Forces, not a single house remained intact. Today, Kozarac lies deep inside the Republica Srpska, the Serbian entity inside Bosnia, which, under the terms of the 1995 Dayton peace agreement, exists with the government of the Bosniak-Croat federation. Visiting it now, I saw that almost every single house in the town has been rebuilt and half the original population of 20,000 has returned.

It is true that the rate of return in Kozarac and some nearby towns has date came out on top, not enough people voted to make the election valid. In the Serbian government building, close to where his mentor, the former Serbian premier Zoran Djindjic, was murdered on March 12, I met Ceda Janovice, one of the country's outgoing deputy premiers. He is in a good position to talk about the effects of the Hague Tribunal in Serbia, as he says, having put Milosevic on the "helicopter" that in 2001 took the former Serbian leader to The Hague in Bosnia from where he was exiled. Milosevic.

He owes his job to the fact that he betrayed Milosevic just at the right time and supported the democratic forces led by Djindjic. After Djindjic was killed, Lakic took up some ten thousand people, while the state mounted a counterattack against many leading politicians who have done great damage to Serbia in recent years.

Indeed, if it turns out, as many believe, that a wave of rounding up of the military leaders was supposed to follow Djindjic's assassination in order to end cooperation with the tribunal, Lakic was probably instrumental in fomenting it. One of the apparent motives for the coup plotters, and for the support they had from the military leadership and one of the other generals will be candidates in the election on December 2.

I don't believe that the Hague Tribunal is the only, or even a major, reason for the collapse of the reformist government that led Serbia since 2000, but it has contributed to it. That may be because, as Natacha Kandi, Serbia's leading human rights activist, told me, no one in the government had the courage to say that Serbia needed to face up to the crimes that had been committed in its name. Instead the government had handed over Milosevic, allowing him to protect his "enemies". Because of international pressure, and because aid had been tied to cooperation with the tribunal, Kandi said.

No one mentioned war crimes or the criminal acts for which Milosevic and the others were accused. They said, "we have cooperated because Milosevic and Montenegro are a member of the UN" or, "we need financial aid, and the support of the US or the World Bank, and we have politicians who think they have an obligation to accept responsibilities for Milosevic's time."

All the polls have consistently shown that Serbs in Serbia continue to view it as an anti-Serb. They point to the apparent fact that three Serbs are indicted for each non-Serb. While it is a serious matter, it is also a fact that most of the recent wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo are in advance, but also conflict."
indicted so far have been Serbs. In his view the tribunal is a conspiracy, basically to... punish the main enemy of NATO, the US, and the West. The tribunal, he believes, seeks "to justify the [1999] NATO bombing of Serbia because of Kosovo. If Milosevic is indicted for genocide in Bosnia, it justifies the bombing over Kosovo." Djilas and many of his fellow Serbs claim that only part of the truth comes to light in The Hague. He has no doubt about the guilt of many of those indicted but finds it disgraceful that Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, the Croatian and Bosnian wartime leaders, did not end up in the dock, although, after both of them died, it was revealed that they had been under investigation by the Hague prosecution. Tudjman might have been accused of responsibility for killings in Krajina, the Serb enclave in Croatia. Izetbegovic was being investigated for his responsibility for a camp in which Serb civilians may have been herded, and abused, as wellreg Shockovje. Hects isKrajin, although Serbs don't know what was done in their name. Djilas says, but few see the Hague Tribunal as concerned with "the whole truth."

After I left Belgrade I traveled to Vukovar, the eastern Croatian city that was virtually flattened by the Yugoslav military and Serbian paramilitaries when they besieged it and finally took it over in 1991. In 1999, it was peacefully handed back to Croatia. Outside the city there is a large cemetery and a monument to both Croats who died defending the town and civilians killed during the siege.

One of the people I talked to in Vukovar, which has now been substantially rebuilt, was Petar Minovit, the local vice-president of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the party that had led Croatia to independence. It had been out of power since 2000, but on November 23 was about to win the general election in which Mihanovic was elected to parliament. He had been one of Vukovar's defenders.

What I asked, did he think of the case against General Ante Gotovina, one of the main military leaders of Croatia's reconquest of Krajina in August 1995? The general has been indicted for war crimes, including murder, the destruction of thousands of Serbian homes, and the ethnic cleansing of up to 500,000 Serbs. He has not been handed over to The Hague since the outgoing Croatian government has claimed that it does not know where he is.

Minovit insisted that the tribunal was "much more favorable to Serbs." The Croats, he said, were justly trying to delimit their "own country," so they could not have been responsible for war crimes. "A lot of things happened there in a short period of time," he said.

The Croatian government signed an agreement with The Hague, he continued, that would threaten Serbs, not Croats.

In Zagreb I met Vlora Starcina, a columnist on the daily newspaper Vjesnik. Starcina, a columnist on the daily newspaper Vjesnik. She believes, has not been deterred to The Hague because it is protected by the former leader of Croatia. After all, she points out, the Croatian attack on Krajina in 1995 was a response to Serbian efforts to repatriate Serbs. She believes that Croatia is being singled out for sanctions. Whether such an arrangement would protect Croatia, she said, remains to be seen.

In Zagreb's view, The Hague has failed its role but if they continue with their work the cold war will continue. The next few weeks, indictions for more than 30,000 more people will be made public, across the former Yugoslavia. So, Starcina says, unless there is a resolution about the names that will be on the list.
There is no doubt that more Bosnian war criminals will be brought to justice, and many others will never be brought to justice. This, he says, could have disastrous consequences.

In 1948 in Yugoslavia he decided to close mass graves and cemeteries [where bodies had been dumped] and to cremate them over. The goal was “to put an end to it.” But that “brought us to 1992. The families of the victims came to me and asked for revenge. They remembered their fathers and mothers in mass graves or in cemeteries, and they decided to put an end to the suffering of the last forty years by killing others.”

He is implying that without full justice, revenge will again haunt the Balkans. The tribunal, he told me, is under pressure to wind up indictments because of the recent opening of the International Criminal Court (in 1993), also in The Hague. “Many people,” he says, in Sarajevo, where Bosnian politicians have been insisting on pursuing their accusations.

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