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Milorad Popović

Editor

Milorad Popović

Translation into English

Goran Drinčić

Design

Suzana Pajović

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ŠEKI RADONČIĆ

ANATOMY OF A PERSECUTION



To Elvira, for all the sleepless nights

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INTRODUCTION

When a river of lies, insinuations and insults went against me, carrying logs and stones and covered with feces, I was afraid of the possibility to disappear in the mud without a trace. Almost three years later, this terrible flood would lose its power, returning to the natural riverbed and turning into a smelly stream.

I collected this dirt with disgust, conducting its forensic analysis. Like an enthusiastic scientist, I stayed up late into the night, sometimes until dawn, studying this stench, and often going to sleep with the feeling that I got it under my skin. But I never gave up: while solving the puzzle I analyzed the collected material, commented upon it, drew patterns, and discovered formulas.

I put the report on the results of my research between the covers of this book, calling it “The Anatomy of a Persecution”, alluding to “The Anatomy Lesson” by Danilo Kiš who was, as we know, persecuted, labeled, and falsely accused for seven months because of “A Tomb for Boris Davidovič”, which eventually forced him to write the memorable work about his persecutors.

Unlike Kiš, with my apologies for comparing with him, I was not persecuted for a book, but because of a documentary film, “A Hero of Our Time”. Assisted by the intellectual underground, town rumor, and the Internet, Podgorica’s self-proclaimed elite attacked the film even before I finished it and before they saw it: they accused me of denying my earlier works through it, betraying myself and them, called me a forger, a traitor, a regime man...

As soon as the persecution began, I started to collect, in a corner of my working room, the newspapers and printed texts in which my film was impugned, while I was stoned and called derogatory names. At the time I have already edited the film and thus did not let the persecutors distract or drag me away from it and draw the attention in a wrong direction. But the pile in the corner of my room kept growing, just like a tumor. My stomach was churning with every glance at the hideous pile on which one could already sit down and whose smell was stronger than the smell of a toilet in a provincial bus station.

Yet, I did not want to make a film about a false hero – a police inspector and a participant in the war crime of deportation – which was the reason for the persecution against me. *A Hero of Our Time* was not my choice, my will: it was a film that was simply extorted. I was planning something else: to, finally, shoot a documentary about the planetary crime of Srebrenica's inferno.

As regards the false hero, I wanted to publish an investigative article, in which new light would be shed on his wartime role by Bosnian refugees whom he arrested and a policeman who set them free, while the hunter on Bosniaks himself took the credit for this heroic act of liberation. However, the editor-in-chief of Monitor categorically refused to publish my article on this Montenegrin swindler: he said he was a blood-brother of his. As of the following issue of Monitor, I was, without notice and the right of appeal, deleted from the impressum of a newspaper for which I wrote for twenty years.

In order to ensure a clear conscience and a good night's sleep, I decided to make a documentary on the Montenegrin swindler and hunter on Bosniaks, not knowing that I would therefore be exposed to the most brutal and the longest media persecution against a publicist and documentarian. Persecution which is, although lower in intensity, still underway.

As soon as he heard that I was making a documentary about the false hero (who, in fact, was the person in charge of the arrests), which meant breaking the blockade of independent but private media, his patron, the Lord of Truth, the uncrowned king of Montenegrin media and the biggest seller of lies in Montenegro, opened the dam and let the river of logs, stones and feces at me. At the same time, his partners, editors, journalists, columnists, politicians and Internet shooters, in fact the people from his payroll or those who had other common interests with him – either publicly or secretly, competed in throwing insults at my yet unseen film and its author. And when they eventually saw the film, they attacked me saying that the witnesses from my film were paid, corrupt, fake...

At the time when the persecution turned into hysteria, the *Association of Public Broadcasting Professionals INPUT* included “A Hero of Our Time” in the top 60 achievements for 2012 and showed it at the Screening Conference in Sydney. This award for “creativity, expertise and innovation” and the subsequent inclusion of the film in the official programme of the European Film Festival for Documentaries *dokumentART* in Germany and Poland further enraged the persecutors, making them invest superhuman efforts to shut my mouth with mud and throw me into the muddy river.

I did not step back. On the basis of their persecution and my replies, the Montenegrin public began to see the hidden side of the so-called Montenegrin independent media. Debunking the false hero turned, not by my will, in unmasking other Montenegrin false heroes of our time as well: primarily the Lord of Truth, “independent” media moguls, editors, journalists, intellectuals, and other moral authorities from this journalistic-mafia lair.

The anatomy of this unseen persecution is in your hands.

INDEPENDENT AND PRIVATE AT THE SAME TIME

[OR HOW MATHEMATICS PROFESSOR ENTERED MONTENEGRIN JOURNALISM AND CREATED MEDIA MONOPOLY HAVING UNDERSTOOD THE POWER OF MEDIA; ON THE SCHEME OF HIS MEDIA POWER AND ON HOW HE MANIPULATES THE PUBLIC AND HOW HIS MEDIA ARE KILLING PEOPLE]

While a local chamber trio performed works by Rachmaninoff, Shostakovich and Piazzolla at the main stage, four partners from the first row rubbed their hands in satisfaction: the concert was staged on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary since the foundation of their newspaper.

“*Vijesti* daily is not only the first independent daily chronicler in the history of Montenegro but also an important generator that pushes the authorities and the entire political elite to change”, Miodrag Perović, the oldest founder of *Vijesti* and mathematics professor who quietly entered the Montenegrin journalism twenty years ago, humbly stated before the concert. Visionary Perović entered not only Montenegrin journalism but the legend as well. However, a member of the new class, Miško the Independent, wisely said nothing about the manner in which he and his partners, while engaged in the noble journalistic mission and fighting against totalitarian regimes, managed to move from their leased apartments to villas and castles, gaining enormous wealth in only fifteen years. He also kept silent about the guerilla way in which the four of them achieved the American Dream in the midst of poor Montenegro. Miško was likewise silent as regards the other co-founders and co-owners of *Vijesti* – journalists whom the four revelers brutally robbed of their founding shares, and then shamelessly accused, in front of the Montenegrin public, of falsely claiming to be the founders of *Vijesti*. The robbed journalists were not invited to attend the great anniversary. They were rejected as bad conscience.

Listening to chamber music, Miško the Independent was slightly bored and often moved his unfashionable tie and untidy hair. The other co-founder, Šćeka the Independent, often had to loosen the belt of his trousers, as it was pressed by the big belly. The third partner, Željko the Independent, the author of the best panegyric for disguised fascist Boris Tadić, and of the worst text on opera in the history of Montenegrin journalism, turned around him, not believing that the great hall of the National Theatre was empty, with only about thirty guests, mostly *Vijesti* journalists. Željko expected the hall to be packed with people on this independence celebration, anticipating the presence of Montenegrin elite, whereas in reality it all resembled a commemoration.

The fourth partner, Ljubiša the Independent, twisted in his chair as if in someone else's skin, acting like he did not belong to that company, as if he had been brought there under a severe threat.

I am sure (I have known him for over twenty years) Miško the Independent spent those moments counting how much money had spawned for these fifteen years in his bank account that was once miserable. Then again, perhaps he was counting how much money he still lacked to become really rich. This is a calculation with which Miško was simply obsessed. The mathematics professor would put together the prices of magnificent houses, cars, yachts, airplanes, servants, security, and God-knows-what-else that any rich man should have. I remember once, during a gathering in the newsroom of *Monitor*, Miško stopped at a figure of about 150 million dollars. This was enough. Miško who, just as Scrooge McDuck, had a dollar sign in his eyes, also counted how many generations should pass in order for his heirs to become real aristocracy.

“It will be only our third generation that will know to behave and live like aristocracy”, estimated missionary Miško.

Yet, Miško's hairstyle, a tie from the Brezhnev era and his posture were saying something else: regardless of the huge amounts of money, even the eighth generation of distinguished professor's heirs

will struggle to catch up with the European aristocracy, if they turn out to be like him. Their blood would not turn blue even if ink was injected into their veins.

Missionary Miško, however, did achieve the goal of grasping the media power in Montenegro, which, no doubt, does not belong to either the ruling regime or the opposition but to Miško and his carefully chosen partners. They completed the system of absolute media monopoly in Montenegro: they have a very high circulation independent daily newspaper, a powerful independent television, the most visited independent website, an independent radio station, an independent weekly newspaper, a printing house, and the publishing activities. They even have their own media self-regulatory body – the *Press Council*, which consists of only journalists of *Vijesti* and *Monitor*. In other words, they have their own independent monopoly, which, of course, in stable countries would not be allowed.

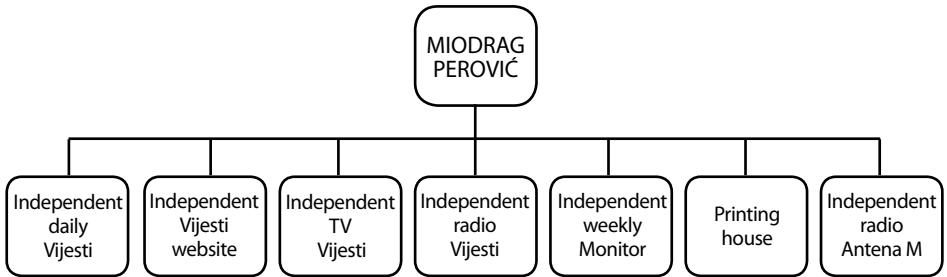
As Klemens von Metternich noted, Napoleon thought newspapers were worth more than 300,000 soldiers. Upon coming to power, Napoleon found 1,500 papers. To limit their power, he decided to make it obligatory for newspapers to have the government's permission. This is how Bonaparte reduced their number to thirteen in no time. At the time of his fall, in 1815, only four newspapers were published in France, including *Le Moniteur*, which he personally founded.

Recognizing the enormous power of the media, the Montenegrin media Bonaparte not only founded the newspaper with the same name, *Monitor*, but also formed his media empire, establishing it on four different media: Independent Montenegrin weekly *Monitor*, Independent daily *Vijesti*, Independent *Vijesti* website and Independent radio *Vijesti*.

As we can see, all the media of Miško&Co. have the prefix “independent”. The cunning mathematics professor and the biggest seller of lies did so for a reason: this is how he positioned his private media as independent, neutral and professional, which paves the way

for foreign donations and increases the rating and impact at the local level, which brings more money to the media from advertising.

Let us have a look at the scheme of Perović's media power in Montenegro:



Scheme No. 1

So, Miodrag Perović has gained ownership of *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *TV Vijesti*, *Radio Vijesti*, *Monitor*, and a *printing house*. As regards the *Radio Antena M*, Perović has 18% ownership, but does not control the editorial policy and does not use it for personal interests and battles, because the majority owner Darko Šuković would not let him.

The mathematics professor that entered Montenegrin journalism to get rich at the expense of journalists and journalism uses private media, among other things, for the following independent objectives:

- a) to display himself as a highly ethical person, great intellectual and a brilliant mind who does not care about the material, but spiritual values;
- b) to present himself as a poor political dissident and opponent of the regime, fighting against corruption, personal power and dictatorship;
- c) to pretend to be a grand teacher, a man of the mission, who teaches democracy, humanism, ethics, and respect for law to the public;
- d) to play a philanthropist and wise father of the nation;

- e) to reset, from time to time, his controversial biography;
- f) to spread a rug before himself that would lead him to the throne of the president of Montenegro;
- g) to discredit, defame, intimidate and morally kill his opponents.

If I continued to list his goals, I would have come to the end of the alphabet, so I will stick to the essence: Miodrag Perović can praise himself in his media as much as he wants to, that is after all in the spirit of the *advertising time*, i.e. the time in which, as Hannah Arendt put it, “self-praise is the best recommendation”, but this is a question of education and good taste that should prevent him from throwing people in his media millstone just because they do not think as he does, or because they have compromised the slightest of his interests, or have become inconvenient witnesses and his bad conscience. Still, if Miško the Independent knew what education and good taste were, he would not have robbed his colleagues and friends.

This is what the media millstone of Miodrag Perović and his partners looks like: an ordered text is first published, for example, by their independent *TV Vijesti*; then, their “independent” *Monitor* cites it; and finally, their “independent” *daily Vijesti*, their “independent” *Vijesti website* and their *Radio Vijesti* do the same. After that, the same text containing the same lies is quoted by their private independent journalists and columnists – associates at other media. The order of the media can, of course, be different, and does vary from case to case. Finally, the sound of Perović’s media whip is heard around the globe.

I certainly felt this whip on my skin. Yet, judging by the vehemence of their campaign, Perović’s persecutors intended to execute me not only morally – they also wanted me to share the fate of Mladen Brajović. As the Director of Podgorica’s Waterworks Company and a prominent official of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists, Mladen was long accused for having a false university diploma. By *Vijesti* of course. The articles were garnished with his photos on the front page of the newspaper. Mladen denied it. He even submitted

a copy of his diploma to *Vijesti*, but it did not help. A killer media persecution resulted in a tragic outcome: Mladen Brajović ended his life in the Morača canyon where, on 20 September 2010, his car fell into a 95-meter abyss. There were no braking traces on the road. Mladen left behind five daughters and wife.

The Montenegrin public was shocked with Mladen's death. All the eyes, for a reason, looked at *Vijesti*. No one from the tabloid even flushed because of this media crime. Instead of any stories on Mladen's death, the causes and consequences of this tragic act, or any apologies, Miodrag Perović's spin doctors expressly and callously turned the public attention away from the media execution on the alleged threats to themselves: the editorial boards of *Vijesti* and *TV Vijesti* informed the public that they received anonymous threatening letters saying "you are done" and "you are next". The letters were allegedly addressed to the owners and editors of *Vijesti*, Željko Ivanović, Slavoljub Šćekić, Ljubiša Mitrović, Balša Brković, and its associate Milan Popović. The reasons for threats were not indicated, which further strengthens the suspicion that this was a manipulation and misinformation that intended to divert public attention from the media hype that resulted in the death of Mladen Brajović. However, Perović's puppet and one of the opposition leaders, Nebojša Medojević, as well as the servile Montenegrin PM Igor Lukšić expressly reacted in defense of the owners, editors and associates of *Vijesti*, by "strongly condemning this act".

In this atmosphere of media and political pressure, nobody from the Montenegrin prosecution office dared to launch an investigation of the media execution of Mladen Brajović. This is not surprising: media crimes and corpses in Montenegro do not lead to investigations. The independent masters of truth, their media, journalists, columnists and intellectuals are sacred cows: nobody should disturb the deity. They can lie, steal, lynch, bury, racketeer... with no fear of consequences. They can produce events (fictional assassinations, false police reports, writing open letters and appeals ...) to divert the

public attention from their abominations to the alleged threats to “independent” journalists and journalism.

Independent journalism, as evidenced by the Montenegrin experience, is a great deception. It does not exist, it never has, there is only professional and unprofessional journalism. Speaking at a conference on freedom of speech held in New York, John Swinton, the legend of American journalism, a longtime editor of *The New York Times* and *The New York Sun*, already in his old age, said:

“There is no such thing, at this date of the world’s history, as an independent press. You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dares to write your honest opinions, and if you did, you know beforehand that it would never appear in print. I am paid weekly for keeping my honest opinion out of the paper I am connected with. Others of you are paid similar salaries for similar things, and any of you who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for another job. If I allowed my honest opinions to appear in one issue of my paper, before twenty-four hours my occupation would be gone. The business of the journalists is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. You know it and I know it, and what folly is this toasting an independent press. We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks, they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes”.

The four partners, four symbols of Montenegro’s independent journalism, reclining in the front row of the National Theatre, confirmed this through their actions.

THE MISSION OF GROWING RICH

[OR HOW MATHEMATICS PROFESSOR ENTERED MONTENEGRIN JOURNALISM AND CREATED MEDIA MONOPOLY HAVING UNDERSTOOD THE POWER OF MEDIA; ON THE SCHEME OF HIS MEDIA POWER AND ON HOW HE MANIPULATES THE PUBLIC AND HOW HIS MEDIA ARE KILLING PEOPLE]

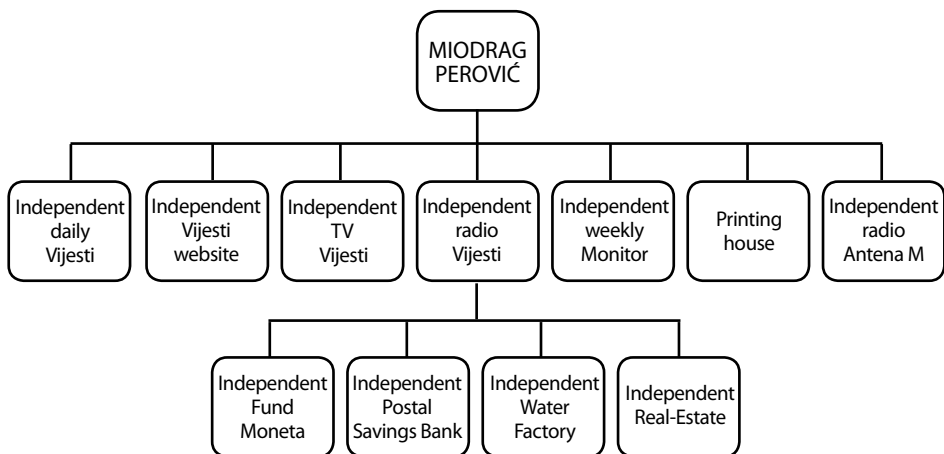
Mathematician Miodrag Perović entered the “independent” journalism with a modest salary of a professor at the University in Podgorica, with the motto “freedom, equality and solidarity” and a noble mission to make Montenegro a better place to live. In this business, Mikeli, as he was affectionately called, found himself: blindly adhering to independence, equality, and solidarity in just a few years he acquired huge capital, the title of an “anti-war profiteer” and the title of Don Mikeli. While independent journalists struggled in their poverty, fighting against greater-Serbian plague and the bad government, striving to democracy and sovereign Montenegro, the humble and frail professor managed, as if unintentionally, to carry out the mission of getting very rich. At the end of the ballad, the mathematics professor disguised as an independent journalist would become one of the most powerful and richest men in his Independent country, a disguised ruler causing either fear or aversion of politicians, prosecutors, judges, businessmen, intellectuals...

The independent media empire of Don Mikeli&Co. created on selling lies, financial frauds and brutal robbery of journalists cannot, of course, serve the journalism profession, the community, or a better society, but only one ever-hungry-man. The media of sellers of lies are framing, making up things, filing claims, issuing wanted notices, hanging yellow ribbons. The seller of lies will attack anyone who even remotely threatens his family business and interests, or testifies about his shady business. Miško's religion is money, and his saint is St. Euro.

It is thanks to the mathematics professor that independent journalism in Montenegro would degenerate into a factory of lies. The soil created by him and his partners is more fertile for lies than Vojvodina is for wheat. Their private but independent media do not even respect the elementary rule of journalism “to hear the other side” or that “information should be verified before publication by at least two sources” or that the editorial office is obliged to publish a correction or response of the other side. When a newspaper fails to respect the basic rules of the profession it becomes an ordinary toilet paper.

Due to uncontrolled media power and the abuse of the profession nothing is impossible for Perović&Partners: they can pretend to support sovereign Montenegro while referring to the sixth anniversary of independent Montenegro as a shipwreck; they can present themselves as fighters against war crimes while glorifying the main hunter in the war crime of deportation; they can disguise as fighters for democratic Montenegro while promoting the Milošević’s wartime ambassador (who defended Serbian war crimes in Kosovo and refused to acknowledge the genocide in Srebrenica) and Šešelj’s Chetnik duke, declaring them the leaders of the democratic front in Montenegro; they can falsely accuse the president of the largest opposition party of defending the government and the regime while blaming other media for being against the opposition; they can present themselves as sworn followers of the profession while callously showing a footage of a murder of their fellow citizen on their television; they can mockingly refer to their competitor *Pobjeda* daily as *Funeral Newspaper* while advertising the price list for publication of obituaries in *Vijesti* on a daily basis; they can declare against media monopolies while blocking the establishment and the sale of other newspapers through mafia extortions; they can rob their fellow journalists of their founding investments while shamelessly accusing them of falsely claiming to be the founders of *Vijesti*; they can beg for money for their media while not knowing how to spend all that money. I will stop here. I am not going to further list the examples of their hypocrisy: it would take me three books just for that.

When you hear the Seller of Lies complaining of his indigence, when you hear him moaning, you will cry over his poverty if you are sympathetic. Do not fall for that: the mathematics professor saw the freedom of expression as the quickest way and the best tool for accumulating money. Let us, for illustration purposes, look at Scheme No.2. Compared to the previous one, this scheme seems much richer while Miško the Independent seems even more independent:



Scheme No.2

I hope Miško the Universal will not blame me for not listing all of his movable and immovable property. However, I will not further deal with his independent banks and savings banks, funds and factories, the equity in the media and numerous properties in Podgorica, Kotor, Petrovac, Žabljak... This would, after all, require me, instead of him, to answer the question how did he get so much money, who gave it to him and why? Since I do not care that much, I will only say that even the police have knowledge about the integrity of the prominent media, banking, construction and H2O tycoon. His honorable and independent business operations were investigated by the

Special Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime of Montenegro for two years.

Yet, one should not fear for Miodrag Perović: the government is afraid to strike at this independent-private wasps nest and prosecute those responsible because of the brutal pressure of his media and the fear that Miško the Independent will, just as he did so many times, plant a story about the threats to independent media in Montenegro to the international community. Instead, the authorities will wisely wait for the cases of fraud and theft to be barred by the statute of limitations, just as was the case when the journalists and founders of *Vijesti* were robbed of their shares.

Miško the Independent never knew how to match his enormous greed with small and already occupied Montenegrin resources. It was precisely this greed, the strongest trait of Miodrag Perović, that would destroy Montenegrin independent journalism, whatever the term meant. And nothing happened overnight. It was a long process with a logical end: the richer Miodrag Perović got, the weaker became independent journalism. Eventually it drowned in his money.

Such a crime could not, of course, be committed by the Seller of Lies himself, without help. Miško's virus of growing rich at the expense of journalists and journalism instantly spread to his partners. If one day they reach the power in Montenegro and put their paws on public broadcasting services, the Independent (Montenegro) will find itself in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Miško will, of course, remain more independent than anyone else.

This media gang wants to rule Montenegro in such a democratic manner that it wants to destroy all those who would not kiss their hands. That is how I ended up in their execution list. The example of buried Šeki Radončić should have served as a lesson to all those who wanted to oppose these media goons.

When the water turns muddy, a proverb says, we should return to the spring. Therefore, we will briefly look at who are the most powerful

figures of Perović's media reign of terror and review their journalistic biographies:

1. Željko Ivanović. A partner and the right arm of Miodrag Perović. Ivanović started his career in journalism in the *Informer*, bulletin of the heavy machinery factory *Radoje Dakić* from Podgorica. I was interested in Željko's first steps in journalism, so I went to the Central National Library Đurđe Crnojević in Cetinje and found his first articles written for the factory bulletin *Informer*, which two years later became *Radoje Dakić's* factory bulletin. Titles of Željko's texts in the *Informer* of 28 March 1989 say it all, and I will not comment on them: *Young Workers Clean Factory Grounds, Bicycles by Installments, Inflation Slashes Breakfast*.

Judging by the serious topics he addressed, it can be concluded that the factory bulletin editor did not recognize great potential in Željko Ivanović, the future director of *Vijesti* and a media tycoon. I regret the fact that Miodrag Perović will abuse this research of mine in his quarrels with Željko: he will not be criticizing him telling him that he brought him to *Monitor* from a factory newspaper, but from a factory bulletin, which, we must admit, is one step below.

The history of Montenegrin journalist dishonor will remember a situation when Željko Ivanović as a journalist of a factory bulletin and a correspondent of *Ilustrovana politika* launched a fierce campaign against former politician Veselin R. Đuranović in this Belgrade's newspaper, falsely accusing him to have used public money to buy his son a huge apartment in former Titograd. The text was cited by *Politika* as well. However, when Đuranović sent his response stating that it was a blatant lie and an insult, as the man had no children, *Politika* published a retraction, but Željko Ivanović did not do so in *Ilustrovana politika*. This is what Željko the Independent is like today as well: he hates the facts like the devil hates the cross and publishes no retractions.

Let me illustrate with an example: Željko Ivanović wrote that Šeki Radončić was falsely presenting himself as one of the founders of

Vijesti. However, when I sent *Vijesti* a facsimile from the Registry of the Commercial Court in Podgorica No. 1-15474-00, which showed that among the founders of *Vijesti* I was listed under No. 4, while Željko was No. 3, he did not let the retraction be published.

2. Slavoljub Šćekić. In the war-mongering volume *War for Peace*, the name of Slavoljub Šćekić is written in gold letters. He was one of the authors of this joint evil-doers text and later a special correspondent of Konatar's *Pobjeda* from Milošević's Belgrade. Šćeka the Independent also showed that he could not move away from himself: as Director of *TV Vijesti*, he was the first in Montenegro to show the footage of the brutal murder of Aleksandar Pejanović. He did so utterly irresponsibly and in a sensationalist manner, during prime time news. Such a recording, as ethics and professionalism provide, could only be shown in the courtroom. Such an unprofessional and inhuman treatment of the victim, his family, friends and viewers sparked outrage and a general condemnation of the Montenegrin and professional public.

3. Esad Kočan. A famous demonstrator and private editor of Miodrag Perović. On the eve of AB revolution, as a verified regime soldier and obedient, Kočan was moved from the Titograd's *Marxist Center* and installed in *Pobjeda*, and later as one of the editors of *TV Montenegro*. Here is what Jevrem Brković said about Kočan's rallying campaigns and agitations: "I have known Kočan since the time when he was the editor of *News* at the *Television of Montenegro*: he was a loud promoter of AB revolution and all the events in front of the Montenegrin Parliament. I remember him as a reporter in front of the Parliament, inviting people at rallies and the overthrow of the then legitimate authorities" (*Diaries* 1994–1995, "Dan, 23 April 1994").

Esad Kočan turned *Monitor* into a brothel, a spittoon and a hotbed of hatred. During his editorial mandate *Monitor* changed its main editorial policy (people went to Chetniks from 1946, which is their democratic right), and started to function totally in the interest of master Perović and his personal, family, economic and political

goals. This is why the editorial policy of the newspaper roams in accordance with the master's interests. As the boss so the medium.

Kočan is the Master's errand boy, his eyes and ears in the editorial office. This is why an old cynic, Branko Vojičić, nicknamed him Kuta ("Look at Kuta waving his tail as soon as he spots Miško"). The nickname was later adopted by the entire editorial staff, and more importantly, Kočan himself. He reacts to that nickname faster than to his given name. Still, this is not surprising, there are many people named Esad while Kuta is only one! And when Kuta tracks down and points at his prey, the Master pulls out his shotgun instantly.

The lifetime editor of *Monitor* Kuta put on the pillory all those who at least remotely threatened the interests and reputation of Master Miško, not realizing that by doing so he was digging a pit for the newspaper he was editing. There is a long list of prominent intellectuals, businessmen, writers, journalists and politicians who were declared criminals, smugglers, murderers and regime agents in *Monitor*. Finally, Esad Kočan was promoted to become the good old *Monitor's* undertaker. And he will be remembered only by this. Amen.

"What is not good in the beginning cannot be rendered good by time". Given that Ivanović, Šćekić and Kočan, did not have much contact with ethics, professional standards and codes at the beginning of their careers, it is not surprising that this assault trio disguised as independent journalists and became Perović's militia, which patrols Montenegro with the severity of Russian camp guards.

INDEPENDENT GUARDIANS OF THE REGIME

[OR HOW THE FOUNDER OF MONTENEGRIN INDEPENDENT MEDIA SECRETLY COOPERATED WITH THE REGIME AND HOW HE USED TO WRITE ANONYMOUS “LETTERS TO THE EDITOR” AGAINST HIS JOURNALISTS]

I started having doubts about independent missionary Miško back in 1993. I did not know about John Swinton at the time, I admit it, but I began to realize that Miško the Independent was becoming *a tool and vassal of rich men behind the scenes and a jumping jack that dances as the strings are pulled*. By the way, there has never been idyllic cooperation between Director and Editor-in-Chief Miodrag Perović and journalists of good old *Monitor*, as it could be concluded by the public. While we journalists were eagerly jumping at any subject, Miško the Censor was making sure we did not criticize the bad government excessively, especially its “pro-independence part”, headed by Milo Đukanović of course. By Miško’s criteria, Šeki was over the line in criticizing the authorities, although he was one hundred percent supportive of Montenegrin independence.

Since I was mostly involved in investigative journalism, I handled the facts that hindered Miško’s censorship business. He could not challenge the irrefutable facts from my articles with demagogic disqualifications such as: “this is a bad estimate” or “this is not the balance of power” or “I am better informed”. Then again, Miško’s and my arguments were rarely bitter and were largely academic when compared to quarrels between Miško and Željko Ivanović, on the occasion of which they would often swear like troopers. With my apologies to troopers.

Miško used to accuse me of “crazy courage, stubbornness and inflexibility”, and I used to accuse him of “flirting with the regime

and the greed for money”. Still, it was bearable cooperation of a “man of passion” on one side, and a calculated person on the other. However, the first conflict between the two of us broke out in the early nineties. Miško was not the owner of *Monitor* at the time (he will miraculously become one a few years later), but its director and editor-in-chief. The first serious clash between us occurred when I wrote (for *Monitor*) an investigative article entitled *The Secret of Radoman’s Treasure*, in which I described the manner in which Dubrovnik and its surroundings were robbed by JNA reservists and their superiors, Commander of Dubrovnik-Herzegovina battlefield Pavle Strugar and his deputy, General Radomir Damjanović. I also described how Nada, the wife of former Montenegrin President Momir Bulatović, took looted furniture, paintings and a safe from this “war booty”, using it in a dormitory in Podgorica, where she was the director.

When a fierce denial by General Damjanović came to the office, in which he claimed that he did not take a *Peugeot 604* from the Dubrovnik war theater, as I wrote, and that he would sue me and *Monitor*, there was a hush in the office. People were looking at me as if looking at the deceased. The times were difficult; one could not risk and get on the wrong side of a plain reservist, let alone commanders. Soon, Miško arrived.

– Do you know who he is? What do we do now? – Miško yelled angrily.

– I will write an apology to the General. To err is human, I replied calmly, to somewhat defuse his panic attack. This is exactly what I did in the next issue of *Monitor*:

“I apologize to General Radomir Damjanović for making a terrible mistake when retyping the text. General Damjanović did not take a *Peugeot 604* from the Dubrovnik battlefield, as I previously wrote, but a *Mercedes 190 E*, black in color. Signed: Šeki Radončić.

General’s lawsuit ensued for the original text and the response to his denial. “The first accused: Miodrag Perović, Director and Editor-in-

Chief of *Monitor*. The second accused: Šeki Radončić, the author of the text”. Judge: Svetlana Vujanović, wife of the former Minister of Justice of Montenegro, Filip Vujanović.

At the first hearing, I asked for her recusation, as I thought that she would not be able to adjudicate the case objectively. The reason: in my articles I used to criticize her and her husband. She replied that my plea would be decided upon by the President of the Court. In those moments Miško looked at me stunned. The trial was immediately adjourned. Upon leaving the courtroom, terrified Miško told me: “I do not know why you did this. We are doomed now.” Soon, a new judge was designated. Aleksandar Klikovac, cousin of Uroš Klikovac, the Minister of Justice of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the next hearing Miško said, in front of Judge Klikovac, that I was the author of the text, that he had nothing to do with the text, and had not even seen it before publication.

– Is this true? – asked the Judge.

– It is true, Honorable Judge, everything that Perović says is true, I replied.

As of that moment I became the first accused. Perhaps I should have, using the same system, shifted responsibility to someone else, for example, the source of information, and to bail out, but I did not want to, no matter what. The source was an ensign of the Yugoslav National Army who came to the office of *Monitor* himself and offered me the documents. When I, sticking to the investigative procedures, asked him: “What if the general or Nada Bulatović sue us!?”, he said that, if it comes to that, he would testify in court and confirm that everything I wrote is true. Yet, when the ensign read that General Damjanović initiated a lawsuit, he came to the office in low spirits:

– Šeki, if you say I gave you these documents, they will put me in jail for revealing military secrets, and my two children will have to terminate their studies as I will not be able to provide them with funds. Please do not mention my name, said the ensign.

In this irregular court proceedings, in which valid documents were declared a forgery, I was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, one year suspended sentence, and a fine in the amount of 176,000 Deutsche Marks, which I was supposed to pay to the general jointly with *Monitor*. I appealed to the High Court, the general died soon after and, unfortunately, so did young judge Klikovac, and the judgment was never executed.

Ten years later, at a hearing in the lawsuit against writer Andrej Nikolaidis following a suit by famous director Emir Kusturica, editor-in-chief Esad Kočan also said he had nothing to do with Andrej's article entitled *Executioner's Apprentice*, although he had ordered the text from Andrej, revised it and included in the newspaper. The judge then said that Kočan was free to go, while Andrej became the first accused. Instead of staying with his journalist until the end of the hearing, Kuta instantly ran away from the courtroom and never appeared in court again during many subsequent hearings in this case. During this time, together with famous actor Emir Hadžihafizbegović, Šeki Radončić organized fundraising for Andrej and *Monitor* in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At our public invitation, even people who have never heard of *Monitor*, Kočan and Perović, but were familiar with Andrej and the event initiators, made their contributions. Among them there were war disabled, pensioners, unemployed, singers, directors and writers.

After we raised money for damages to Kusturica and paid it on the *Monitor's* account, regime opponent Kočan came to Sarajevo to buy an apartment for his daughter from the money obtained, as he told me, from *TVCG* and *Pobjeda*, which they refer to as *Milovision* and the *Funeral Newspaper* in his *Monitor*. He asked me to introduce him to the famous actor and the former Minister of Sarajevo Canton, Emir Hadžihafizbegović. As I did it, while still gripping the actor's hand, Kuta boasted that he had personally ordered the text against Kusturica from Nikolaidis... Kuta, of course, knew that Emir H. strongly criticized Emir K. for being an apprentice and a mercenary of the butcher of the Balkans, Slobodan Milošević.

After the case of General Damjanović, the case of Minister of Agriculture in the Government of Montenegro Branko Abramović ensued in August 1993. Abramović's immunity was removed and a public show trial was organized against him, for opposing to a huge theft of fertilizer in *DP Cooperation*, whose commercial director was Dragan Bulatović, brother of the President of Montenegro Momir Bulatović.

After he filed a criminal complaint against “unnamed persons” in the company, and against “unnamed persons” in the Ministry of Interior of Montenegro and the Ministry of Finance of Montenegro, for protecting criminals from *DP Cooperation*, intrusive Minister Abramović was arrested under false charges of embezzling 33,000 Deutsche Marks. A few hours before his arrest, I managed to do an exclusive interview with Abramović. I published it when he was already behind bars.

In the next issues of *Monitor*, I started a series of articles about this great affair. Based on the documents I received from Branko Abramović and his lawyer Petar Kankaraš, I shed light on the circle of participants of this robbery and conspiracy. I handed the text on it, along with facsimiles of documents, to my editor Kočan and went on vacation, but when I looked at my article in *Monitor* of 20 August 1993, I was stunned: not only did they remove from my text the names of the main participants in the affair and the facsimiles, but they also inserted comments, which, as Swinton put it, aimed “to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert.” In addition, Kuta placed the article at the end of the newspaper, and failed to include it the table of contents. Using the editor's scissors and manipulation, Kočan marginalized the exclusive information, although a minister's arrest would be top news in any system or state.

I called Kuta immediately. He backed out defending himself, as usual, that he was only Miško's apprentice and mercenary. I sent a letter of protest to Perović, saying that they could shorten my texts, but did not have the right or my consent to twist the facts, to forge

and to sign their lies with my name. Then I spoke with Perović on the phone, asking him who he thought he was to be able to sign his lies with my name.

– And who are you, Šeki Radončić, to arrest half of the Government of Montenegro!?! – Miško replied.

– And who are you, Miško Perović, to protect half of the Government from arrest, I said.

I did not know at the time that one of the deputies of Minister of Finance Božidar Gazivoda, to whom Branko Abramović was pointing, was Milka Ljumović, sister of angry regime opponent Miško Perović, the courageous individual who publicly fought the life-and-death battle against the evil regime, while secretly cooperating and trading with it.

POLICE INTERROGATION IN THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF'S APARTMENT

[OR HOW THE CHIEF OF MONTENEGRIN SECRET POLICE INTERROGATED THE WRITER OF THIS BOOK IN THE APARTMENT OF THE OWNER AND EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF MONITOR AND HOW THE EDITOR OF AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER BECAME A POLICE INTERMEDIARY]

My doubts that nothing would come out of independent journalism and that *Monitor* would become merely a tool for Miodrag Perović to get rich came true on 8 November 1995. On that day, Miško's candle of an incorruptible intellectual and an independent journalist burned down. On that day, the director and editor-in-chief of an "independent" newspaper organized a police interrogation of his journalist in his own apartment. Interrogator: Vukašin Maraš, head of the Montenegrin secret police. Interrogated party: Šeki Radončić, journalist. Witnesses: Dr. Miodrag Perović, apartment owner and Director and Editor-in-Chief of independent weekly *Monitor* and Rajo Vulikić, a longtime inspector of the Montenegrin secret police, Perović's inseparable friend and confidant.

The event was preceded by an announcement that Goran Žugić from Herceg Novi would be appointed as the new head of police in Podgorica. Police officers from Podgorica objected, arguing that Žugić was corrupt. To prevent this appointment, one of Žugić's competitors left a yellow envelope under the door of *Monitor's* office, with "for Šeki Radončić" written on it. It was in fact "a piece of information about the abuses by Goran Žugić" in which he was, among other things, charged with racketeering foreign nationals and passive bribery.

Adhering to the journalistic rule of "hearing the other side", and knowing that the employees of the Ministry of Interior were not allowed to make statements, I addressed the Minister of Interior, Filip Vujanović. He denied the authenticity of the document and

suggested I go and talk to Žugić about it. Žugić suggested that we meet at Villa Gorica. I went to this meeting together with Ljubiša Mitrović, the editor-in-chief. The rest of the story is cited from my book *Behind the Mask*, which was turned into a feuilleton in *Vijesti*.

“I took out the ten-page document and gave it to Žugić. He began to read. He was shocked. He touched his lips with his fingers and emitted muffled sounds like ‘uff, uff’ and ‘brr, brr’. He was blushing, sweating, fidgeting; he would get up and sit down again. When he read everything and calmed down a bit, I asked him if he would make a statement. He said he was not authorized to make statements, but asked me, should I publish an article on this, not to disclose the information concerning the ‘Yellow Wasps’ and his privacy to the public. I promised him this.

We parted. Žugić remained there, Ljubiša went his own way, and I had an article to prepare. I hardly sat down at the computer when the phone rang. It was the founder and majority owner of *Monitor* Miodrag Perović asking me if I would come to his apartment, because the Chief of NSA Vukašin Maraš wanted to talk to me. On that occasion he explained that Maraš had just moved into the apartment above his and that it was his friend Rajo Vulikić, a former NSA employee, who asked him for this arrangement as a favor. I agreed.

It was dark November night. I entered the apartment of Miodrag Perović. In there I found Vukašin Maraš and Rajo Vulikić. After our introductions Rajo withdrew. Miško briefly explained that I was an exclusive journalist of *Monitor* and that it was only up to me to decide whether the text on Žugić will be published. Maraš took the floor. After a brief communist-patriotic address I was relieved: he admitted that the document was authentic.

He made it clear, in a well-mannered way but decisively, that it would be ‘patriotic and human’ of me not to publish the document. When I told him that I would publish it anyway, he decided to ‘twist my arm a little’, warning me that ‘some other services out there’ would not tolerate such things, threatening me subtly. I did not concede...

Experienced as he was, Maraš tried, however, to finish an academic conversation with a ‘compromise’. He asked me very directly what was it that I wanted in return to give back the file ‘Bosnia’ and not to publish the article. There was silence. Everyone was looking at me waiting for a figure. Okay, I said, you can have the document, and in return I am asking you to give me the file ‘Štrpci’ on the execution of 19 Muslims from the Belgrade-Bar train, kidnapped in Štrpci. I knew that the Montenegrin secret police investigated the case because eight of those kidnapped and murdered Muslims were from Montenegro. Maraš could not believe: “For God’s sake, Mr. Šeki, how can you ask the Head of the National Security Agency to disclose you a file?” I answered with a smile: “Just as the Head of the National Security Agency can request a journalist not to publish a dossier”. The conversation ended unsuccessfully. Despite all the pressures of the secret police, Ljubiša and I decided to publish the text about Žugić in the next issue of *Monitor*.”

The quoted part of the text was published in *Vijesti* on 01 July 2003, while Miško was abroad, I think in Rome. It was, of course, simply a coincidence. When he returned to the country, he screamed:

– Šeki, why did you publish that you were interrogated in my apartment?

– Because it is true. I have no reason to hide anything. And there is no reason for you to be angry: I did you a favor, by not describing your miserable attitude during the interrogation. Remember what you said when you, all important, sat reclining on the sofa next to the head of the secret police, “You know Vuk, Šeki is our journalist, but if I prevent him from publishing the text in *Monitor* he will publish it somewhere else. So it is better to make arrangements. Everything will remain among us. And no one else will know about it. We are serious people.”

I also reminded Miško of how he once told me, in front of the *Monitor*’s editorial office, that the British university professors feel honored when they were hired by their secret police, M5 or M6,

I cannot remember exactly, to do something for Her Majesty. Or, when the CIA hired the American university professors – for them it was one of the biggest lifetime awards.

– Well, there you go, Professor Perović, you also had the honor to be hired for this special intermediary mission by the Montenegrin secret police, in the service of his majesty Milo Đukanović, I said with a smile and went my own way, not wishing to argue with him.

Yet, I admit it, I felt sorry for him at the time as he was so upset and annoyed. The man had a stent fitted, and I may have gone too far by publishing the truth.

A little later Montenegrin Liberals will openly accuse special intermediary of the secret police Miodrag Perović for offering, while following the instructions of Vukašin Maraš, a large cash amount to MP Miroslav Vicković to leave the Office of the opposition Liberal Alliance of Montenegro and approach the ruling DPS*. Vicković refused to do so.

Miško 007 did not hide his disappointment with the fact that another secret mission of his had failed, so he justified his failure through the undisputed hatred Liberals felt for Đukanović. The text was published in *Monitor* on 25 May 2010, in an editorial entitled *The Fall*:

“If at least they (Liberals, Š.R.) reacted like that classical Montenegrin man from the story, who would not join opposing camp for anything in the world except out of spite, then that would be within the folklore. This way it turned out to be without charm, ideals and dignity of heroes, both positive and negative. All that is visible is the hatred for Đukanović.”

He forgot to add another visible thing: the cooperation of Professor Perović with the secret police.

Yet, this was not the end of testimonies about the moving relations between the owner of the independent media and the secret police. At an event held on 30 September 2012 within the election campaign

of DPS in Danilovgrad, Milo Đukanović testified how important Miško the Independent was to the secret police:

– I remember well when we, at his explicit request, transferred Miodrag Perović out of Montenegro in a trunk during 1999 (before the NATO bombing of Montenegro, Š.R.), so that we could all somehow be rescued from all the panic he was creating by presenting his own fear as an expression of threats to Montenegro.

On this occasion, Đukanović also dealt with the new political turn of Miodrag Perović: “I would say that our papa unfortunately lost it, and that, being led by an insatiable desire for power and money, he is no longer 1.5 percent Miško but a 100% Chetnik.”

The regime opponent Miško Perović was desperately hiding the fact that he was rescued by the Montenegrin secret police, and this is why, in his response to “dictator Đukanović”, he attempted to move the focus from this extremely compromising fact to a peripheral part of the story. He did not, as he says, escape from Montenegro, but was asked by the “Head of the Montenegrin Security Service (not Udba*, as he likes to refer to it when he accuses others of cooperation with the secret police) Duško Marković, to leave the country in order not to fall into the hands of members of the Army of Yugoslavia who were looking for him”.

Đukanović and Marković can be mad at me as much as they want to, but I believe regime opponent Miško Perović when he says that he was forced to commit this treasonous act by the Dictator and his head of the secret police, who fell to his knees and cried out:

– Miško, you Kamikaze, don't you die for Montenegro! Do not do that for God's sake, because if you are gone – so is Montenegro!

And then Miško 007 obtained a certificate of collaboration with the secret police. He received it from a meritorious place – the head of the secret police. In his testimony, “the head of the Security Service of Montenegro” Duško Marković confirmed that his agents evacuated, risking their lives, Miško the Precious from Montenegro in the trunk

of a car, explaining that it was Miško's sister Milka who asked for this favor. It was at her request, Marković elaborated, that he received Miodrag Perović "in his office", where else, where the top secret plan was designed to rescue the biggest anti-war profiteer and the most intelligent Montenegrin mind.

As Marković's testimony presented the perfect frame for the picture of Perović's long-term collaboration with the secret police, Miško the Independent again squeaked like a mouse caught in a mousetrap:

"From what Marković says it is only true that I have a sister who was carefully watching my pro-independence adventure" (working in the Milo's Government, Š.R.). "The essence of the dispute between me and Marković" continues demagogue Perović, "is above all in interpreting the meaning of the facts. From my point of view, under the Constitution of Montenegro the Montenegrin government was obliged to take care not only of its own safety, but also of the safety of its citizens..."

This is what Miško the Independent is like. He kept saying that Montenegrin secret police monitored him, planning to even assassinate him, and when his great embarrassment was discovered, he was trying to convince the Montenegrin public that this criminal organization, adhering to the Constitution unconditionally, rescued him, not as their man, but as an ordinary citizen! Dear God, how the Dictator's regime and its secret police were principled in the case of M.P.

Still, the Montenegrin regime and the "Security Service" did their job well: the threatened citizen and pimp of the secret police Miško the Independent did not fall into enemy hands. The author of these lines, too, indignantly rejects all the unsubstantiated claims by Duško Marković and Milo Đukanović that citizen Miško fled and left his homeland in the lurch as soon as it got tough. For there is no democratic and European Montenegro without Miško Perović.

All the rest are ordinary Udba's fabrications.

GIVE BACK WHAT YOU STOLE

[OR HOW THE SELLER OF LIES AND HIS PARTNERS STOLE THE FOUNDING SHARES OF THEIR COLLEAGUES BY FORGING SIGNATURES, INAUGURATING THEMSELVES AS THE SOLE OWNERS OF "INDEPENDENT"VIJESTI]

I. I LOVE YOU TOO

After the truth about Perović's ties with the regime and secret police broke through the thick ice of his hypocrisy and lies, the truth about his plunders and robberies also came up to the surface.

I realized that Miško Perović and his partners were treating the media we had jointly created as their war booty on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of *Vijesti*. On this occasion, Miodrag Perović, Željko Ivanović, Slavoljub Ščekić and Ljubiša Mitrović presented themselves to the public as the owners and founders of *Vijesti*. The journalists of *Monitor*, who were also a part of *Vijesti*'s founding and ownership scheme, were not even mentioned. I therefore contacted fellow co-founders Nebojša Redžić, Darko Šuković, Draško Đuranović, Branko Vojičić... Nebojša told me what happened and, more importantly, gave me copies of court documents that confirmed beyond doubt that Miško&Partners **appropriated, by forging our signatures, our shares and money and shared them on equal parts among themselves.**

Since the fish rots from the head down, I ventured into an email showdown with the head of this gang of four, Miodrag Perović. I started the battle late at night (as I was unable to sleep I would not let them sleep either), on 24 December 2007, by the following email:

“Dear Perović,

I am very happy that you, as the key man of ‘Vijesti’, decided to return the stolen shares to Nebojša Redžić and Branka Plamenac through the financial compensation in the amount that you agreed upon. It is good for your conscience, your reputation and ‘Vijesti’, but for me as well: it is finally my turn to get back the shares stolen from me...

As I see that my ‘old friends’ are still insidiously working behind my back, I am addressing you, dear Perović, in this way – in writing. At the same time, I am asking you to forward this email to Ivanović, Mitrović and Šćekić.

So, I hereby kindly ask you to give me back the shares that you stole from me in a way that most resembled the banditry of Montenegrin volunteers in Dubrovnik. Montenegro is now returning the goods stolen, so I hope that you will do the same. If you consult the documents you will see that my name is on the high fourth place in the list of the ‘Free Journalism Association’, right after Miško, Željko, and Ljubiša, and that, on this basis, I own 2.4 percent of the shares in ‘Vijesti’.

If we know that ‘Vijesti’ are now worth € 8 million, it is not difficult to conclude that the value of my stolen shares amounts to € 170,000, without dividends. I must point out: the penalty for such a criminal offence in developed countries is up to 20 years in prison...

Dear Perović,

Although deeply affected by your plunder and even more by your false friendship, I am not seeking revenge, but justice. And, as you know, I am very good in seeking justice, even if it is not about me but about strangers. So, I do not want to threaten you with legal action against you, or a lawsuit against the state of Montenegro for failing to protect my property (such a lawsuit may even get to Strasbourg); I do not want to threaten you with a joint lawsuit of deceived journalists, ‘colleagues and friends’; I do not want to threaten you with the Prosecution Office, although in this case there is work for the police and prosecutors; I do not want to send the evidence of this unseemly robbery to national and international media and institutions... I just want the four of my friends, in the

name of justice, law and old friendship, to sit at the table and agree, as soon as possible, upon giving back what is mine, by the laws of God and men.

And one more thing: I kindly ask you to regularly invite me to celebrate the future anniversaries of *Vijesti*, and to always mention my name as one of the founders of our joint newspaper in your public statements.

Šeki RADONČIĆ”

In the evening I received Perović’s reply discussing two aspects: legal and moral. As regards the legal aspect, Perović explained that at the first registration of the company *Daily Press*, Milka Tadić was his temporary partner with 1/3 of ownership. Afterwards, a legal solution was found for “Milka to be replaced by the association of journalists” so after “eight or nine months, the company was re-registered: Milka was replaced by the Free Journalism Association”.

“I signed whatever the lawyer asked me to sign”, says Perović, playing naïve, and specifies that the law “abolished the right of citizens’ associations to own shares (the legal term for ownership) in companies, as well as the very existence of such associations.”

As for the moral aspect, law-abiding Perović shifts all the responsibility to his student and partner Željko Ivanović:

“The problems that are emerging now can be credited to Željko. When I had a heart attack, he assumed all the responsibilities related to founding the newspaper. He did many things on the basis of a verbal agreement with people...

Love,

M.”

II. WHAT'S UP WITH YOU ŠEKI, HAVE YOU GONE MAD?

Furious, I replied Miško without mincing words:

“Dear Miško Perović,

You did not dispute a single fact that I mentioned – that my name is on the shareholder list of ‘Vijesti’, that on this basis I own 2.4 percent of the shares in ‘Vijesti’, and that the value of my shares is around € 170,000 without dividends.

Likewise, you did not dispute that the criminal offence committed in ‘Vijesti’ would result in imprisonment up to 20 years in developed countries. Yet, just in case, you blame Željko Ivanović for it all. That’s how real friends do it. Still, you did admit that the preregistration through which everything was transferred to ‘Vijesti’ journalists was completed behind our backs. If you list the names of these journalists we will see who got our money...

In the name of old friendship, I am asking you for the last time to resolve this dispute in-house, i.e. without the financial police, prosecution office, courts, media... This is why, dear Perović, I expect you to come out with a very specific proposal and the payment schedule of my money, or to refuse my request.

I intend to refrain from further private correspondence full of verbal abuse, insults and insinuations.

Regards Šeki

P.S. I love you too”.

“Dear Šeki”, replies incorrigible Miško, “your name was never on the list of owners (shareholders as you say) of ‘Vijesti’, and you never had ownership in this newspaper. You used to be a member of the journalists’ association engaged in the development of free and professional journalism. The association has been given the right to dispose of 33.33% of ‘Vijesti’, but that right was not transferable to individual members of the association. For example, in the event of death of a member of the association, his/her heirs (children) had no inheritance rights. It was something like membership in a trade union...

I wish you and your family good health and the best of luck in 2008.

Miško”.

I replied Miško the Unionist the same day:

“Dear Miško,

I have to be honest: you couldn't pay me enough to sink as low as you did.

First of all, it is a lie that my name was never on the list of owners of 'Vijesti'. You know very well, Perović, that I invested my own money as initial capital in 'Vijesti' and that my name was on the fourth place of the Association whose shares amounted to 33.33 percent...

You say that the Association has been given the right to dispose of 33.33% of 'Vijesti', but that the right was not transferable to individual members of the association. So how come you transferred this right individually to yourselves? And how, heinous Perović, did you made the decision to become individual co-owners of the company? Do not tell me that there are two laws, one for the righteous and one for thieves?

Miško, ownership, including shares, is a sacred thing all over the world. You owe me almost 170,000 Euros, plus the dividends and do not refer to laws that can deprive me of this, because Dubrovnik looters and Karadžić's slayers referred to the same 'laws'...

Dear Perović,

I cannot believe how all this great money has deformed you. You have become a moral freak, man. You have lost the right to call even the most notorious criminals on the honor, justice and fairness. So what good is all the money knowing that your children would sooner or later become aware of the fact that you got rich by robbing your best friends and colleagues?

Dear Miško,

If you do not agree, by 10 January 2007, to give me back the stolen shares, I will have no choice but to do the following:

1. I will report the theft of my shares to the police.

2. I will report the biggest corruption and theft ever recorded in a media outlet in Montenegro and its surrounding to the Prosecution Office of Montenegro and will publicly offer to testify.

3. I will file a lawsuit against self-declared owners of 'Vijesti' Miodrag Perović, Željko Ivanović, Ljubiša Mitrović and Slavoljub Šćekić.

4. I will inform the Montenegrin public of this and the documents in my possession, through a press conference, and submit the translations of documents to foreign organizations / I also have interviews in which you, gentlemen, say that 'Monitor' journalists are the owners of 'Vijesti'.

5. I will also submit the documentation on the theft of shares to Mr. Vučinić, i.e. your new business partners.

6. I will gather all the robbed journalists to jointly ask for an audit of business operations of 'Vijesti' and 'Monitor', these two nests of theft and corruption.

7. I will call upon the Montenegrin public and all honest people to stop buying 'Vijesti' and so cease to finance thieves and self-declared moral authorities, who have become media tycoons by robbing their best friends and colleagues.

Best, Šeki

P.S.

It seems to me that I am deemed to be personally burdened with all the great robberies, crimes and injustices of Montenegro.

A Happy New Year to you too."

In his reply Miško has lost his initial enthusiasm. He bashfully admits that there are grounds for a lawsuit against his partners and himself:

"What's up with you Šeki, have you gone mad?

I swear to everything, I have never intended to deprive you of anything that belonged to you. You can check all of this at the Commercial Court in Podgorica, as Branka Plamenac did before she came to talk to Ljubiša and Željko. The registration documents are public and any reporter can have a look at them. The registration is

renewed every time when the founders (owners) are changed, when directors are changed, or when the address is changed, etc. You will see there that in December 1998 (a step that you are interested in), founders Miodrag Perović with 33.33%, Slavica Popović with 33.33%, and the Free Journalism Association with 33.33% have been replaced with founders Perović Katarina with 20%, Mitrović Ljubiša with 20%, Eraković Aleksandar with 20%, Šćekić Slavoljub with 20%, and Ivanović Željko with 20%.

Branka told me that she understood, after talking to a lawyer, something that Nebojša and Branko could not understand, that the ownership part (you call it shares) could not be won in the court, but that she could sue our trio of journalists for an abuse against you who were on the list. She could, perhaps, sue me for failing to prevent them from doing so, but the case would be tight, since all the documents were neat, and I was not a member of the Association, and I never communicated with her directly on these issues...

To sum up: there are two options in front of you: you can inflict damage on three of your colleagues – friends, including myself, winning very little or nothing for yourself, or we can find a win-win situation, which would also imply the preservation of personal relationships.”

Miško then challenged the view that *Vijesti* were worth eight million Euros, explaining that he and his partners had to take loans in the amount of 500,000 Euros each, for twenty years, in order to keep the newspaper in their hands.

III. WELL-OFF LITTLE OLD MAN

“30 December 2007

Dear Miško,

I have not replied to your email immediately on purpose, as I did not want you to think you were my punching bag or I was speaking out of rage. There is no need for that any longer, my dear friend; I got over all the friendly feelings and respect that I had for you. The pain I long felt in my stomach because of your dishonesty and conspiracy slowly ceased. Now we are talking like partners who need to address an easily solvable problem, which, I agree with you, unless there is good will on both sides, could turn into a lawsuit and your public disgrace.

Dear Miško, I appreciate your honesty, i.e. explanation of how my shares and the shares of other journalists from the Association were shamelessly transferred to five “new owners”: Ivanović, three former journalists of “Pobjeda” and yourself (not to involve children into this nasty story).

Unfortunately, dear friend, you still did not offer a precise answer to several crucial questions, which, I am afraid, you will eventually have to do in front of competent investigators:

1. If the preregistration of the Association was done by the force of law, why did you hide it from journalists who founded it and made it up, having a share of 33.33 percent in it? The only rational answer is – for the sake of robbery.
2. Who made the decision thereupon, and who authorized you to replace the original and legal founders of ‘Vijesti’ with the five of you? If it is not about an organized and well-prepared multimillion robbery, why did not you simply and directly transfer our shares from the Association to us, but you stole them all and transferred them to yourselves? Which law made Šeki Radončić and his colleagues not suitable for such a simple ownership preregistration? My colleagues and I never gave you our consent for that, and we would never give

you one. So one of you forged, on behalf of a five-member criminal association, "our" decisions, conclusions and documents, which is a criminal offence, and which will be quickly and easily discovered by the police and prosecutors? Right after the New Year's holidays I will search for these documents in the Ministry of Justice. I have already provided necessary witnesses.

3. You say, dear Miško, that we were almost a kind of trade union and that we were not able to transfer our shares/ownership from the Association to our children? This is the biggest possible evidence that we did have our shares/ownership in 'Vijesti'. If this was not the case, no sane persons would limit us with the prohibition of transferring to our children something that did not belong to us, and that we did not have. And by the way, how did you transfer your shares to your child (daughter Katarina Perović, 20%, Š.R.), who was not, and is not, a journalist in 'Vijesti'?

4. You teach me nicely, my Miško, that I must, just like Nebojša Redžić and Branka Plamenac, accept that despite it all I "cannot win my ownership part" before court. So I have to accept that I was robbed under your one-sided interpretation of the law, no matter how heinous and inhuman this act of yours was. I don't think so: I will obtain more evidence and witnesses because of which someone will go to jail. You know me, dear Mikeli: there is not a chance I will agree to such blackmail... I will seek justice all the way to Strasbourg, and will, if necessary, write a book and make a documentary on this theft, greed, hypocrisy, false morality, so-called independent journalism and anti-war profiteers.

5. As regards the value of 'Vijesti', I do not think we should waste words on that. It is easy to calculate. As regards your "poor" financial situation and the financial situation of the other three, it is enough to go on the Internet. The latest data: in your MONETA, Ivanović has around 3 million shares or 645,000 Euros. And how much do you have? I will not mention all of your tremendous real estate and shares, earnings and concerns about the sale and resale of apartments, offices... Miško, you are loaded.

6. It is a big progress, dear Miško, that you admit that there have been abuses in 'Vijesti' regarding the appropriation of property, and that there is a cause of action against those 'three journalists for an abuse'. It is good that you recognize your own responsibility for not preventing this criminal offence of robbery, punishable by up to 20 years in prison... Once again, dear Miško: may 2008 be your year of happiness, health, good mood and catharsis.

Šeki."

A few hours before the New Year, I received a new greeting card from Mikeli:

"Dear Šeki,

Should you win the court case you are talking about, I would be the biggest winner. The annulment of the registration would restore me 13.33%, five times more than you. (Especially if I would say that I did not give away these percentages as my completely free will.) Thus, I would again control 33.33% and would, with a large number of small owners, practically be appointing the editor and director. I would also have a material benefit, but I have not mentioned it because I am a well-off little old man with six successful university professors in the family, so extra ten or fifteen thousand a year does not mean too much..."

During this debate I did not want to change the subject and open a new discussion on robbed creator and co-founder of *Monitor*, Čano Koprivica. When Čano suspected that his partner and fellow co-founder Miško Perović was stealing from him, he hired Nebojša Medojević to establish the professor's embezzlement related to the huge amounts of money he was sending for the newspaper, as well as his underhand dealings related to the ownership transformation of *Montenegropublik*, the company issuing *Monitor*. Medojević disclosed this information during a debate with Željko Ivanović, in his reply of 25 September 2005, which *Vijesti* refused to publish, so he published it on the website of the Movement for Change:

“Unlike the Commentator (Željko Ivanović, Š.R.), I have not cheated *Monitor* journalists, or my ‘Daily Press’ founding partners. I was personally asked and authorized, by one of the founders of ‘Monitor’, to examine what happened during the ‘Montenegrpublik’ ownership transformation, as the greatest financier was extremely unsatisfied with the information he received about the embezzlements in the company. After a few interviews and insight into a part of the legal and financial documents, I was shocked by what I saw. Not wanting to alarm the public about it, I intentionally kept quiet in the public and immediately informed the late founder of ‘Monitor’ about what I saw there. Visibly upset, he told me: Phew! To hell with it, we will not make a shame of it.” For this I have written documentation and a living witness, another founder of ‘Monitor’. I kept quiet about it out of respect for the founder of the newspaper, but everything is coming home to roost now. And not only against me, but against everyone who ever worked with the Commentator and who helped him.”

Since I found out that Željko Ivanović was returning from his New Year’s and Christmas holidays spent in Rio de Janeiro on 15 January 2008, I sent a new email to the Well-off old man two days earlier, as a welcome for Jackson the Brazilian:

“Dear Miško,

I’m sorry that you are playing at cross-purposes and have still not taken a common position on my legitimate demand, through which I am only asking that you return to me the founding capital in ‘Vijesti’, which you ‘transferred’, beyond my knowledge, and completely illegally, to yourselves... For me, I repeat, it is an indisputable fact that on the occasion of establishing ‘Vijesti’, I invested my money and my name into the newspaper. There are credible documents and witnesses thereupon, worthy of court. We officially gave Željko Ivanović 1668 US dollars as our share. I remember giving him 400 Deutsche Marks directly as well, but this does not matter now. It is important that the documents confirm the existence of our founding share, which you ‘transferred’ to yourselves, just as Montenegrin volunteers did with paintings from Dubrovnik.

Dear Miško,

I am asking you once again: do not complicate everyone's life over a little money. Why would you do it? Why are you risking everything that you gained, in one way or another, over that small amount of money? Some of you are facing years in prison. **Believe me there is no greater punishment than keeping pigs in Spuž* after sunbathing on Brazilian beaches.**

Dear Miško, I am asking you again, let's not make a storm in a teacup...

Regards, Šeki"

Soon a meeting took place between a representative of the Montenegrin new class – Željko the Brazilian and my humble self, at no man's land, in a Podgorica café. In order to strengthen his negotiating position, the bronze tanned Miško's partner brought along two bodyguards. I did not argue with him, I did not even haggle, I was sick of it all, so we quickly agreed on the amount they needed to pay me, which they eventually did through CKB bank. It was not the amount that belonged to me, but since I am a man of compromise, I agreed to a lesser amount. I made another concession for my former friends: since I emptied their account, I accepted that my remaining ten thousand would be paid the following year. We have not made a written agreement thereupon ("We trust each other that much").

A year went by quickly. When I asked Miško about the debt, he was playing the fool: "Željko and I do not remember it. If you have written proof of this, everything will be fine." I said, "He who steals also lies. I am to blame for believing you." Still, I am not unhappy, I did a good deed: I returned the stolen money and saved my former friends from pig-breeding in Spuž. By compensating me, the university professor and his even more honest partners admitted their theft. And as for the ten thousand they deceived me over, Miodrag Perović will die without realizing that my fortune lies in being able to look into everyone's eyes, while his poverty lies in great but stolen money.

I am sorry Nebojša Redžić, who unselfishly helped me, was not able to get his money too. Asking for his shares he also had a longer e-mail correspondence with Miodrag Perović, but eventually gave up: “Miško told me to leave him alone and that if I insisted on the shares in *Monitor* and *Vijesti* he would write I was a regime agent. Željko threatened that he would leave me without the position of the *Voice of America* correspondent from Podgorica. What else could I do but give up, these are the people with no soul or morality, and I have two children.”

Just like me, blackmailed Nebojša Redžić was entitled to 170,000 Euros, plus dividends. Miško&Partners paid him only 7,400 (seven thousand four hundred) Euros, by taking over his loan that he was no longer able to repay. On this occasion Redžić had to sign a statement that Miško and his partners fulfilled all financial obligations towards him.

Redžika forwarded me his electronic correspondence with Miško, but it was not suitable for publishing. It contained too many mutual insults, diagnoses, foul language...

IV. INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN THE HANDS OF COSA NOSTRA

A new showdown between Mikeli and me occurred in mid-March 2010, when 'Pobjeda' began to publish a feuilleton entitled "How a Media Empire Was Created in Montenegro", written by Srđan Kusovac. Apart from numerous documents and e-mails exchanged, *Pobjeda* also published my correspondence with Perović. I still do not know who disclosed this correspondence to Kusovac. When Kusovac's feuilleton in *Pobjeda* was announced, two months before the release of our correspondence, I proposed Perović and Ivanović that we jointly hire lawyers to prevent its potential publication. Željko arrogantly refused: "To hell with them, they can do us no harm; no one will read it anyway!"

Miško was wiser. He asked to see me. I was in Podgorica, and he in Petrovac, so we agreed to meet halfway, in Virpazar. As I drove past the Skadar Lake, I wondered how Miško would behave, would he be embarrassed that I caught him red-handed. When we met, I did not notice him flushing.

As we were walking along the shore of Skadar Lake, Miško was interested in my assessment of how much damage would the announced feuilleton cause him and *Vijesti* and asked me if I had given our correspondence to Kusovac.

– Miško, you can best assess what the damage may be, because you know exactly what you nicked. I gave our correspondence to Redžika, Draško, Zeko, Kuta... I do not know if one of them later disclosed it to *Pobjeda*. I did not give Kusovac your primitive correspondence with Redžić, either. It would finish you off.

In the second half of March, *Pobjeda* began to publish the correspondence between Miško and me. Already after the first part, Miško called me from London. One mouth, two tongues. It was the alter ego of the well-off little old man speaking; Dr. Jekyll became Mr. Hyde. He accused me of disclosing the correspondence to *Pobjeda*, demanding me to prevent its further publication by any means at my disposal:

– If you do not do it Šeki Radončić, you will regret it. I will hire lawyers from London to sue you if necessary and seek a huge compensation!

– No way, Perović, I am not asking them to stop the publication of our correspondence, especially not now, just before the part in which I am describing how the head of secret police interrogated me in your apartment. It would appear as if I was hiding something from the public. Take it easy my friend and stay in London until after the whole fuss. Play with your grandchildren and, just in case, check your secret accounts in local banks.

Miško hung up the phone.

Kusovac's feuilleton and the publication of our correspondence caused Miško and his partners a lot of damage. Željko's strategy: *no one reads it and we will wisely keep quiet* – failed to give the expected result: the public began to get to know the dark side of “independent” journalism. Stealing shares and media, false accounting, real estate scams, stock market speculations, racketeering – all of this showed that the Montenegrin independent journalism was in the claws of Cosa Nostra.

HOW OPPONENTS ARE TURNED INTO REGIME SPIES

[THE SYSTEM AND FORMULA OF MEDIA BLACKMAILING AND RACKETEERING]

Don Mikeli and his media underground saw the publication of our electronic correspondence in *Pobjeda* as a violation of *omertà*. This, perhaps, hurt them more than the money they had to return. This is why they covertly engaged in difficult and painstaking efforts to discredit and bury me morally, labeling me as a regime agent, mercenary, criminal. Their efforts, however, turned out quite futile eventually.

Nothing new: Miško&Partners have been ruling Montenegro for years thanks to the accusation “they are regime agents”. Independent masters of manipulation believe that the truth about their thefts, extortions, financial speculations and robberies will disappear instantly as they point their finger to their victim and yell: “This is a regime mercenary!”, “This is Milo’s agent!”, “They are criminals!” Labeling others by imputing them their own biographies is a specialty of independent police intermediary Miodrag Perović and his media executioners and soldiers.

Mikeli’s close associates for media assassinations applied the said formula not only to robbed colleagues, media competition, entrepreneurs, but also to government officials and opposition politicians who would not let media mafia tailor their party politics, coalitions and destiny, as well as to Don Mikeli’s internal “enemies”. A few years ago, Ljubiša Mitrović got tired of illegal and unprofessional business operations of *Vijesti* so he decided to abandon the ship and sell his shares in the newspaper. Since Miško and Željko did not have the money to “buy off Ljubiša” at

the moment, they joined forces and accused their partner of selling his shares on the orders of Udba, and of being “a regime agent”.

It was because of Ljubiša’s “treacherous” intentions that Željko called me one evening. With many disqualifications and labels at his partner’s expense, Željko asked me to influence “spy Ljubiša not to sell his shares, so that *Vijesti* would not fall into the hands of Milo Đukanović”.

We will write in *Vijesti* that he is a colonel of the secret police, so even his children will not be able to remain living in Montenegro, let alone he, hissed Željko.

I talked to Ljubiša on the phone. He told me that he decided to sell his shares and offered them to Miško, Željko and Šćeka first. He was tired of it all, and wanted to sleep peacefully, he said. But they started blackmailing him and threatening him. I told him nothing about Željko’s plots and fabrications.

A few days later Ljubiša gave up; as he did not want to “sell” his shares to his partners for next to nothing, and was afraid to sell them to other people at the market price as his mates would destroy and disgrace him, he recoiled. He is still their partner.

Ljubiša is another victim of the greedy partners. It may therefore be interesting to briefly analyze the professor’s scheme for moral executions. It all begins when Perović or one of his partners detects someone who creates problems for the “independent media”. What ensues is a moral execution of the designated target under mafia system “no man, no problem”. The rest is a matter of technique: through daily briefings of their editors, the partners publish a disinformation from “a trusted source” that “the target” is a dangerous regime agent or Milo’s mercenary. This lie is then, as the naked truth, communicated by Perović’s editors in “the strictest confidence” to their reporters and associates, who then transfer it to their spouses, friends and colleagues in concentric circles. Once the lie from the top reaches the base of the pyramid, the persecution run secretly becomes overt: one of Perović’s journalists or hired columnist writes a text with a clear allusion to the

regime spy. When the time is ripe, an independent police intermediary or someone from his payroll publicly accuses the victim of being a regime agent, criminal, war criminal or the protector of war criminals...

Then, Perović's journalists – associates of other editorial boards – quoting the texts from *Vijesti* or *Monitor*, transmit their lies to other media referring to them as the writing of “independent Montenegrin newspapers”. Which, for the sake of truth, a reader masochistically skims through, only to throw it away with contempt after three minutes.

In order for the persecution by Miško the Independent to resemble civil resistance, the same people will organize signing open letters and petitions of “independent intellectuals” produced as such by Perović. Whoever refuses to sign the petition is doomed; they cease to exist for the “independent media”, becoming invisible even if they were to win the European Union Prize for Literature, as, for example, Andrej Nikolaidis did. For those who do sign, there is a prize: already in the next issue of *Vijesti* or *Monitor* they are given the opportunity to write a column, or are invited to participate as experts in a debate at *TV Vijesti*.

Using the same system and the same people, the Sellers of Lies organize group signing of various appeals addressed to domestic and foreign subjects. These appeals always, with no exception, ask the foreign subjects to protect their criminal business packaged in the shiny foil of independent journalism. As Vojin Dimitrijević put it, “It's a natural tendency of common criminals to ‘ennoble’ their actions and to present their plunders as the struggle for the liberation of their people and the achievement of ‘higher cause goals’”. Here are a few examples of how Montenegrin media tycoons ‘ennoble’ their criminal actions:

While Miško and his partners were eating out of the hand of Milo Đukanović, the “independent” media glorified him beyond limits, with five articles and eight photos in the same issue of a newspaper, while they criticized and demonized the opposition at the same time. Yet, when the slush funds were abolished under pressure from

Europe, Milo stopped financing them and became the target of spoiled partners, while the Greater-Serbian opposition became their political ally and Boris Tadić their new deity, because the smell of money to them is like the smell of incense to Amfilohije. Thus, the independent media tycoons instantly ‘ennobled’ their mission of robbery and personal profiteering with the struggle against the “dictator, criminal and war criminal” Milo Đukanović, all with a holy democratic goal of replacing Milo with Miško the Independent or one of his puppets at the throne of Montenegro. In such a democratic Montenegro, there would be loads of money for independent media and tycoons.

When Miomir Mugoša, the Mayor of Podgorica, refused to issue a construction permit to Perović and Ivanović for construction of a new multi-storey building instead of the current *Vijesti* building, on the basis of the fact that such a multi-storey building was not envisaged by the town-planning documents for the location, they launched an unprecedented campaign against the rebellious Mayor. In order to exert additional psychological pressure on Mugoša, journalists and photographers of *Vijesti* were tasked to closely follow the Mayor and his official vehicle 24/7, with a view to accuse him of parking illegally. Thus, the “independent” media show paparazzo hunting as an exalted investigative journalism, while racketeering of politicians is depicted as a noble fight against corruption and privileged officials. Yes, you read that right: “racketeering of politicians”. Today’s politicians can be blackmailed and racketeered only by “independent” media tycoons who create public opinion and often determine the ranking of politicians.

“Independent” media are engaged in a principled fight against corruption at lower levels too, but only where there is state money. Their targets are particularly directors of rich state companies that do not advertise in the independent media. I will illustrate this with an example.

After a brutal persecution of private and independent media against the director of a large Montenegrin state company, the frightened man

(otherwise husband of the most powerful women in the ruling party and the Montenegrin government) went for advice to Darko Šuković, to help him solve his problem. Darko told him that he had two options: he could sue them, which would result in even harsher public persecution, or could give them money for “advertising”. The director did not tell Darko what he would do, but the media persecution against him stopped overnight, and he became “a reputable businessman”. This is how the state company’s advertisement ended up in the independent media, and how the money of Montenegrin taxpayers ended up in the pockets of independent media moguls.

This, in fact, brings us to the essence of how independent media “ennoble” classic racketeering, presenting it as the fight against corruption in the public companies. A little lesson for directors of public companies: you can steal loads of money, nobody from the Perović’s clan will disturb you, providing that you allocate a little bit for “advertising” in the independent media.

According to the “independent” ones, Montenegrin society and democracy are not threatened only by politicians, mayors, businessmen, but by journalists as well. When Nebojša Redžić, Šeki Radončić, Branko Vojičić, Darko Šuković and other journalists asked Miško and his partners for their money, they were automatically declared, covertly and overtly, agents of the regime. Seeking your own money from the media tycoons is an irrefutable proof of being a regime agent and of destroying Montenegrin independent journalism upon the orders of the evil regime.

The above examples show how, instead of being the mirror of a society, the independent Montenegrin media have become the reflection of their morally disbanded owners.

GET THE REGIME AGENT

[ON TURNING PARTICIPANTS OF WAR CRIMES INTO HEROES AND ON DISQUALIFYING VICTIMS AND JOURNALISTS BEFORE THE OFFICIALS OF THE U.S. AND THE GERMAN EMBASSY TO MONTENEGRO]

To better understand the persecution within which I was proclaimed a regime agent, it is necessary to briefly go back to February 2010. At that time, on the proposal of Esad Kočan, Milan Popović and Šerbo Rastoder, NGO *Gariwo* from Sarajevo awarded the prize for civil courage to Slobodan Pejović. The owner of this NGO is Tito's granddaughter, Svjetlana Broz, best known by the fact that her son Ivan Golubović once referred to her in Sarajevo's *Free Bosnia* as "my mother, the immoral humanitarian".

At the award ceremony, Broz said that in the war crime of deportation "in which at least 85 Bosniaks were killed, as journalist and publicist Šeki Radončić revealed, Pejović saved three Bosniaks in 1992, risking his own life in doing so".

Even though Tito's granddaughter invited them to the ceremony, Jasenka Perović and other family members of those deported did not attend the ceremony. Previously, Svetlana proposed Jasenka that she presented the award to Pejović, which Jasenka refused with contempt.

After the celebration euphoria, Jasenka explained to the general public why she had refused to present the award to Pejović:

"It would indeed be morbid if the families of killed people were to thank Slobodan Pejović for civil courage. Mr. Pejović confessed that he managed a four-member team that hunted and arrested Bosnians in the war crime of arrests and deportations of our loved ones. Pejović claims to have released from prison two or three Bosniaks, but neither

we nor Šeki Radončić who thoroughly investigated this crime found these people.” (*Kulin*, 27 March 2010)

Jasenka’s interview was never published in the “independent” media. They wanted to spare their protégé and hero the embarrassment. But the time would come for him to face the truth.

Overshadowed by Pejović’s heroism, several months’ long trial against nine senior members of the Montenegrin police accused of the war crime of deportation was underway in Podgorica. But in early July, there was a big turnaround: Prosecution witness Ranko Martinović, deputy commander of the special police units in Herceg Novi at the time of deportations testified in court that Slobodan Pejović “was the one who commanded the arrest and extradition of Bosnian citizens to the Republic of Srpska in 1992”. Martinović also categorically declined the possibility of Pejović saving three Bosniaks: “It is not possible that Pejović released some of the arrested Muslims. He could not have done it on his own, because he would thus commit the criminal offence of ‘abuse of power’, and would found himself in their shoes, in custody.”

Soon, former police officer from Herceg Novi, Ranko Mihailović, testified in the courtroom as the prosecution witness. He testified that he assisted Slobodan Pejović, “who led the arrest of refugees”.

“Inspector Pejović called me to go with him, and as a police officer I was obliged to assist him. He was an operative, so he knew where they placed the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, said Mihailović, the man I was trying to find for years, while Pejović persistently refused to tell me his name.

Pejović replied his former colleagues via *Vijesti* – by labeling. He said he felt “disgusted by Martinović and Mihailović”, that “the secret police was behind the testimonies”, that “it was a continuation of treacherous attacks on him”, and that he “was a search inspector”.

Ranko Martinović sued Pejović over these statements. The basic court in Herceg Novi decided: due to the lies and label against him,

Pejović shall pay Martinović 600 Euros in damages. Pejović did not appeal the ruling.

After these dramatic testimonies, Slobodan Pejović will reappear in court, but as a “crown witness”, with a view to complete “the mission of helping the court justice reach all those who have blood on their hands, to stigmatize and punish them, so that it never happens again”. However, Pejović shifted the total responsibility for the crime of deportations to two dead men, Minister of Interior at the time, Pavle Bulatović, and the deputy chief of police of Herceg Novi, Damjan Turković. Continuing his noble mission, the “crown witness” said the defendants were “good people” who were “just following orders” and “had to do it”.

Irritated by this testimony and the knowledge that Pejović was no hero but a former search inspector and the main hunter on their beloved, the families announced filing criminal charges against him in Sarajevo media. Pejović, once again, retaliated through *Vijesti*. With new plantings and labeling. He said it was a “recognizable style of the secret police”, that he knew “who is the intermediary between the secret police and Jasenka” and that “there are indications that the Sarajevo *Kulin*”, where Jasenka’s interview was published “is supported by Wahhabis, who are also financed by the Montenegrin secret police”.

Pejović never had to provide any evidence for his claims, because anything the hero and protégé of the “independent ones” stated ought to be true in advance, including the crazy assertion that the Montenegrin secret police funded Wahhabis!

Through the layout of the text, and the suggestive headline *Distinctive Style of the Secret Service*, *Vijesti* clearly showed that they were not on the side of truth, also attempting to further spark the imagination of readers by making them guess who was “the intermediary between the secret police and Jasenka”. Although one could initially think of M.P., famous Montenegrin secret police intermediary, things were slowly starting to fall into place.

Kočan called me the same day to talk about his daughter who I enrolled to the Psychology Department at the University in Sarajevo, but he quickly moved on to Jasenka's announcement of filing criminal charges against Pejović. He nervously asked me why I did not prevent it. I explained that I was not anyone's tutor and that only a man without a soul could make a statement like "Pejović did today".

– He who, as he himself confessed, participated in the war crime of deportations on the order of Montenegrin secret police now accuses Jasenka of cooperating with the same secret police that led her brother to death. Only a scoundrel could utter such an accusation. And who is the 'intermediary' of the secret police anyway? I cannot pick up all the threads from Sarajevo.

– Well, my dear Šekica, it is Jasenka's husband. He works in the Federal Ministry of Interior of B&H, but Slobo would not mention his name", replied Esad.

– Ivica works there as a forensic scientist. He is a graduate chemist and I don't see how he could be linked with the Montenegrin secret police.

– I didn't know that. I will talk to Slobo about it as soon as I finish the conversation with you, said Kuta.

Kočan played his role masterfully: covert persecution was largely being prepared against the "intermediary", i.e. me, while I believed that I explained things to him and defended "intermediary" Ivica.

The persecution against me started when police intermediary Miško the Independent, or one of his partners, said to the editors, including Kuta, "in the strictest confidence" and "completely internally" that "they learned from reliable sources" that "the intermediary" between Jasenka and the Montenegrin secret police was Šeki Radončić. Adhering to the sacred journalistic principle of "a man told me", Miško's whispering company immediately spread the news, from ear to ear, to Podgorica's independent town rumors.

I would, of course, find this out several months later, when a colleague of mine from *Slobodna Evropa* called me one morning. He briefly told me how Slavica Brajović, the head of Podgorica's editorial of *Slobodna Evropa*, said at the editorial meeting that Šeki Radončić was a “secret intermediary between the families and the secret police” or “regime agent”. “I was told this in *Monitor*. Please do not spread the word to Šeki”, said Brajović at the end. She, by the way, always showed a lot of respect and even admiration in her encounters with me. I never did her any harm, but looking back at it from this distance, it all nicely fits: Podgorica's editorial of *Slobodna Evropa* is just a branch office of Miodrag Perović, while Slavica Brajović is a former employee of his.

Slavica is married to Saša Brajović, media advisor at the U.S. Embassy in Podgorica. And who is Saša going to believe if not his wife!? And who would employees of the U.S. Embassy in Montenegro believe if not another employee of theirs, Saša!? Especially when his information matches the information coming from the “independent” media luminaries. This is how big lies of the “independent ones”, turned into great truths, reach all the way to Washington officials.

The media Cosa Nostra, however, spread even more morbid disinformation to Berlin officials. I would also find this out much later, at lunch with a friend of mine, Branimir Jukić, Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Podgorica. Jukić was familiar, as a part of his official duties, with all that was going on in relation to the deportations, lawsuits against officials and police officers and the unmasking of Pejović's role. He told me he was surprised by the attitude of *Monitor* and *Vijesti* towards the families of the deportees and their glorification of “that Chetnik” Slobodan Pejović, continuing with a shocking story.

– Last weekend, German Ambassador to Podgorica Peter Plate visited me at my home in Neum. We talked about various things, including the deportations and Pejović. He asked me was it true that Jasenka Perović consumed hard drugs and that you were her drug dealer, and

was it true that the two of you worked for the Montenegrin secret police.

Before answering, Jukić asked his German colleague Plate “where did he get that from”?

– They told him, he said, from *Monitor* and *Vijesti*. I told Plate that it was nothing but a very ugly planting, that Jasenka was an educated and respectable woman, mother of two, while Šeki was a well-known journalist and investigator of war crimes, who even got bombs thrown at his house due to his discoveries related to deportations. I think I convinced him to what was the truth. For this, you owe me lunch, joked ambassador Jukić.

– It is rather easy to guess who from *Monitor* and *Vijesti* was in a position to speak to the German ambassador and who is capable of such blatant lies, I replied.

I was filled with anger and shame. Anger because of the incredible malice of *Vijesti* owners and shame because I believed Kuta’s story of Jasenka’s husband through which he wanted to cover the tracks: while sleeping the sleep of the just, I had no idea they were planning to kill me while asleep, to declare me a secret police intermediary and a regime agent without any proof or evidence. This, of course, was spread, “from a relevant position” to Berlin officials and, by the nature of things, the whole diplomatic corps in Montenegro. The professor of hatred was back at his old game: he tried to plant his title of secret police intermediary to me through this devil’s hoax.

Yet, as George Herbert put it, “storms make oaks take deeper root”.

DO THESE PEOPLE HAVE A SOUL

[OR HOW THE SELLERS OF LIES MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION]

In parallel with the low-level attempts to publicly excommunicate Jasenka Perović and Šeki Radončić, despite the accusatory testimonies of prosecution witnesses, the independent propagandists rolled up their sleeves to raise a monumental memorial to false hero Sloba, going so far as to forge his wartime biography: a former police inspector and hunter on Bosniaks had to be displayed as an ardent fighter for human rights and war crimes investigator, while Šeki Radončić needed to be described as a regime agent and patron of war and general crimes. Were they successful in stealing my identity, it would eventually turn out that journalist Šeki Radončić was hunting and arresting the unfortunate Bosnian refugees, while police inspector Slobodan Pejović debunked the crime and deserved a monument. It would, of course, also turn out that Vukašin Maraš interrogated Miško the Independent in my apartment.

Newly fledged *Vijesti* columnist Ibrahim Čikić, a member of SDA¹ of Montenegro who was arrested and brutally tortured by police in 1994 together with the leaders of the political party, also gave his contribution to polishing the bust of “hero” Pejović and disparagement of “the people in the service of criminals”. Ignoring the protests of the families of deported Bosniaks, God-fearing Čikić condemned the “shameful attempts to discredit Sloba Pejović”:

“Fortunately, Slobodan Pejović is a deeply religious Christian, conscious of God and the Day when he will be held responsible

.....
¹*The Party of Democratic Action*, Bosniak political party (T.N.).

for everything good and bad he did. What he did in 1992 in the police station in Herceg Novi, when he threw the uniform and refused to take part in the arrest of Bosnian Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina, was done in the name of God! State authorities in Montenegro and the region will be called after Sloba Pejović. This will certainly be the case with the police station in Herceg Novi.” (*Bošnjaci.net*, 14 October 2010).

As I thought it would, perhaps, be more appropriate for the police station in Herceg Novi, where the collection center for Bosnian refugees used to be located, to be named *Deportation Victims*, or the like, instead of being called after Sloba, I called Čikić. I asked him how could Pejović possibly arrest and then allegedly release three refugees from the police station, if he had previously thrown his uniform in the “name of God”, refusing to take part in the capture of Bosniaks?

I asked Čikić if he had mistaken Slobodan Pejović for Josef Schulz, a German soldier of the 714th Infantry Division who, refusing to take part in shooting prisoners in Smederevska Palanka in 1941, threw his rifle, took off his uniform, left the firing squad and joined the partisans to be executed, only to be shot together with them by the Nazis.

I asked Čikić if he knew that Pejović did not throw his uniform, but retired, having received severance pay, a few years after the deportation, and that he did nothing whatsoever at the trial to assist in finding and punishing the perpetrators of this crime and those who ordered it.

Čikić published his article on the Wahhabi website *Bošnjaci.net*, which is operated from New York and is devoted exclusively to Islamic and Bosniak topics. By the way, the Wahhabi website would be one of the main external strongholds of Miodrag Perović’s persecutors, from where they would mercilessly jeer at me.

In parallel with discovering the truth about Pejović, “independent” media amplified the persecution of Jasenka Perović and unnamed

regime agents, while ruthlessly accusing the families of victims of protecting, in collaboration with the Montenegrin secret police, those responsible for crimes against their children and brothers!

Continuing the ruthless campaign, Milan Popović, Perović's company columnist with the title of sociology professor, joined the persecution. Participating in the show called *Altervizija* on *TV Vijesti*, Popović stated that "the persecution of those who advocate the punishment of crimes is still underway in Montenegro. Especially when hiding behind the facade of supposed private lawsuits and actions. As in the case of Slobodan Pejović". Popović, therefore, claims that he and Pejović are fighting for the punishment of masterminds and perpetrators of the war crime in which Jasenka's brother Alenko was killed, whereas she is against the revelation of her brother's killers. This is what Miško's mercenaries are like!

Miško Perović knows very well the type of moral creatures he includes in his persecutions: this was not the first time Popović used the tragedy of deported and murdered people for his own political promotion. Speaking from the audience at the meeting "Resistance to Oblivion – sixteen years since the deportation of Bosnian refugees", Popović made a scandal: instead of deportations, he spoke about the Moldovan prostitutes and smuggling of cigarettes (which he himself had used to refer to as "doing business" in *Monitor!*), calling anti-war oriented Socialist Democratic Party of Montenegro fascist. Popović's speech was disowned by the *Association of families of deportees* and *Law Firm Prelević* that represented them in the civil case against the Ministry of Interior of Montenegro, which indicated that "these Popović's attitudes were not expressed on our behalf". (*Dan*, 2 June 2008).

Popović's idiotic comment from *TV Vijesti* was also published on *Vijesti website*, *Radio Vijesti* and in *Monitor* (17 December 2010), which started what is technically called media persecution. This is how Miško&Partners create public opinion through their media and their mercenaries.

In a well-orchestrated persecution campaign, along with Popović's comment, Veseljko Koprivica's article entitled *Witness Hunters* was published in the same issue of *Monitor*. The targets were again Jasenka and the families, prosecution witnesses and unnamed intermediaries. Veseljko's apologetic text from *Monitor* was also published by Miško's satellite websites from Montenegro, and a few from the region. Many of them not aware that the good old *Monitor* turned into a reactor of lies of its boss, Miodrag Perović.

Jasenka's response ensued in which she stated that *Monitor* was continuing its inhuman campaign against her and the families of deportees.

"We really expected that you would, respecting the standards of professional journalism, provide us with an opportunity to respond to monstrous allegations of Slobodan Pejović – that I was working for the Montenegrin secret police, which is responsible for the death of my beloved brother Alenko, and that our organization was funded by the secret police. Yet, instead of the elementary rule to hear the other side, you continued to jeer at and discredit the deportation victims through targeted and unilateral texts."

At the end of their response, revolted Jasenka and the families expressly prohibited *Monitor* "from organizing any future reminders of this war crime". (*Monitor*, 24 December 2010, p.60).

Since Miško and his mercenary Kuta were very much ashamed because of the decision of the families to prohibit *Monitor* from any participation in marking the deportations, they published an even more offensive article in the following – New Year's celebratory issue of *Monitor*. This was, of course, Veseljko's response to Jasenka, in which he argued that the "families of those deported and murdered were victims of misinformation that were scattered by those who were the most responsible for their tragedy through their agents". (*Monitor*, 31 December, 2010).

Since the "treated" Podgorica's rumors and the diplomatic corps already knew the identity of people in question, it was not difficult to

interpret Veseljko's allusions as to who were the most responsible for the crime of deportations and who were their agents: (It was not just an intermediary of the secret police, there were two of them now: Ivica Perović, Jesenka's husband, police forensic, plus another "agent").

The same issue of *Monitor* contained a section entitled *Personalities Who Marked 2010*. Among them – Slobodan Pejović. The composition of the jury was not disclosed, but was not hard to guess: Boss Miško, Director Milka, demonstrator Esad and Reservist Veseljko.

The following day, *Monitor's* editor Kočan called me to wish me a happy New Year. After we exchanged good wishes, Kočan said:

– Šekica, I think the time has come for you to publicly stand behind Slobo. The treatment he gets from the secret police and the families does not make sense. I'm afraid, my Šekica, if you do not support Slobo now that you would ruin your career, your name, everything you achieved in life, and you achieved a lot. Please, Šekica, I am telling you this as your grateful friend, it is high time that you to stand with us. Otherwise you will be embarrassed for life.

– Sorry, Kuta, but I think it is high time that Miško and you stop this brutal persecution of Jasenka and these unfortunate people. I will not turn against the victims, no matter what the cost. And I will not let the crime of deportation be remembered by the false heroism of Slobodan Pejović, instead of being remembered by the murder of 85 Bosnians and Herzegovinians. Even if it kills me. Say hello to your family and Miško.

This is how I ignored the last "well-meant" warning to stop destroying the myth that "the independent ones" write the truth and only the truth, and to kiss Don Mikeli's hand.

In the next issue of *Monitor*, its owner and editor-in-chief would use old lies, new hate speech and even more unscrupulous trickery, trying to further designate their target – the alleged dirty mediator between the corrupted families and Montenegrin secret police. This time, the author is Kosara Begović, who works in *Monitor* under her

stage name, and on the national television under her real name. She would be assisted by two of Miško's columnists from *Vijesti*, Ibrahim Čikić and Medo Zemunac².

So, in a text about the acquittal in the case of crimes committed in Bukovica, *Sowing the Seeds of New Crimes*, Kočan's concubine leaves the topic, stating in her moral excursion that "Udba forces are brutally attacking Slobodan Pejović, a witness that does not suit the authorities". While holding a public lesson in morality, nun Kosara also quotes Medo Zemunac "who sharply criticized Pljevlja Muslims for, as he said, agreeing to accept lies as truth and accepting their own executioners as saviors for a handful of Euros made by selling drugs. He specifically stressed that "it was Bosnian Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić and the owner of *Dnevni avaz* Fahrudin Radončić who gave them an approval for such behavior".

It would be naïve to expect a smaller lie than this one from two easy girls such as Kosara and Medo Zemunac and their pimp who turned *Monitor* into a brothel a long time ago. The only novelty is that Miško the independent and his apprentice, in violation of the basic principles of the profession and all journalism codes, started to jeer at my family members. With a clear goal: since there was no way they could bring Šeki into connection with the regime and the secret police, they "would prove" that his brother was a friend of Milo Đukanović, and would make up that Fahrudin persuaded Šeki to work for Milo and his regime. Such fabricated evidence and the manipulation of facts (Fahrudin really is my brother) would serve media persecutor and police intermediary Miodrag Perović and his mercenaries as the basis for a three-year campaign against me.

Kočan's concubine would "hand the microphone" to Ibrahim Čikić as well. Forgetting Pejović's act of "throwing the uniform", the humble slave of Allah would raise his hand against the victims of war:

"The truth has suffered genocide. Nausea is caused by the painful truth that criminals have no limits in doing evil, and that victims

.....
² Nebojša Medojević (T.N.).

agree to wash the hands of their own executioners. I have no comments upon the mindset of Bosniaks doing the dirty work of persuasion and mediation between executioners and victims. May the Master of the Universe judge them”, says Čikić the believer.

VICTIMS AGREE TO WASH THE HANDS OF THEIR OWN EXECUTIONERS!? No future histories of human disgrace should omit this unbelievable deceit of Čikić's. May the Master of the Universe judge him!

Somewhat later Ibrahim Čikić would, just as Milan Popović, become a respectable member of the Political Council of Democratic Front (DF). The President of the Front is Miodrag Lekić, former Milošević's apprentice and ambassador to Italy, who denied the genocide in Srebrenica, whole-heartedly defended the Executioner's crimes in Kosovo, and viewed Markale as a Muslim crime.

Šešelj's Chetnik Duke Andrija Mandić, otherwise an ardent supporter of the rehabilitation of Draža Mihailović, is the first vice-president and an undisputed leader of this political group, which me and Marko called Draža's Front (DF) in *Pobjeda*. Duke Mandić formally required Montenegro to build a monument to butcher Pavle Đurišić, who managed the slaughter of almost 12,000 Bosniaks in Montenegro, Sandžak and Bosnia during World War II. Duke Mandić was on a hunger strike for over ten days when Montenegro recognized Kosovo, although some argued that his friends used to bring him burek secretly during that time. He also vigorously opposed the arrest of criminal Ratko Mladić. Fortunately, he did not have an atomic bomb, so he was unable to toss it at The Hague to avenge the general.

This is the political group that God-fearing Čikić joined! As an agitator of the Butcher's ambassador Lekić and Duke Mandić, ahead of the elections Čikić said: “Every honest Muslim will vote for the Democratic Front”.

The second DF Vice-President, Nebojša Medojević, demonstrated against the recognition of Kosovo in front of the Parliament of

Montenegro, with burek in his hands. He also used to agitate against the referendum on Montenegrin independence. Medo was a columnist of *Identitet*, the newspaper of notorious Zemun mafia clan. Medo's deputy in the party is Koča Pavlović, would-be arrester of journalists and writers, who is best known for initiating the persecution and arrest campaign against Andrej Nikolaidis, for his statement that the Republic of Srpska was a genocidal creation. During the parliamentary and presidential elections in Montenegro, alongside Duke Andrija, one could see the owners, directors and editors of the "independent" media. Staying fully independent and neutral, the "Independent ones" have become a propaganda tool of a retrograde political bloc.

In the same issue of *Monitor* in which Kosara quotes Medojević, in the section entitled *People*, honest Muslim Esad Kočan quotes the following statement of Medo Zemunac from *Vijesti*:

"In addition to the vote in the elections, in order to get a greater allowance it is necessary to publicly embarrass a true hero of free Montenegro, such as Slobodan Pejović, and to blame him that he, and not the regime, committed crimes. Well, these are real Bosnian-Muslims. Voting for the executioners for one hundred drug-originating Euros, plus the transportation costs and a lunch at *Milet bašta*, while the figure can go up to few tens of thousands or even hundred thousand drug-originating Euros for a public jeering and monstrous accusations against benefactors and heroes", states chauvinist Medo Zemunac.

Who is, it appears, rather familiar with the price list of providing services to drug mafia and the regime, so he is planting his experience with drug-originating Euros to others, even to a whole nation. This, again, is a classical hate language that is not permitted in professional media. That is why I sent Medo a text message, asking him what he meant with the comments in *Vijesti* and *Monitor*. He said, "I have nothing bad to say about you, but for Cerić my source is reliable. It is a foreign one and has nothing to do with Montenegro. The two of

us have no disputes. Political actions of Bosniaks harm the state of Montenegro.”

This is true from Medo’s perspective: Bosniaks supported independence of Montenegro 100% at the referendum.

Yet, three attacks on the families of deportees and unnamed regime agents in a single issue of a newspaper were not enough for self-sacrificing Kuta, so he decided to slash Jasenka’s response as well. Therefore, Jasenka was forced to send an open letter to Nemanja Kočan, as certain *Monitor* readers referred to him on other websites, forwarding it to other media as well:

“Why did you, Mr. Kočan, delete from my text my completely decent question addressed to the director of independent *Monitor*, Milka Tadić: whether she would enter the courtroom with a man who was involved in a crime in which, God forbid, her brother was killed, as she, hand in hand, entered the courtroom with criminal Slobodan Pejović?

Why did you, Mr. Kočan, delete from my response several clear referrals to “Commander Pejović”, with a capital C, and put “commander Pejović”, with a small c, through which you changed the meaning of the words in a very unprofessional and mean manner? I wonder, Mr. Kočan, whether this is your professional, impartial and fair journalism, of which you are holding tirades just as Pejović did on his false humanity and heroism? (21 January 2011)

Not answering Jasenka’s questions, cooked and baked warrior from Srđ, Veseljko Pršutar indiscriminately responded in a pamphlet *New Lies of Udba Agents*, insulting the victims of war. Here is a small selection of his large repertoire of lies:

“The president of the Association of families of deported Bosnian-Herzegovinian refugees Jasenka Perović was once again misinformed by the regime agents from Podgorica and Sarajevo. (The target is here further drawn and located: Šeki is from Podgorica, while Ivica is from Sarajevo, Š.R.)... The agents are working so hard to falsify the truth and silence the witnesses.”

Through the forensic analysis of the text it is not difficult to establish that it was polished by mercenary Kuta, who turned *Monitor* into a reactor lies and hatred. Each Kočan's sentence is filled with hypocrisy, trickery, jealousy, hatred, rural slyness and provincial malice, although he believes that all of this is nothing but sparkling cynicism. Kočan's bitterness poisons all around. Kočan's lie is as grandiose as Lovćen. Kočan's style, sentences, vocabulary have not changed for decades. They are stunted. Frozen. Which is not surprising: sterile and outdated editor has no time to work on himself; he is too busy working on Kosara.

The Demonstrator and the Reservist received a classy response from Jasenka:

“I don't know if it will be a mitigating circumstance for you, but you Mr. Koprivica and you Mr. Kočan, will, just as Pejović, have a chance to prove that I am cooperating with Montenegrin agents who are informing and misinforming me in court. We will also hear their names there. Before that, I am politely asking you to do it publicly, in the next issue of *Monitor*. Maybe when pressed by your evidence I will abandon the idea of suing you for defamation and so save you from a disgrace to be sued by families of killed people for the monstrous lies and accusations.”

Jasenka was extremely affected by *Monitor's* deceptions and texts. She thought the owners, editors and journalists of independent media belonged to Montenegro that was different than the one that had led her brother to death. Jasenka was crying her eyes out with every new *Monitor's* insult and deceit.

– I guess one day the truth would be found out about what happened to my brother, how he ended up, who arrested and deported him, who participated in his execution, who is responsible for it and where are his remains, in order to be able to at least provide a decent burial for him.

Jasenka's mother Fikreta, embittered by "independent media" texts, also spent many moments of grievance. She could not believe what "those Montenegrins" were still up to:

– Do these people have a soul? Do these people have children? Are they any better than Karadžić? Do they know that I am still waiting for my Alenko to appear on the door from somewhere, that I simply cannot accept that he had been slain. I cannot reconcile myself to it. I am just thinking of how he spent the last few minutes of his life, of his last fear and last pain... And then they say that Jasenka and I are protecting those who took Alenko! Whose sick mind did come up with that?

Realizing that Pejović was only appearing more heinous the more he defended him, cunning Kočan stopped his debate with Jasenka and publicly apologized:

"Editor-in-chief Esad Kočan and the editorial board of *Monitor* feel obliged to apologize to Slobodan Pejović, because we published, due to a specific situation, severe and undeserved insults at his expense through responses of Jasenka Perović." (*Monitor*, 4 February 2011)

The above sentence would have to be recorded in the history of journalist dishonor. Such a thing was never noted before in journalism. Since I am not able to comment on this, I will quote Danilo Kiš:

"To be cunning ('cunningness is the intelligence of the stupid') is not worthwhile as it limits a human being to a rudimentary zoological feature, so even if it does not result in a visible fox tail, it slowly turns a man into a shabby fox for which the blessing of human (intelligent) speech is forever lost. And woe to him!"

A HOUSE OPPOSITE THE SINGLES' HOTEL

[OR HOW **MONITOR** REFUSED TO PUBLISH SHOCKING TESTIMONIES THAT FORMER POLICE OFFICER WAS NOT A SAVIOUR BUT A BRUTAL ARRESTER, AND HOW THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK DECIDED TO MAKE A DOCUMENTARY BECAUSE OF THAT, TRIGGERING A THREE-YEAR MEDIA PERSECUTION AGAINST HIM]

Having realized that things got serious, I rushed to examine Pejović's war role. I got in touch with prosecution witnesses, Ranko Mihailović and Ranko Martinović. After much persuasion, Mihailović showed me the house where he assisted inspector Pejović in the arrest of Bosnian refugees. It is a house across the street from the Singles' Hotel in Meljine, but not the one that Pejović showed me when we were filming *Carnival!*

Slobo showed me the house from which he "saved" Bosnian refugees from his car, while driving. I told him that I would, as soon as we finished recording with him, go to the house to see where these people were at the moment.

– Are you crazy!? He will kill you! The owner of the house is one crazy Chetnik, Šeki, he would slaughter you, bake you and eat you! And would ask for more. God knows how many people he had slain in Bosnia – said Slobo, speeding up.

Director Alen Drljević, cameraman Pujdo Mustafić, soundman Predrag Doder and I played no heroes.

I asked Mihailović if he knew the owner of the house. He said he did.

– Is he a dangerous Chetnik, who was slaying people in Bosnia during the war?

– Are you out of your mind? He never saw the battlefield. He works as a geometer in the municipal administration.

Soon I spoke with Peđa Vujisić and his wife Tanja. They explained that the house had actually been built by Tanja's late father (I forgot his name but the surname was Žugić), and that he left it to Tanja and her sister Rada. The police, as they explained, took away Rada's husband Edo Fežić and two Sijerčić brothers from the house. Tanja said that Rada was retired and living in Sarajevo. She gave me her phone number.

Things began to unravel.

Rada confirmed that, on that night, the police took away her husband Edo and brothers Nedim and Nedžib Sijerčić from Goražde, who were related to him.

– I have only seen such behavior in the movies about the Nazis. The inspector who led the campaign was the loudest. He was yelling, threatening, asking me and Saliha Sijerčić to say where our husbands were. At one point he picked up a six-year-old girl and asked while shaking her, 'where is your father?' Then my husband Edo came down from the upper floor, while his nephew, Enver Pačo remained hidden upstairs. I tried to stop Edo, but he said: 'Get out of the way, I will go with them, I did not do anything, let them take me away.' They took him and Sijerčić brothers.

I showed Rada Žugić the Pejović's testimony in a TVCG show *Otvoreno* (3 July 2004), in which Sloba modestly presented himself to the Montenegrin public as a hero and savior who risked his life to set free three people, including a cardiac patient with a big scar, weighing about 120 kilograms, from the house opposite the Singles' Hotel.

Rada got furious:

– He's lying, he's lying! He is lying like a dog! My late husband never had more than 70 kilograms. It is also a lie that he sent Edo to the hospital immediately after his arrest, and then released and transferred him at the taxi stand. He's lying! When my Edo got sick at the police station, they drove him around midnight in front of

the house, threw him out of the car and told him, 'If you don't die, you are to call at seven in the morning'. Is that clear!? Edo and I then escaped to Serbia by car.

Rada gave me the phone number of Edo's nephew Enver Pačo. He works at the Central Prison in Sarajevo. Has a photographic memory. He told me that he stayed with Edo and Rada seeking shelter from the imminent war in Bosnia. He was watching his uncle and Sijerčić brothers being taken away through the slightly open door:

– About 10 in the evening, there were screams and cries of women and children. I cautiously opened the front door and peered out. In front of the house I saw three police officers and a man in a leather jacket. He was yelling at the women and children asking them to say where were the men. The women were crying. Suddenly, the man in a leather jacket looked upstairs and noticed someone peeking behind the doorway. He began to scream, 'what do you mean there are no men, there are some men upstairs...'. Uncle Edo closed the door and stood in front of me. He told me not to go out and to hide. Then he went downstairs. They took them away.

I showed Pačo a part of the show where Pejović presented himself as a self-sacrificing humanist and savior on my laptop. Pačo's eyes got full of tears:

– This is the man who arrested my uncle Edo and Sijerčić brothers. This is him for sure. He wasn't as bald at the time, but was combing his hair sideways. This is him.

I asked Ranko Martinović about the haircut Pejović had when he was younger, at the time of deportations. Ranko's and Enver's descriptions matched.

I found Sijerčić brothers in Goražde. They confirmed Rada's and Enver's story. Nedžib's wife Saliha also had vivid memories of Pejović's brutality. I showed the footage of Pejović's *TVCG* interview to Nedžib and Nermin on my laptop.

-Maybe he let someone else go, but he didn't release us for sure. We spent the whole night at the police station. It was the longest night of our lives, the night we would never forget. We were released by a man with a moustache, not this one – said Nedžib.

This was enough to prove that Pejović was just a swindler, not a hero. He was lying for years saying that he had only participated in the arrests of refugees during one night, that he had only arrested people in the house opposite the Singles' Hotel, that he had apprehended and then released three refugees, that he had to retire early because of that... There was no mistake: when he retired, Pejović built a career as a philanthropist and humanist on his lies and other people's misfortune.

I decided to write a text about it for *Monitor*. One should not give away exclusive stories. After all, it was about a local hero and his planetary lie. I went to the newsroom of *Monitor* late in the evening. When I showed up at the door, they flinched as if they saw a vampire. Esad sat down in the first available chair.

– Good evening heroes and may God help you, I said, greeting Kuta and Veseljko.

Kuta remained seated. He was afraid that he would get a slap in his face for all the lies he wrote about me, my brother, the families of deportees. Kuta knew Šeki would not hit a man sitting. I did not even think of hitting him, although he deserved at least two slaps. I would not let myself act as Željko Ivanović, who once smothered this slanderer with both hands until his eyes got as big as coffee cups in the *Monitor* newsroom. I calmly told Kuta what I had found out, asking him to save two pages in the next issue for my text.

– Absolutely not!

– Why?

– Because *Monitor* published dozens of affirmative articles about Pejović.

- Šeki wrote none. If there are any, find them.
 - *Monitor* would lose credibility by publishing such a text.
 - You are wrong. It would gain in credibility. Newspapers and journalists are obliged to write about their discoveries. By the journalistic code of practice, deliberate concealment of important facts is, together with forgery and bribery, among the most serious moral violations of our profession.
 - Sloba is my blood-brother!
 - If you could publish great lies about my brother, I don't see why you wouldn't publish the truth about your blood-brother? We are a democratic newspaper. Aren't we?
 - You Šeki, have completely lost the Montenegrin perception, he said while looking at journalist Marija Perović Korać.
 - And you have lost the perception of Bosnian victims. This is why Marko Vešović has sworn that he would never read 'that Chetnik trash *Monitor*' again. Did he lose the Montenegrin perception too?
- Kuta flushed in his face.
- You are wrong Šeki. Sloba is a big opponent of the regime and Đukanović!
 - Such an opponent that, when he was testifying during the deportations trial, one of his daughters was working in Milo's government, in the Ministry of Tourism, and the other one in state-owned *Pobjeda*!
 - SDP people employed her there, to compromise him.
 - And he was so naïve to accept the employment of her daughter in the government by socialist democrats, Milo's bitter enemies?
 - Šeki, I know you and I know Sloba. Neither of you is going to relent. I know you will be the one to celebrate eventually, but with whom, Šeki Radončić?
 - With Pejović's victims, Kuta!

– Nobody in Montenegro would publish a text against Slobo. *Monitor*, *Vijesti*, *Dan*, state-owned media – neither of them. He is our national hero.

– Don't worry, I will find a way to disclose the truth about this moral authority. And please, do not let me and my family members be jeered at in *Monitor*. I am, after all, a member of this editorial board for over twenty years.

As of the first following issue, my name was deleted from the newspaper's impressum. I called Kočan on the phone. He didn't answer. I called Koprivica and asked him who deleted my name from the impressum and why?

– I have nothing to do with it. Miško, Milka and Kuta decided to do so. They were accompanied by that idler and lunatic Milan Popović who is in the *Monitor's* newsroom so often we have started to stumble over him. As you know, they would not let me in their elite company.

I see. Miško's secret cell 3M+K (Miško, Milka, Milan + Kuta) had a night meeting again, in which they were resolving global problems. And to think how much life I spent in *Monitor*: risking family and life, being threatened, sued, shot at, thrown bombs at, sentenced to non-institutional death penalties, etc. For years, I had a gun with me 24/7. At night I kept it under my pillow. Prior to each entry into a car I used to check the car bottom for explosive devices. And here I was now, being thrown out of *Monitor*, with no notices or postcards, by a police intermediary and his mercenaries.

Yet, one should not be too strict. I have to understand that black media cell: it would indeed be silly to publicly accuse their most famous journalist, whose name appears in the newspaper's impressum, of being a police intermediary and a regime agent. These two, no doubt, do not go together.

In order to break through the media blockade, I decided to start filming a documentary about Pejović's fraud. My goal was to finish the film by the *Sarajevo Film Festival*. Yet, for a good documentary

it was necessary not only to prove, on the basis of witnesses, that Slobo was just a swindler, but also to find out who had released three Bosniaks arrested by Pejović. Who was the man whose action Pejović stole, making a career of a hero? In addition, I had to figure out how to interview Pejović, because good documentaries and investigative stories ought to provide the standpoint of the opposite party as well. After Don Mikelić & Co. appropriated *Monitor* and *Vijesti*, this rule of journalism was thrown out of these newspapers. There are other two sides of a story in journalism of owners of water and lies factories: one is Miško's, the other is Željko's. Even a glance at *Monitor* and *Vijesti* clearly shows the pistol-journalism nature of these media.

Since Sijerčić brothers told me that it was “a robust man with a mustache and rough voice” who released them, I started my search. Believing that only a senior official could have released the arrested from the Security Center, I showed Sijerčić brothers a *YouTube* clip of Damjan Turković, Deputy Head of the Security Center in Herceg Novi at the time of deportation, one of senior officials with a moustache. They shook their heads.

Then, with the assistance of director Branko Baletić, I obtained a second video of another senior police officer with a moustache, Mićo Marković, former Deputy Minister of Interior for Public Security. Sijerčić brothers, again, shook their heads.

I went to Herceg Novi. I asked Mihailović and Martinović who else among the senior officials of the police in Herceg Novi had a moustache at the time of deportations. Since Sijerčić brothers excluded Turković and Marković, they remembered a person with a family name Stanišić, but he was slim, as well as late Milan Jokić and Redžo Redžematović. With the help of friends from Plav, where Redžematović family originated from, I learned that Redžo was living in Ulcinj. I asked Andrej Nikolaidis if he heard of him; he said that he didn't. Then I called a friend of Vesko Redžepagić from Ulcinj and asked him the same. He told me that Redžo was his neighbor and gave me his phone number.

– I used to have a moustache, but was transferred from Herceg Novi to Ulcinj just ahead of deportations. The only person fully matching your description is Milan Jokić. He died a couple of years ago. His son is the famous water polo player, Predrag Jokić – said Redžo.

As Predrag was on a tour with the national team of Montenegro, I went to *Pobjeda* archives and found an obituary with Milan's photo. I showed it to Sijerčić brothers:

– Yes, this is him. One hundred percent. This is the man who set us free and told us we had 24 hours to leave Montenegro, and that women and children could stay, said Nedžib, while Nermin confirmed his statement.

In the meantime, I met with Elvira Rikalo from Sarajevo. She testified, in front of cameras, that it was Slobodan Pejović who “led to death her three brothers, Husein, Midhat and Zaim”, whose remains were never found, and that she would “never forget those bloodshot eyes”.

This completed my story. The remaining thing to do was to ask Slobodan Pejović to comment on statements of witnesses from the house opposite the Singles' Hotel, as well as on the serious accusation by Elvira Rikalo.

Then, *Monitor* reported that Slobodan Pejović was awarded an international award for bravery, Curt Harries (apparently, a German who provided a shelter to Jews during the Second World War), and that the award would be presented to him in Podgorica.

Searching the Internet I found nothing about the “traditional” award. The world is small, however: I found out in Sarajevo that this award was given to Pejović under the auspices of the “immoral humanitarian” Svetlana Broz, and her honest buddies from *Monitor*.

Anyway, I was very happy. I just got plot and dramatic structure for the film: I was going to film the presentation of award to “hero Slobo”, who “had risked his life to save three Bosniaks”, and then I was going to explain that he, in fact, was a brutal arrester who stole

other people's heroism, while at the end of the film I would return to the presentation of the award to this unsurpassed humanist. The material for the film could hardly get any better.

At a small ceremony, organized by *Monitor* in *Crna Gora Hotel*, a small but selected group of people gathered: Miško, Željko, Šćeka, Milka, Esad, Veseljko, Milan, Svetlana Broz, about twenty editors and journalists of *Monitor* and *Vijesti* and about ten guests. The only uninvited persons present were Šeki and his cameraman, whom they did not know.

Former colleagues and friends of mine went beside me with their heads bowed. This is what Miško's Taliban are like, if you cut a finger of one of them, they all bleed. And then Don Mikeli himself showed up.

– Šeki, he who betrays you once will betray you again. You betrayed us twice!

– Really, Miško?

– First you did it with that correspondence in *Pobjeda*, and now regarding Slobo.

– For you, Perović, it is a betrayal when I find out that Pejović is a fraudster and a false hero? You betrayed me when you stole my money, and now you are betraying me again as you stand behind the lies and crimes. You can glorify Pejović as much as you want to, just as they glorify Mladić in Serbia or Karadžić in Republic of Srpska, but if you think I don't see the vicious campaign you launched against me, you are dead wrong!

– Your name is mentioned nowhere.

– No, but you are portraying me, Perović!

The ceremony has begun. Kočan got the role of a speaker.

– I would like to welcome Mr. Uwe Kitzinger, the founder of "Our Tree" foundation, which presents the *Curt Harries* award to our Slobodan Pejović. People such as Curt Harries and Slobodan Pejović

are a symbol in time, a torch shedding light on the paths and inspiring the best ones.

Inspired Kočan, then, passed the floor to “distinguished professor Milan Popović”, who warned of an attempt to smear a national hero.

– Slobodan Pejović is the bravest man I ever knew. What he has experienced in Montenegro is one of the darkest recurrences (of fascism, Š.R.). This is “an attempt to morally execute or smear in which even those people for whom we would never dream they could do it took part”, warned professor, looking reproachfully at me.

Popović passed the microphone to a man with a leather blindfold over one eye, “Uwe Kitzinger, a distinguished member of Harvard’s Institute for European Studies”:

– I am sure that in this region there are hundreds of people like Slobodan Pejović. However, many of them died trying to do what Slobodan Pejović did, claimed Kitzinger.

My heart leapt as I got free excellent material for my denouement and my film. If I directed it myself, I wouldn’t do it any different. Shakespeare was right that “all the world’s a stage“. This was even more so in the case of Kitzinger’s final point:

– I think that your country owes gratitude to Slobodan Pejović, for showing a different face of Montenegro to the world. I think that you will never be happy and prosperous state, if you do not bring forth hundreds of men like Slobodan Pejović.

Herr Uwe, thank you so much for this lovely message, which I will use to end my film with. And do not worry: if Slobo is a criterion and a measure for happiness and prosperity of a country, Miško’s *Fair and Honest* will be the happiest and most prosperous country in the world.

When Kitzinger presented the award to Pejović, self-sacrificing Kuta hastily ended the ceremony. He was probably scared that a scandal could break out. For example, if curious Šeki Radončić, God forbid, would publicly ask Herr Kitzinger:

a) Why is this solemn meeting not attended by family members of deportees, despite the fact that they, if anyone, should have attended the ceremony?

b) Why Pejović did not bring at least one rescued Bosniak to the ceremony, or why he did not disclose the name of at least one person he had allegedly rescued?

c) Why, in the absence of those rescued, *Monitor* did not bring at least one witness of Pejović's act of bravery on the basis of which he was receiving the award for courage, if such a person existed?

Just as the ceremony was over, I was approached by a *TVCG* journalist; I think his name was Vanja Kovačević. After a general introduction to the Pejović's "heroic act", and some quoting of French philosophers, he asked me how I, as a man who was investigating the crime for twenty years, comment on this important event?

I thought it would be the wisest not to oppose the inertia of the majority, but to congratulate Pejović:

– "If the prize is awarded to Slobodan Pejović for tall tales, then it got into the right hands and I would like to warmly congratulate him. If the prize is awarded for bravery and good deeds, then the remains of deported Bosnians and Herzegovinians are restless today across the wilderness of Republic of Srpska, where they were executed."

AMBUSH FOR THE HUNTER

[OR HOW THE AUTHOR OF A DOCUMENTARY WAS INTERROGATED FOR INSISTING ON THE RULE OF "HEARING THE OTHER SIDE AS WELL," WHILE THE INDEPENDENT BUT PRIVATE MEDIA DISPLAYED HIM AS A BULLY]

Professional rules dictated that, in my film, I give a chance to the other side to have its say. The question was: how to get to seriously disturbed Pejović? But life often directs the best films: I read in a newspaper that a trial would be held in Herceg Novi, at the end of March, under a lawsuit for defamation initiated by witness Ranko Martinović against Slobodan Pejović. I was patiently waiting for the Hunter on Bosniaks in front of the court, where there is always a lot of people, and therefore a lot of witnesses, along with my cameraman, Mustafa Pujdo Mustafić.

He showed up at noon. Pujdo turned the camera on, and I did the same with my voice recorder. I approached Pejović in front of the court and politely asked him to comment on the claims of families of deportees that he hadn't save anyone. He began to yell and rant insults, screaming that Jasenka and I were Udba agents. I knew he was yelling only to hide his own fear, so I kept walking past him with a voice recorder in hand. I asked him again if he had saved anyone.

– Yes I did, I saved the mankind, not three men but the mankind. I saved them and let them go.

I told him that I had reached the people he arrested but Milan Jokić set free, asking him if he agreed to meet these people face to face in front of cameras. He was furious:

– Will you leave me alone, Šeki? Stop provoking me! I will call the police to protect me from you and to prohibit you to further provoke me! I will call it straight away...!

He grabbed his mobile phone, and I told him there was no need to call the police, adding:

- Thank you for your time and goodbye.
- Goodbye, he replied and went along a long stone stairway.

Just as he switched off his camera, Pujdo got scared.

- Let's get out of here, Šeki. Let's go, man! Did you see his bloodshot eyes? Can't you see he would do anything? He will kill us, man!
- Don't worry, Pujdo. Such heroes show their courage and strength only against the weak and imprisoned.

I took Pujdo for lunch to a nearby restaurant for him to calm down and to celebrate the end of filming the documentary. Then we headed to Sarajevo. At the border a barrier was waiting for us: after the inspection of documents, Montenegrin police officers asked me to park my car on the side. After about fifteen minutes a police officer approached us. He politely told me:

- You must go back to Herceg Novi.
- Why?
- I don't know. I was not told the reason. I was just ordered to return you from the border and direct you to the Security Center.
- Am I under arrest?
- No, but you cannot leave Montenegro.
- And what if I don't want to go back to Herceg Novi?
- Then we will have to bring you in!

There was nothing else I could do, so I turned the car and went straight to the police. There I was greeted by inspector Borislav Obradović. He took me through the long, narrow corridors of the police station and brought me in a small office. This is how I got a chance to see inside of the Security Center and its dark and narrow corridors, from where at least 85 Bosnians and Herzegovinians were taken to death.

Having collected my personal information, the inspector told me that I was detained by order of the Basic State Prosecutor from Herceg Novi, following the report by Slobodan Pejović. The interrogation lasted a bit longer, but the inspector summarized my statement, in which I described what had happened, and entered it into the record. I let the inspector listen to the audio recording of my interview with Pejović. The inspector said nothing, he just crossed himself.

While I was interrogated, national hero Slobodan Pejović raised great alarm: surrounded by cameras and microphones, he held an “emergency press conference”. Prior to that, as he praised, he called the President of the Court in Herceg Novi, the state prosecutor, Miodrag Perović, his friends from the police. The false hero accused me of “physically assaulting” him in what was “a classic ambush”, as well as of “ramming my voice recorder in his nose”, “getting into his face”, “calling for a fight”... Yet, Miško’s protégé turned out quite unintelligible as a liar this time: the claim that he allegedly survived Šeki’s ambush was quashed by my voice recorder and camera that recorded what actually happened. Which, again, presented great material for my documentary. The example would provide the viewers with another chance to see that Pejović was just an unprecedented liar.

Vijesti expressly informed their readers of “the dangerous ambush”. The text with a suggestive title, *Sarajevo’s Journalist Interrogated in the Police After Provoking a Deportations Witness*, informed readers that Šeki Radončić “was returned from the border crossing Sitnica on the state border between Montenegro and B&H, and was detained for several hours by the order of prosecutor Snežana Zejnilagić in Herceg Novi Security Center, after Slobodan Pejović reported him for harassment and threats”.

“Šeki Radončić was constantly getting into my face trying to provoke me to attack him physically, while the cameraman who was with him was filming all the time (what else is a cameraman supposed to do? – Š.R.). It was only when I threatened to call the police that Radončić literally ran away”, said Pejović.

Realizing that Šeki Radončić was really making a film that would bring down the myth of his protégé and the infallibility of the “independent media”, Miodrag Perović ordered the assault on me. A years-long brutal media campaign against me was starting. In those moments, I did not know that I would, while pursuing the truth about false hero Pejović, disclose the truth about media mobster Miodrag Perović as well.

The next day, in an article entitled *The Prosecutor Has Not Decided Whether To Prosecute the Journalist from Sarajevo*, *Vijesti* convicted me without trial: “Basic prosecutor in Herceg Novi Snežana Zejnilagić has not yet decided whether and how (through criminal or misdemeanor proceedings) she would prosecute journalist Šeki Radončić over an incident in front of the local court when he insulted and provoked deportations witness Slobodan Pejović.” *Vijesti*, therefore, irrefutably know, because their protégé Pejović says so (and he would not lie for the world), that I have “insulted and provoked him” and that I didn’t approach him as a liar but as a “deportations witness”.

So, Šeki Radončić is guilty, there’s no doubt, and the only remaining thing to do is to decide how he would be prosecuted. The third option, in which the prosecutor could decide not to press charges against me, seeing from my audio and video footage that Pejović was lying, naturally does not exist for *Vijesti*.

A few months later, this is exactly what happened: basic state prosecutor Snežana Zejnilagić rejected Pejović’s criminal charges against Radončić, and did so by issuing Decision (Kt.No.132/2011 of 30 May 2011), through which she would put a state stamp on lies of Slobodan Pejović and *Vijesti*:

“Based on the collected data, in particular the submitted video footage, the prosecutor states that there is no reason to believe that Šeki Radončić violated the Law on Public Peace and Order.”

Neither *Vijesti* nor other Perović’s independent, professional and impartial media published this information. Perović’s office for media

executions knew very well that the Decision of prosecutor Zejnilagić unmasked their unacceptably biased and unprofessional reporting. Yet, they pay no attention to that, just as they pay no attention to the truth.

In the same issue in which I was already convicted, Miodrag Perović included another person in the campaign against me: this time it was Srđa Pavlović with the article entitled *Dire Truth*. The author is, as *Vijesti* specified, “a professor at the University of Alberta, Canada”. It didn’t say what he taught. I would find out later that he was a brother of Koča Pavlović.

The professor of God-knows-what was apparently very concerned to learn that “Šeki Radončić dressed his pen and camera in judicial gown”. In addition, Miško’s hypocritical columnist from distant Canada, who didn’t know that only living creatures could wear gowns, was more concerned about my reputation and integrity than I was. Just as his brother Koča was more committed to punishing those responsible for the crime of deportation than Jasenka Perović herself. Very sensible and humane brothers, apparently. This is what they are like: as soon as they see an innocent person being beaten, they run in, at the cost of their own lives, to help Don Mikeli’s thugs.

On the same day, Miško’s seasonal worker, who is dealing with topics about which he doesn’t know too much, published the same article from *Vijesti* in Belgrade’s *Peščanik*, under a different title: *The Political Usefulness of the Deceased in Montenegro* (*Peščanik*, 30 March 2011), and on Duško Vuković’s website PCNEN. Here, signed with his full name, Srđa Pavlović jeers at the writer of these lines not only from the text but from the readers’ comments as well. The seasonal worker has exceeded his seasonal norm: in one day he published the same article against me on three different websites, managing to add a few bad comments as well. This, of course, is a great persecuting performance, but rather poor when compared to the result of his brother Koča, more self-sacrificing and better-known persecutor: Koča published his disgusting text against me and my brother, entitled *Brothers’ Reconciliation*, in five different media, but I will

address this a bit later. Why the harmonious brothers made me their target – believe me, I do not know. Probably because I did not kiss the hand of their guru, Don Mikeli.

Thus, the covert persecution turned into an open hunt. No more attacks in gloves and through allusions: Perović's partners, directors, editors, journalists, columnists, and mercenaries started to ruthlessly attack their target. Thus, the issue of *Vijesti* of 31 March 2011 published the editorial board VIEWPOINT entitled *Let Pejović Hang*. This was the first time since Milošević's *Politika* that the whole editorial board signed a pamphlet. The *editorial board* rightly condemns the first-instance acquittal of nine law enforcement officers of Montenegro for their role in the deportations, but reveal their real intention at the end of the text:

“There is another way for everything to finish. The prosecution office and the police could expressly order and carry out the arrest of Slobodan Pejović, as it seems that he is the only person to blame for the extradition of refugees to their deaths. The court could then expressly sentence him to death penalty. It is possible. Capital punishment existed in the law that was valid until 1992.”

Spineless. This is a collective lie, and the truth is that Pejović was the only police officer whom witnesses identified as the person who was arresting refugees! This VIEWPOINT of editors and journalists of *Vijesti* sent readers and the public a clear message: WE ARE ALL SLOBO.

Still, it was Miško's seasonal worker, not the editorial board, who determined the direction of the persecution: in the future, Šeki Radončić would, without any evidence and before the first presentation of *A Hero of Our Time*, be accused of making two films about Pejović, denying the first one with the second one, betraying himself, his friends, two decades of research, articles, books, and films. Which, of course, is an orthodox lie: *Carnival* is, as can be seen from the opening credits of the film, a film by Alen Drljević, while Šeki Radončić is a co-writer. *Carnival* is a film about deportations,

the tragic fate of deportees, and Šeki Radončić as a journalist who investigated the crime; it is not about Slobodan Pejović, who appears in the film for 90 seconds as a state's witness, lying majestically on his fictional bravery.

One could easily see that the Canadian professor of God-knows-what did not read Kiš: Belgrade's elite and bazaar persecuted the great writer and the author of *A Tomb for Boris Davidović* for months, accusing him of being a forger and a traitor, as well as of betraying himself and them, and, as stated by persecutor Jeremić, "denying his previous work that was created upon completely different principles". To respond to the intellectual mob, Kiš wrote *The Anatomy Lesson*.

"According to him (persecutor Jeremić, Š.R.), therefore, when a writer by the logic of dialectical development achieves something *new* compared to his own literary-theoretical perspectives and insights, he thus denies himself", states Kiš, asking:

- So, what can, after all, be concluded about worker Jeremić's knowledge?
- That literary worker Jeremić is an ignorant man when it comes to literary issues."

Ignoring the truth and reality, Podgorica's media Cosa Nostra would, using their own media, the self-proclaimed elite, intellectual underground, town rumors and the Internet (we're getting modern), conduct a three-year media campaign against Šeki Radončić, which is still underway. Full and open contribution to this attempt of my moral execution would be provided, through their articles, by Miško&Partners, their editors, journalists, and columnists. The owner of the water and lies factories would engage all the available media in the public execution of Šeki Radončić and his film: *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *TV Vijesti*, *Radio Vijesti*, and *Monitor*.

So, the mathematics professor came up with the following formula for my moral assassination:

$$DV + PV + TVV + RV + M + DM = MU$$

Legend: DV – *Daily Vijesti*, PV – *Vijesti website*, TVV – *Television Vijesti*, RV – *Radio Vijesti*, M – *Monitor*, DM – other media, various websites, radio stations, dailies and weeklies, which, knowingly or intentionally, by quoting the texts of Perović’s media and columnists, participated in the persecution. MU – moral execution

Perović’s formula for the ELIMINATION OF THE TRUTH has a horizontal rotation as well. For example, an accusatory text from *Monitor* is quoted by all other Perović’s “independent” media, then a jeering text from *Vijesti* is published by all other independent but private media, and so on. The media carousel of publishing the same text in various Perović’s and other media makes one dizzy.

Media manipulation and evil gain additional proportions when the same accusatory text from one of Perović’s media is advertised in the others. For example, *Monitor* text is advertised in *Vijesti*, *TV Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *Radio Vijesti*, and vice-versa. And so on.

Due to the poor performance of their media and mercenaries in killing the truth and Šeki, the bosses would personally roll up their sleeves: Professor M. Perović would publicly dig a grave for Šeki Radončić, his partner and director Željko Ivanović would write a eulogy and an obituary, and their media hirelings would shovel dirt onto his empty coffin.

If a man is brutally attacked for almost three years in private and other media controlled by the Seller of Lies through his money, and his directors, editors, journalists, columnists, political activists, media part-time staff, seasonal and special workers, what is it called?

- Persecution.
- What is a persecution?
- Hunt with a view to destroy (“The Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary Language”).
- What is the chief hunter called?
- Dog handler!

– Who is the dog handler in the hunt on Šeki Radončić?

– Miodrag Perović.

He is the “master of all villains” as Krleža would put it. He is the “honest pig” as Orwell would put it. He who played the moral beacon in Montenegro for a long time.

MORAL SAVAGERY

[ON HOW QUASI INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS FRANTICALLY OPPOSE THE CONSTRUCTION OF WAR VICTIMS MONUMENT]

Since the families of deportees got tired of all the trashing by the independent media, intellectuals and columnists, they decided to give up on marking the traditional anniversary of deportations in May and decided to commemorate the 19th anniversary of the crime through my interview in *Živa istina* with Darko Šuković. So, there would be no gathering, but the citizens of Montenegro would recall the crime.

In this interview, I repeat, for the umpteenth time, that Montenegro ought to face the deportations criminally, materially and morally; that it ought to raise a monument to deportees and to introduce a *Remembrance Day* for that crime; we talked about *Carnival, Fatal Freedom, A Hero of Our Time...* Within the show, a two-minute trailer for *A Hero of Our Time* was also shown, from which it could be clearly seen that Pejović had not been saving anyone, but brutally arresting. This of course, rub the salt into the wound of “the independent ones”, so the persecution storm turned into a hurricane: Šeki was officially proclaimed a regime agent.

In a text entitled *Crime Pays*, published in *Monitor* on 3 June 2011, small editor Kočan meditates on big issues: the arrest of General Mladić, the promise of democrat Boris Tadić that he would arrest the proponents of organized crime in Serbia and the region, and Darko Šuković’s show in which Šeki Radončić was his guest:

“Two of the regime’s media agents spent over 90 minutes trashing the only member of the law enforcement authorities who, on his

own conscience, decided to publicly speak about the deportation of refugees”, growled Kočan at the two of his former colleagues from *Monitor*.

In the same issue of *Monitor*, Kuta published a scandalous interview of Veseljko Koprivica with Srđa Pavlović. The professor of Devil-knows-what “at Alberta University, Canada”, because *Monitor* and *Vijesti* wouldn’t disclose the subject he taught, if he taught anything, this time attacked NGOs for raising the initiative to raise a monument to deportation victims, that was first initiated at the presentation of my *Fatal Freedom*, on 30 May 2005.

“By raising the monument to the victims whose killers are not known, the victims would be dehumanized again, and the process of establishing responsibility would stop. Such a monument would stain the honor of democratic Montenegro”, Perović’s columnist is categorical.

Thus, in the opinion of professor of God-knows-what, raising a monument to the slain Bosniaks would present dehumanization of the victims and would stop the process of establishing responsibility!?! I will bet you anything, Srđa Pavlović is not a professor of logic. No way. He has to do with logic just as Miodrag Perović has to do with ethics. On the other hand, Miško’s seasonal worker must have a Ph.D. in unscrupulousness, just as the editor who published such drivel.

Raising a monument pays tribute to innocent people, but also marks the crime and the crime participants. Raising a monument presents an act of dealing with the past and an additional pressure on the government to prosecute those responsible. On the other hand, opposing the construction of a memorial to deportees is the same as opposing the construction of the Memorial Center in Potočari near Srebrenica.

If, God forbid, by chance, Srđa’s brother or father were killed in a criminal act committed by an unknown killer, would he leave their beloved without the monuments in order not to further dehumanize

them, and to save his honor, which he, pardon my language, obviously does not have?

The Association of families of deportees also reacted to anti-civilization efforts of Srđa Pavlović:

“The claims of professor Srđa Pavlović presented in an ‘exclusive interview’ for tabloid *Monitor* that the construction of a monument in Herceg Novi would ‘dehumanize the victims and stop the process of establishing responsibility’ sound really monstrous. Therefore, once again we appeal to the Montenegrin authorities not to give up on the intention to build a memorial in Herceg Novi.”

There was also a reaction from the association of *Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves*, strongly condemning “certain professor Srđa Pavlović and the circles gathered around Podgorica’s tabloid *Monitor*, who oppose raising the monument to 85 Bosnian refugees deported from Montenegro and killed in Republic of Srpska”.

“*Mothers of Srebrenica* condemns all efforts of this heartless group of people, who are, supposedly in the name of justice, against the elementary act of civilization. Raising a monument to our sons, brothers, fathers and husbands does not absolve anyone of command or any other responsibility, as it is inhumanly planted to the *Association of families of deported Bosnian refugees*. *Mothers of Srebrenica* also condemn a brutal campaign of *Monitor* and the people close to it against Jasenka Perović, whom these heartless people are accusing of being a regime’s agent, carrying out a public lynch and exerting open pressure on her and the families to give up on the prosecution of all those responsible for this crime, including their hero Slobodan Pejović”, reads the statement signed by the President of the Association Munira Subašić.

[Leaving the basic editorial policy and tradition of the old *Monitor*, Esad’s and Miško’s *Monitor* (No. 1186 of 12 July 2013, and No. 1187 of 19 July 2013), unlike, for example, CNN, published nothing at all about the marking of the 18th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide

and the burial of the remains of 409 Bosniak boys and men (11 July 2013), among which were the remains of Nermin Subašić, the youngest son of Munira Subašić. It was after 18 years of searching that she managed to find and bury only two bones of her son, a bone of one of his arms and a bone of one of his legs.]

This is what the independent media and editors from Don Mikeli's factory have become. *Monitor*, therefore, opposes the construction of a monument to those deported, whereas it had nothing to say against the construction of a monument to butcher Pavle Đurišić and against rehabilitation of Draža Mihailović. Moreover, ruined *Monitor* even declared the opposition to the rehabilitation of Draža a negative event of the week. ("*Monitor's* barometer: a negative event of the week", 6 April 2012).

In addition to the "independent ones" Montenegrin Internet commentators have also found themselves affected by the trailer of *A Hero of Our Time* and the initiative to build a monument to those deported, instead of one to Pejović. Thus, in her text published by *PCNEN* (28 May 2011), an Internet journalist wannabe, Sonja Radošević, whom *Dnevni avaz* thanked for her cooperation after only three articles, vengefully asks after *Živa istina*, "whether *Monitor* ever had any employees who were not members of the NSA", arguing that "the new films are made to wash dirty laundry and whitewash the past". She idiotically concludes: "The idea promoted by Radončić and represented by certain NGOs that a monument should be raised to deportation victims is extremely strange because as far as I know Montenegrin court ruled that everyone here is innocent and that there was no crime. So how and to whom would then the monument be raised?"

I sent a text message to Duško Vuković. I asked him why he doesn't spare the families of those deported, his colleagues and readers of his website of such dirty and anti-civilization comments.

"Since I worked for *Monitor* myself, the comment (whether *Monitor* ever had any employees who were not members of the NSA, Š.R.)

could apply to me as well. I just think that her sentence cannot be viewed as an argument... I'm sorry but the freedom of information means that we should also let those whose views we do not like have their say", said freemason Duško. I didn't contact the media sponsor of Sonja Radošević, the owner of web spittoons and the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Montenegro again.

ARREST THE TERRORIST FROM SARAJEVO

[OR HOW THREE MEDIA MERCENARIES OF THE SELLER OF LIES FALSELY REPORTED THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK FOR SENDING THEM THREATENING TEXT MESSAGES, AND HOW THE MONTENEGRIN PROSECUTION OFFICE ESTABLISHED THAT THEY WERE LYING]

Soon, Šeki Radončić would, as “a regime agent”, end up on the front pages of Podgorica’s independent but private press. While I was beside the cutting table, talking to the editor of my film Almir Kenović on whether we should give priority to the documentary aspects of the film at the expense of cuts between the scenes, or vice-versa, my phone rang:

- Hello, is this Mr. Šeki Radončić?
- Yes, how may I help you?
- Mitar Rakčević is on the phone, *Dan* journalist.
- What can I do for you?
- How do you comment on today’s accusations against you?
- What accusations, I don’t know what is going on?
- Well, Milan Popović, Koča Pavlović and Esad Kočan accused you in their joint statement of threatening them for months. They also say you are a regime agent!
- That’s impossible.
- It is possible, check the websites!

I stopped editing the film and went on the Internet. I had to see what was going on, what new abomination did the Seller of Lies and the thugs from his payroll prepare. It was quite a sight.

Producing a new media event, Milan Popović, Esad Kočan and Koča Pavlović in their joint statement of 10 June 2011 inform the

“democratic public and relevant authorities” that “in recent months they have been swamped with threatening text messages by a person who presents himself as Šeki Radončić”. A small but elite company adds: “Insults and threats by a ruling regime agent would not worry us if they weren’t an obvious effort of the head of this regime, Milo Đukanović, to avoid responsibility for the war crime of deportation in 1992...”

What scoundrels. What blatant lies through which the mercenaries of seller of lies Miodrag Perović are trying to criminalize Šeki Radončić and to present him as a regime agent. What “unbearable lightness” of lying and public accusations. And we were surprised that it was Pejović who served as the model for these three Münchhausens!

To begin with, let’s see who accuses Šeki Radončić of being a regime agent:

1. Regime opponent Milan Popović. The regime gave him two apartments, published three books of his and used to give him five monthly salaries. While he was receiving his money, Milan referred to Milo’s smuggling of cigarettes as business. However, today, he considers everything to be linked with the regime, except for the state faculty where he has been promoted to an advisor to the rector so as to have more time to engage in politics and persecutions.

2. Regime opponent Esad Kočan. As a member of the Management Board of regime’s *TVCG*, he received 47,000 Euros. He also received valuable shares from the regime’s *Pobjeda*. Kočan, whose wife Marina works at the state-owned Ecotoxicological Office of Montenegro, which he was hiding for years from his fellow journalists, just as Miško was hiding that his sister Milka was the Deputy Minister of Trade in Milo’s government. He lied telling us that Marina “worked in a shop”. Maybe Marina was employed there by the “fascist SDP”, just as Pejović’s daughter in the Ministry of Tourism – to compromise Kočan.

3. Regime opponent Koča Pavlović. Some time ago, Milo Đukanović, i.e. the regime, paid his debts in order to save him from the thugs of

business partners he cheated. Journalist Koka Pavlović who, in his interview with Đukanović (*TV Montena*, 14 February 2001), melting with pleasantness, said the following to the hated Dictator:

“Today is ‘Valentine’s Day’. Our viewer Jelka from Šibenik thinks that you are the most beautiful president”... And this is how all elated Koka finishes his interview: “Thank you for being a guest on *TV Montena*. I, personally, and we all, experience this as a kind of recognition of our professional success”. “Yes, yes”, replied Milo.

It was because of this most disgusting interview in the history of Montenegro that unsurpassed Milo’s toady Koka was nicknamed “Milo’s Ljeposava” by Marko Vešović.

So have the deportations occurred before this wooing interview? If they have, why have Koka, Popović and Kočan kept silent about them? The three of them have started the politicization of the crime of deportations only when Milo has stopped providing them regime allowances.

Let’s also see who are the people publicly warning and accusing Šeki of being a regime agent and trying to protect “the head of this regime, Milo Đukanović, with a view to avoid responsibility for the war crime of deportation in 1992”:

- a) Milan Popović, from whom the families of deportees have publicly distanced themselves because of his politicization of their misfortune;
- b) Esad Kočan, against whom the families of deportees have announced a lawsuit, because of his insults and insinuations against Jasenka and them, publicly banning *Monitor* from any involvement in marking the crime;
- c) Koča Pavlović, who, together with his brother Srđa and others, opposes the construction of a monument to the victims of deportations, which was also publicly condemned by the families.

I will briefly list what Šeki Radončić, unlike the three kidnapers of foreign credit, did in exposing this state crime:

Šeki conducted and recorded more than 500 interviews with deportation witnesses, survivors, police officers, politicians... and on this occasion traveled thousands of kilometers around the globe; published hundreds of articles about the crime, debunking it in two books, *The Black Box* (1996) and *Fatal Freedom* (2005); was the idea creator and co-writer and author of *Carnival* and *A Hero of our Time*; organized families to initiate civil proceedings against the Ministry of Interior of Montenegro; participated in organizing the anniversaries of deportations all these years; demanding, from the first day, the construction of a monument and introduction of a *Memorial Day* of the crimes; officially submitted evidence related to the crime to former State Prosecutor of Montenegro Vesna Medenica; filed criminal charges against five Karadžić's executioners, who killed most of the deported people on the territory of Republic of Srpska, with the War Crimes Prosecution Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina; filed criminal charges against Slobodan Pejović with the Montenegrin Prosecution Office for participation in this war crime; submitted all materials related to the crime, with established vertical line of command responsibility, to the Hague Tribunal. For all that, he was long threatened, his house was thrown bombs at, his car was vandalized, and he was arrested and interrogated.

What did Popović, Kočan and Pavlović do to debunk the case? Nothing. The three detractors did not even write three articles about deportations, apart from the tens of distasteful praises to the Hunter on Bosniaks. The media mogul Miodrag Perović's manufacturers of lies of wrote more distasteful praises to hero Pejović than all the pre-war newspapers did to Lepa Brena.

Don Mikeli's striking persecution trio warns the public that there is a "campaign of lies, hatred and violence" revving up against them! What an insult for the common sense. It turns out that it is not Šeki Radončić but Popović, Kočan and Pavlović who are being demonized by *Vijesti*, *TV Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *Radio Vijesti*, *Monitor*, *Free Europe*, *TVCG*, *Mina*, *Beta*, *PCNEN*, *Bošnjaci.net*, various websites, numerous columnists, internet shooters, media seasonal workers,

and weekend fighters; it turns out that it is not Šeki but them who have against them all this power, while being backed by only their name, past work and facts. It turns out that it is Šeki Radončić who conducts “a campaign of lies, hatred and violence” against them!

And just imagine all the whining and squealing and calling for help by these three liars, over the alleged threatening text messages!

Here come the facts: I sent a text message to Popović, without a word of threat, on 24 April, as well as a text message to Pavlović on 31 May, and a text message to Kočan on 3 June 2011. They informed the authorities and the national and foreign public of those “life-threatening text messages” on 10 June. What is it that prompted Milan Popović to start wailing and panicking 47 (forty seven) days after receiving “a threatening text message” by me, causing him to call the authorities for help? What is it that prompted Koča Pavlović to start calling for help 10 (ten) days after receiving a life-threatening text message from the terrorist from Sarajevo? And what is it that prompted Kuta to start whining and calling national and foreign factors for help 7 (seven) days after receiving my “threatening” text message?

Could it be that the phone lines were bad, so my text tomahawks reached the three frightened rabbits at the same time, prompting them to jointly call the state, or as they would call them “regime authorities”, to protect them?

Or perhaps the black trio of the Montenegrin intellectual underground pretended to be jeopardized in order to promote themselves as Montenegrin heroes, using Pejović’s methods?

Or maybe Don Mikeli wanted to criminalize and publicly discredit Šeki Radončić through the accusations of his media mercenaries that he was a bully and a dangerous agent?

Or Perović’s spin doctors were producing this great lie in order to turn the attention away from the trailer for *A Hero of Our Time* shown in *Živa istina* towards the other side? Let us focus the attention of the public away from our “bastard” and towards the dangerous Turk

who wanted to use his sword to slay our most renowned heroes and democrats, shame on him.

Or it was media fascist Miško putting into practice the *Final Solution* for Šeki Radončić?

With a view to shed light upon the black trio in their pitch darkness, I publicly warned them that they would have to prove their disgusting claims before court, inviting them to release my text messages. I also hired a lawyer to file criminal charges against Šeki Radončić for endangering the lives of the distinguished professor, editor and MP. The state prosecutor would thus be obliged to investigate the case and ask the mobile operators to disclose my text messages addressed to Popović, Kočan and Pavlović. Thus, the prosecution office would eventually determine that this three-man team tried to frame me and stamp the media lies of Tycoon's executors, just as Pejović's "dangerous ambush" was stamped.

My persecutors, of course, refused to disclose to journalists the "threatening text messages that swamped them", so I myself submitted the THREE "disputable" text messages, that I had originally sent to the trio of liars, to the interested media.

New stoning of Šeki Radončić would ensue in the next day's press. Thus, *Vijesti* (11 June 2011) published an article entitled *Popović, Pavlović and Kočan Accuse Radončić of Threatening Them, While He Is Bothered by Other Claims*, with a disgusting headline *The Court Will Determine if Šeki is Milo's Agent*. The same text was transmitted by TV *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *Radio Vijesti*, *Monitor* and other websites, private television and radio stations. Podgorica's *Dan* that is occasionally "edited" by Željko Ivanović was even filthier. The main title: *Threatened by a Regime Agent*.

Professional *Vijesti*, of course, did not publish my denial or the content of my "controversial" text messages, although their journalist Slavko Radulović asked me to submit them to him. *Dan* did publish them. Here's how *Dan* journalists did it:

“Text message sent to Milan Popović, 25 April 2011:

Dear Milan, for the sake of decades-long friendship, I kindly ask you not to frame me... that are served to you... .. and the director who... .. editor-in-chief who... .. the biggest anti-war profiteer in Montenegro. Thanks in advance, Šeki Radončić.”

When a *Dan* reader, led by the suggestive title, imagines threatening words instead of the missing parts, which are there to lead to arbitrary conclusions, it can easily appear that Šeki is a tough guy. Let us, therefore, compare the original text message sent to Popović with the text from *Dan*. I will highlight the censored words:

“Dear Milan, for the sake of decades-long friendship, I kindly ask you not to frame me **with the abominations** that are served to you **by the mistress of the best man’s best man** and the editor-in-chief who **has children born out of wedlock with his journalists** and the biggest anti-war profiteer in Montenegro **in whose apartment I was interrogated by chief of the secret police Vukašin Maraš.**”

So, I was threatening and jeopardizing the life of Milan Popović with a kind appeal!?

I sent Milan this text message appeal after his public accusations against the families and an unnamed agent, which you’ve had a chance to read above. So, as you can see, Popović is lying that I threatened him, and *Dan* demonstrates how a journalist can creatively manipulate. Omitting the part “in whose apartment I was interrogated by chief of the secret police Vukašin Maraš”, of course, has its purpose, because how could I possibly be viewed as a secret police agent if I myself was interrogated in the apartment of a police intermediary and the owner of the newspaper that is framing me with being a regime agent.

Here is how *Dan* published the text message sent to Koča Pavlović on 31 May 2011:

“Koča my friend, you don’t owe me anything anymore. I timely warned you not to (.....). But it is your choice now. I understand that as well, but I really do not understand the hatred and disgusting insinuations that your family directed at me. Regards, Šeki.”

Do not worry. I did not threaten or insult. Here is what the text message looked like:

“Koča my friend, you don’t owe me anything anymore. I timely warned you not to **ride a dead horse.**” The second part was quoted correctly.

A few months before this, I bumped into Koča by chance in *Gintuš*, in Podgorica. We had a friendly conversation, in the presence of his esteemed wife – and I advised him, in good faith, “not to ride a dead horse”, as they say metaphorically, because I had found out that Pejović was a fraudster and would soon unveil it.

And I really do not see how *Dan* interpreted the metaphor “do not ride a dead horse” as an insult? Or perhaps *Dan* did not see Pejović as a “dead horse”, but believed that this stallion of Miško’s would win the race and neigh in triumph at Šeki’s funeral?

“Text message sent to Esad Kočan on 03 June 2011:

You demonstrator, registered... great editor having... .. Make an interview with your blood-brother Slobodan Pejović and have him challenge my statements communicated on TV IN. But anyway, we will discuss everything in more detail next week when I drop there.”

Let’s see what Šeki really wrote:

“You demonstrator, registered **agent**, great editor **having children born out of wedlock with your journalists, the same journalists whom you then order to jeer, hidden under pseudonyms, at people who used to enroll your children to faculties.**” The second part of the text message was correctly quoted.

I again do not understand: why, in the title of the article, *Dan* does not refrain from writing that I was an **agent**, while removing the same qualification from my private text message to Kočan? Is it because of cronyism, editorial solidarity or the continuation of a persecution against Šeki?

I sent this message to my friend Kočan bluntly, after he wrote in *Monitor* that Darko Šuković and I were “media agents of the regime”.

There were, of course, no threats, but merely an announcement that the two of us would visit the newsroom to talk openly about everything, with a view to stop the persecution against me. After all, it is all common sense: If Kuta really viewed my text message as a real threat, he would have called the police instantly. He wouldn't start whining seven days later.

And look how good is the trio in lying: based on three text messages whose contents you read, they said that they were “swamped with text messages of threatening content in recent months” and that Šeki Radončić, in his “campaign of lies, hatred and violence” was showering them with “threatening messages” for months!

All in all, three Montenegrin honest pundits headed by police intermediary Miodrag Perović, for whom lie is a common trait, raised an unseen alarm with one aim only: to discredit Šeki and turn the attention away from the debacle that they experienced in *Živa istina* and direct it towards their own vulnerability. And this was not the first time, let us remember, professor Popović and *Vijesti* owners were exposed to life-threatening “anonymous threats” after the death of Mladen Brajović as well, when the public attention needed to be directed away from this media execution and towards the false threats to Montenegrin sacred cows.

The trio of liars tried to portray Šeki Radončić as a man who fought against revealing the truth about deportation and punishing those responsible for the crime, while presenting themselves as people who have discovered the crime and as uncompromising fighters for punishing all those responsible. This is referred to as taking other people's credit. The trio, therefore, looked up to their blood-brother Slobodan Pejović, who took the credit for what late Milan Jokić did, and their boss Miško, who stole the founding shares of his friends and journalists. “Like takes pleasure in like”.

Just a day after *Vijesti* published the text *The Court Will Determine if Šeki Is Milo's Agent*, the tabloid published a new jeering text by Srđa the Canadian, *Days of Efforts and the Truth about the State Crime*.

Namely, the Wolf of Ontario again indiscriminately fired at people's enemy Šeki Radončić: "No threats with court, no hollow fuss about betrayal and no insults of Mr. Radončić thrown at me and my family will prevent the punishment of those responsible for the state crime of deportation", says this weekend fighter of Miodrag Perović.

Surprisingly, he lists no insults of mine: he couldn't possibly be referring to a "dead horse"? Pavlović brothers feel extremely offended by the truth, while their hero Pejović only feels disgusted when faced with it. And strangely enough, the professor of God-knows-what did not explain how my threats with court and alleged insults thrown at loving brothers would prevent the punishment of those responsible for the crime of deportation, forgetting that it was Šeki, not them, who long struggled for the punishment of the crime perpetrators? The Canadian has trouble with logic again. The columnist of the police intermediary obviously tried to steal my credit covertly and blatantly, just as his boss tried to steal my money.

The next issue of *Vijesti* (13 June 2011) illustrated that a "campaign of lies, hatred and violence" really was heating up, but against Šeki. In the article entitled "*The Whitewashing Will Not Do*", continuing the campaign of his brother, an MP from DF, Koka Pavlović tried to frame me idiotically, accusing me of "assuming the difficult task to reconcile families of deportees with Đukanović," offering no evidence whatsoever for this cocaine induced claim.

"Is it really necessary to clarify how dishonorable this mission – to reconcile victims and perpetrators, in such a manner that the perpetrator avoids the trial and remains free, really is?, asks Chetnik-MP and MP-Chetnik, without taking into account how offensive these lies were to victims of the crime, because it was hard for Koka the Cockade to grasp that the victims of war crimes had their integrity and their selves. Or maybe he just overdosed with hatred as well.

Mayor of Podgorica Miomir Mugoša was absolutely right when he brought along substance abuse specialist Ljubinko Kaluđerović to the session of the Parliamentary Committee chaired by Koka. Of

course, this led Koka to a major crisis, so he nervously asked the uninvited guest to leave the session of the Parliamentary Committee committed to employment along party lines.

– I am very sorry if my presence or profession caused a negative reaction, said Dr. Kaluderović.

– I am a surgeon, and the colleague is a substance abuse specialist, and we are here to help, added Mugoša looking at Koka, whose hands were shaking while the redness on his cheeks barely got through the gray clay color of his face.

Koka the Cockade published his text from *Vijesti*, with a different title – *Brothers' Reconciliation*, on *Vijesti website*, *Dan*, *Peščanik*, *Bošnjaci.net*, and the website of the *Group for Change*, which marked the formal involvement of Medo Zemunac's political party into the Tycoon's campaign. Koka, however, convincingly broke the record of his brother, Srđa the Seasonal Worker, who, as we have seen, published his text against me in “only” three media. Yet, the harmonious brothers have a good average score: they published two same articles against me in eight media. The Dog Handler, I believe, hung gold necklaces around their necks for this achievement.

The well stimulated Tycoon's seasonal worker would continue his persecution from Canada. In *Vijesti* of 16 June 2011, in the article entitled “Hostages and Apologists”, Srđa again (the Dalton brothers gave me a hard time) jeered at me mindlessly claiming that Radončić was attacking “individual police officer Pejović only to deny the existence of the state crime and the involvement of the then executive power in Montenegro”. I have already told you – Srđa the Seasonal Worker did not teach logic, because common sense suggests that the very fact that inspector Pejović participated in organized war crime, as a regular and certified law enforcement officer of Montenegro, confirmed the existence of the state crime! It seems to me that angry Srđa, who crossed thousands of kilometers not to reveal the truth about deportations, but to shake hands with Đukanović in Cetinje, has never heard of individual criminal responsibility for war crimes

(INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY, Article 7 (1) of the Statute of the International Court in The Hague), or simply refuses to recognize it, just as his beloved party leader Miodrag Lekić would not recognize the crime in Markale.

Yet, this was still not the end of media debauchery against the author of yet unseen documentary. In order to try to destroy Šeki completely, Miško the Dog Handler included tabloid *Monitor* in the persecution again. In a text entitled *Text Messages, Lies and Exposing*, (17 June 2011), by Milena Perović – Korać (the real author is, of course, Kočan), Šeki Radončić is, without proof whatsoever, accused of making a film on Pejović with a view to embellish Đukanović's past! Then, Kuta moves to the point:

“Radončić announced a lawsuit for libel, because Popović, Kočan and Pavlović called him ‘a media agent of the regime’. In other words – one that represents and promotes the value system of the government. Radončić asked for 150,000 Euros (in damages, Š.R.)”

In other words – Kuta feared that he would, together with his mates, have to pay Šeki a rather high compensation, so he kept his tail between his legs. By the way, Kočan lied that in their statement Popović, Pavlović and he called me “a media agent of the regime”, because they explicitly called me “a regime agent”, i.e. Milo's spy! Kuta's elaboration on what the job of a media agent of the regime was probably arose from the job descriptions for positions that he successfully worked in such as TVCG editor, *Pobjeda* journalist, employee of the *Marxist Center Podgorica* and an animator at rallies organized by Milošević, referred to as “events for the people”. The demonstrator, of course, failed to mention where and when Šeki promoted Milo's regime, in at least a sentence, as naturally there was no evidence thereto. The demonstrator and his company despise the facts; which is not surprising: these people are the masters in embarrassing others by framing them with their own biographies!

A few months later, Deputy Basic State Prosecutor Ana Radović, after my hearing (Official record Ktr.No.621/11 of 11 July 2011) and

an insight into the text messages sent to the trio of Don Mikeli's mercenaries, made the Decision (Ktr.No.621/11 of 30 August 2011), "that there is no reasonable reason to believe that any person has committed any criminal offense which is prosecuted ex officio" against Popović, Kočan and Pavlović. It was thus officially confirmed that the trio of liars made up that Šeki Radončić, or anyone signed as him, sent them any threatening text messages.

So, what can be concluded from the above?

Koča(n) is a liar.

Koča(n) is a manipulator and liar.

Koča(n) is a manipulator, liar and persecutor.

Koča(n) is a manipulator, liar, persecutor and scoundrel.

Koča(n) is a manipulator, liar, persecutor, scoundrel and fascist.

Milan is all of this in one.

Miško is all of this multiplied by two.

And all of them, together with the Dog Handler, blood-brothers, brothers and other persecutors, are PEOPLE WITH NO SHAME.

A TOMB FOR ŠEMSUDIN

[OR HOW THE SELLER OF LIES DIGS GRAVES AND BURIES HIS OPPONENTS IN HIS NEWSPAPERS, AND ON HOW HE CHAUVINISTICALLY MOCKS THEM FOR THEIR NAMES, AND ON HOW HE INCLUDES PEOPLE FROM HIS PAYROLL INTO THE MEDIA PERSECUTION]

After a battle with the trio of certified liars, I returned to film editing. I figured that the hunters would have used all the abominations and that I could peacefully dedicate to my film. And while I was, together with Alma Ferović, listening to music that was composed for *A Hero of Our Time* (a wonderful old song *Poljem se vije*), Andrej Nikolaidis called me. He had bad news:

- You are the top dog again.
- Why?
- Miško Perović himself attacked you in *Vijesti* today.
- So Mikeli joined the persecution?
- He sure did. He wrote a whole-page text.
- Well it was about time for the chief persecutor to come out of his hole.

So after Popović, Pavlović, Kočan, after those with Zemun ties, after Čikić, Đukić, Koprivica, Vuković, Milka, Slavica, Milena, Nataša, Sonja and the like, and after all those columns, commentaries, editorial opinions, press releases, and reports to state authorities, the time has come for head of the media Cosa Nostra Miodrag Perović to personally get involved in this campaign where hunters spared no effort or time to humiliate me and finish me off. He did so by digging a grave for me, organizing my funeral and declaring my unseen film a misdeed. I know honest Miodrag and I would not be surprised if he opted for such an action for a noble aim: to protect the weak ones from Šeki.

I thought of Kiš again. During the campaign against him for *A Tomb for Boris Davidovič*, at one point the main persecutor, Dragan Jeremić, came out of hiding and spoke. Here's how Kiš recorded it:

“The text published by Dragan M. Jeremić in *Književne novine* (of 1 December 1976), entitled *Low Blows with Another Man's Hand*, appeared as a (premature) greeting card of Belgrade's literary *cosa nostra* and a decree in which the literary boss himself reminds of the bazaar order: for me not to try to raise my head, because they will take my scalp, and to accept with the peace of God the fate intended for me by the *cosa nostra*, or I would be torn into pieces by feral horses.”

Dear Danilo,

I think Dragan M. Jeremić was a gentleman compared to Miodrag M. Perović. Jeremić publicly warned you about what will befall you if you defy the destiny intended for you by *cosa nostra*, while the “well-off little old man” shot me in the back, dug me a grave and buried me without a word of warning. In addition, my persecutor has more media than the entire Belgrade at the time.

One can easily tell that *tovarisch Mishenka* studied in Russia, where he, in addition to mathematics, also studied Stalinist methods of fighting opponents: in his first attack, the Seller of Lies attacked me over my name, in the second one he prepared a public funeral for me and declared my yet unseen film “a misdeed”, while after the third one, bruised and tattered, he heroically escaped from the duel. First things first:

In *Vijesti* of 17 June 2011, in a text *Unedited Šeki*, Miodrag M. Perović accuses me that:

1. “I wrote letters (on the theft of shares, Š.R.) that were published in the *Voice of Čepurci* (this is how Miško refers to *Pobjeda*, Š.R.)”, “with a view to compromise him”. Which is a lie: I wrote those letters with a view to get my money back.

2. I used one of those letters “to launch a story that the head of the secret police Vukašin Maraš interrogated me” in his apartment. Which is not true: I “launched” Miško and the truth about him much earlier, in *Vijesti* (of 1 July 2003) and in my book *Behind the Mask*, about the work of the Montenegrin secret police (September 2003, p. 98.). Miško did not deny it at the time.

3. “Šemsudin Radončić was publicly lying and sending threatening text messages to former friends”. Which is not true: following my application, the state authorities, i.e. the Prosecution Office, determined that Miško’s persecutors were lying and framing.

4. “Šemsudin was defending Milo’s regime”, which is confirmed by the following crucial evidence: “Šemsudin Radončić acted as if he did not hear the statement of Momir Bulatović before court that the deportations of 1992 were a state crime, so he proclaimed Slobodan Pejović, one of many police officers who took part in the arrests, a very powerful man and the main culprit for the crime of deportations”. Which is true / untrue.

a) The truth is that I have not heard of such Bulatović’s statement. Because he has never made it. What Bulatović explicitly said, at the trial and outside the court, and what was later quoted by *TV Vijesti* (12 November 2010) was the following: “The truth is that there is no mistake. The truth is that there is no individual responsibility. The truth is that, if there was a mistake, it was the state’s mistake, not an individual one...”

Bulatović has, therefore, never uttered the phrase “state crime”. Momir Bulatović is no fool to recognize a state crime that was committed while he was the supreme commander of the Territorial Defense and Police of Montenegro, proclaiming himself a war criminal and ending up in prison. And that is why Perović’s “crown witness” Momir Bulatović is explicit that “there is no individual responsibility” and no “individual mistakes”. So neither Momir’s nor Milo’s, nor the one of nine accused police officers in whose favor Bulatović was testifying (“I’m proud of these people who sit on the dock, because

we managed to preserve peace at the time”), nor anyone else’s. By denying individual responsibility [Article 7 (1) of the Statute of the International Court in The Hague], and recognizing an abstract state mistake, which cost 85 people their lives and the state of Montenegro over four million Euros, proud Bulatović, in fact, abolishes all participants of this state glitch, including, of course, himself.

The term state crime, pardon the immodesty, was first used by Šeki Radončić, way back in 1996 when he was sending bulky evidence of the deportations to the Office of the Prosecutor in The Hague, with a full line of vertical command responsibility. Headed by the President of the state, Momir Bulatović, Prime Minister Milo Đukanović, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of the control of the Ministry of Interior Zoran Žižić, Minister of Interior Pavle Bulatović, Deputy Minister of Interior Nikola Pejaković, Deputy Minister of Interior for Public Security Milisav Mićo Marković, head of the secret police Boško Bojović, Supreme State Prosecutor Vladimir Šušović... Which can be seen in my book *The Fatal Freedom: the Deportation of Bosnian Refugees from Montenegro (Humanitarian Law Fund Belgrade, 2005, p.145)*.

Yet, Carla Del Ponte was not interested in this crime. Appearing on *TV Vijesti*, former ICTY spokeswoman Florence Hartmann said she “does not know the details of how the Court in The Hague dealt with deportation cases, but this matter did not interest them that much”. “They gave up on the political leadership of Montenegro quickly”, explained Hartmann. M. Perović and his mercenaries have never condemned this behavior by Carla Del Ponte.

b) It is incorrect that I accused Pejović that he was “the main culprit for the crime of deportations”. Investigator of war and media crimes Šeki Radončić would never have given such importance to police inspector in charge of searches. Pejović was, as the prosecution witnesses stated, and as characterized by the victims who recognized him, the hunter on Bosniaks and brutal arrester, which is, under the command responsibility, below the “main culprit”. Pejović was the perpetrator of the crime, while the “main culprit”, i.e. those who gave

orders for the crime to be committed, are well above him. Yet, this does not relieve Pejović of responsibility for his part of participation in this war crime. I hope I am not too harsh if I insist on a basic rule that both, commanders and perpetrators must be held responsible for their role in the war crimes. (Article 7 (1) of the Statute of the International Court in The Hague).

In his text, Miodrag Perović repeatedly calls me Šemsudin, although I have been writing for his media for twenty years as Šeki Radončić. By Perović's decree, all of his media Taliban would refer to me as Šemsudin in the future. With no exceptions. Yet, Miodrag Perović is not being original again: he plagiarized failed politician Slavko Perović, who, just a couple of days before, joined my persecution through his blog, throwing numerous insults at me and claiming that "Šemsudin Radončić was hiding his real name by nickname Šeki", thereby presenting himself as a Montenegrin.

I reacted to low blows of Miodrag M. Perović through a text *Boss Miško*, but *Vijesti* editors brutally cut the text, adding a photograph of Slobodan Pejović to it, below which it said that: *Slobodan is the symbol of honest and fair Montenegro, while you Šeki are a scoundrel and a moral prostitute.* (*Vijesti* website, 21 June 2011). That is how Miodrag M. Perović's persecutors do it. Appalled by the "professionalism" of Perović's editors, a reader of the website reacted:

• ljubiša | 21/06/2011 at 11:03h

Did *Vijesti* really need to illustrate the text in this manner?

In a very polite reaction, I stated that it was becoming hard for me to manage to read all those articles against me from Podgorica, Sarajevo, Prague, Canada and New York, which started to be written against me at the moment when I announced that I was making a documentary *A Hero of Our Time*. I realized a long time ago it was Boss Miško who was behind all the hype, pulling the strings, and who did not refrain from using a person's nickname, name or confession to morally and otherwise discredit him/her."

- How do you call a man who, based on someone’s name, confession or nationality, verbally attacks the person?
- A chauvinist.
- What is chauvinism?
- An incitement of national hatred and relying on national exclusivity (Vujaklija).
- How does this man who uses chauvinistic methods to discredit others present himself to the public?
- As a true humanist, European and a democrat!

The strategy employed by the Seller of Lies is sneaky, but obvious: Šeki Radončić should be displayed as a man who is ashamed of his name, surname, nationality and confession, which is why he presents himself as a Montenegrin. Miodrag M. Perović was not trying to discredit me only among Bosniaks, but among Serbs and Montenegrins as well, to which he sends a sophisticated message: he is no Montenegrin; he is Šemsudin, “a convert worse than a Turk”, which implies that anything he says, writes or records cannot be trusted. Uninformed readers may even conclude that these are two different persons, and that Šemsudin had nothing to do with past work and moral credit of Šeki Radončić. Such are the buffet policy (something for everyone) and coded chauvinistic messages used by anti-war profiteer and hundred percent Chetnik, as Đukanović rightly determined.

Since he did not do to well in the first round, honest Perović, whose business is investigated by the Montenegrin Special Prosecutor’s Office for Organized Crime, used his second text *Defector Šeki* (of 23 June 2011) to dig me a grave and bury me:

“If a Pythagorean would leave the brotherhood, others would organize his funeral. The funeral was symbolic, but the tomb was real. The substitution of names that I made (Šeki into Šemsudin, Š.R.) is merely a form of mourning of a Monitor’s journalist after

the other one, who defected to the side of crime”, says Miško the Undertaker, who would later join the coalition with Šešelj’s Chetnik Duke Mandić.

ŠEKI RADONČIĆ DEFECTED TO THE SIDE OF CRIME! Excuse me, but I will not get over this insult: such a horrible accusation and obscenity can only be uttered by an unscrupulous seller of lies such as Miodrag Miro’s Perović.

M. M. P. really hit the bottom when he changed his profession at an old age and started to organize public funerals and dig graves. I was therefore forced, in my reply, to dissect Miško the Undertaker, in order to study the anatomy of evil on his example:

“The *Vijesti* website published my previous reply to Boss Miško along with a picture of Slobodan Pejović, and the following inscription below it: *Slobodan is the symbol of honest and fair Montenegro, while you Šeki are a scoundrel and a moral prostitute.* As one of the founders of *Vijesti*, I felt very sad realizing how low people could sink. I saved the text in order to show young colleagues, in the schools of journalism where I teach, how not to write and what not to do. Miško Perović just won’t understand: Šeki Radončić is not a part of the morally and financially destroyed *Monitor*, because this newspaper has turned into a little Frankenstein harassing and insulting the victims of crimes, glorifying war crimes and opposing the elementary civilization act of building a monument to 85 people”.

After he publicly dug me a grave and buried me, the well-off little old man, university professor and self-proclaimed intellectual par excellence, Miško the Undertaker, said that “Šemsudin became an accomplice to the crime and that Radončić maintained the view that the main culprit for the crime of deportation was one of the many police officers who were carrying out arrests throughout Montenegro, following orders they were given. Such reasoning leads to the conclusion that we should not blame Stalin and the government, which was pursuing the terror policy, for the death of twenty million USSR citizens killed in Gulags, but the militia that arrested them.”

Miško the Undertaker could have used a more appropriate example: instead of Gulags, he could have, for example, think of Goli Otok and UDBA agents who were arresting, interrogating and killing people, but, then again, this would perhaps have reminded someone that one of the ancestors of Miško the Undertaker had been wearing an UDBA's leather coat, so it was more convenient for him to think of USSR and Stalin, instead of Tito and Goli Otok.

And since the deportations are a war crime, why did the Undertaker use a totalitarian regime crime, instead of a war crime in his reply? Miško is a clever guy: he would otherwise have to discuss individual responsibility of commanders and perpetrators participating in the war crime, and how would he then defend the hunter on Bosniaks? Miško the Researcher could also provide at least one example in the world where the prosecution of perpetrators of war crimes was stopped with the explanation that “the main culprits” or those who were issuing orders were not convicted! But he won't: there is no such law and such practice in this world.

I will remind Mishenka that, as far as totalitarianism is concerned, the writer of this book is at home: he timely wrote three books about the crimes of the domestic totalitarian regime: *The Black Box, Police Torture in Montenegro from 1992 to 1996*, and *The Black Box 2*, which encompasses police torture from 1996 to 2003, as well as *Behind the Mask*, discussing actions of the Montenegrin secret police, and a series of articles on political trials in Montenegro. Not to mention hundreds of other articles.

What did M. M. P. do on this issue?

He did a lot: in the hand to hand combat with the totalitarian regime, he organized police interrogations of journalists in his apartment, wrote panegyrics to the chief of the secret police, hid in trunks of Udba cars and gained great wealth. In sports jargon: while Šeki and his colleagues gave their best on the pitch, Miško was selling matches.

M. Perović also dealt with the substance of the problem – my yet unfinished film: “In this misdeed of his, he (Šemsudin) will certainly

not devote ninety percent of the time to the main culprits for the crime of deportation (which they deserve), through which he would deny the view that he is a regime specialist”, says the prophet from Morača, who was yet to see this “misdeed” of mine.

Using the professor’s scientific method for detecting regime specialists, I will respond to the police intermediary: it is certain that anti-regime fighter Miško will not jump from the fifth floor (which he deserves) from the apartment of 485 square meters, which he bought from Aco Đukanović, Milo’s brother, by which he would deny the view that he was a regime servant and partner.

By the way, the “misdeed” of mine, *A Hero of Our Time*, as stated in the synopsis of the film, is about “a retired police inspector who becomes a national hero in Montenegro by persistently claiming that he, while risking his own life, saved three Bosnians during the war. Based on this ‘brave act’, he receives national and international awards. Yet, the truth is beginning to come to light...” Šeki, therefore, in his “misdeed”, dealt with the false hero, Miško’s protégé, fabricated hero and braggart, to the extent realistically deserved by this character. Although M. M. P. was shocked by such a quantity of my pride and arrogance, I never thought of changing the subject of this “misdeed” to adapt it to his decree, just as I refused to change the topics and content of my articles in *Monitor* according to his directives.

Since he overreacted in his attacks on me, using hate speech, insults and insinuations (in Montenegro, after all, there is no bigger insult than proclaiming someone a regime agent or regime specialist), this was not welcomed by most readers of his website. There were few comments condemning Perović’s vocabulary. I will single out just one:

- prof. Slavica | 23/06/2011 at 18:31h

It is not pleasant to see a university professor using street language. I don’t know whether it’s hatred, annoyance, excessive pride... but it’s just not nice.

I replied to the media tycoon who makes enormous money on his lies and deceits through a text entitled “Sacred Cow”, saying that I

knew that he would not be ashamed of my film, because he knew no shame. I advised Perović, in good faith, that he should, if he had sufficient evidence, file criminal charges against Milo Đukanović to the Prosecution Office, for participation in the war crime of deportation, and asked him why, you anti-regime fighter, did you save him for 20 years?

Since my funeral did not go according to the professor's dynamic plan and protocol, he continued with the method of attacks from the side, and, in parallel with our debate, "fired" the texts of his media mercenaries, who tried to hold my hands while the boss was hitting me. For instance, in parallel with my response to Perović in *Vijesti*, *TV Vijesti* published a commentary by quasi intellectual and quasi journalist – Milan Popović, although he had, just a few days earlier, firmly promised "not to deal" with Šeki any longer. In the text *Đukanović Is the Most Responsible for the Crime of Deportation*, Popović attacks me declaring me a co-culprit, accusing me of exaggerating the truth about Pejović and concluding that SDP and the European Commission "were themselves increasingly falling into the category of 'accomplices' in the war crime of deportation! What can you do, instead of a writing talent, God endowed Milan with a gift for jeering at European Commission, while the labels thrown at SDP should not surprise: the insane professor declared this party a fascist one long time ago.

With an unprecedented abuse of media monopoly, following the already worked out persecution method, Popović's hate speech and insults from *TV Vijesti* were quoted by *Monitor* (24 June, 2011), daily *Vijesti*, *Vijesti* website, etc...

I refrain, as much as I can, even in private conversations, from verbally attacking a son over a father, a father over a son, a brother over a brother. Yet, since Miško's persecutors wrote great lies about my brother, at my expense of course, because they thought Šeki would not retaliate, I decided to break this scum of a bad habit (a real gentleman always strives for a pre-lost cause, as Oscar Wilde put it), and to retaliate, but with the truth. It hurts much more than lies.

So, Milan verbally attacks me over Fahro, my brother and his pre-war great friend, whom he has apparently never forgiven the fact that he spent 44 months defending besieged Sarajevo. I'm therefore going to remind Milan of his brother Milenko who teaches at the *Mediterranean University*, whose owner, according to Milan's *Monitor*, is an important part of "Đukanović's tycoon-oligarch cartel". I will also remind Milan that his brother Milenko once stated that "the recognition of Kosovo's independence is mindless, and should not have happened". It is also interesting that Milan's cousin and, more importantly, his idol, Šćepan Vuković, whom Milanče has always closely followed, used to be the editor of Pobjeda's warmongering volume *War for Peace*. Yet, Milan Popović, a member of the political council of the DF and a retroactive fighter against the war crime of deportation, has never condemned the warmongering newsletter.

In order to distract me while Miodrag M. Perović was fairly hitting me, *Vijesti* of 24 June 2011 published an imbecilic comment by Miško Đukić. Perović's newly produced columnist claims I wrote that I was interrogated by him, Miško Đukić, not Vukašin Maraš, in the apartment of Miodrag Perović. Đukić is a well-known Milošević's demonstrator who, during the AB revolution, on the steps of the Montenegrin Parliament, seized the microphone from the hands of the then President of Montenegro, Božina Ivanović. Perhaps he was interrogating someone else, not me.

At the same time, Miodrag M. Perović expanded the first team of his instigators, composed of Milošević's demonstrators, attackers on Dubrovnik, convicted offenders, war mongers and chauvinists, with Marko Milačić, best known for stoning, as a *Vijesti* columnist, the rival *Pobjeda* with rolls of toilet paper. In a text *Dead Souls* (*Vijesti*, 27 June 2011), following the directive of commissioner Perović, primitive Milačić threw smear at Šemsudin Radončić, praising the new "crown witness" of the independent ones – Momir Bulatović:

"Why not say – by testifying and speaking of direct responsibility of the former (and present) authorities, Bulatović stood in the line for a ticket called – forgiveness..."

Milačić is generous: he is willing to forgive on behalf of other people whose blood was shed! Mikeli's persecutors do not want to accept the fact that they are nobody and nothing, and that they do not have the power to grant permissions to anyone, including former Supreme Commander Momir Bulatović, to stand "in the line for a ticket called – forgiveness". In the case of war crimes of deportation, forgiveness can only be decided upon by the families of deported and murdered people, those who have lost their loved ones; bereaved journalistic idiots cannot do it. And families have decided, and fiercely enraged the Lord of Truth and his persecutors: by filing criminal charges against them in Sarajevo, they placed Momir Bulatović and Slobodan Pejović in the line for punishment, not the forgiveness advocated by Miško's specialist Marko Milačić. He whose text *Hit Hard* "made Montenegrin journalism hit bottom in provincial abuse of privacy", as stated by the *Media Self-Regulation Council*, but I will say more about this and his primitive bombardment of rival Pobjeda with toilet paper later.

With the heroic help of his weak apprentices, in his third strike on me, deceitful Miško wrote (*Vijesti, A Task Too Heavy* 30 June 2011), throwing old labels at me, that *Monitor* merely "warned that executioners should not be allowed to escape punishment by building a monument to victims". Demonstrating thus that even the Boss no longer read his ruined tabloid. Or he was perhaps, as usual – whenever it suited him, pretending not to read it. ("I did not have time to look at the text". "I was at the doctor's, I felt bad...")

After Milan Popović, Miško Đukić and Marko Milačić, Boss Miško was aided by his new "star", Balša Brković. With a text *The Wedding* (1 July 2011):

"The Montenegrin sense of justice is interesting: for example, a key witness of the deportations from the nineties has become, through Montenegrin alchemy – the main culprit... It is exactly this perverted consciousness that instantly turns a victim or witness into a culprit that thoroughly frustrates one in Montenegro today", says Balša.

Frustrated Balša is right: the truth is twisted that much in Montenegro that it instantly turned out that journalist Šeki Radončić was an “accomplice in the crime” of deportation, as conclusively determined by Balša’s boss Miško, and that arrester Pejović debunked the crime by remaining silent before the court and not revealing the names of those who ordered or committed the crime.

I didn’t fall for Miško’s distraction strategy. I decided to ignore all of his security guards and puppets, and to hit him, due to the extremely reduced space in *Vijesti*, where it hurt him the most – the money:

“This is the third time that I am publicly asking Don Mikeli, how did he, as a prisoner of the regime, become one of the richest Montenegrins, and a media tyrant and tycoon in Milo’s private state. Miodrag Perović, therefore, only needs to answer whether his money fell from the sky, or it was donated to him by Santa Claus, or perhaps he won the American lottery while treated in Houston at the expense of Milo’s regime, or, God forbid, he nicked it from his journalists, friends, humanitarian aid... Or maybe Don Mikeli earned this vast fortune by working part-time for uncle Milo’s regime?” (*Uncle Milo, Vijesti*, 5 July 2011).

Since Perović views controversies as a matter of rhetoric and an exchange of insults and disqualifications rather than the confrontation of facts and arguments, he did not answer my questions. The angry anti-regime fighter escaped from the duel, and then in addition to Milan, Miško and Marko incited prominent intellectuals Kuta and Veseljko at me. So, following the established scheme, on the same page where they published my response to Perović, *Vijesti* published a joint reaction by the Reservist and Kuta, in which they threw themselves in front of Boss Miško, just as Rex did in front of Tito, challenging me to debate. Yet, I had better things to do but argue with Perović’s guards. I had to finish the post-production of *A Hero of Our Time*.

The escape of Miodrag M. Perović from the battlefield may be a good opportunity to do a little recap of the persecution in the last thirty

days. So, with a view to tear me to pieces and bury me, honest M. M. P. incited three of his columnists at me, in order to, along with the most primitive insults, falsely accuse me and report me to authorities for sending threatening text messages, discrediting and criminalizing me. In addition, during our gallant duel, Perović released a pack of persecutors consisting of five wolves and a callow youth at me. Seven to one!? One against seven!? False heroes do not know any better.

In addition, Perović's editors violently shortened my responses and used to illustrate them in a highly tendentious manner, to my detriment, sometimes with the language of hatred and insult. And they also thought of a new media manipulation: in order to ensure as many readers as possible for Perović's texts, they would keep them on the *Vijesti website* for two or three days, while my texts were only shown for less than a day, once just for a few hours.

Furthermore, during these hot thirty days, *Television Vijesti* verbally attacked Šeki Radončić four times; weekly *Monitor* did it six times; whereas *Daily Vijesti* and *Vijesti website* did it with twelve texts each. In one month, the side character "that we are not dealing with", was hit 34 times, being kept in the windows of truth of independent but private media.

The insults, disqualifications and labels that Don Mikeli and his media hirelings threw at me until the beginning of July 2011 describe them the best: "digging like a pig, lying, liar, scoundrel, prostitute, servant, regime agent, regime media agent, regime character, regime specialist, chief regime specialist..." The hate speech and primitivism of the persecutors culminated with the digging of my grave and the organization my funeral. Somewhat later, a convenient obituary to me would be released in *Vijesti* by Perović's partner Željko Ivanović, whose business is also investigated by the Special Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime. I will not, for hygienic reasons, quote the even more primitive hate speech, disqualifications and labels inherent to Miodrag M. Perović's followers and persecutors from certain websites and social networks.

This is the independent journalism; these are the European professional standards advocated by Perović for years. It is his contribution for Montenegro to join the family of modern nations and to establish press freedom and responsible journalism. It is the twenty-year noble mission in which the well-off little old man of Montenegro turned his country into a private sheepfold, and himself into a media butcher.

A HERO OF OUR TIME

[WHAT WAS GOING ON AT THE PREMIERE OF **A HERO OF OUR TIME** AND HOW THE SELLERS OF LIES PROCLAIMED RENOWNED PROSECUTOR GEOFFREY NICE FROM THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL A LUNATIC FOR COMMENDING THE FILM AND INSISTING ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY IN WAR CRIMES]

Montenegrin public silently watched as the head of the Montenegrin media *Cosa Nostra*, together with his crowd, stoned Šeki Radončić and his “misdeed”. This I understand: people mind their own business, because they do not want to find themselves in the windows of truth of “independent media” one day, jeered at and discredited. Yet, despite the brutal persecution, Miško the Undertaker failed to bury Šeki Radončić, which was his primary goal: most readers who submitted comments on the *Vijesti* website did not fall for his theatrical digging of a grave and burying Š.R.:

- mihailo | 30/06/2011 at 20:28h

Miško if you're so principled, why did not you answer the question that Radončić asked you twice: how did you, and with whose help, become one of the richest Montenegrins.

- Trix | 05/07/2011 at 15:57h

Mikele, humanitarian aid as well? You are the man!

Yet, Miodrag M. Perović would not be the king of the Montenegrin media if he reconciled with failure easily: in the future his editors would implement stricter censorship of comments on the website, and the media under his control would continue with even more brutal attacks on his opponents.

Persecution to which I was exposed stunned writer Marko Vešović so he publicly stood in my defense. Vešović, as made by God, sensitive to injustice, got involved in this battle because, for the umpteenth time, the Montenegrin evil appeared in its naked form before his eyes.

It was the same mental matrix on the basis of which communists killed Marko's father in a creek in 1949, harassed his Darinka with six children, drove the poet away from Montenegro for good and shelled traitor Vešović and his daughter Ivana for 44 months in Sarajevo.

When I showed him a part of the recorded material with shocking testimonies irrefutably proving that arrester Pejović was a false hero, Marko got furious:

– So this is why they have been jeering at you for months, this Chetnik. This liar who has built a career of a humanist abusing Bosniak misfortune.

Supporting Šeki meant striking at the masters of truth in Montenegro. Due to the restrictedness of the Montenegrin media, i.e. their fear of Miško's retaliation, Vešović initially published his texts in which he was defending me in Belgrade, in Petar Luković's *e-novine*. This is a sin that media mafia does not forgive: Marko Vešović, former honorary president of the Liberal Alliance, a columnist of *Monitor* and, why not say, idol of many independent journalists, was instantly proclaimed "the leading Udba's pen of Montenegro" (*Vijesti*, Balša Brković, 23 July 2011).

At the end of another hot July, the July of 2011, the world premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* ensued at the 17th *Sarajevo Film Festival*. Among nearly 150 films from 18 countries, *A Hero* ranked among the 23 achievements that entered the competition programme. In addition to families of the deportees, Mothers of Srebrenica, representatives of associations of war victims and the media, the premiere of *A Hero* was attended the ICTY Prosecutor Geoffrey Nice, numerous ambassadors and diplomats, as well as the Mayors of Sarajevo and Podgorica, Alija Behmen and Miomir Mugoša. It was the presence of Miomir Mugoša at the premiere of *A Hero*, who came at the invitation of the Mayor of Sarajevo, as well as the presence of Goran Rakočević, Ambassador of Montenegro to Croatia, that subsequently served as the "key argument" to *Monitor* and *Vijesti* to declare the film a regime product.

After the premiere, the curator of the documentary programme of the *Sarajevo Film Festival*, Rada Šešić, organized a conversation with the author and the audience. The first one to speak was the Mayor of Sarajevo:

– Where is this monster now? And what are the Montenegrin authorities going to do to put him where he belongs? – roared corpulent Behmen.

The premiere was attended by numerous Montenegrin journalists as well. They were shocked to learn that Pejović was a plain fraudster. Draško Đuranović, longtime editor and director of *Monitor*, now owner and editor of website *Analitika*, wrote a text about the premiere of *A Hero, The Saga of False Heroes and Lying Missionaries*. (website *Analitika*, 28 July 2011)

“The end of the showing of *A Hero of Our Time* by journalist and publicist Šeki Radončić: sighs and sobs were stopped by the applause that burst in a *Multiplex Cinema City* hall in Sarajevo. From the darkness of the past into the stage lighting; many tough questions from the audience. ‘Is it possible this is a hero’, asked Munira Subašić, one of the *Mothers of Srebrenica*. The sad words of gratitude ensued. ‘You gave us strength, dear Šeki Radončić, to believe that the truth would eventually come to light’, said Bakira Hasečić, from the *Association of Raped Women of Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Sitting somewhere in the middle of the hall, a young girl asked to speak. She didn’t ask any questions; she just briefly thanked Radončić and said, in firm voice, that her father would be pleased, almost happy tonight, as the truth emerged. The girl’s name, as we would later find out, was Alma Rikalo. Her father was Husein Rikalo, one of deportees whose body was never found. Neither were the remains of his two brothers, Zaim and Mithad. In the film *A Hero of Our Time*, their sister, Elvira Rikalo, directly accuses Slobodan Pejović that he, together with his police team – personally arrested three Rikalo brothers in May 1992!...

The story of false hero Slobodan Pejović is just one layer of the film: documentary *A Hero of Our Time* is not a persecution of one man, neither is it a personal, Radončić's conflict with Pejović... Even before its release – his film has become a mechanism for real unmasking of local false democrats and pacifists! It is enough to flip through 'independent' press and columns of the Editorial Office of *Monitor*: months before the film was released, 'independent' journalists, 'democratic' workers, as well as university professors, led a personal, aggressive campaign to prevent this film story from appearing in Montenegro; to give the film by Šeki Radončić a bad publicity. The information about the world premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* was not news to independent daily or *Vijesti* website that normally follow the festival in Sarajevo on a daily basis, or for weekly *Monitor*, which did not even announce this new chapter in the saga about the deportation of refugees – by the author who wrote dozens of similar texts for this very newspaper!?

What is it all about, why is Radončić undesirable for the local truth-lovers; perhaps out of personal spite? It is much deeper than that. *A Hero of Our Time* is a kind of litmus test for exposing the true face of some of the local "engaged" intellectuals: those who were victoriously and pompously posing in front of cameras with humanist Uwe Kitzinger. It was these 'missionary fighters for truth and justice' that showed their censorship face in their efforts to ensure a victory of their version of the truth. Regardless of the new facts that were destroying old stories and despite the fact that Radončić's film offered plenty of new evidence to the different role of key actors. All of this was rejected prior to consideration...

This is how they proved that real truth and even the fate of Slobodan Pejović are not important to them and that this was never about defending a brave witness or principles. The story of the deportation was – just a cover for political abuse. It is simple: Slobodan Pejović was supposed to serve as a *political stick* for a showdown with people from the top of the Montenegrin ruling party, to be politically used

for a higher political cause. This is why he had to be raised to the highest moral height, in order for his testimony to be a strong political blow...

This is why Radončić's persistent effort to continue the story was politically unpleasant and why it was attacked so fiercely: they knew that *A Hero of Our Time* would reveal the depth of their local, Montenegrin misery. Hypocrisy in which the crime is used for personal showdowns. And personal promotion of local heroes and heroines, photographs, important statements and video recordings of hunters on grants and thieves of other people's shares.

Only in such a politically twisted reality was it possible for Jasenka Perović, *President of the Association of the Families of Deportees*, to be proclaimed a soldier of the Montenegrin regime in *Monitor*, and for Šeki Radončić, former friend and ally, to be declared a *regime agent*(!?) for disclosing the truth. It is only in this, distorted, logic, that it is *normal* to raise voice – against the construction of a monument to victims!?”

Editor-in-Chief of *Pobjeda* and a former journalist and editor of *Slobodna Evropa*, Srđan Kusovac, informed his readers of the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*. In the text entitled *Šćepan Mali of Our Time* (*Pobjeda*, 26 July 2011), Kusovac noted:

“Šeki Radončić made a masterpiece of investigative journalism and documentary. Just as the *Death of Yugoslavia* by Allan Little and Laura Silber is a must-read to understand the myths and frustrations of the Yugoslav peoples and mental profiles of their leaders, so is Šeki's film. It was clear right after its premiere, the film is an indispensable material for understanding the depth of hypocrisy and manipulation of the Montenegrin caste of anti-war profiteers as well as for understanding a genius and timelessness of Njegoš, who described a profile of people similar to the Herceg Novi police officer more than a century and a half ago...

Yet, Šeki Radončić's film is more than a documentary. It not only reveals who Slobodan Pejović is, but also simultaneously searches,

in the manner of some of the masterpieces of classical drama, for the true savior... *A Hero of Our Time* is the least about Slobodan Pejović. It is a film about Montenegro, about us, our society, our hypocrisy, disorientation before the ocean of Goebbels-style lies, and the parallel reality formed by a group of activists of Latin American type in southern Europe in the twenty first century.”

Former ICTY Prosecutor Geoffrey Nice, who led the trial against Slobodan Milošević, told *Dnevni avaz* (1 August 2011) that he liked the film very much, that it showed how difficult it was to get to the truth, and that *A Hero of Our Time* ought to become a part of the evidence in the case of deportation.

In his interview, Nice explained that “from the first moment when Pejović appeared in the film, one could tell that he was not telling the truth based on his facial expression”.

Asked by reporters whether he, as a legal expert, saw the criminal responsibility of the main character Slobodan Pejović in the film, Prosecutor Nice, at the horror of Miodrag M. Perović and his legal experts, said:

“The fact that he (Pejović) had superiors within the police hierarchy, i.e. that he had been carrying out the orders of others, does not relieve him from responsibility. Everyone must bear his share of responsibility.”

Instead of at least giving a thought to the statements of one of the world’s most prominent lawyers and prosecutors, *Vijesti* (of 3 August 2011) left space for their protégé Slobodan Pejović to throw insults at Nice and mock justice and the deportation victims. In a text with a bombastic title, *I Will Self-immolate Myself If They Establish My Guilt*, the waggish arrester demonstrated his impudence:

“Geoffrey Nice is either insane or has received a lot of money to lie... I have to do with Rikalo brothers as much as Karl Marx has... If it is proven that I am responsible and guilty of deportation, I will be Montenegrin Jan Palach, and will self-immolate myself in front of King Nikola’s palace in Cetinje.”

The only remaining thing for the biggest Montenegrin hero and humanist was, therefore, to defend with idiotic assumptions:

a) One of the world's most famous prosecutors who prosecuted the biggest war criminal in Europe in the late twentieth century is **insane!**?

b) The corrupted prosecutor “**received a lot of money to lie**”!? From who? Well, from Šeki's brother, willing to give a fortune in order to compromise hero Pejović, as if he could care less about him.

In these two steps, the blatant Perović's protégé and humanist described himself the best. Again.

In order to minimize the damage to their hero and their relevance, as hero Slobo has become a brand of independent but private ones, along with Pejović's statement and large photo in *Vijesti*, Perović's editors and spin doctors of Montenegrin Cosa Nostra published an entrefilet *Victims express sympathy for their executioners*, with a statement by another ordered persecutor. This time though, one for whom I'd never thought that he would join my persecution. Rifat Vesković.

“Rifat Vesković assessed for *Vijesti* that the author of *A Hero of Our Time* Šeki Radončić in the last few months did a *salto mortale* and declared victims the guilty parties and executioners the rescuers. Explaining that until a few months ago he was admiring the efforts, self-sacrifice, courage and commitment that Radončić showed, Vesković said that now we could see in action the dishonorable role of Šemsudin Radončić in the crime of deportation of Bosniaks from Montenegro, which was conducted by the Montenegrin regime.

He stated that it was a joint effort, upon someone's orders, aimed at keeping biographies clean and covering up the crimes, while rehabilitating crime ideologists and perpetrators. Assessing that all of this was certified and confirmed by former ICTY Prosecutor Geoffrey Nice, who had become a pantomime expert, Vesković expressed his view that nobody believed Radončić's epoch-making

discovery, ‘including those who ordered new investigations of war crimes through this film.’

Having read this I called Vesković:

– Rifat, have I ever done anything bad to you to provoke you to foist upon me the abominations that were served to you by Šerbo, Kuta and Koka, because you still have not even seen the film?

He said he wrote nothing that horrible against me, and did not know why I was mad. This enraged me even more, so I reminded him that I, while risking my own and lives of the members of my family, used to write articles in which I defended him and other arrested members of the SDA when the closest members of their families dared not defend them. I reminded him that I was the only person to accuse the government in those days for dismissing his wife, a nurse, for political reasons, advocating her re-employment. Since Rifat kept saying it was not a big deal and told me not to worry “about what newspapers wrote”, I interrupted this absurd conversation.

And thought of a true story my father-in-law Hamdija told me, which was told to him by his father Abaz: “On his deathbed, an old Albanian man gathered his children around telling them: ‘My children, do not do good deeds for everyone, because a debt must always be repaid. Whoever does not know how to repay with a good deed, will repay with an evil one.’”

Which is true: nothing good came out of the good deeds I did for Vesković and this sort of people: in gratitude, Rifat got involved in the persecution against me, as he got very dissatisfied in me, because I, as he said, made the film according to the dictates of unnamed officials, probably someone from Milo’s regime. The same Milo’s regime to which, upon his release from prison, Vesković faithfully served for ten years as a deputy minister of culture.

As for the comment about victims expressing sympathy for their executors (Stockholm syndrome), the best proof thereof is Rifat Vesković himself. Vesković would end up on the *Electoral List of DF*,

at number 48. Yet, number 48 was not elected to the Montenegrin Parliament, as he had a terrible result in his electoral unit: he received a two-digit number of votes. Which exactly shows Vesković's rating and his miserable result in stigmatizing me and my film.

He is forgiven. Because, as Chekhov said, "One's honor cannot be taken away – it can only be lost".

AN OCTOPUS

[ON THE MEDIA LYNCH, JOURNALIST CODES VIOLATION, THE CHAIN OF COMMAND, TENTACLES OF THE "INDEPENDENT" MEDIA OCTOPUS LEADING TO BELGRADE, SARAJEVO AND WAHHABI WEBSITES]

The premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* enraged my critics, which increased the smear campaign or, rather, media terror against me. Thus, Perović's fanzine *Monitor* of 5 August 2011 harshly criticized deputy war crimes prosecutor Lidija Vukčević for requesting "Radončić to send her the recorded statements of witnesses who claim that Slobodan Pejović arrested their loved ones". This is how pressure is exerted on prosecutors not to prosecute their protégé.

Fanzine also reports that Rifat Vesković "described the film as a dishonorable Radnočić's role", that "Geoffrey Nice gave his statement that 'one could tell from Pejović's pantomime that he was lying' to the newspaper controlled by Fahrudin Radončić, Šeki Radončić's brother and friend of Milo Đukanović".

So this is what editor Kuta refers to as professional and independent journalism!?! I stopped counting how many times the "independent ones" used my brother as a truncheon against me. The text is signed with R.M. (*Monitor* Editorial, Š.R.), but even a hasty analysis shows that this pamphlet was written by Kočan whose brother Hamdo was a longtime official of Đukanović's DPS and a press secretary of Mayor Miomir Mugoša (DPS). Yet, this "brotherly guilt" did not make Kuta classify himself as a regime agent.

Just as "you can't teach an old dog new tricks", it is impossible to teach demonstrator Kočan, who turned good old *Monitor* into a brothel, that blaming people for blood relationship with someone presented a serious violation of journalistic codes and ethics. Or, perhaps, what we are dealing with is selective reporting: *Monitor*, for example,

never verbally attacked Luka Karadžić, “Radovan Karadžić’s brother”, whom Milka, “Miodrag Perović’s sister” approved loans in CKB.

In the next issue of ruined *Monitor* (12 August 2012), editor Kočan authored a text against Šeki and his film:

“It was quite a sight when regime media agents jumped with excitement after the appearance of the new film by Šemsudin Radončić about deportations. The main villains in the film are Slobodan Pejović, *Monitor*, and Milan Popović. Pejović no longer exists – yelled Srđan Kusovac, Đukanović’s advisor at the position of state-owned *Pobjeda*’s pimp. Slobodan Pejović is a symbol. The choice is ours. To vanish. Become silence in a desert. Or, to testify. At all costs”, raved Kuta who saw my film just as I saw Alaska. Otherwise he would know that *A Hero of Our Time* is not a film about the deportations, but about the false hero of Montenegro, and that the film makes no mention of *Monitor*, but depicts *Monitor*’s moral authorities: Slobo, Milan, Milka, Kuta.

Šeki made a choice, too. At any cost. Even if, for the sake of truth, he would be buried alive. On the other hand, after his infamous testimony at the trial, inhuman accusations of families of deportees of being police agents and the showing of *A Hero of Our Time*, hunter Pejović, the symbol and a protégé of “independent ones”, would morally vanish. Disappear. Become silent. Just like his blood-brother and would-be poet Kuta.

Expanding the persecution against the film author, Perović’s media pimp hired Milan Popović, who wrote four “analytical” articles on deportations (*Monitor, Deportations in 1992 As the Crime of Top Executive Power*, 19 August – 16 September 2011). Perović’s and Kočan’s inquisitor would spend a whole month burning witches believing that he was burning Šeki and his film. Irrelevant Milan Popović, from whom the families of deportees disassociated because he politicized their misfortune in those texts, plagiarizes boss Miško: he is insinuating that Pejović was declared the main culprit for deportations, abolishing Momir Bulatović by declaring him the “only insider witness”. This, of course, is a great lie. Milan cannot tell little lies.

Milan Popović, a liar certified by the Montenegrin prosecution office and a former counsel of drug smuggling, continued his dirty rhetoric: “Hyperactive and multimedia regime soldier, hyperactive-twins as regime agents, illegitimate children, regime special agents, the last legion, Đukanović’s postwar dogs”, etc. This is only a part of the misery of the persecution repertoire of this insane badmouth. He whom the regime has given two apartments (as a single person), he whom Đukanović’s ministries have printed three books, and he who used to receive up to five monthly salaries by the regime’s university. I apologize for intruding this regime mercenary’s privacy in this manner.

Editor Kočan illustrated Popović’s texts in ruined *Monitor* with photographs of Miomir Mugoša and Fahrudin Radončić although they are not mentioned in them. There would, of course, be an abundance of my photos as well. The same would be the case with Perović’s *Vijesti* and *Vijesti* website. It is important for the persecutors, as we already established, to create an image of “who is with whom” and in which “regime company” as they are deceiving their readers. However, this time I will refrain from asking Kočan why he didn’t illustrate the text with, for example, a joint photograph of his brother Hamdo and Mayor Miomir Mugoša, or a photograph of his wife from “Đukanović’s Office”, in order to present the right and not distorted image of himself and his master as unbelievable hypocrites and “moral prostitutes” as Swinton put it.

As usual, Kočan is not original: several years ago, I was verbally attacked on some website by a Wahhabi, who, along with my photograph in the same row published a photograph of Karadžić, Arkan, Kačavenda and Amfilohije, writing below our “joint” photograph: Šeki Radončić is fond of Chetniks’ beards, although Šeki fought against these beards, while the Wahhabi in question fled to Visitor mountain when Arkan came to Plav during the war.

In his *Oklop*, for which university professor of literature Marko Vešović said that it was the worst novel he had ever read, Milan Popović dreams that a revolution broke out in Montenegro, that

Primus fled to Russia, that there were extraordinary parliamentary elections, “and extraordinary presidential elections, held on Sunday, 6 December, won by the candidate of the Third Block, one of the leaders of the mass October demonstrations, a mathematics professor and the founder of *Vijesti* and *Monitor*, Miško Perović”.

What a beautiful self-portrait of a sycophant! In his book and in his mind, Milan Popović has the right to appoint an anti-war profiteer and a thief of other people's shares, whose business deals are investigated by the Montenegrin Special Prosecutor's Office for Organized Crime, as the President of Montenegro, but has no right to lie and award Perović, or Pejović, the medals that do not belong to them. It is a great lie that mathematics professor Miodrag Perović is the founder of *Vijesti* and *Monitor*. It is written in the court registries, which I will later quote, that Miodrag Miro's Perović is one of ten founders of *Vijesti*, and a **co-founder** of *Monitor*, together with Čano Koprivica and a group of intellectuals, university professors and antiwar activists, whom Don Mikeli would later rip off. The record of that was made by Nebojša Medojević, an employee of Milo's, pardon, Government's privatization agency. If telling lies made people fat, Milan Popović would, I guarantee you, weigh at least 300 kilograms.

Yet, every sycophant wants to have a sycophant of his own, so Milan is no exception. At the promotion of *Oklop*, Milka Tadić said: “Anyone who does not like this book is an agent of Milo Đukanović.” Which speaks of the mental state of rejected Milo's lawyers, dancers, and demonstrators who, waiting for “the train that wouldn't come”, engaged in a standoff of sucking up to the “future” President of Montenegro. Don Mikeli does everything with a reason and out of interest, so he is investing in his image by printing idiotic books of his sycophants who, in turn, place him on the throne of St. Peter of Cetinje. As the boss so the sycophants.

Let us go back to the persecution. In order to transfer the media campaign outside Montenegro, especially to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Popović would, following the instructions of Miodrag M. Perović, hire a colleague of his, *Vesti* columnist and another brilliant writer,

Ibrahim Ćikić. Milan would send his texts to Ibro, and he would forward them to Muslim websites and associations. All of this was organized with a single goal: to morally bury Šeki. And, as professor M. Popović defined it, “attempted moral execution or throwing smear at people is one of the darkest recurrences of fascism”. Here is the chain of command: Miško would hire Kuta to derogate and discredit Šeki, Kuta would then hire Milan, and Milan would hire Ibrahim. And when Esad, Milan and Ibrahim verbally attack you in Bosnia and its diaspora as the patron of war criminals and a traitor of Bosniaks – you are doomed.

At first I did not know who sent the pamphlets against me to Muslim-Bosniak websites, organizations and associations across Bosnia and Herzegovina and its diaspora. *Bošnjaci.net*, *Bosnian Congress*, *Genocide Institute*, *IFIMES*, *Bosnian Information Center*, and *BH magazine* were regularly delivered texts written against me in the workshops of Don Mikeli’s media gang. I knew Perović and his mercenaries wanted to discredit me before Bosniaks, but I did not get upset because a film would soon be shown on Bosnian televisions, and people still believed their eyes the most. After the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*, realizing that the “independent ones” abused them in the lynch of Šeki Radončić, one day somebody from the *Bosnian Congress* sent me, without explanation, the following email:

From: bosanski_kongres@nkrbih.com

To: sradoncic@hotmail.com

Subject: **FW: milan popovic 4. dio**

Date: Sat, 10 Sep 2011 15:13:23 -0400

From: Ibrahim Cikić [mailto:ibrahimcikić@gmail.com]

Sent: Saturday, September 10, 2011 2:19 PM

To: rhafizovic@yahoo.com; Esad R. Krcić; Halil Džananović; Branko Živković; IRGC; info@institut-genocid.ba; info@sandzackiavaz.com; IFIMES International Institute; Bosanski Kongres

Subject: Fwd: milan popovic 4. dio

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Dragan Lucić** <lucicdragan@gmail.com>

Date: 2011/9/10

Subject: milan popovic 4. dio

To: Ibrahim Cikić <ibrahimcikić@gmail.com>, mihailojovovic@vijesti.me

It has all become clear: Milan Popović forwarded the text from *Monitor* to his assistant Dragan Lučić. He, as you can see, sent it further to:

1. Ibrahim Čikić

2. Mihailo Jovović, Editor-in-Chief of *Vijesti*.

Milan's secret agent Ibro would further forward the pamphlet, recommending it to other Bosnian and media circles. This is why he got a rap across the knuckles. Šeki called him again and asked him:

– Why are you stabbing me in the back, friend? Have you become a part of the plot against me?

Offended Čikić denied it all:

– It's a lie; I have nothing to do with it. Šeki, I owe you forever. You were defending us and risked your life when the closest members of our families dared not defend me. I will never forget that. How can you have doubts in me!?

– That's right, Čikić. Where was Milan Popović when Montenegrin police officers tortured you for two days during the *Lim* action? He was silent as the dead. Where was your brother Sloba Pejović at the time? He worked as a police inspector in Herceg Novi and did not throw a uniform, as you put it, because of the deportees or because of you. Where was Kuta? In Miško's hole. And Miško? In *Monitor*, among the "retired" secret police officers who visited him regularly, whining that he could not control Šeki Radončić. What about Milka Tadić and Mihailo Jovović? They were in the U.S., washing glasses in pubs and delivering milk. And this is your way of thanking me, shame on you, for instantly recording the police torture over SDA members, publishing three books thereof, while you only found the courage to write a book about it 17 years later.

Čikić was silent. Soon, I received his response:

• ibrahim čikić

To: Šeki Radončić

Mention my name again and I will disclose our recorded telephone conversation to the public. I never mentioned your name anywhere and I don't know where you got this much courage to talk to me like this. In any case, if you want a conflict I'll give you one. With God's help, I used to overcome even fiercer bullies. Allah is enough for me and he is a wonderful protector.

After a sleepless night and struggle with fear, I decided to mention Čikić in my book after all. I know I am risking a lot. If Ibrahim Paša attacks me with his sword drawn – I am doomed, I will also end up in the cemetery of the victims of “the strongest” columnist Miško Kesedžija¹.

Yet, it was not enough for Miodrag M. Perović and his media camarilla to discredit and morally bury me only in Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina with its diaspora; they were going to conquer Serbia with their lies too. To this end, hyperactive Popović published his persecution and framing texts from *Monitor* in Belgrade's *Danas*. I called a friend of mine, Grujica Spasović, longtime editor-in-chief of the anti-war *Danas* and Serbian Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina. I told him that Perović's media octopus led a persecution against me and explained him the shameful role of Milan Popović in it. Based on the experience with Čikić, I asked Grujica who was it that submitted Milan Popović's texts to *Danas*. My suspect was Veseljko Koprivica, as he cooperated with *Danas* for years.

- It's not Veseljko. Milan asked our editors to publish these texts of his. It was very important for him to get them published in Belgrade. I didn't read them myself, believe me Šeki, Grujica said.

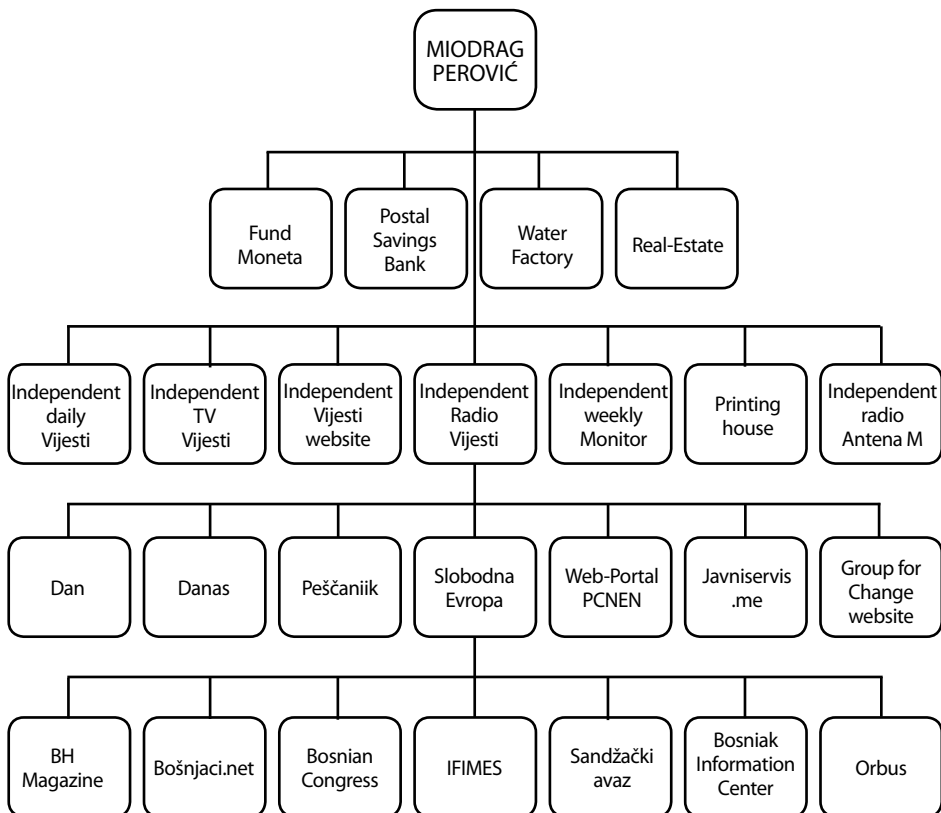
- I see. Milan!

- Šeki, write a response, denial, your text about it, whatever you want, we will publish your text of the same length and in the same place in the newspaper.

.....
¹ A robber, outlaw (T.N.).

– Thank you, my friend, but that is not necessary. You know yourself that nobody reads Milan’s scribbling. He never wrote anything that would attract even the attention of people from the building where he lives. As Vešović put it, we are dealing with a “eunuch whose gift for writing is so big that a fly could carry it on its wings”. I just called to see who the Belgrade tentacle of mafia boss Miško Perović’s octopus was.

I put the puzzle together. Here comes the scheme of economic and media power of Miodrag M. Perović:



Scheme No.3

As we can see, this scheme is much richer compared to the previous two, and Perović's octopus has more tentacles. In this stage, in addition to his five media, Don Mikeli expanded his persecution against Šeki with additional 13 media and a political party. Heroic efforts, no doubts about it: a total of 18 media plus the *Movement for Change*. And it would become worse. In addition, Perović stretched the front and brought it from Montenegro to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina with its diaspora. Pe(t)rović's rifle is a long one: the head of the Montenegrin media gang would soon hire Koprivica, Kočan, and S. Pavlović, but would also animate Slavko Perović to, via Sarajevo's *Dani* and *Slobodna Bosna* and through false reports, interviews and letters from readers, shoot Šeki Radončić in the back of the head.

The mathematics professor very meticulously devised and built a sinister system for moral disqualification and execution of persons of different views and opponents of his. With the ultimate goal that he remains the only bright spot in Montenegro ("everyone else is hell"), that this moral giant is not appointed as the President of Montenegro by his paid columnists in their scribbling in the future, but that his brilliant mind and media-economic and political power "naturally" lead him to the Montenegrin presidential throne instead. This is consistent with Perović's long-term aspiration: a free and democratic Montenegro led by the honest, independent and non-corrupt president, Don Mikeli.

ŠEKI'S OBITUARY

[AN EXPLOSION OF LIES, INSULTS AND HATRED. IN A MOVING OBITUARY, THE SELLERS OF LIES DECLARE ME DEAD AND ACCUSE ME SAYING "THAT MY DEATH OCCURRED DUE TO MY NEW FILM"]

Favorable reviews of *A Hero of Our Time* and full devaluation of the persecution against the film's author angered the Lord of Truth, so he included the largest caliber weapon in the campaign against Šemsudin Radončić: Željko Ivanović, his partner and best student, *Vijesti* Director.

Thus, Željko stood in Perović's firing squad for media executions, shoulder-to-shoulder with the people whom he formerly despised, pitied or mocked. There he was, standing together with those with Zemun ties and Kočan, Pavlović, Popović, Koprivica, Đukić, Perović (the one from Prague), Kosara, Slavica, Milena, etc. Some of them, as schemer Kuta for instance, Željko would grab by the neck with his long and strong hands, shaking them as a chicken in the newsroom. He did not, unfortunately, re-educate him; he has become just like him.

I understand Željko: after ten months of silence, he had to, for pragmatic reasons, stand with his partner and grand teacher. Partners are held together by interest, joint shady business dealings and the fear of prosecution. They know: if they fight and one of them speaks out – they are going to prison together.

I can also somehow understand why Želimir, as Miško would call Željko in heated arguments, reminding him of his Serbian origin, pounced upon me after a short delay: the shirt is nearer than the coat. But I cannot understand the explosion of insults and lies, even hatred perhaps, thrown at a former friend and, as he liked to say, a hero.

Joining the persecution against me, in his article about the Montenegrin language, Ivanović insinuates and states a big lie that the director of the Montenegrin police, Veselin Veljović, is neither more nor less than a blood-brother of me and my brother. Chorally repeating that Šeki's brother Fahro is "a friend of Milo's" Jackson leads the readers to the wrong conclusion (which is not allowed in journalism) that Šeki works for Milo's regime because of Fahro, as there is no other motive. There is not a word, sentence, paragraph, text, book, movie, or anything else on the basis of which one might think so. The entire Šeki's work speaks against that, so the only thing slanderers could do was to blindly stick to the fact that Šeki's brother is Fahro, which ought to serve as irrefutable evidence that Šeki "defected to Milo's side".

Through the fabrication that the director of the Montenegrin police is a blood-brother of Fahro and Šeki, even though they have never even met him in person, Ivanović is attempting to lead the readers to a wrong conclusion that there is a strong link between Šeki Radončić and the police, which turns into arrogance: Željko of all people should know that Šeki was on bad terms with Veljović for years.

I replied deceitful Ivanović with a text *Veljović Is a Blood-Brother of Yours*. Denying, of course, that Veselin Veljović was a blood-brother of me or anyone in my family. "The two of us can be related in no way, because nobody from my family worked in the Montenegrin police, which cannot be said for Željko Ivanović, whose brother and father were police officers. Brother on the payroll of Veselin Veljović".

I offered a proof that Miško and Željko were blood-brothers of the Director of the Montenegrin police: if they weren't, Veljović would have had to start doing his job and investigate their theft of shares, abuse of stock-exchange, double-entry bookkeeping, tax avoidance... Since Veljović's failure to act allowed for some of their crimes, like stealing shares, to be barred by the statute of limitations, a logical conclusion follows: while anti-regime fighters Miško and Željko were stealing, Director of the Montenegrin Police Veselin stood guard for them.

I also reminded oblivious Ivanović of a situation when Veljović accused me, via a statement of the *Police Administration of Montenegro* posted on the website of the *Government of Montenegro* and published in *Vijesti* of 22 February 2007, claiming that my critical texts on the work of the Montenegrin police were “orchestrated”, “cynical”, “tendentious” and “malicious”, while I was an “ignorant and uninformed moral purist” who was associated with phantom “circles, individuals and groups”. It also said that Šeki Radončić “frontally confronted the police with all nations that live in Montenegro”, and there was a public threat that Šeki would have to “change profession and title”!

I likewise reminded Željko of my reply to the police director the following day:

“Veljović is obviously hurt by my observation that the Montenegrin police still employs thugs, specialists and inspectors who were, caught by the Greater Serbian nationalism, conducting deportations, brutally beating Muslims in Bukovica and liberals in Cetinje, executing the darkest police torture over the legitimate leadership of the SDA, beating football fans in Plav, re-educating some Serbs in Montenegro after the change of the official state politics... Now, it was Albanians’ turn... And so on”.

In a text *Good-bye Šeki* (8 September 2011), Željko responded with new lies, a lament and an obituary. Veljović was not even mentioned. This is Željko, this is *Vijesti*: when you catch them lying, instead of apologizing they declare you dead, write your death-certificate and publish another seven fabrications.

Bereaved Željko, therefore, reported of Šeki’s death in a death certificate: “Former independent journalist Šeki Radončić, a former investigator of the crimes of deportation, a former expert for abuse in the work of the intelligence services, a former victim of the criminal regime of Generalissimo Trujillo, a former associate of *Monitor* and my former friend has died!”

You're dead, they say, only if you're forgotten. Šeki is alive, thank God, which is confirmed by the fact that he is under so many attacks of media oppressors, while their victims celebrate him for opposing the media mafia. Željko is alive too: all those whom he cheated, robbed and criticized together with Miško will not forget him.

Then, bereaved Željko bemoaned his dead friend, "I will miss you Šeki like nobody else from the company which you so unexpectedly joined. I will miss you because you were the only one of them for whom I never thought that would die by his own hand. Despite all the threats, persecution, and pressure to which you've been exposed for years".

I regret it even more, I regret the fact that a 1.97 meters tall (when barefooted) burly bemoaner turned into a moral midget. The two-meter tall midget explained why I died too:

"Even if we forget your new film about Pejović, or the racketeering attempt, or misrepresentation as one of the founders of the newspaper, or Fahro and Milo, or the professor and his Pythagoreans, or this debate, or Šeki's Jasenka and Šeki's Mothers of Srebrenica, or all those witnesses and testimonies of your great death, everything about it is conveyed by the terrible fact that you have become a comrade, even a favorite of your former executioners, those who persecuted you and drove you away from Montenegro, those who were saying, from the highest state level, that you were an anti-state element, those who were eavesdropping on you and had their rifles pointed at you (here Željko's focus got lost: would my "blood-brother Veljović" expose me to such an abomination? – Š.R.), those who simply wanted you to be gone. The fact that you have become their agent and page-boy... tells us more than anyone or anything else that Šeki died."

Željko hates the facts like the devil hates the cross; yet, they are sacrosanct: On 11 March 1997, in Podgorica, the *Free Journalism Association* has been formed, book No. II, serial No. 102, becoming a co-owner of *Daily Press*, i.e. *Vijesti*, with an ownership share of one third, or 33.33 percent. In the Registry of the Commercial Court in

Podgorica, No. 1-15474-00, Šemsudin Radončić is listed under No. 4 as the founder of the *Association*, i.e. *Vijesti*, while Željko Ivanović is listed under No. 3. This is Željko, this is the “new class”: they rob you of your founding shares and then accuse you of misrepresenting yourself as a founder of the newspaper.

I would later find out that one of the main founders of *Vijesti* was Milo Đukanović, which Miško and Željko were desperately hiding. I would learn this from Đukanović himself:

“You’re maybe afraid that I, as one of the founders of *Vijesti*, with a very concrete contribution, could come up with an idea to apply for ownership rights in your newspaper”, said Đukanović in a correspondence with Miodrag Perović (7 November 2010).

So now, Miško and Željko, Milo’s partners and the people of his utmost trust who nicked his, just as mine, “concrete contribution”, i.e. shares, accuse me of being a regime agent? These are, indeed, unprecedented characters: they managed to rob Milo Đukanović himself.

Željko Ivanović, together with Don Mikeli the biggest racketeer in Montenegro and Sicily, claims that I had died for “attempted racketeering”. Željko is lying again: my e-mail correspondence with Perović shows that I took my own money from the thieves. In what was a classic ambush, I jumped out in front of them and yelled: Give me the money, or I will sue you! It’s better for you to give me back my money than to replace the Brazilian beaches with sunbathing with pigs in Spuž for robbing the journalists of their shares. Instead of a gun, in my hand I held the founding papers of *Vijesti*. The ambush was successful. The rest is history.

In a touching obituary he wrote, Ivanović said that my “great death occurred because of the new film about Pejović”. He hasn’t seen my film, as he was not present at the premiere, so how did he know what was in it? He didn’t. Željko is a journalist who does this all the time: he makes judgments on things he doesn’t have a clue about. It’s his

favorite creative manner, together with mocking the victims of war with ugly quips: “Šeki’s Jasenka and Šeki’s Mothers of Srebrenica”. One should have no illusions, Željko is an incorrigible case: the money and power made him lose his sense of shame.

Regime mercenary Željko accuses me that I had become “an informant, their agent and page-boy”. Another great lie, so help me God: even if a wanted to, I would have to wait for my turn behind Miško, Željko, Šćeka, Milka, Milan, Kočan and their gang, who competed to get before the Master. Let us recall the then independent *Vijesti*, their pro-regime editorial policy, and how *Pobjeda* journalists publicly protested because the ministers, government and police officials gave *exclusivity* to favored private newspaper, instead of state-owned *Pobjeda*. They provided the example of Montenegrin Foreign Minister Branko Perović, who gave an interview for *Vijesti* but refused to do so for *Pobjeda*.

So much love between “independent” *Vijesti* and the regime bothered oppositionist Nebojša Medojević, so he accused the owners of *Vijesti* of becoming “regime spies”. A response came from Milo’s whip at the time, wretch Željko. In his comment (*Vijesti*, 21 September 2005), Željko accuses Medo of secretly meeting Tadić on the eve of the Montenegrin independence referendum; of “supporting Serbian, i.e. anti-Montenegrin opposition” in this manner; of “promoting, just as his fellow-fighter, Miodrag Lekić who unquestioningly promoted Belgrade’s concept of relations and was, just as Tadić, worried “because of growing anti-Serbian feelings in Montenegro”; of making “a cardinal mistake”, just like those from Brussels, Washington and Podgorica, who in the past five years were trying to delegitimize and remove Đukanović from power with the support from Belgrade and the flirtation with conservative and pro-Serb part of Montenegro”; and of claiming that “through a switch of arguments the private and corrupt state was linked to independence, although it was a creation of Belgrade”. As you can see, Jackson defends Milo as vigorously as Walter defended Sarajevo.

Boris's Medo replied to Milo's Željko by claiming that "his position that the Montenegrin crime originated from Belgrade was absolutely untenable", and that while he (Medo) was visiting the ruined factories and poor people of Montenegro, "someone preferred to smoke cigars at elite Podgorica bars, keeping a seat for the Master and the courtiers".

This made Željko very angry as he recognized himself in these words: "Medojević seems to have forgotten his partner Tadić, referendum, consensus, 1990 and 1999, Montenegro... Only a top fraudster could take so much money from struggling Đukanović's, Milošević's, and now Tadić's workers, public and private companies, directors and trade unionists, police and military ministries, and all of that as a consultant, whereas in fact pulling the wool over people's eyes. Šćepan Mali. Without a single day of work experience, with no employees, no salaries paid, not a cent of taxes paid... After all that, only a scoundrel could accuse me of being immoral.

The argument got fierce; it was increasingly difficult for participants to control their anger, so Medo the Scoundrel replied Željko the Cigar again. But, editor-in-chief of *Vijesti* at the time, Slavoljub Šćekić, did not want to publish Medo's denial, so he posted it on the website of *Group for Change** (25 September 2005, 6:36 PM).

"It is obvious that one of us is a very bad man. Sick, stupid, complex-ridden, rude, frustrated, secret police informer, a servant of the Master, a fraudster – in short, a scoundrel. I agree with that. Those from the court, who love and respect their Master and his Commentator (Ž. Ivanović, Š.R.), probably think that I am the one. The Commentator was probably congratulated last night in one of their cafes... Maybe the Master even let him warm-up the chair in gratitude until he came... I even heard that the Commentator had a serious chance to become an ambassador... A word of warning for the Master. If he lied for you, he would lie against you too. Nobody is crueller to former Masters than former servants..."

That's why I said that even if I wanted to be a regime page-boy and servant, I couldn't, because Miodrag Perović, Željko Ivanović and their entourage would beat me to it. Everyone expected that they would compensate their struggle for sovereign Montenegro through ministerial, ambassadorial or managerial positions in state media. Kuta was, I know from a reliable source, hoping for a position in *Pobjeda*, because first love never dies. Photogenic Milka wanted TV CG, Željko the Ministry of Finance, and Miško the throne of St. Peter of Cetinje. Yet they failed to match their wishes and capabilities, so being "unhappy, unfulfilled and frustrated", they turned against their former Master.

And now, without evidence and the right to defense, "secret police informer" Željko the Cigar and other moral authorities from the Perović's pack were framing me with their servitude to the master, saying I was a regime page-boy. Željko still does not realize that the time has passed when he and Don Mikeli determined what was moral and what was immoral, what was false and what was true. They think that they buried me with their lies, mourning after me, but they fail to realize that the more they jeer at me, the more truth comes out about them.

So what can we conclude based on the above?

- a) Miško& Partners and their corporate editors, columnists and politicians think that controversy is a rhetorical and disparaging contest, not an exchange of arguments and facts.
- b) Perović, Ivanović, Šćekić and other members of their media-criminal organization are vulnerable and weak when fighting alone. One on one. As a pack, I admit it, they are a dangerous group. A force.

SPIN

[THE ULTIMATUM OF PEROVIĆ'S SO-CALLED INDEPENDENT "INTELLECTUALS" TO BARACK OBAMA; HATE SPEECH AND HARSH ANTI-AMERICANISM ON PAGES OF THE "INDEPENDENT" MEDIA; A PRIMITIVE PERSECUTION AGAINST GERARD DEPARDIEU IN ORDER TO TURN THE PUBLIC ATTENTION AWAY FROM THE ESCAPE OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA OWNER'S SISTER TO ITALY TOWARDS THE FAMOUS FRENCH ACTOR]

Šeki Radončić was walking the gauntlet made up of self-proclaimed moral authorities, quasi-intellectuals, columnists, media hirelings, seasonal workers, callow youths, reservists, concubines and internet commentators in September as well. Day by day, Šeki was, as their former hero, sadistically beaten, insulted, reviled and slandered. They did it on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and over again. The dirtiest blows and most primitive insult were thrown at Šeki by his former comrades and friends. Yet, stubborn Šeki did not want to revise his position on tovarisch Miško and hero Slobo, which angered the foaming creatures from the convict gauntlet even more.

Šeki, however, stayed on his feet. This is why, during his controversy with Željko Ivanović, co-owner of *Vijesti*, Kočan and Pavlović mercilessly hit him from behind, with a full strength of a poltroon. A text by discredited Popović on deportations (Đukanović Is the Most Responsible, Monitor, 9 September 2011), editor Kočan once again maliciously illustrated with a joint photograph of Miomir Mugoša, Goran Rakočević and Fahrudin Radončić, made at the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* in Sarajevo, even though the article mentioned none of them. They, by the way, had to do with the deportations as much as Popović had to do with reality, Kočan with profession and Perović with morality. Since Kočan's brother is a senior official of Đukanović's DPS and since his wife works at the Government's, i.e. Đukanović's Office, I'm surprised that the truthful editor did not equip Milan's text with their photographs.

Popović's text from *Monitor*, I'm sorry to bore you, was quoted by corporate *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *TV Vijesti* and other media, or rather its affiliates. The insatiable greed for money and power left Miodrag Perović without a soul, so the mental Stalinist and transition capitalist, with regard to Šeki Radončić, firmly stuck to his pattern for media executions:

V+PV+TV+RV+M5+DM

Legend: V – *Vijesti*, TV – *Television Vijesti*, PV – *Vijesti website*, RV – *Radio Vijesti*, DM – other media.

Yet, in the persecutions that are not ordered from the top of the pyramid of independent media gang, the above formula for media disqualification and execution is lacking. Let me give an example.

Probably under the influence of the south wind, on the eve of the New Year, in his text in *Monitor* of 28 December 2012, Milan Popović sent an ultimatum to the U.S. President Barack Obama and the President of the European Council (EU), Herman Van Rompuy. Enraged because of their support to the return of Milo Đukanović to the position of Montenegrin Prime Minister, Popović asked them, in the language of force – the only language hated West understood, “to stop this support” immediately:

“In general disbelief and consternation of the democratic public of Montenegro, this support was expressed publicly, loudly and clearly, by your senior representatives, Jelko Kacin (EP/EU) and Philip Reeker (USA). The latter even deemed it necessary to stress that he considered our supreme oligarch – a friend... This is why we hereby express our deepest civic discontent, indignation and protest. And a request to stop providing support to our supreme oligarch immediately”, orders Milan Popović, the Montenegrin Superman.

In a *post scriptum*, Milan the Superman, who wants the U.S. officials to ask him for permission as regards their company and friends, loudly and clearly points out that “this letter is only signed by the author of this column and the editorial of *Monitor*”, because others are afraid, as he explains, for “the neo-colonial complex”.

When officials in Obama's Cabinet read Milan's ultimatum, they reinforced the President's security, because the firmans of Milan the Superman, supported by a powerful editorial alliance Milka-Kuta-Veseljko, are not a joke.

Unlike many ordered texts in which he threw smear on Šemsudin, Popović's letter addressed to Obama from deceased *Monitor* was not quoted by other Perović's media. So, when Popović is not persecuting people upon Perović's directive, the corporate logistics is lacking, as well as the "cross-media solidarity", the formula and the grindstone: *Monitor + Vijesti + TV Vijesti + Vijesti website + other media.*

In this case, other Perović's media did not quote Milan's text probably due to Miško's fear that Americans could publicly remind him and his partners of huge donations granted to the independent but private media for years, which mostly ended up in the boss's pockets.

The case made conceited Milan Popović understand that the "independent" media were not quoting around his texts because of their quality, but because they presented ordered jeering, disqualifications and lies. And without the support of all Perović's media, with his articles published in late *Monitor* only, Popović remains what he essentially is – an anonymous author. The Seller of Lies has no emotion: the moment he assesses ordered Popović is no longer needed he will shelve this media baton.

Or, perhaps, he would publish a reaction against a "free rider" from their media den, as in the case of Marko Milačić. Who, in an isolated Taliban action, came down on the U.S. by an open letter to U.S. Ambassador in Podgorica *Sue K. Brown*. In this letter, full of insults and classic hate speech towards the American people, small Perović's columnist and Lekić's errand boy fiercely assailed the Ambassador and the United States, formally for the reason of announced military intervention against criminal Assad forces in Syria, but essentially for lamented NATO attacks on Serbia and the recognition of Kosovo independence. Perović's media specialist threw smear at the U.S. Ambassador and the people, because they have turned the United

States into a scarecrow country, baton country, brute force empire, planetary war exporter, and thus – an exporter of mass destruction, through continuous actions for decades..”

Fearing that Milačić’s hate speech could adversely affect the inflow of U.S. aid to “independent” media, i.e. its owner, Boss Miško performed an unprecedented maneuver: he published a reaction against his pawn in *Vijesti*. Condemning the “coarse anti-Americanism” of his special soldier, rather than his hate language, Perović gave a lecture to his young media shooter about the U.S. spreading democracy and fighting against various dictators around the world. Finally, obvious Perović concluded: “Signing as a *Monitor* journalist, Milačić inflicted damage upon the weekly that has a few subtle left-oriented authors”. The Seller of Lies knows what he’s doing: *Monitor* was dead anyway, so he wanted to put Marko Milačić and his anti-Americanism at the expense of the *Monitor*’s carcass, not *Vijesti* that published his fascist garbage.

What it looks like when a great foreign name gets on Perović’s, not Popović’s or Milačić’s, hit list, we can see from the case of famous French actor Gerard Depardieu. After meeting with Đukanović, one of the world’s greatest actors has become the ambassador of Montenegrin culture in the world and, therefore, a target of the “independent ones”. Thus, Serbian-cross-lover Milan and the editorial of *Monitor*, strengthened by Perović’s “intellectuals”, denounced Đukanović before the uninformed French Ambassador in Podgorica, Dominique Gazui, by sending her a letter of protest on 13 January 2013, strongly condemning the fact that Depardieu was received by Đukanović.

“Instead of showing solidarity with the humane position of the French Government that the rich must pay higher taxes to the state in order for others to be able to survive, by receiving Depardieu, he (Đukanović, Š.R.), as a representative of a socialist party, disavowed the efforts of his French colleagues to more fairly distribute the burden of the global crisis through active tax policy”, states the open letter..

A few days earlier, Gerard Depardieu was awarded Russian citizenship and a passport by President Putin, but Milan and the editorial of *Monitor*, famous fighters for the protection of the poor in France, weren't bothered by this and said nothing. However, when Depardieu was received by Milo and when he accepted to become the Montenegrin "cultural ambassador to the world", Perović's Red Khmers, Milan, Milka, Kuta and Balša entered the difficult struggle for social justice in France, throwing smear at Gerard as much as they could. Rightly: if Milo was a true statesman, he would have awarded them, not Depardieu, with these harmonious titles years ago.

With a view to better understand the media blitzkrieg at Depardieu, who was attacked ten times in ten days in Perović's media, let us take a look at who were the signatories of the open letter to the French Ambassador. Željko Ivanović, Milan Popović and his brother Milenko, Milka Tadić with her husband Dejan Mijović, Ljupka Kovačević and her son Filip, Esad Kočan, Marko Milačić, Balša Brković, and Milošević's weapons smuggler Blagoje Grahovac.

Tycoon Željko and Miško's intellectuals have engaged in a risky fight for social justice in France, striking upon hated tycoon Depardieu because he was not willing to pay enormous taxes. If, by any chance, extremely rich tycoons Miško and Željko, with whom the German WAZ broke the partnership for tax evasion, were living in a regulated state such as France, they would, on the grounds of illegal funds and not paying "taxes to the state in order for others to be able to survive", be sentenced to life in prison, even if adjudicated by their own mother, prosecuted by their own father and defended by their brothers and sisters.

French court wouldn't spare the other signatories to the petition such as Kuta, Milka, Balša and Veseljko as well, as they receive a part of their salaries and revenues from Miško and Željko in cash, illegally, and thus become complicit in tax evasion, which, of course, does not recommend one for writing such petitions in the first place. Montenegrin media Al Capone followers display their plunder and

tax evasion, along with clamor and noise, as patriotism and the fight against bad government, while presenting themselves as international fighters for social justice in France.

Depardieu completely ignored the open letter by sellers of lies, tax evaders and moralists, while her Excellency Dominique Gazui, as I was informed, said only: “Je les ignore”. Yet, this was no reason for Miško Che Guevara and his fellow soldiers to stop the campaign against the immoral “gastronome and Rasputin”, who was retroactively additionally attacked for driving a scooter while drunk, all with the humane purpose to compromise the newly appointed Montenegrin culture Ambassador and one of the greatest actors in the world, for whom, I am sure, more people have heard worldwide than for the whole of Montenegro.

The persecution against St. Gerard Milotočivi, as the great artist was, with due respect, referred to by Balša Brković, Miško’s in-house writer and editor of the cultural section of *Vijesti*, was soon expanded with *Monitor* as well (18 January 2013), in line with Don Mikeli’s pattern. The author of the text – editor-in-chief Kočan, who sent the following message from Godočelje’s heights:

“Gerard Depardieu flew over Montenegro, noticing from above that it had a well-indented coastline and spotting sheep grazing in the vineyards. In addition, as a government’s helicopter circled over Cetinje, the line minister recited Njegoš to his ear proudly, which finished Obelix off. This is how we got ourselves a new cultural ambassador”.

We have thus received another confirmation that Perović’s intellectual midgets are glad to mock anyone better than them.

The French Constitutional Court rejected the proposal by President Francois Hollande to introduce a tax of 75 percent for those who earn more than a million Euros per year, because such a tax rate “does not recognize equality before public burden”. However, the readers of Perović’s tabloids could read this information only in

French newspapers. The blitzkrieg participants naturally would not admit they were wrong and malicious when holding moral tirades to Đukanović for not “showing solidarity with the humane position of the French Government that the rich must pay higher taxes to the state in order for others to be able to survive“, through which he “disavowed the efforts of his French colleagues to more fairly distribute the burden of the global crisis through active tax policy“.

Yet, this is not the end of the story of the persecution against Depardieu. It remains a mystery why Perović’s troopers, without much reason, made a descent on the great actor? Depardieu did not make a film about Miško’s protégé and false hero, thus reducing the relevance of independent and private-manipulative media; he did not oppose Don Miško’s media tyranny in Montenegro; he did not defend Šeki and his film from the media mafia; he did not demolish the character and work of Miodrag Perović. So what is it then, for God’s sake? Why did Obelix run afoul of Montenegrin media Julius Caesar so badly?

As most dramas, this one with Depardieu was about love and a woman. The woman is Milka Ljumović, Miodrag Perović’s sister and the love is his big brotherly-financial love for her. In these days, on 12 January 2013, Special State Prosecutor for Organized Crime Đurđina Ivanović interrogated Milka Ljumović, under a suspicion that she, together with five more managers, damaged *Montenegrin Commercial Bank* for five and a half million Euros, following criminal charges by Hungarian management of CKB. A passport of Don Mikeli’s sister was confiscated, in order to prevent her from escaping to Italy, cynics would say Sicily, again, where she originally managed to flee and save herself from two-day detention to which her associates were exposed.

And when people mess with the *Second Family*, the first, of course, being Đukanović, then they are attacking the foundations of Montenegro. Before the Special Prosecutor, Ljumović patriotically said that she had been working exclusively in the best interests of

Montenegro. She, Miško and the *Second Family* are, therefore, here to die for Montenegro, fleeing across the border whenever things get messy.

That the case was not about a theft, but about a struggle for richer Montenegro, Ljumović explained in her little brother's *Vijesti*:

“The current Hungarian management incites arrests and prosecution of former Montenegrin Management (Ljumović and associates, Š.R.), in order to prevent them from testifying about the harmful effects of new business policy of CKB to the Montenegrin economy. The Hungarian management eventually consciously began to conduct a business policy that undermines the Montenegrin economy”.

This is how Milka Ljumović was promoted into another crown witness of the “independent ones” and a great Montenegrin patriot.

So what does Depardieu have to do with Milka? There is a link, indeed. In order to minimize the damage to his business and the reputation of his family, Miodrag Perović and his spin doctors have decided to move focus of the public away from this affair and “family shame” towards great actor Gerard Depardieu. They were thinking: let the story be about this tax evader, speculator, alcoholic, Đukanović's page-boy and not about “the brother-sister cartel” and Milka Ljumović who, as a director of CKB, approved multi-million loans without collateral. Among such borrowers were her brother Miško and his partners.

Since *spin* is by definition a subtle art of manipulating the public, characterized by a careful choice of time and the manner of its implementation, it can be said that Don Mikeli and his consigliere are doing it in a very primitive, raw and brutal manner. Yet, they unmistakably know to determine the right time for placing the deceit.

Here is a short summary of the event: Ms. Ljumović was interrogated on 12 January 2013. The same day, Don Mikeli's intellectuals wrote the open letter and pointed their finger to a dangerous criminal, Milo's friend and hence the great enemy of Montenegro, Gerard

Depardieu. The next morning, the pamphlet was published by Perović's media axle for disqualifications and manipulations: *Vijesti-TV Vijesti-Vijesti website*, launching a ten-day harangue against the great French artist, which would later be joined by *Monitor* as well. Just enough for a fabricated affair (Depardieu case) to push one's own dirty laundry (Milka Ljumović and CKB case) into the background.

Which clearly shows, going back to the beginning of the story, that "walking the gauntlet" or a double row of moral freaks, only applies to people designated by Miško Perović, Director of Montenegrin media Goli Otok.

FOUL DEEDS OF THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

[OR HOW THE SELLER OF LIES AND HIS EDITORS GLORIFIED A WAR CRIMINAL AND HOW HIS MEDIA SHOOTERS SPREAD DISINFORMATION AMONG MEDIA]

Acting upon criminal charges of war crimes investigator Šeki Radončić, the Montenegrin prosecution office opened an investigation against Slobodan Pejović, which infuriated his media promoters. On that occasion, *Free Europe* journalist Srđan Janković asked me for a statement.

– Šeki Radončić does not give statements to Podgorica’s branch office of *Free Europe*, Don Mikeli’s tool, for as long as gossip Slavica Brajović is managing it, I replied Janković.

A bit confused, he asked me: “Do you have a concrete reason for this?”

– Of course I do. At one of your editorial meetings Slavica said Šeki Radončić was attacking Pejović because he worked for the regime and was a very dangerous man.

– Who told you this?

– My source from Prague.

Half an hour after the conversation with Janković, I got the following text message from Žana Kovačević, a journalist of the Sarajevo’s branch office of *Free Europe*:

Šeki, my boss has just criticized me for revealing work-related information in a private conversation with you, as you told Janković. Janković recorded your conversation and sent it to Sarajevo. The boss got angry. He removed me from the editor’s position, which means my salary would be 50% lower.

I called Žana. I told her secretly recording conversations was an abomination, and making up that I mentioned her name was even more so. This is why I referred her to her “boss” Milenko Vočkić, to ask him to listen to recorded conversation, in order to make sure that I mentioned no names whatsoever. I promised her that I would immediately call Vočkić and talk to him about it.

A bit later Slavica Brajović called Žana. She asked: “How could you do this to me; I regarded you as my child!” Žana denied telling me anything, which is true as she didn’t, and said she did not accept to be a victim of an intrigue.

A few months later, Žana Kovačević left *Free Europe*. Just at that time, I accidentally met in Podgorica with Petar Komnenić, a journalist of *TV Vijesti* and *Free Europe*. We touched upon the issue. He defended Slavica: in the editorial meeting, which he attended, Slavica did not say that Šeki was regime agent; she said that the rumor from *Monitor’s* editorial office was that Šeki was regime agent. Later I would find out from Veseljko Koprivica that Kuta with his long ears was the first one to come up with this lie. Which is not surprising for a person who always left behind intrigues.

After our conversation, Janković prepared a story for *Free Europe*:

“Radončić refused to comment on his potential testimony as a prosecution witness for our reporter bureau... In first Radončić’s film, Slobodan Pejović was portrayed as a hero, while in the new documentary entitled *A Hero of Our Time*, he is accused of not saving the deportees but taking part in the arrest and torture of these people himself,” says Janković.

It is not true that Šeki refused to “comment for our reporter bureau” a specific event; he said that he wouldn’t give statements to Podgorica’s branch office of *Free Europe*, for as long as gossip Slavica Brajović is managing it. Janković twisted this around, so it turned out that Šeki, for unknown reasons, avoided to comment on initiation of criminal investigation against Pejović, which presents a beautiful act of media manipulation.

Janković, probably on the orders of his boss, who follows Don Mikeli's instructions, makes up that Pejović was portrayed as a hero and a man who didn't "participate in the arrests of Bosniaks" in my "first film". *Carnival* is, let me stress again, a story about deportations, i.e. a journalist investigating this war crime and talking, in front of cameras, with more than twenty witnesses of the crime, including Slobodan Pejović, who appears in the film for a minute and a half, without a single compliment from my side. And that's it. However, the facts are completely irrelevant for the "independent ones". The important thing for them is to repeat a lie infinitely, in order to convince themselves and others that it is true.

In fact, Pejović is a project and brand of the independent but private media, not Šeki's. As a "crown witness", he was the main star in *Monitor*, *Vijesti* and *TV Vijesti* for over five years. Before every important hearing in the case against those accused of the war crime of deportations, someone (former colleagues of his say: he himself!) would damage the side mirror or side window of his old Ford, causing a damage of some 20 Euros, which is the cost of these parts at the flea market. Pejović would then issue an alert and Perović's media would alarm the public by interpreting the broken glass on the rear-view mirror as a "car demolished" and "attempted murder and assassination of the crown witness". This is how Perović's media polished the bust of the "crown witness" and at the same time compromised the government, especially with the foreign stakeholders, for not protecting insider witnesses in war crimes cases.

The following fact confirms that Perović's spin doctors did a wonderful job: the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg included the case of Slobodan Pejović in its Resolution on the protection of witnesses (27 January 2011).

"He has been attacked on a number of occasions and he believes that his life was threatened. The local police force has been reluctant to implement any protection measures for Mr Pejović, despite the seriousness and level of the threats against him. Some measures have been implemented recently, but only after 70 NGOs complained to

the authorities about the treatment he was receiving. The difficulty in this case seems to be that Mr Pejović is requesting protection from the very force he is testifying against”, says the Resolution.

Pejović did a fine job testifying: the “crown witness” said nothing at all about the “force he is testifying against”.

Council of Europe, of course, did not react just like that. Aiming to build a myth of their hero and to denigrate the government that is supposedly trying to kill him, Perović’s corporate mercenaries have written hundreds of apologetic articles about their Slobo and his vulnerability. The process was lead, as always, by Kočan, Popović, Koprivica... When necessary, M. Perović himself would get involved.

Pejović thus became “a torch that lights the way”, as would-be poet Kočan said. I will quote Kočan’s text, actually his telegram of support to Slobo, in order to illustrate what journalism without professional distance, inappropriate flattery that turns a newspaper article into a tasteless panegyric and the denial of facts looks like:

“Slobodan Pejović’s refusal to remain silent showed that insects with built-in will for power are not quite as powerful. Poor insects stand no chance in a conflict with him. Killing Slobodan Pejović – that would be a futile effort even more. He is a symbol in time, indestructible as such. Opposition parties should certainly join the already won battle of Slobodan Pejović against the logic of violence on which the regime is founded. It is about time Podgorica sees a strong rally of support for his testimony and everything it symbolizes. NGOs should agree upon a joint symbolic visit to Herceg Novi, with a message of defiance and peace. Students and their teachers should walk around with emblems showing the image of Slobodan Pejović. The regime cannot harm him; his days can be aggravated only by our indifference. Montenegrin society can use the case of Slobodan Pejović as a sign of hope, to indicate that it is still alive.” (*Monitor*, 27 November 2009).

There were dozens of such Kočan’s statements of love towards retired police officer Pejović. I will not quote numerous pathetic articles in

which Kočan craves for love of hero Sloba, but it would be a sin to skip the one he wrote on the occasion of *Duško Kondor* award, which Immoral Humanitarian Svetlana Broz presented to arrester Slobodan Pejović. I will quote only some of Kočan's gems:

“While trying to state the reasons for the award, Svetlana's eyes are converted into blue tears, while her voice turns into an irrepressible sob. Rade Aleksić is at the podium. Stretched out arms resemble a wounded eagle in flight... He threw himself (Esad Alić, Š.R.) at the bomb. The explosion blew Esad. Into eternity... Former police inspector Slobodan Pejović is also among the giants. A thundering applause fills out the hall. Of hope. For Bosnia? For Montenegro? For mankind?... It was quite an occasion to be there at Marin Dvor, a chance to be among those better than you...” (*The Power of Nothingness, Monitor*, March 5, 2010).

“Svetlana's eyes” that are “converted into tears”, her “voice” that turns into an “irrepressible sob”, her hands which resemble “a wounded eagle in flight”, bomb which blew Esad “into eternity” former police officer “among the giants”, applause to the arrester of Bosniaks as an applause “of hope for mankind” – all these banalities and hackneyed metaphors, I cannot but notice, are pure kitsch. One can tell that poet Kuta strayed among journalists, so he failed in both, being a good poet and being a good journalist – turning out to be just a sheer pathetic creature. In *The Anatomy Lesson*, Kiš says that kitsch is “measured by banality of association”, adding that “banality is as indestructible as a plastic bottle”.

The poet of “Svetlana's blue tears” and the rest of Perović's journalistic nothingness have attempted, with an unprecedented dose of malice and no evidence, to put in Šeki's feeble hands a man-giant, arrester Sloba. For whom Kočan excitedly says he's better than him.

However, despite the enormous media power, seller of lies Miodrag M. Perović and his mercenaries have failed to morally bury Šeki Radončić and to turn the Hunter on Bosniaks into a giant.

The truth is, after all, an insurmountable obstacle.

MIŠKO'S AND KOČAN'S MEDIA CONTAMINATION

[OR HOW THE OWNERS AND EDITORS OF THE "INDEPENDENT" MEDIA TURNED PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INTO THE FACTORIES OF LIES WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF MONSTROUS MOTTO OF MONITOR'S EDITOR-IN-CHIEF "OUR INTERPRETATIONS ARE NEW FACTS"]

The *pater familias* of Montenegrin independent media, as Miodrag Perović likes to refer to himself, and rotten pumpkin of Montenegrin independent journalism Esad Kočan, led the media scene in Montenegro to necrosis. Miško's and Kočan's media contamination led to metastases when the independent media got under the control of greedy Perović. And we know how it happened. From that moment on, the responsibility for the written and spoken word in Montenegro is precipitously declining, just as granddad Avram's dinar was. Presenting themselves as victims of the regime, the "independent ones" are framing, making up, suing, condemning, issuing wanted notices, hanging yellow ribbons, putting straitjackets, shooting people. Only sky is the limit for Montenegrin manipulative journalism. At the end of the ballade, self-proclaimed founder of Montenegrin independent journalism Miodrag M. Perović has become a synonym for lies, greed, deceit, plunder and the human evil.

So how do the private and independent masters of deceit transform a lie into the truth, and the truth into a lie? How do the "independent ones" persecute people for years, while presenting themselves as those persecuted? What is the formula used by the mathematics professor and his media assistants to terrorize the public?

I have been searching for the formula through which Don Mikeli and his alchemists transform a lie into the truth and the truth into a lie for two years. I finally found what I have been looking for on 20 January 2013, at 23:45, in a hotel room in Paris, while surfing the Internet. In

a *Vijesti* interview of 19 October 2010, asked to comment upon the statement that “Monitor is often criticized in professional circles for allowing too much space to comments and opinions at the expense of information”, editor Esad Kočan said: “Our interpretations are new facts. Without false modesty, the group of columnists and associates writing for *Monitor* is stronger than both Montenegrin academies of sciences”.

Having read this, I felt a mixture of relief and anger. Relief as I finally found what I was looking for two years – the definition of Miško’s and Kočan’s media contamination. Anger at Kočan, because he writes articles and makes statements that no one reads, which is why this monstrous journalistic motto remained unseen for so long by the researcher of media crimes.

If, instead of Mikeli’s, he was in Hitler’s propaganda headquarters, Kočan would get to be the highest officer rank, general field marshal. Kočan managed to enrich the famous slogan of Nazi propaganda minister Dr. Goebbels saying that “if you repeat a lie a hundred times it becomes the truth”, by adding: “Our interpretations are new facts”. In doing so, he modernized the Goebbels formula for producing lies, making it easier, faster and more efficient. A lie does not need to be repeated a hundred times in order to become the truth; it is sufficient to have “our interpretations” that automatically “become new facts”. The effect is the same, but with much less work. Herr Kočan, Don Mikeli’s propaganda minister, surpassed Goebbels in nice upbringing as well: he does not mention the ugly word “lie”. The word “interpretation” sounds so fancy and scientific. Just imagine how ugly, vulgar and disgusting it would be if propagandist Kočan said “our lies are new facts” instead of “our interpretations are new facts”.

In corporate journalism, therefore, the old journalistic rule that facts are undisputed and comments free is not valid any longer. Don Mikeli’s propagandist, editor Kočan, unveiled a new journalistic postulate: the facts are irrelevant – our interpretations are new facts. Unquestionable. Indisputable. Irrefutable.

So, gentlemen journalists, forget the facts, never mind the rule that every piece of information has to be checked in at least two major sources, forget hard and lengthy research. Do not make a clear distinction between comments, assumptions and facts. Write as the sellers of lies tell you to write.

Do not insist on the rule of “hearing the other side”. Forget that “journalists should never disclose a piece of information they know is false or malicious, or unfounded allegations about others that are intended to harm their reputation.”

Do not beware of sources that can mislead you for personal reasons. Do not adhere to the rule not to publish what you already know, but only what you can prove in court. Do not lose time, energy and money: “our interpretations are new facts”. Full stop.

Once we have found the secret formula of fuel for Don Mikeli’s lie reactors, let’s see what it looks like in practice. When sellers of lies say that Pejović is Bosniak savior, even though he participated in their arrest, and despite the fact that there is not a single fact that would prove that he saved anyone, their interpretation and the denial of facts become the new truth.

Or, when Šeki makes a documentary about a false hero of the independent ones, and they interpret it in such a manner that it appears that Šeki has become a regime media agent, this, of course, becomes plain truth. Proof: “our interpretations are new facts”.

Or, when Andrej Nikolaidis left *Monitor* due to his exploitation, i.e. a salary of 160 Euros, going to work as an advisor to the President of the Parliament of Montenegro, Perović’s followers have interpreted it as a runaway of the writer into regime agents, which has become a new fact. Undeniable one, too, as there was a crucial proof of their malignant claims: “our interpretations are new facts”.

(After leaving *Monitor*, Andrej accidentally met Miško. “I knew you would leave *Monitor*, but what could I do? I did not have the money to give you a higher salary”, said the beggar of foreign donations and

the owner of savings banks, funds, water factories, numerous media and even more numerous properties to the poor writer).

Or, when, for instance, Marko Vešović, who wrote a book “A spy from Piperi” about Jevrem Brković, started to write articles for *Pobjeda*, in which he unmasked Perović’s followers, in his text in *Vijesti* Balša Brković revengefully proclaimed an irrefutable interpretation, i.e. lie: Vešović is “the leading pen of Udba in Montenegro”.

Or, when Boro Krivokapić, Petar Luković and Srđan Kusovac attack Perović’s “independent containers of lies” for unprofessional journalism, and Don Mikeli’s media executioners declare them Đukanović’s mercenaries and agents, the label should be understood as an interpretation which has become a new fact.

Or, when Don Mikeli and his media gang label their former colleagues from *Monitor* Draško Đuranović, Nebojša Redžić, Miljo Radojičić, Branko Vojičić, Darko Šuković and others as regime agents, defectors and mercenaries... This, of course, immediately becomes truth, because their interpretations are “new facts”.

Or, when oppositionists Srđan Milić and Aleksandar Damjanović oppose the destruction of their party (SNP) to the benefit of Mandić’s Front, and *Monitor* and *Vijesti* interpret this as an action of Đukanović’s infiltrated elements in the opposition, it becomes the truth.

Or, when *Vijesti* present to the public their interpretation that Marija Fatić, a young teacher of language and literature in Podgorica’s elementary school Dragiša Ivanović, is smuggling heroin, it becomes a planetary truth, despite the fact that the State Prosecution Office of Montenegro dismissed these accusations as unfounded.

Or, when pretentious Kočan, in the aforementioned interview, gives his interpretation that “without false modesty, the group of columnists and associates writing for *Monitor* is stronger than both Montenegrin science academies”, this becomes plain truth.

It is not an anecdote: when editor Kuta appeared on *TV Vijesti* in the election night on 14 October 2012, bravely supporting Duke’s Front

and Positive Montenegro, he presented serious accusations against Đukanović, related to smuggling, corruption and war crimes. The reporter asked him whether he had any proof for what he said.

– Well, this is something that entire Montenegro knows, came the answer like a shot. This was the crucial proof of the great journalist and the author of motto “our interpretations are new facts”.

I will not continue listing. In the independent and private journalism, the truth is abolished by a decree. Evidence, facts and testimonies are not valid any longer. It is all nothing but garbage compared to the interpretations of “independent” yellow press, which, by order of the Seller of Lies, become facts. Such created facts are, of course, sacrosanct.

A deadly virus OINF (Our interpretations are new facts) killed good old *Monitor*, and then caught and destroyed the objectivity and professionalism in other “independent” media as well, turning them into productive factories of lies. The Seller of Lies has built a media empire, amassing power and money, upon this production of lies, i.e. new facts. If *Sharia Law* according to which hands are cut off for thefts and deceits was applied in Montenegro, Miško would be walking around with his arms cut off all the way to his shoulders. Just like his partners.

Even a cursory analysis of the corporate media under the control of the Seller of Lies shows that independent journalism went to hell. He and his gang use the media as a tool for people’s degradation, persecution, blackmailing; providing evidence or referring to the facts is in vain. The consequences of Miško’s and Kočan’s media contamination to Montenegrin society equal the damage caused to the media space in Montenegro by Konatar. If we compare Kočan’s *Monitor* and Konatar’s *Pobjeda* in which Kočan was learning the trade, we will see that there is no difference in the approach to the topics and their treatment, neither there is one in brutal demonizing of persons of different views and opponents, disregard for professional standards and the abuse of the media.

Likewise, there is no difference in what the profession strictly prohibits to journalists: calling people to rallies and raids on towns; calling for violent overthrow of governments; writing protest letters to the leaders of America, Europe and Ambassadors of western countries in Montenegro; making speeches and agitation at political rallies. There is another striking similarity: *Pobjeda* was the newspaper of the *Communist party* and *DPS*, whereas Kočan's *Monitor* and other Perović's media are the media of *Positive Montenegro* and *DF*.

Vidoje Konatar was trying to shape the media space in line with his positions for some kind of belief. A wrong one, though, but some kind of belief. It was, as we know, "patriotic", not objective journalism. On the other hand, Kočan shapes media in line with his views for alleged patriotism and the fake struggle for democracy, while in fact it is nothing but a struggle for money and power of his Master Miško. The richer the Master gets, there will be more crumbs under his table.

The damage from Konatar and his media contamination has, after twenty years, somehow been repaired. I fear that it would take the same amount of time for Montenegrin media space to be decontaminated from OINF virus created by chemical fusion of Miško's and Kočan's media contamination. It is a serious disease of Montenegrin journalism that will last for a long time.

For future researchers it will be inspiring to examine the manipulation of public opinion by OINF virus released from their laboratory by professor Perović and assistant Kočan. And all this for a huge love for money and modest desire to enter the history of independent Montenegro as democrats, revolutionaries, ethicists and writers, not out of a desire to be remembered for Miško's and Kočan's media contamination.

The road to hell is paved with good intentions. The Seller of Lies will be remembered by the fact that he turned Montenegro into a concentration camp by the media and propaganda based on a monstrous motto "our interpretations are new facts".

Speaking of Göring, a journalist wrote that he was a “brain with no conscience”. Miodrag M. Perović is no Göring, nor is he a war criminal, but he is, in my humble opinion, a media criminal whose conscience is completely atrophied.

Or he never had one.

CAB ASSASSIN

[NEW FABRICATED CHARGES AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENTARY THAT DIDN'T SUIT THE "INDEPENDENT" MEDIA TYCOONS]

1. NEW EXAMPLES OF MEDIA MANIPULATION

Since Perović's mission of moral execution of Šeki Radončić protracted and did not go as planned ("we will bury him in three days"), the media Cosa Nostra reached for even more brutal tricks and deceptions. Thus, *Vijesti* published "my" statement that, of course, I never gave, and a few days later they made up my imaginary "confession" that I had misled the public. Creative Don Mikeli's propagandists started to apply a new method: adding a note "as reported by some media", in their authors' articles written for the media abroad they would quote their own texts and lies from *Monitor*. In the end, Don Mikeli's special forces would make a desperate move: for the umpteenth time, they would report me to the police for alleged death threats.

Speculating on whether Fahrudin Radončić would buy *Pobjeda*, *Vijesti* of 30 September 2011 state: "His brother Šemsudin Radončić said on Tuesday that the family is not going to answer *Vijesti's* questions about the disinformation that they are buying *Pobjeda*".

It is a lie, of course, that I said anything for the Yellow Newspapers in a blue package whose bosses are not ashamed of anything, so I wrote a denial, but *Vijesti* never published it, violating thus journalistic ethics and legal obligations.

Continuing Perović's campaign, in his statement submitted to the media two days later, Koča Pavlović claimed, as quoted by *Dan* (2 October 2011), that "appointing Rade Vojvodić as the director of *TVCG* and bringing Šeki Radončić to *Pobjeda* would move the media

seat of a regional political-criminal corporation to Montenegro”. Pavlović’s libel was published by the media controlled by Miodrag Perović.

Since this is not a white lie, but a very ugly trick, I was forced to remind Koka that it was not my but his partner who, at the time when Koka dealt with “hospitality services”, ended his life on Podgorica’s asphalt, riddled with bullets. I also reminded Koka of a situation when he crossed the line moralizing in the Parliament, so State Prosecutor Vesna Medenica publicly recalled the event when Koka had to escape from Montenegro to Italy to hide from enraged partners of his, whom he previously cheated. The same slap, but on another occasion, Koka received by Milo Đukanović.

Then, objective and independent *Vijesti* (8 October 2011) published a new forgery. They tried to present me as a liar. In a sensation-seeking article *Radončić Denies Himself*, a new plot ensued: Perović’s corporate newsletter tried to frame me with a statement that “I received a summons from the prosecution office for my interrogation”.

This, of course, is not true: Mister Radončić did receive a summons from the prosecution office, but not for him to be interrogated; he was merely asked to submit his film *A Hero of Our Time* and the addresses of all the participants in the film – witnesses of Pejović’s role in the war crime of deportation. Radončić did not witness Pejović’s war “accomplishments” and could therefore not appear before the prosecution office as a witness. Radončić is a crown witness of Pejović’s lies and fabrications, but, unfortunately, this is not a criminal offense in Montenegro.

In a synchronized action to discredit Šeki Radončić, the same day *TV Vijesti* published disinformation that “prosecutor Ivanović denied information about the investigation against Slobodan Pejović”. However, the prosecutor caught them lying immediately: “I have not made such a statement for *Vijesti*. I said that the charges against Slobodan Pejović are being processed, and that, I repeat, verifications are underway”.

TV Vijesti, *Vijesti* and *Vijesti website* never published the denial of prosecutor Nina Ivanović, or my denial. They failed to do so for purely professional reasons: they don't like to be caught lying, and laws do not apply to them anyway. Yet, the prosecutor's denial was published by other media including Dan (8 October 2011).

The new low blow of people whose lives are governed by lies had a concrete goal: ahead of the Montenegrin premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* on *TVIN*, its author needed to be stigmatized additionally, and pressure needed to be exerted on the prosecution office to give up on the prosecution of Don Mikeli's protégé, Slobodan Pejović.

To this end, *Monitor* of 14 October 2011 published a text entitled *War Crimes of the Montenegrin Prosecution Office*. In the article, associate Vladimir Jovanović, literally copying facts from my *Fatal Freedom*, states: Radončić offered evidence to the special prosecutor's office in the form of his newest creation, a documentary entitled *A Hero of Our Time*, in which he, as one can discern from media reports, did a *salto mortale*, turning Pejović from a brave witness into a "war criminal".

Associate Jovanović could only have seen such "media reports" in his mendacious *Monitor* and other media under the control of the Seller of Lies. From which he could, even if his intelligence coefficient equaled his shoe size, "discern" that it was a classic conspiracy against the author of the film.

Koprivica and I talked about associate Jovanović on one occasion at the *Gintaš* mall in Podgorica. Veseli wanted to meet there, in order to tell me something very important. He had only one condition: that we meet in secret, because, as he told me, if Miško, Milka or Kuta would find out that we met, he would surely be fired. I agreed because I really wanted to know what it was so big that happened in the enemy ranks.

All red in face, Veseljko told me that on 1 September, about 17:00, he was intercepted by "two-meter tall" Vlado Jovanović in the hallway in front of the *Monitor* newsroom, who brutally beat him up:

“He grabbed me by the head and repeatedly hit the wall with it, saying, “You motherfucker, I will slaughter you like a rabbit”. Then he punched me in the kidney that I had surgery on. When I fell to the floor, and as blood came down my face, the young punk went away”.

Veseljko then phoned Master Miško and said: Vlado Jovanović just brutally beat me up at work. I’m going to the police to report him!” Miško said: “Veseljko, if you do that, you’ll get fired. It would be a big shame for me and *Monitor*”. Veseljko then called *Monitor* director. “Veseljko, do not do it! Just take it easy and do not go to the *Ambulance*, because they record all injuries obtained in fights and report them to the police”, advised Milka sisterly. Eventually, beaten-up Veseljko called the editor-in-chief. “Veseljko, it was just a skirmish. You will embarrass us and yourself if you report it to the police”, said Kuta.

The chain of command and the law of *omertà* really do function seamlessly in *Monitor*.

Before the conflict, Veseljko and Vlado did not communicate over a year and a half. Veseljko, as he told me, gave Vlado access to some documents from the Dubrovnik front lines “just for a day”, but Vlado never returned the documents and wrote a book on their basis. The hostility between the two culminated on the day when Vlado turned TV volume to maximum while watching a game. Veseljko was annoyed by this and turned off the TV. Vlado objected and Veseljko “burst”: Get out of the newsroom, I am deputy editor and you are just an associate!”

Associate Jovanović came out and waited in ambush for an hour and a half in the hallway outside the newsroom, until editor Veseljko fell into his hands.

I asked Veseljko why didn’t he retire and go play with his grandkids. He explained that he would like to do so, but couldn’t because Miško was paying him and other journalists social and pension insurance corresponding to salaries of only 150–200 Euros a month, whereas

Veseljko as deputy editor-in-chief received another 400 Euros in cash, in order for payment of taxes and contributions to be avoided.

“My pension will amount to less than 100 Euros. How am I going to survive with that? We have all started together, but now some of us are millionaires and some of us face serious poverty” said Veseljko dejectedly.

We passed on the topic of the persecution against me. Veseljko said that what they were doing was a shame. Yet, when I returned from Podgorica to Sarajevo the following day, a surprise was waiting for me. In Sarajevo’s *Dani*, Veseljko Koprivica published a five-page article (*A Liberal in the Hunt for Refugees, Dani*, 14 October 2011). One need not be a Sherlock Holmes to conclude that Koprivica wrote and submitted the article, whose title should have read *An Inspector in the Hunt for Refugees*, at least two days before our conversation in *Gintaš*.

So, in the organization of M. M. Perović, Podgorica’s *Monitor* and Sarajevo’s *Dani* attacked Šeki Radončić and his film on the same day. The authors of the two articles are two bitter enemies, editor Koprivica and associate Jovanović, who were hired for this assignment by the seller of lies and water. The formal reason for Veseljko’s article was also an investigation of the prosecution office against Slobodan Pejović, but essentially it was an attempt to transfer the criticism against Šeki Radončić to Sarajevo’s so-called independent media, *Dani*, *Oslobođenje* and *Slobodna Bosna*.

We have thus reached the second tentacle of Don Mikeli’s media octopus in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first one, as we have seen, consists of the so-called religious media and websites in B&H and its diaspora, coordinated by the “blind commando”. In his persecutions, the well-off little old man likes to combine opposites: Jovanović and Koprivica, Wahhabis and Communists, Chetniks and Partisans.

Let’s go back to Veseljko’s text to get to know the new methods of media manipulation aimed at discrediting Perović’s targets. Under

the motto “as reported by some media”, editor Koprivica, believe it or not, quotes his own texts from *Monitor*. With a view to mislead the readers, which is prohibited by the journalistic code, in the same article Veseljko unilaterally chooses his collocutors, so he quotes Miško’s propagandists K. Pavlović, M. Popović and his editor Kočan.

I called Veseljko. I told him that the problem was not in the fact that he, following the order of slave owner Miško, openly engaged in the persecution against me, but that it was not fair to jeer at my film he never even saw.

– I only quoted other media, said Veseljko.

– Exactly. But, dear Veseljko, while writing “as reported by some media” or “as *Monitor* reports”, you quoted your own articles from *Monitor*. In addition, you garnished it all with a shameless lie that I praised Pejović in my texts for years. If I did, why did not you quote at least one of such articles? You did all this only to present yourself as an objective journalist to *Dan* readers and trying to leave an impression that the Montenegrin media, including the good old *Monitor*, which has nothing to do with the Kočan’s one except for the same logo, supported Pejović. But you, my dear Veseli, made a small omission: a few days ago, hundreds of thousands of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina saw *A Hero of Our Time* on TV BIH. Your glorification of the Hunter on Bosniaks causes the opposite effect in wounded Bosnia. Montenegro will also see the film in seven days on *TVIN*.

2. I'LL BEAT YOU UP, I'LL KILL YOU, I'LL MAKE YOU PAY FOR IT TILL THE END OF YOUR LIFE

A few days after the conversation with Koprivica, I went to Podgorica to attend the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* on TVIN. Already used to a weekly dose of fascism, I bought a copy of *Monitor*. I was greeted by a new creation of associate Jovanović, *Who and Why* (*Monitor*, 21 October 2011), which would expressly be conveyed, by Ibrahim Paša's line, by the website *BH Magazine* as well. On four pages, Vlado again laments over the fate of S. Pejović, "who could be tried if the war crimes prosecution office brings charges against him". Jovanović hisses at "firm-character witnesses from *A Hero of Our Time*" and ends his text by claiming that Pejović "was attacked by the state with blunt tools: shameful judiciary, compromised witnesses and media hallucination produced by a chorus of newspaper idiots".

Through a forensic analysis of the text it is easy to conclude that so many disqualifications, labels and insults in a single sentence ("blunt tools", "shameful judiciary", "compromised witnesses", "media hallucination" and "chorus of journalistic idiots"), could be put together only by Kočan. This is his way of thinking, his style, his epithets, his insults, his cowardly hiding behind journalists and his moral misery.

Around noon I took a taxi to go to Podgorica's café Maša, to meet with Darko Šuković: it is in his *Živa istina* that *A Hero of Our Time*, a film for which many of my friends left me, half of Montenegro started to hate me and half of Bosnia and Herzegovina (without Republic of Srpska) started to celebrate me, would be shown for the first time in Montenegro. While I was on my way there, discussing the announced premiere of the film that was advertised on TVIN for days with a well-informed taxi driver, I spotted Veseljko. He was moving along a wide sidewalk from the opposite direction. Our eyes met briefly. There was no time for us to nod each other or wave our hands as he quickly disappeared from my sight.

Just as we were finishing our lunch, Darko's phone rang. A few moments later he looked at me puzzled. "Šeki has been with me for the past three hours", Darko said, putting his phone down for a moment: "Šeki, a police inspector is calling. He's looking for you".

The man politely introduced himself:

– Excuse me for bothering you Mr. Radončić, but I would ask you to come to the police and make a statement.

– Why?

– You have been reported for death threats.

– What!? By who?

– Veseljko Koprivica. He says you have threatened to kill him.

– This must be a grave misunderstanding. Perhaps you have confused me with Vlado Jovanović? He beat Veseljko up, cursing him and threatening to kill him, not me. They must have had another brawl.

– No, no. Koprivica reported you. He says you have threatened to kill him an hour ago. Can you please come and make a statement"?

I had no choice but to interrupt my lunch and go straight to the police, interrogation quarters. Otherwise, I knew that I would, just as in the case of Pejović's false ambush reporting, be returned from the border between Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Once they took my ID card at the reception desk, they took me to inspector Veselin Radetić. He read Veseljko's application in which he claimed that "as he walked down the street I threatened him from a car: I'll beat you up, I'll kill you, I'll make you pay for it till the end of your life!", allegedly, over a text in Sarajevo's *Dani* from the previous week.

"Such nonsense", I replied to the inspector, would never come out of my mouth. How can someone I killed be paying till the end of his life? Such a statement could only originate from the head of an illiterate journalist and a great liar. Moreover, Mr. inspector, why would Šeki, who never fought in his entire life including the kindergarten,

threaten with death Veselko Koprivica, a tempered warrior from the Dubrovnik's battlefield”.

The inspector laughed. I did not feel like laughing. I told him that I barely noticed Koprivica, let alone threatened him, because the taxi driver was driving fast. I offered to find the taxi driver who drove me – he could confirm that Koprivica was lying. I explained to him that Koprivica was the most convicted journalist in Montenegro, including Europe, because he wrote lies. He even transferred all his property to his wife so that it would not be confiscated by the court. I also told him that Koprivica was just a part of Don Mikeli's plot, who was trying to put me behind bars in order to prevent me from speaking at the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*.

The inspector said there was no need to give any statements. With a recommendation: “When you meet Koprivica again, please turn your head the other way, because he can report you again”.

On my way out of the police station, a police officer from the reception desk returned me my documents. “Don't worry Mr. Radončić. Koprivica is a regular guest here: so far he reported half the neighborhood and an entire pensioners' club”.

“One of these days he will report himself to the police”, I replied.

Due to frequent reports against honorable men to the police, Veseli was mentioned in the *Pensioners' Informer*, in which “the management board of the local association of pensioners Zagorić from Podgorica” loathingly rejected claims by “Veseljko Koprivica, who filed numerous reports and charges with the state authorities against the club”. Claiming that the “pensioners' club was just a dump”, Veseljko wrote numerous criminal reports against the “prankish” pensioners for disturbing the public peace and order.

A few hours before the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*, on 21 October 2011, *TV Vijesti*, *Vijesti website* and their media satellites dramatically informed citizens that “journalist from Sarajevo Šemsudin Radončić” physically assaulted Veseljko Koprivica. Following the same scenario,

the following day's *Vijesti* published a picture of "thug" Šeki Radončić and frightened Veseljko Koprivica on the front-page, with a dramatic headline: ASSAULT: *I'll Beat You Up, I'll Kill You, I'll Make You Pay for it Till the End of Your Life.*

Once again, Perović's spin doctors amateurishly attempted to portray journalist, publicist, author of documentaries and war crimes investigator Šeki Radončić as a bully and potential killer, all in order to turn the public attention away from the film and towards the threat-exposed *Monitor* editor. In vain.

In the evening, *TVIN* showed *A Hero of Our Time*. The citizens of Montenegro were assured that Sloba Nacionale, a protégé and hero of independent but private, was just an ordinary crook and a liar. In an interview after the premiere, Darko Šuković asked me if I could assume how, having seen the film, Miodrag Perović and media under his control, who fabricated Pejović into a hero, would react.

– As far as I know them, and I know them very well, they will say: 'Do not trust your eyes, trust *Vijesti* and *Monitor*'. It is, after all, media mafia led by a professor of mathematics that we are talking about, and this team can be separated from producing and selling lies only by death.

ROTTEN TEXT ODOR

[ON HOW THE PERSECUTION AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF *A HERO OF OUR TIME* INCREASED AFTER ITS PREMIERE ON A MONTENEGRIN TELEVISION AND ON HOW THE “INDEPENDENT” OWNERS, EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS, VIOLATING ALL JOURNALISTIC CODES, SIGNED THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY TO A FORMER AMBASSADOR OF THE BUTCHER OF THE BALKANS, SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ]

The Montenegrin premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* on *TVIN* was, according to the viewing statistics, seen by more than a hundred thousand people. Unlike other media, Miodrag Perović’s corporate media gave no mention of the premiere, which is why *Pobjeda* noted that “the facts from the film caused silence” among Pejović’s counsels. It was exactly this silence that provoked *Pobjeda* to ask the Pejović’s media mentors to comment on the harrowing testimonies and facts from the film:

Milan Popović said that “this film presents nothing and is nothing”. It seems to me that there is a lot of repressed anger coming out of this guy. “I haven’t seen Radončić’s film”, said wiseacre Milka Tadić, while *Pobjeda* declared this statement a *Gem of the Day*. Editor Kočan took out his frustration over the publication of the truth about his blood-brother on *Pobjeda*, in which he made the first steps of journalism. *Pobjeda* of 24 October 2011 published a recording of a conversation with Kočan:

– Good evening, is this Mr. Kočan?

– Yes, how can I help you?

– Balša Knežević speaking, Mr. Kočan. I would like to ask you if you have seen Šeki Radončić’s film, *A Hero of Our Time*?

– Yes, I have seen the film, but am not giving any statements to *Pobjeda*.

– So, you do not want to give a statement to *Pobjeda*?

– I understand you, you’re doing your job, but I am not giving any statements to *Pobjeda*, because *Pobjeda* is garbage. I have nothing against you, but this is my opinion.

– All right Mr. Kočan, have a nice evening.

– Good bye.

Loser has the right to be angry but not to insult. If, by any chance, *Pobjeda* journalists referred to *Monitor* as garbage, they would be reported to national and foreign institutions for insults and hate speech.

After three days of running away from journalists, hero Slobodan addressed the public in *Dnevne novine*: “I will answer them when they get a bit more excited. I’m going to comment on the film in a press conference in a few days” promised Miško’s embodiment of the new Montenegro.

– Make sure he brings the three Bosniaks he saved to the press conference, said the author of this book, happy for the fact that the hero of his film, even though caught in a great lie, did not self-immolate in front of King Nikola’s palace, as he had promised. Pejović remained consistent: he never held the announced press conference, nor he ever mentioned the names of Bosniaks whom he had supposedly rescued.

And just when I started to hope that it was the end of my troubles, that Pejović’s mentors, after seeing the film, accepted the truth and decided to stop the assault on me, a new media stampede ensued. Perović’s biggest persecutor Željko Ivanović engaged in the persecution again. Leading the persecution line, Ivanović again put spurs to “a dead horse”. Immediately behind the director and co-owner of *Vijesti*, armed with new lies and deceits, rode Don Mikeli’s accountant from *Monitor* Miodrag Rašović. The two of them were followed by a whole media camarilla led by boxer Vlado Jovanović.

Adhering to the motto: trust *Vijesti* and *Monitor* more than your eyes, in the article *Who Is Pregnant?* (*Vijesti*, 25 October 2011), Željko Ivanović deals with my film and the rumors of pregnancy of a Montenegrin model.

“We are all relieved to officially hear that young Montenegrin model Jelena Š. is not pregnant, that Slobodan Pejović is not a hero of

our time, and that the media mafia led by the mighty mathematics professor is to blame for all the evil, from the 90s to today”, said the guard of Mikeli’s honor and a former counsel of Milo Đukanović.

“Information whether a model is pregnant or not is meaningful only to herself and a circle of her family and friends. However, if rumors get on the front-page, then I guess they probably have a more important dimension”, says Ivanović.

So, when yellow *Vijesti* or failed *Monitor* publish on their front-pages the rumors by their owners or journalists that someone was a thief, crook, gangster, or regime agent, or that a lady is pregnant, “then they probably have a more important dimension”. And when you spice up the rumors with Kočan’s motto “our interpretations are new facts”, what we get is a final product of independent lies factories.

Factory Bulletin journalist who made it to the versatile director and co-owner of the *Lies Factory* has proved to be an expert in documentaries as well:

“We haven’t seen such a propaganda crime since the time of Milijana Baletić, Perica Đaković and Ilija Guzina”, says this journalist of bulletin of the heavy machinery factory *Radoje Dakić*, “which, during the AB revolution, served as Milošević’s stronghold for destroying Montenegro”. It was Ivanović, not the author of this book, who was, just as Baletić, Đaković and Guzina, a Milošević’s propagandist, so it is not nice of him to plant Šeki Radončić with his and his fellow soldiers’ biographies.

Depicting me, Željko Ivanović, was drawing his self-portrait. I will take this opportunity to remind of Ivanović’s propaganda crime when he, as a correspondent of Milošević’s *Ilustrovana politika* launched a fierce campaign from Titograd against former Slobo’s political opponent Veselin R. Đuranović who had no children, accusing him to have used public money to buy his son a huge apartment in downtown Titograd. This is how propagandist Ivanović entered the history of journalist dishonor, side-by-side with Milošević’s monger that he was now unsuccessfully trying to frame others with.

The author of glorious nonsense “everything flows, everything changes, in the words of Marx”, renowned independent journalist and director of *Independent Lies Factory Vijesti*, went, together with equally reputable and independent journalist and director of independent weekly *Monitor* Milka Tadić, to the Municipal Electoral Commission in Podgorica to sign the presidential candidacy of former Milošević’s ambassador Miodrag Lekić. Thus, he closed a circle: Milošević’s young propagandist, a quarter century later, supported the candidacy of the Butcher’s ambassador for the president of Montenegro.

Is there such a case anywhere in the world, that directors of independent and objective media publicly sign presidential candidacies, even if the candidate is the greatest democrat, let alone an apprentice of Slobodan Milošević? I do not think so. Only the directors of independent but private, or rather party newspapers, such as present *Vijesti* and *Monitor*, can do it.

Apart from the signatures of Željko and Milka, Lekić’s presidential candidacy was supported by signatures of even more independent professor Milan Popović, a rebel with five state salaries, and even more independent writer Balša Brković. They urged citizens to vote Miodrag Lekić:

“I want my president to be a man who writes books”, explained Balša Brković in *Vijesti* his agitation for Lekić. Balša is not too concerned with the fact that Lekić does not recognize the genocide in Srebrenica, or the fact that he was defending Slobo’s crimes in Kosovo; for him, the only thing important is that Lekić “writes books”, it does not even matter what kind of books. The fact that, in one of those books, Lekić, looking up to Karadžić’s propagandists, accused Muslims for the Markale crime also does not matter.

When Lekić lost the presidential elections, “regime page-boy and regime agent” went to the official reception ceremony at Villa Gorica, marking the Montenegrin Independence Day, to kiss Master Milo’s hand. But, who would have thought it; it was not Šeki, but Žeki. His

shoulders bent and arms stretched out, mister Cigar was justifying himself to the master.

But let us go back to the persecution. By attacking me, Željko Ivanović depicts himself. In a poisonous text, *Who Is Pregnant*, in an attempt to deny the facts, which is a specialty of the media gang, Ivanović accuses Muslims arrested by Pejović saying that “they belong to a criminal milieu, that they are “planted witnesses” and that their statements were “counterfeit and coerced”. Hardly anyone’s stomach could take this.

Ivanović is also infuriated because, as he claims, “it is demanded that a brutally staged piece of work of a media agent and page-boy that is full of logical and factual nonsense is ultimately taken over by the Montenegrin prosecution office as a crucial proof that a single police officer was the principal organizer and perpetrator of the crime of deportation”.

Seller of lies Želimir, it goes without saying, never thought of specifying at least one “logical” or “factual” nonsense because it is redundant: his interpretations automatically become the new truth that refutes all the facts presented in my film. After all, it is the job of an “independent” journalist, as we already know, “to destroy the truth”.

“Style makes the man”. I will no longer take notice of the primitive insults published by “independent” mister Cigar in his private press in order to “give a more relevant dimension” to him and his rumors. The storm troopers in the mission of my moral execution failed it long ago. I will therefore only repeat that Pejović was the perpetrator, not the organizer of the war crime of deportation as mindlessly repeated by Don Mikeli’s and mister Cigar’s media gang, for he could not be the organizer due to a low position in the hierarchy. Still, people are held accountable even when they commit an ordinary traffic violation, let alone when participating in war crimes.

To end with, Don Mikeli’s partner cynically concludes: “Živa istina is what it is – we do not care about the love relationships of J.Š., it is important that she is not pregnant; it is also clear that Slobodan

Pejović is not a hero of our time, but a war criminal, and, we now know that Miško Perović is not a distinguished university professor and a promoter of an open society and European values, but the leader of the media mafia”.

The latter I confirm. I have nothing against the distinguished professor, but this is my opinion too.

“Whenever Željko Ivanović publishes an article, the amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere increases”, because “nothing smells like a rotten text”, says Andrej Nikolaidis in his article entitled *How Vijesti Turned into Chetnik News*”.

Through his disqualifying articles that breathe fire at the film, its participants and the author, giving guidance to other persecutors in this manner, provincial mogul Željko the Cigar confirms the great statement of Andrej’s, because the profession said something completely different about the film:

To begin with: with more than 1000 films competing, the *Association of Public Broadcasting Professionals INPUT* included “A Hero of Our Time” in the top 60 documentaries worldwide and showed it at the Screening Conference in Sydney on 10 May 2012. The award was granted for “extraordinary creativity, expertise and innovation”.

Secondly: the European Film Festival for Documentaries *dokumentART* included the film *A Hero of Our Time* in the official festival’s programme and showed it in November 2012. The festival is held in parallel in Germany and Poland, in Neubrandenburg and Szczecin, and films from the festival are then shown throughout the Euro zone.

Thirdly: *A Hero of Our Time* was shown on documentary film festivals around the world.

Lastly: a man who is very committed to lying does not forgive other people’s success. Other people’s success hurt Željko Ivanović more than his own failure.

ALFRED AND THREE UNGRATEFUL BOSNIAKS

[ON HOW A COLUMNIST OF MEDIA TYCOONS FORGES FACTS AND DEMONIZES TARGETS, AND ON HOW “PROMINENT” BOSNIAKS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MEDIA TYCOONS SIGN APPEALS AND PETITIONS IN WHICH THEY FORGE THE TRUTH]

A Hero of Our Time did not make Montenegrin nationalists too happy. They grumbled that the film made fun of humanity and bravery, although it is true that it made fun of Don Mikeli’s epitome of humanity and bravery, and that the controversy surrounding the film was very damaging to the Montenegrin anti-war movement. *A Hero of Our Time* is a universal story about false heroes and crooks, in which, not by my fault, Perović, Kočan, Popović and Ivanović recognized themselves. As for the controversy, I was drawn in it against my will, in order to protect myself from the attacks of independent but private ones.

Cheating and lying is not Montenegrin specificity, although, we must admit, Montenegrins tend to, more than others, exaggerate in the “interpretation” of their accomplishments. Since human naivety has no limits, swindlers are everywhere. Slobodan Pejović is, I reluctantly admit for patriotic reasons, an amateur for Samir Osmanagić from Bosnia. Pejović convinced Montenegrin public that he arrested and then saved the unfortunate Bosniaks, while Osmanagić, with the help of media and a hat à la Indiana Jones, convinced many in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and maybe half the planet, that in *Visoko*, a town near Sarajevo, there is a pyramid older and larger than the Pyramid of Cheops. Believing in his grand discovery, tens of thousands of tourists flocked to see the *Bosnian Pyramid of the Sun*, as Osmanagić called the local hill. Just like Pejović, Osmanagić received several awards for his achievement.

A Hero of Our Time debunked Pejović's fraud. In a thirty-minute documentary, *National Geographic's* expert team, led by professors of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, geologist Dougal Jerram and archaeologist Henry Chapman, made fun of the Osmanagić's discovery of "the biggest secret in the history of mankind". They said: "There are no pyramids built 12,500 years ago in Visoko, the rocks on the slopes have been formed naturally, and a miraculous substance that binds the rock is not cement as Osmanagić claims but calcite".

After the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*, the Montenegrin Jan Palach, after several days of silence, said that "the film was ordered", because he as the "crown witness" annoyed many people (probably by keeping silent about the masterminds and the perpetrators of the crime, Š.R.), and that, unlike the first film, in which "Radončić praised him", he was attacked in the second one by this "dishonorable person".

Still, do not expect Miško's hero to list at least one Šeki's praise on his account from the film, statements made by the arrester of Bosniaks whom the Seller of Lies turned into new Marko Miljanov are not verified but acknowledged.

The Bosnian Indiana Jones responded in the same manner: After keeping silent for a few days, he issued a statement saying that "the film about the Bosnian pyramids was ordered", because "many were bothered" by the fact that he, "Osmanagić, "was leading the discovery that would change world history".

"Unlike the first affirmative documentary that was made about the pyramids in 2009, this one takes a critical view. It is shameful to see whom the 'National Geographic' sent to Visoko" concluded Osmanagić. And it sent, once again, professors of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, geologist Dougal Jerram and archaeologist Henry Chapman. I fear that only an unscrupulous crook can look down at prominent world experts in this manner, as if from the Andes.

Bosnian media, who have supported Osmanagić for years, informed the public, without any hesitation, of the discovery of *National*

Geographic. However, in the case of swindler Pejović, the media under Perović's control failed to act as the profession required them. They started a fierce campaign against the author and the participants of the film. They never even thought of looking for witnesses from the film and verifying the grave accusations against Pejović "from the horse's mouth". Like *Dan* and his journalist Mitar Rakčević, to whom I gave the phone numbers of the participants of the film, did it.

Continuing to burn *A Hero* and its author in the long crystal night, *Vijesti* of 26 October 2011 published, on the front-page, a photo of their saint with an alarming headline: "*FILM: Slobodan Pejović Says that His Source Warned Him that His Life Was in Danger, since the Regional Organized Crime Wanted to Poison Him*".

Denying that "he arrested refugees that were extradited to Bosnia and Herzegovina", and saying that "after the film was shown he felt ashamed to go out on the street", unmasked Slobodan Pejović, with the help of *Vijesti*, attempts to draw the attention of the public away from his lies documented in *A Hero*, refocusing it on his own threats-exposure.

"From a trusted source, who has never tricked me, I got a notice in early June: 'Slobo be careful, regional organized crime has decided to poison you. I asked him how, and he said: 'Do not eat in restaurants'. Nowhere", says Pejović, without explaining what he did to run afoul of "regional crime" so badly that he now had to languish at home under house detention.

The arrester with a status of a saint made an error using this flimsy ploy in Don Mikeli's media: after the film, nobody reacted anymore to his statements on numerous assassinations and ambushes that he survived, or would survive.

The marathon campaign against the author of the film continued with the old hatred and new power in *Monitor* as well. Adhering to the motto "our interpretations are new facts", Esad Kočan put a photo of Darko Šuković and Šeki Radončić with a title *How to Install an*

Indictment against Slobodan Pejović on *Monitor's* front-page. What followed was an editorial *Crime Chemistry*, signed by Don Mikeli's accountant Miodrag Rašović, and finally, a four-page text by bully Vladimir Jovanović, *Time of Their Heroes*, in which he hits the truth just as he hit the kidneys of Veseljko Koprivica.

The accountant's editorial will be dealt with later. Adhering to Ivanović's guidelines, military analyst and budding film critic Jovanović simply re-used Cigar's disqualifications of the witnesses and the film author, as well as his old tricks and new charges, running around in circles and believing that the lack of evidence will not be noticed, as he produced new facts by recycling the already known. Therefore, I am not discussing his dilettante – defamatory text to debate with him, but as a new proof that media monopolist Miodrag M. Perović continues to lead the persecution by publishing texts from one in additional three of his media.

In the advertisement *In the new issue Monitor brings*, for three days in a row *Vijesti* published the front-page of this intellectually, morally, and financially destroyed weekly, with a photo of Darko Šuković and Šeki Radončić. Jovanović's piece of work is then published by *Vijesti* (30 October 2011), and *Vijesti* website, with a finely-tuned title: NEW EPISODE: *State vs. Slobodan Pejović*. Šeki = state? That does not sound too bad.

The demonizing persecution against Šeki Radončić would soon be joined by *TV Vijesti*. Yet, director Slavoljub Šćekić, otherwise an accomplished seller of lies, knew from experience that it was not good to be openly brutal in persecution, as his partners did it, so he resorted to more subtle methods. In his show *Načisto*, Šćekić's journalist Petar Komnenić expands the persecution against Šeki Radončić with two “most prominent Bosniaks” in Montenegro, Šerbo Rastoder who gave himself the title of the “President of Bosniaks in Montenegro” and Montenegrin Reis Rifat Fejzić. They would, in separate half-hour interviews, discuss other issues as well, but Perović's and satellite media would publish only the comments

about the film and Pejović, because this is what brought them to the studio with Komnenić. A few days later, Ferid Muhić, President of the Bosniak Academy of Sciences and Arts from Novi Pazar, which was formed by Sandžak Mufti Muamer Zukorlić, would join them.

Appearing on *TV Vijesti* (26 October 2011), President of the National Council of Bosniaks of Montenegro, Šerbo Rastoder, said that he personally knew Pejović and that for him he really was a representative of honest and heroic Montenegro: “I’m sorry that people do not recognize that in recent years the entire antiwar Montenegro is destroyed, this honest and heroic Montenegro... If the whole of Montenegro was supportive of the crime, then me and my people do not belong here... Someone is doing this on purpose”.

The suspect is, of course, Šeki Radončić. The mischief-maker, who, due to his anti-war activities, texts, films, and twenty-year investigation of the war crime of deportation, had his mother and wife shot at, his house thrown bombs at, his car demolished, and was now destroying, through the film and the controversy around it, the anti-war, honest and heroic Montenegro. This is stated by brave Šerbo, who makes Šeki a target. The same Šerbo who, at the outset of the war, wrote in Milošević’s, i.e. *Politika’s Odjeci i reagovanja*. The same Šerbo who, during the war, bravely struggled at the anti-war Chetnik’s Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, where he received a salary, and in addition wrote a column for warmonger Vidoje Konatar.

After the war, Rastoder got (from Đukanović) an apartment and *Trinaestojulska Award*, but the regime also gave him something that he didn’t plan: the final verdict of being a thief, that is, plagiarist. Namely, the Basic Court in Bar, acting on a complaint by Živko Andrijašević, found that Rastoder, just as unprocessed Pejović, had a tendency of stealing other people’s credit. Rastoder, the historian from Resava, appropriated and included into his book parts of “only” three Andrijašević’s works: *History of Montenegro in 55 Stories*, *The Historical Lexicon of Montenegro*, and *The History of Montenegro from Ancient Times to 2003*. I would like to thank the court for objectivity:

After Pejović, Popović, Pavlović, Kočan and Koprivica, Rastoder was the sixth persecutor against me to receive an official certificate for being a liar or a thief. Sometimes, tired of fighting, I cannot but wonder: What on earth have I sinned to have to struggle with such moral giants?

After Šerbo, TV host Komnenić invited Montenegrin Reis Rifat Fejzić to his show. Having cleared up the current events in the *Islamic Community of Montenegro*, Komnenić asked his interviewee a goal-chance question: “How do you feel about Slobodan Pejović?” The response came like a shot: “As a positive person, regardless of the fact that some people want to make him a villain now... Even if he did participate in a crime, he has made a significant contribution. People have the right to repent”.

Reis did not specify who was trying to make Pejović a villain: his victims and witnesses of deportations, or, perhaps evil Šeki?

Reis did not say what exactly was Slobodan's contribution, and to what? His substantial contribution to the arrest of refugees and his heroic contribution to keeping silence about the masterminds and perpetrators of the crime of deportation are well-known; Montenegrin public is not aware of any other contributions of his. Maybe Reis knows them but would not tell.

Families of the deportees heard of Montenegrin Reis Fejzić's statements, which were not in accordance with the statements of the Reisul- Ulema Mustafa Cerić, who advocated the prosecution of the masterminds and participants in the crime of deportation, including, of course, Pejović.

– Šeki, is it true that Montenegrin Reis Fejzić said on television that he viewed criminal Pejović as a positive figure, Jasenka asked me.

– No, I replied.

– Are you sure!? This is, after all, the Reis who never visited Herceg Novi. Do you remember when you publicly asked him to stop by in

Herceg Novi, the Montenegrin Srebrenica on his way to Srebrenica, and pray for our loved ones?

– I heard that he held it against me for a while, but Reis Fejzić is a God-fearing man, and did not refer to Slobo as a good guy. Even Karadžić's and Željko's Amfilohije wouldn't say such a thing, let alone Reis.

I was too embarrassed to tell Jasenka the truth: devil Miško took even Reis Effendi's soul!

So there you have it: Šerbo, whom the regime awarded with an apartment and *Trinestojulska Award*, and Reis Fejzić, whom the regime awarded with an apartment and a position, attack regime man Šeki Radončić at the television of the Seller of Lies, whom the regime awarded with a “specific contribution”, and it is all because of anti-regime soldier Slobo, whose two daughters were employed by the regime. The same Šeki Radončić whom Montenegrin regime sent into “voluntary exile” in Sarajevo.

(Yet, Reis Fejzić would soon realize whose party he joined. After a convincing defeat of Milošević's ambassador Miodrag Lekić in the presidential election in Rožaje, Plav and Gusinje, and the view of chauvinists that Reis Fejzić was among the ones to blame for such “decisive Muslim vote”, he became a target of Perović's media as well. In a text *Fejzić Took the Iftar Money and Forgot About It*, *Vijesti* of 7 August 2013 accused the Montenegrin Reis of organizing Iftars across Montenegro and “deceiving the guests and abusing the good will and the money provided by the UAE Embassy in Podgorica, by sending the Iftar invitations on his behalf instead of theirs”. Denying such writing by *Vijesti*, the Islamic Community emphasized that it was “appalled by the amount of hatred *Vijesti* expressed towards the Islamic Community and Muslim believers expressed “in a series of articles”, and that it would therefore “consider the request of a growing number of believers that the people of Islam are called to boycott this newspaper through a Fatwa – public announcement from the Islamic Community”).

In demonizing Šeki Radončić, Reis Fejzić and the “president” of Montenegrin Bosniaks, Šerbo Rastoder, would be joined by Ferid

Muhić, the President of Zukorlić's Bosnian Academy of Sciences and Arts from Novi Pazar. Perović really disposed of his resources generously: Muhić was a longtime Monitor's associate from Skopje. So, the last Perović's mercenary from the Monitor's payroll was involved in the media persecution against Šeki Radončić.

Zukorlić's academician started his text *Alfred and Slobodan* (*Monitor*, 11 November 2011) with an epochal discovery that "there were no two same stones in the world", continuing with an account of how certain Alfred Melarmeda, a Jew from Skopje, and two of his compatriots were "somehow toward the end of the war released from a Nazi camp by Erika SS guard, who ran away together with them... After the war, the camp inmate and the camp guard got married".

Continuing his story, Muhić says that Slobodan rescued three Bosniaks, philosophizing and making a parallel: "Erika won the greatest prize: the love and gratitude of the one she saved", whereas "the mercenaries of the real culprits want to deprive Slobo of the greatest and only award: respect and appreciation of Bosniaks, primarily those whom he saved".

I beg your pardon: tell us, dear Mr. Zukorlić's academician and dear Mr. *Monitor's* correspondent from Macedonia, the names of the Bosniaks saved by Pejović!? Perhaps their names are Šerbo Rastoder, Rifat Fejzić and Ferid Muhić? Or maybe Esad Kočan, Rifat Vesković and Ibrahim Čikić? And tell us, dear correspondents of dead *Monitor*, how could anyone possibly, even if they wanted to, prevent people from thanking the man who saved their lives?

Something was still wrong. Why did Miško's columnist entitle his article *Alfred and Slobodan*, when he could have opted for a much more appropriate and accurate title *Erika and Slobodan*? Studies have shown that many readers, for various reasons, tend to satisfy their curiosity with the information they reach based on the title, without reading the rest of the text. It is therefore interesting to see whether Muhić's article was written professionally, with a title accurately reflecting the facts, or it was a title misleading the readers.

The latter would mean that the author of the article and the editor of the newspaper were engaged in manipulative journalism.

Since we know the plot, let's see who the characters of Muhić's story are: Erika – SS guard, Pejović – hunter on Bosniaks, Alfred – a Jew released by Erika, and three unknown Bosniaks, allegedly released by Sloba the Hunter.

If we analyze the facts and characters from Muhić's ordered text, then the title should read: *Erika and Slobodan*, or perhaps, *Grateful Alfred and Three Ungrateful Bosniaks*. Yet, both titles have a small imperfection: if we opt for *Erika and Slobodan*, it would be just the same as writing *An SS Guard and the Hunter on Bosniaks*, which, we must admit, is wrong. If we opt for *Alfred and Three Bosniaks*, we are missing the names of three ungrateful Bosniaks who were saved by brave Pejović whereas evil Šeki forbade them to thank him.

However, looking at it from Muhić's, Kočan's and Perović's point of view, the title *Alfred and Slobodan* achieves its goal and sends an unmistakable message: *A rescued Jew and rescuer Sloba*. Thus, in this title we have rescued and rescuers, so we will be rude and ask: what is it that Erika and Slobodan have in common, and what is it that Alfred and three unknown Bosniaks have in common?

This is a blatant example of how to manipulate the facts. The amount of "creativity" in insinuating is another contribution to Miško's and Kočan's media contamination, based on the interpretations that produce new "facts".

Don Mikeli's associate Muhić from Skopje reveals who is the real culprit for deportations: "As it is well-known, the deportation of Bosniaks from all the territories over which he established his power, or the areas ruled by his allies and sympathizers, as in the case of Montenegro, were ordered directly by the supreme leader, Milošević".

There is no dilemma: respected investigator of war crimes Ferid Muhić competently found that Slobodan Milošević directly gave orders for the war crime of deportations to be committed. This means that the masterminds of the crime should no longer be searched for

in Montenegro. But, how could academician Muhić know this? Well, he read the *Vijesti* interview of the “crown witness” and a hero of his story, Slobodan Pejović.

At the end of this interview in *Vijesti* of 26 October 2011, Pejović reveals an interesting discovery that I have not realized for years: “It was the Supreme Defense Council of the former Yugoslavia that issued a decision on deportations”. Perović’s “crown witness” is true to himself: after blaming late Pavle Bulatović and late Damjan Turković for the crime of deportations, with two decades of delay, he shifts the responsibility to late Slobodan Milošević. And it is all in accordance with his life mission “to bring the real masterminds of the crime to justice”.

On the other hand, ignorant Šeki Radončić spent more than twenty years of his life under the misconception that this was an authentic crime of the Montenegrin authorities with which Milošević had nothing to do. He spent all these years believing that the masterminds of the crime should be searched for in Montenegro. Had Šeki written what Muhić and Pejović, i.e. Pejović and Muhić, claimed, Perović’s media gang would have torned him into pieces by feral horses, on charges that he was protecting the real masterminds of the crime, i.e. Milo Đukanović.

One way or the other, Perović’s propagandists used the academician’s article to patent another innovation in leading media persecutions – sending chain text messages.

“Hello,
read the excellent article by academician Ferid Muhić about hero Slobodan Pejović in the new issue of *Monitor*. Forward this message to your relatives and friends”

I was forwarded this text message by my cousin Rusmin Laličić, as well as by a dozen of friends from all over Montenegro. The chain text message, which does not advertise *Monitor*, which would be acceptable, but only Muhić’s persecution text, was sent on 11 November 2011, to a number of recipients all over Montenegro. Yet,

it was sent exclusively to Bosniaks, with a clear view to compromise Šeki Radončić among his compatriots. Šeki who stubbornly refused to kiss the hand of the Seller of Lies and 100% Chetnik, as proclaimed by Đukanović.

The introduction to this attempt of defamation of Šeki Radončić with three “serious” Bosniak figures was a petition by a *Group of Bosniak intellectuals and public figures* who protested “because well-known Montenegrin intellectuals (probably M. Perović, Ž. Ivanović, and M. Popović, Š.R.) were exposed, for a longer period of time, to gross public attacks, insults and slander, just because they consistently argued that the war crime of deportation of Bosnian refugees should be fully resolved”.

This hideous lie about Marko Vešović and Šeki Radončić was signed by Šerbo Rastoder, Esad Kočan, Husein Tuzović, Jakup Durgut, Aldemar Ibrahimović, Azra Jasavić, Atvija Kerović, Ibiš Kujević, Sead Sadiković, Faiz Softić and Ferid Šarkinović. They have deserved that their names are recorded for future generations.

It is really shameful to accuse Marko Vešović and Šeki Radončić of being against the full resolving of the crime of deportation of Bosnian refugees. Such an accusation could be made only by a person without honor. Because it was Šeki Radončić, not this handful of Don Mikeli’s half-anonymous, anonymous and poltroon buddies, who revealed, during his decennial research, when the action of deportation had commenced, how long it had lasted, when it had been completed and who had stopped it. Šeki also revealed the number of victims and survivors, found a vertical line of responsibility, found and saved numerous documents that were destroyed in state authorities, toured half the globe in order to find survivors and witnesses of deportations and record their confessions, recorded more than 100 hours of testimonies, etc.

If this group of “intellectuals and public figures”, led by “president” Šerbo, does not represent plain distributors of the Seller of Lies but a true conscience of Bosniak people, then it’s a tough world for Bosniaks.

LAMENT FOR ŠEKI

[THE MEDIA LYNCH TAKES ON DRAMATIC PROPORTIONS. IT IS A MATTER OF DAYS WHEN SOME LUNATIC OR RELIGIOUS FANATIC WOULD KILL THE AUTHOR OF THE FILM LIKE A DOG]

The media of the Seller of Lies started to openly criticize and give moral slaps to anyone not willing to join them in the sacred mission of the media execution of Šemsudin Radončić. Thus, Miodrag Rašović, Don Mikeli's accountant with the title of executive director of *Monitor*, used his editorial (*Monitor*, 28 October 2011) to strongly criticize passive Montenegrin-independence supporters, putting pressure on them "to get the courage and publicly engage" in the persecution.

Despite the fierce and filthy campaign against the author of *A Hero of Our Time*, in which he heavily used lies, deceits and hate speech, the Seller of Lies was eventually defeated. No true Montenegrin intellectual, whether a writer, scientist, academician, painter, director, or journalist, agreed to view Kesedžija's silver pieces and the title of *Vijesti* columnist as the measure of their own intellect and spiritual life.

Only quasi-intellectuals Milan Popović, Marko Milačić, Srđa and Koča Pavlović, Miško Đukić, Esad Kočan, Željko Ivanović, Milka Tadić and others can be at the top of Perović's pyramid of moral values. They play the role of conscience in Montenegro, as well as the role of the essence of moral purity, honor, humanity, education and intelligence, while in fact establishing Don Mikeli's media-mafia order, wrapped as universal human values.

Perović's public call to lynch the author of *A Hero of Our Time* was accepted by none of the three thousand NGOs in Montenegro. Thus, the Montenegrin intellectuals and NGOs, by not allowing the Seller of Lies to draw them into his cesspool, showed that there is some

kind of public opinion in Montenegro that rejected Miško's and Kočan's media contamination.

To make things even worse for the media mafia, after the premiere of *A Hero of Our Time* on TVIN, Srđan Kusovac opened the *Pobjeda* pages for Marko Vešović, an intellectual who couldn't ignore the injustice. Sharp Vešović would hit the Montenegrin evil as hard as he could. Then, a tsunami would hit the sellers of lies: in the pages of *Pobjeda*, Vešović and Radončić would write a book, *Miško Kesedžija and His Dogs /An Essay on Montenegrin Evil/*.

This book is a thorough destruction of M. M. Perović, his partners and quasi-intellectuals. We proved, and no allegation has been denied, that they are not moral authorities, as they present themselves, but ordinary moral midgets and swindlers.

While we were writing the book, I was very worried about Vešović's health. The heart of a poet, which already suffered a coronary, was susceptible to the earthly injustice than most mortals. It was hard for Marko to perceive the lowest insults and lies about him that were served by Perović and his media vultures. He couldn't sleep at night. He would often spray nitroglycerin under his tongue to bring down high blood pressure or slow down the heart beat. "Montenegrin poison will kill me", Marko used to say.

Although I have learned to be in the minority, and not being a poet, it was hard for me to perceive an unprecedented persecution, insinuations, insults, false police reports, chain emails and text messages. Each of their attacks brought a new pain in the stomach. I went to sleep every night in the mud that was thrown at me by the persecutors. They say that when painters close their eyes colors appear before them, when musicians close their eyes they hear sounds, and I would see an image of the Dog Handler with a pack of hounds right behind me. Sometimes I would also see an image of Perović's mob chasing me, throwing stones at me and trying to bury me alive. Yet, in the morning I would wake up with renewed strength to get the truth out into the open.

The yoke that the Seller of Lies and his intellectual underworld fit on me was even harder for my family to perceive. They particularly struggled with perceiving a grave that was dug for me, as well as my burial, writing obituaries... In vain were the explanations that the time comes when friends turn against you and that this was the moment when you could meet their true character, their malice, envy and jealousy, which you never noticed before, or you ignored while building a friendship.

The only thing important for the Seller of Lies and his partners was that their press and media convict me to a moral execution, which can sometimes match the physical one. The non-institutional trials and verdicts, without the right to defense and appeal, have become a specialty of Don Mikeli's inner cabinet for moral executions.

Although the creation of persecution atmosphere among Montenegrin intellectuals and in NGO sector remained ineffective, among uninformed people Perović's propagandists strengthened the hatred towards Šemsudin Radončić with each new media attack. This task was adhered to by Veseljko Koprivica. By (dis)informing the readers of Sarajevo's *Dani* (28 October 2011) about the Montenegrin premiere of *A Hero of Our Time*, in his article Koprivica points out that "comments on non-regime websites and media in Montenegro speak enough of the reception of Radončić's work".

So I took a look. *Javniservis.me* published dozens of fascist comments against Šemsudin Radončić, including decasyllabic poems. Because of the poet's giftedness and the artistic value of his poem, I present you one:

26 October 2011 – 18:10 at 6:10 pm

A lament for Šeki

Why are you
so sad,
who have you
addressed

your letters,
You remained,
dear Šemsooo
a traitor.
Why have you
become stiff
why have you
embarked on evil paths.
Don't Šeko
if you have honor,
leave Montenegrins.
We all mourn you Šeko
and cry our
eyes out for you.
Why have you Šekooo
raised your hand
knowing
you'll become a disgrace.

Following Veseljko's instructions, I checked the websites of various media as well. Some readers of *Vijesti website* are not very friendly towards the author of *A Hero of Our Time*, so they have concrete proposals to make:

• j.celebic | 04.10.2011 at 11:45h

I think this mujahedeen should be prevented from laying his foot in Montenegro ever again, let alone write.

Then again, the above comment can be seen as a democratic one compared to a commentator called "Mondeo" who published his comment on the website *SlobodnaCrnaGora.eu*, in which he said that "Radončić should be shot to death, with no right to appeal".

At Slavko Perović's blog, commentator "Kela" tells a story of how Miško Đukić brought some Roko Pajser in his show at radio *Free Montenegro*". Allegedly, this Roko described how "Radončić was a butcher who spent all of his time at the livestock market. He would

pick up a sheep and carry it behind his neck on foot all the way to Drpe Mandića, while the unfortunate sheep would piss and shit on his back. This is how Šemso would get to the butcher's shop, all messed up”.

I would also list a comment from website *TOPIX.com*:

- miki haker | Oct 25, 2011, Podgorica, Montenegro
YOU TURKISH MOTHERFUCKER!
BLOW US!

Influenced by unprecedented persecution, monstrous planting and public denunciation, V. Redžepagić, a Salafis (Wahhabis) from Plav contacted me on Facebook these days. He accused me, with a lot of insults, of attacking Muslim friends, independent intellectuals and the media, just because “my brother is Fahrudin Radončić, a friend of villain Milo Đukanović”. This illustrated that the link between “the independent ones” and Wahhabis worked well.

[A few months later, on 17 January 2012, Redžepagić contacted me again from Plav:

“Salam Alaikum, I have just started to understand certain things. The reaction to the writing of Nikolaidis by Pavlović (who is a close friend and follower of the people who attack you) began to open my eyes. And also, I was recently at a lecture of Marko Milačić, Milan Popović and some other people, and when I heard them opposing the independence of Kosovo, criticizing the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, befriending with Miroslav Lazanski, etc., I became to realize how wrong I was to listen to these people. So can I ask your halal. I'm sorry I addressed you in such a manner. I hope you will accept my apology. I will try, for my own sake, not to speak in the future about things that I am not acquainted with well.”]

Koprivica was right: the comments posted on extremist websites and the media of sellers of lies really did speak a lot of the reception of Radončić's work, but also of the disregard for basic standards of decency and civility, hate speech, insults, disqualifications, slurs, inciting violence, and directly calling to executions, not only moral, but physical one as well.

Powerful hate speech, which was daily dispersed by the independent but private ones turned into a sword for cutting off heads: the life of Šemsudin Radončić, whom Don Mikeli already dug a grave whereas his partner Željko Ivanović wrote an obituary, was literally in danger. It was a matter of days when some lunatic or radical would kill that scum like a dog.

FROM MIKELI TO DON MIKELI

[HOW THE HEAD OF THE „INDEPENDENT“ MEDIA THREATENED THE STATE PROSECUTOR AND HOW THIS POOR MATHEMATICS PROFESSOR MADE IT ALL THE WAY TO A MEDIA MOGUL AND THE CHIEF OF MEDIA COSA NOSTRA]

1. “SUPREME REGIME SERVANT”

Since I survived 32 media attacks of the independent media in a single month, “black October”, (see Appendix), after a long silence, the chief of the clan specialized in the production and distribution of lies performed a new defamatory act. Miodrag M. Perović was severely affected by *A Hero of Our Time*, as the story of Pejović’s false heroism at the same time presented a story of the lies of the independent ones, *Monitor*’s and independent mercenaries’ incredibility, as Kočan adequately concluded. As he still lived in the great delusion that facts could be denied and that interpretations can produce new facts, police intermediary Miško claimed that “one of Đukanović’s media special agents”, that is Šemsudin Radončić, “required the state prosecutor to arrest Pejović”, snapping back:

“Chances are Pejović will not be arrested, because the prosecutor may not feel as safe as the prosecutors during the communist era when arresting innocent people upon political orders. Communism was a world system whose longevity was hardly questioned, whereas Đukanović’s regime has entered a stage nearing its end”. (*Monitor*, 4 November 2011).

Don Mikeli, a sworn legalist and stubborn democrat, threatens the prosecutor by saying that she cannot interrogate and arrest his protégé, as they will otherwise be held responsible when Đukanović steps from power and his position is assumed by Don Mikeli himself!? It will, believe me, be a long-lasting and just system in

which prosecutors will be safe if they kiss the hand of Don Mikeli. In this happy system everyone will be equal before the law, but Miško will be more equal than the rest.

If the Montenegrin Special Prosecutor's Office was working properly, it would have prosecuted Don Mikeli long ago, giving him the opportunity to reveal, in a fair trial, the manner in which he became one of the richest men in Montenegro with modest salary of a professor.

If we read Perović's text more carefully, we will conclude that he is, in fact, not mourning his hero Pejović, but insidiously using him to threaten the prosecutor that, should she dare to prosecute Don Mikeli and his partners, she would be eaten by media cannibals on the heels. This tells us that Don Mikeli became seriously worried: Šeki Radončić ruthlessly tore his mask, and the prosecution office started to examine his bookkeeping, so the public had a chance to see the true face of media Cosa Nostra boss hidden behind the mask of a humble mathematics professor.

This was confirmed by the following fact: on the eve of the presidential election, in anticipation of Lekić's victory that, alas, would never happen, distinguished university professor and a "well-off little old man", Miodrag Perović, addresses Madame Prosecutor in the following manner:

"We are inevitably approaching the moment when the **supreme regime servant** will be held responsible for abuse of an official position" (*Vijesti*, 1 April 2013), stated Miško, angry that the prosecutor previously said that she expected an indictment "in the case of daily *Vijesti*, on the grounds of suspicions of stock market speculation by the owner, editors and journalists of the newspaper", as well as in the case of criminal activity and a connection between *CKB* and *Vijesti*.

Miško the Sicilian garnishes his open threat to "supreme regime servant" with comments of his partners and corporate special forces. Building on an ironic statement by Željko Ivanović that

“we now know that Miško Perović is not a distinguished university professor and a promoter of an open society and European values, but the leader of the media mafia“, which I cannot but agree with, hired intellectual Balša adds even more ironically:

“Is not Montenegro the only country in the world in which the main mafia boss is a university mathematics professor?” The author of this book would add “and a well-off little old man”.

Now we know how sad it is when a hired intellectual publicly wags his tail in front of his Master, defending him with an obvious switch of arguments: the mathematics professor is, in fact, a tycoon whose media empire operates as a mafia clan, whereas Mr. Balša is its prominent member.

A few months later, defending M. Perović and his sister Milka, Željko Ivanović crushingly states in a *Vijesti* article: “It is God’s injustice to prosecute a woman who was one of the leading figures of the Montenegrin financial system for decades just because she is a sister of a famous mathematics professor”. Silly me, I thought that she was prosecuted on charges of the Hungarian management of CKB, for approving loans without collateral, even to her brother and his partners.

No sane person would, of course, attack Miško the Sicilian over his profession of a university professor; he is attacked for criminal activity and anti-war profiteering. After all, “the famous mathematics professor” does not even hide the fact that during the war, when everyone was at a loss, he was making profit:

“My biggest anti-war profit is the establishment of a few media whose editorial policy is based on a system of values of European civilization, through which I have contributed to a transformation of not entirely insignificant number of Montenegrin citizens, including the president of DPS”.

Tycoon Miško has finally revealed the origin of his property: by transforming Milo Đukanović (from an opponent into a partner), he has become an anti-war profiteer with dozens, perhaps even

hundreds of millions of Euros. On the other hand, one gets the impression that Milo failed to master all the lessons of “the famous mathematics professor”: Miško used Milo’s money to create a media empire, whereas Milo financed this media specialist only to create a Frankenstein that could strangle him.

And now this Seller of Lies, who brutally tramples everything in sight, presenting himself as a democrat, humanist, philanthropist and everything else that he is not for years, uses his media power and attempts to frame me with his biography of a regime specialist.

2. FROM USED LADA TO AN SUV WITH TINTED WINDOWS

A few images related to Miodrag M. Perović are imprinted on my memory. They describe how Mikeli, as we used to sweet-talk Miško, became Don Mikeli. I will arrange these images and scenes as if it was a documentary about Miodrag M. Perović.

Image No. 1: In front of *Monitor*’s newsroom, university professor Miško hurriedly gets out of his worn *Lada*. At the time, the same model of *Lada* was driven by Momir Bulatović. Tovarisch Mišenka then hurries to Bobo’s office, to check on his finances, and then to the long-eared Kuta’s “intelligence division”, to check whether there are disputed texts, and to make sure that no Montenegrins from the top executive power are killed by our strong words. Then, back to *Lada* and quickly to the faculty.

Image No. 2: Miško pays his journalists miserable wages. During the war, the wages were in between 5 and 20 Deutsche Marks, depending on Miško’s assessment of who would tolerate it. The treasurer with a title of university professor had an unforgettable ritual: Miško would start complaining of decreasing circulation of *Monitor*, explaining that it was impossible for a newspaper to survive on the basis of sales, and that he was forced to beg for humanitarian aid in Montenegro

and abroad. As he is filling out the receipt form, humanist Miško breathes heavily. You couldn't be sure whether he felt sorrier for you or the money. After that, he would take out the money from his pocket, reluctantly and slowly. He gives the money but keeps the receipt.

Miško used to keep his money in four pockets. In the left pocket of his trousers, he would, for example, have ten Marks, in the right one 50 or 100, and in the back pocket 500 or 1000. I remember once, while paying out the wages, he reached for the wrong pocket and pulled out a thousand Marks. This was at the time when he was complaining and moaning like a beggar, saying that he had no money and that he was forced to sell his apartment in order for *Monitor* to survive. Still, Miško came up with an excuse promptly: "This is Milo's money. He gave it to me to keep it for him". (Milo is Miško's brother).

Miško was putting his apartment up for sale a hundred times, for us journalists, but he never sold it. Many years later we have realized why. The genius has found a much better solution: to preserve *Monitor*, he bought two tiny apartments from Aco Đukanović, in the center of Podgorica, and turned them into one, even more modest – having 435 square meters. This is where Miško could, if he wanted to, gather not only *Monitor's* journalists but all of its readers as well.

With a noble aim to ensure the publication of *Monitor*, and so weaken the regime, Mikeli also bought numerous properties in Kotor, Žabljak, Petrovac, etc. He also founded a savings bank, as he was not able to carry all that money in his pockets any longer. He wouldn't be able to do that even if his pockets were the size of a sack. This is how Mikeli earned the title of a Don.

Towards the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia, Miško and I were traveling to Slovenia, to attend an international conference of journalists. We went with his limousine, *Passat*. (With each "ownership transformation" of *Monitor* and *Vijesti*, Miško was getting richer whereas the journalists got poorer). As we drove to the airport in Skopje, where we would take the plane to continue to Slovenia, we

stopped at a café to have lunch. Miško asked me how much money I had with me.

– Some 500 Marks. I guess it will be enough for three days in Slovenia since all the costs are already paid for us, I replied.

– Don't worry Šeki, I have ten thousand, said Miško, taking out a bundle of banknotes from his pocket. I was calm. We had nice lunch. The waiter brought the bill, and Miško and I reached into our pockets.

– Let me get it Miško, if you pay the sky will fall down. I don't want you to begin to spend the ten thousand over a lunch.

– Ok, you can pay this time, and I will do it next time, said Miško, returning the money into his pocket.

No matter how hard I tried, I cannot remember whether Miško, during our stay in Slovenia, ever started to spend his money. But I vividly remember him telling me that begging in Ljubljana got him 20,000 Deutsche Marks from foreign donors “for *Monitor* and the journalists”.

Miško was, it goes without saying, getting more and more donations, while the journalists still received the same wages. This is what Miško is like: he was always saving on others, never on himself.

I also remember Don Mikeli's walks on Gorica and his quick steps. Miško devised the best plans on how to get money, power and authority while walking on Gorica. Every night, a five-kilometer walk. He has been doing it since 1990. Just as Kočan has in Tološka šuma.

As for myself, I admit it, walking never crossed my mind. At that time I slept with a gun under my pillow. After returning from a walk, Miško would often drop in the *Monitor's* newsroom. Once I asked him how he dared to walk alone on that dark hill in those difficult and dangerous times, knowing that people were killed, women raped, and boys beaten up there.

Be careful, Miško. Times are difficult. You are taking the same route every night so it is easy to make an ambush for you. They don't need

to kill you; it will be enough if a regime specialist beats you up. You see, I got my mother and wife shot at.

– I'm not afraid, Šeki. They would not dare. I am a walking institution and my murder would be a suicide of the regime, said Miško very seriously.

Many years later, at the time of the NATO bombing, when Montenegrin secret police members transported Miško the Independent across the border in a car trunk, as the greatest treasure, it became clear to me why fearful Mikeli was not afraid to walk alone on Gorica: Milo is Gandhi from Nikšić, and Miško is his sacred cow from Morača.

The most recent image is, of course, from a few years ago. The story takes place in Miško's large SUV with tinted windows. Don Mikeli was returning me a part of the stolen money, which he and his partners appropriated during the "ownership transformation". In the dead silence, disturbed only by the rustle of banknotes, Miško was deftly counting the money on a wide leather armrest. He was counting in thousands, placing the banknotes crossways. When he finished, he gave me a receipt to sign, then the money. According to the old custom of his, he kept my copy of receipt as well. I did not make a fuss of it: let me have my money, and you can have the receipts. We agreed that he would give me another ten thousand next year, when he and his pals collect the dividend.

– Are you going to sign this debt deal, I asked Miško.

– There is no need Šeki, we trust each other that much. We have been working together for twenty years. If Željko and Šćeka trick you, come to my apartment, I will give you the money. A debt must be repaid.

A year went by, the partners have "forgotten" the debt, and I had no receipt. Nor did I go the Miško's apartment to ask for money. Not because I forgave him the debt, but because I was afraid that some secret police chief would pop out of the police intermediary's closet.

604 DAYS ON THE WEBSITE OF HATRED

[ON HOW THE “INDEPENDENT” AND “PROFESSIONAL” MEDIA PLACED ORDERED VIDEO RECORDINGS FULL OF HATE SPEECH AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THE DOCUMENTARY THAT DEBUNKED THEIR LIES AND THEIR FALSE HERO ON THEIR WEBSITES, KEEPING THEM THERE FOR 604 DAYS]

In order to preserve his honor and reputation, the Russian journalist Vyacheslav Ledovski ate his own text, which he wrote two years before about the announced construction of a bridge in Krasnoyarsk, where he lived. As a journalist of regional *Bilder*, Ledovski wrote an article *Promises Are There To Be Broken*, in which he expressed strong doubts about the claims of the Krasnoyarsk region governor, who promised that the construction of a fourth bridge over the local river would begin before 2015. The journalist therefore promised his readers that he would “eat his words” if the construction of the bridge began before the given deadline. The construction, however, began much earlier, which put a careless journalist before a difficult decision: either to “eat his words”, as he firmly promised, or to “forget” the promise and thereby tarnish his honor and the honor of his profession.

Ledovski chopped up his text into pieces, added a bit of cream and ate it. He recorded his “lunch” and posted it on *YouTube*. One unhappy commentator wrote: “You should have eaten all the printed copies”.

What would happen if the Seller of Lies and his journalists and columnists ate all the texts in which they wrote lies about the author of this book!? None of them, from big Miško P. to little Miško Đ. would survive severe lead poisoning for more than three hours. Yet, since Don Mikeli and his journalists, i.e. persecutors, have no honor, they will never eat their texts and lies. They would, of course, use *YouTube* to further denigrate others, not to preserve their honor as they have none.

Here comes an example. To counter *A Hero of Our Time*, Generalissimos Miško engaged his communist Marko Milačić and Tito's granddaughter Svetlana Broz in the diversionary action of destroying Šemsudin Radončić. The two of them would record two propaganda works, fully incompatible with impartial and professional journalism, in which Šeki, it is needless to say, would be publicly lynched and exposed to the most primitive insults and hate speech.

In a strictly clandestine action, Marko Milačić, this journalistic scum and the pitcher of toilet paper rolls on the *Pobjeda* premises, made a private interview with Slobodan Pejović, that was supported by no media companies, not even Perović's, probably for fear of my potential lawsuit. A staged interview, full of ruthless insults, hate speech, and open threats to witnesses, was posted on *YouTube*, and within minutes, as if by command, assumed by all the "independent" media and websites controlled by Commissioner Miško. (*PCNEN, javniservis.me, slobodnacrnagora.eu...*)

Vijesti would publish parts from the "interview" on the whole page (19 November 2011). *Vijesti website* would keep the media garbage posted for ten days, with a recommendation: *The entire interview of Slobodan Pejović with Marko Milačić is available here.*

The video from *YouTube* was expressly taken over by Kuta as well, who published it on the website of *Monitor*, keeping it posted for nine months and eighteen days, i.e. from 19 November 2011 to 7 September 2012. Kočan's despair? Quite possibly. Only a person who knows that the persecution against Šeki made him a former journalist could think that this cloaca was doing him a favor for 292 days.

Within the blatant campaign against Šeki Radončić, demoralized propagandist Kočan would then replace rotten Pejović's interview on the website of *Monitor* with a new video clip of trooper Svetlana Broz. In the 30-minute recording, which Broz referred to as a documentary about Slobodan Pejović, entitled *The Deafening Silence of the International Community*, foreign stakeholders are called to support and protect Slobodan Pejović. From what and from whom

– they did not say, because the last time “someone” broke the side mirror on his car was a year and a half before this dramatic appeal.

In this completely failed attempt to save the reputation of the Hunter on Bosniaks, Popović, Kočan, Tadić, Koprivica and failed politician Slavko Perović appeared in front of the camera of Tito’s granddaughter, just as communist pioneers. Yet, Pejović is no longer praised as a police officer who rescued three unknown Bosniaks while participating in the deportations. The arrester has been pre-qualified as a crown witness and a victim bigger than all of the 85 killed Bosniaks.

Especially successful in jeering at Šemsudin Radončić and inciting hatred towards him was Slavko Perović, which is why he was brought there anyway. This hatred-distorted person again accuses Šeki of being ashamed of his name and falsely “presenting himself as a Montenegrin”, yelling at the camera as if in a trance: “Šeeeeemssuuuudiiin is a brother of Fahruuuuuudiiin Raaadoončić”.

One could tell that Svetlana Broz knew nothing about the profession and ethics:

a) this is a classic hate speech on the grounds of one’s “name and blood”

b) it is inhumane and very unprofessional to bring people of impaired mental health in front of the camera. It is a violation of the journalistic code on all grounds.

In Sarajevo, where she is temporarily engaged on the task of making money, Tito’s granddaughter is viewed as a plain fraudster by NGOs, film and journalistic circles. Although her film debut on Pejović, which had less than a hundred viewers, made Svetlana Broz, in her late sixties, a great hope of the Yugoslav documentary, she is still much better known by her nickname Immoral Humanitarian. This is how her son Ivan Golubović, a manager from Belgrade, called her in *Slobodna Bosna*.

According to *Slobodna Bosna* of 18 October 2012, Uwe Kitzinger (the gentleman with a leather blindfold over one eye from *A Hero of Our Time* who presented Pejović with the award for bravery) has resigned as president of the *Gariwo* board. “The main reason is that he did not want to let unscrupulous Svetlana Broz manipulate him any longer”. Whether the resignation of Kitzinger came after he saw *A Hero of Our Time*, I do not reliably know, but I did send a DVD of the film to him, as a hero of my film. According to *Slobodna Bosna* article *Svetlana Broz Good All the Way*, “the profiteer already received one million Euros within a single year from the Kingdom of Norway for her film projects about the good people in the time of evil”, including “the film about Slobodan Pejović from Montenegro”. Therefore, *Slobodna Bosna* again reminded that even the closest members of her family, including her son Ivan Golubović, turned their heads away from this lady:

“My mother is a great post-war profiteer and she is getting rich on the misfortune of a large number of people in B&H. She is lecturing them that war should not have happened in the first place. Maybe people in B&H cannot see it, because, as a great manipulator, she knows how to hide it. Through her manipulations, she solve all her problems and financially provided for herself for good ... What she does is so insidious and unscrupulous, says he in *Slobodna Bosna*.

In order to draw the public attention away from the writing of *Slobodna Bosna*, following the example of hero Pejović, Svetlana made up an attempted assassination on her. According to *Slobodna Bosna* of 20 December 2012, the unsuccessful assassination, as Broz wrote on the *Gariwo* website, was committed by nationalist individuals who “fired a burst of shots from an automatic rifle in front of her house”.

However, the officials of the Ministry of Interior, Canton of Sarajevo, have told *Slobodna Bosna* that Madam Broz made it all up and that no “assassination” was reported to the police.

“The last encounter of the humanitarian and sufferer with the Sarajevo’s police”, writes *Slobodna Bosna*, “occurred a few years ago,

but on a completely different, bizarre occasion. The humanitarian and fraudster physically confronted her neighbor, certain Lajla Almasuri, and the reason was the common intimate friend of theirs, Sulejman Đapo. For the sake of truth, Svetlana Broz had a number of other conflicts with her neighbors as well, but the police did not deem it necessary to interfere in the rural quarrels in settlement Miševići near Sarajevo”.

I might be accused of intruding the privacy of Tito’s granddaughter by quoting *Slobodna Bosna*, but it is an assassination on a member of Broz family we are talking about, which is certainly a matter of the broadest public interest. If the assassination on the Madam was attempted in the Independent one, where stories of survived assassinations are as successful as growing peppers in Zeta is, all the “independent” ones would be on their feet.

Although I am getting nausea from the punks participating in my media persecution directed by the Seller of Lies, I will deal with the risk-exposure of the main characters of Svetlana’s film as well. The absolute record for most survived assassinations in Montenegro was, until recently, held by Slobodan Pejović.

“Crown witness” Slobodan Pejović testified, pleased as a liar whose lies are believed, that he had survived three attempted assassinations, which he did not report to the police and for which no one else knew. However, Pejović was ousted from the throne by Slavko Perović. He said that he managed to survive “dozens of attempted assassinations”, including “seven organized assassinations”, the mastermind and organizer of which was well-known. Perović also did not publicly speak about these attempted assassinations so far, as he “did not want to spread fear among the people”. (Vijesti, 4 March 2013).

Svetlana’s documentary “cartoon” is really an unprecedented film: she survived one assassination attempt, Slobodan Pejović survived 3+1, Slavko Perović survived “dozens of them”, including “seven organized ones”, while Milan Popović survived two – a collective one, together with Željko, Balša and Šćeka, when they received a

threatening anonymous letter, and the second one attempted by the famous assassin – Šemsudin Radončić, who narrowly killed him with a guided text message. Likewise, Esad Kočan barely survived the same text message by the same author and assassin, and so did Veseljko Koprivica, whom that mercenary from Sarajevo attempted to execute with a deadly look from a cab. Milošević's reservist Koprivica, I will bet you anything, survived more assassinations than the record-holder Slavko Perović, while "liberating", with a rifle in his hands, Trebinje, Mostar and Dubrovnik and surroundings of unarmed locals. Still, he keeps silent about it out of sheer modesty, just as real heroes.

This "rarely seen group", as Popović calls it, of "brave and courageous people", survived a total of 15 + 1 + dozens + several assassinations, but did not report all of them to the police as they did not want to "spread fear among the people". Although not explicitly stated, it is reasonable to assume that all of these assassinations of these moral authorities were organized by the regime, which is especially true for those carried out by ruthless executioner Šemsudin Radončić.

Still, as a man who wrote four books about the evildoing of the Montenegrin police, I cannot but still firmly believe in the claims made in my book *Behind the Mask*, that the "executioners recruited by the Montenegrin secret police proved to be masters of executions". Therefore, as a serious investigator of actions of Montenegrin secret police, and knowing that my work will, in the words of Željko Ivanović, "serve the schools of journalism, historians, political scientists, sociologists and lawyers in the future", I have to ask: have the Montenegrin masters of execution turned into one-eyed older women who could not hit the target in these assassination attempts, or it was something else: the world has never seen such a small "group of brave and courageous people" and such big liars.

One way or the other, the new regional talent of the documentary film, pensioner Svetlana Broz, did not put her propaganda film about Pejović on the website of her NGO. Maybe because manipulated

Kitzinger had opposed it, or perhaps because the film was made solely for propaganda purposes of the Montenegrin media clan.

On the other hand, persecutor Esad Kočan, I will repeat, kept a private interview of Milačić with Pejović posted on the website of his newspaper for 292 days, although other media usually keep clips from *YouTube* posted for a day or two. Likewise, persecutor Kočan kept the persecution-jeering creation of Svetlana Broz posted on *Monitor's* website for 312 days, although, I repeat, she herself did not post it on her website. Thus, the website of *Monitor*, this Miodrag Perović's window of hatred, kept the persecution creations against Šeki Radončić, "a side character that we are not dealing with", as the biggest shame of the Montenegrin journalism Esad Kočan put it, posted for 604 days.

Through toxic hate speech, persecution and continuity, Perović's and Kočan's war against Šeki convincingly surpassed the infamous Konatar's creation *War for Peace*, which was in the windows for less than two months. This shows how Miško's and Kočan's media contamination devastated the profession and poisoned the Montenegrin public sphere, and reveals the inhuman methods used by the ideologist and creator of media crime Miodrag M. Perović and his clan. On this basis, one day a *Remembrance Day* should be established in Montenegro for all the victims of media persecution and crimes committed by "the independent ones".

PAPAK FROM PAPE AND SMRADONČIĆ FROM GUSINJE

[ON HOW “THE INDEPENDENT ONES” TRIED TO DISQUALIFY THEIR CRITICS WITH “CONTENTS” OF A NONEXISTENT BOOK BY A NONEXISTENT AUTHOR AND NONEXISTENT PUBLISHER, WHICH WAS SENT TO THOUSANDS OF EMAIL ADDRESSES]

In an effort to completely defame the author of the film and those who defend it publicly, Miško Kesedžija would commit a criminal offense: he would publish the *Contents* of a nonexistent book by an unsigned author and an unknown publisher, full of unimaginable insults and lies. The “Contents”, full of rubbish and hate speech, would be sent to hundreds, perhaps even thousands of addresses across Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, and their diaspora. It will also be forwarded to the editors of numerous media, government institutions, NGOs, academia, politicians, parliamentarians, ambassadors, human rights activists, intellectuals, and even companies.

In addition to Šeki Radončić, Marko Vešović was also targeted by this defamatory and illegal smear. Articles of the writer and university professor in *e-novine* and *Pobjeda* additionally debunked Don Mikeli and his praetorians, so even the ignorant began to realize that the campaign by Independent and Private sellers of lies against Šeki Radončić had nothing to do with information, guild, controversy, debating honor, or debates; it was about a persecution, personal hatred, and the desire to morally sentence to death the author of the film that went against the will of the media mafia.

That “opportunity turns detractors into criminals” is illustrated by the announcement, title and contents of the nonexistent book by a nonexistent author and nonexistent publisher:

COMING SOON! A BOOK THAT WILL BECOME A BESTSELLER
'PAPAK¹ FROM PAPE AND SMRADONČIĆ² FROM GUSINJE'

(Everything you did not know about Marko Vešović and Šemsudin Radončić)

FROM THE BOOK CONTENTS:

I

- Who is Marko Vešović?
- Why does Marko Vešović form his identity on maternal, not paternal traits?
- What do Sarajevo inhabitants say and write about Vešović?
- What did Sarajevo poet Džemaludin Latić write about Vešović?
- Why did Šemso Agović call Vešović a swearer with a degree?
- How come Vešović was anonymous for years in Sarajevo?
- How Vešović socialized with Radovan Karadžić?
- How Vešović received Četnik's money from Belgrade during the war?
- Why was Vešović concealing the fact that he was a regular correspondent of Karadžić's newspaper *Javnost*, and how Jevrem Brković reminded him thereof?
- How Vešović celebrated Matija Bečković?
- Why did Slavko Perović write that Vešović was a disgraceful traitor who wrote in Udba-like manner?
- What did Rifat Vesković say to Marko Vešović?
- Why Balša Brković wrote that Marko Vešović was the leading pen of Udba in Montenegro?
- Who did Marko Vešović insult in Montenegro?
- Why was Marko disowned by Vešović family?
- What did Novak Kilibarda say about Marko Vešović?
- Why did Vešović partner with mason Šemsudin Radončić?
- Who nicknamed Marko Vešović Papak from Pape, and Šemsudin Radončić Šemso Smradončić?

.....
¹ Weakling (T.N.).

²Smrad – stench (T.N.).

- Why does Vešović's book *A Spy from Piperi*, printed by *Pobjeda*, give no mention of the publisher, editor, year of publication...?
- Who are the five Montenegrin journalists and writers who tell Vešović how to jeer at innocent people in *The Voice of Čepurci* together with Radončić?

II

- Where was Šemsudin Radončić born and why is he lying that he was born in Podgorica?
- What is the opinion of Šemsudin's former friends from Podgorica Technical School about him?
- How Šemsudin Radončić used to carry plaster across Cetinje constructions sites?
- Who claimed that Šemsudin Radončić was a police spy?
- Why did Radončić use to bring his articles for *Monitor* to Podgorica Community Health Centre first?
- How Radončić “interviewed” Svetozar Marović?
- Why did Veseljko Koprivica sympathize with Radončić not to include Radončić's controversy with Ratko Knežević into his book “You Silly Academician”?
- Why did Draško Đuranović throw Radončić out of *Monitor*, only to become friends years later?
- Why did Radončić, Đuranović and Darko Šuković partner against the editor of *Monitor* and Slobodan Pejović?
- How Radončić hurt his back by carrying the collected works of Jevrem Brković?
- Who saved Radončić from being beaten up by Vladimir Keković, former chief of the Montenegrin secret police in Hercegovačka Street?
- How Radončić made his film *Carnival*?
- Why did Radončić and his crew flee from a Herceg Novi café, leaving their equipment as they run away from Božidar Vučurović?
- Who ordered Radončić to make another film about Slobodan Pejović, *A Hero of Our Time*?

- What lies did Radončić publish in *Pobjeda* and *Slobodna Bosna* about *Monitor* journalists and Miodrag Perović?
- Miodrag Perović about Šemsudin Radončić?
- Željko Ivanović about Radončić?
- Šerbo Rastoder about Radončić?
- What is the opinion of prominent Bosniaks from Montenegro about Radončić?
- Slobodan Pejović about Radončić!
- Why does Radončić pick his ears with a car key?
- Who financed Radončić's films?
- How Radončić's film *A Hero of Our Time* turned into a fiasco in Montenegro?
- How Draško Đuranović, Darko Šuković and Srđan Kusovac attempted to save Radončić after a fiasco of his film?
- What were the threats and insults that Radončić sent to Esad Kočan, Milan Popović, Koča Pavlović and Veseljko Koprivica?
- Who gives a 10,000 Euros prize to anyone who walks around Podgorica together with Vešović, Radončić and Kusovac in daylight while holding *Pobjeda*?
- What connects Fahrudin and Šemsudin Smradončić with brothers Milo and Aco Đukanović?
- Why could Smradončić brothers be forced to move from Sarajevo to their Gusinje soon?

I was sent this discharge by an unknown author for days, as well as by a dozen friends who forwarded it to me, shocked with how low Miodrag Perović and his persecutors could fall. The "Contents" particularly dismayed Bosnian Ambassador Branimir Jukić, one of the many who received this ton of garbage.

I wanted to know the identity of the unknown author or authors of this hideous text, not to deny the abominations written but to find out what moral creature could send such a stench in the air. I know who the mastermind was. He knows that I know. Nevertheless, I wanted to know which one of the persecutors authored this.

The sentences, style and approach to the topic of the author of future bestseller PAPAK FROM PAPE AND SMRADONČIĆ FROM GUSINJE reminded me of Veseljko Koprivica. The reservists announced, a few years ago, a vengeful “book about Slavko Perović” entitled *How I Wrote off the Liberal Alliance*, but did not go any further than the *Contents*, which he distributed to various addresses.

OK, Milošević’s reservist is a suspect, which does not necessarily mean that it was him who excreted the abomination, so I proceeded with the forensic analysis of the announcement and the “Contents”. I expected that the unknown author would insert some truth every now and then into all those lies, to make the whole thing more convincing. A few titles drew my attention instantly:

1. “How Radončić hurt his back by carrying the collected works of Jevrem Brković” – is the title that could lead to the author of the pamphlet. Who was present when I carried the collected works of Jevrem Brković? Veseljko Koprivica. Jevrem asked me to bring his bulky collected works to Marko Vešović and Abdulah Sidran. With a set he gave me, it was a full trunk, three times thirty bulky volumes. When Jevrem’s driver, late Srđa Vojičić, and I transported the books from his car into mine, Veseljko helped us. He knew that I had a herniated disk.

2. “Who saved Radončić from being beaten up by Vladimir Keković, former chief of the Montenegrin secret police in Hercegovačka Street?” It was Veseljko Koprivica, of course. He was with me when the former head of the Montenegrin Udba attacked me. I mentioned Keković in my book *Behind the Mask*, speaking of actions of the Montenegrin secret police. He was not happy with that so he stood in front of me, and trembling, began to shout that he could pull the trigger and kill a man in moments of anger. Since I knew that it was a well played Udba’s role, I told Keković “Do not scare me, please. I was not afraid of you even when you could really kill me, let alone now”. Then I took frightened Veseljko by the hand and took him for a brandy. He was looking at me as a hero.

When I put it all together, I was pretty sure that the author of the *Contents* was Milošević's reservist from the Dubrovnik battlefield and Miško's media sniper, but I needed further confirmation, so I proceeded with combing email addresses during the night. The author sent his *Contents* to two email addresses unknown to other Don Mikeli's persecutors and agitators: anilag@hotmail.com and salomsvjetlana@yahoo.com. These are private emails of the main editor of Avaz's weekly *Global*: Anila Gajević was the first editor of *Global*, and Svetlana Salom was the second one. Veseljko was a correspondent of the weekly from Montenegro. I told them to hire him, for humanitarian reasons.

The circle was closed: there was no doubt, the author of the propaganda pamphlet PAPAK FROM PAPE AND SMRADONČIĆ FROM GUSINJE was the reservist. Since the author of this book adheres Wiesenthal's motto: "We should not let criminals sleep peacefully", he sent the following email to the perpetrator of this media crime, in order for Veseli to spend the whole night rolling over in his bed like a Sarajevo's minced-meat finger:

Veseljko,
stop taking part in this abominable conspiracy, and stop dealing with dirty intrigues and sending hideous chain messages. If you continue this way I will ask thug Vladimir Jovanović to beat you up on my behalf this time.

Veseljko did not reply. He must have shriveled like a worm under a rock. This was another confirmation that he was the person I was looking for.

I sent the following email to the recipients (the ones I was able to get to) of the "Contents":

"Hello,
You would not have received this letter if I hadn't made *A Hero of Our Time*. As of the moment when I started filming it, a furious persecution was launched against me, which was expanded to include Marko Vešović too, for bravely standing up to defend me.

This list of obnoxious lies and insinuations was written by Veseljko Koprivica, a journalist-warrior, who used to spread greater-Serbian patriotism across Trebinje, Mostar and Dubrovnik with a rifle in his hand and a beard down to the waist.

Veseljko Koprivica is also the only journalist who has refused to testify against the criminal Slobodan Milošević, even though he attacked him in his articles courageously. I forgive him: Sloba would sometimes reveal dirty secrets of prosecution witnesses, so he could potentially ask Veseljko why he was promoted to a higher rank during the looting of Dubrovnik. Or, knowing how nasty Sloba was, he could have asked him: ‘how many civilians have you executed and how many buildings you demolished Mr. Sergeant First Class?’

Due to the accurate, precise, professional and humane writing, legendary journalist Veseljko Koprivica lost more than 20 trials. Still, this did not help him stop lying, so he transferred all of his movable and immovable property to his wife. He has only an ID card and a passport registered on his name.

Journalist delinquent V. K. is also the first journalist whose car was seized by the judicial authorities of Montenegro – to compensate writer Sreten Zeković from Cetinje, whom he slandered.

As a journalist different from all other journalists, Veseljko Koprivica likewise entered the annals of European courts and journalism. Namely, he was the first journalist whom the venerable European Court in Strasbourg issued a certificate for being a liar. The Court found that V. Koprivica published a lie when he wrote that there was a secret indictment of the Hague Tribunal against journalist Božidar Čolović and a dozen of his colleagues. Still, the Court found he was pronounced a too severe penalty (5000 Euros):

‘Koprivica did not do enough to verify the information before publishing it’, stated the rationale for judgment of the European Court. Of course, verifying information before publishing it never crossed Veseljko’s mind. Kočan’s deputy unconditionally sticks to the motto of his editor: “Our interpretations are new facts”.

In addition to its compromised author, the secretion entitled PAPAK FROM PAPE AND SMRADONČIĆ FROM GUSINJE also spoke of the fact that his desperate commander Miodrag Perović did not want to bury Šeki in the grave he had publicly dug for him any longer. He now wanted to scatter the remains of Šemsudin Radončić into a dozen graves. If it was up to chauvinist Miodrag, Šemsudin would share the fate of Mladić's victims from Srebrenica, whose remains are still being found in various graves, apart up to twenty kilometers.

IN THE JAWS OF THE MEDIA MAFIA

[ON THE PERSECUTION PARTICIPANTS, DISQUALIFICATION AND DEMONIZATION METHODS, LABELLING AND HATE SPEECH]

Continuing to mislead readers and knit a net of defamation, the seller of lies and hatred Miodrag M. Perović and his editors have wished me a Happy New Year with “only” three articles in the New Year’s issue of *Monitor*. In this celebratory issue, which should relax readers from difficult issues, editor Kočan, his deputy Koprivica and Milena Perović – Korać, a purebred offspring of Kočan’s media harem, spit fire at me.

Underestimating the intellect of readers, in an article entitled *Darkness*, Milena Perović – Korać turns the world upside down by senselessly arguing that the persecution is not led against Šeki Radončić but “against the owners, editors and journalists of *Vijesti* and *Monitor*”.

“All those who do not accept the regime’s version of the Bosnian deportations are targeted”, says Milena. “Bosnian”? This is really incredible. Had I died yesterday, I would have never learned that the refugees from Montenegro were deported by the Bosnian police and that Slobodan Pejović was an inspector of the Bosnian police. Or perhaps the semi-literate journalist of *Monitor*, while pretending to be smart, does not differentiate between “Bosnian deportations” and the “deportations of Bosnian refugees”.

Journalists can write whatever they want, no matter how stupid or nasty, but it is the editor’s role to notice and correct the mistakes. Still, we have already established that it was Esad Kočan who devised the motto “our interpretations are new facts”, so there is no one who could teach Milena how to write.

Yet, if Milena wrote her text with her head turned upside down, Esad Kočan, the undertaker of good old *Monitor*, wrote his text *Being Watched* from a dominant position:

“The persecution conducted by the regime media organization in Montenegro and Sarajevo has become so extensive that it would not be a surprise if Pejović was officially declared the only person guilty of deportations”.

Pejović, of course, was not declared guilty of deportations at all, nor was he prosecuted for his participation in this war crime. The regime protected its “crown witness” who, behold the absurdity, as a prosecution witness, testified in favor of the accused! This is how justice has been served in the opinion of the regime, the Seller of Lies and the Hunter on Bosniaks.

In the same issue of *Monitor*, Kočan published an article of his deputy Koprivica, *A Personal Country*. The Sergeant first class shelled me and my family just as he used to shell Dubrovnik once upon a time, constructing a grandiose lie that I made the film about Pejović only for my brother to buy *Pobjeda* cheaply: “Raise two fingers all of you who still not see the reason why the regime media organization invested so much efforts to silence and disqualify Slobodan Pejović”, wrote the gifted writer of police reports.

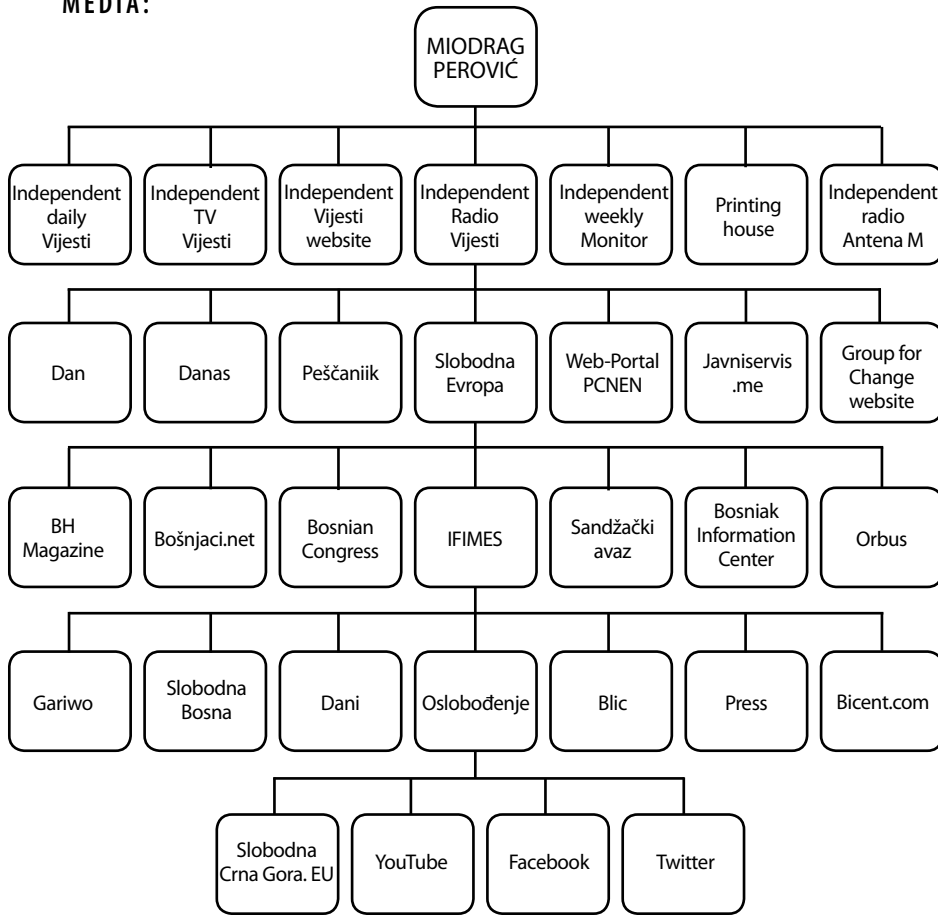
Right. Regime media organization really did invest great efforts and demonized Pejović in three articles within the same, New Year’s, issue of a newspaper. The thing is, I do not know which newspaper. Likewise, Radončić bought *Pobjeda*, but I do not know which one.

It was editor Kočan, doped with hatred, who first used the disqualification “regime media organization” in the New Year’s issue of *Monitor*, while his deputy Koprivica only plagiarized him. Kočan would sometimes take over the views or information from the articles of his journalists, publishing them as his own in his editorial, published in the newspaper’s front pages, so that readers would get the impression that it was journalists who took over editor’s views and information, not the other way around. Therefore, Veseljko referred to Resavac Kočan as Double-Dealer.

Kočan's New Year's accomplishment has inspired me to make an inventory of the persecution in 2011. Thus, during the New Year's Eve, instead of celebrating, I was making a recapitulation of performance of Perović's persecution gang.

In order to illustrate what it looks like when you find yourself in the media mafia jaws, I split the evidence into several fields and created the following scheme:

MEDIA:



Scheme No.4

Thus, the media executioners engaged, directly or indirectly, **28 (twenty eight)** media in the persecution against Šemsudin Radončić: *ID Vijesti, Vijesti website, TV Vijesti, Radio Vijesti, Monitor, Dan, javniservis.me, website of the Group for Change, slobodnacrnagora.eu, Slobodna Evropa, Danas, Blic, Press, Peščanik, PCNEN, Sarajevo's Dani, Slobodna Bosna, Oslobođenje, Gariwo, BH Magazine, Bošnjaci.net, Bosnian Congress, Ifimes, Sandžački avaz, Bicent.com, Orbus*, numerous press agencies, *YouTube* and social networks *Facebook* and *Twitter*.

The media octopus spread its tentacles from Podgorica to Sarajevo, Belgrade, New York, Canada... In these media, Šeki Radončić was attacked, in original or quoted texts, **145 (one hundred forty five)** times in 2011. Because of my duties related to filmmaking, and because I live in Sarajevo, I was not able to find out the real number of all the media and persecutors directly or indirectly involved in my prosecution, so the actual result can only be more devastating than the one presented. Since we are talking about dailies, websites, weeklies and videos that were kept posted online for months in the windows of Perović's media, this means that Šeki was wearing the yoke of the Seller of Lies with the most hideous labels every single day in 2011!

PARTICIPANTS OF THE PERSECUTION:

In addition to the supreme commander Miodrag M. Perović, the participants of the persecution against Šemsudin Radončić were: Željko Ivanović, Slavoljub Šćekić, Mihailo Jovović, Milka Tadić, Esad Kočan, Veseljko Koprivica, Vladimir Jovanović, Milan Popović, Koča and Srđa Pavlović, Miodrag Rašović, Duško Vuković, Šerbo Rastoder, Ibrahim Čikić, Rifat Vesković, Slavko Perović, Slavica Brajović, Milena Perović-Korać, Ferid Muhić, Nataša Novović and Svetlana Broz. The persecution was also joined by those named Đukić, Nedović, Šarkić, Radošević, Komnenić, Tuzović, Durgut, Ibrahimović, Jasavić, Kerović, Kujević, Sadiković, Softić, and Šarkinović who, without any provocation from my side, jeered at me.

The first, largest, most persistent and most dirty team of Don Mikeli's persecutors are the people from his payroll in *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *TV Vijesti* and *Monitor*. They are the pillars of Perović's media tyranny. The little gang that presents as independent journalists has introduced media terror in Montenegro. Human dignity means nothing to these people. They are specialized in public lynching and creating false biographies for themselves and others. They tend to steal other people's credit, while framing other with their own biographies and dirt, based on the hype and Kočan's motto "our interpretations are new facts". They are people who lead a double life: rich boy Miško pretends to be a pauper, factory journalist and partner Željko pretends to be an intellectual, *Monitor's* undertaker Kočan pretends to be a great editor, while Veseljko pretends to be a professional journalist...

The second echelon of Perović's media troops consists of his columnists and independent but private intellectuals. They are compensating ignorance and incompetence by noise (an empty bucket rattles the strongest) and moralizing. No Pope, Patriarch or Reisul-Ulema who talks so much about moral and honesty as the Seller of Lies and his independent mercenaries. If he continues this way, Don Mikeli could become St. Mikeli. He will, if there is God and justice, be allocated a cell in which he will pray for forgiveness for a long period of time.

The third team is led by independent shooters from various websites. Some of them have even been promoted into columnists and interviewees in Perović's media. This is the intellectual and moral residuum, the rock bottom.

THE METHODS OF DISQUALIFICATION AND DEMONIZATION:

publishing articles full of lies, tricks and hate speech; organizing funerals and digging graves; writing obituaries, death certificates and laments; holding funeral dirges; throwing into the grindstone of the "independent" media; false reports to the police; placing own labels in other media under the phrase of "as reported by"; publishing

statements that were not made; advertising persecution articles through text messages; sending chain messages with the *Contents* of a fictional book full of hate speech; writing offensive decasyllable poems; spreading gossip and intrigues by Don Mikeli's whispering division among foreign embassies, editorial offices, events, pubs...

One of the most perfidious methods of moral demolition of Šemsudin Radončić was engaging Nebojša Medojević, Koča Pavlović and Rifat Vesković in his public lynching. This is how the Seller of Lies and his manipulative media tried to create the impression that Šemsudin was not only against the “independent media” and “independent intellectuals” but against the opposition as well. Had this been successful, it would have served as another proof that Šeki Radončić was working for the regime of Milo Đukanović. “His brother was Milo's friend” anyway. However, Miško's and Kočan's media contamination had a limit, a bar that they could not clear: the truth.

LABELS AND HATE SPEECH:

You Šeki are a moral prostitute,

Šeki died,

a regime agent,

a regime media agent,

a regime character,

a regime special agent,

a chief regime special agent,

a hyperactive and multimedia regime soldier,

an accomplice in crime,

a defector,

a pimp,

an informant,

a page-boy,
the last legion,
a regime media organization,
hyperactive twins as regime agents,
Podgorica-Sarajevo-brothers-twins-Đukanović's cartel
Đukanović's post-war dogs...

The maniacal and mindless repetition of labels, insults, hate speech, monstrous fabrications, etc. – present a tool of those who are desperate and who have no evidence against me, as their own hatred eats them as hydrochloric acid. There is an attempt to compensate for the lack of arguments and facts by labels and their numerousness. Since they have no citation, sentence or text on the basis of which they could compromise me, the persecutors would jointly stick to disqualifications and hate speech. This, of course, is a feature of losers.

In addition to open, Don Mikeli and his persecutors used associative hate speech as well, where, for example, they would not mention the name of the target, as in the earlier texts, but would “draw” it: “regime agent who made a film about Pejović, hyperactive twins as regime agents, regime media agent who makes ordered films, regime special agent who has made two films about Pejović...” Thus, the people with no shame would serve their readers their labels attached to We Know Whom.

Continuing my lynch, the persecutors would also use connotative hate speech: by selecting the titles (“Radončić mislead the public”, which suggests he is a liar and a fraudster), targeted selection of photographs (showing Šeki Radončić caught in an “awkward moment”, in which he resembled a thug), or selective choice of interviewees and authors of texts (only those who would speak and write negatively about Radončić) – they would create a negative image of the target of media lynching. This is totally opposite to all the rules of the profession; a fall into a cloaca.

ARREST THE WRITERS

[ON HOW THE "INDEPENDENT COLUMNISTS" BOMBED A RIVAL NEWSPAPER WITH ROLLS OF TOILET PAPER AND BURRIED A READER OF THEIRS, AND ON HOW THE ATTEMPT TO FALSELY ACCUSE AND ARREST TWO WRITERS WHO WROTE A BOOK ABOUT THE MEDIA MAFIA IN MONTENEGRO FAILED]

Just as the previous year which was marked by public scourging of Šeki Radončić because of the film *A Hero of Our Time*, the beginning of a new one would generally be marked by public tantalization over the book *Miško Kesedžija and His Dogs /An Essay on Montenegrin Evil/*, written by Marko Vešović and Šeki Radončić for *Pobjeda* readers.

This book is about the anti-war profiteers, media mobsters and bullies, their plundering of their colleagues and journalists, the stock market manipulations, tax evasions, brazen manipulation of public opinion, persecution of people, media killings... We did not publish everything we knew about the masters of truth in Montenegro in this book, but only what we could prove in any court with documents and witnesses. This exactly is why the main protagonists of our books and their media legions failed to dispute a single line or fact that we wrote about them. Through this book we grappled the Montenegrin media Saddam, Miodrag Perović – the most powerful, most wicked and the greediest covert dictator in the Balkans.

To prevent the release of our book, presenting a mirror of Don Mikeli's media tyranny, his specialists for events for the people organized a rally in front of rival *Pobjeda*. Throwing rolls of toilet paper on *Pobjeda* premises and using the most vulgar forgery created through quoting out of context and the book, Perović's specialists, whose job is to frame, falsely report, sue and pronounce public judgments, engaged in a futile effort of compromising the book and its authors:

“Piss, suck, blow, shit, dog, bullock, fool, idiots, carcass, snake lizard, moron, hounds, ass, pig, scoundrel, hogwash, easy lay, bastard, punk”, said the poster brought in front of *Pobjeda* by *Vijesti* columnists, Marko Milačić and Filip Kovačević. So, with the help of toilet paper pitcher, the Sellers of Lies brought our book of 123,000 words down to a dozen.

During their idiotic spree, two corporate columnists and toilet paper pitchers buried a reader of *Pobjeda*. Not the owner, not the editor, not the journalists, but a reader of another newspaper, which is mindless. Can you imagine *New York Times* columnists throwing toilet paper rolls at the *Washington Post* building, or burying its readers at the entrance to the building? I will bet you, they would not end up in the police but in the first psychiatric clinic.

The reader died of “over-consumption of *Pobjeda*”, said bereaved “doctor” Milačić, a columnist of *Vijesti*, whose circulation we brought down, which Miško the Undertaker considered scandalous, making him take a mad attack at *Pobjeda* readers who, it is implied, would have to read the tabloid of four sellers of lies if they wished to stay alive.

Milačić reminded that “in the early nineties *Pobjeda* was war mongering”, but Miško’s little imitator Miškov forgot that it was *Pobjeda* where he made his first journalist steps, that he was brought up with the money coming from *Pobjeda* and that his father Dragoslav, called Đuća, was eternalized in *Pobjeda*’s warmongering volume *War for Peace*, as one of the authors thereof.

The orgy of Don Mikeli’s inquisitors in front of *Pobjeda* premises was preceded by a media introduction in *Monitor*. A lady, who does not know that lying is not lady-like, states the following for the dead newspaper: “A special regime unit consisting of Marko Vešović and Šemsudin Radončić are throwing around untruths and insults for quite a while”.

Milena Perović-Korać was helped by *Monitor* journalist Predrag Nikolić, who is just like hospital food, odorless and tasteless: “With

Kusovac's and state approval, Marko Vešović and Šemsudin Radončić scatter traitors in groups every week... The commando-regime trio defends their homeland while not saving curses and insults...”, Nikolić writes down and Kuta dictates.

The one to go the furthest was Nikolić's ordered collocutor Koka Pavlović. Perović's moral cop and Vijesti columnist argues: “Until recently Šarić clan was the co-owner of *Pobjeda*, but now they will be replaced with Radončić clan, and there is no significant difference between the two except for the fact that Šarić brothers have been debunked while Radončić brothers have not. Still, time is working against them, and that is not consolation but the truth”. (*Monitor*, 2 March 2012)

The truth is quite different: Radončić brothers did not purchase *Pobjeda*, while Fahrudin, having passed all domestic and foreign checks, became the Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, Šemsudin was writing a book about moral freaks of the Seller of Lies, cocaine dealers and consumers from *Debela berta*, who are now trying to frame others with their biographies.

Podgorica's chronicler Ilija Zlatičanin described how public flogging used to look like in old Montenegro. Following the decision of the tribal captains, the act of flogging would take place in the most visible place in a village or town:

“First, drums would beat, and then a gypsy would walk across the town, wearing a bench, while another Gypsy would follow, serious as an official, with several switches in his hands. Next to him was a cop”, while “the people would curiously run around, crowding, inquiring and fussing”.

Once the Gypsy would place the bench to a specific location, continues Zlatičanin, the cop would order the victim to lay down on the bench. “Now the Gypsy would start switching while the cop would count the hits. It was a terrible act... There were some people privileged with the Gypsies, because it was them who determined

the severity of switching. I had the opportunity to see Gypsies who were merciful, switching the victim lightly. Then again, sometimes they would switch savagely”...

Koka Pavlović is Miško’s “Gypsy with switches”, who savagely switches all those placed on the bench of shame by his master. Miško’s thug had already tried to frame me with the criminal offense of endangering lives by text messages, but this was nothing compared to the framing he attempted now.

Accusing Šeki Radončić and his brother of being drug dealers who took over the job of infamous Šarić brothers, as the latter have been debunked, is not just a brutal attempt of their criminalization, but also an attempt to frame them with the criminal offense of drug trafficking. Such an abomination can only be stated by Miško’s thug, a mental freak on which one could study the anatomy of hatred. Excuse me if I am too personal: as it can be seen, the thug from Durmitor would have made me and my family a small Srebrenica.

Trying to prevent the release of our book at all costs, Miodrag M. Perović sent a female inquisitorial team to attack as well. Accusing us of having committed a tremendous moral and criminal offense, five censors of the Seller of Lies – Milka Tadić Mijović, Milena Perović-Korać, Svetlana Broz, Sonja Radošević and Tanja Pavićević – addressed an open letter to Montenegrin Prime Minister Igor Lukšić with a following demand: that he initiates a criminal proceeding with the prosecution office against Vešović and Radončić “for breaking the law as well as for gender and beliefs discrimination, to which we are exposed for a long time”.

To prove that it was a “language which incites hatred towards women”, Milka Tadić Mijović and her fellow censors offered a “proof”:

“In a series of articles, inter alia, the following qualifications were used: ‘scum’, ‘a whore in pants’, ‘hogwash’, ‘goose’, ‘Internet shooter’, ‘rut hut’, ‘dog in a skirt’, ‘whore from Morača’, ‘blew it’, ‘nothingness’, and so on”.

I have to return to Kiš again. They tried to discredit and humiliate him in a similar manner, attempting to bring his controversy texts down to nothing but vulgarity:

“Since the street gossipers are illiterate and since their food are phantoms, while all of their communication is oral, for the street gossipers do not read – there is always someone to interpret for them, some Bulatović or Pigeon, who speaks for them or on their behalf, now these street gossipers are, along with journalists-failed-writers, appalled at my ‘way of expressing’.. Of course, none of them wanted to know what was the subject matter in the first place and what this gentleman (Pigeon) tried to do with my book, none of them were concerned (because the assassination failed) with the fact that the investigator attempted to execute me morally; the street gossipers were just appalled at the fact that I, in what was a polemical rebuttal, used a motto – saying in which a pig is mentioned!”

“And although I”, continues Kiš, “in my humble opinion, replied gentlemen slanderers and detractors quite modestly, I mean very mildly compared to their crimes, they still felt insulted at the moment when they realized that my moral execution would go a little harder than they hoped , at the moment when they saw that there – still! – was a public opinion that is not owned by their media.”

Kiš was, however, dealing with writers, unlike Vešović and me who stepped in a pile of Perović’s failed journalists, self-proclaimed intellectuals and miserable slanderers.

“Using such a ruthless forgery, the Seller of Lies and his five censors would bring Kovač’s work *The Elite Worse than the Crowd* down to these expressions: “stupid cunt, smoking cunt, scoundrels, liars..” Whereas the brilliant Rabelais’s novel *Gargantua and Pantagrue* would be brought down to: “goose, shit, fart, anus, shit-eaters, shittards, long and large genitorities..”

I will quote a dialogue from *Gargantu and Pantagrue*:

– How now, said Ponocrates, you swear, Friar John.

– It is only, said the monk, but to grace and adorn my speech. They are colours of a Ciceronian.

Or to what would Don Mikeli's inquisitors, preventing the writer from writing, bring down a collection of short stories by Charles Bukowski, *Notes of a Dirty Old Man*, which he wrote in his column in the *Open City* newspapers? To the following: "dick, cunt, anus, hardened piece of shit..."!?

In order not to further upset Don Mikeli's purists, I will not quote Henry Miller, but I will the *Sixth-Grade Reader*. In it, to the horror of the "independent" censors, in a passage from a novel by Elizabeth Zeller, there is a phrase "real shit":

"This is artistic freedom. Great literature is inherently subversive. The 'posh' literature for children, which we had in schools so far, has long become obsolete in European education, and we are following the new trends", explained for *Vijesti* the Editor for Language and Literature at the Institute for Textbooks of Montenegro, Nađa Durković, replying to a remark by two parents that it was vulgarity. The moral police of the Seller of Lies apparently believe that the Montenegrin public is not at the level of the sixth grade of primary school, but of a kindergarten.

What is not vulgar in the book for eleven-year-olds is very irritating to a former waitress from New York, Milka Tadić, who was catapulted from this post to the position of Director of *Monitor* by Željko Ivanović.

As the Prime Minister Lukšić refused to follow the order of five women saints and arrest the writers and editors of *Pobjeda*, because he thought that "media writings are within the competence of self-regulatory bodies and not the Government", the four ladies have filed criminal charges "against Pobjeda and persons responsible" – for "committing the criminal offence of racial and other discrimination" by publishing articles of Marko Vešović and Šemsudin Radončić.

Tanja Pavićević refused to sign this imbecile lawsuit, which can be seen as a brave act of opposing the manipulations of the Seller of Lies.

She left *Vijesti* a little later, while the prosecution office dismissed the lawsuit of four lying ladies as unfounded.

The action for the arrest of two Jacks the Rippers from Sarajevo was joined by Đukanović's cigarettes scandal lawyer, Milan Popović. The propaganda megaphone of the Seller of Lies claims that "Milka Tadić Mijović, Milena Perović Korać, Sonja Radošević and Svetlana Broz are these days defending, in front of the government, prosecution office and court, the best and noblest in human nature and history – truth, freedom and justice". (Monitor, 4 May 2012). In his opinion, Vešović and Radončić have compromised the truth in their book in which they presented the truth about the two media mobsters and their servants. In this way, Milan returns compliments to Milka. The Montenegrin Joan of Arc, as we know, stated that anyone who did not like Popović's *Oklop* was "Milo Đukanović's agent". Still, the detector of regime agents has a small problem: the rumor has it that in the meantime Popović himself stopped liking this scribbling of his, and that he would have changed many things in it.

Disgusted by the manner of our expression, Popović was accompanied by persecutor Novica Đurić, through a comment published in *Vijesti*: "I could not show my head and scream so as to be heard on all sides, at least on both banks of Morača, when I read the list compiled by journalists – two ladies, mothers, wives and sisters, Milka Tadić Mijović and Milena Perović Korać, and what was published in various articles in *Pobjeda*", says the Yugoslav Army reserve lieutenant, former editor of the fascist *Glas Crnogoraca* and ultra-nationalist *Dan*.

The Milošević's army reserve lieutenant with a wounded heart ends his comments with an interesting suggestion:

"Those who edit *Pobjeda* must change the concept of the column 'bites people's hearts' so as not to have to change the positions of letters B and D in the title (in the newspaper's name, Š.R.). The solution to Đurić's rebus is: *Podjeba*¹.

.....
¹ *Podjebavati* – vulg. give someone a hard time (T.N.).

As there is no morality in Don Mikeli's entourage, and since their "interpretations are new facts", Milka Tadić appealed to the Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms in Montenegro, Šučko Baković. Still, he could not meet her demands: he refused to ask for a ban on the publication of our unseemly work based on fabricated charges and twenty words pulled out of the book of 328 pages.

Don Mikeli's male and female inquisitorial platoons never thought of writing, for example on a billboard in front of *Pobjeda* premises, or in their commanding addresses to the Prime Minister, some of the terms that very specifically related to the honesty of their owners. For example: "Media racketeers, thieves of shares, deceivers of readers, thieves of international donations, tax evaders, anti-war profiteers, monopolists, manipulators..." This is another proof that our book is not about vulgar language, but about vulgar facts that are presented to readers. And let me reiterate, Miodrag M. Perović and his persecutors never disputed a single fact.

Still, this did not prevent them from continuing to throw dust in the eyes of their readers. Thus, a year later (Monitor, 22 March 2013), Perović's pitcher of toilet paper rolls Marko Milačić expanded the list of words taken out from context by shameless planting that Vešović and Radončić "disclosed the details of alleged love affairs of women from the public arena". This, of course, is an unprecedented fabrication.

By this text of M. Milačić, Don Mikeli's persecution against me has entered its third year. That is no news of course, but there was something new: a few days later, tabloid *Vijesti* published a tape recording of a sexual act between Miroslav Ivanišević, President of the Senate of the *State Audit Institution* and an unknown female, as well as a video recording of Ivanišević buttoning up his shirt and putting on his pants. Thus, *Željko* published absolutely authentic "details of an act of love", while thinking that he would discredit me and Vešović with his lies that it was us who dealt with such idiocies in *Pobjeda*.

Lies are short-lived, however: in its report (March – April 2013), the Media Self-Regulation Council (MSC) assessed, referring to Ivanišević scandal, that “it was the first time in the history of the Montenegrin journalism that the public was so explicitly informed about the privacy aspects of a public or political figure, and that in this context, it was unprecedented”. The Media Council “also stated that Marko Milačić’s text entitled ‘Hit Hard’, published on the *Vijesti* website and daily *Vijesti* on 2 April, **made the Montenegrin journalism hit the bottom in provincial abuse of privacy** of a couple of famous Montenegrin politicians. In a ‘transcript’ of imaginary telephone conversation between Prime Minister Đukanović and Ivanišević, real names of several well-known Montenegrin politicians were mentioned, with many distasteful, inappropriate and highly inadequate details concerning their private life”. (This is, as you can see, another wonderful proof that Perović’s journalists and columnists frame others with their own trash and biographies).

This is how Marko Milačić, Perović’s private columnist, intellectual, and “journalistic bottom”, who threw rolls of toilet paper at colleagues of his and his father, entered the lexicon of the Montenegrin journalist dishonor by provincial abuse of people’s privacy.

Requests of Perović’s moral police for the arrest of two writers and throwing rolls of toilet paper at rival *Pobjeda* would of course appear tragicomic, if they were not concealing the media mafia plan to use toilet paper to shut the mouths of all those who were intending to write a single word of truth about the abuse of media and shady dealings of Miško the Sicilian and his partners, let alone a book.

CLAY PIGEON

[ON HOW AS MUCH AS EIGHT ARTICLES AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK WERE PUBLISHED IN THE "INDEPENDENT" MEDIA IN A SINGLE DAY, AND ON HOW HE WAS FALSELY ACCUSED OF UNLAWFUL CARRYING OF HANDGUN]

In the next issue of its weekly, Don Mikeli's media mafia expressed its dissatisfaction with the refusal of the state authorities to follow the orders of the media Cosa Nostra and arrest Vešović and Radončić. Kočan created the *Monitor* cover (27 April 2012) by crossing out the word *Peace* from Konatar's warmongering volume *War for Peace* and writing Milo instead.

A person cannot escape from oneself. In his volume *War for Milo*, in addition to the cover, editor Kočan, i.e. Perović's ventriloquist, published four more persecution texts against Vešović, Radončić and *Pobjeda*. If journalists are, by definition, 'watchdogs of society', then Dog Handler Miško turned his journalists into pit bulls ready to defend his suspiciously acquired empire to death, relentlessly tearing to pieces anyone whom the master frowns at.

In the editorial, *Master's Salvation Army*, Veseljko Koprivica complains about the regime and "special forces from Sarajevo", who unreasonably accused his bosses of being criminals. He completes his editorial with a cry: "In vain, it is all in vain, just as it was in vain for them when we were starting our struggle for independent and European Montenegro in 1990". Veseljko's struggle for European Montenegro began, as we know, with savage attacks on Dubrovnik.

In the article *War for Milo*, Milena Perović Korać, whom Kuta tutored to the perfection in lecturing on morality and honesty, spits fire on *Pobjeda* on three pages, for writing negatively about *Vijesti* and its owners. In a text entitled *State Violence* by the editorial office, the labels about Vešović and Radončić spreading hatred and violence

are repeated again. The framework for Kočan's persecution volume *War for Milo* is set by Vladimir Jovanović and his article entitled *Fabricating Charges against Pejović*. The legend below Pejović's photograph says: THE TARGET OF GOVERNMENT'S LABELS AND ŠEMSUDIN-LIKE WITNESSES: Slobodan Pejović. The targets of this jeering article were the witnesses of heroism of "the target of Government's labels" and the author of the film, Šeki Radončić. The reason: Montenegrin prosecutors interrogated witnesses appearing in *A Hero of Our Time*. All of them confirmed what they said in the film, designating Pejović as a brutal arrester who took people to their deaths and a false savior. This infuriated Pejović's media mentors, who rode on Ivanović's disgusting lie that witnesses in the film were "paid, fake and manipulated".

Monitor's volume *War for Milo* is more than a Kočan's self-portrait. It testifies of the phenomenon of Miško's and Kočan's media contamination, clearly showing that the Seller of Lies, his partners, editors, columnists and sycophants resemble each other like rabbits.

On the same day when Kočan's persecution volume *War for Milo* appeared on newsstands, *Vijesti* published two articles against me, which were then quoted by *Vijesti* website. In the first one, Đukanović and Radončić Threaten the Government of Montenegro, an anonymous author mindlessly lies that Radončić brothers are threatening the Government if it refuses to sell *Pobjeda* to them! It is very important for Miško to have as many persecutors as possible, and the fact that this unsigned idiot claims that Šeki Radončić, whom they declared a regime agent, threatens the very same regime is completely irrelevant. Blinded by hate, mathematician Miško quarreled with logical thinking as well.

In the second *Vijesti* article, Đilas and history, academician-plagiarist Šerbo Rastoder says, out of context and with no real reason, that "friends ask why writing about academic topics in a time when society invests so much in the promotion of a 'collection of rumors and statements of gossip from Pape and mister Poirot'". Although we documented everything we said about Rastoder in our book, he declared all of it just a gossip.

So, three media of the Seller of Lies published as much as eight texts against Šeki Radončić and seven against Marko Vešović in a single day. In addition, there was an advertisement for Kočan's volume *War for Milo* taking up a whole page in *Vijesti*. (I am not counting *TV Vijesti* shows to which I have not managed to come). This clearly illustrates the vulgar and primitive persecution of Don Mikeli's media gang against the two writers, showing that:

Miško's media contamination + Kočan's media contamination = Konatar's media contamination.

Monitor would repeat its personal best on 8 June of the same year. The editor of the hate speech reactor and the creator of monstrous motto "our interpretations are new facts" would publish four texts against Radončić and three against Vešović in the same issue of the newspaper: *Black International* by Milena Perović-Korać; *Cash Machine* by Veseljko Koprivica; *The Return of Hate Speech* by Boris Raonić and *A Suspect as the First Policeman* by Muhamed Bazdulj.

Same story, same manipulations, same lies.

The persecution would continue in *Monitor* of 4 May 2012 as well. Koprivica and Popović would shoot Vešović and Radončić with new hatred and worn-out labels, while newspaper issue of 11 May would serve Balša Brković to wag his artistic tail in front of master Miško, labeling the master's opponents:

"Do you think anyone in Montenegro (where the boss of everything is very well known) believes that mafia is led by a university professor? Does anyone really believe that people in Montenegro clash with Đukanović to become rich? It is known what pays well in our homeland – love for the dictator, not criticism. I see from communication with people that even DPS activists do not believe all this propaganda nonsense of a journalistic-poetic-udba circle...," says Don Mikeli's court writer.

Balša has revealed how to become a millionaire in Montenegro: by selling love to the Dictator. His master, otherwise a poor mathematics professor, also had to take this hard road to richness. Thanks to Balša,

there are no secrets anymore. We have finally discovered the origin of property of tycoon Miodrag M. Perović: he came to all that money by selling love to the Dictator, whom he loved to the last Euro. It was only when the Seller of Love became enormously rich, that he bit his master and began to lecture others about honesty and morality. Today, the Seller of Lies, as a media dictator, buys and pays for love, while Balša is undoubtedly very ready for providing this type of services.

Continuing the persecution, *Vijesti* of 19 May 2012 published an “attitude”, *The Twilight Zone*, by Miško Đukić. In the article, Đukić describes how he wanted to put me behind bars unsuccessfully, by paying numerous visits to the police, prosecution office and the courts, on charges that I wrote that it was him “PERSONALLY” (!?), not the head of the secret police, who interrogated me in the apartment of Miodrag Perović, and that “Šemsudin has a gun”. If this “gun goes off”, says scared Đukić, it would be as if he was “shot by the police and the court”.

Miško, i.e. Milo Đukić is, as stated in the book *Coup '89* by Branko Vojičić and Veseljko Koprivica, a “person known to the police, convicted for violating the Law on Public Peace and Order”, and a bully who seized the microphone from the hands of the President of Montenegro, Božina Ivanović, on the steps of the Montenegrin Parliament.

Milo Đukić is the sixth media soldier of Miodrag Perović who had tried to criminalize me, to portray me as a dangerous bully and a potential killer. Before Đukić, as we know, this was attempted by Pejović, Popović, Pavlović, Kočan and Koprivica. Still, with Đukić’s text the persecution against the author of this book crossed all the lines, even in the Montenegrin media casemate of Miodrag M. Perović who, unable to morally bury Šeki Radončić, uses convicts and thugs, encouraging them to lynch me, which shows how low he sank. The Seller of Lies thought Šeki Radončić was just another clay pigeon that he would be able to break into pieces with a single shot.

PEN AND BLOOD

[ON HOW PRIVATE MONTENEGRIN MEDIA CONFIRMED THE RULE THAT NEWSPAPERS CAN KILL BOTH, FLIES AND HUMANS]

After promotion of *Miško Kesedžija and His Dogs*, Don Mikeli's persecution against me was expanded with fully committed Slavko Perović. The political corpse and alive badmouther gave five interviews in twenty days, in which he heroically jeered at me, sticking labels from his dark world on me. This is how two people with the same surname and of the same mental state – Miodrag and Slavko – engaged in the common task of morally killing Šeki Radončić.

The first to interview Slavko Perović, a person obsessed with Šeki and many others, was *Monitor* journalist, Marko Milačić. The interview was made for *Belgrade's Press* (21 May 2012). The interview was full of suggestive questions, lies and insinuations, which is not surprising for a journalist who threw toilet paper rolls on his master's competitor. There was also an abundance of answers full of vulgar judgments, insults and hate speech, which is not surprising for Perović.

“Šeki who hid his real name Šemsudin for years, to hide and present himself as a Montenegrin”, repeats Perović in the interview like a parrot. Slavko was prone to lying from before, but since one's faults tend to become more visible over the years, he has become a mega liar and one of the media mallets of Miodrag M. Perović in his old age. It is easy to catch such Slavko choking on his own lies as in a quagmire. In each of my five books (*Black Box*, p. 144; *In Private*, p. 195; *Behind the Mask*, p. 182; *Black Box 2*, p. 184; *Fatal Freedom*, p. 171), I signed myself as Šemsudin, although it is my basic human

right to sign me and feel how I like, I would certainly not ask Slavko Perović for permission in this regard. The failed politician, thus, lies that Šemsudin Radončić was hiding his real name, to present and sell himself as a Montenegrin. “For years”? There is nothing we can do to help: Slavko simply has to lie, just as he has to close his eyes when sneezing.

In addition, Slavko called me Šeki for years and my nickname never bothered him. Now he is shamelessly accusing me of falsely presenting myself and selling as a Montenegrin. Who is buying Montenegrins today, making it worth to represent and sell as a Montenegrin? Slavko would not tell us. But I can read between the lines: by yelling “he is Šeemsuudiin” Slavko warns the public that Šeki is actually “a convert worse than a Turk”. Šeki can therefore refer to himself as he wants to, but for Slavko, he is a second-class citizen. Full stop. Slavko and the persecutors are in fact only tightening the yellow ribbon attached to me by the newly fledged nationalist Miodrag M. Perović, when he first chauvinistically cried, “he is Šemsudin!”.

Nouveau fascist Slavko repeated his accusations that I was selling as a Montenegrin in *Vijesti*, in two video messages of 10 and 11 June 2012. On this occasion, a recommendation was posted for readers of the *Vijesti website*: “Take a look at footage of 8 June 2012 made for documentaries of *NGO Gariwo*”. They are referring to, let me remind you, the video made by Tito’s granddaughter Svjetlana Broz, posted on the website of *Monitor*, full of Slavko’s hate speech aimed against the author of this book.

Three days later, persecutor Perović would repeat his chauvinist insults from *Press* and *Vijesti* in *Slobodna Bosna* (14 June 2012). Perović began the interview by saying that “Đukanović killed Montenegro when he separated from Milošević, following the orders of Washington”. No comments are needed; it will suffice to write it down. Lest we forget.

While jeering at me, S. Perović and the “independent” media have viciously attacked Božidar Jauković, a police officer from Herceg

Novi, whom they have been referring to as Đukanović's hitman for months, without any verdicts brought. Jauković, unfortunately, did not survive the media lynch and hell that the Wreck and the media mafia have put him through. A few months later, on 12 March 2013, he committed suicide in his apartment.

It all began in a Herceg Novi café, on 6 June 2012. Perović was in the company of two friends: Herceg Novi resident Vaso Marić, famous for a nurtured beard to the waist and waving Serbian flags on matches between Montenegrin water polo clubs, and another man. The merry group soon got into troubles: a heated barroom fight between sharp-tongued Perović and a man at the next table ensued. To protect himself and her husband, Danijela Vasiljević from Switzerland, pregnant at the time, called the police. Soon, members of the riot police came, whom Perović, as stated in the police statement, began to insult and curse.

Then, according to the statement, drunk Perović hit officer Jauković in the chest with the outside of his hand. Jauković retaliated and pushed Perović who staggered and fell on the stony ground... At the hospital it was found that Perović sustained a fracture of the right eighth rib.

From hospital, Perović accused Jauković of being Milo Đukanović's hitman, who had tried to kill him. With such a verdict, Perović's persecution against Jauković ensued in the private media. The "independent" journalism, based on the rule of "our interpretations are new facts", i.e. brutal redrawing the facts, led to people being proclaimed murderers in the media, without killing anyone.

Under tremendous media pressure, Jauković was suspended, and a few months later sentenced, by a judgement *nisi*, to four months in prison "for exceeding of official authority". However, since he could no longer endure the hell that Perović and private media put him through, desperate Jauković, six days after the verdict, committed suicide in his apartment. He left behind his wife and two children.

Vijesti have never introduced their readers to the official confirmation of the Ministry of Interior that Jauković committed suicide. On the other hand, *TVCG* informed its viewers of the reasons that led Jauković to suicide: “Jauković was under great public pressure. The incident with the former Liberal Alliance of Montenegro President Slavko Perović cost Jauković his job, family peace and life.

Thus, *TVCG* has become a target of private media snipers. Irritated by *TVCG* audacity to talk about the reasons of Jauković’s suicide, *Monitor* concludes that the *Public Service* “intentionally and brutally overlooked what must be said”: that “Perović was a victim in this clash”, and that *TVCG* joined “permanent campaign against Slavko Perović”! One cannot but remain breathless in front of these words. Excuse my anger, but one should really be a media villain, which is undoubtedly the case with *Monitor*’s editor, to be able to publish such an abomination written by the pitcher of toilet paper, Marko Milačić.

Jauković’s suicide only confirmed the saying that newspapers can kill both, flies and humans. Terrible persecutions and campaigns and Miško’s and Kočan’s public opinion contamination have created an environment in which Jauković saw suicide as the only way out. It’s a new corpse in the closet of Montenegrin private media and a confirmation that pen and blood go together. After Mladen Brajović, Božidar Jauković became the second victim of the media cannibals in Montenegro. He too, unable to cope with the daily sensationalism of private pistol-journalism and the ferocious media trials and convictions without the right to defense, took his own life.

That a man can be killed not only by newspapers but by electronic media as well is confirmed by the case of Deputy Special State Prosecutor Darko Đukić. Unfortunate Đukić died after suffering stroke in his office, on 18 March 2013, after, as evidenced by his colleagues, someone from his family or friends told him that *TV Vijesti* attacked him in its primetime news program *U pola sedam*, and that he was on Don Mikeli’s media hit list, just as his boss, “the supreme regime servant”, Ranka Čarapić. The man just grabbed his heart, and was taken to the hospital, but he could not be saved.

Yet, the unscrupulous persecutors, who jointly chase people to death and then pretend to be the persecuted ones, sleep the sleep of the just. They are waiting for a new day and new victims whose life they will destroy for a little profit and a few more sold copies of the newspaper. They will destroy not only their life, but the life of their children too.

TWISTED REALITY

[ON HOW MONITOR PUBLISHED FIVE PERSECUTION ARTICLES AGAINST THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK IN A SINGLE ISSUE AND ON HOW HIS ARREST WAS DEMANDED AGAIN]

I. NEW FABRICATIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT ONES

The media hornets of Miodrag M. Perović continued to attack me in July, August, September and October. In November, they marked the two-year anniversary of the permanent campaign against me with a ghastly photomontage on the cover of *Monitor*, Perović's tool for degrading people. Boro Krivokapić, Darko Šuković, Draško Đuranović, Srđan Kusovac and I were represented as puppets managed by Milo Đukanović from behind the scenes. The photomontage was equipped with a headline: *The Twisted Reality: Bullies as Victims* and the title: *Živa istina and Other Lies*.

This is Perović's favorite way to annul the facts that are publicly stated about him. The reason for the cheap photomontage and an unsubstantiated accusation that we are bullies was the fact that Boro Krivokapić was interviewed by Darko Šuković in *Živa istina*. Criticizing the lack of professionalism and unprecedented persecutions of the "independent" media, Krivokapić stated that "dirty words always precede dirty actions". In addition, Krivokapić said a pure truth that "behind dirty media there is dirty capital and dirty ideology", alluding to the capital behind *Vijesti*, which in recent years largely came from the Greater-Serbian nationalist centers from Belgrade.

Instead of challenging the allegations made by Krivokapić, a brutal reprisal of the Seller of Lies, his partners and security guards ensued. Krivokapić, as Đukanović's puppet, found himself on the cover of

Monitor for the views he expressed, Darko Šuković got there because he hosted the show with Krivokapić, opening space for at least a short break in the media blockade in which the “independent” media hold Montenegro; Draško Đuranović got on the cover because he condemned the persecution against Krivokapić in the private media; Srđan Kusovac got there because of Perović’s monopolistic showdown with the competitors, and Šeki Radončić ended up there as the centrally positioned puppet, because he “was making up that he was a victim of media violence”.

The text was authored by Milena Perović-Korać, and the *Monitor*’s cover by Esad Kočan. We already know that these two media delinquents hate facts as much as their master Miško the Sicilian does.

Let us have a look at how Šeki Radončić “perversely twisted reality” and how he decided to start “making up that he was a victim of media violence”:

In two years only, Perović’s weekly *Monitor* attacked me **66 times in 102 issues**. Persecution works of Marko Milačić and Svetlana Broz, full of brutal lies and insults against me, were kept posted on the website of *Monitor* for a total of **604 days**. In a single issue of *Monitor* (8 June 2012), **five persecution articles were published against me**.

As shown by the autopsy of dead *Monitor*, the persecution against Šeki Radončić in this newspaper was conducted by the owner, director, executive director, editor-in-chief, deputy editor-in-chief, all journalists and columnists of that Perović’s weekly. Such a thing was not recorded even in the era of the most rigid communism, Milošević’s events for the people or Konatar’s war *Pobjeda*.

In addition, *Monitor*, *Vijesti*, *Vijesti website*, *TV Vijesti* and its satellite media attacked me at least **209 times** in two years only, over my film and book, as evidenced by the statistics in the appendix of this book. Still, Perović’s most loyal servant says I decided to start making up I was a victim of media violence. Had my persecutors sent me flowers 209 times in two years, I would have got tired of it already, let alone

the fact that they bombed me and my family members 209 times with lies, slander and libels. Unfortunately, these statistics would be even more destructive if I managed to collect all the texts and shows from *TV Vijesti*, in which I was jeered at. Not to mention the public funeral organized for me, digging graves and writing obituaries, delivering eulogies, framing with grave criminal offenses, false reports to the police, prosecution office and international organizations, rallies by Perović's moral eunuchs in front of *Pobjeda*, writing criminal charges and lawsuits against me...

Following the usual pattern, the media monopolists and villains published the above photomontage and text from *Monitor* (2 November 2012) in *Vijesti*, and *Vijesti website*. *Vijesti* published an entire-page advertisement for *Monitor* showing the photomontage for three days in a row, and so did *TV Vijesti*. During this harangue, there was also a billboard with the photomontage of this Perović's container of lies in the center of Podgorica, as well as near *Hotel Crna Gora*.

The professor of hatred and monopolist Miodrag M. Perović, let me stress, applied the deadly formula that brings hell in the lives of his victims and their parents, children, sisters, brothers, cousins and friends for the umpteenth time, not realizing that in my case it resulted in nothing:

$$M + DV + PV + TVV + B + DM = 0$$

Legend: M – *Monitor*, DV – *Daily Vijesti*, PV – *Vijesti website*, TV – *Television Vijesti*, B – *billboards*, DM – *other media*

I responded to the photomontage of *Monitor*, the family-corporate weekly of the Seller of Lies with a brief press release. I did not deal with the legendary persecution couple Kočan – Korać, but with the mastermind of media executions.

“Media gangster Miodrag M. Perović M. thinks he can freely urinate at all those who find themselves in the way of his crime, extortion, abuse of the media, sick greed and even sicker political ambitions. The professor of hatred cannot frame others with his biography – no

dirty tricks and photomontages will help. This is especially true in the case of Šeki Radončić. Protected by the regime, Miško Kesedžija made it from a poor mathematics professor to one of the richest Montenegrins and tycoons in no time. Now his business operations are investigated by the Montenegrin prosecution office.

With the help of the regime, he has reached a point where he is not even aware of everything he has: private dailies, weeklies, televisions, radios, private self-regulatory body, private parties, private politicians, private intellectuals, private columnists, private journalists, savings banks, water factories, investment funds, numerous properties... All this money and power have made him frenzy so he does not know what he is doing.

It was Miško the Fabricator, not Šeki, who formed *Vijesti* without the knowledge of journalists and with Milo Đukanović's money. The man who ate the Montenegrin independent and professional journalism as a black hole, lives in the center of Podgorica, in an apartment sold to him by Aco Đukanović, while his sister Milka was Deputy Minister of Finance in Đukanović's Government. The anti-regime fighter was saved by Milo's pilots who transported him to Houston to coronary stent implantation, while the secret agents saved him by covertly transporting him across the border in the trunk of a car. It was Milo's head of Udba Vukašin Maraš who interrogated journalist Šeki Radončić in the apartment of Miško the independent... And now this ungrateful anti-regime fighter Miško, who used Milo's money to buy power, but not the reputation, because reputation cannot be bought, frames me with being Milo's agent!?! That is very ungrateful: he would not have anything today if it was not for "his fierce enemy" Milo Đukanović. He would still be driving the same old worn *Lada*".

Darko Šuković also reacted to the framing photomontage. In his comment, he dealt with the terror of the Seller of Lies, steeped in corruption, lies and hypocrisy. Reminding that Perović entered journalism to supposedly emancipate the Montenegrin society, Šuković concludes that in the meantime, during this two-decade

mission of his, the Tycoon “turned into the main polluter of the media scene”. Likewise, “with the help of the media that he is influencing crucially, he turned into a cold-blooded, ruthless killer of the last remnants of public morality”.

“Or”, continues Šuković, “maybe, he just showed that an inherent part of his character from the beginning was a greedy money-lover who was just waiting for his time in history to come, to rob his colleagues, to amass millions in banking and other deals with the authorities; a power-obsessed character who did not hesitate to pact with the people he until recently treated as traitors, and against those whose “blood money”, as he liked to say, he was not reluctant to receive; an ideologist of nothingness, with a particular fondness of patriotism in any form of expression. Pressured by Perović’s ideological commissions, who, instead of judgments, directives and resolutions, provided headlines and columns, people have started to hesitate to support their national team, to respect the national symbols, to call their language Montenegrin. In general, they became reluctant to show respect and belonging to Montenegro!

He did all of this literally unobstructed, perfectly playing on the fear of a large number of dirty and corrupt people in the government. He knew that they would not mess with him, in order for him not to mess with them. Professor Perović, however, did not escape other types of punishment. Today all of his former friends avoid him, just as they would avoid a leper. Even the leaders of his political projects avoid public meetings with him, because they know he would compromise them.

As the smartest person in the now poor competition within the Group, Professor Perović realizes that his actual character is unmasked, and that his work would never be accomplished. However, as a notorious misanthrope, he turns his media into kamikaze, which he uses for self-destructive attacks at the people he hates. And he hates them because they, in one way or another, prevented the implementation of his plan to seize power. Power that would protect his already acquired millions, brought him new ones, and feed his enormous ego”.

To make it all harder for M. Perović, Šuković read his comment on *Antena M*, where the Seller of Lies is one of the co-owners with 18% of shares. Yet, it is the only medium where Tycoon has significant shares, but no destructive power. Unlike Željko Ivanović, Slavoljub Šćekić or Ljubiša Mitrović, Darko Šuković, a co-owner of *Antena M*, does not kiss Don Mikeli's hand, and would not let him turn his shares into a weapon for extortion, racketeering and destroying media space. Nor would he let him turn *Antena M* into a spittoon, such as fanzine *Monitor* and tabloid *Vijesti*. This, no doubt, caused extreme hatred of the Seller of Lies and his spineless partners towards Šuković.

II. ARREST ŠEKI FOR MAKING A HERO OF OUR TIME

The Seller of Lies did not respond to our reactions, since there was nothing to dispute, but on the last day of November, in order to embarrass me in public, he replaced the insulting *Monitor* cover with an even more insulting show on the *TV Vijesti*. It was a new episode of the old persecution, and during the show full of insinuations, arbitrary allegations and despicable insults, the prosecution office was sent, with a one year delay, a request to arrest me for making *A Hero of Our Time*.

It was a scenario typical of Perović's methods: in the show *Iz mog ugla sa Tinom Raičević*, I was coarsely persecuted by Ms. Host and her two interviewees: journalist and mason Dragoljub Duško Vuković and lawyer from Rožaje Velija Murić. I, of course, never did them any wrong, but they had common business interests with the main persecutor M. M. Perović, who made Montenegrin public opinion as primitive as he could: Raičević was an employee of his, Murić an occasional author of disgusting columns in *Vijesti*, and Vuković former *Monitor* and *Vijesti* journalist. They all had their profit considerations: the host – planned interviewees, persecutor Miško

– cheap badmouthers, and the lawyer and forgotten journalist – free publicity at his television.

The host, Tina Raičević, asked her esteemed guests targeted questions, with suggestive, lying and unscrupulous assertions such as “families of deportation victims have literally relieved Montenegrin of the responsibility for the crime”, while the guests gave goal-answers, “Yes, yes, that’s right”.

Attorney Velija Murić went the furthest: he publicly called the prosecution office to arrest me for making a film about Slobodan Pejović. However, the director and the lawyer were desperate to hide the fact that Velija Murić was a long-time police inspector in Berane and a colleague of Slobodan Pejović, as well as that he was interrogated in the scandal of bribery of judges in the north of Montenegro, so I had to remind him of this trifle publicly the next day. This is why he threatened to file a lawsuit against me, but he never did so. On the other hand, I publicly promised to call all the media to attend the trial. I also said that I would send a special invitation with a black blindfold to Montenegrin media Cosa Nostra bosses, to come to court and pay adequate tribute to another fallen soldier of theirs in their nearly three-year media persecution against Šeki Radončić.

INSTEAD OF AN EPILOGUE

Just as Podgorica's north wind blows away nylon bags down Ćemovsko field, the time has blown away the lies of my persecutors, but the campaign against me has not been finished yet. It is still ongoing, behind the scenes, where it originally began, and in the "independent" media, where it continued. Perović's firing squad is still in front of me, but I stand before them completely indifferent, just as Srebrenica boys stood in front of guns of the *Red Berets*. Actions of Perović's executors can inflict me no pain, I do not feel their hatred, insults and lies. As Rochefoucauld put it, "when good or evil cross the line we no longer feel them".

When I was in a similar situation at the beginning of the war in former Yugoslavia, targeted by Milošević's executioners, not just the media ones, I never thought that, twenty years later, I would be standing before a firing squad of a great humanist and even greater European and democrat who, as the time showed it, saw media as a tool for waging private wars motivated by the lowest instincts and the most banal interests, and not as a means of informing and democratizing the public.

Miodrag Perović is a clone of Citizen Kane, the main hero of the cult film by Orson Welles. *Citizen Kane* is, as we know, a story of a man whose career in the newspaper business begins as an idealistic mission, only to end with a ruthless struggle for money and power of a greedy media mogul, who eventually remains and dies alone.

Kane is not a fictional character: he is based on the life of newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, who offered production company *RKO Pictures* a fortune (a sum of \$800,000, enormous at the time) to burn the film about him. Yet, he was flatly refused. This is how newspaper magnate Hearst found out where the limits of money were and how Orson Welles met the power of a media mogul: after Hearst banned his journalists and radio stations from mentioning Orson's film, this ingenious film suffered a financial collapse. Still, time has put everything in its place: the *American Film Institute* declared *Citizen Kane* the best American film of all time, while magnate Hearst would be remembered for the film, not his wealth and media.

Unlike Hearst, newspaper magnate Perović offered me no money to give up on *A Hero of Our Time*. Nor did he forbid his journalists and media to mention my film. Arrogant Montenegrin media tyrant opted for what he thought was a cheaper and more effective solution: he would bury me alive in a grave that he publicly dug for me, and would thus bury my film as well. The film that, ultimately, is not just about swindler Pejović, but also about the manipulation of public opinion by swindler Perović, his media and propagandists.

Just as Kane, Perović entered journalism with an idea to start a newspaper that would “fight for the values of European civilization, multicultural, multiethnic, multireligious and open society, human rights and the independence of Montenegro”. However, greed and power have taken their toll: Morača's Kane saw journalism as a means of enrichment and extortion, and in traditional and conservative Montenegro, where words cut like a sabre, he found a fertile soil to build his empire, image of a great intellectual, anti-regime fighter, publisher and gray eminence on the fear of the media and public expression.

If wealth made people happy, media magnate Miodrag Perović would have been the happiest man in the world. But he is not. Just like citizen Kane, he is basically unhappy and lonely. I can only imagine how difficult it will be for Miško Kane when he, at his deathbed, gets pulled apart from his media, factories, funds, real estate, banks and huge money, because he will not be able to take any of this with him to his grave. As for his friends, he lost them long ago anyway.

Miško Perović, I am sure, dreamed of entering the history of Montenegro as its president and a great reformer, and that an alley of the greats is opened in Čepurci, where he would be buried with a golden shovel. Since Lovćen is busy, and his dreams will not come true, partially thanks to me, I suggest that the Montenegrin Citizen Kane is frozen like Walt Disney. Let the next generations see the media monster from the late 20th and early 21st century in a well preserved condition.

Similarly to Hearst, Perović will not be remembered for his vast money and media that will, in all probability, be terminated even while he is still alive. *Radio Vijesti* has ceased to exist, *Monitor* is ruined and the circulation of troubled *Vijesti* is cut in half, to five or six thousand copies, which is below the line of profitability. The Seller of Lies, Miodrag M. Perović, will be remembered for Miško's and Kočan's media contamination, which will be studied, as the fuel of his factories of lies and hatred, by the next generations of journalists, lawyers, sociologists, historians and other researchers.

I know that, for as long as the well-off little old man – who used to like animals and give sweets to children – is alive, I will stand before his firing squad and the grave that this media criminal dug for me. Although I, for almost three years of the persecution against me, got to know Perović's

inferno well, I calmly stand in front of his soldiers whom he engaged, like the dogs of war, in his crusade against me. I am calm, because I know they cannot kill me, because they cannot kill my film *A Hero of Our Time*, a book written with Marko Vešović *Miško Kesedžija and His Dogs*, or the book you are reading. And it is for them that Miodrag Miro's Perović will be remembered by the next generations, just as magnate William Randolph Hearst is remembered today for the film by Welles.

Don Mikeli's grave for Šeki Radončić will remain empty.

Sarajevo, September 2013

A Note about the Author

ŠEMSUDIN ŠEKI RADONČIĆ (1957, Berane) is a journalist, writer, screenwriter, author and producer of documentaries, human rights advocate. The first journalist in the history of Montenegro to be convicted of defamation – sentenced to two months in prison and one-year suspended sentence, for texts in which he described how JNA commanders destroyed and looted Dubrovnik and its surroundings. Due to a series of articles on political trials in Montenegro, his mother and wife were shot at in 1994, by unknown perpetrators. After a series of articles on the deportation of Bosnian refugees from Montenegro, a bomb was thrown at Radončić's house in Sarajevo, while his car was demolished a few months later in Podgorica. For many years, Šeki Radončić served as the Vice-President of the *Independent Union of Professional Journalists of Montenegro*. He is one of the founders of the *Montenegrin Helsinki Committee*. He has won the prestigious human rights award by the Vienna-based South East Europe Media Organisation (SEEMO), as well as numerous awards for his documentaries. He is the President of NGO *Witness – Sarajevo*.

Published books

Black Box / Police Torture in Montenegro from 1992 to 1996 (1996)

In Private (1999)

Black Box 2 / Police Torture in Montenegro from 1992 to 1999 (2003)

Behind the Mask (2003)

Fatal Freedom / Deportation of Bosnian Refugees from Montenegro (2005)

Miško Kesedžija and His Dogs / An Essay on the Montenegrin Evil (2012), co-authored with Marko Vešović

Series of Articles

The Circle is Tightening – a study on years-long hiding of Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić

One Hundred Years in Prison – political processes in Montenegro

Documentaries

Fugitives (2004), an investigative journalist and co-writer

Life and Adventures of Radovan Karadžić (2005),

an investigative journalist and co-writer

Carnival (2006), a co-writer

Esma (2008), a writer and author

A Hero of Our Time (2011), a writer and author

APPENDIX

Here is an incomplete inventory of signed and unsigned articles, video clips, television programs, and “films” in which Šeki Radončić was “drawn” and attacked in the media under the ownership control of the media mogul and the seller of lies, Miodrag M. Perović, and his media outlets. Unfortunately, as he lives in Sarajevo, the author of the book could not get to all the persecution articles and videos of the Perović’s media octopus in which he was demonized:

- 17 October 2010: *Monitor, Hunters on Witnesses*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 17 October 2010: *Monitor, Tycoon’s International*, Vlado Jovanović
- 31 October 2010: *Monitor, Person of the Year Selection*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 17 December 2010: *Monitor, Hunters on the Witness*, Vladimir Jovanović
- 31 December 2010: *Monitor, Victims of Regime Disinformation*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 31 December 2010: *Monitor, Keepers of the Regime and Hope*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 14 January 2011: *Monitor, Sowing the Seeds of new Crimes*, Kosara Begović
- 14 January 2011: *Monitor, People*, Nebojša Medojević
- 2 February 2011: *Slavko Perović’s official blog, Freedom what else*, Slavko Perović
- 29 March 2011: *Vijesti: Ambush: Pejović: Sarajevo’s Journalist Interrogated in the Police after Provoking Deportations Witness*
- 29 March 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 March 2011: *Vijesti, Award Replaced with Insults*
- 30 March 2011: *Vijesti, Fatal Truth*, Srđa Pavlović
- 30 March 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 March 2011: *PCNEN, The Prosecutor Does Not Know What to Do With Radončić*
- 31 March 2011: *Vijesti, Editorial: Let Pejović Hang*
- 31 March 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 May 2011: *PCNEN, The Public Service; Comments*
- 3 June 2011: *Monitor, Crime Pays*, Esad Kočan
- 3 June 2011: *Monitor, Srđa Pavlović, Masterminds of the Crime Want to Silence the Witnesses*
- 7 June 2011: *Slavko Perović’s blog: “Šemsudin Presents Himself as a Montenegrin”*

- 10 June 2011: *Vijesti, Press Release: Insults and Threats by a Ruling Regime Agent*, Milan, Kočan, Pavlović
- 10 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *TV Vijesti*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *Radio Vijesti*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *Monitor*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *Dan*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *PCNEN*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *Slobodna Evropa*, idem
- 10 June 2011: *javniservis.me*, idem
- ...
- 12 June 2011: *Vijesti, The Truth About the Crime*, Srđa Pavlović
- 12 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 12 June 2011: *Bošnjaci.net: Where Are You Headed Montenegro, State without Justice*, Sonja Radošević
- 12 June 2011: *javniservis.me*: idem
- 12 June 2011: *Vijesti, Heart Failure*, Srđa Pavlović,
- 12 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 13 June 2011: *Vijesti, The Whitewashing Will Not Do*, Koča Pavlović
- 13 June 2011: *Vijesti website*: idem
- 16 June 2011: *Vijesti, Hostages and Apologists*, Srđa Pavlović
- 16 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 16 June 2011: *Vijesti, Brothers' Reconciliation*, Koča Pavlović
- 16 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 16 June 2011: *Dan*, idem
- 16 June 2011: *Peščanik*, idem
- 16 June 2011: *Group for Change*, idem
- 16 June 2011: *Bošnjaci.net*, idem
- 17 June 2011: *Monitor, Text Messages, Lies and Exposing*, Milena Perović Korać
- 17 June 2011: *Vijesti, Non-Edited Šeki*, Miodrag Perović
- 17 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 18 June 2011: *Vijesti: Press Release*, Srđa and Koča Pavlović, Milan Popović, Esad Kočan
- 18 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 18 June 2011: *TV Vijesti*, idem
- 18 June 2011: *Monitor*, idem
- 23 June 2011: *Vijesti, Defector Šeki*, Miodrag Perović
- 23 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 24 June 2011: *TV Vijesti: Altvizion: Đukanović is the Most Responsible for the Crime of Deportations*, Milan Popović

- 24 June 2011: *Vijesti website*
- 24 June 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 24 June 2011: *Monitor*, idem
- 24 June 2011: *Danas*, idem
- 24 June 2011: *BH magazine*, idem
- 24 June 2011: *Vijesti*, *Radončić Should Make Up his Mind*, Miško Đukić
- 24 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 27 June 2011: *Vijesti*, *Dead Souls*, Marko Milačić
- 27 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 June 2011: *Vijesti*, *A Task Too Heavy*, Miodrag Perović
- 30 June 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 6 July 2011: *Vijesti*: *Radončić Should Quote Monitor*, Esad Kočan and Veseljko Koprivica
- 6 July 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 23 July 2011: *Vijesti*, *Trade*, Balša Brković
- 3 August 2011: *Monitor*, *Now the Victims and Showing Sympathy for Executioners*, Rifat Vesković
- 5 August 2011: *Monitor*, *Monitor's editorial: Damjan Turković, New Hero*
- 12 August 2011: *Monitor*, *Regime Marshal*, Esad Kočan
- 19 August 2011: *Monitor*, *A Man who Wasn't There*, Milan Popović
- 22 August 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 23 August 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 26 August 2011: *Monitor*, *The Last Legion*, Milan Popović
- 28 August 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 30 August 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 31 August 2011: *Vijesti*, *Ženica Blues*, Željko Ivanović
- 31 August 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 2 September 2011: *Monitor*, *The Self-Accusing Verdict*, Milan Popović
- 4 September 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 5 September 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 8 September 2011: *Vijesti*, *Good-Bye Šeki*, Željko Ivanović
- 8 September 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 9 September 2011: *Monitor*, *Đukanović Is the Most Responsible*, Milan Popović
- 11 September 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 12 September 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 16 September 2011: *Monitor*, *Curse of a Sign*, Esad Kočan
- 22 September 2011: *Vijesti website: Press Release*, Popović, Kočan, Pavlović
- 22 September 2011: *TV Vijesti*, idem
- 23 September 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 30 September 2011: *Vijesti*: *Radončić: Pobjeda Is Not the Market Leader*

- 30 September 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 2 October 2011: *Vijesti: Vojvodić Will Be the Main DPS Tool*
- 3 October 2011: *Vijesti website*: idem
- 7 October 2011: *Slobodna Evropa: Pejović, Crime Witness under Investigation*, Srđan Janković
- 7 October 2011: *Vijesti: Radončić Confessed He Tricked the Public*
- 7 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 7 October 2011: *slobodnacrnagora.eu: Radončić and the Prosecution Office Have Temporarily “Withdrawn”*, an unsigned text
- 8 October 2011: *Vijesti: Radončić Denies Himself*, Olivera Lakić
- 8 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 8 October 2011: *javniservis.me: Investigation against Slobodan Pejović*
- 14 October 2011: *Monitor: War Crimes of the Montenegrin Prosecution Office*, Vlado Jovanović
- 14 October 2011: *Dani: A Liberal in a Hunt on Refugees*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 21 October 2011: *Monitor: Who and Why*, Vlado Jovanović.
- 21 October: Veseljko Koprivica files a report against Šeki Radončić to the police
- 22 October 2011: *slobodnacrnagora.eu: The Film Fabricated by Šeki Radončić Shown*, Sonja Radošević
- 22 October 2011: *javniservis.me: “Živa istina” with Darko Šuković and Šeki Radončić*
- 22 October 2011: *Vijesti: ASSAULT: I’ll Beat You Up, I’ll Kill You, You’ll Regret It Till the End of Time*
- 22 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 25 October 2011: *BH magazine*, Šeki Radončić’s Fabrication
- 25 October 2011: *Vijesti, Who Is Pregnant*, Željko Ivanović
- 26 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 26 October 2011: *Vijesti, The Prosecution Office Knows Who Was Arresting in 92’*, Slavko Radulović
- 26 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 26 October 2011: *TV Vijesti, Načisto*, host Petar Komnenić, interviewee Šerbo Rastoder
- 28 October 2011: *Dani, Undisclosed Facts*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 28 October 2011: *Monitor*, cover: *How an Indictment Against Slobodan Pejović is Fabricated*
- 28 October 2011: *Monitor*, editorial: *The Crime Chemistry*, Miodrag Rašović
- 28 October 2011: *Monitor, The Time of Their Heroes*, Vladimir Jovanović
- 29 October 2011: *Vijesti*: a whole-page advertisement *THE TIME OF THEIR HEROES*
- 30 October 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 30 October 2011: *Vijesti, Their Heroes*, text transmitted from *Monitor*, a large photo of Š. R.

- 30 October 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 4 November 2011: *Monitor*, editorial: *Dictator's Fear*, Miodrag Perović
- 5 November 2011: *Vijesti*, *More than Words*, Balša Brković
- 5 November 2011: *Vijesti*, idem
- 6 November 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 9 November 2011: *Vijesti*, *(Non)Culture*, Šerbo Rastoder
- 9 November 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 10 November 2011: *TV Vijesti*, *Načisto*, host Petar Komnenić, interviewee Rifat Fejzić
- 11 November 2011: *Monitor*, *Alfred and Slobodan*, Ferid Muhić
- 11 November 2011: *Monitor*, *Sarajevo's Washing Machine*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 19 November 2011: *Vijesti*, *Radončić's Film Ordered by the Montenegrin Authorities*
- 19 November 2011: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 19 November 2011: *Vijesti*, parts of the interview of Slobodan Pejović taken from *YouTube*
- *Vijesti website*: interview of Slobodan Pejović taken from *YouTube* (it will be kept on the website for 10 days)
- 19 November 2011: *Monitor website*, interview of Slobodan Pejović from *YouTube* (it will be kept posted **292 days**, until 7 September 2012)
- 21 November 2011: chain mail with the contents of the non-existing book *Papak from Pape and Smradončić from Gusinje*
- 23 November 2011: *Slobodna Bosna*, letters to the editor: Šemsudin Radončić: An Anti-hero of Our Time, Srđa Pavlović
- 25 November 2011: *Monitor*, *Theirs but Miloš*, Milena Perović Korac
- 2 December 2011: *Monitor*, *Ordered Violence*, Milena Perović Korac
- 16 December 2011: *Monitor*, *Twisted Reality*, Milena Perović Korac
- 29 December 2012: *Vijesti*, *Radončić Offers 1 Euro for Pobjeda*
- 29 December 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 December 2011: *Monitor*, *Under Monitoring*, Esad Kočan
- 30 December 2011: *Monitor*, *Darkness*, Milena Perović Korac
- 30 December 2011: *Monitor*, *Personal State*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 13 January 2012: *Monitor*, *Waiting for the Čepurci Avaz*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 24 February 2012: *Monitor*, *Enemies and Games*, Milena Perović Korac
- 2 March 2012: *Monitor*, *In Mud up to Ears*, Predrag Nikolić
- 23 March 2012: *Monitor*, *Debts to us, Profit to Them*, Milena Perović Korac
- 31 March 2012: *Vijesti*: *Performance: Too Much Pobjeda – Sure Death*
- 31 March 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 6 April 2012: *Monitor*: *Newspaper of Insult*, Predrag Nikolić
- 11 April 2012: *Vijesti*, *Journalists Demand Lukšić to React to Pobjeda's Hate*

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- 11 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 13 April 2012: *Monitor, The Book of Approval*, Milena Perović Korać
- 13 April 2012: *Dani, Vešović and Radončić Are (Not) Male Chauvinists*
- 14 April 2012: *Vijesti, PM Does Not Respond th New “War for Piece”*
- 14 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 19 April 2012: *Vijesti, Who Feaszs on Hatred*, Novica Đurić
- 19 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 20 April 2012: *Monitor, A Child of Discontinuity*, Milena Perović Korać and Milka Tadić Mijović
- 20 April 2012: *Monitor, The Miracle of Organization*, Miodrag Rašović
- 20 April 2012: *Monitor, On a Wild Goose Chase*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 20 April 2012: *Dani, Đukanović Profits the Most from Milošević’s Wars*, Esad Kočan
- 22 April 2012: *Vijesti*, Transmitted Kočan’s text from Dani
- 22 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 25 April 2012: *Vijesti, A Report against Kusovac, Lajović and Ivanović* (For doubt that they committed the criminal offense of racial and other discrimination by publishing texts by Vešović and Radončić)
- 25 April 2012: *TV Vijesti*, idem
- 25 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 27 April 2012: *Vijesti, Đukanović and Radončić Threaten the Government of Montenegro*
- 27 April 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem.
- 27 April 2012. *Vijesti, Dilas and History*, Šerbo Rastoder
- 27 April 2012. *Vijesti website*, idem
- 27 April 2012: *Monitor, State Violence*, *Monitor* editorial
- 27 April 2012: *Monitor, Fabricating Charges against Pejović*, Vladimir Jovanović
- 27 April 2012: *Monitor, War for Milo*, Milena Perović Korać
- 27 April 2012: *Monitor, The Master’s Salvation Army*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 4 May 2012: *Monitor, Longtime Lying*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 4 May 2012: *TV Vijesti, A Coward*, Milan Popović
- 4 May 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 4 May 2012: *Monitor*, idem
- 11 May 2012: *Monitor, Dictator’s Twilight*, Balša Brković
- 19 May 2012: *Vijesti, Twilight Zone*, Miško Đukić
- 19 May 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 21 May 2012: *Press, The People Want Mafia, Not the Freedom*, Slavko Perović
- 21 May 2012: *Vijesti*, idem
- 21 May 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem

- 25 May 2012: *Monitor*, *With Intimacy against Critics*, Milena Perović Korać
- 1 June 2012: *Monitor*, *Regulating the Rebels*, Milena Perović Korać
- 8 June 2012: *Monitor*, *Cash Machine*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 8 June 2012: *Monitor*, *Black International*, Milena Perović Korać
- 8 June 2012: *Monitor*, *A Suspect as the First Policeman*, Muhamed Bazdulj
- 8 June 2012: *Monitor*, *Return of Hate Speech*, Boris Raonić
- 10 June 2012: *Vijesti website*, *Slavko Perović's Video Message*
- 11 June 2012: *Vijesti website*: *Slavko Perović's Video Message, part two*
- 11 June 2012: *Vijesti*, idem
- 14 June 2012: *Slobodna Bosna*, *Two Eyes*, Slavko Perović
- 13 July 2012: *Monitor*, *Judiciary as the Accomplice in Crime*, Veseljko Koprivica
- 19 July 2012: *Slobodna Bosna*, *Regional Criminal Has a More Powerful Headquarters than JNA*, Blagoje Grahovac
- 10 August 2012: *Monitor*, *Write as Kusovac Does*, Milena Perović Korać
- 31 August 2012: *Monitor*, *Privacy in a Montenegrin Way*, Milena Perović – Korać
- 7 September 2012: *Monitor website*: *The Deafening Silence of the International Community*, (video by Svetlana Broz, full of hate speech towards Š.R.). It was kept posted on the *Monitor website* for **312** days, until 16 July 2013)
- 26 October 2012: *Monitor*, *Godfather and Messengers*, Esad Kočan – Kosara Begović
- 2 November 2012: *Monitor*, *Cover, Živa istina and other Lies*, Milena Perović – Korać. A photomontage of Š.R. at the cover.
- 3 November 2012: *Vijesti website*, *Twisted Reality*
- 4 November 2012: *Vijesti*, *Self-Declared Victims of Media Violence*, text transmitted from *Monitor*; a photo of Š.R attached.
- 4 November 2012: *Vijesti website*, idem
- 30 November 2012: *TV Vijesti*, *Iz mog ugla with Tina Raičević*
- 14 December 2012: *Monitor*, *One Hundred Thousand Reasons for Resistance*, Milena Perović Korać
- 22 March 2013: *Monitor*, *A Truncheon Made of Paper*, Marko Milačić
- 4 April 2013: *Vijesti website*: *Mitrović, Radončić and Popović Are Founding Their Newspapers and TV*
- 4 April 2013: *PCNEN*, *Pink o' Negrins – media Holy Inquisition*
- 5 April 2013: *Monitor*, *Đukanović Asks for Belgrade's Help*, *Monitor* editorial
- 21 June 2013: *Monitor*, *Special Forces Have Arrived*, Marko Milačić.

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