

Views on war crimes, the ICTY, and the national war crimes judiciary



April 2009

METHODOLOGY

The poll was conducted 'face-to-face' at respondents' homes, at a representative sample of Serbian citizens of the age + 16

Target population: citizens of Serbia of the age of 16 and up. The population was defined based on the data from the 2002 census, vital statistics and data on migrations, as well as estimations of the number of population for 2006 by SMR-a za 2006.

Type of sample: three-phase, stratified, random representative sample. The sample was expanded with three groups of particular interest (citizens aged from 16 - 23, Albanians and Bosniaks/Moslems) in order to enable a reliable assessment of results for these population groups and their comparison with the average of the overall population of Serbia.

Size of sample: 1400 respondents

Sample error: marginal error (for manifestations with incidence od 50%) +/- 3.25%

The survey was conducted from 4 April 2009 to 16 April 2009

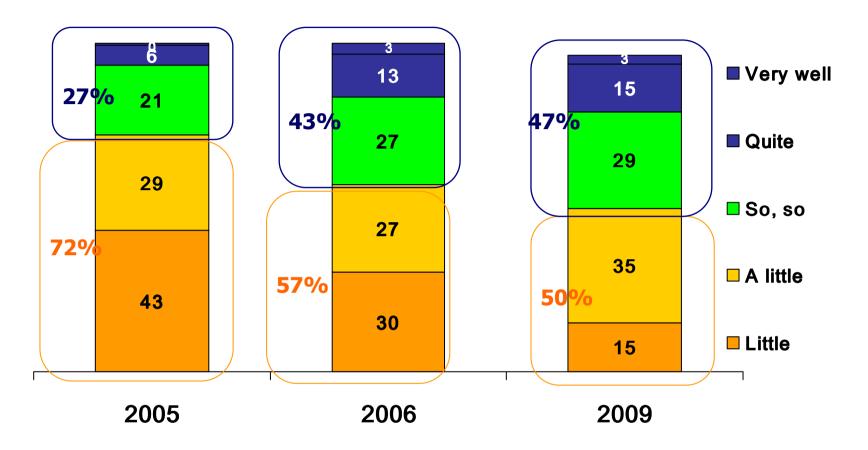
Whenever possible, the new results were given in comparison with the results from previous surveys (2001 to 2006), that were conducted in cooperation with the B92 TV (2001) and Belgrade Centre for Human Rights (2004 to 2006) `

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- 4. REGIONAL COOPERATION AND ROLE OF STATE INSTITUTIONS IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION StrategicPuls Group

International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia

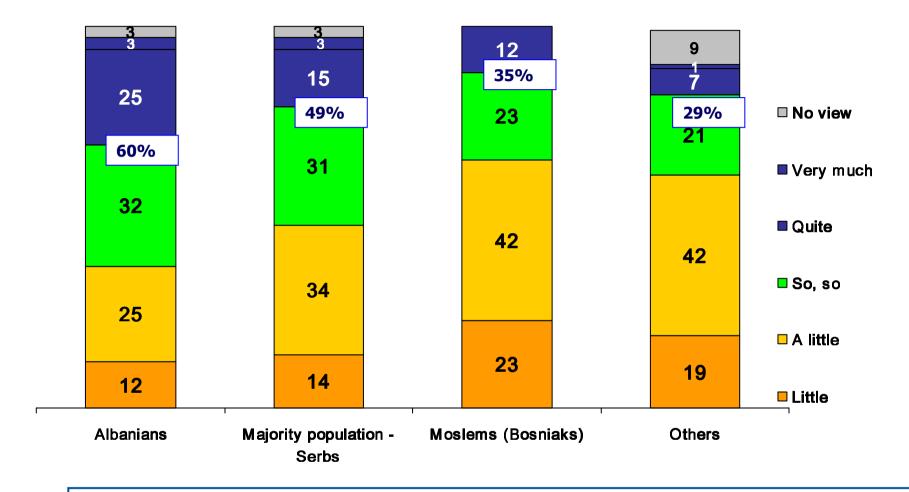
To what extent do you think that you are familiar with the organisation and work of the ICTY?



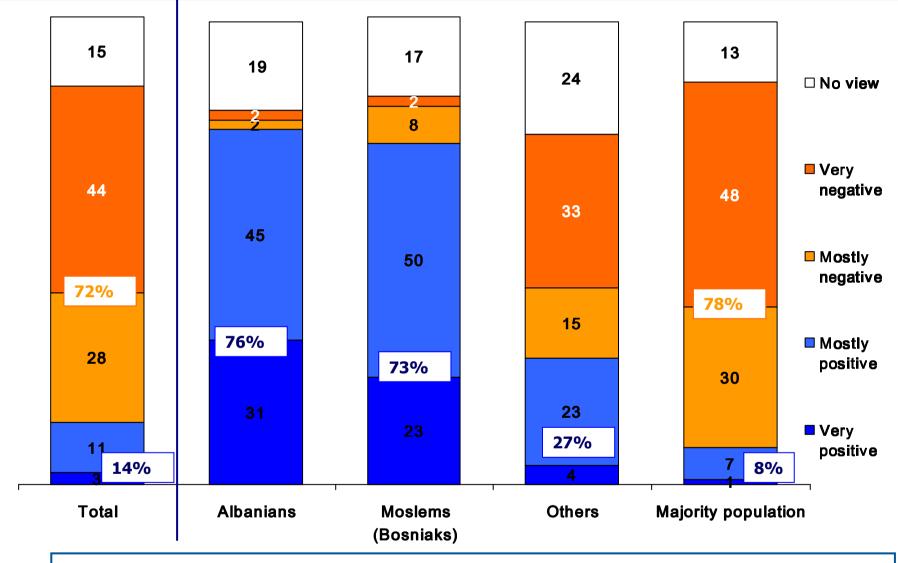
Familiarity with the organisation and work of the ICTY of Serbian citizens is on the rise; however, the sharp upward trend between 2005 and 2006 has been considerably slowed down

To what extent do you think that you are familiar with the organisation and work of the ICTY?

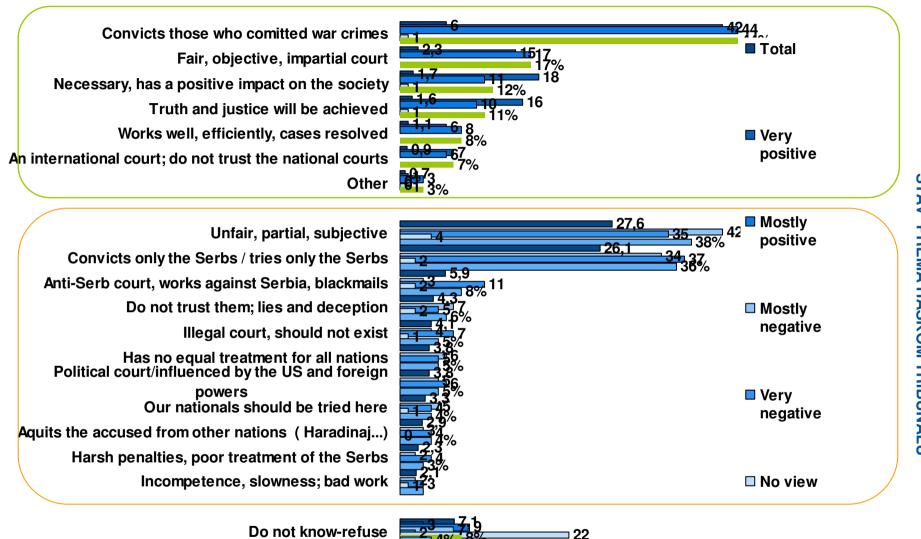
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Albanians think that they are best informed about the organisation and work of the ICTY, followed by Serbs, while Moslems/Bosniaks and citizens of other nationalities are far less informed



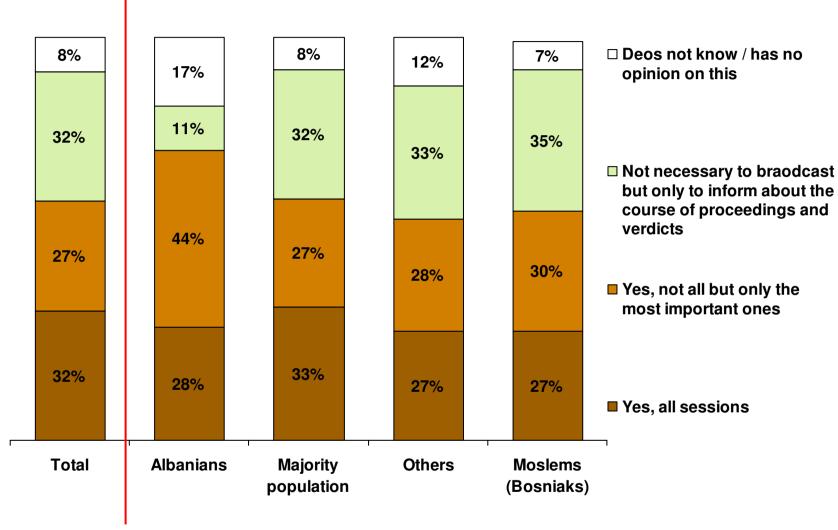
While a large majority of Albanians and Moslems/Bosniaks have a positive view of the ICTY, a large majority of Serbs have a negative view



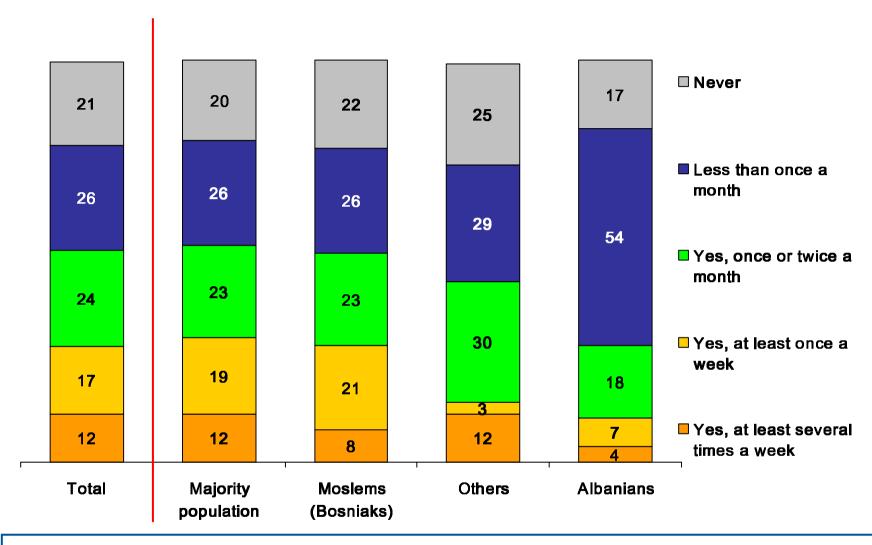
Conviction of those who committed war crimes is the most frequently stated reason for a positive view on the ICTY, while bias – non-objectiveness towards the Serbian indictees and the view that only Serbs are tried are most frequently stated reasons for a negative view.

Do you think that the national TV 'RTS' should broadcast ICTY trials?





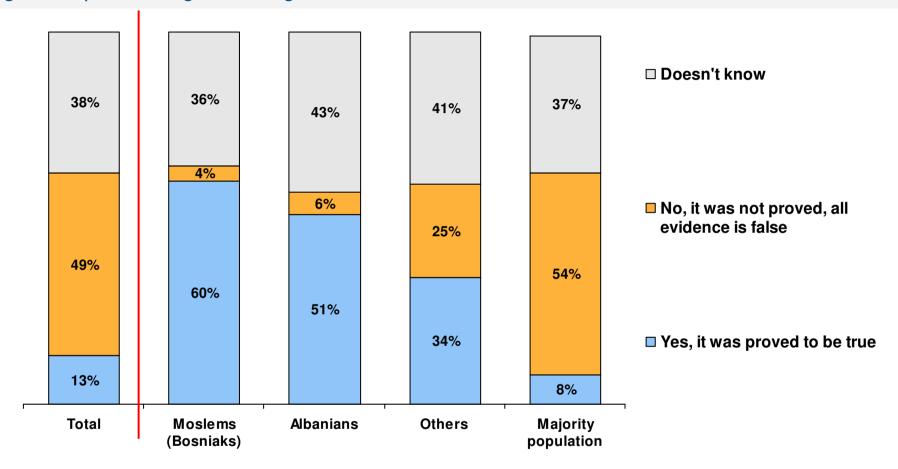
Majority of citizens think that the RTS should broadcast trials from ICTY, either all of them (32%) or the most important ones (27%)



A larger percentage of citizens think that the RTS should broadcast trials from ICTY than the percentage who really watch it. The trials are most followed by the Serbs and Moslems/Bosniaks, and least by the Albanians

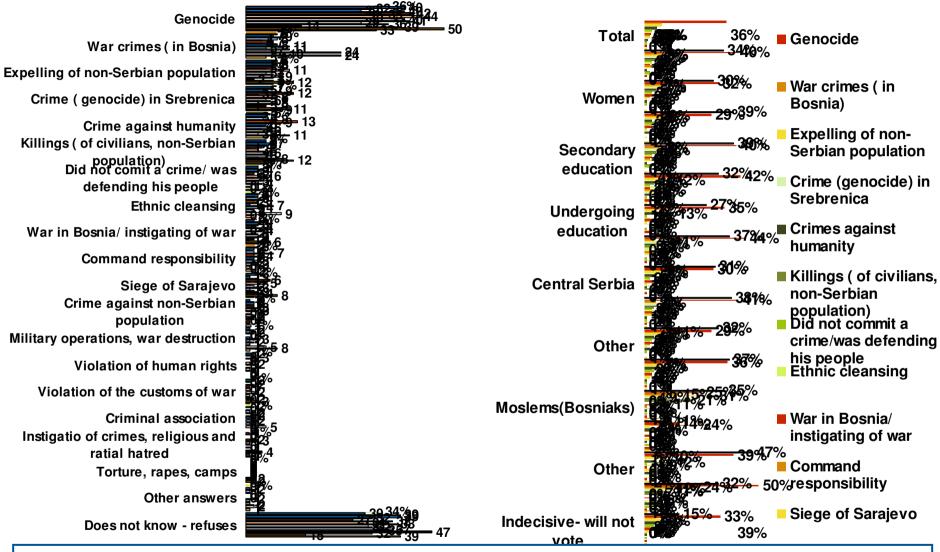
Do you think that in the proceedings against Milutinović, Šainović, Ojdanić, Pavković, Lazarević and Lukić the truth about what really happened in Kosovo was established, i.e. that there was organised persecuting and killing of Albanians?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



More than half the population of Serbian nationality think that in the proceedings against Milutinović, Šainović, Ojdanić, Pavković, Lazarević and Lukić the truth was not established, i.e. the evidence was false. In contrast, the majority of Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians think that the trials did prove that there was organised persecuting and killing of Albanians. It is indicative though that more than 40% of Albanians and nearly as much of Serbs did not know / had not an opinion / did not want to state their opinion on this.

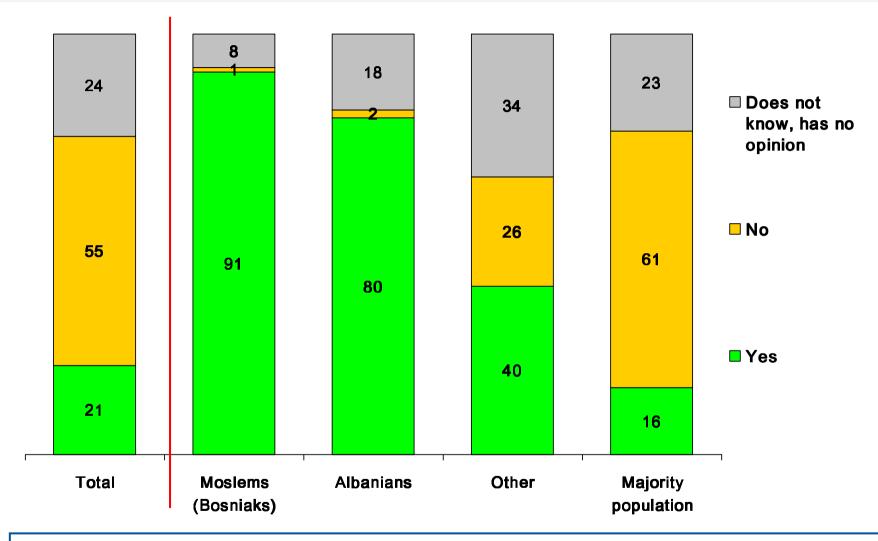
Do you know what crimes is Radovan Karadžić charged with, regardless of your view on this? Višestruki, spontano navedeni odgovori; Baza: Ukupna cilina populacija



Just above a third of citizens of Serbian nationality could not say what crimes Radovan Karadžić is charged with, nearly a half of Albanians, and only 11% of Moslems / Bosniaks. While the Serbs stated genocide most often, the Moslems/Bosniaks stated expelling of non-Serbian population.

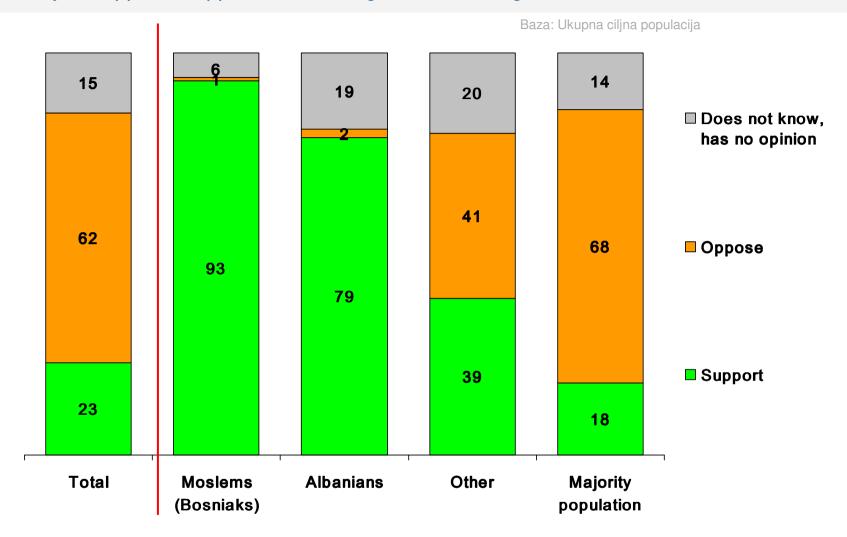
Do you think that Radovan Karadžić is responsible for crimes he is charged with by the ICTY?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



While most Albanians think that Radovan Karadžić is responsible for the crimes he is charged with, only 16% of Serbs share this view

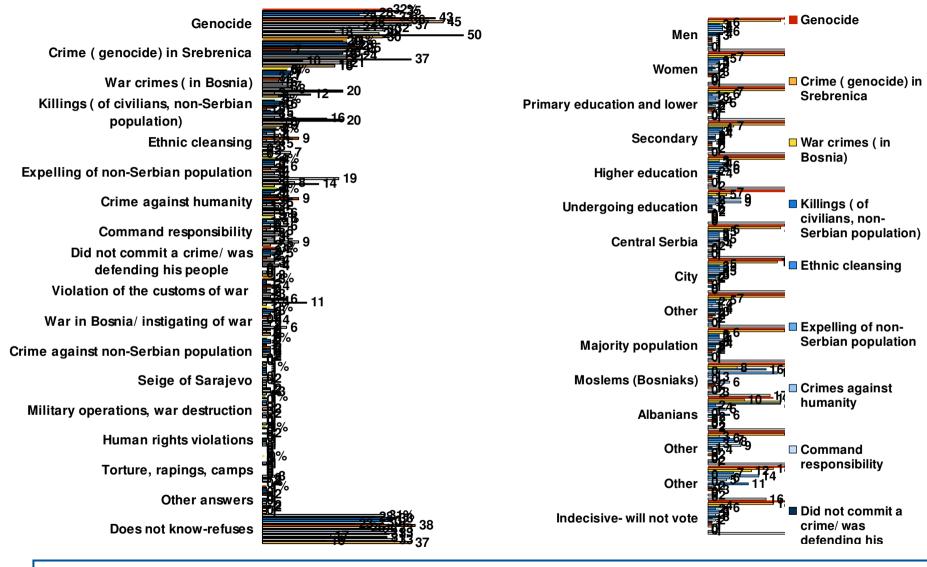
And do you support or oppose to arresting and extraditing of Radovan Karadžić to the ICTY?



Only 18% citizens of Serbian nationality, and a large majority of Moslems / Bosniaks and Albanians, support the arresting and extraditing of Karadžić

Do you know what crimes is Ratko Mladić charged with, regardless of your view on this?

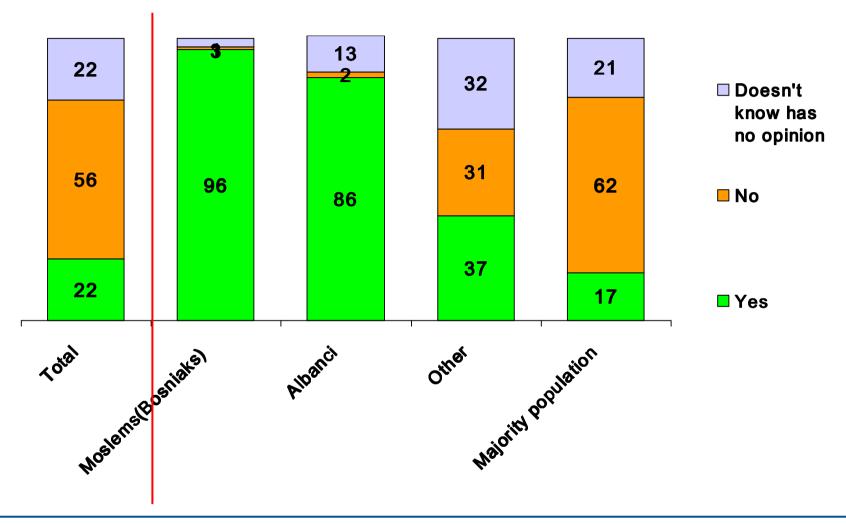
Višestruki spontani odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



An almost equal number of citizens as in the case of Karadzic stated crimes that Mladic is charged with (except for the Albanians who more often stated crimes Mladic is charged with, than Karadzic). The most frequently stated are genocide and the crime in Srebrenica

Do you think that Ratko Mladić is responsible for crimes he is charged with by the ICTY?

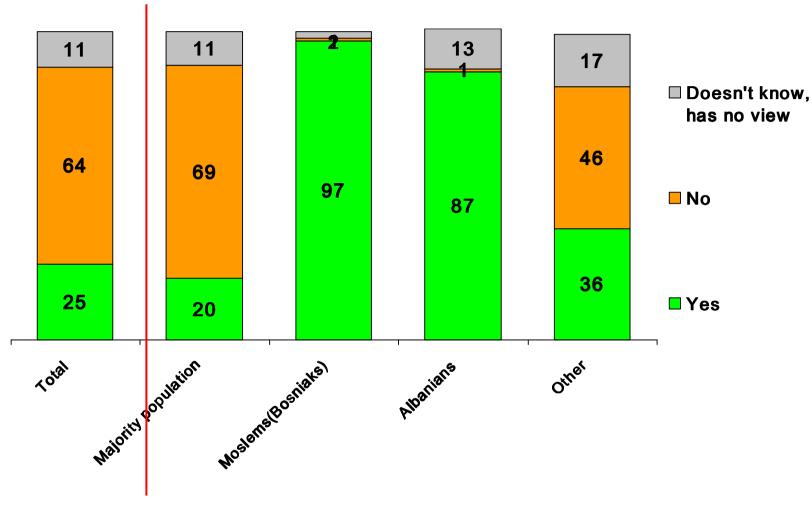
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Just as with Karadzic, while most Albanians think that Ratko Mladic is responsible for the crimes he is charged with, only 17% of the Serbs share this view.

Do you think that Ratko Mladić should be arrested and extradited?

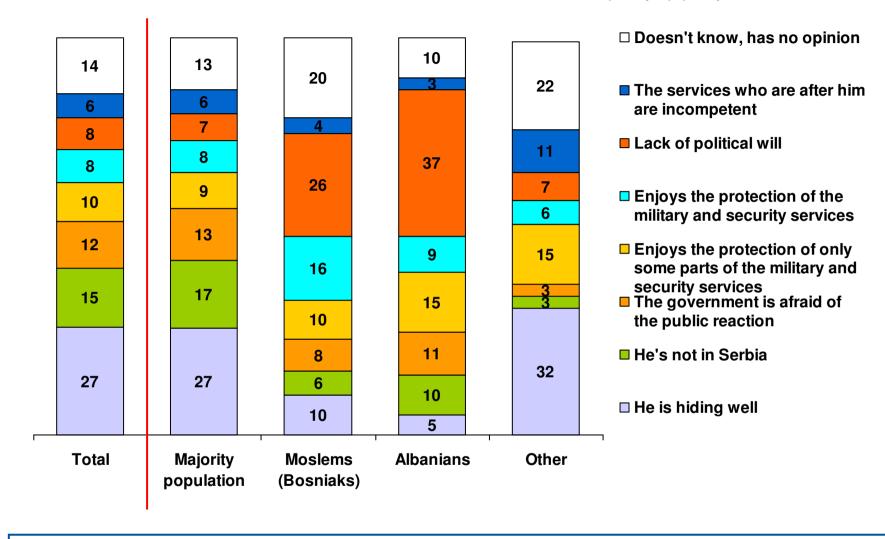
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Every fifth citizen of Serbian nationality, and a large majority of Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians think that Mladić should be arrested and extradited.

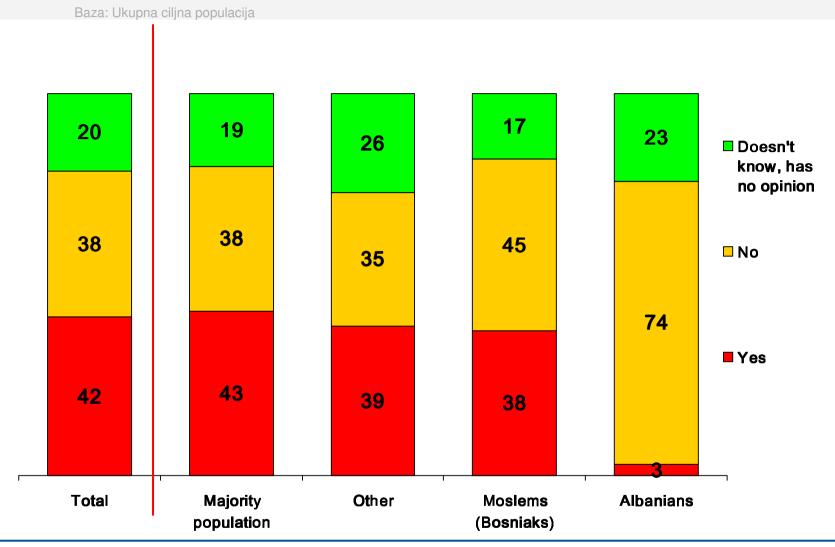
Why is Ratko Mladic still at large?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Opinions about why Ratko Mladić is still at large differ very much. The most common among the Serbs is that Mladić is hiding well or that he is not in Serbia, while the Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians think that there is no political will for his arresting.

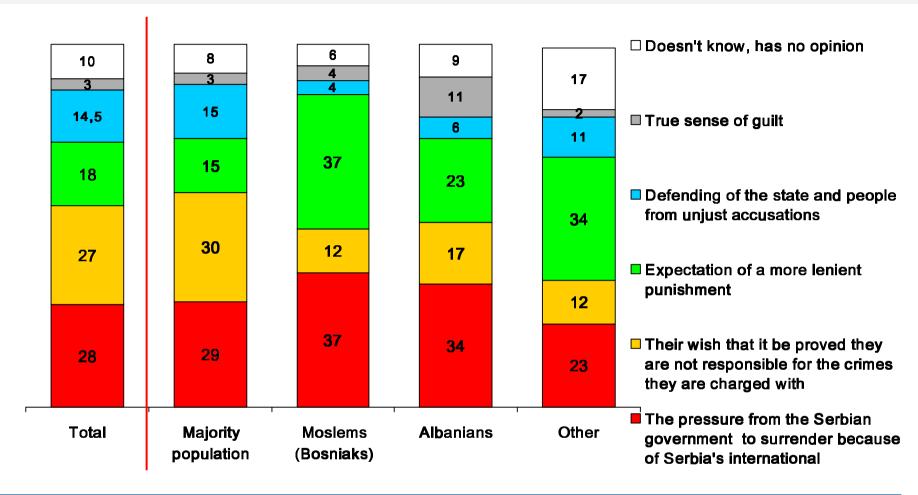
Do you think that the state is doing all in their power to arrest Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić?



Just a bit over 40% of Serbs and just a little less of Moslems believe that the state is doing everything to arrest Mladić and Hadzić, while a majority of Albanians think that the state is not doing all

What do you think was the main reason for certain ICTY indictees to surrender? Was it...

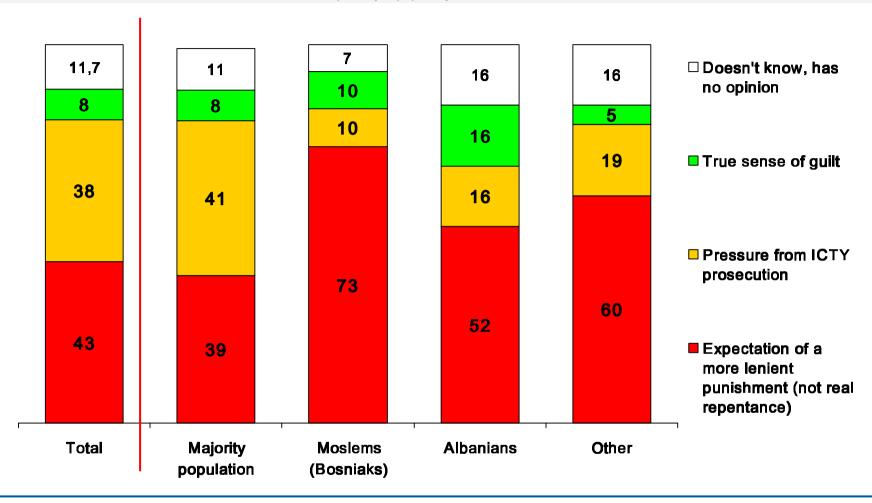
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Opinions about what was the main reason for certain indictees to surrender differ very much. The most common one among the Serbs is that it was their wish to prove that they are not responsible, among the Moslems/Bosniaks is the expectation of a more lenient punishment, and among the Albanians the pressure of the government due to Serbia's international obligations

As known, some ICTY indictees admitted guilt. What was in your opinion the basic motive for this?

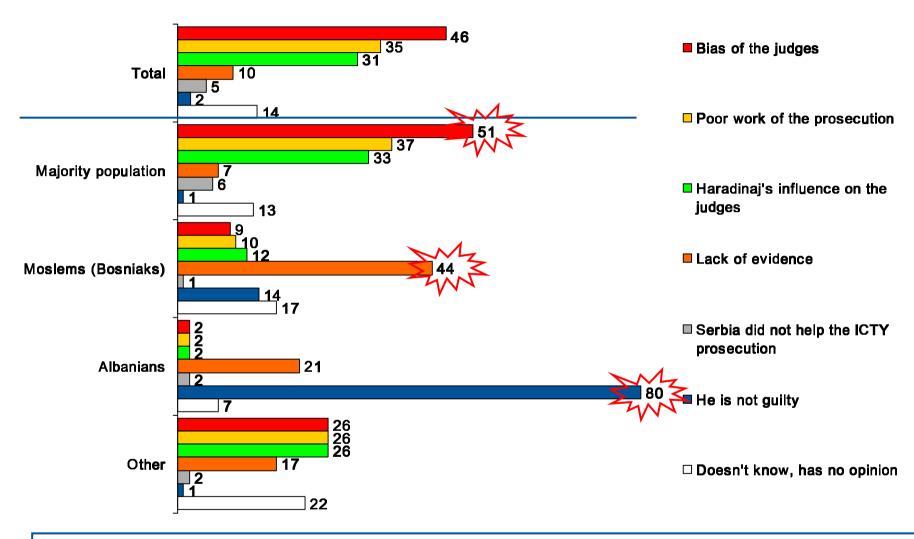
Baza: Ukupna cilina populacija



The most common opinion is that the main motive was expectation of a more lenient punishment. This is the predominant opinion among the Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians, while Serbs more often state pressure from the ICTY prosecution

What was the reason for acquittal of Ramuš Haradinaj?

Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



While the Serbs state the bias of the judges, poor work of the prosecution and Haradinaj's influence upon witnesses, the Moslems/Bosniaks hold that there was a lack of evidence, and Albanians that he is not guilty

Do you believe that Albanians threatened the witnesses in the proceedings against Albanians?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Serbs believe that Albanians threatened the witnesses, just as a majority of Moslems/Bosniaks. Albanians believe that they did not

Do you believe that Serbs threatened witnesses in the proceedings against Serbs?

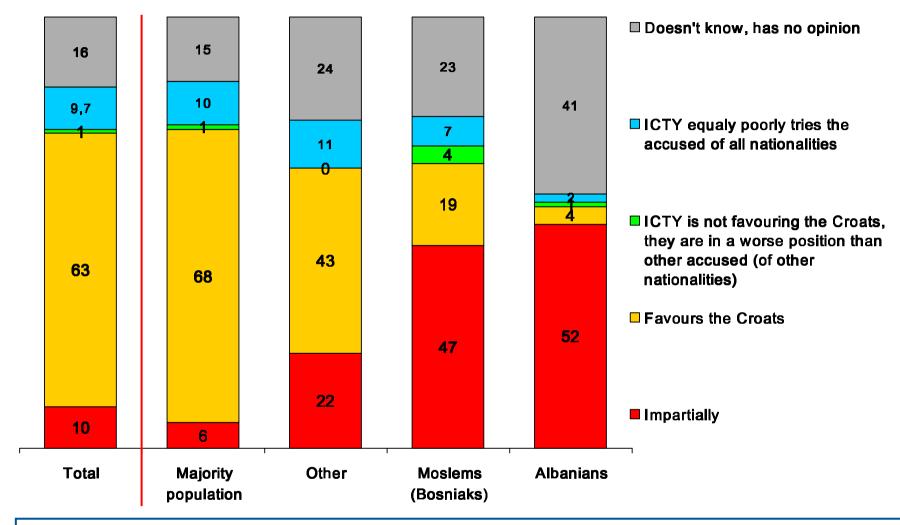
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians usually do not have an opinion about whether the Serbs threatened witnesses; a high percentage of the Moslems/Bosniaks think so, while Albanians have differing opinions. The majority of Serbs think that they did not, still every fifth believe that they did, and every fourth does not know.

How does the ICTY treat the accused who are Croatian nationals?

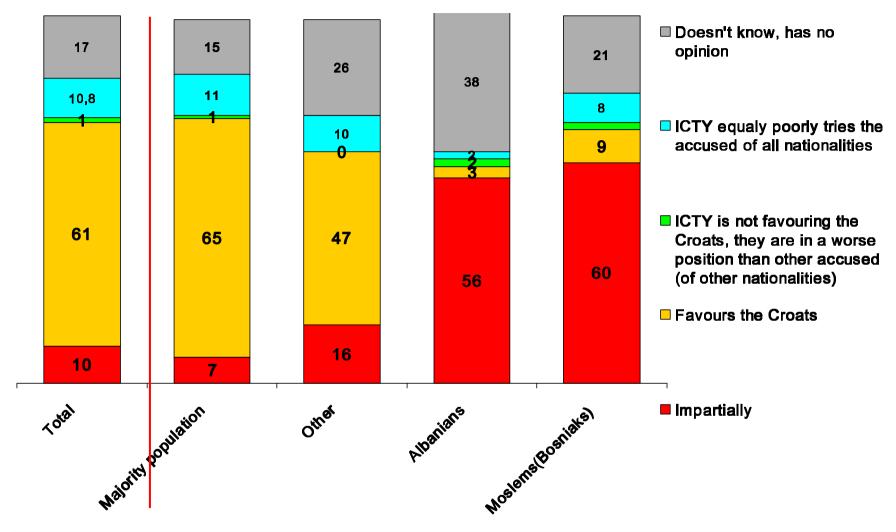
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



While the Serbs think that the ICTY is favouring the Croats, Moslems/Bosniaks and Albanians mainly think that ICTY is impartial with the Croats

How does the ICTY treat the accused of Bosniak nationality?

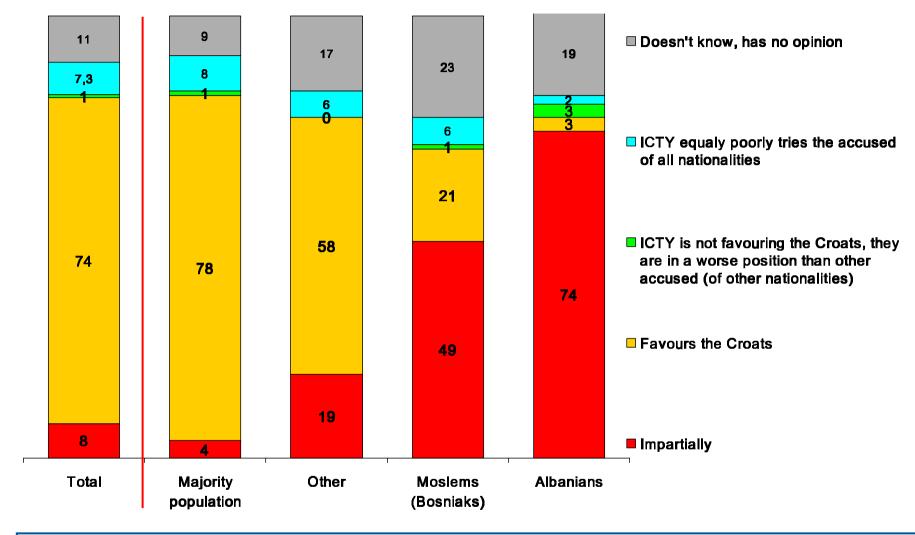
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



The Serbs think that the ICTY also favours the Bosniaks, while the Moslems/Bosniaks and the Albanians think that the Tribunal is impartial towards Bosniaks

How does the ICTY treat the accused of Albanian nationality?

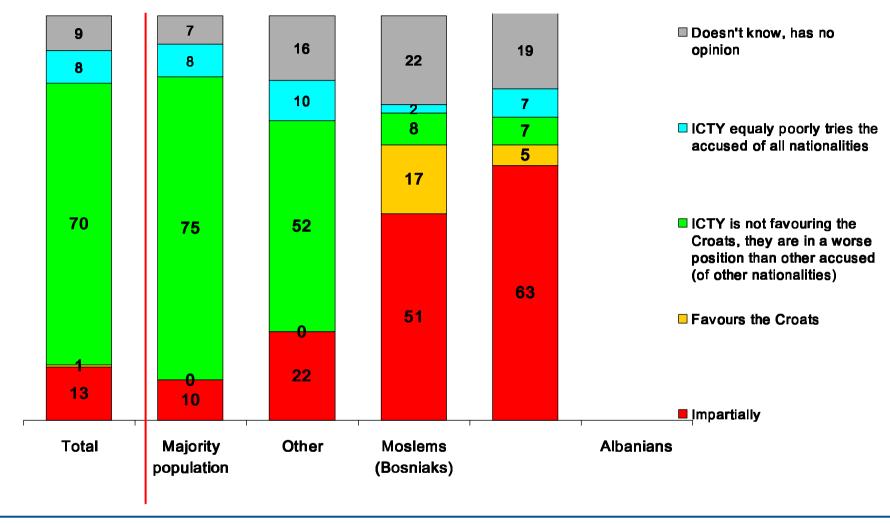
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Serbs think that the ICTY favours the Albanians, while a large majority of Albanians and nearly half the Moslems/Bosniaks think that the Tribunal is impartial towards the Albanians

How does the ICTY treat the accused of Serbian nationality?

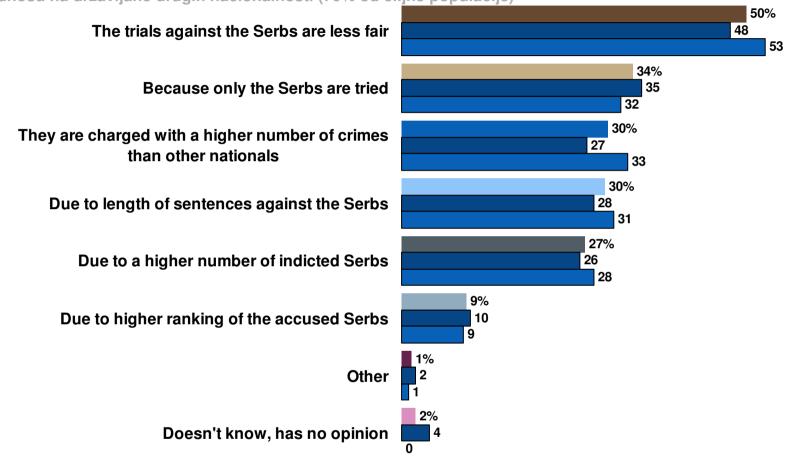
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



While the Albanians and Moslems / Bosniaks think that the Serbs as well as their nationals are tried impartially, the Serbs persist with their view that the Serbs are in a worse position that the others, just as they think that the Tribunal favours all others

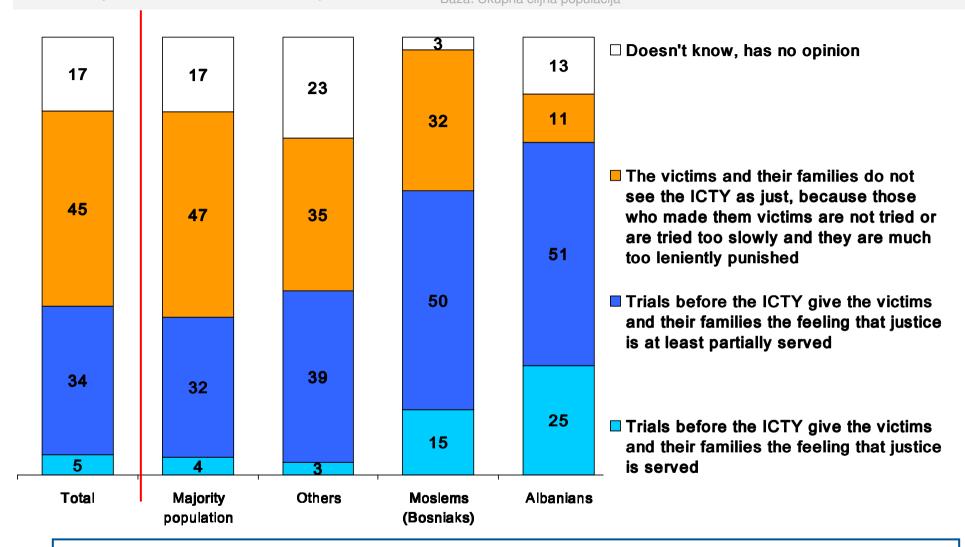
Why do you think that the Serbs are in a worse position/receive worse treatment by ICTY than other nationals?

Višestruki odgovori; Baza: oni koji smatraju da su Srbi u lošijem položaju / imaju lošiji tretman u Haškom tribunalu u odnosu na državljane drugih nacionalnosti (70% od ciljne populacije)



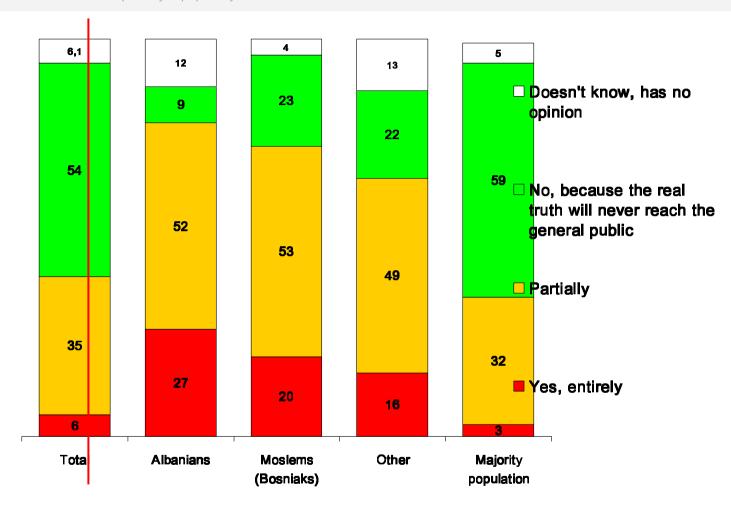
The most common reason for the opinion that the Serbs are in a less favourable position than other nationals is the statement that trials against the Serbs are less fair

How do you think that the trials before ICTY affect the victims of war crimes and their families? Which opinion is the closest to yours? Baza: Ukupna cilina populacija



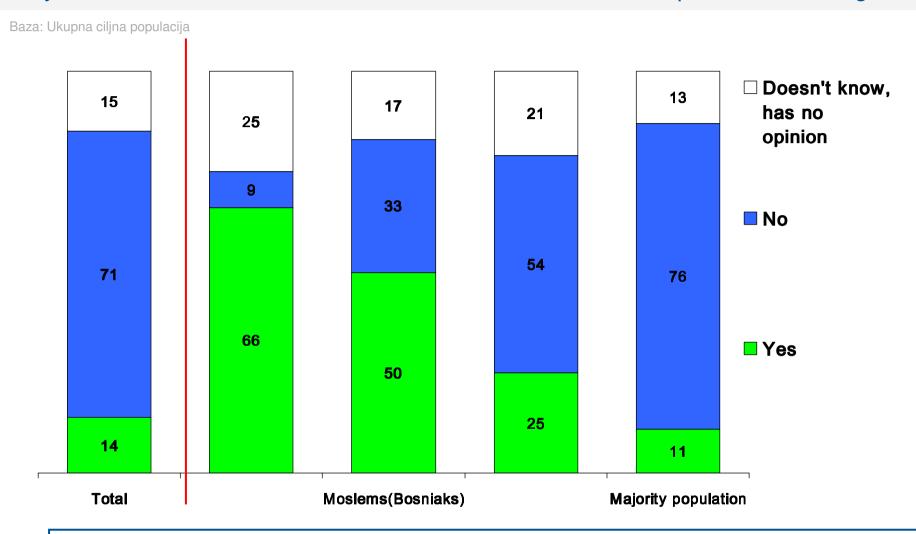
While citizens of Bosniak and Albanian nationality think that the trails give the victims and their families the feeling that justice was served (at least to an extent), the citizens of Serbian nationality commonly think that the victims and their families do not see the ICTY as just

Do ICTY proceedings contribute to finding out the truth about what happened in the wars in former Yugoslavia? Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



A small number of citizens think that ICTY trials contribute to establishing full truth on what happened in the wars in former Yugoslavia. The Albanians believe so the most, and the Serbs the least

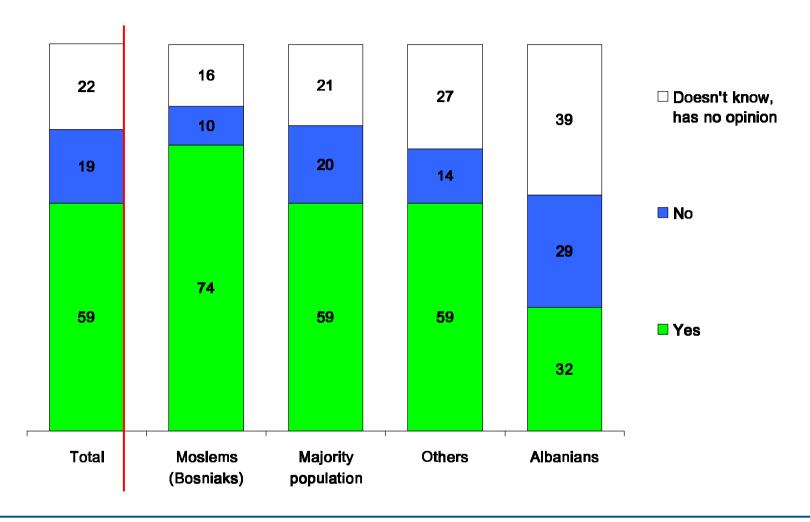
Do you think that the ICTY trials contribute to the reconciliation process in the region?



Also a small number of citizens believe that the ICTY trials contribute to the reconciliation process in the region. The Albanians believe so the most, and the Serbs the least

Do you think that ICTY archives should be accessible to all?

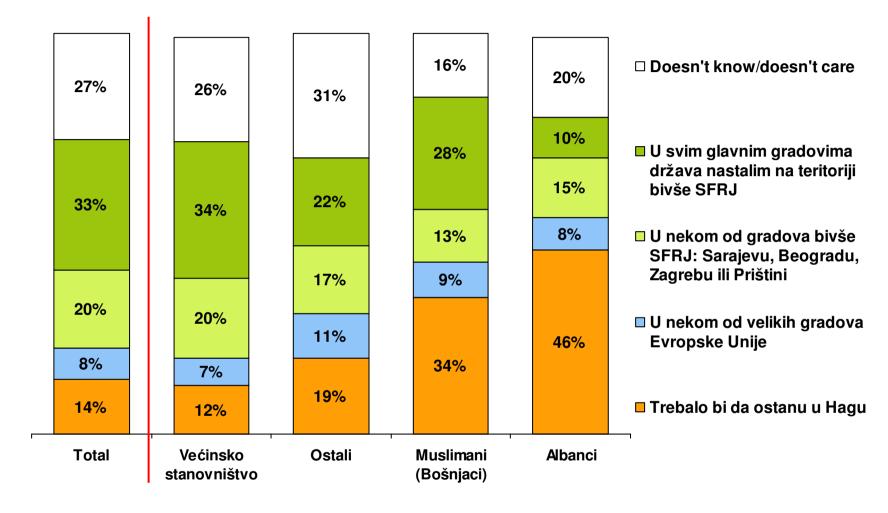
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Most citizens think that the ICTY archives should be accessible to all. This view is most supported by the Moslems/Bosniaks, followed by the Serbs, while Albanians think this the least

Where do you think these archives should be stored (if the following options are possible)?

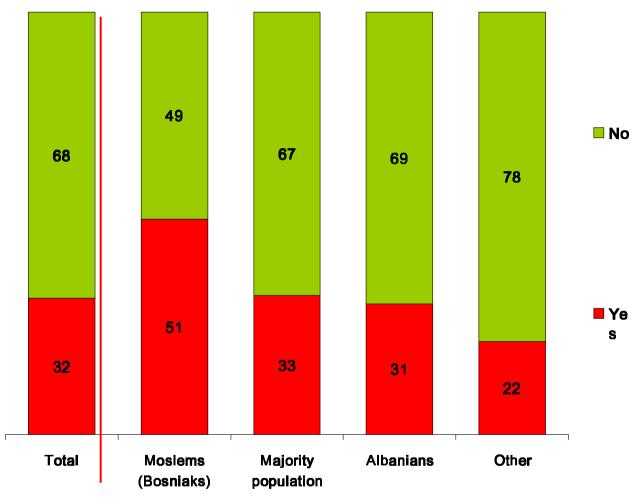
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Most citizens of Serbian nationality think that the archives should be stored in all or some cities of former Yugoslavia. The Albanians tend to think they should stay in the Hague, just as around one third of Bosniaks.

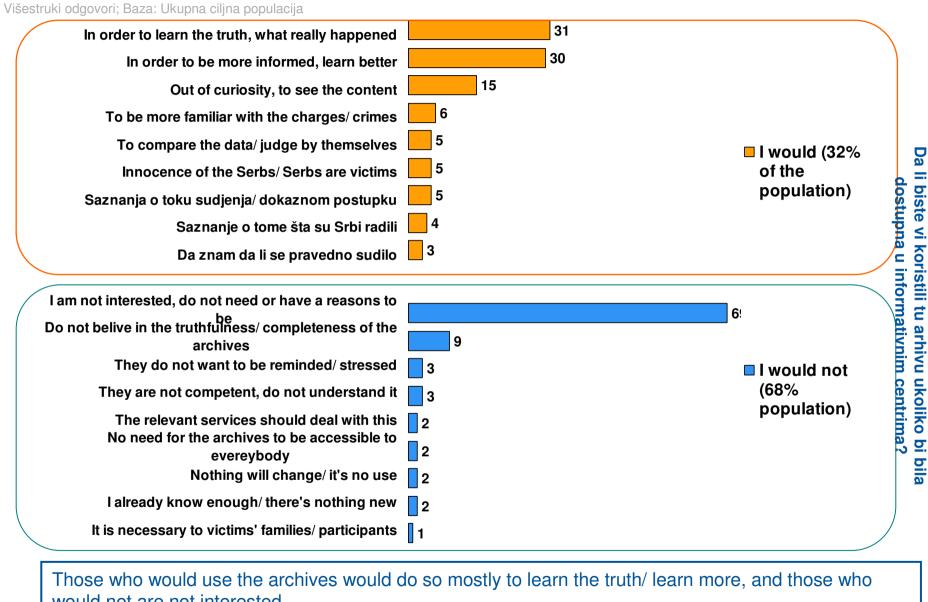
Would you use the archives if it were accessible in information centres?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



A considerably higher number of citizens think that the archives should be accessible than the number that would actually use them. The biggest interest in using the archives is among the Moslems/Bosniaks, more than a half, and around one third of the Serbs and Albanians

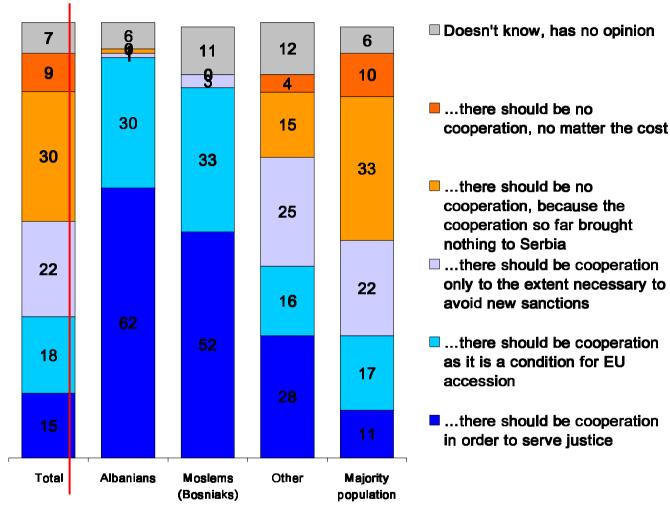
Why would you / would you not use the ICTY archives if it were accessible?



would not are not interested

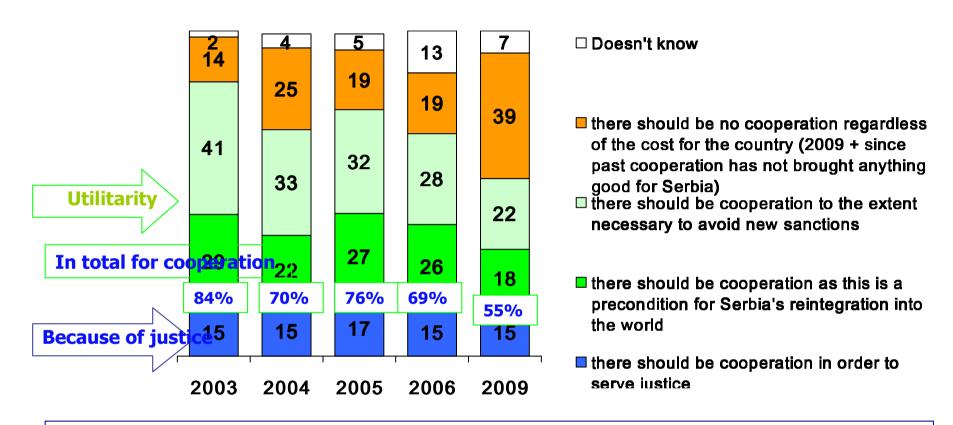
What is your opinion about the cooperation of Serbia with the ICTY? Do you think...





Half the citizens of Serbian nationality (50%) think that cooperation with the ICTY is necessary, but only 11% think that the reason for this is to serve justice, while other 40% state pragmatic reasons (EU accession and avoiding sanctions). However, most Albanians and Bosniaks think that cooperation is necessary for the purpose of serving justice

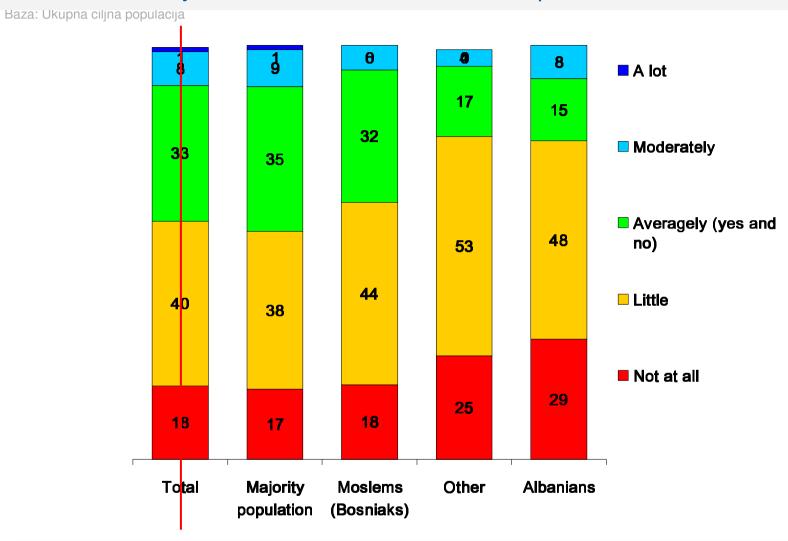
Views about the cooperation of Serbia with ICTY, 2003 - 2009



In comparison with the percentages of citizens in the period from 2003 to 2006, the percentage of citizens who think that cooperation with ICTY is necessary continued the downward trend, falling from 84% in 2003 to 55% currently supporting the cooperation.

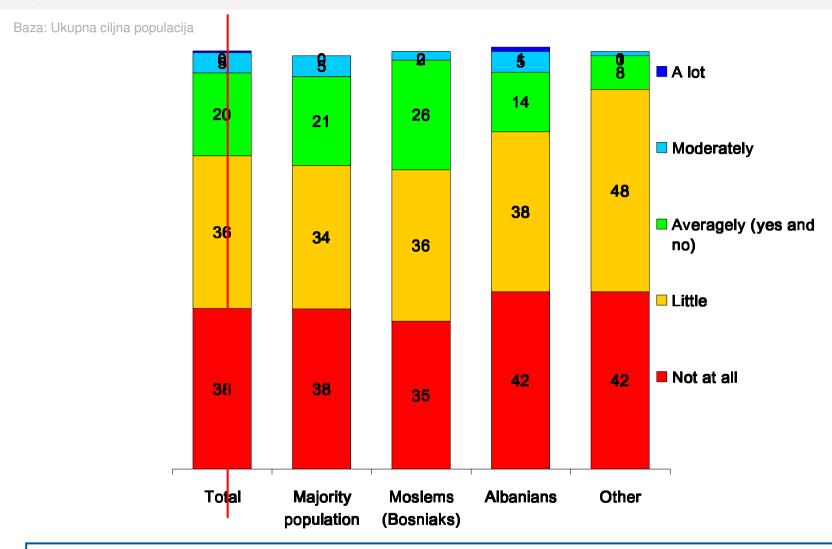
The portion of population, 15%, who think that cooperation with ICTY is necessary in order to serve justice, has not changed since 2003, while the percentage of those thinking that cooperation should be accepted for utilitarian reasons went down considerably

How familiar are you with the issue of Serbia's cooperation with ICTY?



Most citizens assess that they are little familiar or not at all familiar with the issue of cooperation with ICTY

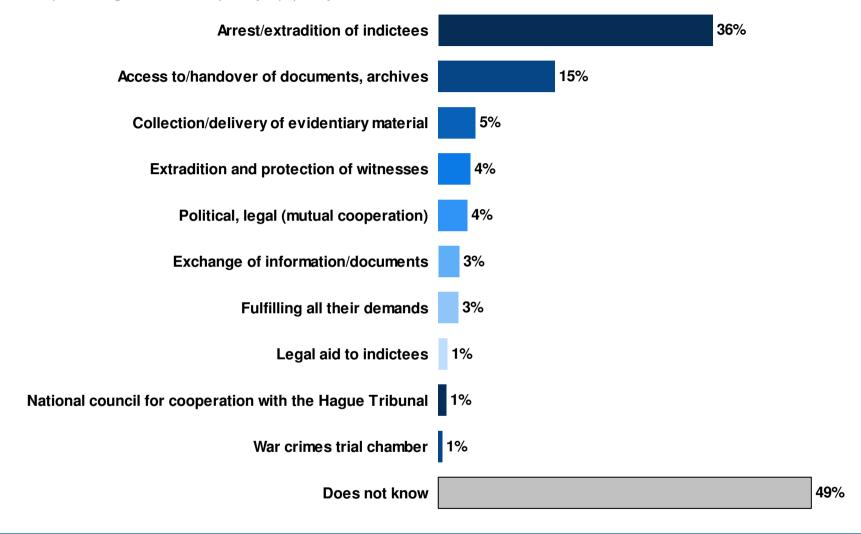
How familiar are you with the work of the National Council and the Office of the National Council with ICTY?



Most citizens assess that they are little familiar or not at all familiar with the work of the National Council and the Office of the National Council for Cooperation with ICTY

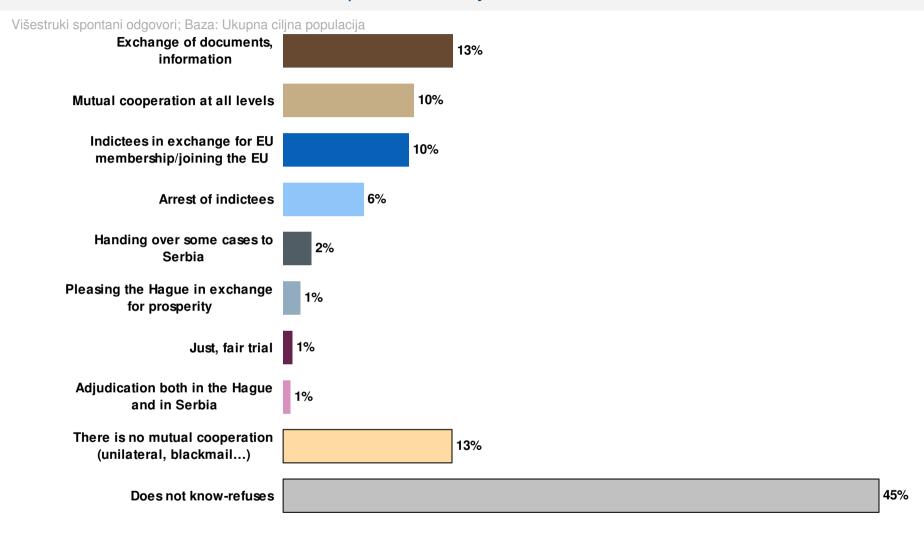
What forms of cooperation with the Hague Tribunal exist?

Višestruki spontani odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



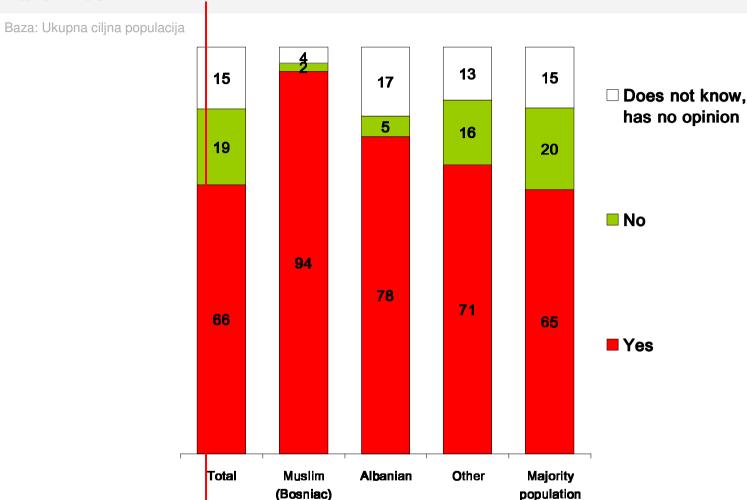
Almost half of citizens was not able to give a single example of cooperation of Serbia with the Hague Tribunal, and the most frequently quoted form of cooperation are arrest and extradition of indictees and handover of documents

How do you understand the idea of the two-way cooperation of our country with the Hague Tribunal, what do those who insist upon it mean by it?



Almost half the citizens have no idea on what is implied by two-way cooperation, while a further 13% consider that such cooperation does not exist

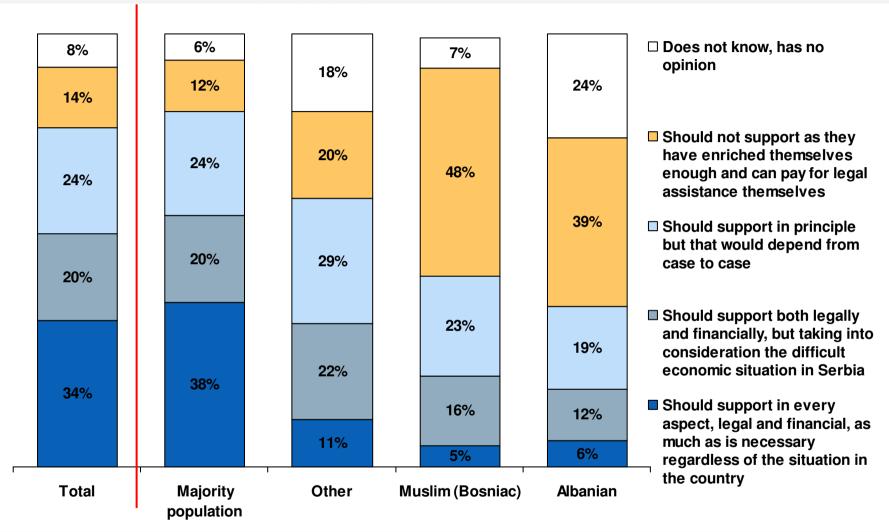
In your opinion, should Serbia cooperate with other countries of the former Yugoslavia in respect to war crimes?



Majority of citizens support cooperation with other countries of the former Yugoslavia in respect to war crimes; Bosniacs support such cooperation the most and Serbs the least (although they too to largest extent)

Should Serbia and in what way assist indicted Serbs standing trial before the Hague Tribunal?

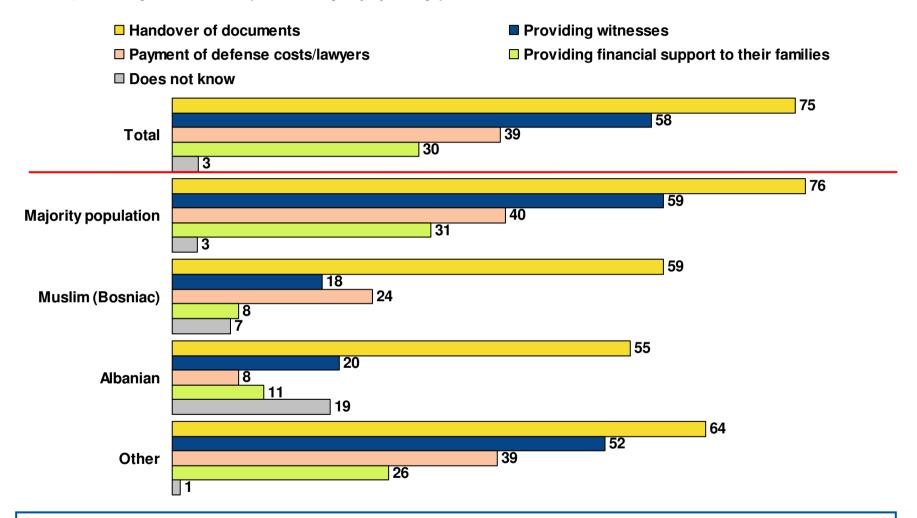




Majority of citizens of Serbian nationality consider that Serbia should support indicted Serbs, but are divided in regard to scope of assistance. Approximately one third consider that Serbia should support in every aspect and regardless of the situation in the country. Citizens of Bosniac and Albanian nationality in significant percentage consider that Serbia should not support the indictees

In which way should the indictees be assisted?

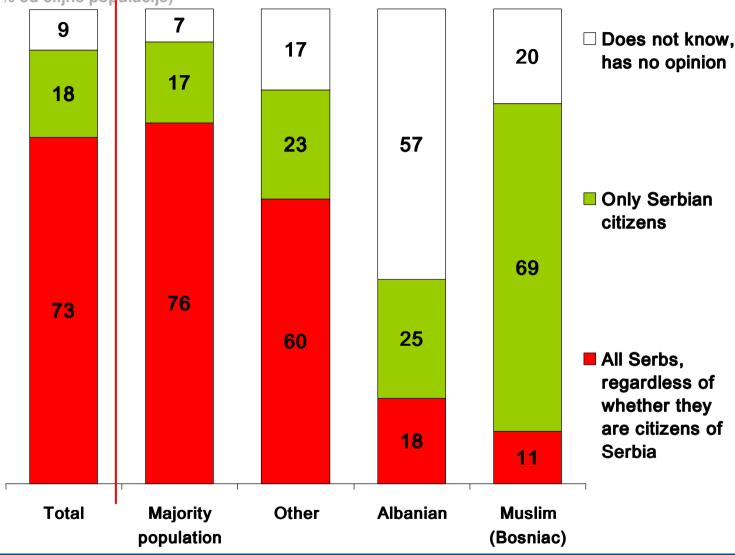
Višestruki odgovori; Baza: oni koji misle da Srbija treba da pomaže optuženim Srbima kojima se sudi u Haškom tribunalu, ili nemaju stav o tome(86% od ciljne populacije)



A significantly greater percentage of citizens (including of Serbian nationality) consider that indictees should be assisted through handover of documents and providing witnesses instead of paying their defense costs, particularly providing financial assistance to their families

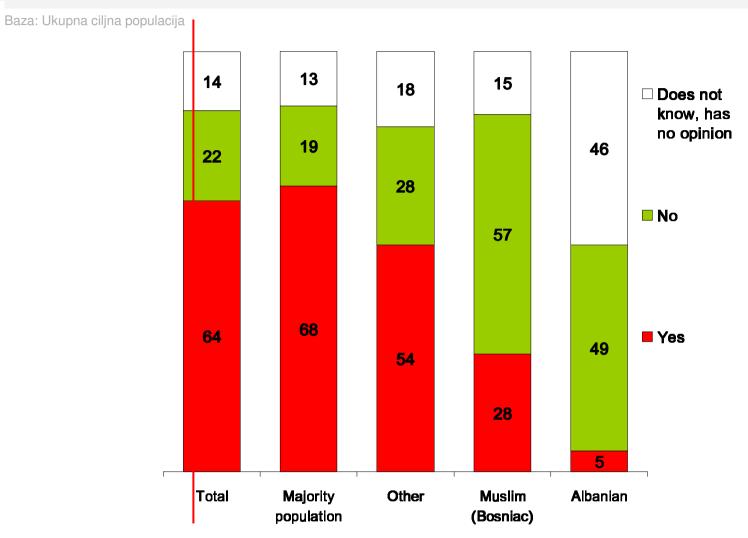
Whom should Serbia help?

Baza: oni koji misle da Srbija treba da pomaže optuženim Srbima kojima se sudi u Haškom tribunalu, ili nemaju stav o tome (86% od ciljne populacije)



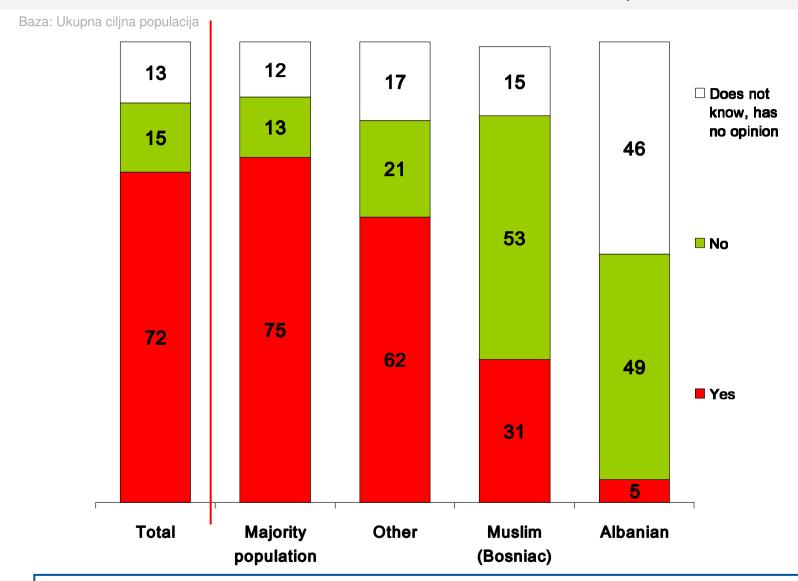
While majority of citizens of Serbian nationality consider that all Serbs should be helped, citizens of Bosniac nationality consider that only citizens should be helped, while Albanians mainly have no viewpoint on this issue

Should Serbia provide help to former government officials?



Although the majority of citizens of Serbian nationality consider that also former government officials should be helped, the support is still less than the generally expressed support to indictees of Serbian nationality

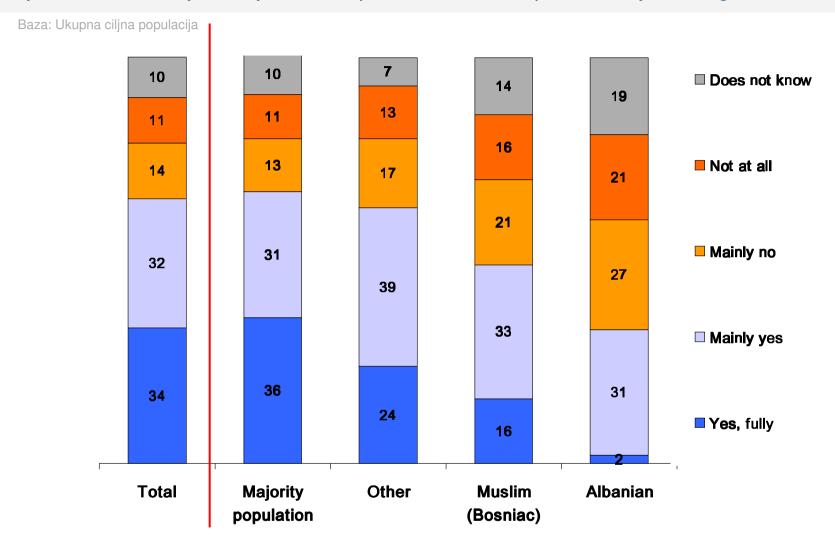
Should Serbia extend assistance to former members of the police and the army?



A greater percentage of citizens consider that assistance should be provided to former police and army members than to former government officials



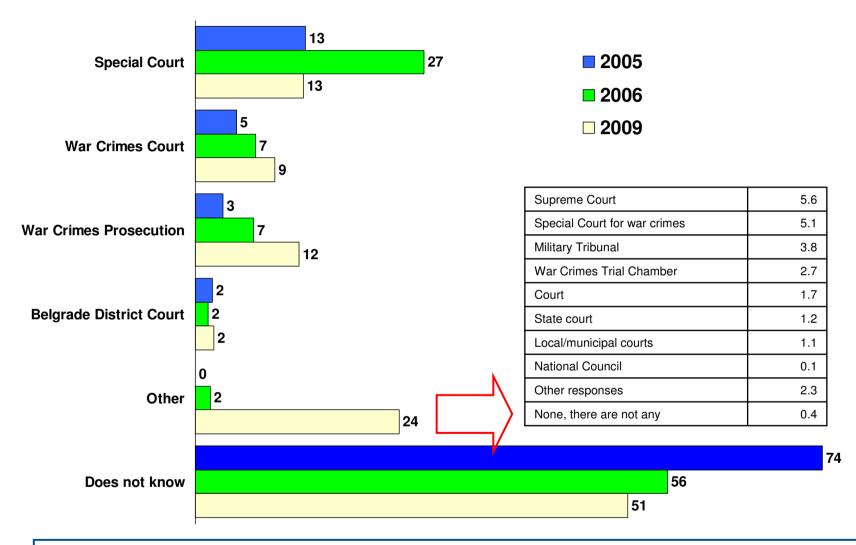
Do you consider the judiciary of the Republic of Serbia capable of adjudicating war crimes?



Most citizens consider the Serbian judicial system capable of adjudicating war crimes, but only one third consider it fully capable. Serbs to greater percentage assess the domestic judicial system as capable as compared to citizens of Bosniac or Albanian nationality

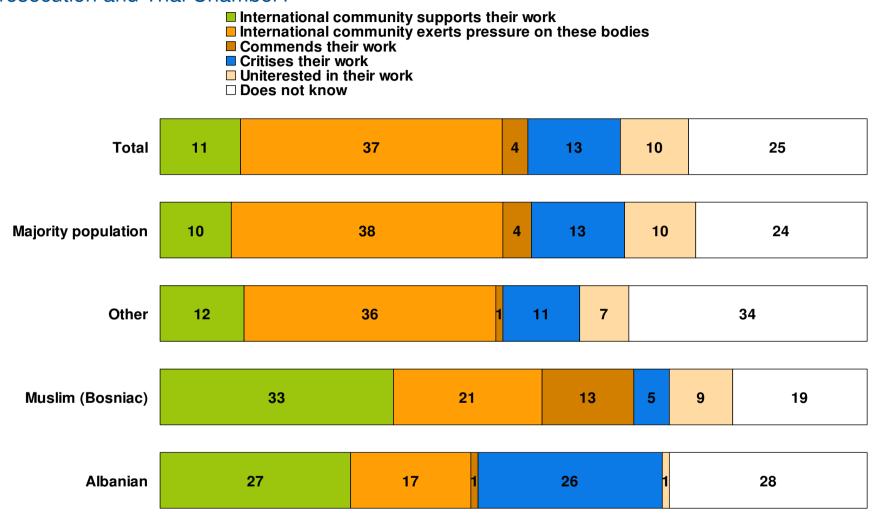
Can you mention some domestic bodies for adjudicating war crimes?

Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



In comparison to 2005 when 74% of citizens were unable to mention a single judicial body for adjudicating war crimes, awareness of citizens in this respect has significantly improved

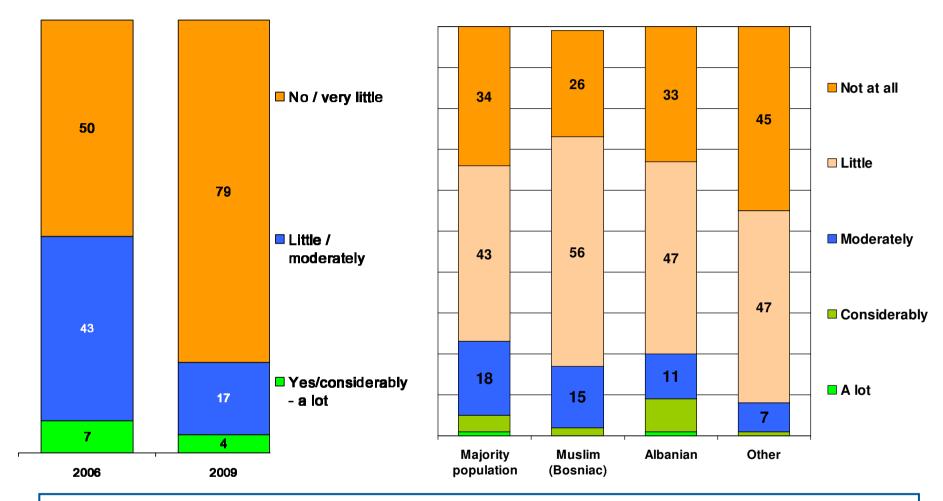
What is the attitude of the international community towards the work of the domestic war crimes Prosecution and Trial Chamber?



Citizens of Serbian nationality most often consider that the international community exerts pressure on the domestic war crimes Prosecution and Trial Chamber; Bosniacs most often consider that the international community supports their work while Albanians are divided between criticism and assistance

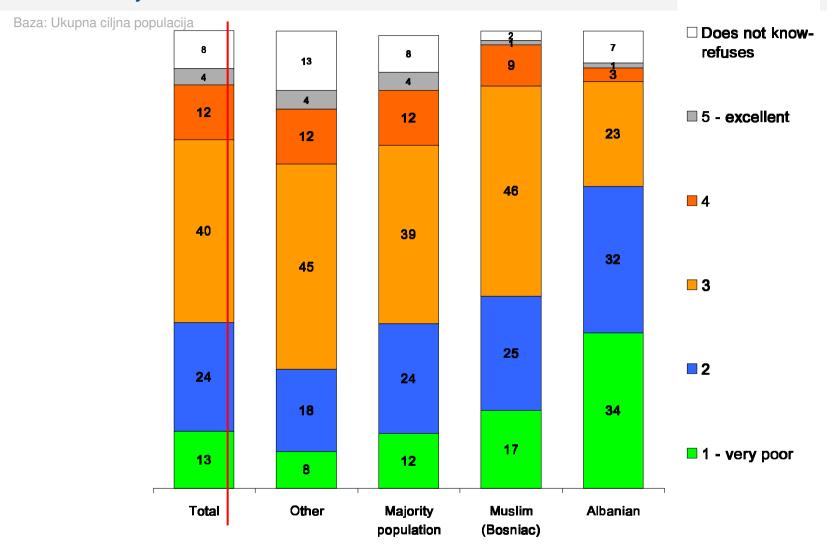
Are you aware of the work of the War Crimes Prosecution of the Republic of Serbia?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



In comparison to 2006 a considerably smaller number of citizens stated that they are a least to some extent aware of the work of the war crimes prosecution

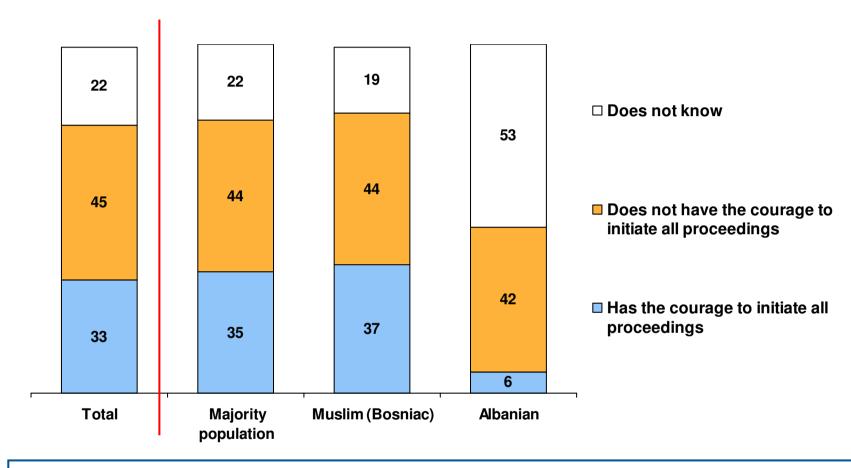
How would you rate the work of the War Crimes Prosecution of the Republic of Serbia?



Although the majority of citizens have stated that they are not aware of the work of the Prosecution, only a small percentage stated that they are unable to rate its work. More than one third of Serbs rate it poorly (1 and 2), while only 16% rate it highly (4 and 5). More than 40% of Bosniacs and more than 60% of Albanians rate the Prosecution poorly

Do you think the War Crimes Prosecution has the courage to initiate all proceedings for war crimes, including those against high-ranking army and police officers?

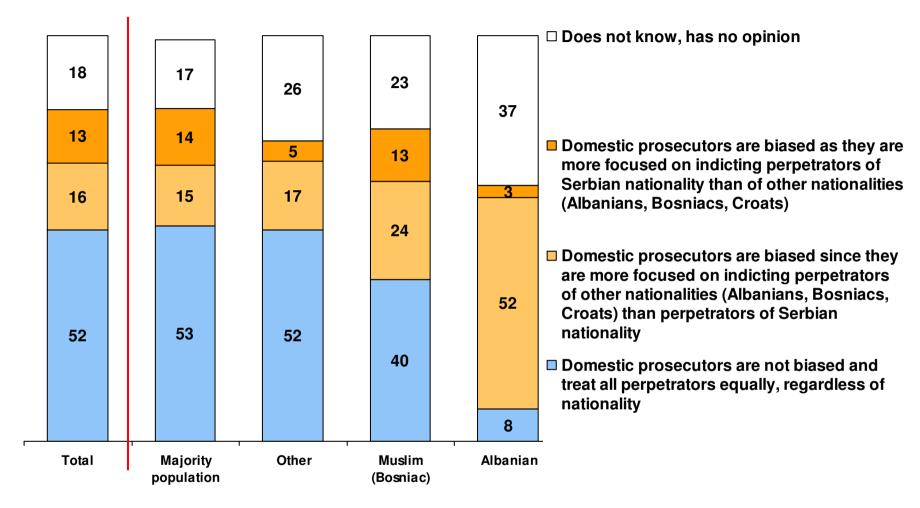
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Citizens are divided in their opinion whether the Prosecution has the courage to initiate all war crimes proceedings. Still, the majority of citizens, more than 40%, consider that the Prosecution does not have the courage to initiate all proceedings

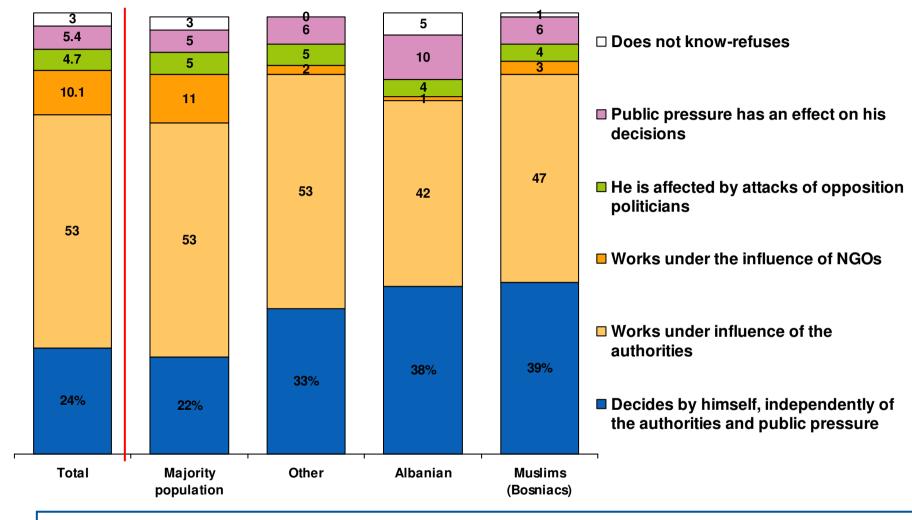
Are domestic prosecutors biased in respect to nationality of the defendant?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Majority of citizens of Serbian nationality consider that domestic prosecutors are not biased, 53%. It is interesting that despite this only 16% gave high rating for the work of the prosecution. Most Albanians and a considerable percentage of Bosniacs consider, however, the prosecution biased as it is more focused on perpetrators of other nationalities than of Serbian nationality

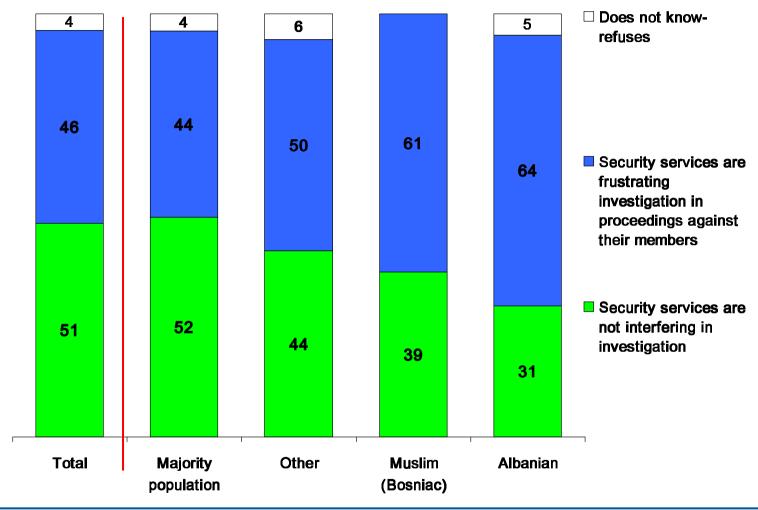
Do you think that the War Crimes Prosecutor is independent in his work or is he under political pressure?



Majority of citizens consider that the war crimes prosecutor is not independent in his work, but that pressure chiefly come from the authorities. It is interesting that Albanians and Bosniacs believe in the independent decision-taking of the domestic prosecutor more than Serbs

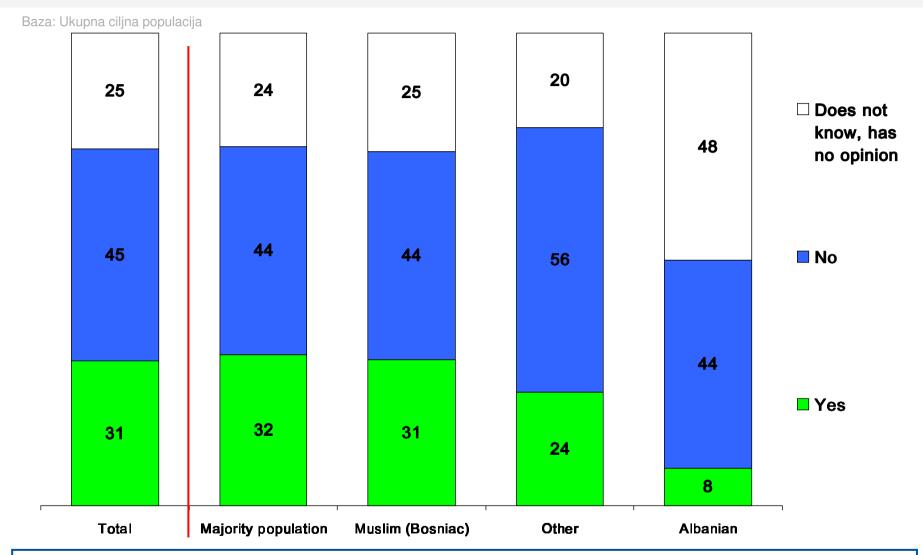
Are the security services (military and police) endeavoring to frustrate investigation of their members?





Citizens of Serbian nationality are quite evenly divided in their opinion whether the security services are interfering in investigation – somewhat more than half consider they do not and 44% think they do. Most of the Bosniacs and Albanians believe that security services are frustrating investigation in proceedings against their members

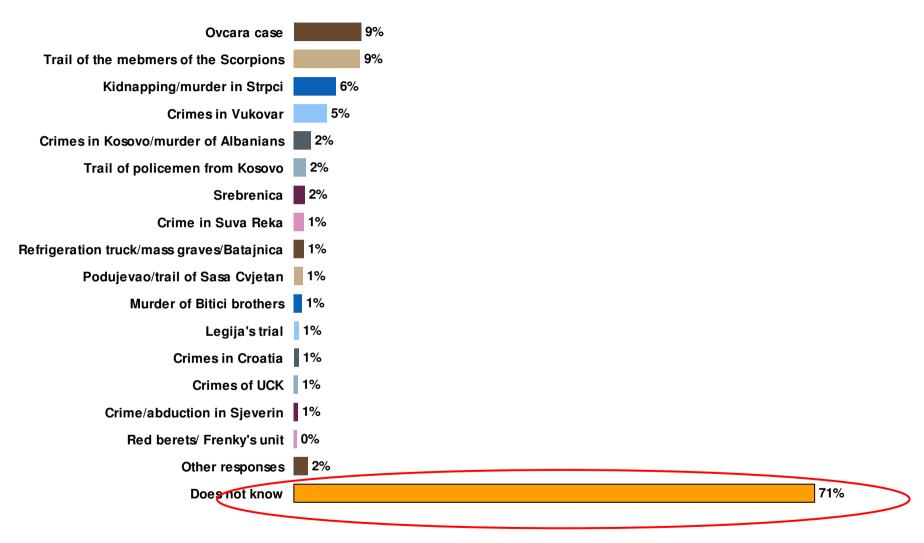
Do you think the army and police are prepared to disclose individuals from their ranks who committed war crimes?



A considerable percentage of citizens of Serbian and Bosniac nationality (44%) and majority of Albanians consider that the army and police are not prepared to disclose individuals from their ranks

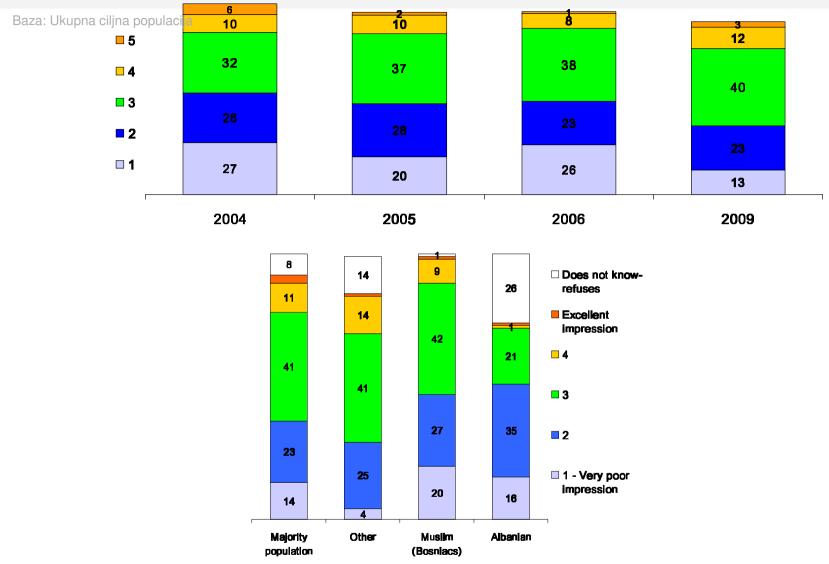
Can you give an example of war crimes trial before domestic courts?

Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



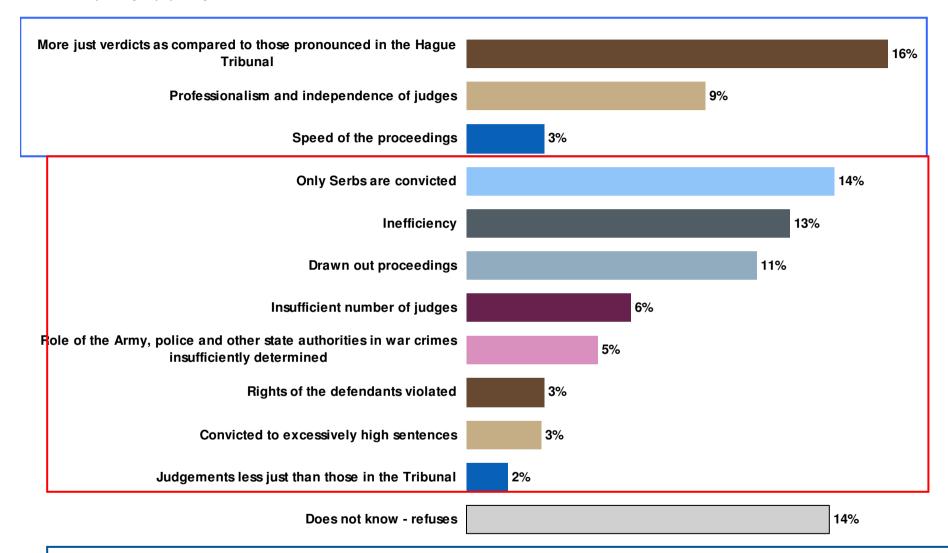
Over 70% of citizens were unable to give a single example of a war crimes trial before domestic courts

How do you rate war crimes trials before domestic courts to date?



Average rating of trials before domestic courts are better then in previous years: percentage of low ratings has decrease from 49% 2006 to 36% 2009, and the percentage of high ratings increased from 9% to 13 s%.

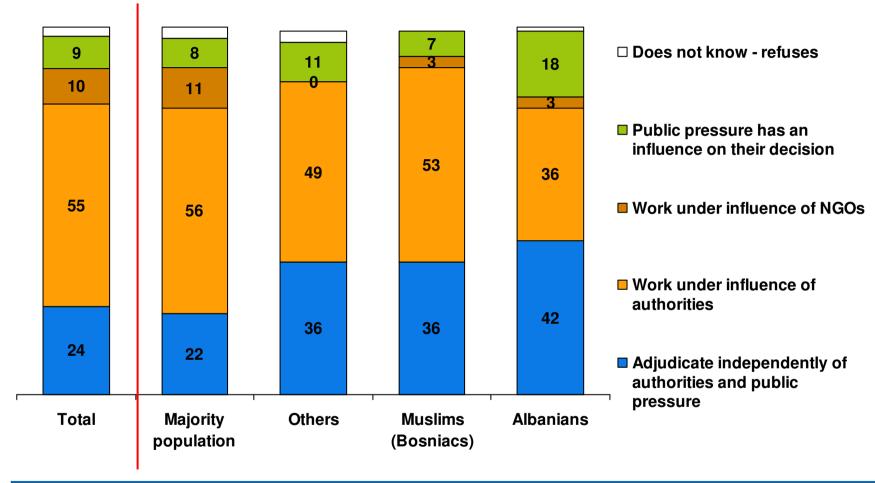
What has influenced you the most to form such an impression on trials before domestic courts to date? Baza: Ukupna cilina populacija



Forming of favourable impression was mainly influenced by the assessment that verdicts were more just, while on the forming of negative impression that only Serbs are convicted, inefficiency and drawn-out procedure

Are the judges of the War Crimes Trial Chamber of the District Court in Belgrade independent in their work or are they exposed to pressures?

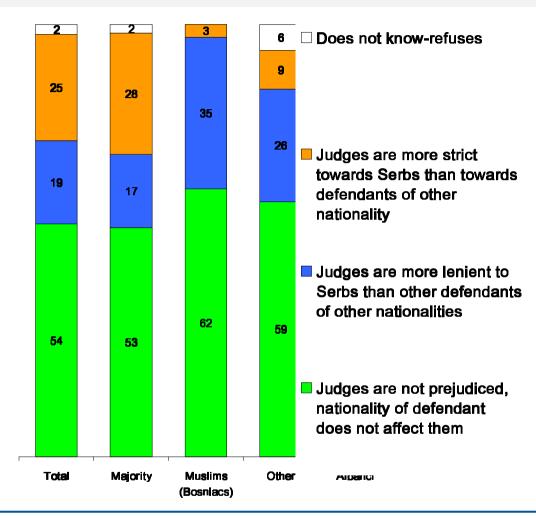




As in case of assessment of independence of the work of prosecutors for war crimes, only 22% of citizens of Serbian nationality and a considerably larger percentage of Albanians and Bosniacs believe that judges of the War Crimes Chamber work independently of the authorities and public pressure.

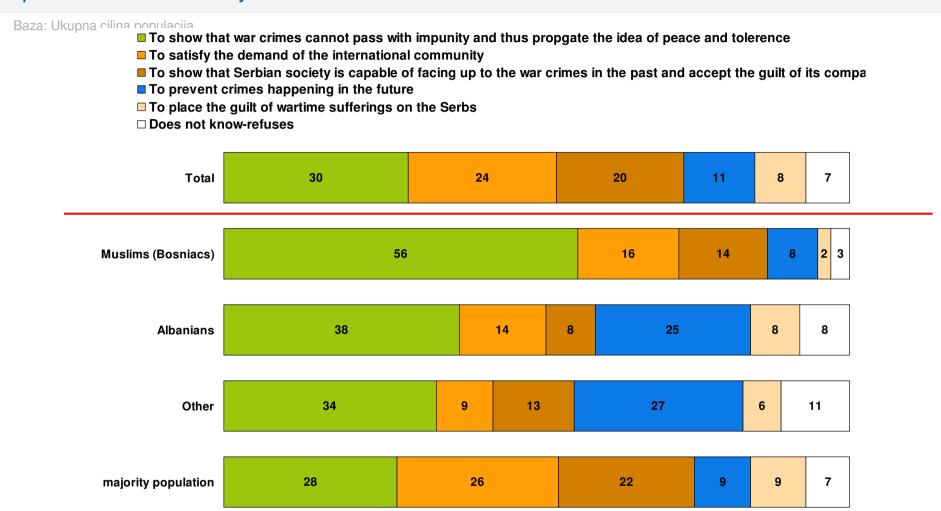
Are the judges of the domestic war crimes court prejudiced in respect to nationality of defendant: if Serb or non-Serb (if Croat, if Bosniac, if Albanian)? Which opinion is the closest to yours?





Although the majority of citizens of Serbian nationality believe that judges of domestic court are not independent and work under influence of authorities, the majority consider that judges are not prejudiced in respect to the nationality of defendant, while 28% even think that they are more strict towards citizens of Serbian nationality.

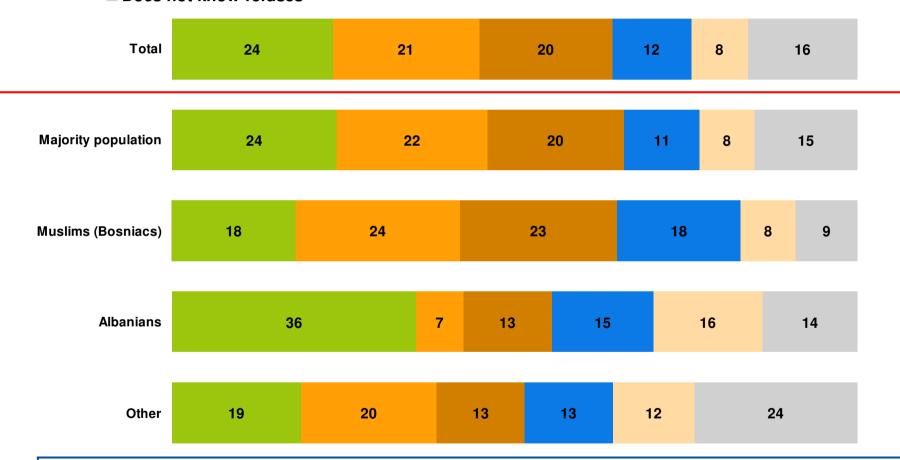
What is in your opinion the primary purpose of war crimes trials before courts in Serbia? Which opinion is the closest to yours?



Bosniacs and Albanians considerably more than Serbs believe that the purpose of war crimes trials before domestic courts is to show that war crimes cannot pass with impunity and thus propagate the idea of peace and tolerence

What has influenced you the most to form such an opinion concerning the purpose of war crimes that before deemstic courts?

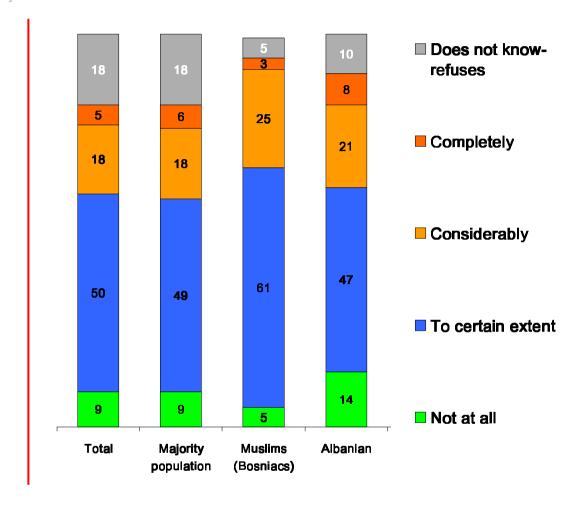
- Standpoints of the international community towards domestic war crimes court and prosecution
- Standpoints of the general public towards domestic war crimes court and prosecution
- Work of the war crimes prosecution and court of the Republic of Serbia
- Standpoints domestic politicians
- Trials in progress
- Does not know-refuses



Opinions of citizens are highly divided regarding various influences on formation of their standpoint. The work itself of the prosecution and the court evidently did not have a decisive role in forming standpoints on the purpose of the trials

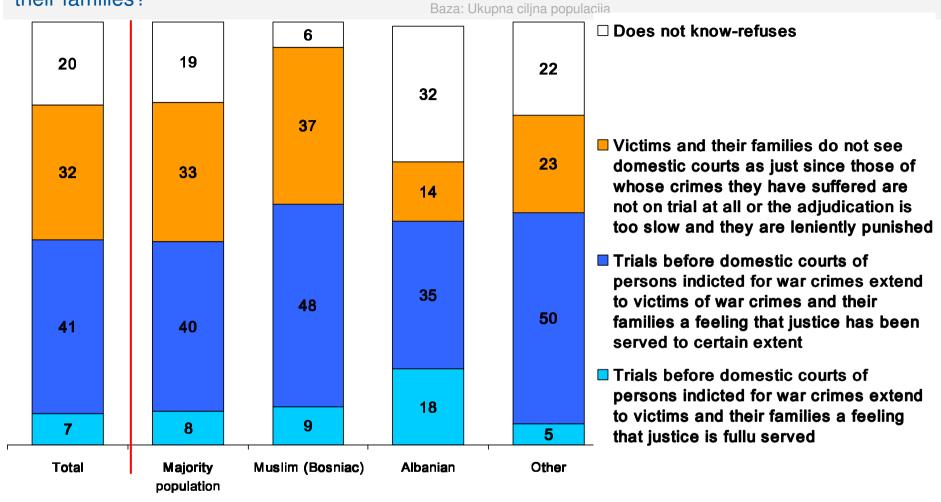
Will the final outcome of war crimes trials before domestic courts succeed in realising the purpose you have stated?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Majority of citizens still believe that the trials, if not in entirety than to certain extent, will realise the purpose as they see it

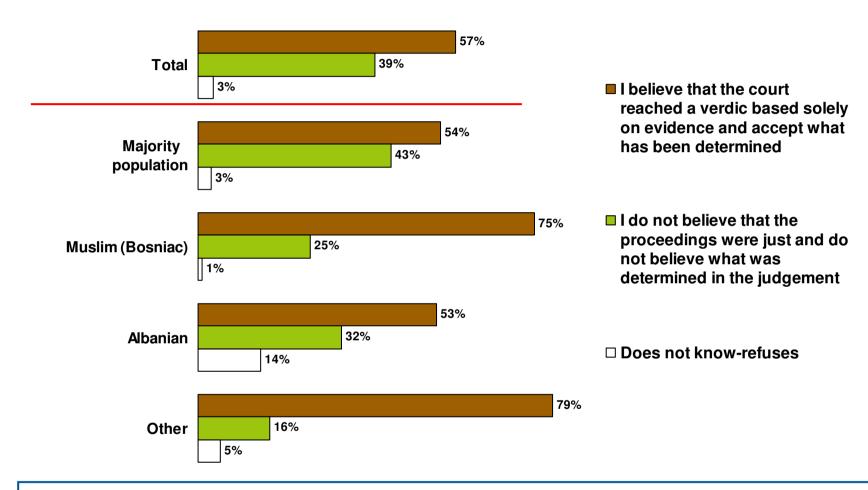
In your opinion how do war crimes trials before domestic courts affect the victims of war crimes and their families?



While citizens of Serbian nationality consider that trials before domestic courts extend to victims and their families a feeling that justice has been fully or at least partially served (48%), than before the Hague Tribunal (36%), Bosniacs, and particularly Albanians consider that courts in Serbia to lesser extent provide a feeling that justice has been fully or at least partially served (57% and 53%) than before the Hague Tribunal (65% and 76%)

What is your opinion of the judgements of domestic war crimes courts determining that indicted Serbs are guilty of war crimes?

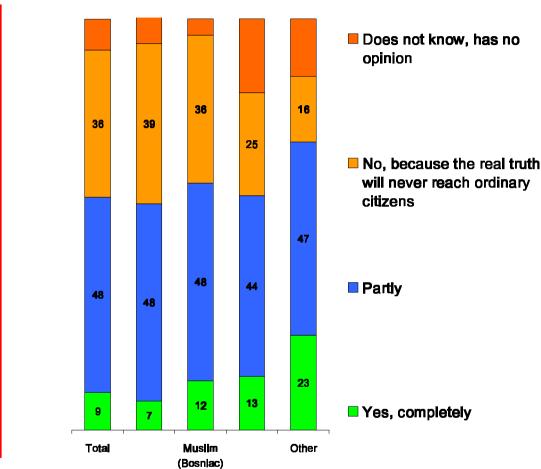
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Despite doubts concerning independence of the work of domestic courts for war crimes, the majority of citizens still believe that in the judgements finding Serbs guilty the court reached the decision solely on basis of evidence and hence accept what has been determined

Do trials for war crimes before domestic courts contribute to knowing the truth concerning events in the wars in former SFRY?

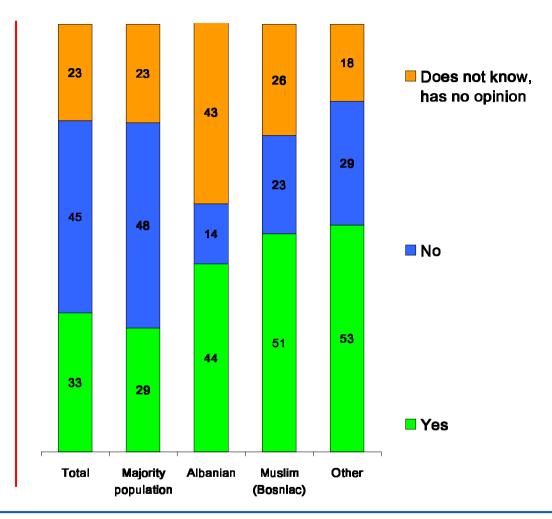
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Citizens of Serbian nationality in considerably higher percentage believe that trials before domestic courts contribute to knowing the truth than the trials before the Hague Tribunal, while Albanians and Bosniacs to in higher percentage believe that knowing the truth is better served by trials before the Hague Tribunal

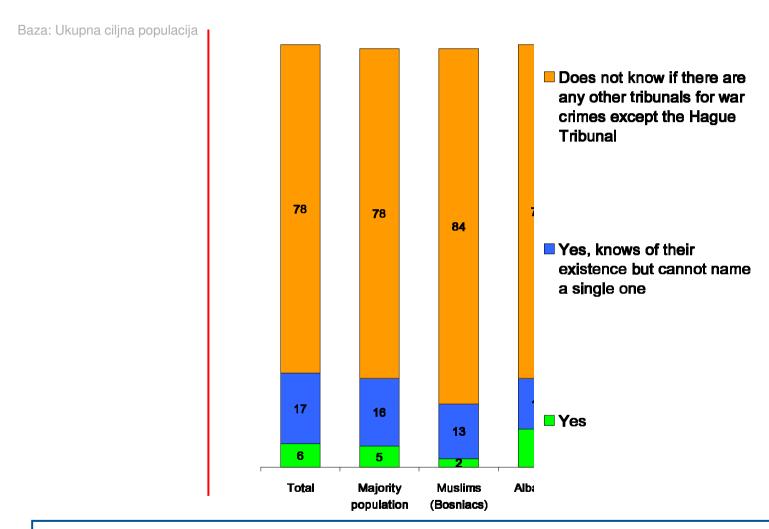
In your opinion do the trials before domestic courts contribute to reconciliation in the region?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Citizens of Serbian nationality in somewhat higher percentage believe that trials before domestic courts contribute to the process of reconciliation that the trials before the Hague Tribunal, Albanians to higher percentage believe that trials before the Hague tribunal contribute more towards reconciliation, and Bosniacs equally in both cases. It is interesting that national minorities to considerably higher extent than Serbs believe that trials before domestic courts contribute to the process of reconciliation

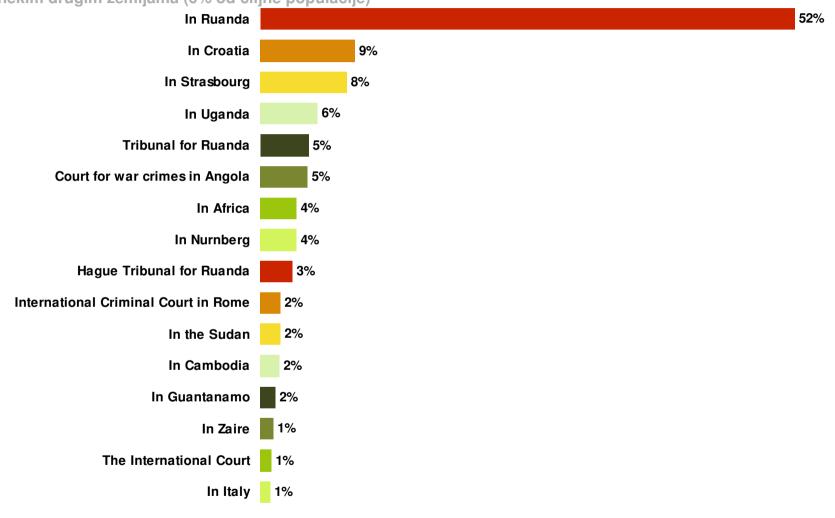
Do you know of any other courts or tribunals in the world adjudicating war crimes committed in other countries?



Majority of citizens do not know of any other tribunals for war crimes except the Hague Tribunal

What other tribunals for war crimes do you know except the Hague tribunal?

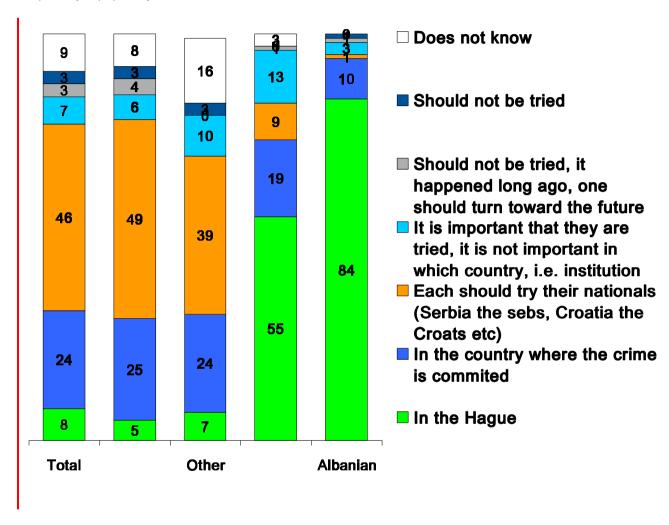
Višestruki odgovori; Baza: oni koji znaju još neke sudove ili tribunale u svetu u kojima se sudi za ratne zločine počinjene u nekim drugim zemljama (6% od ciljne populacije)



Citizens who know of any other tribunal except the Hague Tribunal mostly mention the tribunal in Ruanda

Where, in your opinion, should war crimes committed in wars in the former Yugoslavia be tried?

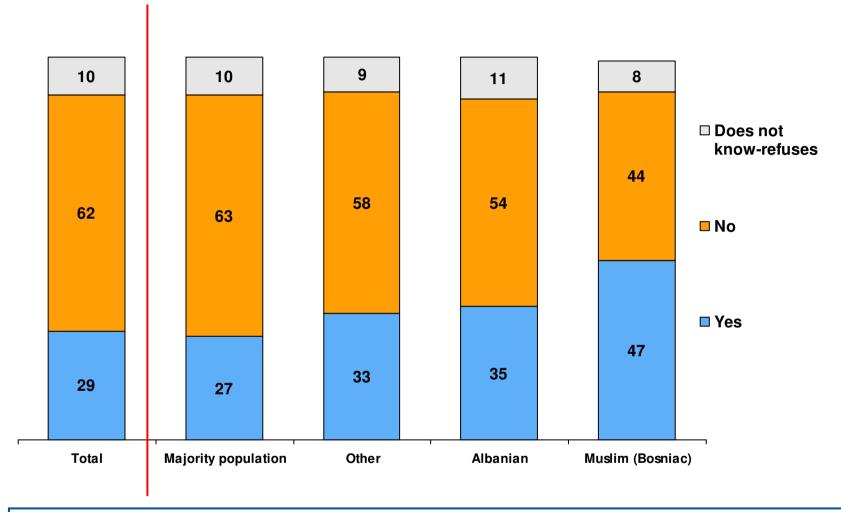
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Citizens of Serbian nationality in largest percentage think that each should adjudicate their own, while Bosniacs and Albanians think that trials should be in the Hague

If you witnessed any war crime, would you agree to testify before the Hague Tribunal?

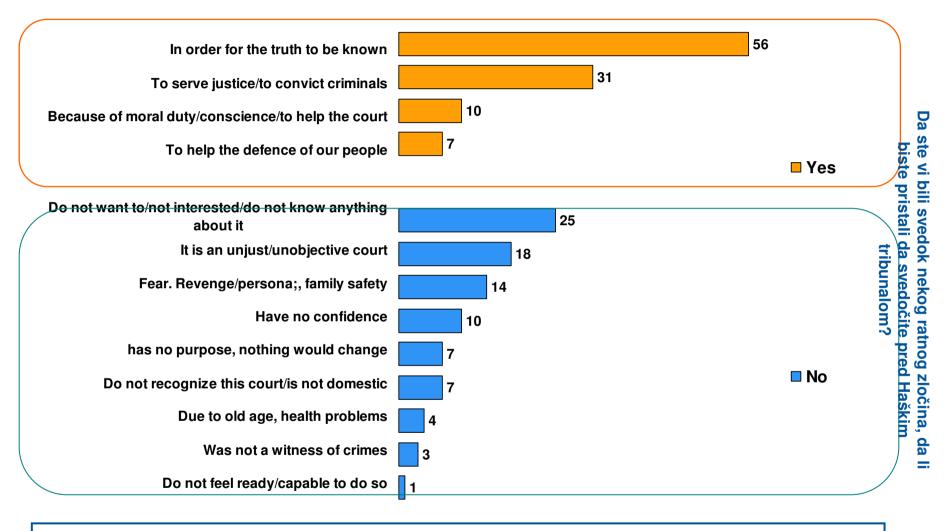
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Majority of citizens would not agree to testify before the Hague Tribunal. Bosniacs are the most ready

Why would you agree / not agree to testify before the Hague Tribunal?

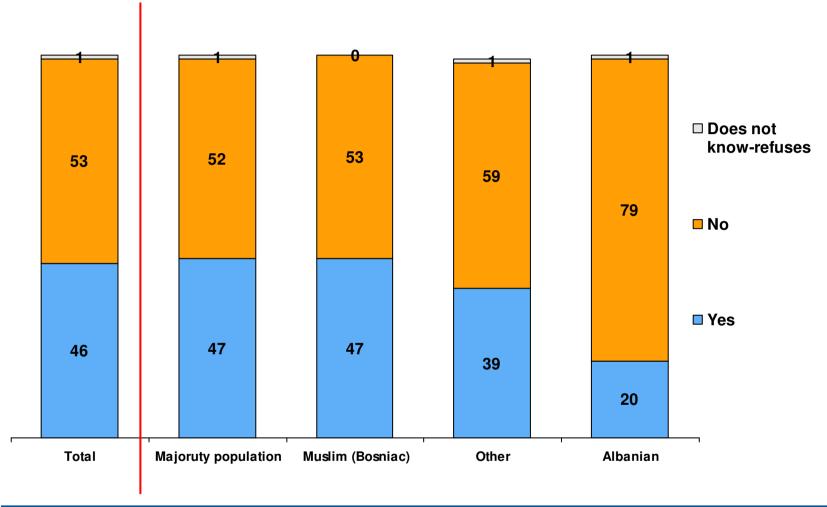
Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



The most frequent reasons given by those who would agree to testify is for the truth to be known. In addition to disinterest, the most frequent reasons given by those not ready to testify are distrust of the objectivity of the tribunal and fear for safety

Would you be ready to testify before domestic war crimes court?

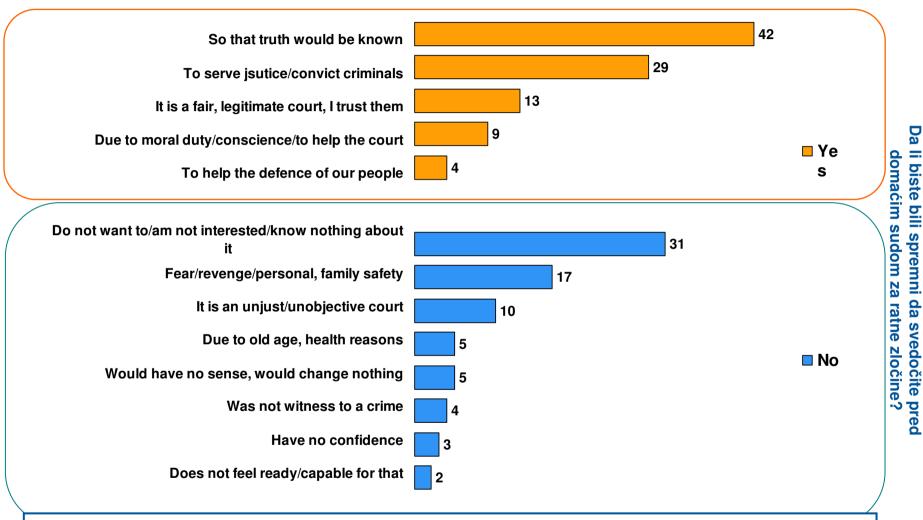




A considerably higher percentage of citizens of Serbian nationality (almost half) Zwould agree to testify before domestic court than before the Hague Tribunal (27%). A somewhat lesser percentage of Bosniacs and considerably less Albanians would agree to testify before the domestic court than before the Hague Tribunal

Why would you agree/not agree to testify before the domestic court for war crimes?

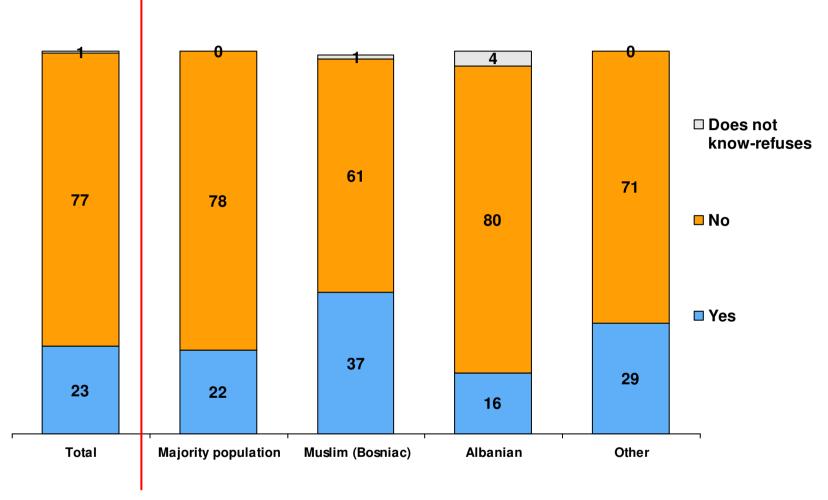
Višestruki odgovori; Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



As in the case of testifying before the Hague Tribunal, the most frequent reason given by those prepared to testify before the domestic court is for truth to be known. In addition to disinterest, the most frequent reason of those who would not agree to testify is distrust of the objectivity of the court and fear for safety

Would you agree to testify before a war crimes court in Croatia?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



A considerably smaller percentage of Serbian citizens of all nationalities would agree to testify before a court in Croatia than in Serbia or the Hague

Would you agree to testify before a war crimes court in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija 5 □ Does not know-refuses 59 70 76 77 ■ No 80 Yes 41 30 24 23

A considerably smaller percentage of Serbian citizens of all nationalities would agree to testify before a court in Bosnia and Herzegovina than in Serbia or the Hague

Muslim (Bopsniac)

Majority population

Total

15

Albanian

Other

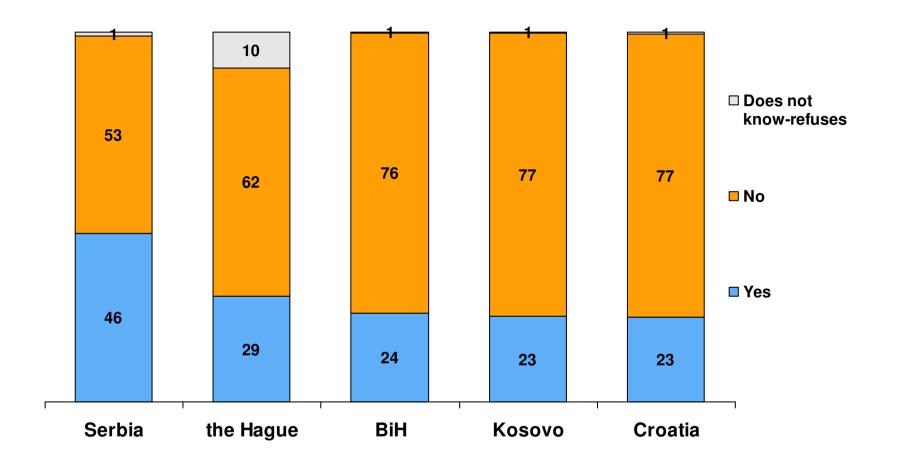
Would you agree to testify before a war crimes court in Kosovo? Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija

□ Does not know-refuses 61 70 77 73 78 ■ No Yes 38 30 25 23 22 Total **Majority population** Muslim (Bosniac) Albanian Other

A considerably smaller percentage of Serbian citizens of all nationalities would agree to testify before a court in Kosovo than in Serbia or the Hague

Would you agree to testify before war crimes courts in...

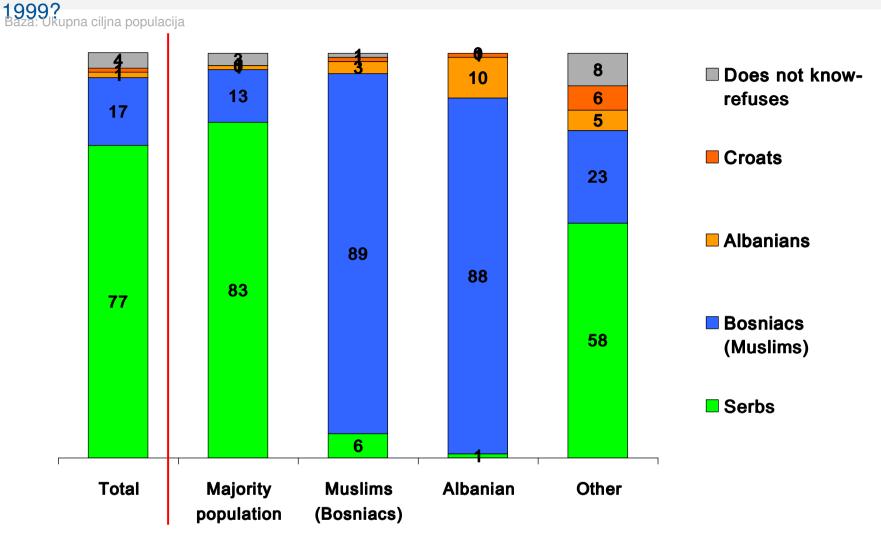
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



In average, the highest percentage of citizens of Serbia would agree to testify before domestic court for war crimes. A somewhat smaller percentage would agree to testify before courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kosovo and in Croatia than before the Hague Tribunal

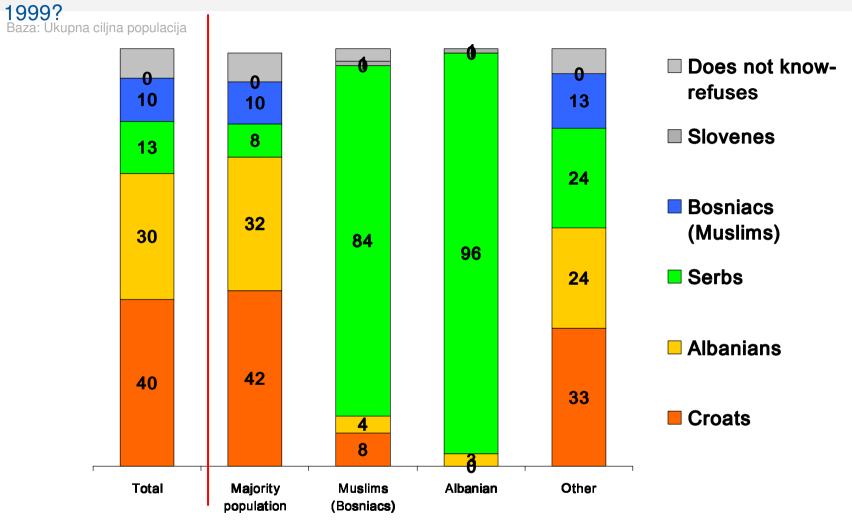


Who suffered the most casualties in the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia from 1991 to



While citizens of Serbian nationality consider that Serbs suffered the most casualties, Bosniacs and Albanians consider that it was the Bosniacs

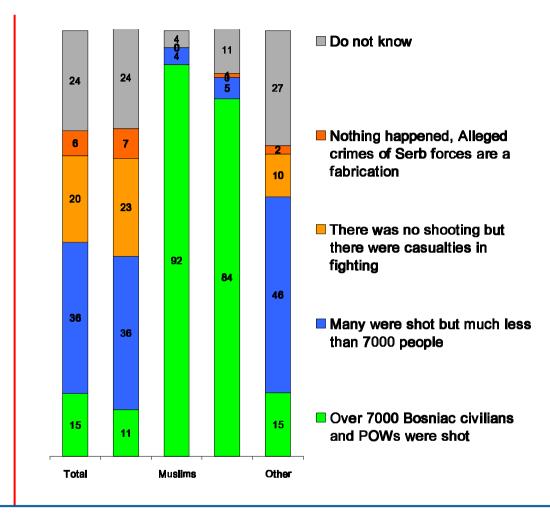
Who committed the most crimes in the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia from 1991 to



While citizens of Serbian nationality consider that Croats committed the most crimes, followed by Albanians, Bosniacs and Albanians consider that it was the Serbs

How much do you know of what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995?

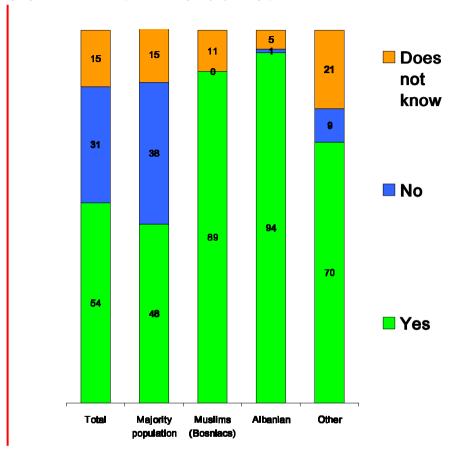
Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



Citizens of Serbian nationality are divided in their opinion as to what happened in Srebrenica: 44% believe there was shooting, but only 11% think that more than 7000 civilians and POWs were shot, while 36% believe that much less than 7000 persons were shot. Moe than half (54%) either think that there was no shooting but only casualties in fighting (23%), that nothing happened (7%) or does not know what happened (24%)

Do you think that murder of Bosniacs in Srebrenica is genocide?

Baza: oni koji znaju za streljanje u Srebrenici (50% od ciljne populacije)



Of the citizens of Serbian nationality who believe that civilians and POWs were shot in Srebrenica, 48% think that this was genocide (which is 21% of citizens of Serbian nationality)

Awareness and standpoint in respect to events from the wars on the territory of the former

Yugoslavia

% in total population of Serbia	Heard	Believe	Consider it a war crime
Members of UCK committed crimes during the war in Kosovo (1999)	89.1	87.0	81.2
During the operations Flash and Storm in 1995 members of the Croatian army and police committed war crimes against Serbs	86.8	85.2	81.1
In Srebrenica, in Julay 1996, several thousand Muslims/Bosniacs were shot	78.1	49.4	42.3
During the siege of Sarajevo many civilians were killed by snipers	70.9	64.0	41.9
In the mass grave in Batajnica a large number of bodies of Albanian civilians were found.	68.5	40.2	33.0
Members of the unit "Scorpions" near Trnovo in 1995 shot young men of Bosniac nationality and filmed the whole event by video camera	68.4	54.9	49.8
In the camp Lora in Split members of the Croat military police tortured Serb POWs	66.9	64.1	59.6
In 1992 in Tuzla a JNA column was atacked which was retreating pursuant to previously concluded agreement with the Bosnian armed forces and a large number of soldiers were killed at that time	65.9	63.2	59.5
In1993 in Medačkom džep near Gospic members of Croatian armed forces committed crimes against Serb civilians.			56.5
During 1991 citizens of Serbian nationality in Osijek were killed, tortured and persecuted.	62.9	60.5	57.1
Sarajevo was over 1000 days (3 years) under seige of Serb forces	59.2	41.6	14.9
On the territory of Serbia, during 1992, in Strpci and Sjeverin, Muslims (from Serbia) were abducted from a train and bus and then shot	58.7	43.4	39.0
In Kosovo, Albanians were killed and expelled even prior to the bombing	56.4	31.4	18.9
During the war in Croatia, in Srem, Croats were intimidated and expelled (Hrtkovci, Kukujevci)	49.8	27.4	16.5
During the war in Bosnia there were camps for Croats and Muslims (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm and others)	47.9	37.2	21.7
Members of Serb armed formations displaced by force and killed Muslims from Zvornik.	44.1	28.2	16.9
In Bijeljina in 1992 [aramilitary formations from Serbia killed civilians		20.7	15.3
In 1992 members of Serb armed formations systematically raped Muslim women in Foca (BiH)		17.4	15.3
Paramilitary formations from Serbia and JNA members killed civilians in Vukovar		36.7	24.8
JNA bombed Dubrovnik		49.3	22.8
In `Čelebići` camp imprisoned Serb women were raped	58.0	54.0	52.7
In Podujevo and Suva Reka members of Serb armed formations killed a large number of Albanian women, children and old men	39.0	19.9	16.9

In average, citizens are best informed and mostly believe the truth of events where Serbs were victims, including the conviction that these events are war crimes. This is in accordance with the conviction of citizens that Serbs sustained the most casualties in these wars

Awareness of events from the wars on the territory of the former Ygoslavia

zens who have heard of the event	Majority population	Muslim (Bosniacs)	Albanian	Other
of the UCK committed crimes during the war in Kosovo (1999)	91	94	16	86
e Flash and Storm operations in 1995 members of Croatian army and police committed war crimes against	88	94	41	84
nica in Julay 1995, over a few days, several thousand Muslims/Bosniacs were shot	77	99	88	79
e siege of Srajevo many civilians were killed by snipers	71	92	34	72
ber Dubrovnik	69	86	76	68
ss grave in Batajnica a large number of bodies of Albanian civilians were found.	69	93	90	56
of the Scrorpions Unit in 1995, near Trnovo, shot Bosniac young men and taped the whole event by video	68	88	57	72
amp in Split members of the Croat military police tortured Serb POWs				67
Tuzla a JNA column was attacked while retreating pursuant to previously concluded agreement with Bosnian ces and a large number of soldiers were then killed			33	70
Medačke džep near Gospic members of Croatian armed forces committed crimes against Serb civilians.				65
91 citizens of Serbian nationality were killed, tortured and persecuted in Osijek.			40	64
ary formations from Serbia and JNA members killed civilians in Vukovar			85	70
was over 1000 days (3 years) under siege by Serb forces				66
rritory of Serbia, during 1992, in Strpci and Sjeverin, Muslims (from Serboa) were abducted from a train and ater shot		98	47	57
elebići` camp imprisoned Serb women were raped				57
were killed and expelled in Kosovo even before the bombing			88	64
e war in Croatia, in Srem, Croats were intimidated and expelled (Hrtkovci, Kukujevci)		54	43	58
e war in Bosnia there were camps for Croats and Muslims (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm and others)		91	46	57
of Serb armed formations displaced by force and killed Muslims from Zvornik.		89	64	58
vo and Suva Reka members of Serb armed forces killed a high number of Albanian women, children and old		82	87	40
a in 1992 paramilitary units from Serbia killed civilians				43
nembers of Serb armed forces committed systematic rape of Muslim women in Foca (BiH)				41

Bosniacs are the best informed and Albanians the worst, particularly in case of crimes committed by UCK members. Bosniacs are even better informed than the Serbs as concerns crimes in which Serbs were the victims, and the difference is notably large as concerns crimes committed by Serbs against Bosniacs

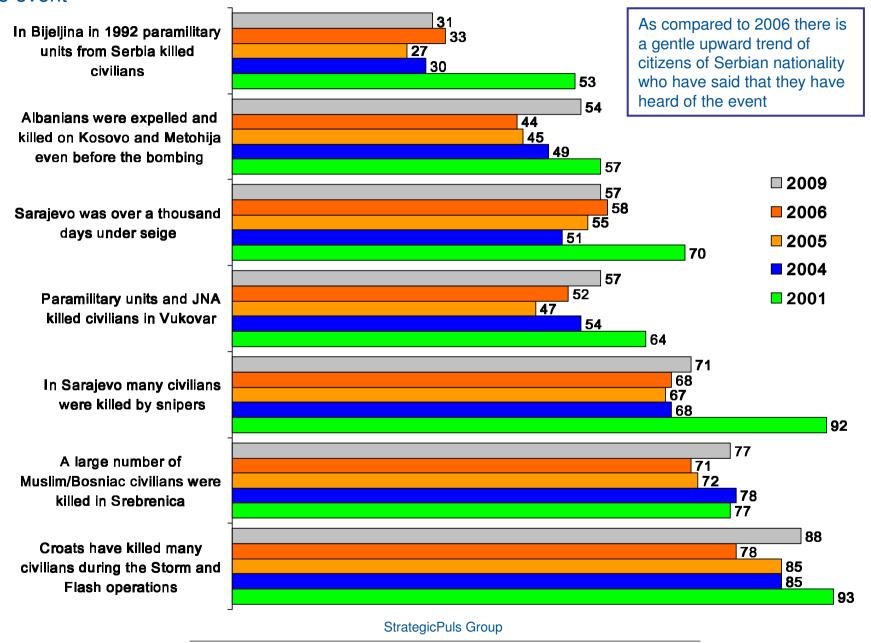
Awareness of events from the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia

	Starost					
% of citizens who heard of the event	16-23	24-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	e5+
Members of UCK committed crimes during the war in Kosovo (1999) P	76	90	93	91	87	93
During the operations Flash and Storm in 1995 members of the Croatian army and police committed war crimes against Serbs	73	86	90	88	91	89
In Srebrenica, in Julay 1995, several thousand Muslims/Bosniacs were shot	76	76	80	86	75	76
During the siiege of Srajevo many civilians were killed by snipers	54	69	69	78	75	75
JNA jbombed Dubrovnik	51	66	66	79	79	68
In the mass grave in batajnica a large number of bodies of Albanian civilians were found.		67	68	80	76	62
Members of the unit "Scorpions" near Trnovo in 1995 shot young men of Bosniac nationality and filmed the whole event by video camera		68	76	73	76	65
In the camp Lora in Split members of the Croat military police tortured Serb		58	76	70	73	71
In 1992 in Tuzla a JNA column was atacked which was retreating pursuant to previously concluded agreement with the Bosnian armed forces and a large number of soldiers were killed at that time		55	71	70	72	78
In1993 in Medačkom džep near Gospic members of Croatian armed forces committed crimes against Serb civilians.	44	61	72	66	69	64
During 1991 citizens of Serbian nationality in Osijek were killed, tortured and persecuted.		53	63	62	79	69
Paramilitary units from Serbia and JNA members killed civilians in Vukovar	61	49	66	65	62	59
Sarajevo was over 1000 days (3 years) under siege by Serb forces		58	60	63	64	64
On the territory of Serbia in 1992, in Strpci and Sjeverin, Muslims (from Serbia) were abducted from a train and bus and then shot		45	66	67	72	60
In `Čelebići` camp imprisoned Serb women were raped		50	64	62	65	65
Albanians in Kosovo were killed and expelled even before the bombing		48	59	65	54	58
During the war in Croatia, in Srem, Croats were intimidated and expelled (Hrtkovci, Kukujevci)		40	49	54	58	58
During the war in Bosnia there were camps for Croats and Muslims (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm and others)	33	39	55	49	56	52

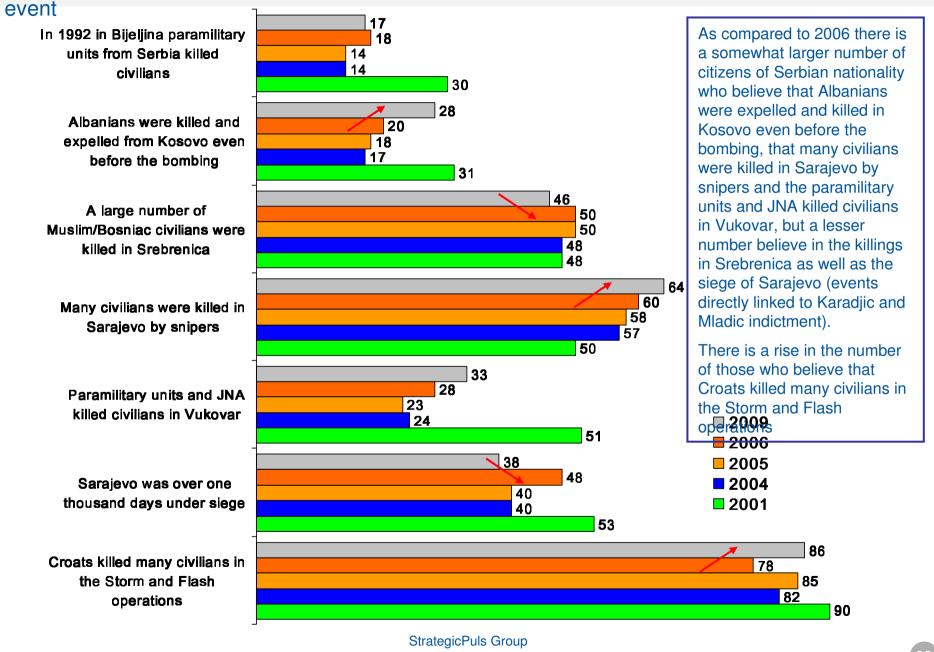
In average, younger generations are less aware than the older

In Podujevo and Suva Reka members of Serb armed formations killed a large number of Albanian women, children and old men		33	40	46	49	36
Hamber of Albanian Women, chilaren and old men						
In Bijeljina in 1992 garamilitarijanits from Serbankilied civiliansina Montenegro	M ഉദ്ര do	ni g g	Al g_ nia	38	44	42

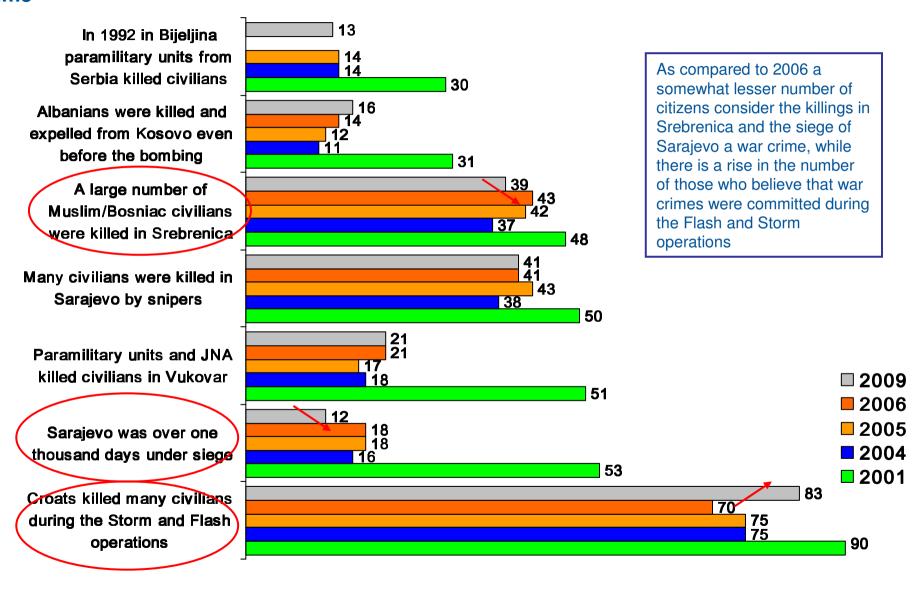
Have you heard of the following events? % of citizens of Serbian nationality who have heard of the event



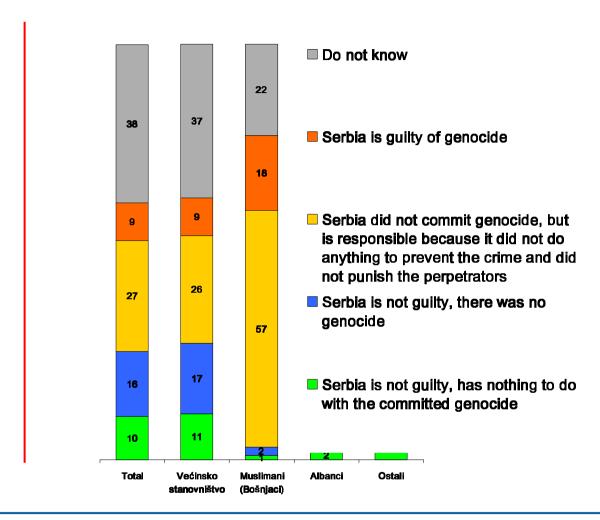
Do you believe that the event truly happened? % of citizens of Serbian nationality who believe that



In your opinion was the event an inevitability of war or a war crime for which the perpetrators should answer? % of citizens of Serbian nationality who consider it a war crime

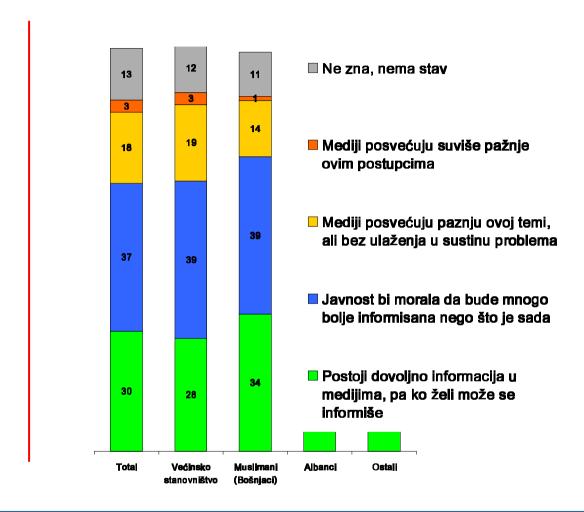


Do you know how the International Court of Justice ruled on the genocide charges filed by BiH against Serbia?



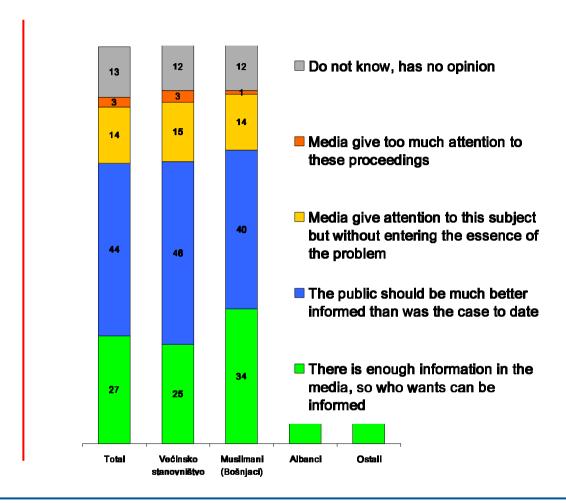
Only 27% of citizens know how the International Court of Justice adjudicated. Best informed are citizens of Bosniac nationality, and Albanians the least informed, of whom more than half consider that the Court ruled that Serbia is guilty of genocide

Did the public receive enough information from the media on the war crimes proceedings before the Hague tribunal?



Građani su podeljeni u mišljenju o informisanju o postupcima za ratne zločine pred Haškim tribunalom putem medija. Najčešći stav je da bi javnost morala da bude bolje informisana, a ako se tome doda i mišljenje onih koji smatraju da mediji, iako posvećuju pažnju temi ne ulaze u suštinu porblema, onda bi građani koji smatraju da je potrebno više informisati javnost ipak bili većina

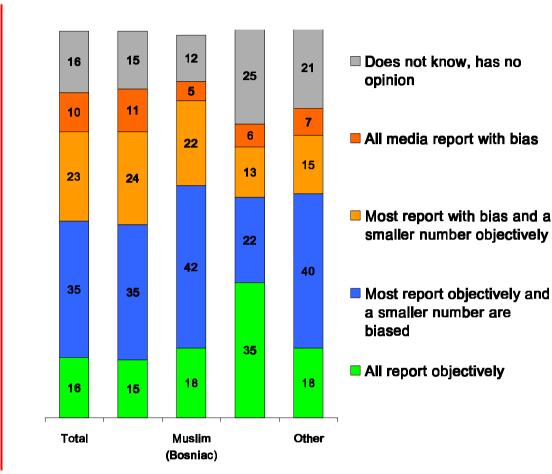
Does the public receive sufficient information on war crimes proceedings before domestic courts?



The public feels less informed on war crimes proceedings before domestic courts (44%) than before the Hague Tribunal (37%).

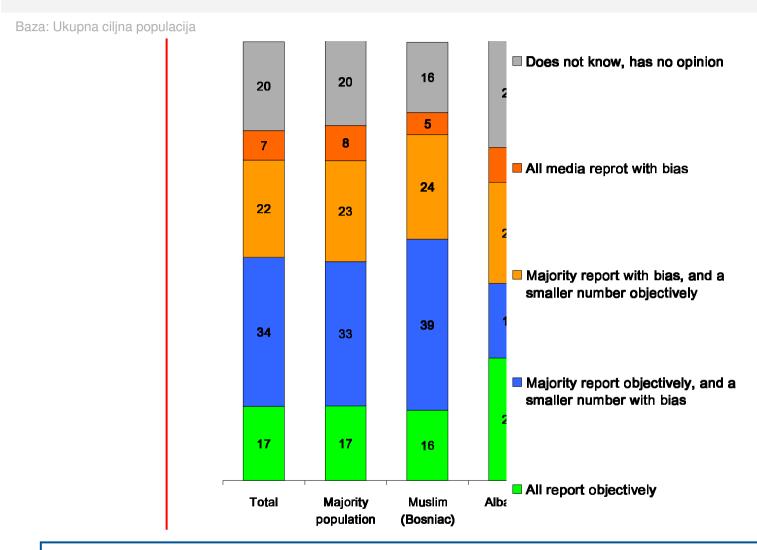
In what way do the media report on proceedings before the Hague Tribunal?

Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



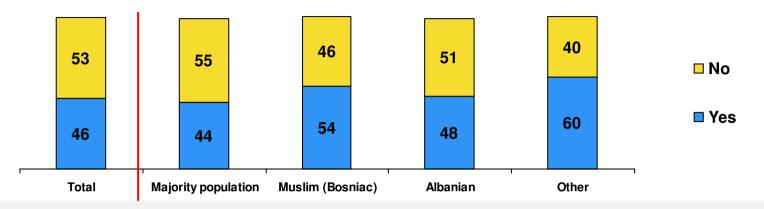
Slightly more than half of citizens consider that at least the majority or even all report objectively on the proceedings before the Hague Tribunal. Albanians are much more satisfied with the objectivity of media, and somewhat more the Bosniacs than citizens of Serbian nationality

In what way do the media report on war crimes proceedings before domestic courts?

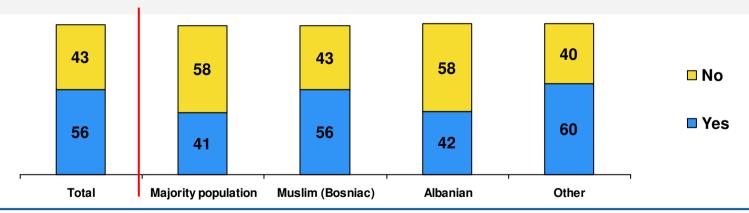


Somewhat more than half of citizens also consider that the majority of media or even all report objectively also on proceedings before domestic courts. Again the Albanians are more satisfied with objectivity of the media than citizens of Serbian nationality, but are less satisfied with objectivity in reporting trials before domestic courts than before the Hague Tribunal

Is the media presence of representatives of the Hague Tribunal sufficient for one to be aware of the work and activities of the Hague Tribunal?

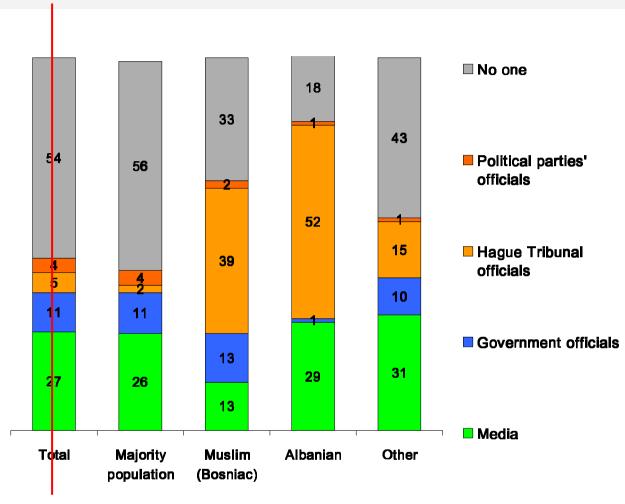


Is the media presence of representatives of the War Crimes Prosecution of the Republic of Serbia sufficient for one to be aware of the work and activities of the War Crimes Prosecution?



Citizens are divided in the opinion whether presence of Hague Tribunal representatives and/or Serbian War Crimes Prosecution is sufficient to be aware of the work and activities of the Tribunal and/or domestic judiciary. Still, a higher percentage of citizens consider that this is sufficient in respect to domestic judiciary and insufficient as concerns the Hague Tribunal

Whom do you believe the most in respect to information on war crimes trials before the Hague Tribunal?

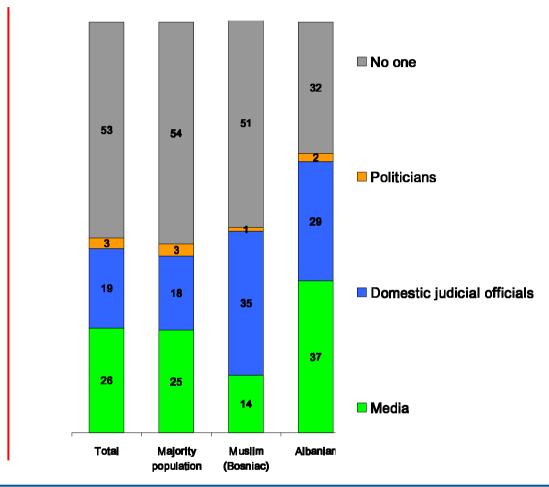


Insofar as information on war crimes trials before the Hague Tribunal are concerned, majority of citizens of Serbian nationality does not believe anyone, while the majority of Albanians and a considerable percentage of Bosniacs mostly believe representatives f the Hague Tribunal

Whom do you believe the most in respect to information on war crimes trials before domestic

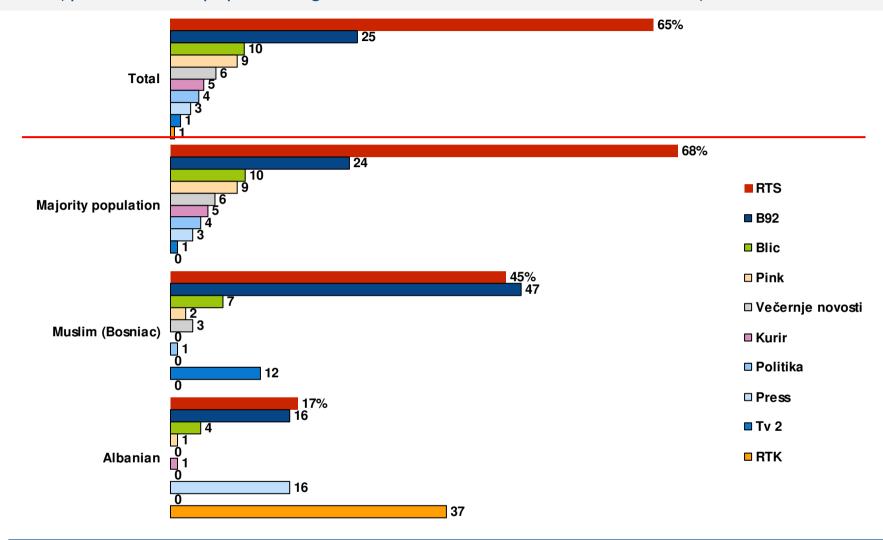
courts?

Baza: Ukupna cilina populacija



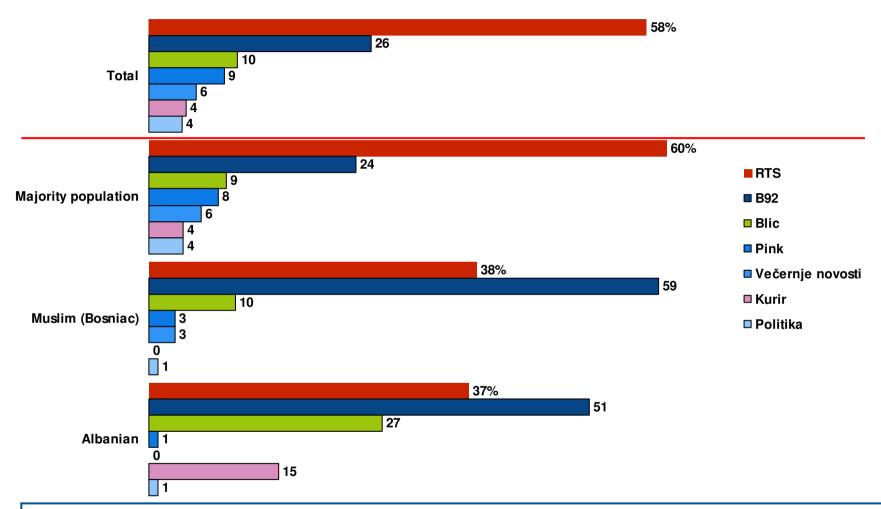
Majority of citizens of Serbian nationality does not believe anyone regarding information on war crime trials before domestic courts. It is interesting that Bosniacs have more confidence than the Serbs in domestic judiciary officials, while Albanians both in the media and domestic judiciary officials

From which media do you get information on the course of war crimes trials before the Hague Tribunal (printed –newspapers, magazines, electronic više radio of the result of the result



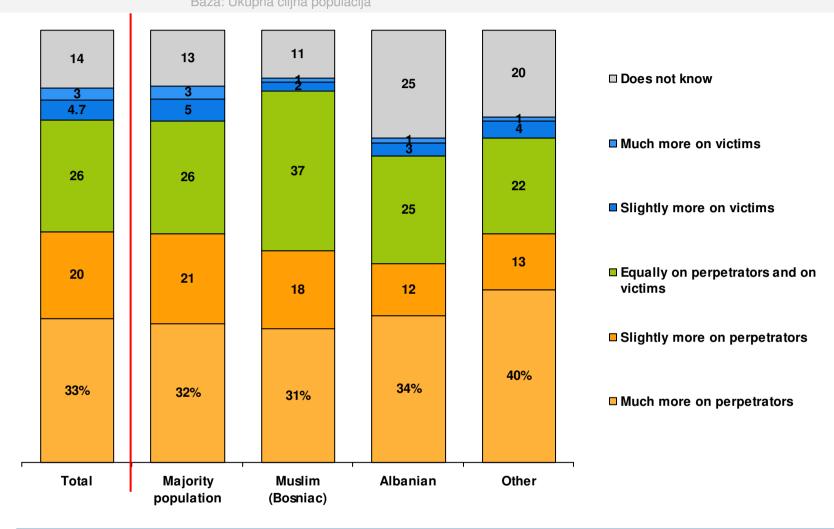
Citizens of Serbian nationality obtain most information on the course of war crimes trials before the Hague Tribunal from the RTS (national TV), citizens of Bosniac nationality from the RTS and B92, while Albanians from RTK

From which media do you get information on the course of war crimes trials before domestic courts (printed –newspapers, magazines, electronic – radio, TV or internet)?



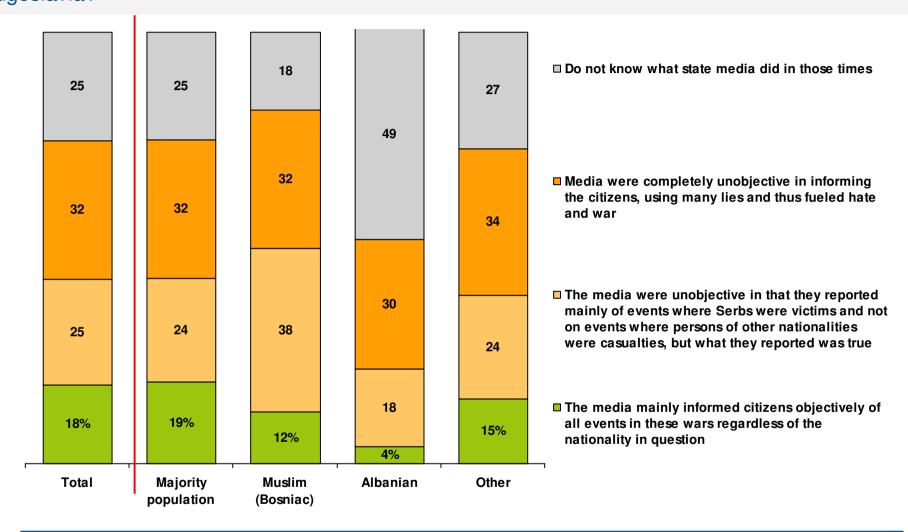
Citizens of Serbian nationality obtain most information on the course of war crimes trials before domestic courts from the RTS (national TV), citizens of Bosniac and Albanian nationality from B92

To whom do the media grant more attention, i.e. on whom do they focus more – perpetrators or victims of war crimes?



Citizens concur that media give more attention to perpetrators than to victims

How would you rate the role of media in Serbia during the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia? Baza: Ukupna ciljna populacija



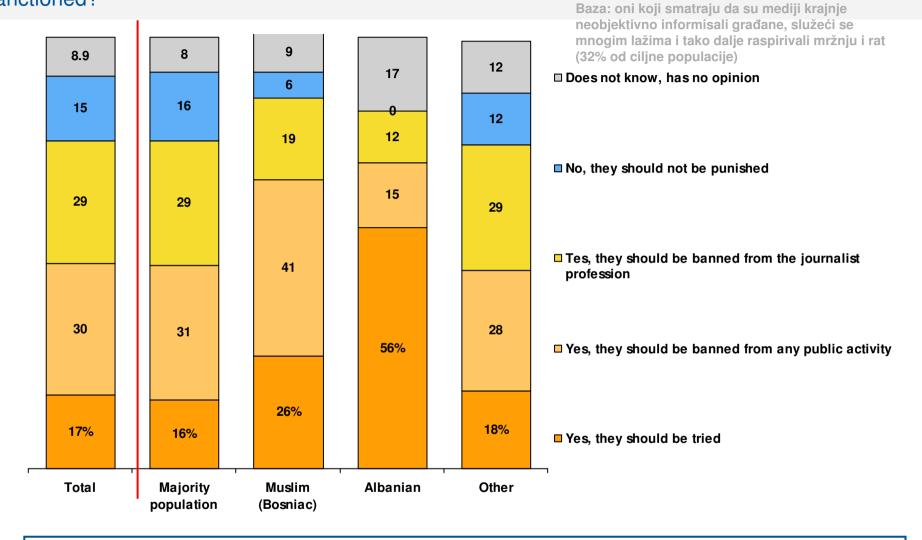
Most citizens believe that media were not objective (57%), but less than one third think they used lies and thus further fueled hatred, while every fourth (and even close to 40% of Bosniacs) consider tha non-objectivity comprised only one-sided reporting

Please give an example of such reporting by the media

	Media mainly objectively informed the citizens of all events in these wars, regardless of the nationality in question	The media were not objective only in that they mainly reported of events where Serbs were the victims, but what they reported was true	Media were completely unobjective in informing the citizens, using many lies and thus further fueledhatred and war
Events in Srebrenica	5	7	5
Vukovar	5	5	5
Lies, false news, instigating panic		5	6
Reports from the Croatian theater of war	3	3	4
RTS, Dnevnik (main news), reporters (M. Štula, M. Baletić)	0	2	6
Ireports from Kosovo/war in Kosovo	3	2	4
Reports during bombing of Serbia	3	1	4
All events/victims/guilty parties	11	0	0
Ostor, Flash, expelling of Serbs from Croatia	3	4	2
Reports on Serb casualties/persecution	2	2	3
Much was suppressed, information was late in coming		2	4
Siege of Sarajevo	1	2	3
Downplaying crimes/extolling Serbian army		0	4
War in Bosnia/Reports from Bosnia	2	1	2
Control by authorities/censorship		1	2
Murder/persecution of Serbs from Kosovo/UCK actions	3	2	0
Markale market	0	1	2
Everybody defended their side	0	1	2
Račak case		1	2
Does not know	69	63	54

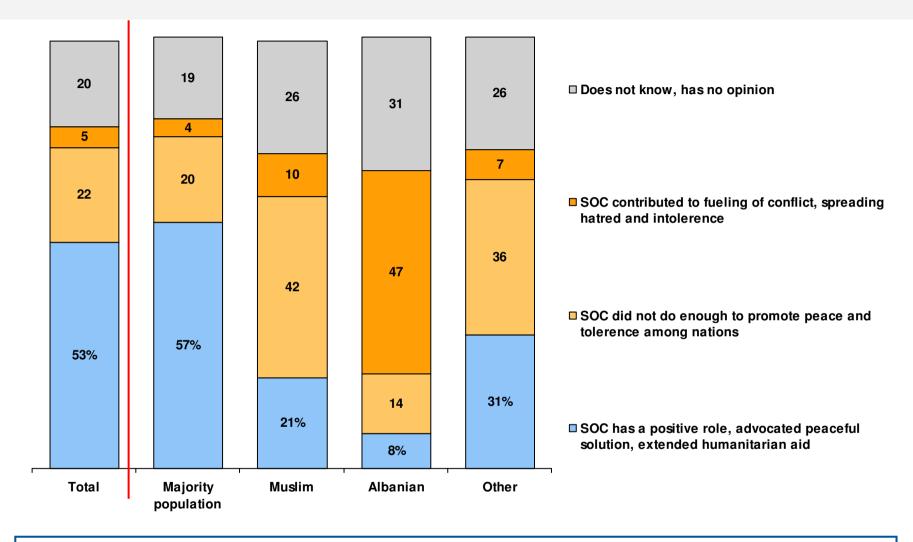
Most citizens were unable to give a single example for their viewpoint in respect to media reporting during the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Citizens holding different views gave examples of reporting on a same event in support of their opinion

Should journalists who with their unobjective reporting and lies further fuelled hatred and war be sanctioned?



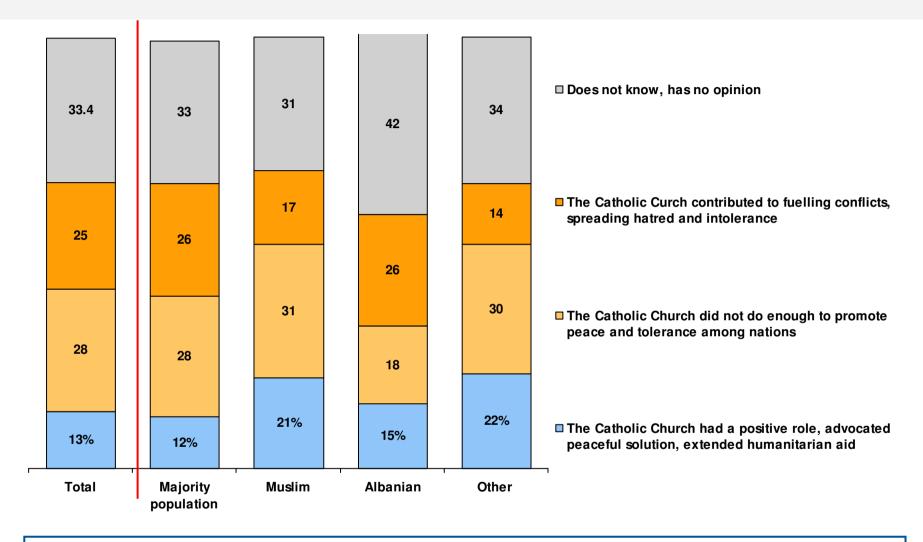
Most citizens who consider that the media further fuelled war and hatred through their reporting also think that journalists who did so should be sanctioned, but are very much divided concerning sanctions

What was the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church, i.e. its clergy during the wars of 1991-1999?



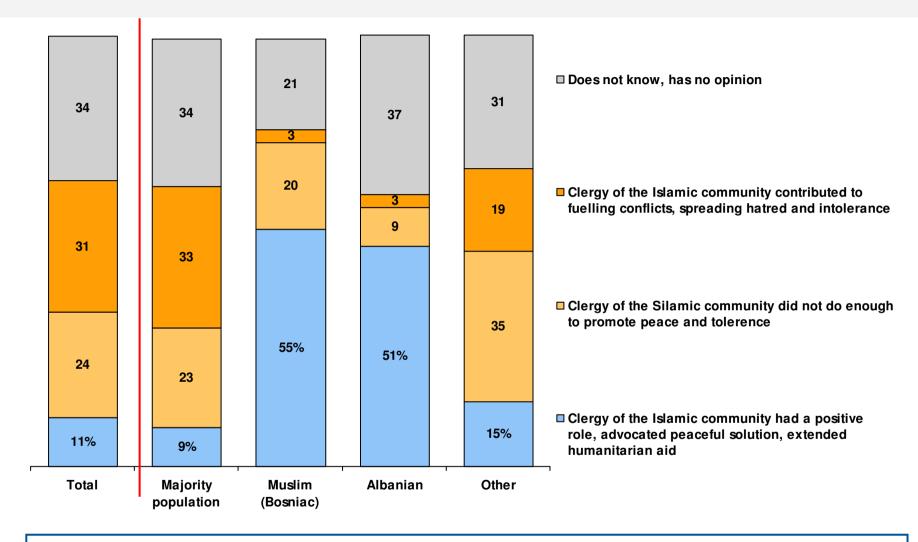
Majority of citizens of Serbian nationality consider that the SOC had a positive role, while Bosniacs and particularly Albanians have a negative view of the SOC. Close to one half of Albanians thing the SOC contributed to fuelling conflict, hatred and intolerance

What was the role of the Catholic Church, i.e. its clergy during the wars of 1991-1999?



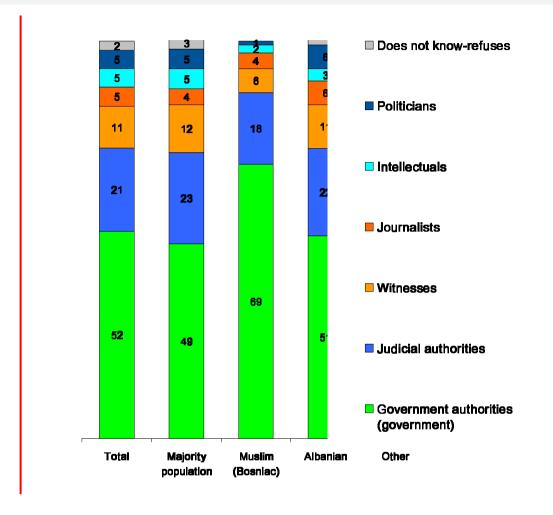
The majority of citizens have a negative opinion on the role of the Catholic Church, particularly citizens of Serbian nationality. Albanians and Bosniacs to larger extent hold a negative view in respect to the role of the SOC than to the role of the Catholic Church

What was the role of the Islamic religious community, i.e. its clergy during the wars of 1991-1999?



Citizens of Serbian nationality have a negative opinion also towards the role of the Islamic community, while Albanians and Bosniacs have positive opinion

When truths unpleasant for us concerning war events should be announced, who should do so?

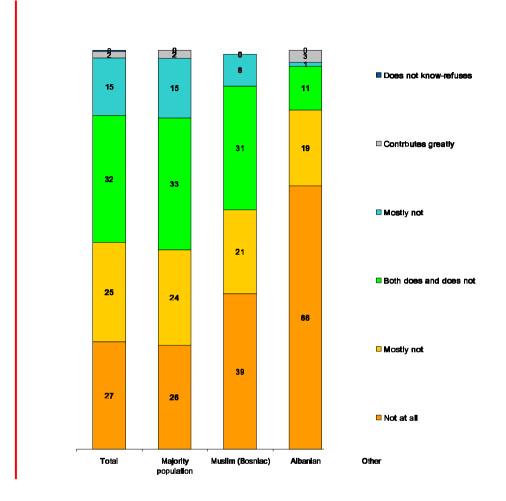


Majority of citizens expect government authorities and politicians to announce truths unpleasant for Serbia regarding war crimes



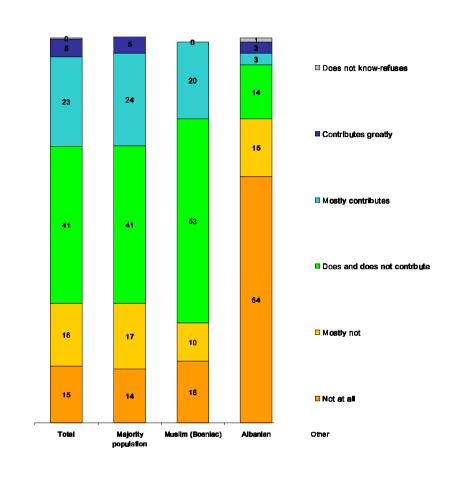
In your opinion how much does the National Assembly contribute to the reconciliation process in

the region?



Majority of citizens think that the National Assembly does not contribute to the process of reconciliation in the region

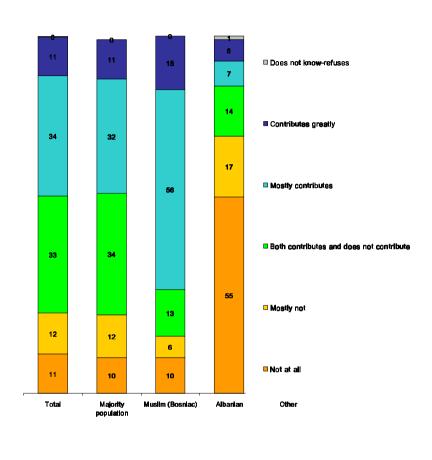
In your opinion how much does the Republic of Serbia Government contribute to the reconciliation process in the region?



Citizens think that the Serbian government contributes more than the National Assembly to the process of reconciliation in the region, but only one third of citizens of Serbian nationality give a positive evaluation of these efforts. The majority of Albanians, as in the case of the National Assembly, have an extremely negative attitude in this respect.

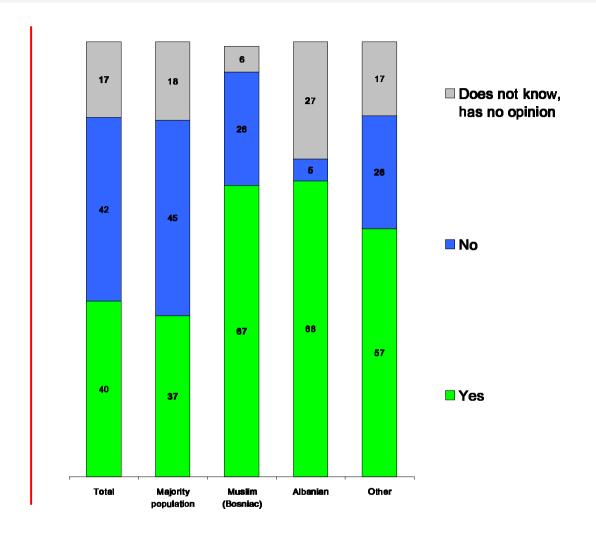
In your opinion how much does the president of Serbia contribute to the reconciliation process in

the region?



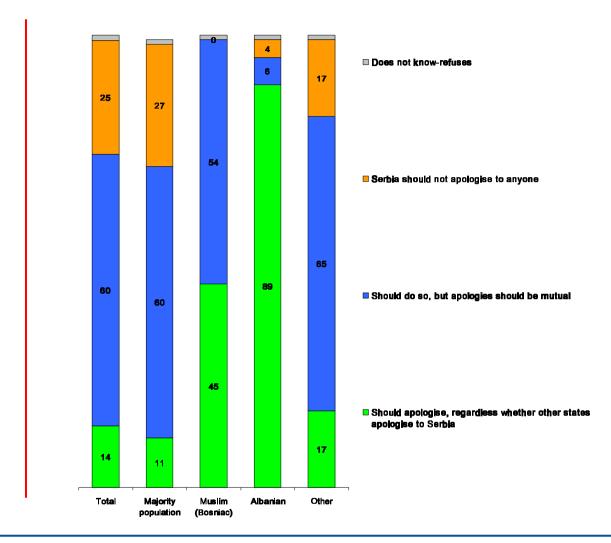
Regarding the reconciliation process in the region, the president of Serbia is rated far better than the Assembly and the government: 44% of citizens of Serbian nationality have a positive attitude in this respect, and even 71% of Bosniacs

Do you think that apologies of state officials contribute to the reconciliation process in the region?



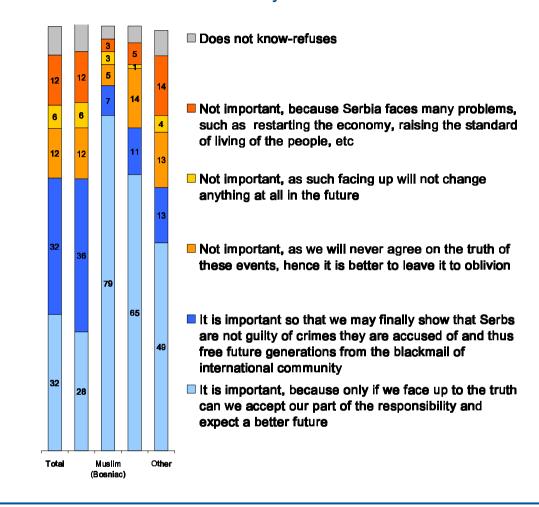
While just over one third of citizens of Serbian nationality think that apologies by state officials contribute to reconciliation in the region, most of the Albanians and Bosniacs agree with such viewpoint

How do you think that Serbia should proceed regarding these apologies?



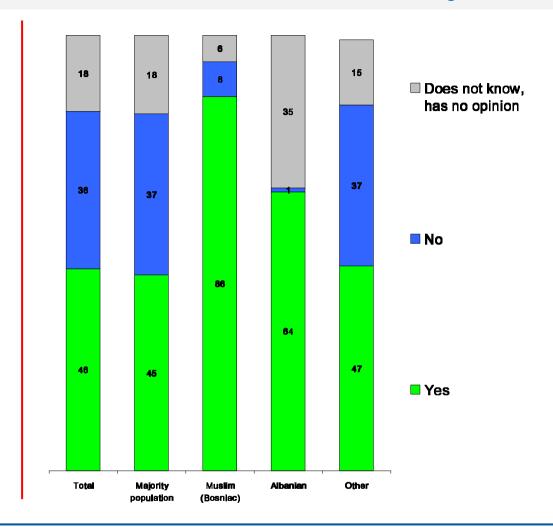
Most citizens consider that Serbia should extend apologies but only if these are mutual. On the other hand, Albanians by far majority, and Bosniacs in significant percentage, consider that apologies should be extended regardless of whether other states apologise

Is facing up to events from the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia important for the future of the country? Which view is the closest to yours?



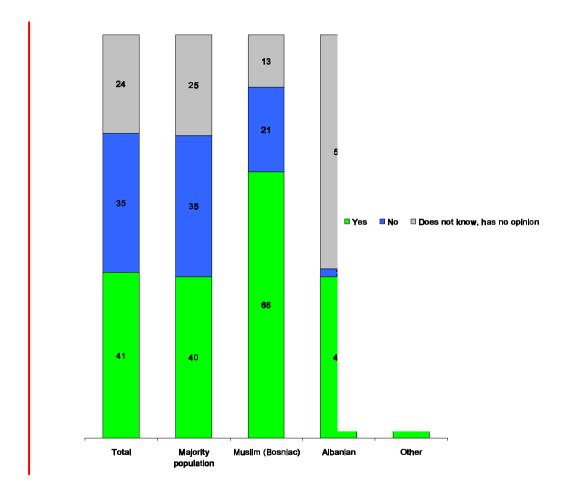
Two thirds of citizens of Serbian nationality think that facing up to the past is important, but are divided in respect to reasons why it is important: one third think that only if we accept responsibility we may expect a better future, while the other third think that facing up to the past is important to show that Serbs are not guilty for crimes they are accused of

Should war crimes trials continue in Serbia once the Hague Tribunal closes down?



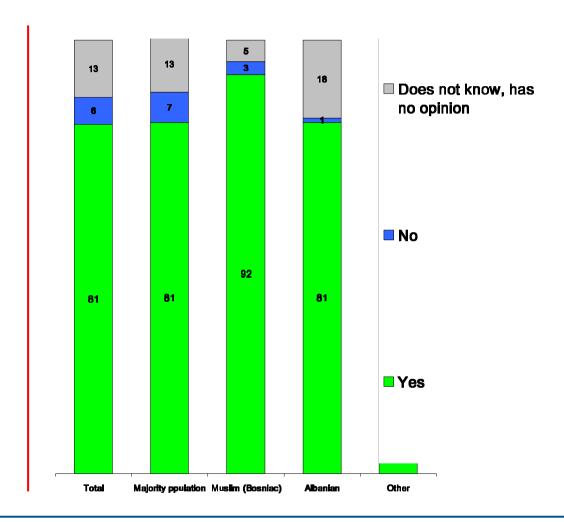
Somewhat less than one half of citizens of Serbian nationality and the majority of Bosniacs and Albanians think that trials should continue even after closure of the Hague Tribunal

Do you think there is a need for establishing a body, in addition to the courts, that would work on determination of facts on crimes during the war (such as, for example, a regional Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, or similar body)?



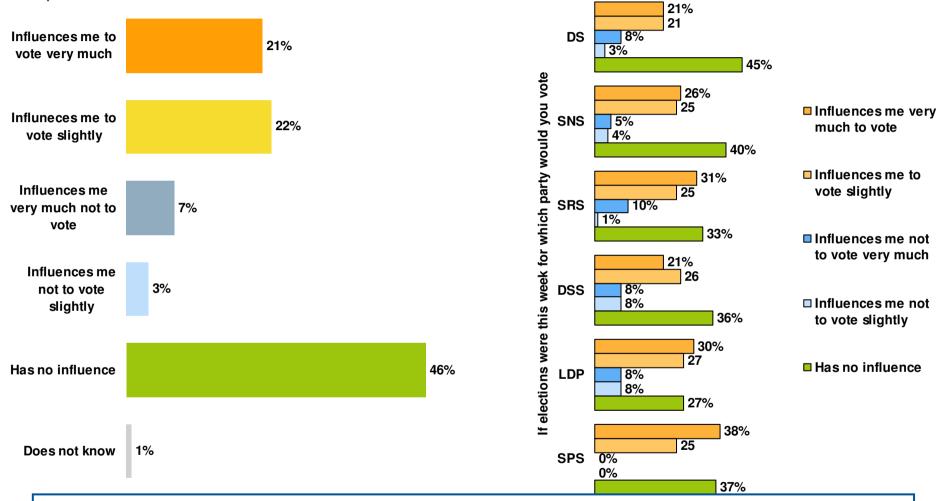
With the exception of Bosniacs who overwhelmingly consider that there is a need for establishing some body, in addition to courts, that would be engaged in determination of facts on crimes during war, citizens are divided on this issue

Should those who violated human rights be banned, at least for a certain time, from public office (conduct a purge)?



A large majority of citizens consider that a purge should be implemented, but it is a moot point what the citizens consider violation of human rights

To what extent does the standpoint of a particular political party (politician) towards the Hague Tribunal or war crimes trials before domestic courts influence you to vote for that party or support that politician?



For each fifth citizen the standpoint of a particular political party towards the Hague Tribunal of war crimes trials before domestic courts may have significant influence on supporting that party, while 7% stated that this may be an important reason not to vote for that party