DAY 2 P.M.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE QUEEN'S BENCH DIVISION

1997 I No.139

Royal Courts of Justice

Tuesday, 29th February 2000

Before:

MR. JUSTICE MORLAND

<u>BETWEEN</u>:

(1) INDEPENDENT TELEVISION NEWS LTD.

(2) PENNY MARSHALL

(3) IAN WILLIAMS

- and -

(1) INFORMINC (LM) LTD.

(2) MICHAEL HUME

(3) HELENE GULDBERG

Defendants

Claimants

Transcribed by **BEVERLEY F. NUNNERY & CO**. Official Shorthand Writers and Tape Transcribers Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1HP Telephone: (0171) 831-5627

MR. T. SHIELDS Q.C. and MR. M. BARCA (instructed by Messrs. Biddle) appeared on behalf of the Claimants.

MR. G. MILLAR and MR. A. HUDSON (instructed by Messrs. Christian Fisher Solicitors) appeared on behalf of the Defendants.

PROCEEDINGS - DAY 2 P.M.

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OPENING SPEECH, Continued by Mr. SHIELDS

WILLIAMS, Mr. IAN KEITH, Sworn

Examined by Mr. SHIELDS

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- MR. SHIELDS: Mr. Williams, before the midday adjournment I was asking you about the people you contacted and spoke to while you were in Belgrade, and we made a brief reference to your notes. Can I just take you back to the notes and ask you in detail about them? We go in about eight pages - Hollis. Can you find that one? A. Yes.
- MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: I make it nine. It is eight or nine. "Hollis" at the top left-hand corner.
- MR. SHIELDS: Can you remember who Mr. Hollis or Miss Hollis is? A. I believe Mr. Hollis was a representative in Belgrade for the United Nations, UNHCR, High Commission for Refugees.
- Q The United Nations High Commission for Refugees? A. Yes.
 - Q If we look at the first line, "If possible to monitor BL area from here." Would that be Banja Luka? A. That is right. I seem to recall he told me that it was mainly the Zagreb office of the UNHCR that was trying to monitor what was happening in that area. So, he said he only had a broad sense of what might be happening there.
 - Q If we look over the page, did you have a conversation with someone called Peter Kezler? A. Yes, I did.
- Q Can you recall now who he was? A. I believe Peter Kezler was a representative in Belgrade for the International Committee for the Red Cross.
- Q Do you remember talking to him? A. I do, yes.
- Q On the next page, there are some notes there beginning: "Army, no refugees in the barracks". Do you remember what they related to? Yes. This was one of the names on Α. the list that the Bosnian Moslem Government had provided to us and was I believe the 4th July barracks in Belgrade. While we were in Belgrade we arranged to go and see the barracks to see whether it could be in any way described as a concentration camp as had been alleged on the Bosnian Moslem Government Those notes were taken during the visit to that army list. barracks.
- 44 Q If we go over the page, at the top it says "Red Cross". Can you remember what these are notes of? 45 Α. These would have been notes of another conversation with the Red Cross. 46 47 I haven't got a name beside it and I cannot recall who they would have been from the Red Cross, but these would have been 48 49 notes of a conversation with a Red Cross or some Red Cross 50 officials in Belgrade.
- 9 If we look over the page we see, for example, four lines up
 from the bottom, "BL road is still not very safe." Would that
 be Banja Luka again? A. There was a road link between
 Belgrade and Banja Luka along which there had been quite a
 good deal of fighting, and I think I would have required from
 the Red Cross about at this stage we still had no idea

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whether we were going to get cooperation from the Serbs and from Dr. Karadzic so I would have been exploring possible alternative ways of trying to get to the Banja Luka area, and I believe I would have been asking him about what his advice would be about trying to travel independently down that road to Banja Luka.

- Q Can we then go on not to the next page but the one after, it says at the top there is it "Loznica"? A. Yes, Loznica.
- Q Did you visit Loznica? A. I did, yes.
- Q Was a film made of Loznica? A. Yes, it was.
- Q Describe Loznica to me and where it was? A. This was to the south of Belgrade, south-west of Belgrade. I cannot say precisely how long it took us to get down there, but again it is another name that had been on the list given to us by the Bosnian Moslem Government as a site of alleged atrocities. It was on the border between Serbia and Bosnia, and we travelled there to film it, to look at it, to see whether in anyway this could be described as a concentration camp or to see whether any atrocities had taken place here as had been alleged by the Bosnian Government side.
- What impression did you leave with? The impression 0 Α. was that this clearly wasn't a camp of the type that was being alleged. This was a genuine refugee centre. There were around, I think, 900 refugees there, gathered in a sports They were mainly muslim. They appeared to be being hall. looked after reasonably well by the Serb Red Cross, the Yugoslav Red Cross. What was interesting about it, whilst there was no evidence of atrocities, here in this sports hall were the residents of two villages from just across the border inside Bosnia proper, and they had been evicted from their villages, essentially, because they were Moslems. They had bene cleared out of their villages and sent packing by the Bosnian Serbs. So this was a clear example of ethnic cleansing that was sweeping across the region at the time. Indeed people there were able to point to where their homes were across the other side of the border where lights were shining in their homes; where Serb residents had taken over their homes.
- Q Did you discuss or meet up with the Channel Three team while
 you were there? A. Yes. They also filmed at Loznica so
 we were both at that particular site.
- 50 νQ Did there come a time when you decided that you wanted to move 51 from Belgrade and go and visit camps elsewhere? Yes. Α. We were pressing all the time to be allowed to visit more 52 camps, or alleged camps, that were on this list. 53 It became 54 apparent in the conversations we had with the agencies in 55 Belgrade, a lot of conversations, that the aid agencies, the UN, had concerns about what was happening, particularly in 56 north-west Bosnia which is where a lot of the most recent 57

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fighting had been. Many of those I spoke to were very Some of them seemed more concerned about protecting quarded. the relationship they had with the Serbs, the limited access they were given, and didn't want to confirm reports of atrocities. It was quite often difficult to get them to speak openly about what they knew or did not know. But from those conversations it soon became clear that the area of most concern, the area where people were getting to and the area where there had been reports of atrocities, was in north-west So that became our target. We knew that if camps, if Bosnia. atrocities existed, that was where it was taking place. So we became more determined to push to be allowed to go to that In our conversations with Dr. Karadzic's part of Bosnia. representatives in Belgrade, increasingly frustrating conversations, we were pushing hard to be allowed to go there, to be allowed to go there as had been promised us by Dr. Karadzic.

- Q Did there come a time, then, when you left your hotel and travelled to Pale? A. Yes.
 - Q When was that? A. After persistent pushing over that week, many telephone calls both to London and to Karadzic's people in Belgrade, we were told to be ready to leave our hotel before dawn on the Monday morning, which I believe is the 3rd.
- Q You left on the 3rd. You were told on the 2nd and left on the morning of the 3rd? A. Yes.
- Q Did you leave early in the morning? A. We left the hotel, I think, probably around 5 o'clock in the morning and were driven to a military airfield on the outskirts of Belgrade. We had no idea at this stage where our destination was.
- Q You did not know where you were going at that stage? A. No.
- Q Who was in your party? A. It was my team, my four man team from Channel Four News, Penny's three person team from Channel Three. I believe we also had a Guardian newspaper reporter, Ed Villiamy, who joined us, and I believe two Serb soldiers who were going to come along for the ride.
- 46 Q Were your fixers/interpreters with you? A. Yes, of 47 course. In addition to that one interpreter/fixer for each of 48 the two ITN teams. 49
- 50 So you told us just after dawn you were taken in transport Q 51 helicopter, was it? A. When we arrived at the airfield there was a rather old helicopter and the driver of our car 52 joked that the helicopter was older than the pilot. 53 It was an 54 old soviet-built helicopter which seemed to be barely held We boarded this helicopter and we were flown south 55 together. west of Belgrade to Pale. It was a little bit of a hairy ride 56 because at that time, I believe, there was a no fly zone or a 57

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) 21 22 no fly policy over that part of Bosnia. There was also still fighting going on in those areas and the helicopter hugs the valley and the hills, never flying more than maybe 100 or 200 feet off the ground for the entire hour long trip down to Pale, eventually landing in Pale which is an old ski resort outside Sarajevo which the Bosnian Serbs had taken over as their seat of government.

- Q Who were you met by at the landing place? A. I believe we were met by a number of Serb soldiers, although I think we had to wait a while for them to turn up.
- Q How did you spend that morning once you had arrived? A. We went to an hold hotel, a former skiing hotel, and then from there on to a ski lodge, I think it was, where the Bosnian Serb Government, not recognised by anybody apart from themselves at that stage, had set up their authority and we spent an awful lot of time sitting around in that building waiting to talk to officials asking to see Dr. Karadzic.
- Q Did you eventually meet Dr. Karadzic? A. We did. He appeared from up the hill, very surprisingly and without any notice, and walked down to where we were, whereupon we entered into conversation with him, again reminding him about his promises in London; again reminding him where we wanted to go and asking him to make the necessary arrangements for us to go there.
- Q Did he tell you about the area you were intending to go to? A. No. He told us we should go elsewhere. He was very cagey. He told us it was dangerous, very dangerous to go in the area we wanted to go to. He said that the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Mr. Panic, was visiting another region close to the border between Serbia and Bosnia and we could go and see him visit a refugee camp to satisfy ourselves that was not a concentration camp. He suggested that we go into Sarajevo and look at Moslem camps where he said Serbs were being held.
- Q Did he hand you a list of Moslem camps? A. He did. He handed me a list that contained perhaps a couple of dozen names, many of them in the Sarajevo area which he claimed were Moslem run concentration camps and suggested that far from chasing around for non-existent Serb camps we should be going to see the atrocities being committed by the other side.
- 46 What was your reaction to that proposal? Q A. We were very clear and a little impatient because we said to him that while 47 48 we thought it important that these allegations of his should be investigated and we would pass them on to people in a 49 50 better position to do so, we were there with a very specific 51 purpose in mind, taking up his challenge to go and look at the alleged camps in Serbia. That was why we were there, to 52 verify the truth or otherwise of what were extremely 53 54 allegations of inhumanity. To do that we needed to go to 55 north-west Bosnia and we said we would not accept anything 56 less. 57

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So when you parted from him did you have any assurance as to where you would be travelling thereafter? A. We did not. He left us saying that he would see what he could do. He would talk to people, repeating it was very dangerous; there had been fighting along the route and that he would see what he could do.

- Q So what happened next? You spent the night at a hotel?A. We spent the night at a hotel in Pale.
- Q And the following day would that be August 4th? A. Yes, the following day they laid on a bus for us - an old ageing green army bus. Without any clear promise as to where it was going to end up, I believe we set off from Pale heading north back into the direction of Banja Luka.
- Q Were you alone in the bus? A. No. Again, it was the two ITN teams, Ed Villiamy, and I believe that it was at this stage that a Bosnian/Serb television crew joined us from Pale.
 - Q Where did you spend that night the night of the 4th?A. In Banja Luka. The drive to Banja Luka took us all day.
- Q Can we just have a look on the map so that we can get an idea of the distance you have covered. That is tab 2. You flight was from Belgrade down to Pale. Is that right? A. That is right.
- Q Where you were seeking to go was directly west of Belgrade? A. That's right, to Banja Luka.
- Q From Pale that is where you met Dr. Karadzic you travelled by car up to Banja Luka? A. By bus.
- Q By bus. The following morning did you go to Prijedor?
 A. We were taken in that same bus from Banja Luka to Prijedor very early the following morning.
- Q Did you know where you were going when you were taken? A. Vaguely, but not specifically. they were always a little bit cagey about where they would take us. It was clear they needed to obtain permissions at each stage in the ----
- 44 When we saw the rushes yesterday we saw some women queuing. 0 45 can you now remember where that queuing was taking place? 46 This was at Prijedor in the town that we drove to from Α. 47 It was a strange sight when we first came across Banja Luka. 48 We were taken to the town hall but off to one side of the it. square in the centre of Prijedor there was a queue of women, 49 50 just women, snaking down and around the corner outside what was some sort of administrative building - men with guns at 51 The women were very frightened; they were huddled 52 the door. 53 together; they were very wary of the men with guns close to 54 We went across to try and talk to them. them. It was clear that they were very frightened, too frightened to talk to us. 55 We filmed the queue but it was at that time in walking along 56 the queue that people were saying to us in very hushed tones 57

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"Omarska, Omarska". We were trying to find out what had happened to their men. They didn't want to speak at length. They didn't want to speak openly, but it was clear that these were women, the wives, the daughters, the girlfriends of men who had been taken away for whatever reason and we believe they were queuing at that building in order to obtain the necessary transit papers to be shipped out of the region as Moslem women - to be effectively expelled from what was becoming an exclusively Serb city.

Did you, subsequent to that, have a meeting inside the town 0 hall with the local militia? We did. We were ushered Α. into a rather smoky badly lit hall in what we assumed to be the town hall in Prijedor. Before us sat perhaps half a dozen men, militia men - although I think one of them called himself the mayor of the town - lined up with an interpreter, a lady in a pink dress, I believe, who were not happy to see us. They told us that. Who went on to give us something of a history lesson about how the Serbs had suffered at the hands of everybody and how they knew more than anybody else what a concentration camp was; how it was wrong to claim they were running concentration camps and I believe they showed us a video during which they also complained that everything that had happened locally - although it was not clear from the conversation what had happened locally - was the fault of the Moslems.

- Did you indicate to them that you still wanted to go to 28 0 29 Omarska and Trnopolje? A. We made it very clear that the 30 reason we were there was to visit these camps. We reminded them of the promise that had been made to us by Karadzic. 31 We 32 reminded them of the importance of verifying what sort of camps these were and we told them that although it was 33 34 dangerous we were prepared to take that risk.
 - Q What was their reaction to that? A. A number of phone calls was made. There was much shuffling of feet and eventually, once again, we were loaded back into the green army bus, although I think by then Channel Three had a VW van which they had arranged to have bought in from Belgrade so were travelling separately from us.
- When you left Omarska (sic) was there a convoy or just you and 43 Q 44 the bus? A. There was a convoy, a convoy that was led by 45 a blue armoured personnel carrier - a light tank really with a large gun on top. There were also a number of cars accompanying us. I would say a convoy with six or seven cars 46 47 48 long containing many armed men, including our own bus and the soldiers who were still with us. 49 50
- 51 Did the convoy come to a halt during that trip to Omarska? 0 52 At one point I believe it was an hour out of Prijedor and Α. 53 quite close, as we subsequently learned, to the Omarska camp. 54 The convoy came to an abrupt halt and there was gunfire. Our 55 soldiers in cars in front of our bus jumped out, took up I believe shots were fired into the bushes; 56 firing positions. some of them ran ahead over a small bridge that lay in front. 57

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They were clearly suggesting there was some sort of ambush. There were people firing from the bushes. They got terribly excited and encouraged us to get down in the bus that we were on.

A. We did, although by this time our suspicions Did you? had been raised so high that we were not convinced that this was authentic. We didn't know it wasn't authentic but we saw this as yet another attempt to intimidate us and prevent us from getting to the camps. Indeed, once the all clear was given we were encouraged once again to abandon our trip on the grounds that it was just too dangerous to go on. At that point the two teams, Penny and I, discussed what we should do. We talked about it with the rest of our teams and we decided that we had got this far; we weren't going to be deterred at this stage and we decided - perhaps not entirely convinced but we decided that this was a play, it was set up, it was for our benefit and that we would call their bluff and continue to insist that we should go on into the Omarska camp.

So you then went to the Omarska camp. Just describe the camp 0 A. When we first sighted it, it when you first see it? looked like an old industrial building, a mine. There was a large rust-coloured shed, a huge shed, on one side and on the other side an administrative building. There were many, many very heavily armed men at the perimeter. At the gate we had to wait for perhaps ten minutes before being allowed in. It seemed the guards on the gate who were in a heightened state of alert had not perhaps got the message completely that we were coming and were reluctant also to let us in. It had a very menacing air about it.

Once you are in there, where did you first walk to? Can you 0 A. We walked in along beside the remember that? administrative building. The man who appeared to be some sort of official in charge stopped for a while to make some introductory remarks, although we urged him, you know, that we wanted to see for ourselves. We wanted to move on. It was as we were walking beside the administrative building that we looked into what appeared to be a canteen. It was at that point that we saw men, emaciated men, filthy, frightened, terrified, queuing and waiting to be served what turned out to be their only meal of the day, a bowl of beans and a hunk of We then, without really waiting for permission to be bread. able to go in and film from our hosts, both James and I believe Jeremy, went into the canteen and began filming and we followed them in.

Channel Three. Jeremy being the Channel Three ----? Α. 49 0 what confronted us was, frankly, an appalling scene. The 50 silence perhaps spoke volumes. No-one spoke, terrified sunken 51 eyes, dishevelled filthy prisoners, eating like famished dogs 52 while over them stood well fed fat Serbian guards with their 53 It was an appalling vision of inhumanity. guns cocked. These 54 They were in a disgraceful state. people had been starved. 55 We began.... James was filming. While he was filming 56 I attempted to talk to people who were in that canteen. 57

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47 48 Q

I attempted once or twice to talk to people on camera, being very cautious, asking them where their wives were and how they were. Many of them just didn't want to talk. They implored you with their eyes not to even bother to try and talk to them. Those who did were cagey, were circumspect and every time we attempted to talk to somebody Serbian guards came and stood over, and it was soon clear to me that even to try and broach with some of these men the conditions, the issue of beatings or not, would expose them to terrible retaliation once we left that camp. It was very clear from the images that confronted us that something appalling was happening at Omarska.

- Q After you left the canteen where did you go next? A. We were invited upstairs to I guess the camp office where the man who described himself as the camp Commandant and the translator in the pink dress (I believe her name was Marla) ----
 - Q Is that the women we saw? A. That was indeed her, yes.

Α.

Yes.

Q She is sitting on the table at Prijedor? A. Yes.

Q It is the same women?

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- She did. Α. Q She went with you? It was at that point that she described it - it and Trnopolje - as "centres". She said they were transit centres. She said that there were 2,500 people being held there. She said there were three categories there of "internees" as she called them - one who were guilty of organising the rebellion, as she put it; one group quilty of fighting in that rebellion and another group that she said was not quilty. She angrily rejected our suggestions that international organisations should be allowed to inspect it and was clearly less than impressed by our presence there.
- From that office could you see any other parts of the camp? 3.8 Q <u>و د چنج</u> We could see from the stairs on the way to the office that Α. the building, the big industrial building on the other side of 40 Omarska where groups of "internees" as she called them were, 41 were being forced to run about 20 at a time across the 42 concrete and into where the canteen was. 43 They queued up to await their order to start running across the tarmac to the 44 45 canteen, all the time overlooked by heavily armed and extremely well fed Serbian guards. 46
 - Q Did you leave that upstairs office and go outside? A. We left the office upstairs. They had offered to allow us to interview hand-picked prisoners. We said we did not want to interview people chosen by them, but wanted to choose our own people to talk to. We left and asked to be taken to be shown the industrial building across the way from which they were being bought.
 - 56 Q Is that the big building we saw in the rush yesterday?57 A. It is, yes.

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From which people were running across to the canteen? 0 That is right. Α.

Q Tell us what happened then? There was then a Ά. confrontation outside the administrative building. We demanded to be allowed to go over and to look inside that building, to film inside, to see what was happening there. They refused. We kept insisting; they kept refusing. They were getting increasingly agitated. They were waving frantically with their weapons. They clearly did not want us to go over there. We persisted. We pushed up to the point where it seemed rather dangerous to push any further. At that point I recorded a very quick what we call "stand up of piece to camera" to record the fact that we had been denied access to that part of the camp and thereby the camp authorities were not fulfilling the promise that Dr. Karadzic had made to us to have free and open access to those camps.

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Now you left Prijedor and in convoy again? 0 Α. We left Omarska ---

Q I am sorry, Omarska. Α. -- again in convoy.

- 0 How long did it take you before you came across Trnopolje? It was around about half an hour, I guess. Α.
- 0 While you were at Omarska had you learnt anything about Trnopolje? Α. Yes. We had heard both camps described It was clear that men who had been as transit centres. processed at Omarska were being transferred to Trnopolje, indeed we were told some had been transferred on that very day, and it was very clear that the two were part of the same camp system being run by the Serbs in Northern Bosnia.
- So when you approached Trnopolje what was your first sight? Q The first sight as I looked out of my window was men, Α. 39 4 ^ hundreds of men, packed behind barbed wire. We got out of the bus as quickly as we could and by the quickest and most direct route we went towards that barbed wire. The barbed wire formed part of a pen, a compound, made of barbed wire and chicken wire behind which hundreds of men were imprisoned in 100 degree heat, some of them in an appalling physical state.
 - Pausing there, can you remember where Penny Marshall was at 46 Q this stage? Was she with you, or ahead of you, or behind 47 Penny's minivan had arrived slightly ahead of us 48 you? Α. 49 and she had already got out of the bus and gone towards the 50 compound in which these men were imprisoned.
 - 52 What direction did you take in relation to her? Q I followed the route I think she took towards the wire. 53 Α. I then began to roam around the edge of the wire in the 54 compound, my cameraman filming and at the same time trying to 55 get conversations with those people behind the wire. 56 57

- Can you remember, looking back, where Andy Braddel, James Nicholas and Chris Hease would have been at this time? Just a reminder, Andy Braddel is the producer, James Nicholas is the cameraman and Chris Hease is the sound man -- is he older than you? A. He is. He is the man who holds the boom up.
- Q He occasionally comes into sight? Α. Yes. I cannot remember precisely. I believe that I went on slightly ahead of them with our translator Mira to try and start talking to people. It was a fairly chaotic place. The problem we faced was we never knew how long they would give us there, how long and what opportunity we would get to film, how soon they would try and move us on, how much we would be able to talk to So our priority was to get and to film as much as we people. could as speedily as we could in case - and following our experience of Omarska - they decided that that was enough and attempted to move us on elsewhere.
- Q What was your impression at the time of the physical condition of those men you saw? A. The physical condition of the men penned in was very bad. Many of them had been brought from another camp that day. Some had come from Omarska, some had come from a camp called Kheratam. They were in a very bad physical condition, emaciated, dirty and clearly very, very frightened.
- Q Were there any armed guards present? A. The perimeter of the pen was patrolled by armed guards. I could not give the precise number. I would say there were perhaps a couple of dozen at various points around the wire fence.
- Q Did you manage to talk to many of the people there? We talked to as many people as we could. At times it was Α. difficult because the men were clearly very, very frightened and a lot of them tried to give us hints about what had taken place both there and at the previous camps they had been in. None were able to talk openly and one did not want to push them to talk openly because that could expose them to the most horrible retribution once we had left. We tried tactically to work it so sometimes James and Andy would roam with the camera and myself and my translator Mira would go in a different direction to try and get private conversations with people in the hope they would be a little more frank once the camera was not running, and indeed a lot of the information that we garnered about that camp came from those private asides when people felt a little more comfortable. It became increasingly difficult, however, because our translator Mira was completely -- she lost it. I mean, she had not seen things like this. She had not expected to see things like She became increasingly incapable of translating for this. us. She was very traumatised by what she had seen in front of her and we then -- for those who were not able to speak English to us we relied on Andy, who speaks Russian, to try and find people who if they could not speak English could at least speak a little bit of Russian, to try and get at the truth of what was happening in that camp and what was happening at the other camps.

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- Were there women in that camp as well? Α. In the pen, no. 0 There were women in the road along one side of the pen who we saw handing over some food, some drinks to the men in the pen.
- Did you yourself go round to the back of the camp? Q Α. I did.
- I believe we How did you obtain access to that? Α. 0 travelled down the length of the wire fence and around the back of what was an old school or administrative building. There people were in tents. There were people who were more There were people there who were in the qenuine refugees. place simply because they had nowhere else to go, although even that was not strictly the case because these were people who were certainly more genuine refugees than the men in the pen but they were there because they had been kicked out of their homes. They were people from villages which had been cleansed of their Muslims, so they had nowhere to go. They could not even think about leaving that place because if they did it would be to expose themselves to violence and to the most horrible retribution. So although technically speaking they were there as refugees in reality there was as little likelihood of them being able to leave the camp as there was the prisoners in the pen.
- In order to reach those people at the back you moved from Q where you had been beside the barbed wire, is that right? That is right. I moved around the side of the barbed Α. wire, down around past the chicken wire and round the back of that building.
- It is said against you that in fact you were caged in at 0 that time and not those who were subsequently shown on the How do you respond to that assertion? broadcast. This is absurd. I had no recollection, no sense of any Α. I took the guickest, the most direct route from enclosure. my bus to the barbed wire and was then able to film over and to walk around the perimeter of the wire without any impediment.
- How long do you think you were at Trnopolje? I would Α. 41 Q guess we were there for about an hour, at which point we were 42 told that our stay was over. 43
- Where did you go to after leaving Trnopolje? Α. After 45 Q leaving Trnopolje we knew that we were not going to be shown 46 anything more and our priority became, frankly, getting out of 47 there as quickly as possible. We all got aboard the Channel 3 48 VW van. 49
- Was that at Trnopolje you all got aboard the van? 51 Q I believe it was there. It may be that we went back as 52 Α. far as Banja Luka ---53
- Α. At some Well, it does not matter. At some stage ---55 Q 56 stage we all got into the same ---

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1 0 Travel van? Α. Yes. 2 3 Where did you travel thereafter? Did you travel back to Q Yes. Our priority at that point 4 Belgrade that day? Α. 5 was just, frankly, to get out of there and we then travelled non-stop from Banja Luka back to Belgrade, arriving there very 6 7 late that night. 8 9 Q Let me just get this right. In the minibus we find your 10 four? Α. Yes. 11 12 The three from Channel 3 ---Q Α. Ed Vulliamy from the 13 Guardian. 14 15 That is eight, and who else? Α. Our two translator Q . fixers. 16 17 Who was driving? 18 0 Α. I believe it was a driver from 19 Belgrade. It might have been Misha, the Channel 3 fixer or 20 a separate driver, I cannot recall precisely. 21 What was the atmosphere like in the bus as far as you can 22 0 23 recall it? I think everybody was pretty stunned. Α. We had seen some pretty harrowing images. We had seen some 24 25 pretty clear evidence of inhumanity. We were stunned and there was also a sense of "Are they going to let us get out of 26 here with these tapes?" because we knew the material we had 27 28 was powerful. We knew the material we had was the first evidence, the first-hand evidence of inhumanity in this part 29 of Northern Bosnia and, frankly, at one point we wondered if 30 we would actually get out of Bosnia with those tapes. 31 32 33 When you were at Trnopolje did you see the doctor whose Q A. I did not personally see or 34 picture we saw on ---35 interview the doctor. 36 When did you first become aware the Penny Marshall was 37 Q carrying a roll of film? A. 38 Penny made me aware of this, <u>ु</u> 39 I believe, on the drive back to Belgrade. 40 41 When you got back to Belgrade that would have been pretty Q 42 late, would it not? A. Very late, I guess midnight, maybe 43 even after midnight. 44 45 Q When did you first contact the powers that be in London? 46 I phoned Channel 4 News' foreign editor, Sue Inglish, as Α. 47 soon as I got to a telephone in our Belgrade hotel and I told 48 her in cryptic terms that we had a very powerful story which went some way to confirming the existence of detention centres 49 in North-West Bosnia. I was cautious in my words because 50 I was worried that the phones might be bugged, that someone 51 might be listening, and I did not want to give away too 52 53 completely the content of what we had. 54 55 Q Did she give you any instructions? Α. She immediately 56 made arrangements for us to both get speedily to Budapest, 57 which seemed -- editing in Belgrade was really out of the

question. The nearest safe place really to edit was Budapest, so Sue made arrangements for us to be collected very early in the morning, I believe about 5 o'clock in the morning, and a car to come to drive us to Budapest. She also made arrangements for editing, what we call a facilities house, somewhere where we could hire the necessary edit machines in Budapest and also would begin to make arrangements to have those pictures, have the final report sent by satellite to London.

- Q You recognised it was going to be broadcast that evening? A. Yes. I mean, there was no question, it was an important story and we would need to get it on air as quickly as possible.
- Q You left by car the next morning. Do you remember the time?
 A. It was pretty early. I could not say precisely but I would guess it was maybe 5 o'clock in the morning.
- Q At that stage had you seen the rushes, the unedited film of what had been shot the previous day? A. No, we had no facilities at that point to be able to view the pictures either as we were going along or indeed in Belgrade. So we had not actually looked at them yet.
- Q Who travelled in that car, you --- A. Myself, I think James Nicholas who would be editing the story, he was also the cameraman who shot it, Penny ---
- Q Four of you? A. Four of us, yes.
- Q You left Chris Hease behind? A. Chris stayed behind. I believe Jeremy stayed behind.
- Q Jeremy Irvin that is? A. Yes.
- Q The cameraman. A. And I believe Mickey Lawrence also stayed behind.
- So they finished playing any part of this in Belgrade. 40 0 Whilst 41 you were in that car did any discussions take place between you about your experiences the previous day and about your 42 43 report? A. Yes, we talked about what we had seen, how harrowing it had been, how powerful it had been, and we talked 44 about how we could define, if you like, what we had seen. 45 46
- Did you adopt or consider any common approach to how it should 47 Q 48 be presented? A. We agreed that the pictures were so powerful - although, as I say, we had not looked at them but 49 from what we had seen the images that we filmed were so 50 powerful that in a sense it was beholden on us to treat them 51 in a very cautious and responsible way. We also agreed that what we had seen while showing terrible inhumanity could not 52 53 be described as "a Nazi style concentration camp and we both 54 agreed that this would -- that we would be very cautious about 55 56 presenting them as -- about the way we presented them. 57

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- Q When you arrived in Budapest did you go to the facilities house which we have heard about having been booked from London? A. We did, yes.
- Q At that stage did you separate into different editing booths? A. Yes. I believe Channel 3 experienced some technical difficulties initially but we separated and worked then as two separate teams.
- Q At that stage were you in communication with London? A. I was. By then I was able to have a more full conversation with London to brief more fully my foreign editor.
 - Q Who was that? A. Sue Inglish.
 - Q Was that Sue Inglish who had given you instructions to fly out there originally? A. That is right.
 - Q Sue Inglish the foreign editor. A. And also Bill Dunlop, who would be the editor of the day. The way the programme works is each day's programme has a separate on the day editor, whose responsibility will be solely that programme. Sue was the permanent foreign editor but beyond the day editor will change from day to day, and the programme on that day was to be Bill's programme.
- Q What did you tell Sue Inglish? A. I told her that we had very powerful pictures, that we had a very strong story which went some way to confirm the rumours, the allegations that had existed about what was happening in North-East Bosnia.
- Q Was it agreed what time you had to feed the material through to London by? Was there a deadline given? A. Yes. Because the programme goes on air at 7 o'clock we agreed that they would book a satellite, or a "bird" as they tend to call it, for 6.30 that evening. They also wanted to interview me live off the back of the package to put it more into context, and that would also give me time to get over to the studio in Budapest and get prepared to give that interview. So we discussed the timings of the satellite and also the live spot which would come after the broadcast package.
- 44 How long was your report going to be? Q Α. We were talking 45 about a ballpark of about five minutes. They were keen for us to basically give it what it was worth, the cut, "to allow the 46 47 pictures to breathe", I think is the industry term, which would mean to say we had strong images and in a sense there 48 was a desire to hear less of me and to be able to just allow 49 50 people to see the visual evidence of what we had found in 51 Omarska and Trnopolje.
- Q It was at that stage you first viewed the rushes which had
 been taken by James Nicholas? A. That is right. What we
 did was to sit down in front of the edit machines ---

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When you say "we", just so that we are all clear in our 0 This will be Andy Braddel, myself and James minds ---Α. Nicholas - Andy being the producer and James the editor but also the cameraman who had shot the pictures. The process of viewing the rushes would be logging the pictures. You would go through the tapes and mark down which pictures appeared at what point on the tapes and on the rushes. Also you would mark down the interviews with the time codes so that when we came to edit the piece it would be easy to find the visual footage we wanted and also to find the little bit of interview which we also needed to use at different instances.

Did you then form any idea as to which pictures you wanted Q to use and what the structure of the piece would be? Α. We decided that we would tell the story in a chronological After looking through the pictures it was strange in a way. sense because the pictures from the second camp, from Trnopolje, when we viewed them were very, very powerful, in some ways more powerful than the pictures that we had shot at Omarska, but we knew that Omarska was by far the more sinister Trnopolje was a mixed camp. Omarska clearly we felt camp. something very sinister was taking place there. The atmosphere at Omarska had been horrid. You cannot always capture atmosphere with a camera but we felt that it was important to start the piece at Omarska because it was at Omarska that we felt the most worrying things were happening; and it also made sense because as part of this camp system that included Trnopolje a lot of people in Omarska that day had been transferred to the other camps. So we felt that we would start with the images from Omarska before going to Trnopolje.

Who was it who wrote the script because we are going to see in Q a minute the piece which you edited and sent through at 6.30 to London. Who actually wrote the script? A. I wrote the script but Andy would have made suggestions as I was writing I mean, correspondents do not always like to give credit it. to their producers but if you have got someone like Andy, who has clearly been and experienced what we all had there, he would make suggestions as we fleshed out the script as to what may or may not have been left out. I mean, largely it was my script but Andy would have also had an input.

What came first, the images or the script, or did they come 44 Q It comes together. It is a process really 45 together? Α. of going to the writing, to picture, and you do not want to 46 state the obvious in your script because if people can see 47 then there is no point in repeating the obvious. 48 But it is a sense of blending the two together, the words with the 49 pictures, and there is not always a sense that the pictures 50 come first or necessarily the script comes first; it is a 51 process of marrying the two. 52

When did you first see, if at all, the rushes which had been 54 Q A. I saw Channel 3 rushes, I believe, when 55 by Channel 3? 56 they were fed to London on the 5 -- for the 5.45 bulletin. 57

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- Q In other words you saw an edited form? A. Yes, but James had been keeping across them to some extent during the day so ---
- Q Were they very nearby you --- A. Yes, they were kind of in another room around and I believe we were -- they were not far away, anyway. We were editing in close proximity.
- Q When did you first see the image of Fikret Alic, the one which is --- A. I saw that image, I think, as it was being sent to London or in the package that was going to be sent to London for the 5.45 bulletin.
- Q That is the 5.45 bulletin on Channel 3? A. On Channel 3, yes.
- Q You are heading for the 7 o'clock, the major bulletin on Channel 4? A. Yes.
- Q You saw it then and what did you decide once you had seen it? A. I saw it and I thought it was a very good shot, which I wanted to include along with our own images from Trnopolje.
- Q What about the photographs from the camp doctor? When did you first see them? A. I believe I first saw the photographs from the camp doctor after they had been transferred onto video, so that would have been after Penny had had them developed and then filmed onto a video and I believe I then saw it on the video.
- Q Did you decide then to incorporate some of these? A. I did, because I felt this was important because it was the only, in a sense, first-hand evidence that we had of the brutality at Trnopolje. We had a lot of people hinting to us, a lot of people -- people by their very physical conditions were living examples of ill-treatment but we did not have people hinting and suggesting the brutality that had taken place. But here we had photographs that clearly showed that brutality had taken place in Trnopolje.
- 42 Q If we look at those photographs now, they are the ones which 43 we find in tab 3. We will see the film you sent in a minute 44 but if we look inside - obviously the first ones are just 45 general pictures of the camp - we come to a man -- it is <u>that</u> 46 one. Have you got that? Have you got the bundle there? 47 A. Yes. 48
- 49 Q Look at tab 3. Have you got that one now? A. I have, 50 yes. 51
- 52 Q Is <u>that</u> it? A. Yes. 53
- 54 Q Is that what you had in mind? A. It was, yes.
- 56 Q Then one looks at the next one. Is that what you were 57 referring to just now? A. Yes.

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Q Did you require script approval from London before you chose what you were going to write or once you decided what you were going to write? A. No. We do not have a system as rigid as script approval but I would have kept Sue - but on the day itself Phil Dunlop - very closely informed of how I was structuring the piece and broadly what I was saying in the piece.

Q Just pausing there, had Sue Inglish or anyone else from Channel 4 given you explicit instructions about what you were to find when you were out in those camps? A. No, it was a completely open brief. No one had really penetrated that area in any depth before. There were the most horrific allegations coming from that area and my brief, as far as it was specific, was to go there and find the truth or otherwise of those allegations. That was as far as it went.

Q Did you regard, as the article suggest, that Trnopolje was your last chance to get the story which your editors wanted? A. Not at all. I mean, that kind of seems to suggest a degree of recklessness that you simply would not employ in those circumstances; and it was not a case of getting a story that my editors wanted, it was -- we were there to investigate, to check on very, very serious allegations of inhumanity. There was never a question of going there and getting the story the editors wanted.

Q Do you remember when you transmitted your script to London? Can you remember? Did you transmit it before the broadcast? A. Yes, it would be -- the package itself would have been transmitted 6.30 -- I cannot recall whether it was 6.30 Greenwich Mean Time or 6.30 local time, but it would have been transmitted to London before the programme -- well before the programme went on air.

Q I think as we hear it there is a voice-over. Do you do that voice-over after the images have been compiled or do you do that as you go along? A. Different editors work in different ways but the way James and I work together is I lay the track, in other words put my voice down, and then James will then lay the pictures over that voice.

- MR. SHIELDS: My Lord, I was going to show the actual broadcast. Would that be a convenient moment for the break?
- 46 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: Yes, certainly.
- 48 MR. SHIELDS: Because I am then going to go in some detail through 49 it.
 - MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: Yes. We will have a quarter of an hour break now, members of the jury.

(Adjourned for a short time)

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3.00 p.m.

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MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: Yes, Mr. Shields.

MR. SHIELDS: Mr. Williams, before the short adjournment, we were discussing the broadcast of Channel 4 on 6th August. Just to get it right, you prepared material to be transmitted from Budapest to London. A. That's right.

- Q At 6.30. A. Yes.
- Q That consists of the stories you write together with accompanying images. A. Yes, that's right.
- Q As we have seen -- I not going to show everyone again -- the actual ITN/Channel 4 broadcast is a much longer broadcast. Do you have any say in that broadcast viewed as a whole? A. No. Sometimes in a broad sense, it would be discussed. But in this case, we were busy concentrating on our news report and the way the broader programme was being constructed was not discussed.
- Q What we are going to see now is the actual broadcast, but you will recall the opening image on Channel 4 is the image of Fikret Alic behind that barbed wire. Did you choose that image yourself to go as the opening credit? A. No. That's -- it's called a "sting" in the industry jargon. It's an image that would sometimes be put on as a kind of introduction to a package and that would be decided upon in London.
- Q What we are now going to show is the actual report which was fed from Budapest and shown on Channel 4. If we look at tab.14 in the bundle, you will see there on p.2 a report. Do you have that? A. I have, yes.
- Q If anyone wants to follow it, they can follow it from there. There are one or two obvious either typos or words out of place, which we can correct as we go along. What I would like to do, my Lord, is, I will go through the report in a little detail with Mr. Williams as to how he chose the content of the report. So that is the idea. We are going to show the report first.
- MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: So that I hope the jury and I can understand it, the document starting at the beginning of tab.14: "Studio Report", etc. Is this document a document which goes in either manuscript or typed form from Budapest to London? A. It's not, my Lord. It would be the script that I would write, usually, in this case I think by hand in Budapest, and the transcription is subsequently made.
- 53 Q In London? A. Yes. 54
- 55 MR. SHIELDS: This particular transcription has been prepared for 56 the purpose of this trial. 57

1 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: I see. 2 3 MR. SHIELDS: This is just to help everyone follow the broadcast 4 and it is going to help us in a moment when we go through how 5 a broadcast is put together. 6 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: So a manuscript document is sent by you from 7 8 Budapest to London? A. No. I wouldn't have sent it. 9 Just the package, the words and the images, would have been 10 sent. So any transcript would be made subsequently in London. So I wouldn't myself send any words. 11 12 13 0 Any copy words to London at all? Α. No, my Lord. 14 15 This is in a sense a video of your film and your MR. SHIELDS: commentary which is then -- what is the word? Fed? 16 17 Α. Yes. 18 19 Fed through a satellite to London at 6.30, which then forms Q 20 part of the overall evening broadcast. Is that right? 21 Yes. Α. 22 23 (Video then played) 24 25 If you have the draft of it there, Mr. Williams, MR. SHIELDS: 26 I just want to ask you about how this report was compiled. 27 You start your report there with: 28 29 "The Muslim prisoners of Omarska " 30 31 Α. Yes. 32 33 0 You state that they are under heavy Serbian guard and they 34 were ushered into the canteen for their single meal of the 35 day. 36 37 "They were supposed to be here for two months. They 38 say they don't know why, but they were rounded up from .,39 their homes." 40 What was the basis for what you put there? 41 Α. This information, it was self-evident that they were prisoners and 42 Muslim prisoners. We could see that they were being ushered 43 44 across into the canteen under heavy guard. There were many, many Serbian guards in the canteen, around the canteen. 45 The 46 conversations that we were able to have with them: half conversations, broken conversations, hints, gave us enough to 47 be able to ascertain that this was the only meal of the day 48 49 that they were given. 50 51 3.30 p.m. 52 They told us, those we could speak to, that they had been there for two months and that they had been rounded up from their villages; that they weren't fighters; that they had 53 54 55 been rounded up and they had been brought to Omarska and they 56

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So the

had no idea why they had been bough there.

information in this was gleaned from the conversations that we were able to have. we were able to snatch whatever we could with people in the canteen.

Q If you look at the second paragraph, in the second line, you say:

"Conditions which have been hidden from the world ... United Nations and International Red Cross."

That was the position as you understood it. Is that right? A. Yes. We understood there had been no international access to that camp so effectively it had been hidden from the world.

- Q I think if I recall from the rushes, we see a car parked outside which has a red cross on it. Would that be the Serbian Red Cross? A. It may well be. The Serb Red Cross have their own operation although it was a largely discredited one. Their role then was being questioned by international agencies because they appeared to be complicit in a lot of the deportations and in many of the unpleasant things that were happening. I did not regard them as a credible group.
- Then we have a picture of the spokeswoman. Q I think she says, This is not a camp. This is a centre." and I have got "No. down "transit centre - Omarska and Trnopolje. Both centres, I think that is where she refers to both of them not camps." as being centres, not camps. That was something you gave in evidence about 20 minutes ago? Α. That is right. We wanted to hear their version. We wanted to be able to broadcast their version of what the place was. And I felt that was important as well because it confirmed that Trnopolje and Omarska were part of the same camp system.
 - Q Then we go down:

"The prisoners have been brought to the canteen, a large industrial building in the centre of the mining complex."

That was the building where we see you arguing with the camp Commandant in front of. Is that right? A. That's right. We see the prisoners waiting for the word and then running across the open space from that rusty looking building behind. That indeed, yes, was the argument over our desire to try and get access to that place.

49 Q There it says:

"It too was under heavy guard and we asked to be allowed to look inside."

54 When you talk about heavy guard ----? A. Again, there 55 were armed Serbia police, militia in the doorways, in the 56 windows, walking around the perimeter of that building and

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indeed watching the prisoners and giving them the signal when to run across to the canteen.

Q It was after that you felt you were asked to leave. Is that right? A. Yes. I mean they had been trying to get rid of us for some time and that was designed also, with a kind of sense of irony, that after experiencing the lengthy argument with them it was their way of telling us that our time was up and we should go. We felt that at that point it might have been rather reckless to have argued any further.

Q Then we go to Trnopolje. That is the third paragraph of the next page (p.4) You say there in the fourth paragraph down:

"Conditions at this camp were appalling. In 100 degrees heat, a hundred men were forced to eat and sleep outside and feel behind barbed wires. Their meagre rations consisted of a small hunk of bread and a bowl of soup every day. Here too they said they have been rounded up, ... men and they were afraid."

What was that based upon? A. This was based on our own observations of the physical condition and the fear so evident among those people as well as conversations snatched, some of them on camera, some of them off camera, where we were able to with people behind the wire.

Q Did you have a conversation with one of the people there?

"Can you tell me anything about the conditions in which you are being kept?"

Then you say - not as headed "inmate"

"... or is it difficult."

A. Yes.

Q He says,

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"I'm not allowed about that."

Then the question comes from you, "People here have been beaten?" - that is at the bottom of p.4? A. Yes.

46 Q The answer comes, 47

"Here no. Here, no."

50 Then he says,

"I rather wouldn't talk about..."

54 Over the page - "that". Why did you choose to include that 55 interview? A. I thought this was very important because 56 it was more what he didn't say than what he did say that spoke 57 volumes. It was the look on his face, in his eyes. It was

To me that told me an awful lot about the hints he was given. 1 what that man had experienced, and I thought it was important 2 3 that that should go in. It also brought home very clearly the 4 fear of the people in prison behind the wire. 5 6 That is p.5. If you go over the page, to p.6 on the sixth Q 7 line: 8 9 "We were told people had been beaten to death. We were asked to smuggle a film out of the camp." 10 11 12 That film is a film that was smuggled by Penny Marshall. Is 13 that right? Α. That's right. 14 15 It says, Q 16 17 "The pictures show severe injuries apparently as a result of beatings." 18 19 In fact we see three pictures. We see one of a man who 20 appears to suffer from malnutrition - that is the very last 21 22 one in that tab. Then we see two others - the ones I showed Yes. you. Is that right? 23 Α. 24 25 Then we go down: Q 26 27 "T... was a Muslim doctor. We asked him whether there had been any ... beatings." 28 29 I think that is right to say that is film taken from ----? 30 31 This was filmed by Channel Three. Α. 32 33 0 Then you say, 34 "On one side of the camp the refugees were here simply 35 because they have nowhere else to go, their homes 36 having been destroyed. They have been told they can 37 go as soon as they have a guarantee of a home outside 38 the Serb control of Bosnia." 39 40 41 Where does that come from? This also comes from Α. conversations with those people on the other part of the camp. 42 I felt it was important to demonstrate the mixed nature of the 43 44 Trnopolje camp, to emphasize the point that it was not like Omarska, and to show that there were genuine refugees in a 45 46 part of that camp, although their precise freedom to move was somewhat circumscribe. 47 48 49 In the next sentence you say: Q 50 51 "Banja Luka prisons were..." 52 53 I think it was in Prijedor? Yes. Α. My recollection was that that was Prijedor. I probably used the shorthand for 54 55 Banja Luka because that is the broad area. 56

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- Q If we look on the map they are in the same area. That was the report as broadcast as you fed it from there? A. It was, yes.
- Q Were you then interviewed in the studio live so it would go to the audience? A. I was. It was a live interview.
- Q It was a live interview. Had that been arranged earlier in the day? A. It had been, yes. We had arranged.... I think we booked some studio time at Hungarian television and the necessary satellite to send the signal to London. The idea was that after my report had been broadcast they would then come live to me in Budapest in order to provide more background and more information about what we had found and how we had found it.
- Q Did you know what questions you were going to be asked? A. In a very broad sense. I always feel sometimes it is a bit dangerous; knowing the questions does not really help. I mean, you normally.... I'll normally discuss with the interviewer perhaps in a broad sense what areas he is going to ask me about, but we wouldn't have discussed specific questions.
- Q I think it is right that though he could see you, you could
 not see him? A. That is right. I had an earpiece in so
 I could hear his questions. He could see me, but I would
 address my answers to a camera in response to the questions
 that I heard in my earpiece.
 - Q Can we just see that interview now.
 - MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: Yes.
 - MR. SHIELDS: I am obliged.

(<u>Video was shown</u>)

- 39QThat would have taken place at about some time after 7 o'clock40English time?A. Yes.
 - Q I do not know what time that would have been in Yugoslavia? A. The lead item would have gone out at 7 o'clock, which is 8 o'clock Budapest time and that would have been about, I guess, seven or eight minutes past seven UK time. So seven minutes past 8.00 in Budapest.
 - 48 Q So that night did you stay in Budapest? A. I did, yes.
 - 50 Q When did you fly to London? A. I flew back to London the 51 following morning.
 - Q When you flew back to London the following morning did you see
 how the media treated the broadcast which had been shown the
 night before on Channel Three and Channel Four?
 A. I did. I bought several newspapers. I had seen some,

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I think, on the flight back but I also bought several papers 1 2 myself when I got into London. 3 4 I think if we look at tab 15 we can see how the press viewed Q it the next day. The first one I have got is the Daily Mirror 5 "The picture that shames the world". That is the image of 6 7 Fikret Alic, is that right? Α. That is right. 8 9 They chose to call it "Belsen '92"? Α. Yes. 0 10 Do you remember seeing that one at the time? Α. 11 0 I did 12 see that, yes. 13 I did, yes. Did you read that coverage? Α. 14 Q 15 16 0 Then pp.18 and 19. "If this is what they call a good camp, 17 think how" 18 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: 19 Just a moment. You are too quick for us 20 all. 21 22 MR. SHIELDS: Sorry, my Lord. I think we can see there, "Prisoners queue for their meagre rations ... Omarska"? 23 That is right. The photo on the top left on that spread 24 Α. is Omarska. 25 26 27 Q The one on the right is Omarska. I think it is captioned; "Compound in Omarska" but in fact ----? 28 That's Α. 29 Trnopolje. 30 31 The photographs we see there, those are three photographs Q taken by ...? Yes. 32 Α. 33 34 That was the coverage given by the Mirror. If we go over the Q page, that is the Daily Telegraph? 35 Yes, that is Α. 36 right. Philip Sherwell. 37 38 "Serbs impose reign of terror in Bosnia." Q 39 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: I am going to write "Daily Telegraph" on 40 that. 41 42 43 MR. SHIELDS: In fact this seems to be more about Philip Sherwell. 44 Do you see there, "Behind barbed wire - Muslim prisoners in the Trnopolje Serbian camp... " Have you ever seen that one? 45 Α. 46 I did, yes. 47 48 Q That seems to be the photograph lifted from the broadcast. 49 Then we go over the page to the Daily Mail. That says, 50 51 "The proof: behind the barbed wire, the brutal truth 52 about the suffering in Bosnia. The ribs stand out so far you can almost see the bare bones straining 53 against the emaciated flesh. The sunken eyes there 54 with a mixture of bewilderment, beseeching ... strands 55 56 of barbed wire. These are the sorts of scenes that 57 flip you back to ... Nazi concentration camps."

That is the Mail's way of dealing with it. If you just look 1 over the page, we see how the Times deals with it. 2 Once again there is that photograph used by the Times and it says, 3 4 5 "Evidence mounts of executions." 6 7 We see a quote there as from one of their roving reporters, 8 Tim Juder(?) from Northern Bosnia. It is inset in bold below 9 the photograph? Α. Yes. 10 11 Are those the articles you can recall seeing? 0 Α. Yes. 12 13 Were you surprised by the reaction of the media as we have 0 A. I was a little surprised, I guess. I knew 14 just seen? 15 we had a powerful story and an important story but I had not anticipated, I guess, that it would get such blanket front 16 page coverage the following morning. 17 18 Did you then give another interview that day which was 19 Q broadcast on Channel Four? 20 A. I did, yes. 1 21 22 Perhaps we could just see that now for completeness sake. Q I think that is a lunchtime interview. 23 24 25 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: Have we got a transcript of that? 26 27 MR. SHIELDS: Yes, we have my Lord. It is towards the end of tab 28 14, p.29. Was it broadcast at lunchtime? Can you remember? 29 A. No, in the evening. It is for the Channel Four evening 30 news. 31 32 Q Did you go in at lunchtime and do the broadcast? 33 I guess I would have got back around about lunchtime and Α. recorded that interview some time in the afternoon. 34 35 36 My mistake. So, it was a pre-recorded interview? Q Α. It was, yes and it was cut into ----37 38 It was on Channel Four on the 7 o'clock news but had been pre-39 0 40 We get it at p.29 of the bundle. recorded. 41 42 (Video was shown) 43 44 I think we are now back in England on 7th August. Q Were you 45 asked to write an article for the Sunday Express once you 46 returned? Α. I was, yes. 47 48 0 We can see that article at tab 16, my Lord. That is an 49 article you wrote for the Express? Α. That is right, 50 yes. 51 52 Q I think you were paid for that article? Α. I was. I cannot quite remember the prevailing rate but they did pay 53 54 me for it. 55 56 Were you also interviewed for UK Press Gazette? I think you Q find that in tab 17. UK Press Gazette: what kind of magazine 57

is that? This is an industry magazine. Α. It's a magazine bought and subscribed to by other journalists so it is very much a kind of trade rag, if you like.

0 Look at the top. It says,

> "Channel Four news reporter Ian Williams, who reports on the detention camps in Bosnia, has travelled round the global media village focusing world opinion and shaping its anger and actions. He fears that the message that has been told is the wrong one ... "

Someone has chosen a headline, "an image too strong for the truth". If you go over the page we have a quote from you. Was this an interview? A. It was an interview, yes.

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"Williams' concerns about how the power of the image has overtaken the content of the reports. I quess because the image was so powerful, he meant behind barbed wire, was the immediate conjuring up of the same images from the Second World War. I think the reaction, particulary American reaction, has been to ... subtleties of it. Most of the US reaction, they have taken for granted the death camps and concentration camps as seen on TV. In a sense it is almost the power of the image going two steps ahead of the proof that went with them. In his report Williams was determined to play down any talk of concentration These are men being treated very brutally. camps. This was a result of severe mistreatment and degradation. We went out of our way to stress that we had no first hand evidence that this was a death camp and that we were uneasy about the use of the words 'concentration camp'. The report shoed the real power of television journalists to affect the course of the worlds' events. However, Williams needs extra care. Now in a sense images that challenge the ... one thing I have tried to make clear in my two way, and the report was that - actually in examining the allegations ... propaganda. The Bosnian list of concentration camps really wasn't worth the paper it was written on. That was perhaps lost in the power of the images we did get."

- Do you stand by your reports?
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Yes, I do. Α.

- And do you stand by what you said there? Α. Yes, I do. 50
- 51 0 Did you return after that to Moscow? I did, yes. Α. 52 I think I was in the UK maybe for a couple of days longer. 53 I had eventually managed to get the holiday with my fiancee that I had missed to go to Bosnia. Then I returned to Moscow.
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Did you move from Moscow to Hong Kong? A. Yes, in 1995 I was appointed Asia correspondent for Channel Four news to open a new bureau in Hong Kong.

Q When did you first become aware of the Press Release which is the subject of these proceedings? Just so that you have it in front of you, you will find it at tab 4? A. I believe that would have been in January 1997 when Richard Tait telephoned me in Hong Kong to make me aware of the existence of the Press Release and, I believe, faxed a copy of it to me.

Q What was your reaction when you saw the Press Release? A. Initially it was mixed. I was incredulous. I couldn't understand how anybody who had seen the work we did from Bosnia could possibly reach those conclusions. I also thought it bizarre because if this was making it made out to be a work of journalism, nobody had bothered to contact me to ask my opinion or to get my views which, frankly, is pretty fundamental journalism. It's pretty much First Grade stuff. If you're covering anything you contact the people who you are making allegations against to check the story and give them a chance to comment. So my initial reaction was one of slight bemusement and irritation.

- Q What was your subsequent reaction? A. Subsequent to this, the article when it appeared was faxed to me. When I saw the substance of what it contained I was very angry. I thought it was outrageous. It was an attack on my own integrity and reputation on what had been, I think, a very thorough story, a very carefully presented story and one in which I and my team had been subjected to incredible danger in order to obtain.
- Q Can you look back at the Press Release in tab 4? Let us look at the first paragraph:

"Journalist exposes the truth behind Bosnia 'deathcamp' photograph.

The picture that came to symbolise the Bosnian war has been condemned by an expert witness to the UK War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague. German journalist Thomas Deichmann says that the image of an emaciated Bosnian Muslim caged behind barbed wire was created by 'camera angles and editing'."

Now, what do you say about camera angles and editing? A. I thought this was extremely odd. I mean, first of all "created" implying that somehow we were able to manufacture it, to set it up. As to "camera angles and editing" I don't really understand what that means but what I do know is that we shot what we saw, and what we saw was starving emaciated men in prison behind wire.

55 Q Pausing there, did you tell Mr. Nicholas what he should film? 56 A. No, there was no.... We would discuss in broad terms what

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1 the story was - what the story is. I would not tell James 2 what to film. James is too experienced a cameraman. 3 I trust him absolutely. I might point shots out to him but he doesn't need to be told what to film in the sense of ----4 5 So on this occasion, you did not tell him what to film? 6 Q 7 Α. No. 8 9 Q Did you tell Mr. Irving what to film? Α. No. 10 11 0 Then it goes on: 12 "The picture of Fikret Alic was taken from videotape 13 shot at Trnopolje on 4 August 1992 by an award-winning 14 15 British television team led by Penny Marshall (ITN) 16 with her cameraman Jeremy Irvin, accompanied by Ian Williams (Channel 4) and Guardian reporter Ed 17 18 Vulliamy. Deichmann revisited Trnopolje and has also 19 seen unused video footage that shows how this powerful 20 image was created. He found that 21 22 there was no barbed wire fence surrounding the * 23 Trnopolje camp." 24 25 What is your reaction to that? Α. Well, our report never suggested there was barbed wire surrounding the camp. 26 what we showed was that there was a compound in which men were clearly 27 28 imprisoned and which they were behind the wire fence that was 29 made up of barbed wire and chicken wire. They were terrified; 30 they weren't going anywhere. They were watched over by 31 guards, so this didn't seem to me to be It seemed rather 32 bizarre. 33 It goes on, 34 Q 35 36 H 🗡 the camp was a collection centre for refugees, not 37 a prison." 38 Again, for the same reason it was very clear that this 39 Α. 40 was, as we had said at the time, a mixed camp. There were certainly refugees there which we showed in our report. 41 Indeed, even though, as far as refugees go, they were not free 42 43 to come and go, they had gone there because they had been 44 cleansed - ethnically cleansed - from Muslim villages and it 45 was far too dangerous for them to venture anywhere away from 46 the camp. But for the men in the field they were clearly in 47 prisons; they clearly regarded themselves as prisoners and 48 they were not at liberty to leave the camp. They were kept in 49 there by wire and by heavily armed Serbian guards. It's 50 absurd to say it's not a prison. 51 52 It is suggested that the guard were protecting them. Q Is that 53 the impression you formed? A. No. The men in that compound were clearly very, very frightened of the men with guns. They were terrified in some instances. They wouldn't 54 55 56 even go near the perimeter fence in many cases, out of fear of

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the sort of reaction that it might provoke from the guards there. There was no question that those men were imprisoned.

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"The refugees in the picture were not surrounded by barbed wire "

In other words, they were refugees in the sense of the men in that enclosure -

" the barbed wire surrounded the news team who were filming from inside a small enclosure next to the camp."

I have already asked you about that. Does your answer remain unchanged? A. It does.

Q He then says:

"I am shocked that over the past four or five years none of the journalists involved have told the full story about that barbed wire fence which made such an impact on world opinion. ... taken as proof that Trnopolje was a Nazi style concentration camp and the journalists knew that it was no such thing."

The suggestion there is you knew that it was a refugee centre, that you knew that you were enclosed and the people inside were free to go as they wanted. How do you react to that suggestion, that you knew the truth and you kept it hidden? A. I resent it and I think it's an absurd suggestion.

35 Q Then we come to Mr. Hulme's quote:

"If they are not very careful, journalists who have some kind of emotional 'attachment' to one side can end up seeing what they want to see, rather than what is really there

"Taking sides, however, cannot be an excuse for taking liberties with the facts."

There are two elements there. Did you at the time have an emotional attachment to the presumably Bosnian Muslim cause? A. No. The only attachment we had was to find the truth about those camps. There'd been all sorts of propaganda from all sides in this conflict. The only attachment we had was to finding the truth and to present what we found in a proper and balanced manner.

Q Then it says:

Taking sides, however, cannot be an excuse for taking liberties with the facts."

Were you taking sides? A. We were not taking sides. In fact, I believe we bent over backwards to present the pictures that we did obtain in context and in balance, both within the report and also in the interview I gave afterwards and also in the following day's broadcast. In some respects I felt it my responsibility, because of the power of the images that we had, to put them in their proper context and explain more fully how what we had seen and what we hadn't seen, to stick to what we could justify and, frankly, this is absurd.

Q Did you, after that letter, authorise as part of that press release a letter to be sent on your behalf to the publishers of Living Marxism? I have read it, so I do not intend to read it again. A. I did, yes.

Q It is at tab.5 for your Lordship's reference. Did you see their response to that letter? A. I did, yes.

Q Can you find that at tab.18?

"ITN tries to gag LM. LM magazine received a letter from ITN's lawyers threatening libel action unless we agreed our entire February issue ... and pay damages. This threat is in response to the article 'The Picture that Fooled the World' by Thomas Deichmann which reveals the truth about the pictures of Bosnian Muslims apparently imprisoned behind a barbed wire fence at Trnopolje camp in August 1992 (see previous LM press statement in the February issue for the full story). LM's ... said, 'ITN's Goldsmith-style gagging order is a scurrilous attempt to scare us off and stifle public discussion of important issues. Neither ITN nor their lawyers have yet said a word about the substance of our story, which exposes the way those famous pictures were We stand 100% behind Thomas Deichmann's taken. There is one simple way to resolve this article. , issue. ITN should show the full, unedited footage which its team filmed in Trnopolje on 5th August 1992 and everyone will know the truth."

First of all, is it right that no-one contacted you prior to this article being published? A. Nobody contacted me.

- 45 Q Did Mr. Deichmann contact you? A. Mr. Deichmann didn't 46 contact me. 47
- 48 Q Did Mr. Hulme contact you? A. Mr. Hulme didn't contact 49 me. 50
- 51 Q After that document was issued, did you then see the full 52 article? A. I did, yes.
- Q Can we now look at it together? You will find that at tab.6.
 I am not going to take you through the whole of this article,
 because you have already given us your reaction to it. I just

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want to direct you to a number of paragraphs. Paragraph 1 says:

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"The picture reproduced on these pages is of Fikret Alic, a Bosnian Muslim, emaciated and stripped to the waist, apparently imprisoned "

What do you say about the statement that he was apparently There was nothing apparent about the imprisoned? Α. imprisonment of Fikret Alic.

- MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: What do you mean by that? Α. My Lord, he was clearly imprisoned; he was clearly emaciated and he was clearly behind barbed wire.
- MR. SHIELDS: Could he have walked round that fence and got in the van with you and gone back to Budapest? Α. No. He was a prisoner in that compound.
- Paragraph 2: 0

"For many, this picture has become a symbol of the horrors of the Bosnian war but that image is misleading."

Do you agree with that? Α. No. I don't think the image is at all misleading. It is a perfectly apt image, encapsulating the suffering of those men in that field.

> "The fact is that Fikret Alic and his fellow Bosnian Muslims were not imprisoned behind a barbed wire fence. There was no barbed wire fence surrounding Trnopolje camp. It was not a prison, and certainly not a 'concentration camp', but a collection centre for refugees, many of whom went there seeking safety and could leave again if they wished."

Really, we have dealt with this already, so I am going to take this briefly. Was there anything you saw there or anything anyone said to you which gave you the impression that those people could leave again if they wished? Α. No.

> "The barbed wire in the picture is not around the Bosnian Muslims; it is around the cameraman and the journalists. It formed part of a broken-down barbed wire fence encircling a small compound that was next to Trnopolje camp. The British news team filmed from inside this compound."

So they are saying there that there was not any barbed wire around Mr. Alic. In other words, he was looking over the barbed wire at you and that you were caged in. Α. This is I was not aware, did not see any enclosure. absurd. It was very clear to me that Fikret Alic and his fellow prisoners were behind barbed wire. They were inside the compound that

was made up of chicken wire and barbed wire and I was able to move around the edge of that compound without obstruction in order to film interviews around the perimeter of that compound.

- Q Were there armed guards near you? A. There were armed guards -- well, we did our best to try and avoid them where we could -- but there were many armed guards.
- 10 Q Standing on the same side as you? A. Yes.
 - Q So was it your impression they were caged in? A. No. They were also along the barbed wire, very close to where we were.
 - Q Paragraph 6:

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"Penny Marshall, Ian Williams and Ed Vulliamy have never called Trnopolje a concentration camp. They have criticised the way that others tried to use their reports and pictures as 'proof' of a Nazi-style Holocaust in Bosnia. Yet over the past four and a half years, none of them has told the full story about that barbed wire fence which made such an impact on world opinion."

Were you aware that you kept something hidden? A. No. There is nothing hidden. There is no full story to be told.

Q Go on, please, to para.12:

"When Marshall, Williams and Vulliamy arrived in Bosnia at the end of July 1992, they were under intense pressure to get the story of the camps."

Did anyone put you under intense pressure to get the story of the camps? A. No. There's not a question of that. TV news doesn't work in that manner and it certainly wouldn't have worked that way in a dangerous circumstance like this. It's an absurd suggestion to make.

42Q"Roy Gutman's article about the 'death camp' Omarska43published while the British team were in Bosnia, had44further raised expectations in the London editorial45offices."

Were you aware of any expectations in the London editorial office? A. I was not. The London editorial office was keen to learn from us whether we could ascertain the truth or otherwise about the existence of camps in Bosnia. There was no other expectation.

Q Who would there be in the London editorial office with whom
you would communicate regarding this issue? A. My main
contact, as we would progress, is Sue Inglish. Sue Inglish is
the foreign editor, or was the foreign editor, of Channel 4
news at that time and it's her that I kept in close contact

with in Budapest, in Belgrade and also after we had come out of Serbia with this film.

"After her return, Penny Marshall told how she and Williams had received orders from the managing editors of ITN and Channel 4 to do nothing else before they had the camps story in the bag."

Is that right? Were you given orders? A. No. We were never given orders, certainly not as expressed here. We went there, I was asked to go there by my foreign editor in order to take up Dr. Karadzic's challenge and try and ascertain the truth or otherwise about the existence of these camps.

- Q So you were to find the truth, not come up with any story to order? A. To find the truth and, if those camps had not existed, if this had been a load of baloney, then that in itself would have made a story, because it would have exposed the degree of propaganda that was coming out of the other side also.
- Q The next paragraph:

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"At the end of their trip approached, however, the british news team had been unable to find the camps story they were after. Their final stop was to be the refugee camp at Trnopolje, next to the village of Kozarac which had been overrun by Bosnian Serb units a few months earlier in May 1992. This was to be their last chance to get the story which their editors wanted."

As far as you were concerned, when you left Omarska, did you think you had evidence of, as you would call it, inhumanity? A. We did. We had clear evidence of that in Omarska. I was angry that we weren't able to see other parts of what I think was a pretty atrocious place, but we had pictures from Omarska, powerful pictures from Omarska, evidence of inhumanity which in itself was important and would make an important story.

- So did you regard it as your last chance to get the story 44 Q 45 which your editors wanted? A. No. This wasn't a last chance to get anything and there wasn't a story that my 46 editors wanted. The brief wasn't like that. Neither did we 47 regard it somehow as a last chance. It shows really the 48 absolute ignorance of what it was we were trying to do and the 49 50 conditions under which we were working. 51
- Q Over the page -- and I am coming near the end now -- if one
 goes to para.34 on p.8, did you meet Pero Curguz?
 A. I never personally met him, no.

56 Q But he was present at the camp. Is that right? A. Yes.

Q We see here comment from him:

"Curguz stressed that this was no internment or prisoner camp; it was a collecting camp for exiled Muslims."

How do you react to that? A. Again, it's absurd. I think there is a serious question mark over the role of the Serbian Red Cross in these camps. I've seen and heard similar suggestions about the Serb Red Cross and I think that here they were as much part of that system at the camp and I don't think that he can be particularly taken as a reliable witness.

Q Then para.26:

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"Misa Raduloviic but like all other men considered able-bodied, he was enlisted in the army during the war and stationed as a camp guard in Trnopolje for three days. 'We protected the Muslims from Serbian extremists who wanted to take revenge', he said. 'The people could leave the camp without papers, but this was dangerous. A barbed wire fence existed only at this corner around the barn, this little shop for rural products and the electricity station."

- Did you gain any impression which led you to believe that they could leave the camp without papers? A. No. Absolutely not.
- Q Did you see any Serbian extremists when you were there? A. Plenty.
- Q Did you think that the Muslims in the camp were being protected from them? A. Not at all. The camps were a product of Serb extremism.
- 39 Q It is the year 2000, Mr. Williams. No apology has ever been 40 published to you, has it? A. No. 41
 - 42 Q What is your purpose, then, in bringing these proceedings? 43 Α. I want to establish my integrity and my reputation. 44 I know that within this profession there's a lot of hard talk 45 You know, you have to roll with the that flies around. punches to some extent. I do that all the time. But rarely 46 have I been subjected to such a vindictive and bitter attack 47 on my personal integrity as a journalist and on my reputation 48 49 from a story which was not only so important to me personally, 50 but was so important in its impact at the time. 51
 - 52 MR. JUSTICE MORLAND: We will adjourn until tomorrow morning. 53 Quarter past ten tomorrow morning. 54
 - (Adjourned until 10.15 a.m. on Wednesday, 1st March 2000)