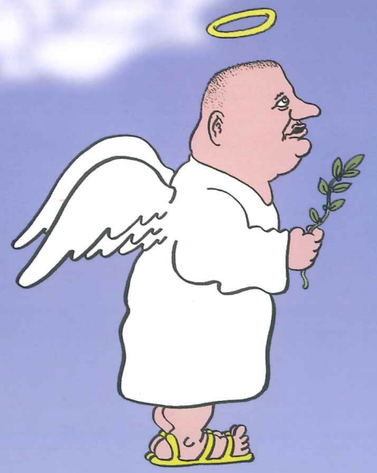


"I consider Mrs. Markovic a friend and that will remain so forever. For a variety of reasons. First of all because I know she is against the war and profiteers, and then because she has a civilization package similar to mine in her attitude".

*(Milosevic's Minister AT about Mira Markovic, Belgrade, 1996)*

"I must tell you that in this part of the world she makes an impression of an evangelist of hope and tolerance.

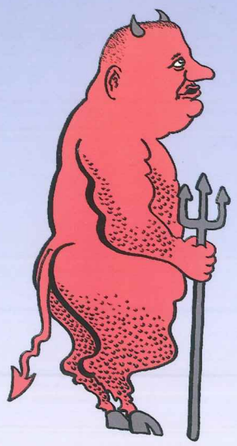
*(Minister Aleksandar Tijanic about Mira Markovic, Intervju, Nov. 15, 1996)*

"…An extraordinary publicist achievement...!"

*(AT on Mira Markovic's book Noc i Dan (Night and Day) - 1994)*

"If he doesn't defeat his own vanity, bad character, natural coldness and vengefullness, he will remain remembered as the first victim who wanted Sloba's head and lost his own."

*(AT about Zoran Djindjic, Nezavisne Novine, Dec. 26, 1999)*



"If Zoran Djindjic survives, Serbia will not."

*(Kostunica's Advisor AT, Nacional, Feb. 1, 2003)*

"Djindjic is like gas. He expands…Wherever there is a split, he enters the split. Where ever there is someone not resistant to gas he poisons him."

*(Kostunica's Advisor AT during a DSS public planel in Subotica, Aug. 31, 2001)*

"The poor Prime Minister runs between two camps (that's why he has lost so much weight); he looks as if he owes something to one and is unable to help the other. Each Government and each Prime Minister have the kind of crime they deserve.

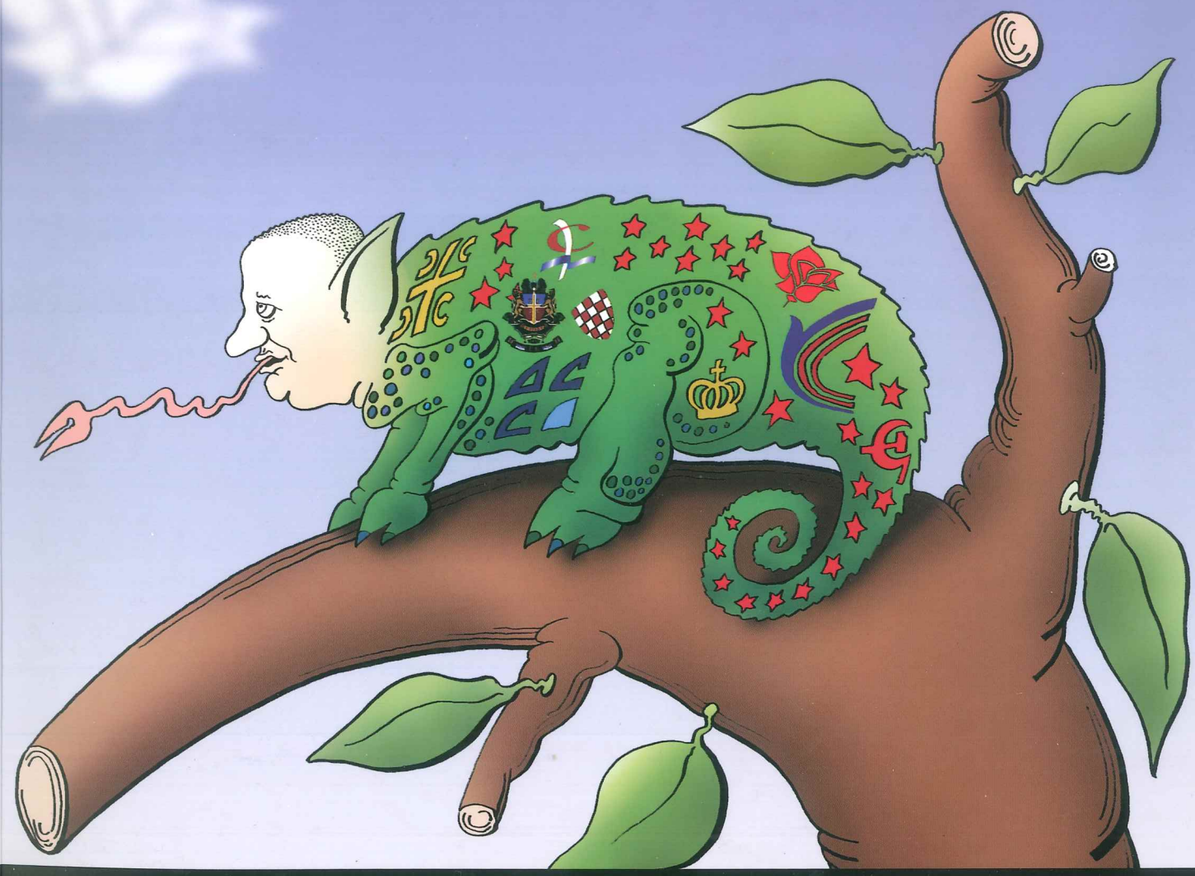
*(Kostunica's Advisor AT about Zoran Djindjic, Nacional, Jan. 30, 2003)*



Public Files – Not To Be Forgotten The Case of Civil Servant ALEKSANDAR TIJANIC YUCOM

Public Files – Not To Be Forgotten

# The Case of Civil Servant ALEKSANDAR TIJANIC



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*Vladimir Popovic for the substantial assistance*
*in sharing documents and material*
*in order to make this publication*
*a factual presentation of a career rather than seductive revenge*

Public Files – Not To Be Forgotten

# The Case of Civil Servant ALEKSANDAR TIJANIC

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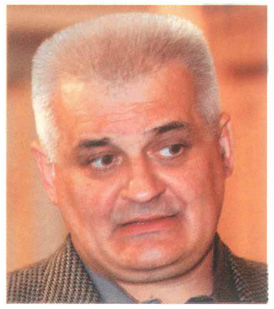
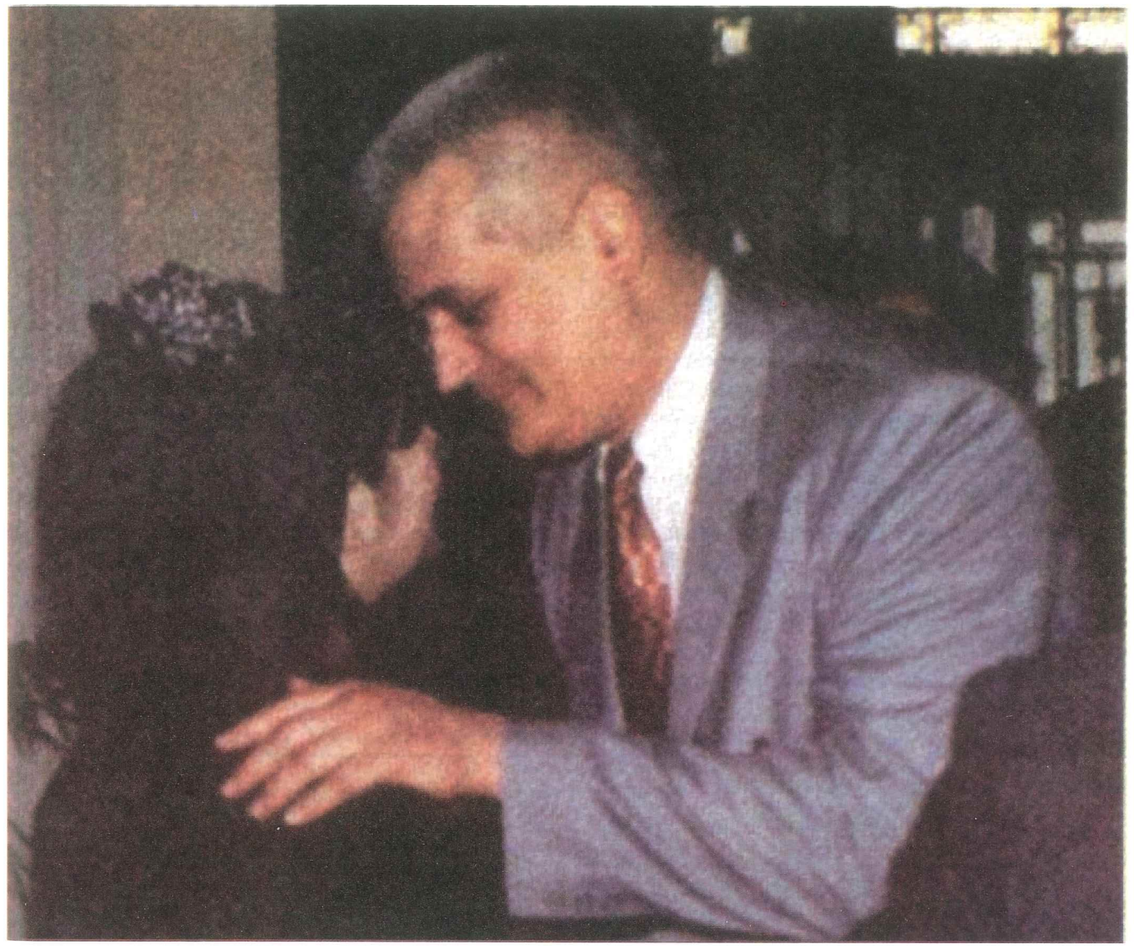
# „If Zoran Djindjic survives, Serbia will not....."



*(Aleksandar Tijanic, President Kostunica's advisor, a month prior to the murder of Zoran Djindjic)*



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# ... preface

The opening of secret police files what should have represented the first step in the process of dismantling the criminalized "services" and "their" state has not taken place to date. It is for these reasons that no lustration and discontinuity with the criminal past has taken place either. Failure to differentiate democratic political options from the criminal behavior of advocated Milosevic's war ideology helped create the conditions for Prime Minister Djindjic to be assassinated and facilitated the victory of those not in favor of discontinuity and against cooperation with the Hague Tribunal, as well as the regeneration of Milosevic and his followers.

The state of emergency declared in the aftermath of the Prime Minister Djindjic's assassination represented the last opportunity for a final break with the regime of war crimes and mafia, as well as to disable Milosevic's public and secret power centers and their October 5th heirs to grasp the main levers of power. The Constitutional Court's decision to rule the state of emergency unconstitutional closed the circle of evil and dispatched the message that all those who endeavor measures of discontinuity will be outlawed.

**How can secret files be opened in a situation where the main protagonists of the Milosevic regime are either in power or among its supporters?** How to open secret files when the BIA (Security Information Agency) Director is a man without a public biography whereas the Director of the "public service" called Radio-Television of Serbia is Milosevic's ex-Minister?

In a situation where Milosevic's chief war mongerer Milorad Vucelic interprets and passes judgement on our sins from day to day? How to open secret files when military judges, prosecutors and other protagonists of the cover-up of the crime at the Topcider Garrison publicly threaten and compromise those who cast doubt on their official version?

**Examples are countless, injustice is augmenting; instead of waiting for the Government to convince us that it is not in our interest to know what is hidden under the veil of state secrets, instead of passively waiting for another murder, scandal or campaign in which we will be guilty of trusting facts and reason rather then official versions, it is high time to take our part of the responsibility and exert pressure to disclose what is being hidden.**

Serbia needs memory. With the multitude of ugly things that have been happening of late it is normal that memories fade and our remembrance is being intruded by interventions and interpretations of others. Serbia needs normality. Normality cannot be attained unless we loudly and clearly say who is who. **It takes only little effort to revive memories at least of what has been done publicly, at least of what has been said publicly and of what we failed to distance ourselves from.** We can only hope that in the meanwhile that too, is not classified as secret.

That is the sole reason why this edition is set in motion.

# WHY ALEKSANDAR TIJANIC?

The public statements of Aleksandar Tijanic (hereinafter: AT) are published as the first case in the Public Files Edition most of all because his first name initial, both in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabet, coincide with the topic of our investigation. **Opting for AT is a result of his provocative and specific appearance in the media and public at large, appearance which is often viewed as an expression of his untamed talent. We could not escape the fact that this – as he himself admits – journalist has had a very rich career, richer than his journalistic skills. It includes a ministerial post in the Mirko Marjanovic Government, the job of the adviser to FRY President Vojislav Kostunica, the role of the supreme authority on issues of our everyday life, especially on the policies of the Djindjic Government, the reputation of the eternally persecuted righteous dissident, and finally RTS General Director.**

He was appointed RTS General Director by a decree issued by the Government of Serbia on March 18th 2004 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 30/04) on the basis of the Law on Public Enterprises and Activities of Public Interest (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 25/00 and 25/02). This Law stipulates that a director (as a managerial post) in a public enterprise (not a general director) is appointed and dismissed by the founder, i.e. the Government of the Republic of Serbia representing the Republic of Serbia. This fact testifies to what extent the Government of the Republic of Serbia deemed it necessary to appoint AT to a non-existent post according to the provisions of the Law on Public Enterprises and "by-pass" the Law on Broadcasting of July 19th 2002 (and August 26th 2002) which stipulates that the RTS General Director is appointed and dismissed by the Management Board, itself appointed by the Broadcasting Agency Council. The Government attempted to explain why in this case the Broadcasting Law was not applied represents not only logical and legal rubbish, but its second serious intrusion into the legal system of Serbia (the first being the duplicated election of the already elected Governor of the National Bank of Serbia). The Government apparently had a serious problem because AT did not fulfill the conditions set by the Broadcasting Law for the appointment to the post of General Director, an opportunity the Kostunica Government did not dare to miss because of such "legalistic trivialities". Neither according to the Law on Radio-Television (which has been abolished with the promulgation of the Broadcasting Law, which means that these two laws are legally and logically related) AT could have been elected to the post because “the Government appoints the General Director on the basis of a public contest”. It was obvious that if a public contest could jeopardize AT on grounds of e.g. university degree qualification requirement, the Government was motivated to seriously violate the law and nominate itself as a candidate for all kinds of political, moral and even individual penal responsibility. Some day, of course.

In such a situation, the interest for a public file of AT gains significance. **What are this man’s qualities that made the Kostunica Government – a self - appointed champion of legalism – present itself as a Government which would "observe" laws adopted by the Djindjic and Zivkovic Governments as it sees fit and to the extent it considers necessary.** That is the secret power of a man that makes him capable of pushing the "legal principle" aside in order to enable the full capacity of his undisturbed activity. AT is naturally interesting also as a potential subject of the Lustration Commission’s inquiry which should be carried out on the basis of the provisions of the Law on Lustration. AT should be examined not because of his statements and deeds but because of the position he holds. So far his case has not been looked into. We have often asked ourselves how could it happen that the biography of a man who is publicly looked upon as one of the freest and most specific individuals rejecting the burden of authority be systematically forgotten, suppressed and deleted. How could it happen that people who have been subjects and victims of his campaigns, libels and threats forget what he has been saying, and dismiss the case by saying “let it be, it’s T”?

**What qualifies him to be law exempt?** Why did AT not serve his 15 day jail sentence? Questions are countless, but we are convinced that the answer can be only one. It has to do with who AT fails to attack, who AT praises and when, who AT attacks and in what period, who AT permanently attacks regardless of time and place. We hope that we will give this answer in this book.