidious and malicious piece of work, the credibility of which is questionable, to say the least. I will now pose just a few questions, ie give my opinion, and I will ask you to comment on it.

First, where is the evidence in the film? Anybody seen any EVIDENCE? That it was the Croat army that torched those houses. I'm not saying it wasn't, but, really, nei-

ther can the author of the film decidedly say it was, because it is nowhere to be seen. And those houses could've been torched by anybody. The same goes for corpses, shown in the film. How do I know who those poor people were, who killed them, when and where? There is - no evidence. It was interesting to see some Serb refugee reactions. Like, they had nothing against the state of Croatia, they were poor victims etc. And then that woman, in tears, leaving Knin cries "aaah, I thought Knin would never fall". Dear lady, Knin never fell, Knin was - liberated.

Certainly most interesting were stories of two old women in that village nearby Knin, I think it was Grubor. One of them really went into other dimensions, which I personally could not follow. First she was saying that she "heard, got wind of" and so on that "those in camouflage uniforms" were killing there. And there she goes on and on and on about it, she didn't see it, but she heard, when all of a sudden - A SENSATIONAL TURN OF EVENTS!!!

She goes into the house, shows something to the camera and says "it slain him, I saw it". I beg your pardon?! How come she saw it, all of a sudden?! But, never mind, then she talks about how army arrived, which "must have" slain those people but "them didn't touch her, even asked her if she wanted to eat".

I would like it if someone could explain to me, if our army came to that village and slaughtered everyone, how come that old woman survived?! The climax!? The climax was when, to the HTV question about the murdered rebel, the old woman said "he didn't have no weapons, I saw it". I mean, it's incredible, one minute the woman sees and hears everything and the next she says she heard it from someone else...

Another thing that, also, shocked me, was the Serbs' oration about the victims in the villages around Knin. No trace of emotion, shock, tears, all those things one could expect if their neighbors, family etc. got slaughtered...

Canadian officers' comments? Yes, that was indeed relevant, no doubt about it. Since with that pussy (and why didn't Serbs have a better defense, blah blah blah) they discussed alleged crimes, why didn't they ask him how come his colleagues let hordes of chetnik savages in Srebrenica slaughter several thousand Muslims in two days. It hadn't crossed their minds to make a film about that...

All in all - tragicomic, hollow, and with a very clear intention. As for the Latinica guests, well done to Pilsnel, Nobilo likes "playing tag", and the lady from Feral tribune - well, that was something. An incredibly stupid creature.

Maja Freundlich gave it to the esteemed company of "truth lovers" a few times, and they didn't even feel it. For instance, with the information printed in the "credible" Jutarnji list. The original photograph showed murdered Croats, whereas JL presented it as murdered Serbs. Brilliant.

So, now I would like to hear your comments, but no jeers please, if possible. If not, it's still good!

PS "Well done" to our television and the ministry which helped funding the film. They will do that, but showing a film about sufferings of Croat civilians, mass murders committed by chetnik. But, no, that's not "controversial"...

Konjbezrepa / Hotse With No Tail /

Here, since I was soldier at the time (Croatian of course) it looked something like this. You come to some village in the Storm, and you see bodies dead for a couple of days and a house all upside down and you find a survivor or two and you ask them what's this and they say it was our people (Serbs) that did it. *Why?* Because of money what else of course. And as a criticism of their own thieving army. And now you take that survivor to the Red Cross, and he says he wishes to go to Serbia, and then suddenly new light is thrown on this previous story, ie "roles" have changed and there's a turn of events.

Whatever they say they lie.

oye

Max, a lot of what you said technically holds good, but, I'm sure you know you're defending the impossible. You know we are guilty of arson and murders and that's it. Srebrenica - there was a film about it, it was aired on their TV, too. They also like to bury their heads in the sand when it comes to their shit.

Jutarnji - a tabloid disproving its headlines with its texts. Pavić likes to "play tag" more than Nobilo.

Maja - it was true what Pilsel said, blind and intolerant Šešelji-like rhetoric, she doesn't want justice for all.

Maximuss

Dear God, certain individuals just don't want to read what it says! I did WRITE that there probably were CRIMES committed by our side, I don't know of them, but I don't imagine it was all spick and span. I am not defending anybody or anything, I can only speak for myself and my fellow-fighters, for whom I know they committed no crimes. I was talking about the film, which is nothing but crap with an obvious purpose. So, please, read over and don't be jumping to the conclusion that I'm defending something or somebody.

Konjbrezrepa

Another thing, admit there were situations of the "kill or be killed" kind. For Chrissake, it was war. Those "civilians" maybe didn't actively participate in destruction of RH, but they did passively.

Konjbrezrepa

Another thing, I myself know a guy who got 13 years for killing one old woman, when the same woman attacked him as a Croat soldier in the Storm (with verbally foul language).

BTW, to add to the irony, that old woman's son killed the parents of that soldier, and that other guy who was with him (he didn't do nothing, he was just there) got 7 years, and all under Franjo.

AND THEN THEY SAY WE DIDN'T PROSECUTE.

gold mask

Storm over Krajina - some will say it's pretentious. Some - realistic.

If nothing, one should appreciate it being the FIRST film about the crimes in Storm.

From what I saw, the operation was carried out professionally as far as military actions go, but afterwards... I know it was very emotional, too, because Croatia was bleeding in Vukovar, Dubrovnik, Zadar surroundings...

But then, it is hypocrisy to say the least for them to invite Serbs to stay not having ensured protection. And finally, we could see that some of the murdered Serbs were parents of some still active members of HV.

And that "german lady" Freundlich only wanted spotlight on herself unnecessarily, justifying crimes with other crimes, when as she herself said it she hadn't even been politically active at the time. She came afterward and now she must assume responsibility, for mistakes made by those who took the cream during the HDZ, now too embarrassed to come to the show.

They should've invited Pašalić, president's advisor at the time, or Šeks, Kutle, Gucić or someone else who had benefits.

Željko Olujić is such a cynical, sarcastic, hypocritical character, the kind of man who cheats in school, rats on other kids, a toad-eater and a coward (those always get the best in life as a rule) and he even gets to be a "pillar of society"; Nobilo should give him a lecture on modern society which is, imagine that, no longer a bureaucratic, communist society where all trials are for show, where there is a lot of theorizing and talking hot air. Mr. Olujić, a man of no ideals, no "morals", "our man" of the you-know-which party, ruthless and rotten to the bone, seems like someone who would testify against his own mother for a certain "reward and percentage"; an example of what one should not be, worthy of contempt and disgust.

"Low life in any sense".

Hercegovac / Herzegovinian /

At the outset of Storm, the Croat army broke through Serbian military positions in some thirty places and quickly embedded itself in the Serbian rear.

The greatest danger lay in creation of a chetnik guerrilla. Three things are necessary for guerrilla actions:

- a/ support of local residents
- b/ food supplies
- c/ shelter

The fallen behind Serb units could not be supported by the local Serbs since the Knin leaders themselves had called for their own people to leave Croatia. In this way, they wanted to win the favor of international media, at the same time forcing Milošević to react and send a large military force.

Food supplies for the guerrilla were soon gone since the Croat army evacuated all abandoned livestock and food from the war area. After that, many of the 600,000 Croat refugees returned to the area, those who had been exiled in 1991 by Serbs, who burned their houses down.

Now they could give Serbs tit for tat, so from empty houses they took everything they could make use of.

Houses in smaller villages and hamlets near the woods, which could have been used as shelter for the Serb guerrilla, were mostly burned down by the returnees. Some houses were burned down by their owners before they fled.

Schools, hospitals, post offices, ammunition dumps and similar objects, which could have been used by the Croatian government, were burned down and destroyed by the retreating Serb army units.

Unable to meet the three requirements for successful guerrilla activity, the chetnik groups that had fallen behind moved to Bosnia, whilst smaller groups were liquidated in the woods in the mountains by the end of 1995.

On the east battlefield, from 1 August 1995 until 25 December 1995, the Croat army was twice ordered to attack. Brigade and battalion commands worked the commands out to the platoon level, but attacks were canceled both times.

Serb forces were lined up in four echelons.

- 1/ In the first one, there was the local infantry and old tanks.
- 2/ In the second, there was the counter-armor infantry and T84 tanks.
- 3/ In the third echelon, there were reserve units and medium artillery.
- 4/ In the fourth echelon, which was on the territory of Vojvodina, there were long-range artillery units of the Yugoslav army.

For a successful attack on such a flat land area, the Croat army would first have needed a softening-up worth at least a billion dollars. Then the professional brigades would have had to break through the first and the second Serb echelon. Then the reserve units would have to come to the border.

It was estimated that 5,000 Croat soldiers would have been killed and four times as many wounded in such an action. Tudman thus decided on a peaceful reintegration of Podunavlje. (...)

As for war crimes, yes there were war crimes. The biggest war crime is desertion. In the war, there is only one kind of punishment for it. Unfortunately, we merely symbolically fined them, and today they call them war criminals..

Jasenovac

I must say I liked your post a lot, specially the part about east Slavonia and Baranja. I'm just sorry we didn't get to set our boot in there. Would've been some heavy casualties, but...

This film is real product of these "yugonostalgics" (Croat turds) and Chetniks who make good use of our traitors. That film didn't show a damn thing. A few dead Chetniks and a fistful of Serb scum now courageously start talking bullshit all over television. And that scene where our three guardsmen kick that Serb scumbag, I wish they were kicking him real good, they were merely slapping him around a bit and kicking his ass.

I know these two brothers who were in Knin in jail, up in the fortress, they made them, pardon my expression, suck each other's c... They had to wake their dead friend every mornin and put him to bed every night, and they were beating em as often as they fed em.

And now Croatian public should be scandalized at Serb scum crying in front of camera. You are so sad, my people of Croatia.

BladeRunner

I haven't seen either "Storm over Krajina" or Latinica. That's why I cannot make any judgments about the same. But I see that, unfortunately, some sad events from Croatian history are repeating. There's always some domestic scum, which will literally crack their own skulls trying to prove we Croats are criminals. I am not in the least surprised by Serbs but I don't understand how come our Croat people have such talent for producing our own turncoats. What's so wrong about us? Genetics, what?

I am not so naive as to believe there were no crimes on our side, too. And I don't mean crimes committed out of revenge, because the people avenging were those who had someone of their own people slaughtered, exiled, robbed.

Although I'm not trying to justify what they did, I can understand why they did it. But I honestly doubt that as many crimes were committed with such sadistic pleasure as those by the other side during the whole five years prior to Storm. Fuck, some would sell their soul for 12 silver coins not even caring who was buying it. Or maybe they think that by working "on the line" they're building their future career. Such kind of garbage was once the backbone of SKH.

Croataiamag

Unfortunately, I watched the Cyrillica!

Pilsel - Maja and Olujić demolished him with their arguments - make him defend Croat victims' rights, too, for a change.

Madam V. of Feral who said about herself she was a fine lady - Maja killed her after madam V., way past her prime, asserted that Dinko Šakić was also involved in the Homeland War - in the end, looking very confused and dumb, she asked, what do you mean, what do you mean?

Ante Nobilo - a below-average immoral attorney, a careerist and a weather vane. It's his own fault.

Mr Božidar Knežević - or as they wrote Božo - presumably cos they didn't want us to think it wasn't a Croatian film, but then the film ended and we could see who participated in the making of it - thus, definitely a "Croatian" film.

And then there are Olujić and Maja who succeeded against the guerrilla enemy superior in numbers, but intellectually shallower and characterless. So that was yesterday's Cyrillica.

P.S. A special thanks goes to the Croatian Ministry of Culture, which saves taxpayers' money by funding projects like these.

ISKON PORTAL

FORUM: Klik

Subject: Latin surprised at HDZ comments after airing of "Storm over Krajina"

Anonymous

Denis Latin, editor of Latinica in which the film "Storm over Krajina" was shown, expressed his surprise at the HDZ comments that the show was "founded on a scandalous viewpoint of the Homeland War" since the HDZ deputy president Maja Freundlich had also taken part in the show and had been previously "informed on the guests and content of both the show and the documentary".

Anonymous

100 men, 100 surprises.

Anonymous

And what's there for him to be surprised about ???!?

Anonymous

As long as political "serbs" (ie maja freundlich and company) are acknowledged in the croatian cultural sphere, croatia will remain far from the civilized world.

Anonymous

Latin is a serb bastard!

Anonymous

No, Latin is just a professional reporter. God grant us more of those in our polluted media-space.

Anonymous

"The only difference between a lie and the truth is that a lie isn't the truth", as S. J. Lec said once. The truth is that Denis Latin is a real professional who had the balls to raise those issues, which had been, because of their "delicacy", carefully avoided in Croatian journalism by the reporters who like to call themselves civic-minded. But, as we know, life isn't all peaches, so sometimes we have to talk about the dark side, too.

Anonymous

Latin is himself a surprise, why be surprised by such a delinquent, did the german go complaining to the french after the 2nd WW, enough said.

Anonymous

MR LATIN IS ONLY ONE BRAVE TO RISE QUESTIONS WE OTHERS POSE SILENTLY. AND YOU IS OBVIOUSLY RELATED TO HDZ. SPALATIUM.

Anonymous

What are you surprised at, you ustashas, you're afraid of the real truth.

Anonymous

We're not afraid of the truth but the manipulation of the truth.

Anonymous

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH YOU? EVERYBODY KNOW USTASHAS ARE OUT OF FASHION.

Anonymous

What's there for Latin to be surprised about communist scum.

Anonymous

Dear mister it seems when you don't like what someone wrote or said counter HDZ, they immediately must be serbs or communists. Well dear anonymous that's not exactly how it is, some of us know the other side of the coin, too. It's enough to see the results what citizens voted for.

Anonymous

You and Latin obviously confuse some things. Viewers voted for punishing criminals while the HDZ was saying that the political goal of the show was a tendentious EQUATION OF GUILT (of the Serb aggressor and the Croat victim) with the end result of relieving those who started the war from responsibility. We all know (except for those whose memory goes no further back than the last TV news) that Serbian politics was founded on crime and this politics as well as those active in it should be punished. Croatian politics was founded on liberating the homeland and freedom of all its citizens. And if someone was frustrated enough to commit crime, let them answer for it, not their commander (if it was a soldier), or the whole political leadership, hence the whole country.

This is the HDZ message and, I believe, the message of the majority of Croat people. And you and those who think like you, because of your intense hatred for the HDZ, you impute them things they are not responsible for and things they never said.

Anonymous

Ustashes would feel insulted if they saw where and how their names were used. So, in the future, if you consider yourself cultivated and educated, write about what bothers you about the certain kind of people, because we don't all think alike, ie, I am for the truth, regardless of everything, and for all those responsible for crimes to answer for them, regards, Spalatum.

Anonymous

Old Gradiška and Jasenovac are
Where Max's* butchers killed the most by far

In Imotski black soldiers are stayin'
For Francetić Jure they'll be slayin'

Once there was a slaughterhouse in Čapljina
Many Serbs were swallowed by the Neretva

No one would have thought it in the past
Commisses would be goin' to the mass

Anonymous

You are very much like those sang: There'll be meat... You'd probably never fight
one another because you have better and more lucrative things to do.

Anonymous

Good job Latin. Croatia has to move on, with people who will make the country bet-
ter and accept responsibility for their actions. A criminal is a criminal, regardless of
their religion!

Anonymous

Regardless of his religion, queer is always dear!

Anonymous

Where were you during the war? Very smart you are. What matters in the whole story
is that we won and in the whole history of mankind, only the victors were writing that
history. Now all of a sudden Homeland War is supposed to set a precedent and every-
body's moralizing and philosophizing about it. By nature war is dirty, all's fair in war,
that's how it's always been, the rest is just fairy tales. Let's draw a line there, but after
Serbs answered for their crimes. I am convinced there is no Serb that hadn't wanted
or wouldn't want Great Serbia, and that's the whole truth, and when that fell through
now they're washing their hands of it, the same propagators of the idea, and the way
things are going, they're going to start with it again. We Croats as usual loathe our-
selves and don't deserve any better than to be somebody's slaves.

Anonymous

If the enemy is not honorable and succeeds in making us become dishonorable too then it is the enemy who has won not we. That's what all this is about. Unfortunately we still haven't gotten rid of Slobodan Milošević and Dobrica Ćosić traces in ourselves. Personally I am not much of a Catholic but take a listen to the pope and our bishops and cardinals. They are not exactly talking nonsense disconnected from life. Think about it.

Anonymous

Personally I don't like Latin. But HDZ is so full of shit. Now they're asking us to boycott the TV subscription. What about the time their television covered stuff up and did everything just to remain in power??? What about that??? When it was a HDZ newsletter, when they banished everyone who didn't breathe with them and in what way. When all kinds of shit surfaced and we had to put up with. HDZ go hide in the darkest hole and don't come out for three generations until all the evil you've done to Croat people is forgot.

Anonymous

One shouldn't be surprised at what HDZ people are saying, they are just waiting for such things it's hard for them to accept the fact they are no longer in. They came under that Jewish curse "May you have and lose", now that's what happened to them. Well done to Latin, he has the courage, as well as Mr. Kovačević. The wheels of justice grind slowly, that's what's happening to us now, and some are "standing gaping", they thought they were invincible. And just one more thing, how can they make no difference between Gotovina and Ademi, when everyone can see the difference between a man who takes responsibility for his actions and Franjo's man.

Anonymous

You Latin, you professional faggot, what are you surprised about, you're paid to spit on Croats, go on admit it and you'll see how even those who are backin you now will stop writin shit. You should know Croatian people created an independent state, and now you're spittin on it. That's why you invite Serbs to Latinica because they pay you, you Serb turd, and your question in Latinica about how to be a real Croat, ie, we are real Croats when when we spit on ourselves well fuck you you motherfucking hireling. This backing you're getting is only by Serbs you should know that like it or not those are the facts.

Anonymous

All of you backin this faggot tell me were you there in the front lines fightin chetniks. Ask him how much money he'll get for this show thanks to your backin you stupid motherfuckin idiots. Latin you fuckin hireling have you any morals at least for those who gave their lives for their country you motherfuckin piece of shit.

Anonymous

He is surprised at HDZ reactions and he is not surprised at those communists how they're going to introduce democracy in Croatia, when for 50 years they fought against democracy headed by the little jug-eared Ivica Račan, and the same Ivica Račan was sayin how he'd be protectin Yugoslavia and now we should all be quiet about it. We'll never be quiet, we haven't for those past 50 and we won't be now.

Anonymous

Latin how you mean to return Croatia to Serbia or Yugoslavia, you stupid fool thats impossible. Your doin all you can but it wont happen. Be a man and lissen to my advice, climb a hill and I'll be mortaring you from the foot of that hill, and then breathe and breathe and if you survive you can go around slandering Croatia and its defenders and if you cant do that, well suck my dick and fuck off to Serbia, I lived through that in 91, 92, 93 etc, I was the one on the hill with your chetniks with the mortar. They couldnt kill me and you wont neither, you serb mutherfucker.

Anonymous

Would it be possible now in the USA on CNN for Latin to do a show about the poor Talibans who died in the planes?

Anonymous

Not about the "poor" enemy soldiers. But about the reported crimes against the civilians (e.g. Vietnam) always.

Anonymous

Since there are plenty of films dealing with Serb crimes in Croatia and people in Croatia know almost everything about them, it's only fair that those less familiar things are shown, i.e. the crimes committed by the people hiding behind the Croatian flag. A young scientist.

Anonymous

Sing, Yugoslav folks song will keep you warm.

Those not listening to it will listen to the storm. I guess they were inspired by this beautiful song when they named the operation.

Anonymous

Who is the aggressor? On whose territory and with what intentions? Answers to these questions close all discussion about Croatian Serbs. You got a better deal than you deserved considering what you were doing to Croat people for decades and what you're doing to them now thanks to a handful of faggot rats like Pilsel and Latin and a handful of beat-up udba and KOS members. You can't turn Croat victory into a defeat. We have our own state and even if it's now headed by the greatest traitors in the whole of Croatian history, God will not allow anyone to throw Croatian victims in the gutter. Get ready for a long journey - eastward. Let Luković write for Fecal Trifune in Belgrade. There and there alone you belong.

Anonymous

Just tell me one thing, please... Is there more talk in the Croatian media about Croat or Serb crimes and what do you think in what proportion. (I just want to remind you that the CIA investigated crimes in ex Yugoslavia and found Serbs were responsible for over 90 percent of them).

Anonymous

This question above was for the young scientist. Sorry its not below.

Anonymous

That's what I've been telling you all along; Serbs were like that completely, but shouldn't we take care of those 10 percent you left us.

Young scientist

Anonymous

Young scientist is a young ustasha girl WV.

Anonymous

Post-storm events are a disgrace for us Croats.

Anonymous

Which us?

INDEX HR

Politics - a moderated forum

Blungha

01.10.2001 22:28

Drago Pilsel, Nobile, Vedrana Rudan, Knežević are Characters and have courage...

Maja Freundlich (Ritch-Bitch) = a snob, full of shit...

Željko Olujić = either an Idiot or a Cretin or an Alcoholic or all of the above...

Neznalica / Ignoramus /

01.10.2001 23:04

I watched a bit of the discussion (enough to see all those who talked) and my impression was that only Nobile was tolerable. I didn't hear enough to know whether I agree with him or not, but all the others were such idiots that Nobile seemed incredibly clever as soon as he uttered a coherent sentence, relevant to the topic, which noone seemed to manage before him. Then I had to take care of some more important things so I don't know if he managed to mess it up as well.

I give credit to Rudan and Olujić for a thrilling contest in haughtiness and breathtaking arrogance, whilst Maja won in the contest (presenting as many irrelevant facts as humanly possible) against Pilsel.

Wasn't there anyone who could say anything meaningful? If they randomly picked a few guys from this forum they would have had a better discussion..

vale 2001

01.10.2001 23:15

You're probably counting yourself in as well aren't you ignoramus?

Finally HTV plucked the courage to show some truth about what Croat army and HDZ had in store for Serbs in Croatia - of course, in collaboration with sloba

The best comment was at the end - CROATIA IS GERMAN PROPERTY

How much truth is there in this?

Well they don't need me when they have you close

Neznalica

01.10.2001 23:31

Oh, I forgot to say f*** you to those who invented those stupid programs for watching TV over the internet. Then I wouldn't be tempted to watch those shitty programs of yours. (These shitty programs here I don't watch simply because it never enters my mind to turn on the TV.)

juzr

01.10.2001 23:33

HTV 1 - 8:10 pm LATINICA In tonight's "Latinica" we will see the documentary film "Storm over Krajina" by Božo Knežević, produced by the "Factum" film company.

A pretty weak quasi-documentary little film which, first, mocks the Croatian film propaganda and is not very subtle at that only to, with those few already seen images and a few mumbo-jumbo interviews, lend "point" to that silly Čačić's speech in Parliament and the "exact" figures in the film's end credits.

Although for a short time after I was convinced I could have spent the evening in a much better way, my mood was later restored by the "discussion" especially that loony fecal "journalist" haha what a joke deep joy from the pasture and goat-breeding straight in front of the tv cameras it can't be easy I'm sure.

among the more comic things I would like to mention the delightful comment by the film's author (who even has problems speaking his eh "own" language) that it was a Croatian film and indeed it is but as some people on this forum our good man considers his Croathood to be something which should excuse all his actions

M. M.

01.10.2001 23:58

Crazy... crazy... Jasenovac was just what I needed ...it seems that once again we are a genocidal people... "an age-old ustasha terror"/since the fifth Century before Christ/ is back in fashion... Serbs started the war, it's a fact... I don't mean to justify anybody's crimes and a crime is a crime no matter what, but it was Serbs who started the war...

cartmanIII

02.10.2001 01:43

Serbs started the war, it's a fact... I don't mean to justify anybody's crimes and a crime is a crime no matter what, but it was Serbs who started the war... An irrelevant fact for the potential slaughter of Serbs after the "Storm"!!!

baronesse

02.10.2001 02:28

An irrelevant fact for the potential slaughter of Serbs after the "Storm"!!!
Correct; but an alternative is the relevance of the potential.

Justina

02.10.2001 02:37

I had no stomach for watching the whole show but my impression is that both "teams" were rather tragicomic. But the trio Freundlich-Rudan-Olujić definitely had the edge on others. Real theater! Trying to justify the homeland war (and getting off the subject of the show), Maja Freundlich was foaming at the mouth, but the expected epi-attack failed to take place. Olujić had the same kind of "arguments", but predominant was his arrogance towards other Latin's guests. Persistently heckling M. Freundlich with remarks such as "Will this woman ever shut up?!", Vedrana Rudan demonstrated typical female hysteria and a wooden ear for the subject of the show. Pilsel was a mere walk-on, presenting completely irrelevant facts, as Ignoramus pointed out. Nobilo nothing special.

The documentary was rather contrived and, in my opinion, it missed the target. All in all, I think Latin would have provided better entertainment for his viewers if he had organized a mud-wrestling match. Freundlich vs Rudan, of course

Hrvatska1 / Croatia1 /

02.10.2001 03:01

You know that faked film about Špegelj after which Serbs and jna were supposed to launch a coup in CROATIA, this show is of same quality, directed in Belgrade, funded by soros and co., executed by traitors mesić-račan:

Very simple - where in the world has there ever been an operation in which there were half a million soldiers from both sides and died IMAGINE THIS 150 Serbs ...there were more dead and wounded patriots than serfs.

Where's God there's justice, we'll see what we'll see.

Neznalica

02.10.2001 03:48

Now this guy comes in with "God grant justice". And even names himself Croatia. Tomorrow he'll tell us, as Serbs like to say, united we stand, divided we fall. What's worst about it is that he wouldn't be among the worst if he was on the show.

I hear Serbs are complaining, if Olujic* was invited in the show called "Storm vs. Krajina 1:0" (or whatever its name was), then they should have invited a Krajina man for balance.

Cesare Borgia

22 02.10.2001 10:42

Here – since that ignoramus, too, started mentionin mothers and doin it with them, not for pleasure or birth-rate, but outta spite (and what's he doin, goin on about mothers after all that squabble over mother-mentionin) then I guess it means now we can all be motherfuckin anyone we dislike. First lemme tell cartman.

if you change what Im gonna write I'll cut all your fingers off as finely as cuttin up onions and then youll have to type with your nose and your nose could be next if you dont wise up. I've seen latinica and fuck those rude black and red and two-fingered and three-fingered motherfuckers. So many times they have robbed our country blind in the last hundred years and theyre always liberatin us, one from the other and then back again. And just as I got some young vines and olive trees growin, there they go, fannin the flames. I'll take out that blade Id put away, stupidly thinking I wouldn't be needin it any more. Then we'll bring those guys from last night to the television once again. Then I'll cut their tongues off, one by one, because theyre makin me crazy again, with their "who started it, who spilled more blood...", why, I'll spill your blood, all of it at once. Dealin with beasts, you have to scare them. While theres fear theres peace, cos beatings the only thing a beast will understand. If america can pedagogically slap talibans cos thats the only way to calm them down, then I can do the same to these balibans of ours. And Latin I wont execute. I'll make him face the camera, push the tip of the blade into his throat so he can repeat, live: "Im not the center of the universe, Im not the center of the universe..." Then I'll let him breathe in and fake like Im gonna go away, and when he utters under his breath "I am" (he wont be able to resist, I know him), then I'll swiftly make him join his ex guests.

Ignoramus now dont you be writin to me this is not the humane and civilized way to do things. Its easy for you to be civilized when you only need to close the window in which youre watchin Latinica, and I cant close anything when after a show like through the walls I hear a neighbor callin another neighbor a chetnik, threatenin to drink her blood, and she callin him a motherfuckin butcherin ustasha. Like this you scare the shit out of everybody and then youve got peace.

Ive had it with all of them. Theyre like dinosaurs, theyll squash everybody dead.
cesare borgia in his own hand!

ps I'm sendin a message to the Palagraža lighthouse keeper Im comin tomorrow. Hed better move so I dont have to move him.

* in Croatian Olujic means stormy

cartman

02.10.2001 12:49

Correct; but an alternative is the relevance of the potential, I love it when we understand each other!

nevlastnick

02.10.2001 14:01

To begin with: I'll sign everything Justina said (especially the part about the mud wrestling, heh heh heh...).

Most of the things drived about in the show were more than redundant and not worthy of comment. Also it's more than obvious that the crimes committed against the civilians of Serbian ethnicity following the Storm deserve to be shown on the HTV and discussing something like that is more than redundant.

However, I want to draw your attention to a moment in the discussion which had passed unnoticed (in the TV debate as well as in this discussion here), and which actually points to the most controversial moment in the film.

In the introductory part of the discussion when Nobile (as the last one to speak) took the floor, he wanted to stress that the discussion had taken an irrelevant direction even before he started talking, so he talked about how in its introductory part the film gave a short retrospective background after which, in a documentary fashion, it showed crimes following the Storm. At that moment Latin interrupted him with a secondary question: Don't you think this first background-part of the film implied equal guilt too much? To my great astonishment, Nobile answered in the negative. Then he started mumbling something about "parallel war preparations, Serbs preparing for an aggressive war and we for a defensive war" and both "disseminating hate equally"...

Latin let it go, he didn't want to insist on it, as he rarely insists anyway, but in my opinion, as I said, it was a moment crucial for understanding this film's background. Namely, I noticed that the Serbian side (not the "Milošević" side anymore, but the side cloaked in "young democracy") works very hard revising the historical study of the causes of war. The fundamental element here is the question from which moment to start studying the events. Serbs have no doubt about it: the "firm point" (around which the world turns) for them is always 1991. The trap here is more than well thought out. First, in this they have support of the "world". Namely, many foreign observers ("neutral" as well as those really neutral) before (the year 1991) didn't pay much attention to those "rallies of truth" (of 1988/89) - in extreme cases they even presented them to their public, through the media, as positive developments helping to overthrow communism in the east! Only when blood was shed

(and it was shed in 1991) they started sending special reporters (war correspondents), and it was only in 1991 that diplomatic missions (then it was still "SFRY") started filling up with a greater number of quality intelligence officers.

If we start counting from 1991, it's all so simple in the "brotherhood and unity" theory of equal guilt. So if the first scene shows Dobrica Ćosić in 1991, stirring up Serb masses in mid-Bosnia at the memorial service for the mass of exhumed Serb earthly remains (victims of ustasha terror), a "corresponding" image could be the one of Vekić doing the same thing over the bones in the Jazilovka pit - we can even say it happened simultaneously. Because it did happen simultaneously!! The same goes for the 1991 image of Serbs in Petrinja roaring "This is Serbia", "balanced" by the image of riotous Croats (in Split, I think) loudly demanding to be given weapons. And so on...

All those bearded fellows with cockades roaring "This is Serbia!" back in 1989 in Kosovo (a village nearby Knin), the whole traveling circus of professional rally people destroying civil districts, provinces and Republics, all those commissioned chauvinist texts and commentaries on the Serbian TV and in their newspapers (section "Echoes and reactions" in "Politika", Brane Crnčević's column in "Duga", the text about Croatia in which each new paragraph started with a big bold U in the same "Duga" ...), SANU memorandum, and all other things witnessing to the three or four years (before 1991) of complete chauvinist trance that Serbia was in at the time.

juzr

02.10.2001 14:13

I, for one, blame exactly those like Nobile, I blame those who should represent some goddamn kind of a "middle", political as well as the general view-of-life middle. And they should be the ones opposing this perfidious game of presenting 1991 as "year zero".

Not a bad analysis but you're blaming the wrong people for the wrong reasons. Namely the gentlemen who you think of as the "middle" (and aren't) do not oppose this "game" because not only that they are more than happy to accept it what's worse they themselves promote it.

Zoranka

03.10.2001 08:03

Thanx to Latin, Latinica's finally on again. And thanx to the film's author, Knežević, for having the courage to make such film. I was glad to see them scratching, those who itched the most, and I loved the HDZ reactions. Always the same arguments "...and what about Serbs shelling us, and how many were killed in Vukovar..."

Unfortunately, intellectually they were at such an early stage that they couldn't understand nobody was trying to deny what Serbs did, that they should be punished

for it, that it shouldn't be forgotten... but that it doesn't give anyone else the right to kill other people or to justify crimes committed by Croats (in this case in Krajina), and that it's ridiculous, sad and pathetic to listen to people saying that Croats have that right cos they were defending themselves. In the case dealt with by this film they weren't exactly defending themselves, it's more like they were attacking.

HDZ would still have had a chance if they had the courage to face the truth and say: "Yeah, people, we messed it up - our intentions were good but, there, we slipped, those 10 years flown by so fast we didn't even notice what we were doing." But with her appearance the little bee Maja* proved she'd do the same things again.

Olujic was so stupid it hurt, and as such he provided HDZ with glowing references. God forbid he ever defended me.

Feniks

03.10.2001 11:46

"Thanx to Latin, Latinica's finally on again."

Thank you, Dalmatian girl! For a sensible approach!

Nearly all participants in the discussion demonstrated how one is not to love their country and their people!

In order for Croat people to protect their dignity, achieved level of civilization and respect of others, all those among their ranks, who committed crimes, they need to drive out in the open, prosecute them and convict those proven guilty. Each crime needs to be punished and dissociated from, because no crime is ever committed in the name of the people, no matter how much some people are striving to convince us of it. To conceal crime and criminals or even extol the criminals among one's ranks is to assume (collective) responsibility and proclaim oneself a people of criminals.

By not recognizing the crimes that have been committed, by marginalizing and minimizing them, by protecting those reasonably suspected of having committed them, one does not protect the dignity of their people, quite the contrary. Criminals aren't and cannot be their nation's pride and joy. They are a disgrace to their people!

In my opinion the film was very objective, and the fact it showed things we would rather not know about, is more our own than this work's weak point.

And in the end, what are those soldiers supposed to do, to whom the commander (D. Krstičević) says: "4 guard unit takes no prisoners. Of each ten prisoners, we kill nine and let the tenth go tell his people all about it!" Or the commanders of the Gospić brigade companies saying to their soldiers on the eve of the "Storm": "No prisoners!"

Will somebody tell me how I am to interpret that?

Great majority of HV members committed no crimes, but many of them committed petty and not always so petty thefts in the abandoned Serb houses.

To those talking about abolition and interpreting it as amnesty, I have to tell that abolition absolves those Croat citizens who dissented against Croatia, meaning it absolves dissenters, not war criminals. And criminals among the Serbian ranks are a disgrace to their people. Serbs need to distance themselves from them and their crimes.

And, in the end, no crime can serve to justify another!

zvoncic / jinglebell /

04.10.2001 12:09

If they ask you, do you support murderers or ordinary people? Destruction or peace? Arsonists or good neighbors? If they constantly asked you and kept enquiring about such things wouldn't you become suspicious?

To me it's suspicious and sleazy.

If they made a film based on the kinds of testimonies like for example from <http://www.bosanska-posavina.de/rat/svjedocenja/> boy it would be different. For some it would be warmongering, for others a valuable testimony (just switch the roles in the same studio). It just shows that this kind of media presentation of crimes is inappropriate and unacceptable (shown regularly on Monday to fuck your whole week up), and that we can't defend ourselves its harmful effects. It doesn't mean we need to go mute about everything that's happened, it means we should confront the roots of such crimes, patiently and diligently. It never enters the mind of the Latinica clique. (...)

ezboard.com

Britney

< 10/9/01 1:23:35 am >

Watching Latinica and Doc.Film, and after that the studio discussion, one can assume, that some day Serbs in Croatia will have all rights, as well as their own land.

The biggest problems they're creating in Croatia ! All those who in any way took part in war crimes, headed by the HDZ . etc..

Istina / Truth /

< 10/11/01 12:18:36 pm >

Britney its good you know how much we love you.

So why do you hate us?

Francetic231

< 10/12/01 3:16:33 pm >

Motherfuckers !!!!

READY FOR FATHERLAND

God and Croats

ujo

< 10/12/01 11:11:51 pm >

..... delete the above insults!

Francetic231

< 10/12/01 11:46:16 pm >

Alright then, motherfuckers, it's about voting, greetings

READY FOR FATHERLAND

God and Croats

ujo

< 10/13/01 1:03:06 am >

.....READY FOR FATHERLAND is sacred!!! , regards, memory, love, faith, past..... and future!

Curses don't go together with THAT! no excuses, ... for nobody

Francetic231

< 10/13/01 11:15:17 pm >

Talk to the editor

READY FOR FATHERLAND

God and Croats

ujo

< 10/16/01 1:10:28 am >

READY FOR FATHERLAND! Britny, Garašanin was saying it too! Only you got it wrong: "You wanted a big backyard, all the way to Karlobag!", and the measure is PASHALIC, Britny, will you get it already!

Britney

< 10/16/01 4:48:00 am >

TV PROMOTIONAL VIDEO FOR REBUILDING SERB HOUSES IN CROATIA

Zagreb - Croatian Ministry of Defense backed by the UNHCR announced that a TV-promotional video would be broadcast in SRY and BiH to inform the Serbs exiled from Croatia about their rights to house rebuilding and return of their property in Croatia. In this way, Serbs living in SRY and BiH who have not already applied for house rebuilding will be able to do it before 31 December in order to claim their legal rights on it.

And you Francetic, you shut your fucking face you motherfucker. oops..

And you UUUjo you want two or three backyards, but it ain't happening, you'll have to go back to your "SHED", AND PLOW NOTHING BUT YOUR OWN GARDEN.

Francetic231

< 10/17/01 8:38:13 pm >

By the 12/31/2001 I'll probably be the new minister of defense then I'll give you back all that's yours, including the ammunition but you're gonna get it over the rifle scope like those defending ya, there won't be no free corridors on land only in the air, so you better learn to fly....heh heh heh

READY FOR FATHERLAND

God and Croats

ujo

< 10/17/01 9:29:08 pm >

TV PROMOTIONAL VIDEO! You managed to escape from Garašanin, only to land on Mars. Britney, Britney! Just watch it so your People don't start followin ya! As far back as 1978, Voyager made the video (which was deliberately never broadcast) about Serbs from Mars!

Zvonimir II

< 11/6/01 12:26:12 pm >

Just another proof Croatia is being responsible towards its citizens. It doesn't matter what your nationality is if your house was destroyed. But, when is Djindjić going to remember his nation is responsible for many more destroyed and plundered Croat houses, and behave as responsibly as Račan? (we better not discuss the damages all over Bosnia and Kosovo, they're so heavy that Serbia would bankrupt if it was to pay them).

Gledalac / Viewer /

< 11/6/01 3:29:25 pm >

Last night I watched Latinica!

I remembered!

A third of Croatia occupied! Economy and monetary system falling apart! Defeatism circulating in Zagreb! On Pantovčak, in Governor's Palace and on the benches in parliament an air of coup and capitulation! I can see broad smiles on the faces of Mesić, Račan, Budiša, Šeks and many others. Proudly they receive their "earned" commissions and medals.

It's so easy to raise their morale, and it costs nothing. Not even by giving them 10-room apartments in the center of Zagreb would Tuđman manage to eliminate danger from his surrounding so efficiently.

Young Hawk, 91 undoubtedly brave, accused Sunja defenders for the fall of Vukovar. If he accused defenders of Harkanj, Zagreb and Munich, it would make sense. His greatest problem is his own I.Q., same as with Latin's viewers paid to clap at a signal.

Some 15 days before Vukovar fell many low-ranking commanders were asked: do you have volunteers for Vukovar. I am going, too, with my complete unit, if I get the order, but I'm not letting a group of volunteers go without good command. I can't let my people become cannon fodder. The Operational Zone commander never gave the command, but he regularly sent reports to Zagreb about those guilty for the fall of Vukovar. I listen to Špegelj, ABiH is the army of the state of BiH. And when fights with Serbs started, those fighting them were the HVO* units and the few units of the Patriotic front. When the lines stabilized somewhat, the Muslim party SDA formed its party army under the name ABiH.

Yugoslavia! Yugoslavia!

Your faithful crude lumbering officers can't seem to get over you, but they've got no chance. You'll never come back to them!

Juga

< 11/6/01 8:08:34 pm >

The wheel of fortune, round and round, to never stop, it is bound. Who's been up, now falls down by the one, once down, flying high.**

zvecarka5

< 12/1/01 12:27:03 am >

Zvonimir - could it be that Z.Čičak?

susy

< 12/3/01 11:34:31 am >

Flt's a shame how they ridicule the war like that and send our men to the Hague! That's why Francetić I'm supporting you all the way and we'll take care of those chetnik motherfuckers together! But first we gotta get the red gang off the throne! READY FOR FATHERLAND!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

SUSY

< 12/3/01 11:40:14 am >

Francetić well done! If there were more people like you we'd clean up this misery of the chetnik leftovers from our villages! And I ain't payin no suscription to yugotone let milošević pay em cos he'd sure like latinica
READY FOR FATHERLAND!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Lazio Rom 01

< 12/4/01 2:47:07 pm >

"Francetić well done! If there were more people like you we'd clean up this misery of chetnik leftovers from our villages!" And what should Serbs do with Croats livig in Serbia ie YU?

COOL OFF "FACKO"!

susy

< 12/13/01 12:17:36 am >

We'll find you and get you in serbia too!!!!!!

Lazio Rom 01

< 12/13/01 7:43:17 am >

IS REALLY A FUCKED UP GUY .Hehhehheh

Istina

< 12/13/01 12:39:17 pm >

and your just a tougher ball. Is that all you can write in ??? You chetnik servant, write like man for change. If you was men you wouldnt be scatted all of the world every wich way. You didn't know how to work. You didn't know how to steel. You didn't know how to fight (except women, children and the old). And you're such scum and human garbage!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Uskok

< 12/13/01 1:09:18 pm >

Stupidity is something completely natural. We have to learn to live with it. Just keep calm and don't get overexcited.

Lazio Rom 01

< 12/13/01 3:00:40 pm >

YOU'RE NOT INTERESTING NOMORE..... EVERYBODY KNOW WHAT YOU THINK OF ALL SERBS. YOU'LL DIE OF HATRED, ISTINAAAAA hehhehhehhehheh PS. YOU ISTINA NOT EVEN GOD can HELP. (It aint easy for you)

Istina

< 12/13/01 10:08:45 pm >

I know truth's never been interesting to you, only lies and theft and living off other people.

susy

< 12/13/01 11:43:45 pm >

My condolences to you and all the rest of you chetniks because your plans about your great serbia fell through. Heeeh, Heeh

Istina

< 12/14/01 7:20:23 pm >

Lazio , dear God has already helped me, so no new help is necessary. He helped me when he let me see all those endless columns of murderers, arsonists, child rapists and criminals leaving my Homeland.

Truth - be told , this mob was leaving my country in stolen tracktors, stolen trucks, stolen trailers, with stolen things from household appliances to computers.

Lazio, was nice to watch you mob of robbers reach speed unseen in that marathon (inspite fridge on your back), it was nice to see your dream of great servia crumble.

That's why my dear Lazio I don't ask dear for God no more help. By God's mercy I was lucky to live to see all the above things. Now I'm sending you my regards and if its not a problem please write when you're gonna come visit us (I'll try get you a visa through my connections).

Velebit

< 12/15/01 7:49:00 am >

This discussion is on the lower intellectual level, than a quarrel of drunken guests in guesthouse in Petrovo polje at the foot of Svilaja.

Istina

< 12/15/01 10:05:36 am >

Velebit, this time for once I share Your view. Unfortunately there are some participants in the discussion ,who simply force you down to their level.

CTEBAH

< 12/24/01 4:25:57 am >

Werewolf... have yourself a black Christmas all the best from your ex friend CTEBO....

Ratko Karadić will fuck your mother in her grave.....

Fuck you, you piece of shit you FAGGOT

<http://www.exdeo.com/holyh/hhx2.htm> - a Church of Our Times web site

HOLY HOUR

An intimate, familial

Kingdom of the Sacred Heart

There is deep meaning and significance in the great holiday of Epiphany!

The king of heaven shudders on the litter in the crib. The one, whose kingdom spreads over the entire created world, smiles and blesses in Mary's arms...

...The only thing he needed was a throne more kingly than was the crib, and a more magnificent crimson than was the modest mantle of his immaculate Mother...

This throne is the Cross.

It is beautiful, mighty and big, covered in crimson of his Blood!...

...The golden cage is empty!... And then along with this disquiet there came other troubles... The Miraculous Traveler calls them all secretly, with his heavenly gaze, and the parents are already weeping and falling at his feet like little birds, instinctively looking for a nest before the storm, which they can already hear thundering somewhere...

"Do not weep hopelessly", he tells them, "but weep with me, I know you and love you... It was your pain and your tears that drew me here..."

Ah! The heavenly stranger is weeping, too!... And while his tears are dampening the foreheads and the hair of the little ones, crowded around him, taking shelter in his Heart... floating over this hearth are silence and new mysterious peace... You could say, that heaven visited this little corner of the earth!

When he wipes his eyes, he throws a glance full of endless mercy, deep love on this so simple and beautiful Bethany, oasis to the exiled King...

He opens his smiling lips and with gentle sorrow, he says, "I had many children, too... They left me and I am still looking for them... I am waiting, for them to repent, to love me..."

My hospitable friends, you should know that this frost outside, this storm over krajina is nothing compared to the disquiet raging in my Heart like a whirlwind..."

And having said this, he unveiled his chest... What a wound... his clothes are all bloody with it...

A moment of silence and then the gentle stranger continues, "Your welcome full of goodness, will be generously rewarded, because I am King, but do not be afraid, I am the King of absolute love!..."



"AMACORD 1991 - 2001"

VRANJICAN : KNEŽEVIĆ WORKED FOR THE CRIMINAL JNA

The story about Božidar Knežević and his, to say the least, controversial documentary "Storm over Krajina", which set off a storm among the Croatian public after its showing in Latinica, is acquiring a new dimension. Tonight at the Zagreb KIC hall, there will be a screening of a documentary about Knežević and his TV-reports for the bankrupt TV company Yutel.

The film entitled "Amarcord" was made by the Zagreb independent producer Pavle Vranjican who showed us the film prior to its public screening. The film was to be aired by the OTV the week before, but it was taken off the program at the last minute so Vranjican decided to rent the KIC hall for the film to be screened after all. The motivation, he said, was Knežević's documentary and the newspaper articles about it.

(...) Knežević came in on Easter 1991 at Plitvice where he met the then bus driver Ljubo Česić Rojs who showed him a bullet-riddled and bloodied bus of the Zagreb Transport company.

Without any problems, Knežević then went to Serb rebels in Korenica, and at a JNA point, we could clearly hear him ask, *“Can one go to Korenica? Are you there?”* What was that supposed to mean? In the scenes that were edited out it is evident that Serbs were already prepared to rebel at the time, and each had a rifle in hand, at least. How could he have gotten to Korenica if the JNA would not allow any other reporter in? And today he is saying he had no opportunity to get to areas under Serb occupation. Why, Korenica was already occupied at the time. All his other one-sided reports are made in the same fashion. Moreover, some of the material aired by Yutel under his name he had gotten directly from the JNA so what else can I say but that he worked for that criminal army, said the upset Vranjican and added: *“With his reports, Knežević killed the honor of the journalistic profession. I let the working material speak for itself. My film was not edited like Knežević’s, so those who want to know what it’s about, let them come and see.”*

/ Zvonimir Despot, in Večernji list, 31 October 2001 /

— KNEŽEVIĆ : KORENICA HAD NOT YET BEEN OCCUPIED ON THE BLOODY EASTER

“I’ve heard something, but I’m not sure which film it is. When Romano Bolković invited me to his show, he mentioned something about a film but I’m not sure it’s the same film. Maybe it is the film Mirko Čondić offered to Mirko Galić but Galić told him it wasn’t done professionally enough to be broadcast by the HTV”, said Božidar Knežević when we asked him about Pavle Vranjican’s film. He also said:

“You said it was from the Yutel archives? Well, why were these archives being kept secret, and why weren’t they accessible to all? When we stopped broadcasting, we kept some of the originals and reports. Those are documents of a time. I’ve also heard that that stuff - and I don’t know through which channels - ended up in Ante Beljo’s hands. Knežević admitted he had been in Korenica on “bloody” Easter. However, he claimed it had not been occupied at the time.

“I didn’t see anyone from Croatia, but there were other reporters. I’ve heard that ten days later another Croatian reporter arrived there. But it doesn’t matter really! If I could have gone to all those different places, I would have. At the time, reporter crews were divided into those experienced in going to war areas, and those who weren’t, and that was the only criterion. Whenever we had a chance to get onto the Serb territory, we went. For a Finnish TV, I went to the occupied Petrinja in 1993 and barely got out alive. But all of it stopped when borders were firmly fixed. I think a reporter needs to go wherever he has the opportunity to go. Every reporter wants to get as much as possible out of his job. I don’t know what

Vranjican wants with that film. He's probably not alone in it. It's hard for me to say anything about it since I haven't seen it. Making films is everybody's right, so he should do it depending on his preferences and his conscience. If I gave myself the right to make films, then I'm going to give it to others as well", said Knežević.

/ Zvonimir Despot, in Večernji list, 31 October 2001 /

PUHOVSKI : I DOUBT VRANJICAN IS THE ONLY AUTHOR OF AMARCORD

(...) *Who is the real author of the film Amarcord 1991-2001?*

To be honest, I think the author of this film, who was illiterate enough to name his piece Amacord instead of Amarcord, could not get to those tapes on his own - especially the Yutel tapes, but also the HTV tapes. I don't believe the story about the tapes because, from first hand knowledge and rather accurately, I know what was happening with those tapes at the time. So, I doubt the person who called himself the author is, at the very least, the only author of the film. I particularly doubt him being the producer. Audience at the KIC that night was also rather telling. Most of them were people representing a single political option. It is evident they were the ones with particular interest in this film.

What if the OTV broadcasts the film anyway?

If the OTV announces they will show the film, it would be an opportunity for the public to react and request the film not to be broadcast. I'm saying this with discomfort, because it is not good to request something not to be shown. However, one has to draw the line somewhere, democracy does not mean everyone can do whatever they want - "tabloidity" shouldn't become a substitute for the journalistic ethic. I've seen the film and it is nothing but a media arrest warrant with a single name on it. If this becomes a principle, I don't see the end of it.

/ Rade Dragojević in Novi list, 12 November 2001 /

TWO SCREENINGS OF AMARCORD HELD AT THE KIC HALL BECAUSE OF HUGE INTEREST

Last night at the Zagreb Cultural-Information Center (KIC), there was a screening of the Pavle Vranjican's documentary film Amarcord 1991-2001, made as a response to the film Storm over Krajina, which recently caused violent public reactions.

This "story about courage, honor and suffering", as stated in the credits, shows Storm over Krajina author Božidar Knežević's footage that was and was not broadcast, drawing attention to the disparity between what Knežević as a Yutel reporter included and what he cut out. The film criticizes Knežević for being one-sided in presenting wartime events, comparing, for instance, how he did not include Serb extremist statements directed against Croats, whereas he included "peaceful" statements by the Yugoslav people's Army soldiers.

The film used footage filmed by the late cameramen HTV Gordan Lederer and Živko Krstičević (the film is partly dedicated to them), as well as the JNA footage found in the Yutel archives and the material from Banija of a group of cameramen, one of them being Vranjican. The film covers the period from "bloody Easter" of 1991 until October of the same year. Vranjican stresses the fact that by then 14 reporters had died in Croatia. According to the author Pavle Vranjican, Knežević cannot be presenting himself as an advocate of human rights and a metaphor of democracy, as that would be an insult to journalism, which is shown by his documentary.

Vranjican produced the film himself and offered it to the HTV and the OTV, which have not broadcast it so far.

Because of huge interest, the film was last night shown twice instead of once at the KIC hall. Among other, the film was seen by the producer of Storm over Krajina, Nenad Puhovski, and Vladimir Šeks, Ante Beljo, Drago Krpina, Mladin Schwartz and Predrag Raos.

/ Hina in Jutarnji list, 2 November 2001 /

NENAD PUHOVSKI : CCN DID NOT GIVE THE OTHER SIDE A CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON "AMARCORD"

Over the past few weeks, authors of the film "Storm over Krajina", as well as the guests of Latinica in which the film was aired, have been exposed to systematic public attacks, insults and even threats - although nobody denied the facts presented in the film. The CCN and its News program decided, based on an autonomous and unquestionable editorial decision, not to inform their viewers about it.

Thus, it was surprising to see the interest which the same editorial board expressed in airing of the film "Ama(r)cord 1991-2001" on the 1 November of this year. With a several minutes-long report on the film, which is nothing but a dilettante media warrant for arrest of the "Storm over Krajina" author Božo Knežević, the editorial board accurately conveyed unsupported accusations without any attempt to allow the other side to express their views as well.

In this way the editorial board, objectively, took the side of this film's real producers - those who have, for a whole decade, been using video recordings available only to them, from the SIS*, KOS, presidential and other archives, for media-lynching of those supporting different political views, those searching for the truth which did not suit them or, simply, people in the way of their plundering.

Still, hoping this was a case of an editorial mistake rather than a systematic change in perception of journalistic ethic, I hereby ask you to publish this protest (in full).

Regards,

Professor Nenad Puhovski, *FACTUM* program director

/ Communication addressed to Dražen Klarić, CCN News program editor-in-chief, 2 November 2001 /

KNEŽEVIĆ TAKES THE SIDE OF THE AGGRESSOR AND THOSE SUPPORTING HIM ARE ENEMY PROPAGANDISTS AT THE HRT

Due to great audience interest, last night at the KIC hall in Zagreb there were two screenings of the Pavle Vranjican film "Amarcord 1991-2001". Using the Yutel archives and footage filmed by several HTV reporters, Vranjican showed how Božo Knežević, author of the recently shown "Storm over Krajina", reported on the war in Croatia for Yutel.

While many reporters were being killed, Knežević was walking freely among the Serb rebels, sympathizing with them - a sympathy they returned - justifying Serb insurgence, editing out what could compromise them and obtaining the material from the JNA.

So, Knežević seems to side with the enemy in every way. He identifies with them without any restraint, so every participant and supporter of the Serb insurgence and the role played by the JNA can be grateful to him. Knežević can be "understood" inasmuch as, as a journalist, he is biased in the same way as the journalists in the Nazi Germany or some similar criminal campaign. As such, he does not see nor can he see Serb crime. Sensing he could establish this bias as a public criterion in Croatia, with the producer Nenad Puhovski he made "Storm over Krajina", did his best for the film to get to the HTV and even appeared in one of the most popular TV shows, Latinica. He achieved the desired effect, the public took sides. Although there was nothing to take sides about. For Knežević is clearly biased, he is on the aggressor's side. And to gain more publicity is the aim of every side in the political war propaganda.

Individual Croat crimes committed after the war deserve to be punished, they have been prosecuted and they will be prosecuted, but the view of the aggressor, thus also Knežević who is on their side, cannot be a measure, just as the Nazi viewpoint could not have been a measure for the victors in the WWII. By rule, the aggressor will always blame the victim, i.e. Croatia and its people.

Thus, there is nothing to argue about with Knežević and those making him possible: they are enemy propaganda at the HTV, from which Gordan Lederer and Siniša Glavašević found shelter at the KIC. The greatest shame of all!

/ Milan Ivkošić, Večernji list, 2 November 2001 /

INTENTION OF THE AUTHOR OF "AMARCORD 1991-2001" IS CLEAR - HE WANTS TO DISCREDIT BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ

(...) From the film's introduction we find out that the authors, lacking new tapes for their project, accidentally came across some already used professional tapes, which, to their surprise, contained Yutel TV material from 1991, which had and had not been broadcast. Journalist author of these reports was Božidar Knežević, the then Yutel reporter, and this fact, at least as suggested in the prologue, was the main reason for making of "Amarcord 1991-2001". Following the written prologue, the visual part of this fifty-minute long film begins with a remembrance of

the journalists killed in the Homeland War, with particular emphasis on the fates of Siniša Glavašević, Živko Krstičević and Goran Lederer, killed in Vukovar, on Turanj nearby Karlovac and on Banija respectively.

First Knežević's film to be dealt with in the film, since this film exclusively deals with Božidar Knežević's oeuvre, is the film made in March 1991 following the bloody events at Plitvice. Knežević first made the reportage from Plitvice, with Ljubo Ćesić Rojs in the leading role as the driver of the bus that was shot at at Plitvice, and then he went to the already insurgent Titova Korenica, where he spoke with the Korenica town supervisor, the JNA General Major Ivan Štimac, and some insurgents. However, in "Amarcord" we also see things that were not broadcast on TV, things that were edited out, for instance the preparations of the Korenica insurgents and their warmongering and hateful remarks.

After this episode, there were also other reportages Knežević had made for the Yutel - first the one in Plaško with two interlocutors, one of whom was reserved and whose statement was aired on the TV, and the other who had a salvo of hatred for Croats and whose statement was not aired. Other examples from Božo Knežević's Yutel opus were structured in the same way - first showing the variant which had been aired and then showing Knežević's footage which had been edited out.

The intention of the author of "Amarcord 1991-2001" is clear and he is not trying to hide it. He wants to discredit Božidar Knežević as a person who could ever have the right to say anything about the Homeland War, and particularly as a person who would have the right to make the film "Storm over Krajina".

So, this is no documentary about the victims of the Homeland War, but a film-war-rant for arrest, its sole purpose being to defame Božidar Knežević and challenge his right to make films about the Homeland War, because of the fact he worked for the Yutel and was one of the few reporters allowed into Korenica and other areas under the insurgent Serb rule in the spring of 1991. It is even stated in the epilogue when the voiceover says that Knežević has no right to talk about the Homeland War, even if he was the only one left in the world, and that the only one place where he can talk about it is - The Hague.

The film was seen at the KIC by the HDZ leadership headed by Drago Krpina and Hrvoje Hitrec, there were also Marija Peakić Mikuljan and Miroslav Mikuljan, the far right was represented by Mladen Schwartz, and the film was also seen by the "Storm over Krajina" producer, Nenad Puhovski. Off the record, we were told that no TV company showed any interest in the film and that there was no applause following the screening.

/ Rade Dragojević in Novi list, 2 November 2001 /

WILL "AMARCORD" BE AIRED ON HTV?

(...) The message of the film entitled "Amarcord" is simple - Božidar Knežević is not a person who did an objective job, his reports suggest that working for Yutel in

1991 he worked "by order" on editing of the truth as suited those who ordered it, i.e. the political forces around the JNA. Author of the "counter-documentary" Vranicani, as he said himself, questions Knežević's moral right to make documentaries about the Homeland War and about those most painful subjects, by using the original Yutel, JNA, HTV and his own footage, putting the facts together in this way.

Out of town, the criticized author Božo Knežević did not have the opportunity to see Vranicani's documentary, but he talked to his friends so he is fairly familiar with "Amarcord" theses.

"I think that, lacking the evidence to prove that the film "Storm" which I made wasn't authentic, authors Vranicani and the film's actual producers made up for it by overdosing on patriotic sentimentality", said Knežević for the daily Slobodna Dalmacija. He said that the argument about using "others'" material for his film was not a valid one since at that time everyone used all the material they could get hold of, as was done, for instance, by the HTV in its show "Slikom na sliku" (Frame by Frame).

He said that while borders were open he could, together with other Croatian reporters, visit the occupied area, but when they were closed not even he could, unfortunately, cross them. To the remark that Vranicani's film shows how Knežević "edited" the truth by always avoiding showing the extremism of the Serb insurgents, Knežević said that one could always find a lunatic in the street who is, for example, shouting "I'm gonna kill the president" and still nobody would give much space to such a person.

To the question if he would sue HTV or another TV company and the film's author if they broadcast Vranicani's film, Knežević said it was difficult for him to talk about it since he had not seen the film but he "would like to have a copy". Knežević said anybody could make any documentary they wanted, depending on their preferences, and answer for it.

We asked the HTV spokesperson Krešimir Macan if HTV would broadcast Vranicani's documentary. "At the HTV we have nothing a priori against airing of the documentary, we immediately expressed our interest for certain materials used in the film. On the film as a whole we will be able to decide when we see its final version", said Macan. He added that what Knežević said to Večernji list, about Mirko Galić rejecting Vranicani's film because it presumably was not done "professionally" enough - was not true.

"Galić has not seen the film, so he cannot talk about it", said Macan, adding that, when they see the final version of Vranicani's documentary they would consult the HTV legal service because they would like to "avoid possible legal actions". Therefore, as Macan said, they do not plan to censor Vranicani at the HTV, but they want to make sure there are not any parts of his film that could bring a "libel action". Their caution is stressed by the claim that "the OTV, which is more likely to broadcast reports by the "rightists", has still not broadcast Vranicani's film".

/ Davor Ivanković in Slobodna Dalmacija, 2 November 2001 /

KNEŽEVIĆ : IT IS INTERESTING HOW YUTEL ARCHIVE DISAPPEARED

It took less than two months for the independent film producer Pavle Vranjicani to, at his own expense, as he repeated several times, make and show the film "Amarcord 1991-2001", a kind of a response to the Božidar Knežević documentary film "Storm over Krajina", shown in "Latinica".

Vranjicani said that while watching Knežević's "Storm" he noticed that the film's author looked familiar to him. After seeing some 70 tapes from the Yutel archive which he got in 1994, as it says in the film prologue, "accidentally, through exchange, which is common in the poorer parts of our video production", he recognized Knežević. He then decided to make a film about war reporters, with an accent on "Knežević and all those who employed lies and immorality in documenting painful subjects of the Homeland War".

As both OTV and HTV refused to broadcast his film, Vranjican rented the KIC hall in Zagreb in order to show his work to those interested in seeing it. The small KIC hall was not large enough to take in all those who wanted to see the film, so it was screened twice instead of once. There were a large number of HDZ members in the audience, headed by Vladimir Šeks. It is interesting that, because of the packed hall, one of the alleged film's "producers" Ante Beljo lost his seat and had to stand during the screening. Rumor has it he was the one who got hold of some of the Yutel materials. Vranjicani accused Knežević and Yutel of getting "purified" materials from the JNA, which they then edited into reports.

"Viewers who saw the film can judge the author's arguments for themselves" said Božo Knežević, who had not seen the film and who is now in Prague. He rejected claims that Yutel used JNA materials and said it was something people who held higher positions at Yutel than he did, those who now held similar positions at other televisions - should know well.

"It is interesting how the Yutel archive disappeared. Off the record I was told that until recently it had been in some kind of a center for tracking down war criminals, despite the fact we tried to protect it, for it to be available to all - as a document of a time", said Knežević. Yutel's archive should soon become available to everybody since, as we found out, several days ago it was turned over to the State archives.

/ Goran Borković in the Feral Tribune, 3 November 2001 /

NENAD PUHOVSKI : "AMARCORD" DID NOT DISPROVE A SINGLE FACT FROM "STORM OVER KRAJINA"

"It is a dilettante media warrant for arrest of Božidar Knežević", was Nenad Puhovski's comment on the documentary film "Amarcord 1991-2001" by Pavle Vranjicani, screened on Wednesday night. Puhovski was at the premiere of "Amarcord", a sort of a response to the controversial film "Storm over Krajina", produced by Puhovski and directed by B. Knežević.

Puhovski said Vranjicani's "piece" (since, professionally, he did not consider it a

film) was a direct successor to the works formerly produced by Mr. Vukojević. "These kinds of works are based on the materials and archives which are not accessible to all, and it is time", said Puhovski, "to solve the problem of the existence of 'strange' private and semi-private archives from the time of Homeland War". He said that all the material should be stored in Croatian film archives where, in accordance with certain rules, it would be available to everyone.

Puhovski deems that, despite all Vranicani's and his producers' efforts, the fact still stands that in the month-long persecution nobody has managed to disprove a single fact from "Storm over Krajina". We asked Puhovski if he, as the producer of the criticized "Storm over Krajina", would be against airing of "Amarcord" on a public TV, to which he replied, "I think it is a bad film but at the end of the day, it is better to attack films with other films than with iron bars..." Pavle Vranicani, author of "Amarcord", told us there was no problem for Mr. Knežević to have a copy of his film, although he believed Knežević had already seen the film since at its premiere there was a cameraman "copying" the film, and at the KIC he also noticed the producer Nenad Puhovski. Vranicani said he was putting some finishing technical touches to the film and that he would be ready to take the final version of the film to the HTV management again on Monday. He was open to, as he said, "technical" negotiations, but not those regarding the subject of the film. He expected immediate response from the HTV since the rival OTV had already decided to broadcast "Amarcord" next week.

/ Davor Ivanković in Slobodna Dalmacija, 3 November 2001 /

"AMARCORD" TO BE SHOWN ON SMALL SCREENS

Fifty-minute long documentary by Pavle Vranjicani, described in the media as a sort of counter-film to the controversial "Storm over Krajina" directed by Božidar Knežević and produced by Nenad Puhovski, will almost certainly be shown on the small screens on Wednesday. It will, however, not be aired by the HTV but as part of the OTV show hosted by Roman Bolković called "2 at 9", airing of which will be taken over at 9pm by the CCN network, in that way allowing the viewers throughout Croatia to see the film.

/ D. Ivanković in Slobodna Dalmacija, 6 November 2001 /

HILDA MARIA FOLEY : WOULD SERBIA FUND A FILM BY A CROAT ABOUT SERBIAN DESTRUCTION OF VUKOVAR

I would like to comment on the Večernji list report regarding death of Božidar Knežević, author of "Storm over Krajina". Nenad Puhovski said there was no evidence that the film was not factual, as it was shown. It is sad that nobody attempted to contradict Knežević's film with evidence that Croatia has:

- 1/ Documents signed by Martić and the Yugoslav General Mrkšić, ordering all Serbs from the so-called Krajina to evacuate before the arrival of the Croat

Army (it says: ustashas) (issued on 4 August 1995, order No 12-3113-1/95).

- 2/ An interview with Martić in the Belgrade "Politika" newspaper, published 23 August 1995 in which he confirmed the order for Serbs to evacuate.
- 3/ UN itself confirmed that some 120-150,000 Serbs left that part of Croatia before Croat army arrived. This was also confirmed by the former American ambassador Galbraith.

Therefore, there is no talk of numbers or "extinction" of Serbs, as Knežević portrayed it in his film. How could they allow a Yugoslav citizen to make a film against Croatia, in Croatia, and even have the Ministry of Culture fund it? Do you think that, in Yugoslavia, any Croat would get a permission to make a film about, say, Vukovar and Serb wreaking havoc on Croatia? Why was Knežević in fact "surprised" at the Croat hatred when he shamelessly made a film against Croatia with such lies? How much did Serbia pay him for such a favor?

And as for Mr. Puhovski, it seems there are still some Yugonostalgic people who are delighted with such films. They are not against lies when Croatia is being defamed, but they are against films such as "Amarcord 1991-2001" because they show what kind of person Knežević was.

/ Hilda Maria Foley in Večernji list, 16 November 2001 /

NENAD PUHOVSKI : MRS FOLEY, TALK TO HHO

In her letter to Večernji list, Mrs. Hilda Marija Foley, the spokesperson for the National Federation of American Croats, talks about the film "Storm over Krajina" not respecting the basic facts, so one has to wonder if she had seen the film at all. Namely, with great triumph, she names three sources from which she concludes that most of the Krajina Serbs had been evacuated before the Croat army arrived. Employing some strange logic, from it she draws that the film does not respect the facts because "there is no talk of numbers or 'extinction' of Serbs, as Knežević portrayed it in his film".

As far as the film goes, Mrs. Foley obviously has her concepts mixed up, because:

- a/ In the film, in the first fifteen minutes or so, three interlocutors - a foreign monitor, a domestic peacenik and a participator in the events - talk exactly about how the "Krajina government" organized evacuation of the locals before the arrival of the HV.
- b/ In no way does this fact bring into question what the film deals with - the fact that after the "Storm" crimes were committed against civilians
- c/ It is clear that the numbers of torched houses and murdered civilians, as stated in the written text at the end of the film, were cited from the HHO report, so they are the ones Mrs. Foley should talk to regarding possible revisions.

In the end, I advise Mrs. Foley to see the film without prejudice and hatred, of which she talks about herself, and the National Federation of American Croats I

advise to find a more genuine spokesperson. And, if they wish to continue campaigning against the film, I advise Večernji list to find more credible associates.

/ Večernji list, 18 November 2001 /

“AMARCORD” DOES NOT MEET BASIC MORAL STANDARDS

A while ago at the Cultural-Information Center (KIC), together with many Croat rightists, I watched the film by a certain Pavle Vranjicani called “Amarcord 1991-2001”, advertised as a response to the famous film by the late Božidar Knežević, entitled “Storm over Krajina”. Apart from its professional lack of quality, this film does not even meet basic moral standards for, instead of settling accounts with Knežević’s claims or viewpoints, it is trying to settle accounts with Knežević personally - he is like this, he is like that, why wasn’t he here or there, etc. (...)

/ Nenad Jovanović in Zarez, 6 December 2001 /

HENI ERCEG: WHAT ELSE TO FEEL BUT SHAME, AFTER SCREENING OF AMARCORD?

(...) A radical statement with a similar background is certainly the case of my colleague Božo Knežević, who recently died in a tragic accident - an honorable man and a professional who was, following the airing of the documentary Storm over Krajina, subjected to systematic media and political persecution in which even the government leadership did not refuse to take part - Tomčić, Račan, Tomac... What else then to feel but shame, when in Zagreb they publicly screen an obscure piece by a wanton SIS hireling, in which a pile of mud and lies is dumped precisely on Božo Knežević, while sitting in the audience are HDZ scoundrels, from Hrvoje Hitrec to Vladimir Šeks, delightedly applauding airing of yet another rabid right-wing outburst, the OTV is already announcing they would broadcast it, and the HTV “is yet to make a decision about broadcasting it”?

Only a day or two later, Božo Knežević was killed in an accident and, really, how can we know if his death was not caused by a lack of concentration, absent-mindedness due to the intensive harangue of the political, journalist and intellectual “elite”?

Today, after the death of Božo Knežević, how does this HDZ gang of bastards feel, how does Zlatko Tomčić or the “intellectual” Slaven Letica feel? They are at peace, no doubt about it. And, anyway, it was this kind of people who produced the sequel to the same kind of state, the media of which had no room for the TV reporter Božo Knežević, but always found room for the journalistic trash which today manages and heads the Croatian television, setting the stage for the return of their right-wing companions. In total chaos, the only state TV is run by trainees, and it is the place where, under Mirko Galić’s baton, they will deliberately avoid mentioning president Mesić’s visit to Israel because his apology to the Jews could hurt the feelings of Čondić and Liović’s kind - and the calculating PM is not too fond of it either.

/ Heni Erceg in the Feral Tribune, 10 November 2001 /

PUHOVSKI : I AM DISMAYED AT THE IDEA OF 11TH DAYS OF CROATIAN FILM BEING OPEN WITH AMARCORD!

Attn: Mr. Lukas Nola, Director of the 11th Days of Croatian Film Festival

Dear Mr. Nola,

I was driven to react and protest in this way because the film Amarcord by P. Vranjicani has been included in the program of the 11th Days of Croatian Film opening ceremony.

First, allow me to make it clear that I oppose any kind of prohibition, censorship etc. Moreover, as producer of many "controversial" films, I am acutely aware of the need for every, even the worst, film to be publicly shown. In addition, I do not wish to discuss the criteria used for the festival film selection, since it is always subjective and subject to personal criteria, even compromises.

This, however, is a different matter.

Following its airing on the HTV, Božo Knežević film Storm over Krajina, screened last year at the Days..., provoked many reactions, some of which were rather aggressive, and as extreme as death threats.

"Film" Amarcord has a special place in this witch-hunt - it is, namely, a unique case of media arrest warrant; this "film" in its 50 minutes attempts to do only one thing - defame one man, Božo Knežević.

It is a "film" which - contrary to all basic ethic, even legal regulations of civilized society - spreads hatred, abuses and criticizes, accuses and judges, never giving the accused a chance to defend himself.

Today, after the death Božo Knežević, more than ever. And to select this kind of a film for the Days of Croatian Film opening ceremony!?!

Despite organizers' good intentions, a possible lack of understanding, insensitivity or not caring - this move can also be read as intentional.

I am surprised at the criteria according to which this film deserved to be included in the Days of Croatian Film official competition and I am dismayed at it being included in the program of the opening ceremony.

That is why I am protesting in this way and I ask you, out of respect for the traditionally high ethical level of the Croatian documentary film, as well as out of reverence for the author Božo Knežević, not to screen the "film" called Amarcord at the opening ceremony.

Should the festival Management resolve to stand by its decision, Factum and I will consider a more appropriate way to react - ranging from calling for the festival guests to boycott the opening ceremony, to withdrawing all Factum's films. I hope, dear Mr. Nola, this will not be necessary and that a solution will be found to allow the festival to proceed smoothly.

/ Nenad Puhovski, Factum program director, 27 March 2002 /

AUTHOR OF "STORM" CANNOT DEFEND HIMSELF BECAUSE HE IS DEAD

"It is not a film but a call for lynch, an arrest warrant of a man no longer alive. It would be tasteless for the film 'Amarcord', which was, by the way, ignorantly named 'Amacord', to be screened as part of the festival's opening ceremony, for me it sends a certain message", said the head of Factum, Nenad Puhovski, at a press conference where the program of the upcoming 11th Days of Croatian Film was introduced. Namely, as part of the documentary film section, the Pavle Vranjican film "Amacord 1991-2001" is scheduled for screening after the opening ceremony on Monday 8 April. Its *raison d'être* is to politically and personally disqualify Božidar Knežević, author of "Storm over Krajina". Vranjican's piece had its premiere last winter at the KIC, and soon after that, Božidar Knežević was killed in a car accident nearby Gračac.

"The author who is being fiercely attacked during the 50 minutes of the film does not have an opportunity to defend himself because he is dead", said Puhovski. He stressed several times that his intention was not to prevent the screening of "Amacord", nor did he want to question the autonomy of the festival film selection - he merely wanted to draw attention to the fact that it was not the same whether a certain film is screened at the opening or at the closing of the festival. Factum is yet to decide what it will do to defend the dignity of its deceased author. There is the option of withdrawing their films from the Days of Croatian Film - which would negatively affect their authors. Another option is for their film "Snovi na peronu djetinjstva" (Dreams on the Track of Childhood) to be withdrawn from the same program which includes "Amacord", the third option is calling for a viewers' boycott of the Vranjican's film at the opening of the Days.

Puhovski suggested that a round-table conference be organized, where Knežević's and Vranjican's films would be confronted, to which the festival director Lukas Nola said it would look more like a "Latinica" than Days, and added that the most democratic solution would be calling for boycott, and not taking more drastic measures. Nola thought it was better to hold such polemical discussions during or after the Days, and that it was good for festivals to include films that would send people's pressure up. In the end, it was suggested that Factum send a communication to the festival management, for a solution to be found. (...)

/ Andrea RADAK in Slobodna Dalmacija, 28 March 2002

NECROPHILIAC PERVERSIONS AT THE DAYS OF CROATIAN FILM

In exactly the same way as the anti-Semitic film about the Jew named Suss was a provocation in the context of the Nazi Germany, the documentary Amacord by Pavle Vranjican, scheduled to open the upcoming Days of Croatian Film, is a provocation in the context of our media culture. And this media image of ours has been identifiable in the past twelve years exactly in media arrest warrants, calls for lynch and liquidation of undesirable persons, regardless of whether the co-producers of such attacks came from the editorial boards of ST, Globus, or the state television.

Amacord is exactly this kind of film, and its sole purpose is calling for a professional liquidation of Božidar Knežević, the only author to make a film, Storm over Krajina, in which he spoke about the crimes of "our boys", enraging the "patriots". The whole issue also acquires a necrophiliac characteristic, since Knežević died in an accident and Amacord thus lost its *raison d'être*. All of this doesn't seem to affect the cynical festival director Lukas Nola who, at a press conference on the eve of the opening ceremony, cool as a cucumber, said he took perverse pleasure in everything that sent people's pressure up, and that there was nothing disputable about Days being open by a piece which criminalized Knežević's work for, watch this!, Yutel. Nola is mistaken about the genre, too.

Namely, this film does not belong to the genre of provocation, since it will hardly send anyone's pressure up, maybe of some individual, particularly sensitive to hate speech, or some journalist, and that will be the end of all protest. Provocative is something that resists the media mainstream, whereas Amacord belongs to the main current of the domestic film, which has been bathing in various forms of hatred for years. It is, therefore, just another of many constructs devised in the rightist underground, which has recently spawned works by Ivan Aralica, Nenad Ivanković and alike.

/ Rade Dragojević in Novi list, 29 March 2002 /

— **DAYS OF CROATIAN FILM TO BE OPEN BY "AMARCORD" ANYWAY**

Management of the upcoming Days of Croatian Film (DHF) have decided to stand by their decision to screen the Pavle Vranjican film "Amacord 1991-2001" at the festival's opening ceremony, and Nenad Puhovski, head of the Factum film company, will keep his promise and take counter-measures. However, no Factum film will be withdrawn from the DHF, to be held from 8 - 14 April, but they will call for people to leave the movie theater during the screening of the controversial film. "The situation has not changed, because if I had taken the film off, every director could have complained to me about the schedule", said the festival director Lukas Nola, explaining his refusal to be blackmailed by Factum. He said he did not think Vranjican's film was in any better position than others were. "To me, screening the film at the opening is the same as screening it at any other time. A film is not privileged if it is being seen by the minister." (...)

/ J. Jurčić in Večernji list, 4 April 2002 /

— **"AMARCORD" IS A CRITIQUE OF KNEŽEVIĆ'S JOURNALISTIC WORK, NOT HIS PERSON**

On the evening of 8 April, at the packed Kinoteka hall in Zagreb, sounds of the Croatian national anthem marked the opening of the 11th Days of Croatian Film. According to some, this festival is "politically predisposed", and according to others, it is a regular festival of the (best) Croatian films of the past year. (...)

What provoked considerable audience interest, at least at the beginning, was the call for the audience to boycott the Pavle Vranjican film "Amarcord", screened after the opening ceremony. It was the Factum film company calling for the audience to boycott the film in the first issue of the "Days of Croatian Film Bulletin", claiming Vranjican's documentary was "openly defaming the name and work of the late Božo Knežević", the author of Factum's film "Storm over Krajina", and that was why it did not deserve to be included in the program of the opening ceremony. "Amarcord 1991-2001", which inadvertently found itself in the midst of "non-film" events, was directed, written and edited by Pavle Vranjican, and is based on archival materials bought from the news bureau Yutel, the footage filmed by several cameramen during the war, as well as the HTV and Yutel news programs. The whole film deals with three examples, three stories, where Vranjican compares "raw" material filmed by late Knežević during the homeland war, on the occupied Krajina territory, with his final reports broadcast by Yutel, which differed from what he actually filmed the same day.

Along with this documentary film, which is, after all, a critique of the reporter's work during wartime and not a critique of his person, some other films, such as "Pavillion 22" produced by Factum, could fall into the "controversial" category - whether due to their bias or the lack of documented evidence and too much speculation about the subjects Croatian public unfortunately still knows too little about. (...)

/ r.r. in Glas koncila, Sunday, 14 April 2002 /

THAT SOMETHING CALLED AMARCORD IS WITCH-HUNT ETCHED ON FILM TAPE

(...) Then follows the selection of something called Amarcord 1991-2001 by Pavle Vranjican, which officially opened the said event - although this film was shown several weeks earlier at the, by the author rented, Cultural-Information Center hall. Those who missed it then and could not respond to Nenad Puhovski's invitation to boycott it should definitely have done it after its screening at the Kinoteka.

For that something called Amarcord 1991-2001 is nothing but witch-hunt etched on film tape, persecution of the dead Božidar Knežević who rubbed the said Vranjican up the wrong way awfully roughly with his film Storm over Krajina. It reminded me of a fierce marital fight between my dear acquaintances after she saw him downtown walking with his arm around a ten years younger woman. The climax of the drama was when, realizing he was losing her and she was leaving him, clutching at the last straw, he cried, "Why, for God's sake! Who do you believe more - me or your own eyes?" Amarcord is that kind of a record. With a lot of pathos, the narrator dramatically suggests revealing of a great secret to the viewer, a major conspiracy never shown by the then Yutel reporter who was right there on the spot, filming. Images, however, do not seem to be listening to the voiceover. They do not show what we should see according to the author - Božidar Knežević's lack of journalist professionalism, him taking the side of the Serb

extremists, folks gone berserk. So why do we still write and give importance to such a piece? Because it raises questions to which answers are yet to be given, and when that happens the author's grandiose conclusion from the end of the film - "Knežević has no right talking about the Homeland War, except maybe in The Hague" - will be referring to him alone.

At the very beginning of this piece, the author informs us that he had produced it himself, and that the footage which we are to see came into his possession after he, trying to save up, bought some second-hand professional tapes at a great bargain, and among them, accidentally enough, were those from the Yutel archive. Something along the lines of "It's a nice sunny day and I'm strollin' 'round the Trešnjevka market and right there next to the spinach and spring onion there's this guy sellin' real good profess'nal tapes. It's true they've some stuff recorded on 'em, but that's why they're so cheap."

Joking aside. Indeed, how did Pavle Vranjican obtain the tapes, which were undoubtedly part of the official Yutel archive, and most certainly accessible only to the leadership? Also, there is the question why this piece was included in the official program of a national cultural event and shown immediately following the death of Knežević, making it absolutely impossible to defend what has been attacked. Why didn't Vranjican, for instance, rummage through the Croatian television archives and show us the footage filmed by its employees, which was not shown? In any case, people can spend their money any way they like, but who allowed the Days of Croatian Film selector to spend taxpayers' money on something that does not satisfy even the basic film criteria?

/ Nataša Petrinjak in Zarez, 25 April 2002 /

PAVLE VRANJICAN'S DOCUMENTARY SHOWN AT THE GOSPIĆ KORZO MOVIE THEATER

Gospić audience had the opportunity to see the first part of the documentary film *Amarcord 1991-2001* by Pavle Vranjicani at the "Korzo" movie theater. Talking about the film, its author stressed it was made owing to the so-called raw material bought for as little as \$450. The same materials were used for the intriguing film *Storm over Krajina*, which "souped up" the Croat army and its military operations and showed them with rather gloomy connotations.

Vranjicani provided a commentary on some parts of the film - those showing the footage which had been edited out, and which place *Storm over Krajina* in a completely different context. General Ante Roso talked about the background of the whole story surrounding the film, saying that current aspirations of the political management were once again making a case out of Lika and making it into some kind of an enclave. (...)

/ M. Smolčić in Novi List, 6 May 2002 /

IN LIKA, FORTRESS OF CROATIAN SUBSISTENCE, FIRST PART OF PAVLE VRANJICAN'S FILM SHOWN

For the nth time Lika is making yet another attempt to emerge from the neglect, slackness, depression. To be sure, this is also to be blamed on the so-called Gospić case - murder of Milan Levar and indictments for war crimes imposed on these wonderful people and this wonderful region. The hero town of Gospić certainly does not deserve that. That is why our little "Republic of Croatia Journalists' Association", fortified with General Ante Roso, decided to show the first part of the Pavle Vranjican film "Amarcord 1991-2001" in Lika, the fortress of Croatian subsistence. After the screening, Gospić people told us laconically: "Well, we know it is so." We also know that all those who fought for Croatia - and the people of Lika most certainly did - know it, but we also know that we must not keep silent about it, that we must always talk about it. (...)

/ Hrvatsko Slovo, 10 May 2002 /

CROATIAN FILM FOR ANTI-CROATIAN PROPAGANDA

(...) That Croatian public is contaminated - not with a-nationalist, but with anti-nationalist, nondescript and sycophantic material, favorable to the mentioned thesis about ethnic cleansing of Serbs in Croatia during the Homeland War, among many examples, was best shown recently by the much-vaunted controversial documentary film "Storm over Krajina", made in Croatia. There were but a few leading journalists who did not, in the name of quasi-humanism and protection of human rights (of Serbs in Croatia, of course), vent their acrimony on the Croatian television for having taken the film off the program.

The other side of the cinematic coin is that, exactly on this year's Victory Day and National Thanksgiving Day, the Yugoslav television showed it to their viewers several times, as the argumentum fundamentalis for the statements by leading Serbian officials about the ethnic cleansing in Croatia. Is it not logical to pose the question: What right Republic of Croatia Ministry of Culture has to fund, with money provided by taxpayers, among who are Croat defenders, the film that blasphemously ridicules none other than Croat defenders?

The less is said about the loudest protagonists and propagators of the film (Puhovski, Pusić & Company), the better. To paraphrase the famous line, it is high time that someone cries out "Something is rotten in the state of Croatia!" Whereby it is, it seems, a "Sisyphean task" to be reminding and proving that in all European countries assimilation of ethnic minorities is an ongoing process, that the Serb political leadership of the 1990s was a priori against any kind of independent Croat state, that their most popular slogan all over former Yugoslav area was "All Serbs have the right to live in one state", that they wholeheartedly accepted the memorandum thesis about the "unity of all Serb countries", that they always laid emphasis on the so-called "AVNOJ borders" between the former republics, that in the areas with Serb majority in Croatia they employed ethnic principles and

in the area where they were a minority they employed the historical principle, that they rejected any and every idea they might live in any kind of Croatian state, that all Croatian historical symbols - signs, money, police and military uniforms etc. were so repulsive to them that they commonly proclaimed them "ustasha", that their collective exodus from Croatia had been planned in detail and in advance, that the written decision about it was issued by the infamous Knin sheriff Milan Martić etc. Wouldn't you agree that, in such context, the accusation about ethnic cleansing seems rather serious, and it is somewhat more probable that to leave Croatia was a voluntary decision made by those Serbs who never accepted it as their homeland?

/ Stipan Bunjevac in Glas Koncila, 1 September 2002 /

WHY DID HTV NOT SHOW "AMARCORD"?

A while ago, not only in Zagreb but also in some other places outside of Zagreb, there were screenings of the film entitled: "Amarcord 1991". It is a film from Serb sources and it shows how Serbs from the occupied part of the Republic of Croatia saw and filmed the events of war. It was made as response to the film "Storm over Krajina", which was also shown on the Croatian television.

I believe they offered "Amarcord 1991" to the Croatian television, which did not accept it, i.e. did not show it. It would be good for both films to be shown to the Croatian public "at the same time". According to that Latin saying, "audiatur et altera pars". Because, unless "the other side" is heard, it will be more difficult to get to the truth. Maybe impossible.

/ Živko Strižić, Zagreb, Letters to the editor, Vjesnik, 9 October 2002 /

MOST DANGEROUS LIE IS MIXED WITH THE TRUTH

Today Croatian taxpayers are paying for the mud being slung at those who deserve most credit for pulling Croatia out of the Yugoslav yoke of slavery and bondage.

A friend of mine recently said that Knežević's film "Storm over Krajina" was really not so bad "as a whole", because there were some objective parts in it.

I said that this kind of film would be highly desirable if everything in it was objective, but - as has been shown and proven - much of this film is propaganda, very skillfully aimed against Croats. Namely, there is no lie more dangerous than a lie mixed with the truth, because all those vultures over Croatia will never judge this film "as a whole" anyway, but will rather extract from it those few seconds they need, stressing only and solely what they want.

/ Vinko Grubišić in Hrvatsko slovo, 15 October 2002 /

DEATH OF BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ



BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ, AUTHOR OF THE CONTROVERSIAL FILM "STORM OVER KRAJINA", KILLED IN A CAR ACCIDENT ON THE ROAD BETWEEN KORENICA AND GRAČAC

We found out at the Zadar Central Police (PU) station that today around 10:35 am near Bruvno, in a "Renault Scenic", Božidar Knežević, 49, citizen of SRJ from Montenegro and Borivoj Franceschi, 48, Croatian citizen living in Zagreb, were killed in a fatal road accident. Department of Justice spokesperson Zinka Bardić confirmed that the killed Božidar Knežević was the author of the documentary film "Storm over Krajina".

At the Zadar Central Police station, we found that the accident involved a passenger car and a tractor-trailer. The two men killed were in a "Renault Scenic" passenger car with Czech license plates, driving towards Gračac whereas the tractor-trailer was driving towards Korenica.

The accident is under investigation.

So far, we know that the trailer swerved and hit the passenger vehicle with Czech license plates driving from the opposite direction. The investigating magistrate of the Zadar County Court visited the scene of the accident and will examine it together with the PU officers.

Due to the accident, traffic on the D1 road on this route was blocked until 2:15 pm, and the vehicles were being redirected to the Gračac-Gospić-Žuta Lokva route.

/ HINA, 6 November 2001 /

HE WAS A VICTIM OF A FRENZIED WITCH-HUNT

Regardless of whether it was his brakes or "merely" his nerves that gave, in the course of past few weeks Božo Knežević was certainly also a victim of a frenzied witch-hunt led against him and his film "Storm over Krajina". Despite the fact that, and in this country it needs to be repeated ad nauseam, nobody ever disputed the claims and facts presented in his film, Božo was constantly challenged, criticized, even accused. While this was being done by the uneducated, unhappy people, manipulated by the selfish, sometimes even criminal politics - one could understand it. However, when it was professional politicians, "intellectuals", especially journalists, his colleagues by nature, who did it - it became something Božo was finding increasingly hard to endure, despite his outward appearance of indifference.

The dilettante media warrant for arrest called "Amacord 1991-2001", done in a hurry in an attempt to "neutralize" the effect of Božo's film, again, did not deal with his film or try to dispute the facts presented in it. It exclusively dealt with - and this would be unimaginable in some civilized countries - Božo Knežević's person. Without a single argument. In this kind of environment, no one was surprised by the fascistoid thesis that he should not be allowed to handle the subject of "Storm" because he did not meet the propaganda criteria set by the HDZ warmongering "headquarters".

Following the screening of this "piece", none of the people present, among whom were also the HDZ "superiors" Šeks, Hitrec, Beljo, Kosor and others, protested. None of the "responsible" politicians, respectable members of parliament, with honor so sensitive that they are capable of talking about it for days and ultimately asking for apologies, to say "Well, this is really way below par!"

In the same way as, when this film, for no reason whatsoever, was being torn to pieces in Parliament, there was nobody from the ruling coalition to say to the beloved opposition "Wait a minute - it was your politics that led to things this film portrays!" True to form, the politics unanimously blamed the messenger, instead of those responsible for the message. Once again, political interests won over the truth. For a long time Božo had been setting up his new project - "Hate Speech", a film dealing with how the media of the former Yugoslav countries encouraged the war. Despite the irreplaceable loss, this film will be made. And dedicated to Božo Knežević.

/ Professor Nenad Puhovski, FACTUM Program director, 6 November 2001 /

WHY DID HIS DEATH DESERVE SUCH ATTENTION?

- News about the death of a director is news, but the producer's claims of who is to blame, namely those who were attacking the film "Storm over Krajina", is not news. It is a commentary, once again, aligning HTV with unacceptable messages of this film.
- You represented his death in a tendentious manner. It is not front-page news. It is something that belongs to the end of the program.
- Puhovski's commentary did not belong in the show whatsoever.
- Who wants to know what Ž. Puhovski thinks?
- What right do you have, airing this Puhovski to talk about "morality"? Why, the Berlin Wall fell a long time ago.
- One mustn't speak ill of the dead, but it needs to be said he fought on the Serb side.
- Why did his death deserve such attention? And then you broadcast that monstrous accusation, too. According to it, anybody who criticizes is to blame for others' death.
- Give Puhovski his own show where he can glorify Knežević's Great-Serbian ideas.
- What right do you have to give so much space to the Croat-hater Puhovski?
- Are you making this chetnik into a hero? He was on the opposite side from me at Plitvice.
- The way things are going, I'm just waiting for a national day of mourning the death of this chetnik.
- Everybody should be ashamed because of that piece of news. He is not our idol, if he is yours. Also unlike the attention given to Dalibor Foretić.
- Puhovski's commentary really had no business being in the show.

/ DAILY REVIEW OF THE HTV VIEWERS' SERVICE: CALLS REGARDING THE HTV PROGRAM ON THE 6 November 2001 /

ATTACKS ON KNEŽEVIĆ WERE SO SAVAGE THEY VIOLATED THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

(...) Although everything this documentary film deals with - and much more than that - was well known from before, by putting it on tape Božo Knežević obviously touched where it was still dangerous to touch in Croatia, as was demonstrated by numerous reactions of those who unreservedly perceive the so-called "homeland war" as something else than it actually was.

Attacks on Knežević were so savage and outside the concept of elementary culture (now the opposing HDZ has even called for the resignation of the HTV general manager Mirko Galić) that journalist guilds rose in his defense, judging those attacks and demands to be exerting "unacceptable pressure on the media and journalists".

Regarding these attacks, Božidar Knežević himself recently said, "It is exactly in Croatia where it is terribly important to talk about the crimes committed after the 'Storm'... Why would the 150,000 reservists feel guilty about the crimes, when they were committed by, let's say, a thousand?" (...)

/ R. Arsenić in Politika, 7 November 2001 /

HE WAS PREPARING A DOCUMENTARY ABOUT THE MOST WANTED CRIMINAL RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ

The 49-year old TV-cameraman and author of documentary films Božidar Knežević was killed, basically, on a journalist mission. Ahead of him was the new reportage in Montenegro and this author, who became known to the general public after the airing of the documentary "Storm over Krajina", was setting up several new projects. Nenad Puhovski, producer of the "Factum" company which produced "Storm..." told us Knežević and he were planning a larger TV project entitled "Hate Speech", dealing with how and to what extent the media had contributed to the war. Apart from that, he was also preparing a documentary about the most wanted criminal Radovan Karadžić for the Dutch television. (...)

/ Rade Dragojević in Novi list, 7 November 2001 /

AT HTV THEY BELIEVE THE FILM WAS PUT TOGETHER FROM SERB VIEWPOINT

(...) Although the making of the 50-minute long film record about the crimes committed by the members of the Croat army - torching of Serb houses and ruthless killings - was also co-funded by the Croatian ministry of culture (with \$13,000), the HTV, which meanwhile bought the film rights, hesitated for a long time over whether they would show the film or not. They "explained" it with the current situation, when Croatian generals are being taken to The Hague (Ademi and an arrest warrant issued for Gotovina) and nationalist passions are running high - claiming it would not be the wisest thing to broadcast the film at such a time.

The HTV management believed showing "Storm" would be nothing but "adding fuel to the flames". "The film was put together from the Serb viewpoint, depict-

ing Croat soldiers as murderers and criminals, neglecting the fact some of these crimes have been prosecuted”, said the HTV source, insisting that the film “has not been shelved, and will be broadcast when the time is right.” (...)

/ S. Đurić-Pijevac in Glas javnosti, Belgrade, 8 November 2001 /

CULTURE MINISTER ANTUN VUJIĆ’S TELEGRAM OF CONDOLENCE

Culture Minister Antun Vujić sent a telegram of condolence to the Center for Dramatic Arts Factum on the occasion of Božidar Knežević’s tragic death. “On behalf of Ministry of Culture and my own behalf, please accept our deepest sympathy on the occasion of your associate documentarist Božidar Knežević’s tragic death. He was the author who in his own, often controversial and polemical style, strove to throw light on many shadowy places and dark sides of the time we live in. I believe the legacy of his works will contribute to the Croatian documentary film production’s growth in importance”, read the telegram of condolence by minister Vujić.

The Yugoslav citizen was killed on Tuesday, in a traffic accident near Gračac.

/ Hina, 8 November 2001 /

ŽARKO PUHOVSKI : THE ACCIDENT WAS NOT ARRANGED

Following the accident in which the author of “Storm over Krajina” Božidar Knežević was killed, there were suspicions that the accident near Gračac had been arranged. We spoke to Žarko Puhovski, Ph. D. “Yesterday I again spoke to the police who, with regard to the suspicions, inspected the scene of the accident over and thoroughly examined all the evidence. They have also been examining the truck driver’s past. According to the investigation, it was obviously the case of a typical rather than an arranged road accident, which would serve as a cover for somebody’s death. It is apparent that suspicion about the death of Božo Knežević being caused by a “programmed accident” has now been dispelled”, said Puhovski.

We spoke to the forensic expert graduate engineer Krunoslav Franjković regarding the procedure of arranging accidents.

“In my long professional experience I’ve heard countless allusions to someone being killed in an arranged traffic accident. But, rest assured - it’s not quite that simple. For example, to induce the skidding of a tractor-trailer on a slippery road at the specified spot you would need not just a good and skillful driver, but a dozen of assistants who would have to be trained to perfection. You would need to know exactly when the vehicle carrying the person you wish to liquidate in this accident was going to arrive at a particular spot, as well as many other technical details. All of this requires considerable experience and well-funded logistics. According to the first reports, Knežević was killed in a typical road accident in which the tractor-trailer ‘wandered off’ to the left side because of the slippery road and that is all that is safe to assume”, said Franjković

/ M. Stražimir in Večernji list, 8 November 2001 /

THREATS TO NENAD PUHOVSKI : "WE LIQUIDATED THAT SERBO-CHETNIK PIG, YOU'RE NEXT"

Nenad Puhovski, the program director of the Factum film company, which produced Knežević's film "Storm over Krajina", was threatened over the phone at his home on Wednesday at 1:30 am, the night after the road accident in which Božidar Knežević, 49, was killed. Mrs. Puhovski was the one to answer the phone.

"They said: 'We liquidated that Serbo-chetnik pig, you're next.' The person did not give their name, or say if they were calling on behalf of some organization or group. For several years now, nobody has threatened me. I don't know who was behind the threat nor do I wish to comment upon it. Let the police do their job", said Puhovski.

Do you know whether Božidar Knežević received similar threats prior to his death and if they suggested the kind of death that befell him, i.e. the death that would be made to look like an accident? - we asked N. Puhovski.

Božo did receive several threats, especially after the airing of his, according to some, disputable film in "Latinica". However, I am not familiar with the exact contents of those threats. Latin and Pilsel also received threats. This seems to be part of our folklore; here we have no culture of dialogue, especially not with those whose opinions we do not share. Instead of talking, even if we argued, we end up receiving threats.

Immediately following Knežević's tragic death, you reacted with a communication to the media in which you suggested the possibility this fatal accident had been arranged. Do you still believe in this after the police have dispelled the suspicion, something even your brother Žarko accepted? Also, the forensic expert and graduate engineer Krunoslav Franjković said that in an actual situation it is very difficult to arrange an accident. I'd like to believe the accident had not been arranged. In the communication, I plainly stated that even if the accident had not been arranged, it was certainly provoked by the pressure of the frenzied witch-hunt, which was being led against Knežević. It all culminated after the airing of the documentary "Amarcord 1991-2001", which was all about slandering Knežević. Božo was most certainly affected by the pressure, which can be testified by anyone who knew him, so it wouldn't surprise me that his concentration during the ride was 'shaky'", said Puhovski. (...)

/ D. Vričko in Večernji list, 9 November 2001 /

THOSE WHO DID NOT LIKE THE TRUTH ARE THE ONES MAKING THREATS

"We liquidated that Serbo-chetnik pig, you're next", were the words that, on Wednesday at 1:30 am, woke the program director of the "Factum" film company, Nenad Puhovski, from his sleep. An anonymous threatening phone call may have come from the arsenal of the frenzied telephone terrorists, who in the small hours disturb their political opponents - if only it had not been made just fifteen hours after the fatal road accident near Gračac in which Puhovski's close associate Božidar Knežević, author of the documentary "Storm over Krajina", was killed. (...)

The Zagreb Central Police Station (PU) received the information about the anony-

mous threats over the phone to Nenad Puhovski, the producer of the documentary film "Storm over Krajina", said the Zagreb PU spokesperson Stanka Saraja, adding the matter is under the police investigation.

/ Marina Karlović-Sabolić in Slobodna Dalmacija, 8 November 2001 /

"WHEN WILL ISRAEL APOLOGIZE TO THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA FOR NENAD PUHOVSKI?"

Vjeran Zuppa, the dean of the Academy of Dramatic Arts (ADU), today said that the attacks on the ADU vice-dean Nenad Puhovski did not only "disturb" the academic community, but also made it responsible for his fate. Zuppa said Puhovski was one of the highly democratic persons who are today evidently the target of the dark savagery, trying to delegitimize Croatia as a modern democratic state and to discourage its citizens by using threats and violence.

"Those attacks are such that this academic community demands not only for the institutions of our law-respecting society to protect Nenad Puhovski, but also to respond, using all legal means, to the system which is evidently behind these so-called incidents and occurrences", said Zuppa. He said that apart from the anonymous phone calls of the "you're next" kind made to Nenad Puhovski following the road accident of the author of the film "Storm over Krajina", the film which Nenad Puhovski produced, they, unfortunately, also had to recognize the connection with the posters glued all over the Academy on several occasions.

The posters, said Zuppa, read, "When will Israel apologize to the Republic of Croatia for Nenad Puhovski?". "It need not be emphasized that this question should be read in the context of the apology of the president Mesić to Israel, and the fact Puhovski is also a Jew", said the ADU dean. He added these attacks "with their explicit racist and deeply sinister contents belong among the frequent attacks on the constitutional foundation of the Republic of Croatia as a democratic and cultural state."

/ Hina, 9 November 2001 /

EULOGY, NENAD PUHOVSKI

They say that in the moment of death life flashes before one's eyes like a film. I do not know if that is true since nobody ever returned to tell the tale. Yet, ever since I heard about Božo's tragic death, I have been haunted by the question of what he could have seen.

I am certain his last thoughts were dedicated to his family he loved so dearly and took care of - his wife and children. I am also certain his thoughts went to Montenegro, too, and all the people he left there.

I do not know how much time he had to think about the things that happened to him in the earlier stages of his life. But I am positive, because we talked about it, that he left with a bitter feeling of solitude and injustice.

For some time, and particularly during the last month, Božo fought an unjust battle for his viewpoint on a segment of the Homeland War. He never claimed it was the only truth or that it should replace other truths. Only that it was the truth.

Reactions of all those who did not find that kind of truth suitable were brutal. The least of them were those who themselves directly experienced the tragedy of war. Božo was mostly opposed by those who made lucrative business out of creating unrealistic war myths. Although he did not want to admit it, Božo was particularly affected by the dilettante media arrest warrant, hurried in order to try to "neutralize" the effect of his film. Not because it would, because it did not, call his film into question. Not even because it dealt exclusively with him personally and attempted to advance the fascistoid thesis that he should not have been allowed to handle the subject because he did not meet the propaganda criteria imposed by the warmongering "headquarters" of the former government. But because not a soul reacted to it.

The screening of this piece was attended by the members of parliament, of honor so sensitive they are capable of talking about it for days, ultimately asking for apologies. Also there were the newspaper editors, writers, intellectuals and politicians used to engaging in endless litigation because of the "emotional distress" they were caused. There was no one, and I mean not even one, among them to lend Božo public support and try to stop the lynching. Nobody. Once again, politics won over ethics. Politicians of various orientation and caliber once again decided the messenger was to blame for bad news, not those who created the message.

At the beginning of this piece, in a dishonest manner they are trying to manipulate the thesis that whilst the reporters who tragically died during the Homeland War were gone, Božo was alive and could say whatever he pleased.

Due to the web of tragic events, authors of this film got their satisfaction. Božo is gone. A dear, serene and quiet man has left us.

We who are left behind can only try to continue where he was interrupted, and say to his antagonists - "no pasaran!"

/ 9 November 2001 /

DEATH IN KRAJINA

It was probably really only a tragic accident - the police claim it was a typical road accident: slippery road, a tractor-trailer swerving on the road, head-on crash... But the death of Božidar Knežević sends extra chills down one's spine.

Knežević was the author of the film "Storm over Krajina", which kicked up a lot of dust after its airing on the national television. For the first time via television screens, the Croatian public faced the facts about the crimes committed in connection with the military action "Storm". They did not forgive him. Knežević faced persecution. He and his own received dire threats.

Immediately preceding his tragic death, there was the screening of a film attempting to defame him as a person and as a reporter. They used the recipe perfected during the worst days of Tuđman's national revolution: instead of discussing the merits, they declare open season. If you cannot demolish someone's arguments, shoot them! The facts about the crimes committed in Krajina could not be disproved, so they challenged the author of the film who dared talk about it.

In Tuđman times, media warrants for arrest were most often an instruction to suit the action to the word. Have we forgotten that even union leaders were being shot at their doorstep in Croatia? Have we forgotten that some rather suspicious road accidents took place as well? The campaign launched against Knežević resembled those with body count to follow. Death is the aim and the crown of every persecution. The tragedy that happened on the Lika road nearby Gračac is overcast with suspicion, not only because Knežević's associates, most of all Nenad Puhovski, are being threatened over the phone at the dead of night: "We liquidated that Serbo-chetnik pig, you're next!" The Academy of Dramatic Arts, as we were told by its top officials yesterday, was on several occasions covered with posters against Puhovski, who is the vice-dean.

Croatia is overbooked with threatening shrieks, so some people tend to take them lightly. But the matter does not always rest only on verbalistics. Murderers of Milan Levar, the undestined prosecution witness in The Hague, have not yet been identified and his family has in no way been taken care of. In the halls of the Split Court, in the "house of justice", unidentified groups attack and take photographs of the witnesses in the Lora crime case by force, without repercussions. They are scaring the hell out of anybody who could and would testify about the dark sides of the war. During a month or two, five Serb returnees were killed by the freshly planted landmines in the Vojnić village. Neither the state nor the public lost any sleep over it.

In the state where such things take place, suspicions also arise in cases that do not deserve it. Death of Božidar Knežević was probably not arranged, all signs point to it not being a case of a "programmed accident", but the fact such possibility is being considered says a lot about Croatia.

/ Jelena Lovrić in Novi list, 9 November 2001 /

BOŽO KNEŽEVIĆ, AUTHOR OF "STORM OVER KRAJINA", BURIED

The tragically deceased television reporter, producer and cameraman Božidar Knežević, 49, was buried on Friday at the Zagreb Mirogoj cemetery.

In the presence of his family and numerous colleagues and friends, occasional speeches were given by Drago Pilsel, the president of Forum 21 and Nenad Puhovski, the Factum film company executive manager. "Božidar Knežević was a pioneer in searching for the truth and in confronting the events past - and that is something we should be grateful to him for", said Drago Pilsel. (...)

/ Milan Jelovac, Vjesnik, 10 November 2001 /

AUTHOR OF THE CATHARTIC STORM

The political context and the context of time in which the chronicler of the evils of war, the author of the cathartic "Storm over Krajina", Božidar Knežević, tragically died - has not been this "touchy" since the death of Hrvoje Šarinić's son, after his dad split with Tudman. Criticized, slandered and defamed in slapdash celluloid works put together by the watchful guards of the former regime's bloody secrets (since they could not dispute the deatho-visual facts of the old men murdered after the "Storm", which he tackled with his camera, they had to challenge their author), Knežević died suddenly, in a fatal road accident near Gračac, together with his colleague Borivoj Franceschi. He had been working on a new project, which would, exploring the role of the media in these parts during the barrage and psychological stage setting for flaring up of the nationalist passions and violence of war, hurl in the faces of his adversaries the hideous image of their professional and ethical achievements. (...)

/ N.N. in Slobodna Dalmacija, 10 November 2001 /

TO BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ

His brother Duško on behalf of the family, and Drago Pilsel and Nenad Puhovski on behalf of the Croatian public, said goodbye to the author of "Storm over Krajina"

Pilsel - whose biography goes beyond and sums up all Croatian controversies - in his brave speech said the following dilemma was crucial: do we have the right to be angry and hate those rejoicing over Božo's death, or does tolerance bind us - at least us - to what is humanly impossible? He did not solve this dilemma but he suggested that with all our powers we try to follow the same rule Božo had heroically lived by until the end - the ethical imperative of our - journalist - profession.

Nenad Puhovski repeated what he said when he first heard about Božo's death - trying to dispute "his" truth, they could not make him waver - he never even pretended to be showing the whole truth! But, when the experts realized they could not do anything to Božo's film, they started persecuting Božo personally. With success. Disgusted, Puhovski then claimed that nobody of those who had seen "Amarcord 1991" ever raised any alarm, although the very speed with which this response was edited was extremely dangerous.

I am joining the ranks of those disgusted by the silence surrounding the film "Amarcord 1991"; even if it may be too late, I want to express my utter astonishment by this film, which I had not seen, and I hope I will never have the chance to see. For this is not the first time for people in Croatia to be murdered by film: soon following the airing of the film about Bruno Bušić, the president of the Christian Democrats, Ivan Cesar, suddenly died - in the film, he was denounced as an Udba agent.

For decades, Božo and I have been meeting with pleasure - we belonged to the same side of the world - but we almost never discussed things. Maybe because he was very different from me: in his workplace a hero, in his family relationships and friendships gentle as traditional Montenegrin men tend to be. That is why I

absolutely believe those witnessing he had been deeply affected by the disparaging of his motives, and the destructive effect the slandering had on him. After years and years, I met Božo again on 20 October, at the 150th Njegoš Anniversary. It was only fifteen days after the "Latinica" show in which his "Storm over Krajina" was aired - playfully, he talked about his family and the old days. Talking about the present, about the film and the reactions to it, he was serene and cold. Just like the too early snow on his funeral today.

/ Duško Čizmić Marović in Slobodna Dalmacija, 10 November 2001 /

PETLEVSKI : WE LIVE IN THE TIME OF THREATS TO WHICH WE CONTRIBUTE

Sibila Petlevski, president of the Croatian PEN center, has today made a "plea" - on her own behalf, but not rejecting the context of her association - "to the cultural public, against the threats and silence", reacting against the "common practice of keeping silent about the facts, which appears as a kind of 'democratic' censorship", also denouncing the increasingly common "hate speech".

The immediate cause for her plea to the cultural public were the series of threats on life of Nenad Puhovski, professor at the Academy of Dramatic Arts, and the racist posters appearing on the walls of the Academy. Puhovski is the executive manager of the "Factum" film company, which produced the film "Storm over Krajina", made by the recently deceased journalist Božidar Knežević. The film was fiercely condemned by part of the public, numerous associations of Croatian defenders as well as the right-wing political parties.

As the real reason for her plea, Sibila Petlevski named fighting the atmosphere of threats in which people agree to "shrug their shoulders". "Repulsed by the atmosphere of threats, brain inertia and shoulder shrugging", Petlevski said she thought it necessary to warn about things we all know and Croatian intellectuals dare not admit, but "deep inside they have to be aware of the fact that it is exactly the shrugging of shoulders which will take us back - not ten years, to the times of Tuđman, not thirty or forty to the times of Tito - but straight to the dark Middle Ages".

She warned that the "empty racket and loud silence" also contributed to global regression. The Croatian PEN president was not only embittered by the threats on life of Nenad Puhovski, but also because of an anonymous bomb threat at the regional PEN conference, which brought some fifty international intellectuals to Zagreb.

The bomb threat, threats on life of Nenad Puhovski, and the recent beating up of the innocent guests in the Zagreb club "Močvara" - Sibila Petlevski regards these as the evidence of living "in the time of threats, and by keeping silent and merciless, we contribute to that time". Petlevski thinks that "joining of our voices and the sense of intellectual solidarity" are lacked when they are most needed - in the Croatian cultural public, which, "oriented towards autistic vanity games, cries out when it has nothing to say, keeping silent about many important matters - that our society is living through a dark side of democracy".

/ HINA, 10 November 2001 /

— KNEŽEVIĆ WORKED ON DEALING WITH THE TRUTH

Dealing with the truth and their own sins seems to be difficult for former Yugoslav countries, and that is why healing is difficult, too. Knežević had been working on this healing process courageously and devotedly regardless of the risks. And sowed the seeds of truth.

/ Drago Kovačević in Pravi odgovor, Belgrade, 11 November 2001 /

— CHRONICLE OF AN ANNOUNCED DEATH

The road was slippery, the truck swerved a little. Ah, those Croatian turns: how many people took the wrong turn and how many of them went to the devil because of it. The truck swerved, they took Borivoj Franceschi and Božo Knežević away in the boxes. There is God, isn't there? "They're both down!" The joy about the two planes being shot down could not have been greater. When you want something really bad, it happens. Especially when those who want something really bad are used to their wishes being respected without hesitation and lingering. All it took was sticking a pin (a little film called "Amarcord 1991-2001") into the Božo Knežević doll at the rally of the sworn, at the Zagreb KIC, which was at the time won by Pavletić's son after a hard fight. And then two or three cell phones as well. They have plenty of those.

The HRT wagged its tail (that is how dogs express their happiness): "The author of the controversial film is dead". The "controversial film" by a "controversial author", filmed by a "controversial cameraman", in the production of a "very controversial producer", was aired, true, on the same HRT, but the dog nearly died from grief. Croatia, official and officious, got up on its hind legs. In every way possible, they had to signalize, choosing from the impressive range of howls, that this kind of "omission" would not be tolerated again. "Controversial films" by "controversial authors" have no place on Croatian television. In this respect, the so-called opposing and many so-called ruling politicians found themselves in a harmonious embrace. Only few politicians and intellectuals tried to point to the fact that the reality to which the film referred was itself rather controversial. It may well be so, the politicians, ruling and opposing, agreed - but the image of this reality needs to be indisputable. If this image does not match the reality, so much the worse for the facts. Those who do not understand it should leave the facts alone. They should particularly leave them alone when it concerns the only real mass medium in our still predominantly oral and pre-literal culture.

Without a doubt, in daily papers and weekly magazines, Croatian public could read about things even worse than were those shown in the film by Knežević and Franceschi. But the only thing that truly counts is television. It was only in "Latinica" that the political elite, up to their necks in what the film showed, really felt threatened and decided to close ranks, ready to go all the way against "the Cyrillic", for whatever was meant by it. To be exact, the film showed nothing that had not been said or even seen in fragments before. Things far worse had been

seen on television. What the film did was merely to efficiently connect, in form of cause and effect, things that the viewer can perhaps (but even this with difficulty) handle only in fragments.

The film showed crimes committed by individuals but it also “nailed” an atmosphere of a frenzied community, which encouraged, approved and concealed the crimes. The crimes were, and this we have known all along, of such proportions that it took a great deal of organizing just to conceal them; in terms of quantity alone they were so massive they should have been regarded as national terrorism, a doctrinal terror campaign planned (by the so-called writing-desk perpetrators, primarily Tudman), arranged with the arch-enemy and mercilessly executed. It was not just a case of the margin of a momentous military operation gone berserk (the operation itself being considered some kind of a special achievement!), certainly not a case of random, unrelated incidents, but rather a deliberately executed “cleansing of territory” in the spirit of “final solution” Croatian style. Hunting down old Serb men in the Croatian rear during the so-called post-Storm period was no different from the Ustasha savagery at the very same locations in WWII, just as the encouraged and approved persecution of the so-called urban Serbs was no different from the methods described by Ivo Goldstein in his recently published landmark-book, Holocaust in Zagreb. Knežević’s film does not insist on the brutality of details - I’m certain, I even know for sure, that the cameras recorded things far worse - but it points to a very dangerous correlation... In this context, the gesture of the “sovereign” at the Knin fortress kissing the flag, rejoicing over the rapid decrease in the number of his subjects, and talking about them with contempt as if he was talking about bugs (“they forgot to take their dirty underpants”) seems nauseating, as nauseating as the entire iconography of the so-called Freedom Train. That this kind of freedom meant utmost slavery for the most of the indigenous people (freedom from both tit and tat in no time), has not been acknowledged so far, and those who attempt to do it are risking their lives. (...)

/ Slobodan Šnajder in Novi list, 12 November 2001 /

PUHOVSKI : THE DRIVER SAID TO ME - I’M A SERB, YOU KNOW!

“A few days ago I spoke to the truck driver Nikola Borozović who caused the accident in which Knežević and his colleague were killed and the first thing he told me was, “I’m a Serb, you know”, said Žarko Puhovski at the commemoration of Božidar Knežević. Rhetorically he asked if it was really the most important thing, if it was so important who was of which nationality.

/ R.D. in Novi list, 13 November 2001 /

BELGRADE TO THE ZAGREB JOURNALIST BOŽIDAR KNEŽEVIĆ

“Božidar Knežević had a Yugoslav passport, was a Montenegrin citizen, lived in Zagreb and - died in the car with Czech license plates.” With these words Dragoljub Žarković, editor-in-chief and the VP of the weekly “Vrijeme”, colleague,

and what is most important, longtime friend of the tragically deceased Zagreb journalist, opened the commemoration ceremony at the Media Center.

Žarković evoked memories of their army days, "He was the only soldier stranger than me in the Zagreb 'Marshal Tito' army barracks. When we entered it in 1978, we were greeted by a sign "He who is not with us, is against us". But Božidar Knežević was his own man, who crossed the Balkan borders during the hardest of times, who was being arrested by all sorts of military and paramilitary units... He was not analyzing the events of the past, behind him he left what was most precious - documents, testimonies..."

"He was the journalist whom those with good memory, back from the time of former Yugoslavia, remember by excellent educational science programs he made for the Zagreb TV, and the younger ones by his contributions to the VIN (Video Information Weekly) show and the TV film 'Storm over Krajina', which caused upheaval among the Croatian public. Ten years ago he 'refused to lie' and joined the Yutel team", said the Zagreb journalist Tanja Tagirov.

"When people like him are killed in a car accident, immediately we wonder whether it was indeed a road accident. This just shows what kind of time we live in", said the "Vreme" journalist Miloš Vasić.

The NUNS president Gordana Suša, who could not hold back tears, wanted to draw attention to Božidar Knežević's journalistic courage, mentioning that only three days after the famous Storm, he sent a contribution (one of some twenty) to the VIN in which he showed the dark side of the "victory" and the insanity and misery of war. After that, the same report was shown to those present at the Media Center, one of some twenty or so reports, which, according to Gordana Suša, often reached the small screens through the most unusual channels. The channels that, unfortunately, look a lot like black-marketing.

Still, that is the story about those true journalists who are always in the "storm".

/ M. Šehović, Belgrade Media Center, 14 November 2001 /

DEAD REPORTERS' SOCIETY

Before he tragically lost his life, were you supposed to pity Božidar Knežević, or kill him? It depends on whether you read the evening or the morning edition of the daily Vjesnik from 2 November 2001.

According to the November 2 evening edition of Vjesnik, one was to pity Knežević as the victim of a shameless media arrest warrant, Pavle Vranjican's film, shown a day earlier at the KIC hall in Zagreb, in which, in the most perfidious way, "documents" from the intelligence service archives are used - to defame and slander the author of "Storm over Krajina". According to the November 2 morning edition of Vjesnik, one was to hate Knežević as a damn traitor, because the professionally well-made documentary, Pavle Vranjican's film, shown a day earlier at the KIC hall in Zagreb - proved that the author of "Storm over Krajina" during the war "physically and ideologically sided with Serb rebels".

The two opposite stances of the same Vjesnik - that Božidar Knežević was the victim of a perfidious media warrant for arrest and that he was a deadly enemy whose dirty work had finally been exposed - are specific in that they were signed by the same journalist, Željko Garmaz. Moreover, the two opposed stances of the same Željko Garmaz were published under the same title, "Vranjican: I had to respond to Knežević's film". What is more, it is de facto the same text, which, in the evening edition warns us that Božidar Knežević was exposed to an unparalleled media persecution (author: Željko Garmaz), and in the morning edition it says the same Knežević is a traitorous scum spreading "Great-Serbian propaganda" (author: Željko Garmaz)

Over-headings were adjusted accordingly. Evening edition of Vjesnik: "Amarcord 1991-2001" - filmed response to a documentary or a warrant for arrest of the author of "Storm over Krajina"? Morning edition of Vjesnik: "Amarcord 1991-2001" - filmed response to "Storm over Krajina". Thus, the possible "warrant for arrest" was transformed into a decided "filmed response". The subtitle remained almost the same, except that in the morning edition it was also added that "Knežević spent the war on the side of the Serb rebels"!

It thus happened that the original report by Garmaz, published in the evening edition of the newspaper, was so thoroughly altered by one of the timorous editors - we can presume it was the Vjesnik editor-in-chief Krešimir Fijačko, although we could also mention Zoran Vodopija, Fijačko's deputy and the editor of the "Croatia" news section in which the text had been printed - that the average Vjesnik reader could only roll their eyes in despair. However, there is no such person as the average reader, because an average reader does not buy both evening and morning edition of Vjesnik. Mostly they buy only the morning edition, since the evening edition, printed in much smaller circulation, is sent to the remote parts of Croatia.

That was exactly what the timorous editor counted on - let's assume it was Krešimir Fijačko, editor-in-chief, although we could also mention his deputy Vodopija - when he decided on courageous innovation. The innovation lay in the fact that the editor's "subsequent interventions" - which were to completely alter the meaning of the original report - were not made in the "raw manuscript", still circulating among the editorial staff, but in the published text, which was made accessible to part of the readership, so that we have all the necessary material evidence for this wonderful example of Stalinist practice. Obviously, the timorous editor - let's assume it was Krešimir Fijačko - deemed the report about Božidar Knežević being exposed to an organized harangue and public lynching so brazen that he did not want to close his eyes and let the feathers fly out the window (since the text had already been published), but, modest in his patriotic editorial steadiness, decided to intervene at the risk of being caught. Hoping he would not. It is important to mention here that the article in the morning edition of Vjesnik took up the same amount of space as the one in the evening edition; therefore, the purpose of the intervention was not shortening the text in order to add some fresh news. On the contrary, at the expense of a somewhat shorter text, Pavle Vranjican's photograph had been enlarged. The reason, thus, is of exclusively polit-

ical and ideological nature. So, since before us we have such a shining example of media manipulation, completely in accordance with the finest Stalinist traditions, let us have a look at how our timorous editor - let's assume it was Krešimir Fijačko - technically accomplished that magnificent endeavor, as a lesson to the uninitiated readers or young students of journalism, some future Garmazes, who are yet to notice the effect of the vampire ideological propaganda on their own manuscripts. If they let allow it.

Immediately following the introductory sentence of the report in which he states that the documentary film by Božidar Knežević had apparently obtained a "sequel", Željko Garmaz writes:

"However, instead of showing some 'other side of the story about war crimes', since it was announced as a "response to 'Storm over Krajina'", the work 'Amarcord 1991-2001', by Pavle Vranjican, shown at the KIC hall in Zagreb, had quite different results. 'Amarcord 1991-2001' will be remembered as a warrant for arrest of a man, in this case - Božidar Knežević!"

The presumed editor Krešimir Fijačko completely removed this passage from the text, leaving only the statement that "Storm over Krajina" had obtained a "sequel". How "Amarcord 1991-2001" will "be remembered", is of no interest to the readers of the morning edition: no "warrant for arrest", especially not a warrant for arrest of Božidar Knežević.

Garmaz then describes the contents of the film, which is obviously dedicated to primitive defamation of Knežević and his work for Yutel, quoting Vranjican's explanations of his patriotic mission, stating:

"In the film, however, Vranjican did not respond to certain questions, for example, how he obtained footage from Yutel's archive, since it has been known for a while that that footage ended up in an intelligence service. Besides, Božidar Knežević, with whom we talked over the phone, claims that the footage included in 'Amarcord 1991-2001' has been unavailable for years. According to Knežević, it is being stored in the 'institute headed by Ante Beljo'".

Again, the presumed editor Fijačko removed this passage from the text completely. The espionage-denunciating background of Vranjican's "documentary" is thus eliminated from circulation. *"What open secrets and intelligence services, we beg your pardon, what phone conversations with Božidar Knežević, not to mention Ante Beljo and his institute, an insane construct, which goddamn Beljo? Out with it!"*

Alright, so no more "arrest warrants", no more "intelligence services" from which the videotapes were obtained, not a trace of suspicion that Pavle Vranjican may be an ex spy, even though it is an open secret, no more Beljo and his institute - is that enough?

No, of course it is not. The readers need a clearer black and white picture. The most creative intervention by the assumed editor Fijačko is not cutting up of Garmaz's text, but - rewriting it. It is there that we can see what a great, integral and properly Croatia-oriented man our editor is.

For instance, Željko Garmaz writes how Vranjican *“‘educates’ viewers about ‘the true intentions’ of the then Yutel journalist”*, ending his sentence, namely, putting a period mark there. However, editor Fijačko does not think the period should be there, he rather thinks the sentence should be longer, so - in the morning edition of Vjesnik - the viewers are *“educated” “about ‘the true intentions’ of the then Yutel journalist”*, *who spent the war with Serb rebels, justifying their uprising.*” (!)

There was no hanging out with the insurgent Serbs and justifying their uprising in Garmaz’s original report, but editor Fijačko diligently corrected that imperfection. He then went to correct similar imperfections in many other places.

Journalist Željko Garmaz writes: *“For example, it is claimed that Knežević did not include extremist statements of Serbs against Croats, while he did include ‘peaceful’ statements by Yugoslav people’s Army soldiers.”* Period.

Editor Krešimir Fijačko adds: *“For example, it is claimed that Knežević did not include extremist statements of Serbs against Croats, while he did include ‘peaceful’ statements by Yugoslav people’s Army soldiers and Great Serbian propaganda.”* (!)

Journalist Željko Garmaz writes: *“According to Pavle Vranjican, ‘Knežević cannot now pose as an advocate of human rights or a metaphor for democracy because that would be an insult to journalism’”*. Period.

Editor Fijačko adds: *“According to Pavle Vranjican, ‘Knežević cannot now pose as an advocate of human rights or a metaphor for democracy because that would be an insult to journalism’, since he physically and ideologically sided with Serb rebels.”* (!)

By these ingenious editorial methods, a news report about the shameful public warrant for arrest of Božidar Knežević was altered into an open support of the persecution, the continuation of the harangue, with an accusation that he *“physically and ideologically sided with Serb rebels”*, *“justifying their uprising”*. Because the presumed editor Fijačko knows it for sure, unlike the journalist who compiled the data and reported from the spot. Because of its shamelessness, this example should be included in journalism textbooks, together with corresponding facsimiles, so that future students will not think the whole story had been made up for educational purposes. What happened then? Božidar Knežević was then killed in a road accident. The persecution was temporarily set back, until the earth over the dead man had hardened. Pavle Vranjican has taken shelter in one of the SIS rooms. The OTV has postponed the airing of his “documentary”. Krešimir Fijačko is quiet and on the watch with a highlighter in his hand, lest, in the future, some “anti-Croatian” text slips into the evening edition of the paper he edits. But Željko Garmaz is also quiet. He has not publicly dissociated himself from the violence committed against his manuscript, acquiescing to change, under his editor’s watchful eye, from a protector of Božidar Knežević into his persecutor. No big deal, it’s only a signature! It is only that so-call professional integrity! It is only our own domestic polyvalent author, Gamaz spread, a living sign that the journalist trade in Croatian circumstances implies hard-earned bread and an article with at least two hard-opposed stances. (...)

And what about the Governor's Palace? At the Governor's Palace, it usually dawns later. The official statement says - you elected us in the evening edition, read about us in the morning edition.

/ Viktor Ivančić in the Feral tribune, 17 November 2001 /

STORM OVER KRAJINA SHOWN ON SERBIAN TV

On the tenth anniversary of the fall of Vukovar and its takeover by the JNA, at prime time, 8 pm, the Belgrade TV station B-92 broadcast the film "Storm over Krajina" by the late Božidar Knežević.

The broadcast was followed by a studio discussion in which the head of the Belgrade documentation center "Veritas" Savo Štrbac, a "Storm" refugee and former reporter for "Večernji list", now the Belgrade editor of a refugee magazine "Milka Ljubičić", and the Serbian commissioner for refugees Sanda Rašković Ivić took part. Also shown were the video recordings of statements given to the show editors by the "Latinica" editor Denis Latin and the film's producer Nenad Puhovski.

Rašković-Ivić said that there would have been no commission for the refugees had the Belgrade government duly listened to her father Jovan Rašković "who opposed the war". Puhovski said he believed the film would not cause further divisions and score keeping. He said that ordinary Croatian people had suffered an emotional shock upon seeing the film because the former government, especially the electronic media, "did not prepare them for anything of the sort". To the direct question of the host whether they believed the film's author Božo Knežević had perhaps been killed, the discussion participants said they had their reservations about the police report.

/ Hina/Vjesnik, 20 November 2001 /

Drnis.com

DRNIŠ DISCUSSIONS

Political confrontation

Coincidence?

Cracker

11/7/01 5:04:05

Author of the film "Storm over Krajina", journalist and film director Božidar Knežević and cameraman Borivoj Fransecshi, were killed in a traffic accident, near Bruvno, on the Korenica - Gračac road.

FIXXXER

07.11.2001 11:44

That's what you get when a Croat who makes a documentary about the homeland war gets classified as rightwing, an extremist who encourages hate speech, blah, blah, blah.

Neregistrirani korisnik / Unregistered user /

07.11.2001 14:36

theres god other scum ala Mesić is next

FIXXXER

07.11.2001 15:28

i'm citing from another forum: I Quote: "As I just heard, Knežević will not be appearing on the Wednesday show, because he managed to reach the terminal point-exitus after all, tractor-trailer was his executioner.

HA! HA!

puhovski's saying that the "fascistoid" witch-hunt against the poor vampired is to blame.

PS I hope there were enough hawthorne bushes near the side of the road.
Just in case!"

no comment

Karakter / Character /

07.11.2001 18:07

FixXXer I hope ya get yer fix thru HIV infected needle....

<sumljivo> / suspicious /

08.11.2001 03:03

i think all this is suspicious. Looks like serbo-recipe to me....

<Justice >

08.11.2001 03:04

And justice is done.....

Whatever

08.11.2001 04:47

"Puhovski's saying that the 'fascisoid' witch-hunt is to blame"

Could somebody find me a link to see what Z. Pusić or his sis had to say. Cos without their statements I feel uninformed. Objectively and as a citizen.

Reply

[11/8/01 3:24:46 pm]

Yesterday Nenad Puhovski said to the Deutsche Welle that Božidar Knežević had been receiving several anonymous phone calls a day (where they threatened to "liquidate" him).

Nenad Puhovski also said to the Deutsche Welle, how that very day he received such an anonymous call, in which he was told (You're next! And you'll end up like that SERBO-CHEKNIK PIG Knežević).

In my opinion there's no doubt about it, Knežević's death was arranged, ie PLANNED IN ADVANCE.

How come "A tractor-trailer came his way"?

Greetings!

gost / guest /

[11/9/01 5:35:32 am]

A typical road accident, what else.

Everything else says its serbo-communists (and the same traitors) scared again of their own shadow.

What dya mean yugobalkania, "the happy solution", not even Russians had as many "enemies of the state" as Udba/Yu officials and informers? There's something to it...

Tajni agent po zadatku / Secret agent by assignment /

[11/9/01 9:40:14 am]

I checked, it really was an accident. I immediately set to make sure and I really checked it all out. You know, we have to sometimes also acknowledge the fact that even politicians, film directors, the rich, CEOs etc., can have an accident too.

intrpide

[11/9/01 2:28:12 pm]

Of course it can happen to anybody. Directors, CEOs, et al, are not holy cows. When killed defenders are not sacred to them, why do they think of their living selves as sacred.

Just a confirmation from another independent source that it is after all a typical accident. A road accident is a typical accident, unfortunately, c'est la vie.

intrapide

[11/9/01 2:29: 22 pm]

Who knows who else it could happen to, unfortunately.

MoBrankec

[09.11.2001 19:13]

forensic expert krunoslav franjković on the probability of arranging a traffic accident:

“In my long professional experience I’ve heard countless allusions to someone being killed in an arranged traffic accident. But, rest assured - it’s not quite that simple. For example, to induce the skidding of a tractor-trailer on a slippery road at a specified spot, you would need not just a good and skillful driver, but a dozen of assistants who would have to be trained to perfection. ”

franjković really is an expert. it doesn’t take a two-ton trailer smashing against the car “at the specified spot”, it’s enough for the tractor-trailer to hit the car. a dozen of assistants, my ass!

Zvonimir II

[11/23/01 8:03:46 pm]

Kovačević spoke the truth, so the odds of him being executed are high... that’s no surprise because he must have stepped on a few toes. However, in Milošević’s Yugoslavia that sort of “accident” would not be necessary... he would be executed in public.

Atreid

[11/25/01 1:40:04 am]

My Zvonimir, aren’t you still a little boy... Such liquidation techniques weren’t invented by present-day Croatian secret services nor Serbian ones but were simply taken over from Tito’s communist services.

Here’s a link for you, go check it out how Serbian RDB carried out the assassination of Vuk Drašković. (...) These days the former head of RDB is on trial for that assassination. Identical methods.

Say, there was also some sort of mafia shooting on the streets of Zagreb and Zadar, wasn't there??

domoljub / patriot /

[11/7/01 7:24:52 pm]

Puhovski and "Factum" are blaming Croats

I'm asking the man who made the film about that Knežević, to urgently make films about Mesić and Račan. Maybe they'll also end up under a FAP rig... (...)

Politix

[11/7/01 9:50:37 pm]

The only fascistoid thing about the whole story is Puhovski talking crap how that one was "killed" by media pressure. As far as I'm concerned, I'm not gonna miss Mr Knežević one little bit. I think it's only now that he's in his true element (wherever he is) along with all those ustashas surrounding him in heaven. There are a lot more of them there than here on earth so his great talent will become much more prominent. And us here will have our peace, free from his pamphlets.

bor / pine /

[11/7/01 11:35:19 pm]

Lika ground has swallowed many chetniks. Wonder it's not more fertile with all that manure.

Asward

[11/8/01 12:42:30 am]

Lika ground is barren but Bleiburg ground is fertile.

Parity 5

[11/8/01 10:52 am]

After Knežević Lika ground will be the most fertile on the planet. That much dung in one go aint no small matter...

ČetvrtaBrigada

[11/8/01 10:52:00 am]

Im so sorry for him I could start cryin...

DRNIŠ-NET FORUM

Parliament

On Knežević's death

Blungha

[11/7/01 12:28:18 am]

Yeah its me Blunga Jr! My name was took off the Ezboard on purpose just like the vijest.net forum by order of certain catholic circles.

I'm not innerested in your opinion of me but I'd like to make some comments here especially in connection with recent developments in Croatia!

A wose Krajina man is the one who'll mull every piece of information over long before he say something and before he reacts! Noone can convince me that Knežević's death was an accident just like the death of Blungha was no accident.

I don't know much about Knežević except the fact he probably wisely chose exile in Montenegro a much more Mediterranean country then Serbia! I saw the film, there ain't that many hard to handle scenes that would cause such an uproar, the only scene that was very sad is the scene when grandmas are crying for somebody who got killed in a damp Krajina house with no electricity. That scene I thought was very sad! It reminded me of my grandma's room!

Excuse my writing unregistered but believe it or not they forbid my nick on the Ezboard!

I'd just like to pose a few questions after this to myself:

- 1/ Is there in Croatia an organized group either under Mesić (highly probable) or outside of him working sistematicaly to prevent the return of Serbs to Croatia? If Knežević was wise enough to withdraw, that's OK! But if he was really killed!?
- 2/ Are these articles and the like in Feral and Nacional, as well as the socalled trials to soldiers, just a FARCE?
- 3/ Mesić is all too connected with the extremists and used to doing one thing and thinking the other.
- 4/ How do you feel after Knežević's death?

LazioRom

[11/7/01 6:26:55 am]

HDZ STANDS BEHIND THIS TERRORIST ACT

May he rest in peace.

LazioRom

[11/7/01 4:53:03 pm]

This is totally a setup, about which we'll never know the truth, etc. A serious problem for HDZ is the fact Božidar Knežević owns a great number of evidence, like for example the film, shown on Latinica, then 3 cassettes from the Miljevački plateau, the taking of Maslenica, Medak pocket, Slavonia and loads and loads of material in connection with Storm over Krajina. There has to be footage showing Croatian (SUPPOSED) defenders plundering, torching, mining Serbian houses, during and after the Storm. War criminals, mostly from the HDZ ranks, realized there's great danger for them in the person of Božidar Knežević, who was liquidated by the HDZ with premeditation.

yuja

[11/7/01 9:43:19 pm]

Eternal praise and glory to the man who dared say a tiny fraction of the truth about some strange winds in the area.

I hope there will never be such bad weather anywhere again.

AFTERWORD



In the course of military operations “Flash” and “Storm”, as well as in the preceding period, war crimes were undoubtedly committed in Croatia, the authorship of which, in the broadest sense of the word, can be attributed to “the Croatian side”. The “Medak Pocket”, “Gospić”, “Pakrac Field” and “Lora” cases, as well as other incidents of liquidation, torture, or unlawful treatment of civilians, are today being handled by both the Croatian judicature and Hague Tribunal.

During the reign of Franjo Tuđman, the popular notion was that war crimes could not be committed by the side waging a defensive war. This might be termed “the Vuković doctrine” or “the theorem of Milan Vuković”: the author of this theory - representing pure legal nonsense - is an ex-Associate Justice of the Croatian Supreme Court. Vuković's thesis gained citizenship, what is more, it was firmly upheld at all the levels of society: from the top structures, to the so-called masses.

Somewhat more “generous” proponents of the theory allowed for the possibility of war crimes actually being committed, but always as an “incident”, “excess” or “isolated event”. Such an interpretation left plenty of room for the thesis, according to which the politics of Tuđman and the then leadership was sound at its core, the deviations being the responsibility of individuals.

Both the people who were proponents of the first stance, and those who defended the second, were able to find a powerful argument in the judicial statistics: up to the end of the HDZ rule, no individual of Croatian nationality was ever convicted of war crime in Croatia. From a strictly legalist point of view, that would mean such crimes had actually never been committed.

However, from a different angle, it is possible to conclude that the judicature did not want to deal with the problem because judicial powers followed “the Vuković theorem”. It would imply that “fighters for our cause” could do as they please and go unpunished, because the undeniably defensive character of the war gave them permission to, literally, do whatever they wanted to do. They were allowed to kill citizens of Serbian nationality, as well as other more or less arbitrarily branded misfits. They were allowed to steal private property, torch houses and public buildings and commit other crimes, but none of it was treated as a war crime because the contextual “extenuating” circumstances - primarily, defending the country from aggressors - made it at the very least understandable, if not completely justified. A step further within this interpretation is presented in the theory according to which the Croatian leadership of those days knew and had to know about most of the crimes committed - by refusing to deal with them in a court of law, that very leadership showed the intention of protecting the perpetrators, and there still is no reliable answer to the question to what extent those very crimes actually originated in the state leadership.

In the period following 3 January 2000, when the HDZ fell from power, part of the Croatian public expected an extensive public debate on the subject, as well as energetic legal action that would punish the perpetrators, at least the perpetrators of the most severe war crimes casting a shadow on the Homeland War. That debate, however, turned out to be far below expectations, and long after elections the Croatian courts dealt with war crimes sluggishly, reluctantly and with gross inefficiency.

Excepting president Mesić, the key people in Croatian government held their positions: they persevered in opportunism, non-antagonization of the nationalist right and resistance to the complete and consequential revision of the Tuđmanist social and political heritage.

After the elections of 3 January, the national TV remained structured according to the same pattern. It dealt with Croatian war crimes superficially, rarely, coldly: the HTV did not produce or, following the same logic, broadcast a single documentary on the topic.

That is why there was lightning and thunder after "Storm over Krajina". All the unfulfilled potential of an unrealized public debate; all that energy - positive and negative - and all the bitterness settling on the topic thus came down with all its might precisely on Knežević's film: the first one to deal with war crimes of the Croatian side, and the only one to - up to now, March 2003 - be broadcast on the Croatian TV. For that reason, it was to Božidar Knežević's address that all the unpaid bills of a traumatic period, marked by a conspicuous absence of anything cathartic, were delivered. The catharsis which would mean facing the fact war crimes were committed, and dealing with them - intellectually, morally, legally.

The overview of the debates over "Storm over Krajina" is therefore not just a document of a time, but also an important testimony of how and why, after the change of government, there was no settling of accounts regarding the heritage of Tuđmanism in Croatia. This book notes, among others, the reactions of the two important people in the Croatian legislative, with executive powers - PM Ivica Račan and the Chairman of Parliament Zlatko Tomčić, who to this film - in which all the given facts proved beyond dispute, and were not refuted by anybody - reacted with denouncement and rejection.

"I do not wish to polemicize on the merits of the film. I have already said I was not happy to see how the film had polarized the public opinion, provoking confrontations", said Račan during a parliamentary discussion, continuing with, "Unfortunately, it would turn out that as a state we participate in the funding of many groups and institutions which repay the democratic state by spreading hatred and intolerance in Croatia freely and without an embargo..."

Chairman of Parliament, on the other hand, judged the airing of the “Storm” on the Croatian television to be highly inappropriate.

“The sole airing of the biased documentary film ‘Storm over Krajina’ could in certain individuals and groups arouse hatred, or even desire for revenge”, said Zlatko Tomčić.

A good part of the public debate drew on Ivica Račan and Zlatko Tomčić’s stances. Many other politicians, reporters, citizens and web discussions participants had similar attitudes. The documentary material in this book, especially the web discussions, is particularly valuable because of its authenticity; it is almost an anthropological case study in which every emotion is displayed without any reservations, without worrying about one’s vocabulary - in the way one speaks on the street, at home, in a circle of friends. This is where we can “feel the pulse of the people”.

In the fall of 2001, Croatian public was, it seems, ready to face the view of the war that was presented in “Storm over Krajina”. Apart from the viewers’ voting after “Latinica”, two more polls confirmed that people were ready for it. On the Jutarnji list phone, 74 percent of the people had a positive attitude towards the war crimes trials, while in the survey conducted by the Media Meter agency, 51 percent of respondents judged Knežević’s film to be authentic.

However, the state leadership and the national TV management refused to continue with what the airing of the “Storm... ” started. This film remained an exception, an excess.

Why this is so will perhaps be answered only from a historical perspective, because the answer to that question definitely goes beyond the debate on the film.

“Storm over Krajina” gave us - as a trigger - a chance for a serious reexamination of a time; that chance was largely wasted and, as matters stand, the responsibility for that can chiefly be attributed to the post-Tuđmanist Nomenklatura which was, consciously or not, in this matter as in others, below the expectations of Croatian citizens.

Boris Rašeta

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Case study

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