

DOCUMENTATION CENTRE OF REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA
BUREAU OF GOVERNMENT OF RS FOR RELATION WITH ICTY



**REPORT ABOUT
CASE SREBRENICA
(THE FIRST PART)**

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BANJA LUKA**

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Banja Luka, September 2002

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REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Bureau of Government of RS for relation with
International Tribunal for War Crimes in The Hague

CASE: Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

After conducted investigation in past several years and gathering information referred to case Srebrenica from side of agencies with jurisdictions and institutions, Bureau of Republic of Srpska for relations with International Tribunal for war crimes in The Hague presents the evidences and positions referred to case Srebrenica. The goal of this report is to present the whole truth about crimes committed in Srebrenica region regardless nationality of perpetrators of crimes and time when they were committed.

To make whole picture about events it must be considered the following:

- 1. Events in and around Srebrenica cannot be seen as selective and separated from corps of crimes that were committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina*
- 2. The events connected with Srebrenica cannot be seen as selective and separated in relation to events in Srebrenica and Srebrenica – Bratunac region;*
- 3. The events in Srebrenica cannot be seen separated by the time in relation to events from 11th of July 1995 and everything that had happened from 1992 – 1995;*
- 4. The events in and around Srebrenica cannot be seen as separated by nationality in relation to crimes committed by members of so-called Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina comprised mostly by Moslem`s Jihad warriors and to possible crimes of members of the Army of Republic of Srpska.*
- 5. Having seen that every perpetrator of crimes that could be put under category of international crimes, especially the ones that are under jurisdiction of ICTY and ICC, belong to universal categories of criminals, against the whole humankind should fight and it should be taken into consideration that this universal category does not have nationality but only one name – criminal, Government of Republic of Srpska – presents the facts that are important in order to determine exactly what had happened in mentioned region. The whole truth about mentioned events has its unestimated significance for process of reconciliation because the establishment of peace and reconciliation between nationalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina is possible only with respect of justice.*

6. *This report is the first in line until making the final report referring case Srebrenica that has been in flow.*
7. *For crimes that had been committed in period 1992 – 1995 whose victims were mostly civilians of Serbs nationality, exist truthful information about who were the victims and who were the perpetrators. It is nonsense that perpetrators of those crimes are still free today, even on 1993 the full information with names of victims and perpetrators was delivered to the General Assembly of UN and to Security Council. If we miss to show all crimes that had been committed then it could not have been reached the whole truth about what had happened. About crimes that are being assumed that they had been committed since 11th July 1995 still does not exist the full information with names of victims, the way how they had suffer, the time when they had suffer as well as information about direct perpetrators of crime. These information are exactly what Bureau of Government of Republic of Srpska for relation with International ad hoc Tribunal for War Crimes want to discover*

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Summary

The current situation of Srebrenica: Despair of Serbs

The town of Srebrenica, which is located at the east of the entity of Bosnian Serbs or Republic of Srpska in Bosnia, has the population of approximately 20 thousands now. Eighty percent of the current population is Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) particularly from Sarajevo in Bosnia and refugees mostly from Krajina in Croatia. Although almost three years have passed since the end of the war in Bosnia, no sign to restore Srebrenica can be seen. Water is still limited in supply, and not suitable for drink. Broken windows and doors make people shivering in winter. The school buildings in the elementary school have disgusting stench of damaged toilets. There are almost no economic activities to hire the population to sustain the life although this area is rich in land and minerals such as lead and zinc. Under these circumstances, refugees or IDPs have to endure the lowest level of the living conditions, and most of them are left alone without any means of income. The local report¹ warned that the rate of suicides and sudden death among the refugees and IDPs was high in Srebrenica area² possibly because of the combination of despair and malnutrition. The report continued to say that the year of 1996 particularly saw the high rate of mortality of the refugees and IDPs in the area, citing the deaths of more than 150 IPDs in Bratunac, a relatively large town in the area.

Aid, which has recently begun to trickle down into Republic of Srpska due to its apparent willingness to cooperate with western countries, carefully avoids Srebrenica area not to make it a beneficiary. The reason is the alleged massacre of Muslims in Srebrenica in 1995. For the countries insisting that the bad guys, Serbs, carried out cruel ethnic cleansing of poor Muslims in Srebrenica area, the emotional conscience is so convincing that they do not want to hurt Muslims by rewarding Serbs, no matter how many refugees and IDPs are living in Srebrenica area. In general, however, emotion is often shaped by temporary hysteria and biased or unconfirmed information. Conscience driven by emotion, thus, tends to be deceived fairness. The case of "alleged Srebrenica massacre" is not an exception.

¹ Mason Mirada u Bratunacu" Revija 92, May 92, 1997. Beograd

² In this paper, Srebrenica area means old Srebrenica county which covers major towns such as Bratunac, Srebrenica, and Skelani.

Depressive History of Serbs in Srebrenica:

From the majority to the minority

Srebrenica has a sad history for Serbs particularly during World War II, and their sorrow is reflected in the number of Serbs population in Srebrenica. Before the World War II, Serbs accounted for 50.6% and Muslims for 49.4% of the total population, or 36,000, in Srebrenica area. However, because of the atrocities of German Nazi' s collaborators against Serbs in the area during the war and its resultant low growth of the population afterwards, the ratio of Serbs to the total population, or 80,000, dropped to 35.6%, and the ratio of Muslims increased to 61.9% in 1991, according to the census of the former republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina (BH).

Nazi' s "SS Handzar Division" and Srebrenica

Nazi collaborators in BH, which belonged to Independent State of Croatia, or a puppet state of Fascist Germany, were called "SS Handzar Division" of Ustasha. The Division was established in February 1943, by the order of Hitler and with the blessing of Jerusalem Mufti, Hitler' s close associate, in order to fight against Tito' s partisans. The role of "SS Handzar Division" was to eradicate Serbs, and it consisted of 20,000 soldiers, mainly Muslims³. The techniques of terror that it used were appallingly cruel, being inherited from Turks in the period of Ottoman Empire⁴. According to Florentin Manuel⁵, the most usual techniques were raping women, removing eyes and cutting testicles of alive men, and the action of "SS Handzar" was more like an armed band than a military unit⁶. It is said that their cruelty was such that even German SS officers accused actions of those people⁷. Srebrenica area was under the direct assault of this "SS Handzar Division" during World War II.

Alija Izetbegovic (President of Bosnian Muslims) and Srebrenica

In the history of Srebrenica, Alija Izetbegovic, the current President of Bosnia and Hercegovina, is the person who connects the present and the World War II. During the World War II, he was a main actor for "SS Handzar Division" . He joined the organization "Young Muslims" in Sarajevo on March 5, 1943, and was engaged as a member of the organization in recruiting young Muslims for "SS

³ Las Legiones Musulmanas del Tercer Reich. Muanuel, Florentin. Historia Y Vida No. 349, Barcelona. 1983.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Handzar Division" in collaboration with Hitler's intelligence service (ABWER and GESTAPO). In 1946, however, he was sentenced by former Yugoslav Supreme Military Court to three years of imprisonment and two years of deprivation of civil rights, because of his fascist activities⁸. This criminal record of Izetbegovic was published by Russian gazette "Izvestija" dated 17 November of 1992.

"Islamic Declaration" was another criminal record of Izetbegovic. Having shown his fundamentalism or intolerance of other religions⁹, he was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment by Supreme Court of Bosnia on March 14, 1983. However, in spite of the prohibition of its publication, "Islamic Declaration" was reprinted in 1990. Two years later, it seemed that he began to resume the activities of "SS Handzar" based on his Islamic fundamentalism particularly in Srebrenica area, intentionally or unintentionally.

⁸ Register of Military Court of Former Yugoslav Army. Museum of Victims of Genocide. Beograd.

⁹ In "Islamic Declaration," intolerance of other religions was shown in the following sentence; "There is no peace and co-existence among Islamic religion and non-Islamic social and political institution.

Srebrenica area: Strategic Importance for Muslims

Creation of Cordon (Geographical Center of Islam)

According to Muslim National Council established on the eve of Bajram (the end of February) in 1992, the goal of all radical Muslims led by Izetbegovic was to create the Islamic State within the borders of BH¹⁰. The largest concern to achieve this goal was the geographical and ethnical closeness between eastern Bosnia and Serbia in Yugoslavia. Taking into the consideration the fact that south eastern Bosnia already had demographic and Islamic connection to Sandzak and Kosovo in Serbia, the serious problem lay in 'north eastern Bosnia', where Srebrenica area stretched over. Therefore, there was an urgent necessity to draw a cordon between Serbs in eastern Bosnia and Serbs in Serbia¹¹. Under these circumstances, a huge number of invitations to the gathering in Bratunac in Srebrenica area were distributed among Muslims throughout Bosnia at the beginning of 1992, and the large gathering was held in Bratunac on the first day of Bajram, the celebration to end Ramadan, in the presence of Izetbegovic. There, Bratunac was proclaimed 'Geographic center of Muslim for the whole (former) Yugoslavia,' and to arm Muslims was openly declared.

Mutual Fear

In the middle of the radical Islamic and militant activities, however, the general Muslim citizens in Srebrenica area were afraid of this abrupt militant move in their area in the same way that Serbs were frightened. As Besim Ibisevic (Muslim), former President of Township Assembly¹² in Srebrenica, told a local magazine in Sarajevo, the general Muslim citizens had shouted 'peace at any cost' in the big crowded hall of culture club in Srebrenica in April 1992¹³. People in Srebrenica, therefore, did not allow Muslim extremists, such as Naser Oric and Zulfo Tursunovic, to enter the Srebrenica area at the beginning. According to the confession of Naser himself, he had to hide in forests together with his fellows, and get food secretly¹⁴. Behind the scene, however, rifles and uniforms had been already sent

¹⁰ Political platform of Muslim National Council said Muslim National Council was established to create Muslim State on Balkan Peninsula, and that the creation of Muslim State on Balkan Peninsula had been a dream of Muslims for centuries.

¹¹ De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1996. Holland.

¹² Besim Ibisevic had been President of Township Assembly of Srebrenica until April 17, 1992.

¹³ Nisam probjegao, Nego sam otjeran, Ljiljan. August 21, 1996. Sarajevo.

¹⁴ Ispovijest Nasera Orica (I): Predali pokvareno oruzje, Oslobođenje. August 24-25, 1996. Sarajevo.

to every township assembly and SDA (or Muslims') party¹⁵. In addition, Vox, radical Muslim magazine in Sarajevo, published the name of Serbs to be killed in Srebrenica to threaten Serbs under the excuse of 'War Criminals' who fought as Tito's partisans against "SS Handzar". Only a little provocative push was necessary to drive people to conflicts.

At the end of 1991, when Muslim National Council was on the last stage to prepare insurgence against the Former Yugoslavia, Izetbegovic and his followers decided to depend on criminals' power. For Srebrenica, they found Naser Oric and Zulfo Tursunovic as the persons whom they could depend on. Naser, born in Srebrenica area, was a policeman in Beograd in Serbia, and worked as one of the bodyguards of Milosevic, the current President of Yugoslavia. However, when Oric was fired for theft in the end of 1991, Izetbegovic's group picked him up, and appointed him as the Commander of Territorial Defense for Srebrenica. Meanwhile, Zulfo Tursunovic was in the jail in Zenica in 1991 because he had killed three Muslims in 1986. Although he did not finish the service of 15 year-imprisonment, Izetbegovic ordered the release of Zulfo, and appointed him as Deputy Commander of BH Army in Srebrenica at the end of 1991. In the beginning of 1992, Naser and Zulfo got together in order to sneak into Srebrenica. They hid in the woods, and succeeded to sneak into Srebrenica in Spring 1992.

Start of Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

Mutual distrust and fear between Serbs and Muslims were mounting high in Srebrenica. Armed Muslim gangs among which the Patriot League was formed in Vlasenica near Srebrenica area started raising mutual fear among people from April 1992¹⁶. Serbs already began to be fired from governments, police, schools, health institutions, and business. A group of Muslim locals in the disguise of Arkan soldiers, a Serbian para-military group, came to Srebrenica area and raised the fear in Muslim civilians¹⁷. Then, on May 8 1992, Judge Goran Zekic, President of SDS (Bosnian Serbs' political party) in Srebrenica area and Bosnian Serb representative of Srebrenica to BH Parliament was ambushed and killed. A mass exodus of Serbs from Srebrenica town to Bratunac started immediately¹⁸.

¹⁵ Nisam probjegao. Nego sam otjeran. Ljiljan. August 21, 1996. Sarajevo

¹⁶ De Groene Amsterdammer. March 13, 1996. Holland.

¹⁷ Hata Ibisevic (1931), a Muslim woman who fled from Srebrenica to Sarajevo on July 1995, said to the author in Sarajevo on January 31 this year, "This military group consisted of local Muslims in the disguise of Arkan troops.

¹⁸ There are several explanations on this period. However, all of them have contradictions. One of the example says as follows; Former Yugoslav Army had shelled Muslim villages. Zekic was trapped in the fighting and killed in this fighting. Eventually, local Muslims were strong enough to win. Having realized the strength of Muslims, Serbs in Srebrenica started to flee. (First of all, there is no fact that former Yugoslav Army showed up around Srebrenica. Secondly, it would have been irrational if Serbs had fought against Muslims in Srebrenica

Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

Reliance on Serbs' Supply and Cleansing of Serbs

According to Sefer Halilovic, former Chief of Staff of BH Army, Muslim's military strategy for Srebrenica area was the total dependence on the Serbs' supplies and properties¹⁹. He continued to say "The only source of our supply was chetnik's (Serbs') stores and their production."²⁰ In other words, it was nothing more than the robbery of bandit groups. Muslims started their assault against the smallest Serbian hamlets and then against the villages where Serbs are minority. Afterwards, they targeted Serbs villages surrounded by Muslim villages. Finally, large Serbs villages were targeted. On May 6, 1992, just two days before Zekic was killed, small hamlets, Bljeceva and Gniona, had been already robbed and burnt as a sign indicating what would happen from now on. On May 7, seven Serbs who tried to escape from Srebrenica were ambushed and killed. On May 15, the villages of Viogor, Orahovica, Karno, Civevci, and Radossevi were attacked. In this way, from May 1992 to Jan 1994, as many as 192 villages were robbed and burnt²¹. During the period, 8,000 Serbian houses had been assaulted, and 5,400 houses were completely demolished into rubbles²². The number of the killed were more than 1,000, including women, children, and the elderly, and 90% of those were killed particularly during the first six months from May 1992 in spite of the fact that most of them were civilians²³.

Cruelty of violent ethnic cleansing

The wild cruelty of Muslim soldiers in Srebrenica area was very similar to the techniques of "SS Handzar" in the period of World War II. Rather than using bullets, Muslim soldiers used dull objects as weapons and gradually killed Serbs, mostly civilians, by mutilating, taking off an eye, castrating, crucifying, or burning. The traces of the torture were so visible on corpses that most of the autopsy process was videotaped and photographed by Serb doctors who conducted autopsy²⁴. Meanwhile, the top Muslim commander in Srebrenica, Naser Oric, who orchestrated the attacks together with Zulfko Tursunovic, also videotaped the scene as trophies of war. Washington Post dated February 16, 1994

where many Serbs were still living. If it were the case, what Muslims would do should be to take Serbs as hostages in Srebrenica.)

¹⁹ Lukava Strategija, Halilovic, Sefer. 1997. Sarajevo.

²⁰ Ibid. P34 L1-7.

²¹ Hronika Naseg Groblja, Ivanisevic, Milivoje. 1993. Bratunac.

De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1996. Holland.

²² Hronika Naseg Groblja, Ivanisevic, Milivoje. 1993. Bratunac

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The videotapes and photos belong to Commission of Legal Experts to Republic of Srpska.

said: "Burnt Serb houses, headless Serb men, their bodies crumpled in a pathetic heap" ²⁵ was on a videocassette tape. In the article, Naser said, "We had to use cold weapons that night," and explained as scenes of dead men sliced by knives roll over his 21-inch Sony.²⁶ As Muslim soldiers did not carry this kind of tapes with them in fleeing, Bureau of Republic of Srpska Government for relations with ICTY kept most of them as evidences.

Documents which Muslim soldiers did not have time to take with them in fleeing Srebrenica revealed hideous crimes committed under the order of Naser Oric. One of the Muslim forces' report of No. 06-08/95 explained about the death of a Serb, Milko Markovic, who remained in the town of Srebrenica even after the death of Judge Zekic, as follows: "Milko Markovic was arrested, and delivered to Mis. Mis maltreated him, stung him by knife, and cut his throat. However, because Milko was still alive, Mis brought Milko to a small stream, and tortured him again. As Milko lost consciousness, Mis awoke Milko by pouring water on him. Then Mis burned him alive." It is said that Mis is living in Tuzla now without any troubles. There were some Serbs who received an illogical notice on the death of their families from Muslim authorities. For instance, the daughter of Radovan Marinkovic received the death notice of her father through ICRC (International Committee of Red Cross) on September 24, 1992. The notice with the signature of Zulfo Tursunovic said that her father was killed as a Serb soldier in front of his house. However, her father was too old in fact to be a soldier, and it is weird for any soldier to carry out military actions in front of his house.

It is a mystery why the international media and society hardly paid attention to this savage behaviour although a series of attacks were so evident that even a local Muslim citizen²⁷ explained to the author without any hesitation. More strangely, Prof. Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman of the Commission of Experts, avoided to mention the Muslims' attacks on Srebrenica in Final Report²⁸, and submitted it to Security Council through Secretary-General on May 27, 1994. It should be noted that Dragomir Djokic, then Yugoslav Charge d'affaires to UN, had submitted the criminal report and relevant evidences on the Muslims' attacks on Srebrenica to General Assembly of Security Council in June 93, and that the Dr. Stankovic, a world-famous doctor of forensic medicine who had implemented most of the autopsies for the Serbs victims in Srebrenica in 1993, had directly handed over the same report and evidences to Bassiouni. As the report became a basis for the indictments of war criminals in the territory of former Yugoslavia later, those criminals evaded accusations, and they are still free to do any-

²⁵ Weapon, Cash and Chaos Lend Clout to Srebrenica's Tough Guy, Pomfret, John. Washington Post. February 16, 1994. Washington, DC

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Sehra Ibisevic, a Muslim refugee who has been living in Sarajevo after fleeing Srebrenica in July 1995, explained to the author in the interview on January 31, 1998 in Sarajevo.

²⁸ Final Report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992) May 27, 1994. (S/1994/674)

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thing. The responsibility of Prof. Bassiouni is enormous if they repeat crimes of this kind particularly because he intentionally avoided accusing those criminals.

Absence of Bosnian Serb Forces

From 1992 to January 1993, Bosnian Serb citizens in Srebrenica area were at the mercy of Muslim forces. What Bosnian Serb citizens did was to defend themselves individually by the old weapons that they could find in the house, and wait for the Former Yugoslav Army to help them. However, it never came.

In 1992, the Former Yugoslav Army (FYA) was in confusion to see former Yugoslav republics receive the recognition of independence from international society. Although FYA had been in Bosnia since the birth of the Former Yugoslavia, FYA was suddenly left alone in the territory of the enemy after the independence of Bosnia April 1992. One after another Muslim and Croat soldiers deserted the Army. At the decision of the withdrawal from Bosnia in May 4, 1992, FYA started to withdraw and completely withdrew from Bosnia by May 15, 1992, leaving Bosnian Serbs behind.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Serb citizens, accounting more than 30% of the Bosnian population, completely relied on the arrival of FYA. Their trust in FYA was so firm that they couldn't believe the withdrawal of FYA. In other words, they didn't understand the seriousness of the situation, particularly in countryside. Thus, they failed to organize self-defence in the absence of leadership. In Srebrenica area, even after the killing of Judge Zekic, Bosnian Serb citizens just waited for the arrival of FYA without taking any all-out defence measures.

In order to fill the absence of FYA, Republic of Srpska Army was set up in May 12, 1992. Serb FYA soldiers of Bosnian origin joined Republic of Srpska Army after quitting the job in FYA. Being concerned about Bosnian Serb citizens, FYA left the weapons for Republic of Srpska Army. However, as the formation of Republic of Srpska Army was not well-planned and make-shift in nature due to the sudden withdrawal of FYA, Republic of Srpska Army was not able to take effective action in an organized way until the autumn of 1992. Even after the autumn, Republic of Srpska Army, being inferior in number to Muslim Army, had to narrow down the area in which they could be totally engaged. As Bosnian Serb civilians in western Bosnia were severely assaulted by Croat Army, Republic of Srpska Army focused on west, and it could not defend Bosnian Serb civilians in east Bosnia.

It was January 7 of 1993 when Bosnian Serb citizens finally realized that they had to organize themselves to defend. 'Drina Corps' was created in Srebrenica area under the direction of Mladic. Having looked at fire on their houses, Several Serbs of Bosnian origin joined 'Drina Corps' after quitting FYA's 'Drina Corps,' which was stationed in Serbia. However, FYA's 'Drina Corps'

never moved to Srebrenica area, and never directed their weapons at Srebrenica area across Drina River from Serbia.

Serbs paramilitary forces were not in Srebrenica from the beginning of the war to the end of the war although there are some reports on Serbs paramilitary forces in Srebrenica. According to the report of UN²⁹, for example, "Drina Wolves, Seselj Militia, Specialna Policia, White Eagles, Arkan Tigers and Krajina Serbs" were said to be seen in the area. However, "Seselj Militia" was a regular unit of Republic of Srpska Army as Karadzic prohibited paramilitary groups and ordered them at the end of 1992 to join the regular Republic of Srpska Army in order to put them under control. "Drina Wolves" was the name of a regular unit of Republic of Srpska from the beginning. There were no "Specialna Policia" except Military Police of Republic of Srpska. "White Eagles", comprising of only about 50 members, never approached to eastern Bosnia. Neither did "Arkan Tigers." "Krajina Serbs" did not have any energy to defend places other than Krajina in Croatia.

Large Territorial Gain and Limitation

By pursuing the savage policy of fighting, Muslim forces acquired as much as 95% of Srebrenica area by the end of December 1992³⁰. Sefer Halilovic boasted of the expansion of the territory in his book, saying that Srebrenica and Zepa had become an unrealised dream for alive and dead chetniks (Serbs) in spring 1993³¹. However, serious problems began to change the course of the war from the spring of 1993. The most important problem was lack of food. Having faced the vast territory stretching 70 miles (approx.113km), from the village of Zepa in the south to Kamenica in the north by the end of January 1993, Muslims did not have any more Serbs villages to attack in order to obtain food.³² A huge amount of food that Muslim forces had taken from Serbs was consumed up by the end of the spring in 1993, and the shortage of food became evident. The second problem was the encirclement of Srebrenica. Geographically, Srebrenica town had been surrounded by villages that had the relatively large Serbs population. Since the Muslims' drive to mop up Serbs was initiated from the inside of Srebrenica town, Serbs were simply pushed outwards and Muslims were drawn closer into the center in exchange. Therefore, although the encircled territory of Muslims grew and expanded outwards, the

²⁹ Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on violations of international humanitarian law in the areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most. (S/1995/988) November 27, 1995

³⁰ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both, Norber. P79, Penguin Book. 1996.

³¹ Lukava Strategija. Halilovic, Sefer. Sarajevo. 1997.

³² Defeated by the Battle for Food. The Guardian. Nezirovic, Haris. April 15, 1994. London. (Nezirovic, a Muslim, is a Bosnian journalist working for the weekly newspaper Slobodna Bosna. He has been in Srebrenica for three weeks.)

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position of Muslims remained unchanged, being encircled by Serbs. The last problem was the start of the offensives of Bosnian Serb forces. As Drina corps of Republic of Srpska Army was eventually created in January 1993³³, more effective and systematic strategy began to be implemented. Muslim forces were required to take some urgent measures.

Safe Area

Srebrenica as a temporary base of Muslim attack

Under the plan of Muslim leaders, Muslims' territories in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde were supposed to grow endlessly until the three areas would merge into a huge chunk connecting central and north eastern Bosnia and create a huge cordon between Muslim state and Serbia in Yugoslavia. When Muslims' territory in Srebrenica area hit the ceiling of expansion, however, this plan collapsed, and the role of Srebrenica changed. Now, they were just like isolated islands in the enemy's sea, waiting for the control of the enemy. However, they could be temporary bases for Muslim forces to attack Serbs until the enclaves would come into the hands of Bosnian Serb forces. Particularly, the location of Srebrenica was best suited to break the Bosnian Serbs' vital supply route (Sarajevo-Vlasenica-Milici-Konjevic Polje -Zvornik) for Sarajevo. Therefore, while knowing that no enclave can last long, Muslim leaders wanted to keep Srebrenica as the base as long as possible. Later, on September 22, 1994, Izetbegovic admitted to a senior UN official that Srebrenica was 'undefensible.'³⁴

Involvement of UN

What Muslim leaders came up with a device to prolong the life of Srebrenica was to use their own civilians and UN to their advantage. Having known that international organizations would bring relief supplies to the civilians, Muslim leaders have decided to keep civilians in the enclave in order that Muslim forces could obtain food and other supplies. In fact, at the end of November in 1992, UNHCR already dispatched the convoy of relief supplies to Muslims in Srebrenica area³⁵ partly because Srebrenica area became an enclave encircled by Serbs who had been actually pushed outwards by Muslim forces of Srebrenica, and partly because the shortage of food became a serious problem. Being helped

³³ Lukava Strategija. Halilovic, Sefer. Sarajevo. 1997.

³⁴ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig. Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. Penguin Book. 1996

³⁵ In those days, the offensive of Muslim forces in Srebrenica area was fierce. For example, in October 1992, Serbian villages, such as Fakovici and Boljevic, were assaulted severely by Muslim forces of Srebrenica. As a result, seven women and nine elderly men were killed.

by this relief supplies, Muslim forces of Srebrenica launched large-scale attacks on Serbs villages along the Drina River, such as Loznica, Bijelovac, and Sikiric, two weeks later.³⁶

A number of evidences that belong to Commission of Legal Experts to Republic of Srpska easily prove that Muslim forces considered civilians as a magnet to attract relief food from international organizations. One of the proofs is 'demonstration of citizens.' A large group of civilians complained about too small rations of wheat flour, and protested against the Muslim authorities of Srebrenica on May 21, 1993³⁷ although UNHCR had sent wheat flour more than the required amount. A Muslim woman that spent years in the enclave of Srebrenica also complained in the author's interview³⁸ that a half of the vehicles carrying humanitarian aid had been usually empty. Meanwhile, Ibran Mustafic, a founder of SDA (Muslim's political party) of Srebrenica and representative to Muslim BH Parliament, explained about the abundance of supplies as follows; "It was always possible to buy at the market anything one might have wanted. Hardly anything was lacking. Still the only source of goods was humanitarian aid since not a single commercial convoy had ever reached Srebrenica."³⁹ In order to solve the problem, International aid agencies suggested that the refugees should elect their own representative for the distribution of food. However, the man elected was killed the day after his election.⁴⁰ As Dutch battalion said in "Srebrenica: Record of a war crime", Naser Oric⁴¹, top commander in Srebrenica, and his fellows such as Zulfo Tursunovic and Hakija Meholic, were nothing more than gangsters who took most of relief supplies from refugee population for his personal profit⁴².

Human shield was the other way of using civilians. When UN decided to evacuate 15,000 people at the end of March and at the beginning of April in 1993, the Muslim commanders were furious about the idea, by insisting that UN operation was tantamount to 'ethnic cleansing' and decided that the convoy should not be allowed to come in Tuzla, Muslim territory. Later, however, the Muslim com-

³⁶ In Bijelovac alone, the death toll of Serbian civilians amounted to as many as 106. The assault of December 14 on Bijelovac was video-recorded by a Yugoslav citizen who lived in Yugoslavia across Drina River. In the video, three old Serbian women were rowing a boat on Drina to flee Bijelovac under the heavy rain of bullets.

³⁷ Muslim Police documents that now belong to Commission of Legal Experts to Republic of Srpska showed the names of demonstrators and their complaints on the food allocation. The demonstration was held on May 21, 1993 in front of the PTT building that accommodates UNPROFOR.

³⁸ Sehra Ibisevic, a Muslim refugee who has been living in Sarajevo after fleeing Srebrenica in July 1995, explained to the author in the interview on January 31, 1998 in Sarajevo.

³⁹ Presidency and Army Command Sacrificed Srebrenica. Slobodna Bosna. July 14, 1996. Sarajevo.

⁴⁰ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P133. Penguin Book. 1996.

⁴¹ It is said that Naser Oric assassinated 19 rivals in Srebrenica according to the article Sfjedoci vrde Da Ljudi Nasera Orca: Stoje Iza 19 Atentata U Srebrenici of Ljiljan. (August 7, 1996. Sarajevo.)

⁴² Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P133. Penguin Book. 1996.

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manders privately confided to a reporter of Independent the real reason: Serbs could not launch an all-out attacks as long as civilians and refugees were there⁴³. Muslim forces' attitude towards their own civilians or refugees was merciless particularly when Srebrenica was about to fall under Bosnian Serb forces in July 1995. During the night of July 10 and 11, 1995, people started leaving Srebrenica town and headed for Potocari because of the combat. UNPROFOR decided to help transfer those people to Potocari. However, Muslim soldiers and Mayor of Srebrenica turned those people back⁴⁴, thinking that civilians would become shields from Bosnian Serb forces and hoping for the direct involvement of UN who was supposed to protect civilians.

When Muslim leaders were looking for a more effective device to prolong the life of Srebrenica, the international society gave the most ideal scheme for Muslim leaders partly out of the egoistic national interests and partly out of the emotional outrage against Bosnian Serbs offensive called "aggression" and "ethnic cleansing". The scheme which international society offered was the half-hearted set-up of "Safe Area", a product of each country's compromise. The most terrible compromise was Paragraph 5 of UN Security Council Resolution 836, which allowed Bosnian forces to stay in "Safe Area" together with civilians⁴⁵. Moreover, although "Safe Area" was supposed to be demilitarised, UNPROFOR were asked not to pursue the demilitarisation so actively⁴⁶. Immediately after signing the agreement of cease-fire and demilitarisation of Srebrenica and Zepa with Mladic (Supreme military commander of Republic of Srpska), Halilovic (Supreme military commander of Muslim Bosnian Army), sent the order to both enclaves that weapons should not be delivered⁴⁷. He explained to Naser Oric that Muslim forces should hand over only unusable arms⁴⁸. In this way, UN, which was supposed to be an impartial institution, allowed Muslim forces to stay with civilians, attack Serbs from the enclave and secure food under the protection of UNPROFOR. It was the best environments for Muslim forces that wanted to break the Bosnian Serbs' vital supply line rather than to expand the enclave and it was the worst environment for Muslim citizens who did not want to be trapped in the combats. Ibran Mustafic criticized this strategy of Muslim government later, saying that the person who had issued the order should bring his family to Srebrenica before the implementation.

⁴³ To Starve or Be Shot by Serbs. Nezirovic. Haris. The Independent. April 11, 1993. London.

⁴⁴ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing

⁴⁵ United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations in Cambodia and in the Former Yugoslavia International Affairs No. 434. Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyusho. May 1996. Tokyo

⁴⁶ Confidential message of Kofi Annan, the UN's Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, To General Wahlgren (23 April, 1993)

⁴⁷ Lukava Strategija. Halilovic. Sefer. P107 Sarajevo. 1997

⁴⁸ Ispovijest Nasera Orica (1): Predali pokvareno oruzje. Oslobođenje. August 24-25, 1996. Sarajevo.

Normal War Engagement

The conditions that were set by UN SC allowed Muslim forces in Srebrenica enclave to do virtually anything. Under the Muslim Command Unit of 8th Operative Group, 28th Division, consisting of 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, etc., launched the attacks on Serbs villages that had been already attacked during 1992 and 1993. Most of the attacks were terroristic action by a small group of soldiers. More than 500 Serbs were killed by the attack from "Safe Area", and the cruelty of killings were the same as before⁴⁹. Dutch battalion later described this attack as follows. "Operations were relatively unpredictable because the units were almost without training and rather non-disciplined. Muslim forces made systematic assaults from the enclave, and afterwards they used to withdrew to the territory under the protection of UN."⁵⁰ It is needless to say UNPROFOR as well as civilians were used as human shields.

Military supplies were sufficient in "Safe Area," so that there were almost no problem to continue the offensive. The huge documents which Muslim forces left in Srebrenica delineate each delivery of ammunition, military uniforms, boots, computer equipment, office equipment, cigarettes, etc. Furthermore, even money amounting to 308,850 DEM were transferred to Naser Oric, according to the document from Commander Colonel Avdo Palic (dated Feb 14, 1995). More surprisingly, Muslim forces used even helicopters between Headquarters and Srebrenica or Zepa⁵¹. A series of documents which were exchanged with Headquarters recorded the helicopter accident of 7 May 1995 at Igrisnik between Zepa and Srebrenica, informing 11 deaths and 9 injuries.⁵² Taking an advantage of virtually free traffic, US secretly had communication equipment flown to Tuzla, which would enable Muslim forces to coordinate offensive operations between larger units⁵³. Thanks to those conditions of "Safe Area", Muslim forces regained the power enough to attack Bosnian Serbs' vital supply route, being well coordinated with other units. Even one month before the fall of Srebrenica, Muslim forces in "Safe Area" were planning to break the road communication around Vlasenica in cooperation with the units of 2nd corps in Sarajevo.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Dr. Stankovic, a forensic doctor in the Former Yugoslav Army, implemented the autopsy, and keeps the detailed results, such as photos, for the victims.

⁵⁰ Dutch battalion's Debriefing.

⁵¹ Halilovic himself also said that he had sent eight helicopters full of ammunitions and weapons in his book ukava Strategia. (P109. 1997. Sarajevo)

⁵² Document from Commander Colonel Avdo Palic (Muslim) in Zepa to Kakanj Headquarters and Naser Oric (Muslim).

⁵³ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig. Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P144-145. Penguin Book. 1996

⁵⁴ Order from Major Ramiz Becirovic, Representing Commander, Chief of Headquarters of 28th Division, to 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285 and 28 BB as military secret, dated 20th June 1995.

Meanwhile, operation of Republic of Srpska forces of Bosnian Serbs were generally directed to keep the status quo and to protect Bosnian Serbs population in Srebrenica area from the attacks of Muslim forces in the enclave, or "Safe Area"⁵⁵. As all Muslim enclaves or "Safe Area" including Srebrenica were less important for Serbs, territory wise, Republic of Srpska forces did not care very much about the enclaves as long as Muslim forces refrained from attacking Serbs' village and the Serbs' vital supply route. Moreover, Bosnian Serb forces did not have enough soldiers to take over Srebrenica although they had more heavy weapons, which would become ineffective in the mountainous landscape of Srebrenica. Therefore, even when Muslim forces of Srebrenica faced food crisis in spring 1993, the two Bosnian Serb political leaders, Karadzic and Milosevic, were adamant that there was no intention to take Srebrenica.⁵⁶ Although Mladic had not been in good terms with Karadzic in those day by his quasi- coup d' etat against Karadzic, he also answered to Kareeman' s question on July 21, 1995, after the fall of Srebrenica, that he would not have thought about attacking the enclaves if Muslim soldiers in "Safe Area," such as Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Zepa had been completely disarmed⁵⁷. In addition, on the fall of Srebrenica, Mladic showed his indifference to the territory itself by asking representatives of Muslim refugees and civilians in Srebrenica whether they would like to stay in Srebrenica or go to Muslim territories or foreign countries. What Bosnian Serb forces wanted from Muslim forces was to stop the assaults against Serbian civilians and their vital supply route.

Fall of Srebrenica

Chaotic Muslim Soldiers

When Srebrenica began to fall into the hands of Serbs from July 6, 1995, Muslim forces in Srebrenica were hysterical, being in confusion and chaos. Having seen Dutch Battalion of UNPROFOR withdrawing, Muslim forces together with three citizens shot a sbblue helmet, Sergeant Van Renseen, to death on July 8.⁵⁸ On the same day, some Muslim soldiers threw grenade at Dutch Battalion, demanding the Dutch to go towards Bosnian Serb forces and fight.⁵⁹ On July 9, Muslim soldiers who did not allow Dutch to withdraw held another Dutch battalion for overnight⁶⁰. On July 10, Muslim troops threatened a Dutch captain with anti-tank weapons not to move although the Dutch captain wanted to move in order to target Bosnian Serb forces more directly⁶¹. On July 11, Dutch solders saw mutual fighting in various places between Muslim soldiers who wanted to surrender and Muslim soldiers who

⁵⁵ Dutch battalion's Debriefing.

⁵⁶ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime, Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P95. Penguin Book , 1996.

⁵⁷ Testimony of Colonel Karremans at ICTY on July 4, 1996.

⁵⁸ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing

⁵⁹ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime, Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P11. Penguin Book. 1996

⁶⁰ Ibid. P12.

⁶¹ Ibid. P17.

wanted to continue to fight⁶². On July 12, several Dutch soldiers saw a man hang himself in factory complex opposite of the Dutch base in Potocari.⁶³

Negotiation With Muslim Civilians & Refugees in Srebrenica Enclave

At the fall of Srebrenica, Mladic negotiated with Karremans, Dutch commander, and three representatives of Muslim civilians and refugees three times. Based on the decision of the three representatives including a woman, Mladic organized the evacuation of people, and asked for the help of the three representatives to carry out the evacuation smoothly. What he repeatedly told them was to ask soldiers to give up weapons within 24 hours. He said that Muslim soldiers, including soldiers not in uniform and even war criminals, would be treated according to the Geneva Convention if they hand over their weapons. That never happened mostly because of the fact that the most of Muslim warriors carried on hands the blood of Serbian victims in period 1992 – 1995, so in fear of revenge and in hope that they would still remain unpunished, decided to make military brake to territory under control of so - called Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards Tuzla.

Muslim Soldiers Who Did Not Surrender

The conclusion of this negotiation must have been a nightmare for Muslim forces that were in confusion. Most of the soldiers were occupied with the worst scenario in which Bosnian Serb forces would execute all men. Later, some of the Muslim soldiers who had fled admitted, in various magazines, that the reason they had decided to flee was due to this worst scenario.⁶⁴ Besides, Muslim hard liners' pressure was mounting so high that soldiers that had decided to surrender had to expect some assaults from their own fellows⁶⁵. At the night of July 10, the Muslim soldiers who had decided not to surrender started fleeing. According to Dutch Battalion, a group of some 300 soldiers of Muslim forces disappeared in moving toward the west.⁶⁶ On the night of July 11-12, between 10,000 and 15,000 men, who had converged on the area of Jaglici and Susnjari, went in the forests to reach Tuzla or Kladanj.⁶⁷ Mehruudin Mesanovic said in the local magazine of Sarajevo that brigades gathered in Buljim on July 11 started into woods by platoon and platoon.⁶⁸ Although no confirmed figures are available, it is esti-

⁶² Dutch Battalion's Debriefing

⁶³ Ibid. 5.19.

⁶⁴ Niko nas nikad nista nije pitao. Rahmanovic. Faida. Svijet. No. 94. Feb. 22, 1998. Sarajevo.

⁶⁵ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁶⁶ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁶⁷ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem)., Both Norber. P177. Penguin Book. 1996.

⁶⁸ Niko nas nikad nista nije pitao. Svijet. No. 94. Feb. 22, 1998. Sarajevo

mated that 10,000-15,000 Muslim soldiers had left Srebrenica through woods according to the Report of the Secretary-General⁶⁹ and other accounts⁷⁰.

Muslim Who Surrendered

Approximately 25,000⁷¹ out of 40,000 Muslims⁷² decided to surrender and gathered in Potocari. According to Dutch battalion⁷³, the majority of people were women, children, and the elderly, and the military capable men accounted for only 2% to 3%. Bosnian Serb forces separated them into a group of women, children, and the elderly and a group of military capable men. The purpose of this separation was two-fold: to catch Muslim soldiers as many as possible as war prisoners in order to exchange them for Serbs imprisoned by Muslim Army particularly in Sarajevo, and to screen out Muslims who had committed hideous crimes against Serbian citizens particularly in 1992 and 1993. Being free from allegation of military engagement, a group of women, children, and the elderly were directly transferred to Kladanj, a Muslim territory. On the other hand, a group of men, amounting to about 500 to 750⁷⁴ (or 2%-3% of 25,000), were transferred to Bratunac, where they were screened for the check of war crimes, and were grouped into three; (1) a group of men who did not have any criminal records, (2) a group of men who were required to go through farther check for war crimes, (3) a group of men who were determined to be war criminals.

As for (1), Bosnian Serb forces considered the men of this group as civilians but not as prisoners of war. Thus, they were transferred from Bratunac to Kladanj, a Muslim territory, on July 14, immediately after the criminal screening. The fact that the men in this group did not become the targets for the exchange of prisoners was noteworthy because the men in this group might have fought as soldiers. In

⁶⁹ Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on violations of international humanitarian law in the areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most. (S/1995/988) November 27, 1995

⁷⁰ Naser Oric said in the interview with Oslobodjenje that 12,000 of military capable persons began to flee. Naser Oric's confession: Arms out of order delivered. Kamenica, Edina. Oslobodjenje. August 24-25, 1996. Sarajevo.

⁷¹ Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on violations of international humanitarian law in the areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most. (S/1995/988) November 27, 1995

Testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Karremans at ICTY on July 4, 1998

⁷² Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on violations of international humanitarian law in the areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most. (S/1995/988) November 27, 1995

Dutch battalion Debriefing

⁷³ Testimony of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Karremans at ICTY on July 4, 1998

⁷⁴ Vermisten Srebrenica poinnen in oorlog. Algemeen Dagblad. November 11, 1995. Holland.

fact, a Muslim man that had been released as a civilian on this time in Bratunac disappointed Bosnian Serb forces later when he was caught as a prisoner of war on the front line near Sarajevo⁷⁵. The number of Muslim men in this group is estimated to be around 500 because six buses and four trucks are said to be used to transport them⁷⁶.

The Muslim men in the remaining two groups became prisoners of war, according to their war activities. As for (2), the group was transferred from the prison of Bratunac to the prison of Batkovic. As for (3), the group was sent from the prison of Bratunac to the prison of Zvornik. The number of Muslim men in these two groups is estimated to be less than 250 in total because the number of men in all three groups totaled 500 to 750, and the group (1) consisted of approximately 500 men. When ICRC visited all three prisons in Bratunac, Batkovic and Zvornik afterwards⁷⁷, it registered 164 persons from Srebrenica at the prison of Batkovic on July 26, 1995⁷⁸, and noted 193 persons from Srebrenica in total by November 1995⁷⁹. Later, the majority of the Muslim war prisoners in these groups seems to have been exchanged for the Serbian war prisoners via ICRC. One of the example is Ibran Mustafic, a founder of the ruling Muslim party (SDA) in Srebrenica and Srebrenica representative to Muslim Parliament⁸⁰. He was exchanged for a Serb imprisoned by Muslim Army⁸¹ after having spent nine months in the prison in Batkovic although Mustafic was on the list of war criminals of Bosnian Serbs side⁸². Unfortunately, the number of the persons who were exchanged from the group (2) and (3) is unknown due to the confidentiality of ICRC documents. Yet, taking into consideration the fact that about 500 out of 750 men gathering in Potocari were transferred to Kladanj unconditionally, the remaining 250 must have been very precious war prisoners for Bosnian Serb forces.

⁷⁵ The record is kept in the Ministry of the Interior in Republic of Srpska and the copy is in the local police station in Srebrenica.

⁷⁶ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime, Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both Norber. P61. Penguin Book. 1996.

⁷⁷ The records of ICRC's visits have been kept by Ministry of the Interior in Republic of Srpska. The persons registered includes the persons captured during fleeing Srebrenica as well as the persons that did not belong to the groups (2) and (3)

⁷⁸ Report of the Secretary-General Submitted Pursuant To Security Council Resolution 1010 (1995) (S/1995/755) August 30, 1995.

⁷⁹ Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the Areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most, 7. 27 November 1995

⁸⁰ Presidency and Army Command Sacrificed Srebrenica, Slobodna Bosna. July 14, 1996. Sarajevo.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime, Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both Norber. P58. Penguin Book. 1996.

Other than the above three groups, there was a group of 88 wounded persons⁸³. As for the evacuation of this group, ICRC said that 65 of them were transferred to Muslim territories on July 17 and 18⁸⁴. Although 23 remained, ICRC noted their identities to trace them as war prisoners afterwards⁸⁵. As ICRC's check of identities would secure the lives of the noted persons, almost all wounded persons are considered to be exchanged for Serbian war prisoners later. Other than ICRC report, there were two accounts that contradict each other: the statement of Medicina Sans Frontiers⁸⁶ and the statement of Dutch battalions⁸⁷. Taking into consideration that the statement of Medicina Sans Frontiers was also inconsistent with ICRC report and that the statement was given by the locals that Medicina Sans Frontiers employed from the enclave, their statement should not be taken seriously.

Alleged Massacre

Fleeing Muslim Soldiers

It is said that the dreadful massacre of Muslims occurred at the fall of Srebrenica. Particularly, Muslim soldiers who decided to flee through woods instead of surrendering are said to be executed by Bosnian Serb forces as if they had been hunting rabbits. However, two important facts were ignored in this understanding: those soldiers were carrying weapons in spite of Mladic's repeated warning, and there were ferocious fighting between those Muslim soldiers and Bosnian Serb soldiers. As all Muslim soldiers headed for Muslim territories, Tuzla or Kladanj, through woods, they had to cross roads that cut off the woods vertically from north to south in some points, such as Buljim, Kamenica, Kravica, Pobudje, Nova Kasava, Bajkovic, Crni Vrh, and the line from Konjevic Polje to Milici⁸⁸. The combats were very intense in these places. According to a Muslim survivor, Bosnian Serb forces were waiting along the path which Muslim soldiers had to cross, and did not dare to walk into the woods⁸⁹. As Bosnian Serb forces were carrying anti-aircraft weapons, what they had to do was just to wait and shoot at massive Muslim soldiers coming out of the woods if they do not obey the warning of surren-

⁸³ Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1010 (1995) (S/1995/755) August 30, 1995.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Vermisten Srebrenica pionnen in oorlog, Algemeen Dagblad, November 11, 1995

De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1996

Naser Oric's Confession: Arms out of order delivered, Kamenica, Edina, Oslobodjenje, August 24-25, 1996, Sarajevo.

⁸⁹ Niko nas nikad nista nije pitao, Svijet, No. 94, Feb. 22, 1998, Sarajevo.

der⁹⁰. Yet, Bosnian Serb forces lost the fight at several places, such as Baljkovica, Krizevac, etc. and suffered the loss of 300 - 500 soldiers because Bosnian Serb soldiers, being inferior in number⁹¹, could not fight with hundreds or thousands of Muslim soldiers that crossed roads at a time even by heavy artillery. Among the loss of Bosnian Serb forces, there were quite a few elite soldiers, and local newspapers of Serbia often carried sad stories of those soldiers together with their photos in those days⁹². Taking into consideration the huge loss of Bosnian Serb forces under the favorable conditions for them⁹³, it can be estimated that Muslim forces must have suffered the loss of nearly 2,000 soldiers from military perspectives. However, it must be noted that this combat might look mass killings to the eye of frightened Muslim soldiers although they carried weapons and shot at Bosnian Serb soldiers randomly⁹⁴.

There are some accounts that said that no combats occurred virtually⁹⁵. The reason for these accounts was that the women in the buses heading for Kladanj did not see fighting⁹⁶. However, Mladic told General Smith, on July 19, that he had opened the corridor towards Tuzla for Muslim soldiers who had left the enclave around July 10 and 11. Thus, Bosnian Serb forces did not put up serious opposition⁹⁷. Under these conditions, about 6,000 soldiers⁹⁸ were able to reach Zenica through woods, according to UNHCR's announce⁹⁹. As Halilovic confirmed proudly in his book, hence, the 28th Division of Muslim Army in Srebrenica had been reorganized, consisting of 6,000 soldiers that had broke the line of Bosnian Serb forces¹⁰⁰. Therefore, during the daytime of July 12 and 13, when all buses passed by, there had not been serious combats yet. Otherwise, the buses could not have passed. However, during nights, when Muslim soldiers were moving, there were combats. Most of the local pathways became war sites as well as some places on the main roads that the buses took. Therefore, there must have been shooting sounds, which Dutch soldiers heard particularly during nights, and there must have been dead bodies scattered around the roads as the women in the buses saw during daytime. Accordingly,

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig. Jan. (Willem)., Both. Norbert. Penguin Book. P9. 1996.

⁹² Mrga was stepped by Life and War. Revija 92. August 11, 1995. Beograd.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig. Jan. (Willem)., Both. Norbert. Penguin Book. P177. 1996.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig. Jan. (Willem)., Both. Norbert. Penguin Book. P50. 1996.

⁹⁸ Report of The Secretary-General Submitted Pursuant To Security Council Resolution 1010 (1995) (S/1995/755) August 30, 1995.

⁹⁹ Algemeen Dagblad. 11 November 1995. Holland.

¹⁰⁰ Lukava Strategija. Halilovic. Sefer. P108 L37-P109. 1997. Sarajevo.

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what the women in the buses said was rational, and it was the evidence of the combats during nights rather than the evidence of the absence of the combats.

In addition to the death tolls in the combat, there were a number of Muslim soldiers who lost physical power to continue to flee. Dr. Ilijas Pilav, who succeeded this journey, said that he noticed many drowned men when he crossed the Jadar River¹⁰¹. He added that there were mutual shootings because of illusions resulted from exhaustion¹⁰². Another person said that there must have been lots of people who lost lives after losing sense of directions and going into a circle walk¹⁰³. After the combats, a huge number of dead bodies were scattered around.

To walk for almost 20 days in the area which might be full of mines without any food and water under the fear of being shot from any directions was such a trauma that Muslim soldiers sometimes mixed reality with illusions¹⁰⁴. Having looked at dead bodies under the psychological disturbance, some Muslim soldiers could believe what they imagined. Therefore, it is necessary to confirm witness' s accounts by site-inspection. Otherwise, enormously hideous stories, such as 'liver-eating story shown in the review of the indictment against Karadzic and Mladzic, would drive the general psychology to a 'witch-hunting' frenzy.

Muslims that were transferred by bus

As for the group of women, children, and the elderly, they were transferred to Kladanj, a Muslim territory, by buses on July 12 and 13. According to Muslim women¹⁰⁵ that were transferred from Srebrenica by bus, the Serb bus drivers assured that they would protect the passengers and that nobody would touch them. In fact, there are almost no names of women from Srebrenica in the missing list of ICRC.

As for the group of men who were transferred to Kladanj, several persons said that they were transferred to Karakaj in Bosnian Serbs' territory instead of Kladanj in Muslims' territory although others appeared to be transferred directly to Kladanj without troubles. According the Karakaj-massacre witnesses, men were crammed into a school complex and its adjacent sports hall in Karakaj and thou-

¹⁰¹ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P58. Penguin Book. 1996.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Niko nas nikad nista nije pitao. Svijet. No. 94. Feb. 22, 1998. Sarajevo.

¹⁰⁴ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime. Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both. Norber. P58. Penguin Book. 1996.

¹⁰⁵ On January 31, 1998, the author met more than 10 women that were living in Sarajevo as refugees from Srebrenica.

sands of men were executed there. However, according to the author's site inspection, there was only one school in Karakaj, which was supposed to accommodate Muslim men. However, it was too small to accommodate them and it did not have any sports halls. Moreover, there were school records showing the presence of students day by day in July and in August. In addition, when the author met two Muslim women that had been living in Mali Zvornik (in Serbia), only about 1 km away from the school across the Drina River, they said that they didn't hear any shooting sounds from 13 July afterwards although they lived within the range that the sounds could reach. They just added that they saw a long column of the buses, carrying many Muslims. Judging from this site-inspection, and considering that Mevludin Oric, one of the witnesses who allegedly saw massacre there, was a nephew of Naser Oric, Commander of Muslim forces in Srebrenica, the story of massacre in Karakaj is very skeptical.

Another dubious story is regarding the whereabouts of one of the most important Muslim citizens for Bosnian Serb forces. Nesib Mandzic, a citizen that negotiated with Mladzic as a representative of refugees together with two other civilians, is said to be executed by Bosnian Serb forces and listed as a person who disappeared on July 13. However, he signed the paper with the other representatives to confirm the safe completion of the evacuation on July 16, three days after the alleged disappearance. It can be considered that he might be killed later by Muslim soldiers partly because he was one of the persons that Muslim Army must have hated due to the negotiation with Mladzic and partly because he was a refugee but not a citizen of Srebrenica town.

Summary Execution for Personal Revenge

Considering that a number of Serbs were killed by Muslim neighbors in a very cruel way in 1992 and 1993, there must have been summary executions for the purpose of personal revenge. According to De Groene Amsterdammer dated March 13, 1996, Serbs were so tense to select war criminals with the lists and photos in their hands when they separated military capable men from women and others. Therefore, very selective executions could happen. Regarding the spots where executions took place, most cases must have been limited to Potocari because a particular individual would rarely see the right person among 15,000 fleeing Muslim soldiers in places other than Potocari. Moreover, any person that became insane with revenge would usually kill his target on the spot, i.e. Potocari, rather than waiting for the appropriate time and place. Direct information, such as Dutch soldiers, was one of the examples of summary executions for personal revenge. For instance, according to a Dutch soldier, a Muslim was pulled out of a crowd of refugees and shot in Potocari on July 13. Another Dutch soldier saw 10 Muslim soldiers led by Bosnian Serb soldiers on July 12, and 9 dead bodies were found around the area where they were seen last in Potocari. Yet, it must be noted that just shooting sounds or collecting people in one spot does not necessarily mean killings as shooting sound could be considered to be a threat or a warning and people could be collected in a place for screening for war crimes.

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

The existence of Mladic in Potocari can be considered to discourage Serbs to take their wild revenge, taking into consideration the vengeful mind of the relatives of Serbian victims that were massacred in 1992 and 1993. Several old Serbs whom the author met in January of 1998 said that they personally saw how merciless Mladic whacked Serbs who tried to rob empty houses. It was said that Mladic was too harsh and strict in discipline to overlook any unlawful behaviors of his soldiers. Although these were the statements of Serbs, it must be remembered that the existence of Mladic does not necessarily mean the systematic killings and could be the deterrence to vengeful killings. Of course, however, Mladic, who failed to stop killings perfectly, would be responsible as a superior, and those Serbs who directly committed the crimes should be punished accordingly.

Summary Execution of Muslim Soldiers Who Were Captured in Fleeing through Woods

It is not difficult to distinguish Muslim soldiers that were executed after being captured from Muslim soldiers that were killed in combat. The location of mass graves holds the key. The two of the three exhumation sites that author visited on May 16 in 1996 showed good examples: Cancari and Glodjansko brdo. Both of them are located in the front line area in Kamenica.

Cancari is the small village on the way from Srebrenica toward the north-east, the direction of Muslim territories. The mass grave in Cancari was situated along the two local roads. Behind the mass grave, six families were living at the time of exhumation. Bones were mixed up, and the locations of the bones were not natural. Therefore, ICTY, who was working on this mass grave, presumed that they were moved from somewhere to here in order to hide. However, the circumstances were not so convincing. Firstly, the site was so close to local roads that it was not an appropriate place to hide something. Secondly, if a truck picks up dead bodies who were killed in combats for clean-up, the locations of bones were disarranged anyway. Lastly, according to a ICTY officer, this site was shown by one of the US satellite photos, which could be any graves not necessarily for summarily executed persons.

Mass graves does not always mean mass execution. A village man in Cancari area began to grumble to the author about his corns, saying that his corn field was stamped so hard by massive Muslims during nights that he could not harvest corn. According to him, the combats had been so ferocious that bodies of soldiers killed in the combats had scattered around the area, and the whole area had smelled terribly as it had been more than 30 degrees. As domestic animals had eaten some of internal organs of dead human bodies, villagers had to kill all of their domestic animals. Under these circumstances, someone had to pick up the bodies to put into the ground for the sake of hygiene.

On the other hand, the mass grave in Glodjansko brdo was located deep in forests. It was the site where someone wanted to hide bodies. This mass grave had been once dug in 1993 by Bosnian Serbs because it had contained victims of Serbian civilians killed in 1993. However, the exhumation work

had been suspended due to the fierce combats. Most of local newspapers had carried the exhumation as top stories in those days.

Comparing the two sites, it can be concluded that the mass grave in a open space along a road in combat areas were created for hygiene reasons for numerous soldiers killed in the combats. On the other hand, mass graves deep in forests are considered to be the ones which criminals wanted to hide. The exhumation site of ICTY is considered to be one of the examples of mass graves created for hygiene reasons.

Missing List

It is said that as many as 6,000 - 8,000 Muslim men were executed by Bosnian Serb forces. However, this figure is evidently inflated. There are several factors that expand the actual figure. First factor is the high ratio of Muslim women to military capable men in a family. In general, the average number of women are about 3 or 4, the grandmother, the mother, the wife, and a sister in a Muslim family, usually consisting of more than 8 members. On the other hand, the number of military capable men is 1 or 2, the father if he is young enough and a brother if he is old enough. Therefore, if one of the military capable men becomes missing, three women anxious about the fate of their beloved one would report to ICRC individually as a missing person. The name could be slightly changed because a nickname is sometimes more popular than the real name. Thus, the number of missing persons would become two-fold. When the author visited Muslim women that were living in Sarajevo as refugees from Srebrenica, more than ten women came in order to ask the author to find the whereabouts of the two men.

Another factor is the desperate efforts of Muslim women from Srebrenica to support their lives. Having arrived in Kladanj and Tuzla either by the bus evacuation at the fall of Srebrenica or by some other means before the fall of Srebrenica, Muslim women obtained Identity Card of a citizen of Kladanj or Tuzla. However, as they moved mostly to Sarajevo, they got another Identity Card of Sarajevo. Thus, they are able to secure aid in Kladanj / Tuzla as well as aid in Sarajevo. One of the Muslim women that the author met in Sarajevo whispered secretly, saying that she had two Identity Cards to receive the aid twice.

Next factor is the intention of Muslim government to manipulate the election in Srebrenica. According to the document compiled by the local Serbs in Srebrenica, about 3,500 Muslim names registered as voters in 1997 had not been the persons who used to live in Srebrenica. All 3,500 names that the author saw in their letter of complaint to OSCE were female names. False registration gave the election victory of Srebrenica to Muslim government, and gave aid to women registered falsely. All three factors also become the reasons why so many Muslim women said that their beloved ones had been killed in Srebrenica.

Moreover, there were a number of names without date of birth in the missing list. These names amount as much as about 3,381 out of 6,610 who became missing at the fall of Srebrenica. Since it is strange that close relative did not know the birth date of their beloved in registering¹⁰⁶, there must be some factor which tried to manipulate the figure of the victims.

Another factor is efforts of Muslim soldiers to conceal their identity in order to avoid the war criminal charge from Bosnian Serb forces. They gave the false identifies to international organizations when they wanted to get out of Srebrenica, and they gave their real name when they arrived at a Muslim territory. Thus, false identities remained in the missing list. In Srebrenica, the author noticed that some of the names on grave stones were identical with the names in the missing list. Probably, they used the names of their dead friends or relatives.

According to Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1019 (1995) on Violations of International Humanitarian Law in the Areas of Srebrenica, Zepa, Banja Luka and Sanski Most (27 November 1995), out of the first tracing requests from families, which amounted to 10,000, 2,000 were found duplicative, and 5,000 were found to be persons who had left the enclave before the fall of Srebrenica. Thus, the remaining requests amounts to approximately 3,000, and ICRC recently listed 3,290 as persons who became missing on the fall of Srebrenica. However, the author found that 180 tracing requests in the ICRC missing list were also for the persons who had left the enclave before the fall of Srebrenica. Consequently, the number of tracing requests results in 3,110 missing persons. Moreover, 195 out of the 3,110 tracing requests were found to be for the persons who had been dead before the fall of Srebrenica or for the persons who had left the enclave earlier, according to the investigation of the document which Muslim forces left in Srebrenica. It should be noted that this document is 45,000 pages long and that only less than one tenth of the document has been checked by the Commission of Legal Experts to Republic of Srpska. Thus, more persons will be eliminated from the remaining 2,915 tracing requests.

If the number of invalid tracing requests is found at this rate by the further check of the document, the number of the valid tracing requests is expected to be 2,000 - 2,500 at most eventually. Out of this number, roughly 1,800 Muslim soldiers are estimated to be killed during combats in fleeing, judging from military perspectives, and probably another 100 persons had died of physical conditions while fleeing. In addition, persons who were given asylum in Yugoslavia and other countries and persons who came back alive much later either after hiding themselves for a long time or after being exchanged as prisoners of war must be deleted from the tracing requests. Moreover, Muslim government immediately transferred about 6,000 soldier who arrived at Zenica and Tuzla to another front line in

¹⁰⁶ ICRC's missing list (Third edition issued on 15.01.1997) said in its footnote that all the identities and data published herewith were transmitted to the ICRC by close relatives of the sought persons.

Bosnia without giving any access to their families¹⁰⁷. Their families of these 6,000 would request ICRC to trace them because the families did not know that their beloved ones had arrived. Thus, a certain number of soldiers among those 6,000 must be deleted from the names of persons who became missing in Srebrenica. As a consequence, the remaining figure in the missing list would be the number of Muslim soldiers who were executed by Bosnian Serb forces for personal revenge or for simple ignorance of the international law. It would probably stand less than 100.

Erdemovic

Although Erdemovic (a Croat) appeared to be the only substantial evidence for the alleged systematic ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Serb forces, it has not been well-known that Yugoslav government submitted him to ICTY after it had diagnosed him as being mentally sick. When he confessed in Yugoslavia that he executed more than 70 Muslims by ABC broadcast in May 1996, Yugoslav police immediately arrested him in order to investigate. However, as his statement and behavior had many contradictions, the doctors diagnosed him as mental disease. It should be also noted that he used to fight as a member of Muslim forces, then as a member of Croatian forces, and finally as Bosnian Serb forces during the war¹⁰⁸. This inconsistency of his military history raises the question of the adequacy to stand as a witness for mass execution. Unfortunately, up to day nobody didn't checked out who is in fact Mr. Erdemovic and his relations with intelligent services, particularly Croatian and Franceise.

¹⁰⁷ Algemeen Dagblad 11 November 1995.

¹⁰⁸ Record of the court of Novi Sad.

Consequence of Alleged Srebrenica Massacre and Collective Responsibility of Serbs

Reappearance of Muslim War Criminals in 1998

In 1997, the local election was held in Srebrenica under the supervision of OSCE, and Muslims won the election. According to the document compiled by the local Serbs in Srebrenica, however, about 3500 Muslim names registered as voters were not the persons who used to live in Srebrenica. Although the local Serbs filed the complaint, OSCE ignored. As a result, the local Serbs decided not to recognize the legitimacy of the Assembly. Meanwhile, some newly elected Muslim assemblymen came to Srebrenica in 1998 in order to attend the assembly under the heavy protection of SFOR. However, local Serbs immediately recognized one of the so-called elected Muslims by face as a criminal that killed two women and a handicapped man in a wheelchair in Loznica village in 1992. When the author visited Srebrenica, one of local Serbs said to himself that he would not be able to live in Srebrenica if the international society would bring back those criminals. The deputy chief of the local Bosnian Serb police, who had to cooperate with SFOR to protect the war criminal, said to the author's interpreter in a despair that his job was to arrest criminals and to protect general people. He added impassively that he might quit the job. Yet, there are almost no jobs in Srebrenica.

In Tuzla, a Muslim territory, there are troubles between Muslims who once escaped to Germany from Tuzla during the war and Muslims who started to live in Tuzla after the war. According to UNHCR, the current Muslim residents do not allow their fellow returnees to come back to Tuzla. This conflict may result from the fall of Srebrenica. When Srebrenica fell in July 1995, about 6,000 of the most savage segment of Bosnian Army in Srebrenica took the advantage of the corridor that Mladic opened, and arrived at Tuzla¹⁰⁹. According to local media in those days, new comers from Srebrenica were reported to kill and beat up the original residents in order to take their houses. As they are still free to do anything now, they would do anything in order to refuse their fellow Muslim returnees from Germany.

In 1998, it is said that Naser Oric is now in Kosovo as a mercenary. As he used to be a policeman in Belgrade, several former colleagues recognized him. In addition, a Kosovo Albanian who was arrested as a fighter of UCK, Kosovo Liberation Army, confessed that Naser Oric was in Kosovo together with about 50 Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica.

¹⁰⁹ Srebrenica: Record of A War Crime, Honig, Jan. (Willem), Both, Norber. P58. Penguin Book, 1996.

Unlike international conflicts, civil war often give the opportunities that people like bandits will become main players. If you apply black and white picture on a civil war like the war in Bosnia, and overlook the crimes of those bandits, saying that they are victims, the troubles will spill over and you may increase the sorrow of the general public. It is completely clear that certain circles care that suffering of Serbs remained covered, so that the same circles will identify themselves in concert on occasion of presenting of information compiled in this report.

Quasi-Protectorate of Republic of Srpska

Aleged massacre of Muslims gave a dreadful blow to Republic of Srpska. It lost political and military leaders as ICTY indicted Karadzid and Mladic, and had to start building the entity without the leadership. Taking the advantage of the situation, the international society have filled the space, using SFOR's arrests as a whip on one hand, and financial aid as a card on the other.

Under the whip and the card, the political body began to disintegrate, and Republic of Srpska has become a quasi-protectorate of some foreign country. Domestic judicial system was completely ignored, and a war criminal suspect, Drjeca was killed by SFOR by the "secret indictment" of ICTY the under the name of justice although he had hardly resisted unlike SFOR's statement. People has become very vulnerable, having been exposed to the risk of a sudden arrest for the crimes that they did not know. The air in Republic of Srpska became stifling among the ordinary citizens of Bosnian Serbs. When the election was held, IPC declined to release the election results for more than two weeks under the name of democracy. The final results of the election that might be manipulated during this period have brought about war criminals as elected assembly men in Srebrenica, and other places. Being afraid of criminals' comeback to the neighbourhood, a certain portion of ordinary citizens of Bosnian Serbs have started to look for a life in other countries. The fate of the entity of Bosnian Serbs is dwindling and there is strong tendency that this entity might be turned off from two reason. We presents the main two: 1 International community see solution of so - called "Islamic - fundamental issue" by composing three nations in one population under name Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Serbs and Croats would be factor of control for Moslems and 2. Intention of Islamic fundamentalist to politically - geography encircle B&H territory so they could with use of "population principle" to recompose B&H in next ten years. It is well known the growth of population in Moslem's families, so if today's trend continues, the number of Croats and Serbs will be drastically smaller and number of Muslims will be multiplied for several times and final result is creating of B&H under domination of just one nation, simply because there will be no others.

Collective Responsibility of Serbs

Alleged Srebrenica massacre hit Yugoslavia hard as well as Republic of Srpska. As unconfirmed information on the massacre of Muslim soldiers in Srebrenica created a monstrous image of blood-thirsty Serbs as the collective body so firmly, almost everything has been looked at through the filter of this image. Thus, in almost every case, the Serbs are judged as an evil from the beginning. For instance, in media reports on Kosovo, the most frequent words that have been used are Serbs cannot repeat the massacre of Bosnia" based in the alleged Srebrenica massacre. This imprinting process of the formidable image might push Serbs onto an isolated corner of the world for an unexpectedly long period. Therefore, to clarify the alleged Srebrenica massacre is considered to be one of the most urgent tasks to save Serbs' fate.

Role of international media's

It has been five years since the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) has retaken the small town of Srebrenica -

The Economist, 15-21 July 1995 Call that safe? "...It is not the first time that the Serbs have "liberated" Srebrenica. In 1992, during the first weeks of the Bosnian war, they also took the town but were driven out. Later, in blazing sunshine, Muslims and Serbs sat down in the middle of the road to hammer out a peace deal. The Serbs offered Srebrenica's Muslims autonomy within the Bosnian Serb republic, but that was rejected. Since then the war in eastern Bosnia has seen the most vicious fighting in the benighted republic..."

- and it is the right time to give a historical retrospective of the events that have happened in the area during Bosnia's civil war.

How did it start? As every other civil war, with the killing of the neighbours. Two Bosnian Muslims, accused by the Republica Srpska for the war crimes, Naser Oric (commander of the Bosnian Muslim Army - BMA - in Srebrenica) and Hakija (Husein) Meholic organized on May 18, 1992 killing of the Bosnian Serb, Goran (Drago) Zekic, who was deputy in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly .

Shortly after, the BMA, led by Naser Oric, Hakija (Husein) Meholic, Zulfo "Suceska" Tur-sunovic and Akif (Enez) Ustic have attacked a several Bosnian Serb villages in Srebrenica's area. The following Bosnian Serbs villages were burned and destroyed: Osredak May 1992, Oparke June 01, 1992, Zagora July 05, 1992, Zalezje July 12, 1992 Pajici and Hrahna July 25, 1992, Brezani July 30, 1992, Fakovici October 1992, Kravice January 07, 1993 (Christmas Day for the Orthodox Bosnian Serbs).

Then the BSA strikes back and as the result of that counter-offensive, on April 16, 1993, the Security Council adopted Resolution 819, which designated the enclave around Srebrenica a "safe heaven". Two days latter, the BSA commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, joined his BMA counterpart in agreeing to the demilitarization of Srebrenica.

The following are quotations from various sources and published articles that will explain more in-depth how "demilitarized safe area of Srebrenica" actually was:

The Times, 14 July 1995 Muslim soldiers 'failed to defend town from Serbs' By Michael Evans, Defence Correspondent: ".....Srebrenica was officially demilitarized on April 17, 1993, but the government soldiers were not short of weapons. Before the Serb advance on the town, the Muslims had been shelling Serb units along the main road to the south. The intelligence sources said it was that harassment which precipitated the Serb attack on the 1,500 Muslim defenders inside the enclave...."

The Economist, 15-21 July 1995 Call that safe?:"Safe" Srebrenica was supposed to be demilitarized but this did not stop Mr Oric's soldiers from raiding nearby Serb villages. A recent raid, occurring soon after the collapse of the heavy-weapons exclusion zone around Sarajevo, plus the slow gathering of the West's reaction force, gave General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb commander, the reasons he needed for extracting the thorn of Srebrenica from the Bosnian Serbs' eastern side. But Mr Oric escaped...."

New York Times News Service-07-11-95 2031EDT :.."The commander of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Ratko Mladic, said in a letter to Gen. Rupert Smith, the U.N. commander in Bosnia, that the Serbian offensive had been undertaken to ``neutralize" what he called terrorists in Srebrenica. Mladic accused the United Nations of failing to demilitarize the so-called safe area of Srebrenica. He said civilians and peacekeepers were not endangered by Bosnian Serb military activity. The United Nations has confirmed that the Bosnian government used the safe areas for staging attacks....."

Associated Press July 11: ".....Lt. Col. Gary Coward, a U.N. spokesman in Sarajevo, confirmed that Muslim-led government troops had used the "safe area" to make attacks on Serbs surrounding the enclave, but said the raids were not large-scale...."

Reuters ZAGREB, Croatia: "...Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said the Serbs seized the enclave because Moslem-led government troops were staging what he called "terrorist" attacks out of the area....."

June 27, General Ratko Mladic: "....According to him, "UNPROFOR did not carry out its main task nor implement the agreements signed by its generals, from Morillon to Rose. "The protected zones of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde are not demilitarized, while Sarajevo, Tuzla and Bihac were not the subject of talks between the warring sides and they are not defined as protected zones," said Mladic...."

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

The following are quotations from various sources and published articles from the Western press that will explain more in-depth how "demilitarized safe area of Srebrenica" actually was:

N.Y. Times News Service: GOVERNMENT TROOPS ATTACK BOSNIAN SERB VILLAGE By STEPHEN KINZER 1995: VISNJICA, Bosnia-Herzegovina In a raid before dawn that again illustrated the weakness of U.N. forces here, Bosnian government soldiers apparently slipped past U.N. posts on Monday and attacked this isolated Bosnian Serb village, burning several houses, stealing livestock, and leaving a dozen families homeless, a Bosnian Serb spokesman said. Although the assault had no great military significance, it reflected both the growing frustration of government troops and the inadequacy of U.N. peacekeepers who have pledged to prevent them from leaving supposedly demilitarized enclaves in eastern Bosnia. Visnjica is a miserable settlement perched on a mountainside a few miles from Srebrenica, one of the Muslim towns in eastern Bosnia which the United Nations has designated as demilitarized "protected areas." But Monday's raid was apparently launched by troops based inside Srebrenica, leading Bosnian Serb officers to denounce the United Nations for failing to comply with its promise to keep the town free of soldiers and weapons. "There have been a number of incidents like this in the last 15 to 20 days," said Lt. Col. Milovan Milutinovic, chief spokesman for the Bosnian Serb army. "The Muslim soldiers who carried out this attack crossed lines patrolled by Dutch U.N. troops whose job it is to prevent just this kind of action. We therefore conclude that the U.N. forces are aligning themselves with the Muslim army." Several of the impoverished farmers who live in Visnjica said they had assumed they were safe here because of U.N. pledges. "We thought that no one could attack us from Srebrenica because the town was demilitarized and surrounded by U.N. soldiers," said Ljubomir Vukovic, 67, as he stood in the smoldering ruins of the house he shared with two other families. "But they came from right over that hill." Vukovic pointed toward a peak separating his village from Srebrenica. A U.N. post there is supposed to prevent soldiers from passing in either direction...". But as Monday's raid showed, they are still able to strike fear into the hearts of Serb villagers. Their goal may be to terrorize these villagers into abandoning their homes, thus leaving formerly Serb areas uninhabited...."

What kind of living Srebrenica's Muslim commander Oric was providing to refugees in the "safe area" explains the following:

"Globe and Mail" July 12, 1995: "....The refugees in Srebrenica, most of them Muslim women and children who fled into Srebrenica ahead of a massive and brutal wave of Bosnian Serb

"ethnic cleansing" in eastern Bosnia in the spring of 1993, have been desperate to leave the town ever since they arrived. Instead, they have been forced to remain by the local Muslim warlord, Naser Oric, who drove around town in a Mercedes while the refugees sustained on meagre UN handouts and were, occasionally, sold water by Srebrenica residents during the brutally-hot summers.

Mr. Oric and the Bosnian government knew that if the majority of refugees were allowed to be trucked across Serb-held territory to Tuzla or some other viable sanctuary, both the UN protection and any hope of holding on to the remote and surrounded enclave would be lost.

The Srebrenica residents treated the refugees atrociously. When the refugees elected a representative to present their demands to Oric, the representative was murdered within hours..."

As seen so many times before in Bosnia's civil war, the Bosnian Muslim led government had no scruples and did not hesitate to use the refugees misery in order to gain "International support". At the same time a "courtesy" that BMA treated UN troops with - those very same troops that were feeding the "safe area" for almost three years - could be read in:

The Electronic Telegraph Tuesday 11 July 1995 World News: "...Dutch UN peacekeepers formed a barrier of personnel carriers between advancing Serb tanks and Muslim soldiers defending the town. One of the personnel carriers rolled off the road as it manoeuvred after Muslim forces opened up on it with a grenade and small arms. When another carrier tried to pull it back on to the road, a Muslim soldier of the Bosnian army fired an anti-tank rocket at it, but missed..."

CHRIS HEDGES .1995 N.Y. Times News Service: "...The captured observation posts came under tank fire, and a peacekeeper was shot dead the 67th to be killed in the conflict by Bosnian government forces as the Dutch troops retreated from the advancing Bosnian Serb forces..."

What was going on among the BMA defenders inside the "safe area" please read from the articles published in the Western press :

New York Yimes, July 23, 1995 by Alan Cowell: ..."The Dutch accounts, by soldiers, officers and the Defence Minister, were unanimous in asserting that the Bosnian Muslim soldiers who had been under siege in Srebrenica for three years abandoned the town around two days be-

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fore it fell. Before the defenders left the town, General Couzy said, Dutch soldiers saw: "in two locations there was fighting between those who wanted to stay and those who wanted to go.

Many Dutch soldiers said they had been upset and troubled by the sight of soldiers seeming to abandon their wives and children to the advancing Serbs."... How many of BMA soldiers actually have died from the "friendly fire" it will remain a secret , but the victims are certainly submitted by the Bosnian Muslim led government as "missing civilians killed by the Serbian aggressors". The BSA did not use thousands of troops as it was suggested by the PR companies hired by the Bosnian Muslim led government. As a meter of fact it was published that:

The Times, 14 July 1995 Muslim soldiers 'failed to defend town from Serbs ' By Michael Evans, Defense Correspondent: "...The Muslim defenders of Srebrenica put up only a brief fight against the Serbs, and their commanders left the night before the Serb tanks entered the town, according to Western intelligence sources yesterday.

The abandonment of Srebrenica to a relatively small Serb advancing force caused surprise in the West, especially after the largely Muslim government army had demonstrated considerable infantry skills in recent attacks. There were reports that up to 1,500 Serbs were involved in the assault on Srebrenica, but intelligence sources estimated a force of about 200, with five tanks carried out the main attack. "It was a pretty low-level operation, but for some reason which we can't understand the BiH (government) soldiers didn't put up much of a fight," one source said...."

"...However, the advance into the town was seen by intelligence assessors as an opportunist move. "I don't think the Serbs had predicted the timing of this operation," one source said. The apparent decision by the Muslims to abandon the town provided the Serbs with a sudden opportunity to occupy Srebrenica, bypassing the Dutch on the road a mile south of the town.

The intelligence source said: "The BiH just melted away from Srebrenica and the senior officers left the night before." The source said the Muslim defenders were "adequately armed" for street-fighting..."

Loosing (deliberately?) the Srebrenica enclave, the Bosnian Muslim led government started to play the pre-arranged PR campaign with innocent refugees from Srebrenica:

The Daily Telegraph, July 15, 1995: "Muslims manipulate refugees' agony:The Bosnian government deliberately increased the suffering of the Muslim refugees fleeing Srebrenica to put pressure on the international community, according to the documents made available to the Daily Telegraph.

The papers include instructions to the United Nations from the government of Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo that the refugees must be taken in their thousands to a single location rather than being spread around the numerous available centers.

The resulting television pictures and media reports of chaos among aid workers overwhelmed when the refugees arrived at the UN base in Tuzla were intended to bring about a decisive international response..."

Once again victims of the civil war were paying the price for the unspeakable crimes that their - Bosnian Muslim - representatives were orchestrating. As so many times before, killing their own people (bomb massacres in Sarajevo), increasing the suffering of the innocent refugees... nothing was secret to Alija Izetbegovic and his Islamic followers.

Then, in order to put more pressure on the UN, Security Council, International Community, they (The Bosnian Muslim Government) came out with "the victims story". The amounts of "massacred" BMA soldiers were going from 1,000 up to 15,000. Without considering the astonishing fact that in the "demilitarized safe area" there were several brigades of BMA troops, let's read the following:

Reuters May 29, 1996: "...The six investigators are searching for evidence to convict Bosnian Serbs involved in the massacre of at least 3,000 unarmed Muslim men from Srebrenica, a U.N. declared "safe area" overrun by the Serbs last July.

After two hours of digging with shovels, picks, rakes and hoes, investigators allowed reporters to approach the site, where at least four corpses were found...." (Mass graves and the proof of mass killings!)

The Times, August 02, 1995 "Missing enclave troops found" by Michael Evans and Michael Kallenbach: "...Thousands of the "missing Bosnian Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica who have been at the centre of reports of possible mass executions by the Serbs, are believed to be safe to the Northeast of Tuzla.....

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

...For the first time yesterday, however, the Red Cross in Geneva said it heard from sources in Bosnia that up to 2,000 Bosnian Government troops were in area north of Tuzla. They had made their way from Srebrenica "without their families being informed", a spokesman said, adding that it had not been possible to verify the reports because the Bosnian Government refused to allow the Red Cross into the area.

Although the Red Cross refused to speculate why the Bosnian Government was keeping secret the presence of the Srebrenica troops near Tuzla, it probably is doing so for military reasons..."

New York Times, July 17, 1995 by Chris Hedges: Some 3,000 - 4,000 Bosnian Muslims who were considered by United Nations officials to be missing after the fall of the Srebrenica enclave have made their way through enemy lines to Bosnian Government territory.

The BMA troops were ordered to attack the northern flanks of the BSA positions and not to surrender to enemy. It is more that logical to expect that the BSA troops were fighting back at BMA attacks and were not welcoming BMA soldiers with flowers. It is rather ridiculous to expect one army to "greeting" the enemy firing on them with smiles and welcoming words...:

Reuters, January 30, 1996: ".....Melvudin Mandzic, 22, released by the Bosnian Serbs on Sunday, told Reuters how he had fled the capture of the U.N. "safe area" of Srebrenica, where thousands of his comrades are believed to have been killed in ambushes and massacres then buried in mass graves.

Mandzic's epic escape took him through the wooded hills of Northeast Bosnia, across Serbia where he was captured and sent back to a Bosnian Serb jail, and then finally to freedom in Sarajevo on Sunday. Pale, smoking heavily, Mandzic recalled how commanders of the Muslim-led Bosnian government army on July 11 ordered their 13,000 heavily-outgunned fighters in the area to try to break through Serb forces closing in on Srebrenica...."

At the several occasions UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali tried to present "charade" performed by the Bosnian Muslim led government to UN Security Council. On May 30, 1995, Secretary general writes (U.N. document S/1995/444) that there never was an enforcement concept behind the "safe areas" six towns surrounded by Serb-held territory. The Security Council did not require the Bosnian Government to withdraw its forces from the areas but

muttered about how naughty it would be to carry out attacks against them or from them. On page 18 there is this passage from the Secretary General:

"In recent months, government forces have considerably increased their military activity in and around most safe areas, and many of them, including Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac, have been incorporated into the broader military campaign of the government's side." "The headquarters and logistics installations of the Fifth Corps of the government army are located in the town of Bihac and those of the second Corps in the town of Tuzla. "The government also maintains a substantial number of troops in Srebrenica (in this case a violation of a demilitarization agreement) Gorazde and Zepa, while Sarajevo is the location of the General Command of the government army and other military installations. There is also an ammunition factory in Gorazde. "The Bosnian Serb forces' reaction to offensives launched by the government army from safe areas have generally been to respond against military targets within those areas, often at a disproportionate level."

The Secretary General heavily criticized some media reports:

Calling Bosnia Crisis Overrated, U.N. Chief Focuses on Africa By BARBARA CROSSETTE: "...The international press, he remarked in one of several interviews on his trip, made the battle for Srebrenica sound "like Stalingrad."

"There is a kind of dialectical relation between the attention of a great power and the power of the media," he said. "It creates a distortion in our work. What I am trying to do, without great success, is to correct this distortion."

Finally there were independent witnesses like UN Dutch troops. This is what they said about "mass killings":

BBC Ceefax, 23 July 1995 23:59 BST: NO EVIDENCE OF MASS KILLINGS: DUTCH UN . Dutch UN peacekeepers in Srebrenica when the enclave fell to Bosnian Serb troops, have said they saw the summary execution of ten Bosnian Muslims. But Dutch commander Lt-Col Ton Karremans said he and his men had seen no evidence to corroborate reports from fleeing refugees of mass killings by Bosnian Serb troops.

DIE WELT, 25.7.1995 By HELMUT HETZEL:".... Neither Struik nor other Dutch soldiers who were stationed in Srebrenica want to publicly confirm what minister of development-

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

help Jan Pronk and later the minister of defense Joris Voorhoeve claimed: That genocide happened in Srebrenica..."

The personal representative of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights was appointed to investigate what happened in Srebrenica and this is what he said:

The Electronic Telegraph Monday 24 July 1995: SERB ATROCITIES IN SREBRENICA ARE UNPROVED By Tim Butcher in Tuzla: After five days of interviews the United Nations chief investigator into alleged human rights abuses during the fall of Srebrenica has not found any first-hand witnesses of atrocities...

...The lack of clear evidence facing Hubert Wieland, personal representative of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, proved the near-impossibility of establishing what happened when the Serbs overran the Muslim enclave in eastern Bosnia. "Of course the whole ejection of a civilian population is an enormous abuse of human rights," Mr Wieland said yesterday. "But we have not found anyone who saw with their own eyes an atrocity taking place."

...Mr Wieland travelled to Tuzla, the Bosnian city where almost all of the Srebrenica refugees were taken, with a team of investigators to gather evidence of human rights abuses...

He said his team had spoken to scores of Muslims at the main refugee camp at Tuzla airfield and at other collective centres but no first-hand witnesses had been found.....

There is only one fact proven during the last two years after the Srebrenica story. The "massacre" in Srebrenica was just another masterpiece of the PR campaign done by Bosnian Muslim led government of Alija Izetbegovic. They didn't care about sufferings of the people, death or destruction. For these Islamic fanatics only one goal has no price the creation of an Islamic Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Bosnian Serbs and Croats have realized Izetbegovic's intentions and they fought against it. It is about time for the International Community to accept the reality. There will be no peace until the Bosnian Muslims who are responsible for lightning up the brutal Bosnia's civil war will stand in front of Hag's War Crimes Tribunal. It is time to get Alija Izetbegovic, Ejup Ganic, Rusmir Mahmutcehajic, Omer Behmen, Haris Silajdzic to stand and face the historical judgment. Their blindness (fanaticism) has created enormous disaster to the Bosnian Muslim people as well as for the Bosnian Serbs and Croats. It is time to pay the price for their religious fundamentalism.

Bosnian Muslims who were considered by United Nations officials to be missing after the fall of the Srebrenica enclave have made their way through enemy lines to Bosnian Government territory in Zepa. This is an official message from the Zepa command to their main headquarters in town of Tuzla. It was never made public, although UN representatives were informed about incoming Bosnian Muslim troops from UN battalion in Zepa.

Facsimile of Top-secret Bosnian Muslim Army document

REPUBLIC OF BOSNA I HERZEGOVINA DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC

Bosnia and Herzegovina Army
22.07.1995 time: 14:20:00
2 CORPUS TUZLA
for brigadier: DUDAKOVICH

Facsimile of Top secret
Bosnian Muslim Army
document

The members of the 28 th Bosnian Muslim Mountain Battalion that came to Zepa on July 16, 1995.

- 1) Sachirovich Mustafa 28 bb
- 2) Malagich Safet 28 bb
- 3) Dzanich Edhem-Klotjevac
- 4) Muminovich Zurijet 28 bb
- 5) Halilovich Sejdalija-Klotjevac
- 6) Malagich Hamdija 28 bb
- 7) Memich Suljo
- 8) Mustafich Asmir 280 bb
- 9) Bechirovich Ibro - Pomol
- 10) Dzananovich Ibrism 28 bb
- 11) Bechirovich Salko - Pomol
- 12) Ademovich Sakib 28 bb
- 13) Huseinovic Avdija 28 bb
- 14) Omerovich Sabit 28 bb
- 15) Alic Fadil
- 16) Zukanovich Hamid 28 bb
- 17) Ahmetovic Sadik
- 18) Jahich Ismet 28 bb
- 19) Husic Husein 28 bb
- 20) Dubicich Mefail 28 bb
- 21) Hasanovic Sead 28 bb
- 22) Salihovich Zulfer 28 bb
- 23) Ibrahimovic Lutvo 28 bb
- 24) Suljich Hariz 28 bb
- 25) Beganovicc Ragib 28bb
- 26) Bajramovich Ramo 28bb
- 27) Delicc SSaban 28bb
- 28) Osmanovich Kemo-VEZA 28 div.
- 29) Junuzovic Edhem 28 bb
- 30) Jusupovich Hasan 28 bb
- 31) Malagic Nedzad 28 bb
- 32) Husich Abid 28 bb
- 33) Malagic Senahid 28 bb
- 34) Omerovich Mefail 28 bb
- 35) Malagic Mehmedalija 28 bb
- 36) Mekanich (Osmana) Ibrahim 28 bb
- 37) Kapidzic Suad 28 bb
- 38) Muminovich Mevludin 28 bb
- 39) Gerovic Meho 28 bb
- 40) Ljeskovica Mirsad 28 bb
- 41) Ramic Fikret 28 bb
- 42) Beganovich Mesud 28 bb
- 43) Golic Adil 28 bb
- 44) Muminovich Vahdet 28 bb

- 45) Beganovic Elvir 28 bb 46) Mujic Nermin 28 bb
 47) Music Husnija 28 bb 48) Hublich Hamzalija 28 bb
 49) Malagic Selmo 28 bb 50) Bumbulovich Mehmed 28bb
 51) Music Bekir 28 bb 52) Selimovich Sabahudin 28 bb
 53) Huseinovic Senad 28 bb 54) Ahmedovich Bego 28 bb
 55) Salchinovic Hasim - Pustumlici 56) Malcinovich Asim 28 bb
 57) Salchinovic Hazim - Pustumlici 58) Omerovich Suad 28 bb
 59) Jufufovic Muhamed - Karachici 60) Muminovich Kemal 28 bb
 61) Beganovic Zaim 28 bb 62) Malagich Kemal 28 bb
 63) Hrustanovic Mujo - Miholjevine 64) Ahmetovich Ahmet 28 bb
 65) Aljic Aljo-iz Dobraka 66) Dzikanovich Fehim 28 bb
 67) Ibrahimovic Esed - iz Zgunje 68) Aroich Ahmedin 28 bb
 69) Ibisovic Nedzad -iz Dobraka 70) Halilovich Sejdalija 28 bb
 71) Ahmetovic Ahmet 28 bb 72) Bechirovich Ibro 28 bb
 73) Bechirovich Salko 28 bb 74) Husejnovich Avdija 28 bb
 75) Smajlovich Mehidin 28 bb 76) Porobich Smail 28 bb
 77) Avdich (Alija) Hajro 28 bb 78) Avdich (Mehmeda) Edin 28 bb
 79) Avdich (Hakije) Zijad 28 bb 80) Kadrich (Fikreta) Mirsad 28 bb
 81) Selimovich (Hasib) Rizo 28 bb 82) Mandzich (Ibrahim) Sabit 28 bb
 83) Avdich Ahmedin - civilian - Klotovac

The following came to Zepa, as well:

- 1) Dzananovich Velid from Zaluzja 2) Beganovich Hamdija from Glogove
 3) Avdich Izet from Bratunca 4) Huseinovich Mehmedalija from Glogove
 5) Hodzich Adis from Srebrenice 6) Musich Remzija from Glogove
 7) Spiodich Dzevad from Srebrenice 8) Beganovich Vejsil from Glogove
 9) Alich Fahrudin from Voljavice 10) Ibisevich Ahmo from Sasa
 11) Hasanovich Senahid from Osmacca 12) Salihovich Safet from Voljavice
 13) Hasich Munib from Srebrenice 14) Jusich Kadrija from Voljavice
 15) Tabakovich Emin from Zaluzja 16) Spiodich Ramo from Poljaka
 17) Halilovich Dzemaal from Srebrenice 18) Mahmutovich Mehmed from Bratunca 28.b.b
 19) Krdzich Bekto from Osmaca 20) Spiodich Sado from Poljaka
 21) Ibisevich Hasan from Karacicha 22) Softich Kadrija from Dobraka
 23) Mujich Jafaz from Srebrenice 24) Salkich Besim from Zv-Kamenice

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Please let us know if Ejub Golic came to Tuzla. This is not a final list. The final one will be send in a few days, after we have all names collected.

Major

/s/ Ramo Cardakovic

Coclusion:

It is possible to happen only in the Bosnian Muslim State The "missing civilians" from Srebrenica are able to be "unaccounted for two years" and still, to vote in the Bosnian elections held 1997! The following is a part of the list of 3010 "missing civilians" from Srebrenica that were participating in the Bosnia's election and are on the OSCE voting lists. Dr. Dragan Kalinic, President of the Republic of Srpska Parliament, presented this "paradox" to the OSCE and European Union.

1 Abdurahmanovic Nezir Ismet 2 Ademovic Ibrahim Kadir
3 Ademovic Ismet Mevludin 4 Ademovic Seban Saban 5 Adic Camil Sadik
6 Ahmetovic Avdo Dzevad 7 Ajsic Ramo Adem 8 Akagic Alia Sabahudin 9 Alemic Alaga
Mensur 10 Alic Alaga Abaz 11 Alic Nezir Ahmo 12 Alic Semso Besim 13 Alic Dzemail
Dzevad 14 Alic Ferid Fehim 15 Alic Feazo Halil 16 Alic Ohran Hasib
17 Alic Alija Hebib 18 Alic Mehmed Mujo 19 Alic Ibrahim Nezir 20 Alic Haso Nijaz
21 Alic Hajrudin Reuf 22 Alic Semso Sabahudin 23 Alic Adem Samir
24 Alic Sukrija Sead 25 Alic Sukrija Seid 26 Alic Jusuf Senahid
27 Alihodzic Camil Ramadan 28 Alispahic Hamdija Enver 29 Alispahic Omer Mujo
30 Aljic Ismet Nijaz 31 Aljic Suljo Sabahudin 32 Aljic Junuz Salko 33 Aljic Suljo Seval
34 Aljic Abdulah Zijad 35 Atic Safet Ibro 36 Atic Ibro Smajo 37 Avdic Maso Alija
38 Avdic Omer Almir 39 Avdic Kadrija Bajazit 40 Avdic Mustafa Fazlija
41 Avdic Idriz Hajrudin 42 Avdic Alija Hajrudin 43 Avdic Nezir Kadir
44 Avdic Dzemail Nevzet 45 Avdic Avdo Ramiz 46 Avdic Dzemail Refik 47 Avdic Hasan
Smail 48 Avdic Smajo Suljo 49 Bajramovic Suljo Azem 50 Bajramovic Ikan Nedzad 51 Ba-
jramovic Ramo Nedzad 52 Bajramovic Alija Ohran
53 Bajramovic Ramo Semso 54 Becic Husein Hajrudin 55 Becic Ramo Ramiz
56 Becirovic Mustafa Abdulah 57 Becirovic Daut Dalija 58 Becirovic Ramo Juso
59 Becirovic Bahrija Nezir 60 Beganovic Meho Mersed 61 Begic Ibro Bego
62 Begic Ahmo Hajdin 63 Begic Salih Halid 64 Begic Saban Halid
65 Begic Alija Mehmedalija 66 Begic Salih Nezir 67 Begic Enez Nedzad
68 Begic Sacir Nusret 69 Begic Asim Zikrija 70 Begovic Ahmo Huso

71 Bektic Enes Dzelil 72 Bektic Jusuf Ejub 73 Bektic Adil Esed
 74 Bektic Adem Ibrahim 75 Bektic Mustafa Jusuf 76 Bektic Sead Kiram
 77 Bektic Mujo Munib 78 Bektic Salko Sakib 79 Bektic Ibrahim Sead
 80 Bektic Nail Suad 81 Bektic Huso Suad 82 Bektic Ahmo Sulejman
 83 Bitinovic Abdulah Sabahudin 84 Bitinovic Abdulah Sevludin
 85 Borogovac Nurdin Emir 86 Brdarevic Ahmo Admir
 87 Brdarevic Camil Hamed 88 Brdarevic Taib Vahid 89 Budovic Huso Bajro
 90 Buljubasic Ismet Bajro 91 Buljubasic Avdija Elvir 92 Buljubasic Ismet Hamdija
 93 Buljubasic Avdija Hasan 94 Buljubasic Vehbija Mirsad 95 Buljubasic Avdija Senad
 96 Bumbulovic Asim Adem 97 Bumbulovic Meho Fikret 98 Bumbulovic Omer Junuz 99
 Bumbulovic Hasan Hasib 100 Bumbulovic Salih Husein 101 Buric Salih Rifet
 102 Cakanovic Cazim Adis 103 Cakanovic Hilmo Cazim 104 Cakanovic Cazim Hazim
 105 Camdzic Hasan Habib 106 Camdzic Mustafa Resid 107 Camdzic Juho Samir
 108 Catic Husein Junuz 109 Catic Osman Semo 110 Civic Zuhdo Hedib
 111 Cvrk Hasan Meho 112 Dautbasic Avdo Sacir 113 Dautovic Alaga Azem
 114 Delic Selim Azem 115 Delic Alija Ejup 116 Delic Edhem Ekrez
 117 Delic Hasan Enes 118 Delic Selim Eniz 119 Delic Hamed Hajrudin
 120 Delic Hasan Ibro 121 Delic Habib Izet 122 Delic Enes Kadrija
 123 Delic Meho Sead 124 Delic Ohran Zijad 125 Delic Salcin Taib
 126 Dervisevic Bego Bekto 127 Dervisevic Idriz Vahdet 128 Divovic Hakija Elvedin
 129 Divovic Ramo Salko 130 Dizdarevic Avdo Haso 131 Dizdarevic Hedib Huso
 132 Djogaz Hasan Nusret 133 Djogaz Salcin Salko 134 Djogaz Ahmo Vahid
 135 Djozic Mensur Esad 136 Djozic Senusica Fuad 137 Djozic Asim Mensur
 138 Djozic Alija Sadik 139 Djozic Edhem Semir 140 Dudic Husein Ibro
 141 Dudic Husein Sadik 142 Durakovic Haso Alija 143 Durakovic Miralem Musan
 144 Durakovic Haso Sead 145 Dzananovic Dzermal Azem
 146 Dzananovic Nezir Dzermal 147 Dzananovic Nezir Ibrahim
 148 Dzananovic Hikrija Mujko 149 Dzananovic Juso Mirzet
 150 Dzananovic Avdo Mustafa 151 Dzananovic Kasim Zikret
 152 Dzanic Ibro Edin 153 Djogaz Mustafa Omer 154 Djogaz Salko Salcin
 155 Djozic Huso Beriz 156 Efendic Husein Avdo 157 Efendic Hajrulah Bahrudin
 158 Efendic Fadil Mesud 159 Efendic Husein Mevludin 160 Efendic Resid Resid
 161 Ejubovic Alija Amir 162 Ejubovic Ibrahim Avdo
 163 Ejubovic Muharem Behadil 164 Ejubovic Alija Ejub
 165 Ejubovic Ibro Ibrahim 166 Ejubovic Mehmedalija Mehmed
 167 Ejubovic Mehmedalija Mevlid 168 Feazic Fadil Mustafa

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169 Feazic Nezir Nesib 170 Feazic Ibrahim Saban 171 Feazic Sakib Safer
172 Feazic Ahmet Sakib 173 Feazic Orhan Senaid 174 Gabeljic Suljo Abid
175 Gabeljic Rasid Asim 176 Gabeljic Rasid Atif 177 Gabeljic Juso Avdo
178 Gabeljic Azim Fahrudin 179 Gabeljic Hasim Hamdija
180 Gabeljic Azem Hasan 181 Gabeljic Rasim Huso 182 Gabeljic Suljo Ibro
183 Gabeljic Ibrahim Jusuf 184 Gabeljic Abdulah Meho 185 Gabeljic Atif Mustafa
186 Gabeljic Nezir Nijaz 187 Gabeljic Husein Ramiz 188 Gabeljic Hasan Sead
189 Gabeljic Rasim Zijad 190 Garaljevic Enes Enver 191 Garaljevic Mehmed Sakib
192 Gurdic Ahmet Ahmo 193 Gurdic Ahmo Mesud 194 Gurdic Bego Sadik
195 Hadzibulic Bajro Mevludin 196 Hadzibulic Teufik Bajro
197 Hafizovic Ahmet Vahid 198 Hajdarevic Alaga Kadrija
199 Haadarevic Sukrija Mehmed 200 Haadarevic Sukrija Mirzet
201 Hacic Vejsil Elvir 202 Hacic Hamdija Nurdin 203 Hacic Hajro Nurdin
204 Hacic Ramiz Senad 205 Halilovic Abid Halid 206 Halilovic Himzo Hamid
207 Halilovic Bajro Ibro 208 Halilovic Alija Mehmedalija
209 Halilovic Omer Memis 210 Halilovic Junuz Mirsad
211 Halilovic Safet Mustafa 212 Halilovic Osmo Nurdi
213 Halilovic Huso Rasid 214 Halilovic Idriz Saban
215 Halilovic Saban Sado 216 Halilovic Memis Samir
217 Halilovic Izet Seadalija 218 Halilovic Ibro Sulejman
219 Halilovic Halid Zijad 220 Halilovic Nurif Zuriyet
221 Hamzic Aljo Mevlid 222 Hamzic Ahmet Mirsad 223 Hamzic Salih Salcin
224 Hanic Redzep Selim 225 Harbas Ragib Sakib 226 Hasankovic Hasan Nedzad
227 Hasanovic Amil Alaga 228 Hasanovic Huso Edhem 229 Hasanovic Zahir Esed
230 Hasanovic Juso Hajdin 231 Hasanovic Seafo Hajro
232 Hasanovic Ahmet Hamdija 233 Hasanovic Hasan Hamdija
234 Hasanovic Hasan Hazim 235 Hasanovic Salcin Jusuf
236 Hasanovic Ibrahim Mehmed 237 Hasanovic Alija Mehmedalija
238 Hasanovic Ramo Meho 239 Hasanovic Ibrahim Mevludin
240 Hasanovic Ramo Mirsa 241 Hasanovic Hamed Nermin
242 Hasanovic Selman Saban 243 Hasanovic Kadrija Semir
244 Hasanovic Hakija Senad 245 Hasanovic Husein Senahid
246 Hasanovic Alaga Suljo 247 Hasanovic Dzermal Vahdet Fahret
248 Hasic Mustafa Osman 249 Hirkić Maho Ahmo
250 Hirkić Bajro Behadil 251 Hirkić Halid Beris 252 Hirkić Suljo Halid
253 Hirkić Osman Jusuf 254 Hirkić Ahmo Maho 255 Hirkić Husein Sabahudin

256 Hodzic Husein Farid 257 Hodzic Mujo Abdulah 258 Hodzic Kadir Aziz
259 Hodzic Suljo Fikret 260 Hodzic Salko Husein 261 Hodzic Sahmo Sabit
262 Hodzic Sahim Smail 263 Hotic Sead Samir 264 Hotic Hasan Sead
265 Hozbo Muradif Sakib 266 Hrustanovic Ismet Hazim
267 Hrustanovic Ismet Rifet 268 Hrustanovic Ahmo Tahir
269 Hrustic Sahim Azem 270 Hublic Ibrahim Hazim
271 Hublic Fadil Teufik 272 Hukic Husein Ahmet
273 Hukic Gajibija Edhem 274 Hukic Redzo Esed 275 Hukic Tahir Mujo
276 Hukic Hajdin Senad 277 Huremovic Hasib Mehmed
278 Huremovic Mesan Samir 279 Huseinovic Omer Emir
280 Huseinovic Nezir Mirsad 281 Huseinovic Izet Suljo
282 Huseanagic Fehim Redzep 283 Huseanovic Atif Hajrudin
284 Huseanovic Omer Ismet 285 Huseanovic Ibro Munib
286 Huseanovic Hajrudin Nermin 287 Huseanovic Ibrahim Osman
288 Husic Mujo Bahjija 289 Husic Hasan Esad
290 Husic Mujo Himzo 291 Husic Ibrahim Mehmed
292 Husic Mehmed Mujo 293 Ibisevic Salih Bekir 294 Ibisevic Ibis Ekrem
295 Ibisevic Ahmo Samir 296 Ibisevic Salih Sead
297 Ibisevic Sevko Sefedin 298 Ibisevic Salih Seid 299 Ibrahimovic Dzemail Bego
300 Ibrahimovic Omer Dzemail 301 Ibrahimovic Omer Dzemail
302 Ibrahimovic Nefail Emir 303 Ibrahimovic Haso Enver
304 Ibrahimovic Zuhdo Hasib 305 Ibrahimovic Omer Haso
306 Ibrahimovic Ahmet Ibrahim 307 Ibrahimovic Dzemail Kemal
308 Ibrahimovic Zuhrijet Mevlid 309 Ibrahimovic Fikret Mirzet
310 Ibrahimovic Mehmed Muhamed 311 Ibrahimovic Nuria Nedzad
312 Ibrahimovic Nuria Nurdin 313 Ibrahimovic Zulfo Sabahudin
314 Ibrahimovic Ahmet Sahman 315 Ibrahimovic Smail Semso
316 Ibrahimovic Zaim Zahir 317 Idrizovic Salko Hasan
318 Imsirevic Arif Muharem 319 Jahic Ramo Hasib
320 Jahic Mehmed Saib 321 Jahic Salko Vehbija
322 Jakubovic Nezir Bego 323 Jakubovic Husein Ekrem
324 Jakubovic Esed Amir 325 Jasarevic Ismet Ahmet
326 Jukic Hadzo Irfan 327 Jukic Mehmed Mehmedalija
328 Junuzagic Zahir Mirza 329 Jusic Mustafa Mujo 330 Jusic Mujo Munir
331 Jusic Hasib Sadik 332 Jusic Juso Sulejman 333 Jusufovic Salcin Camil
334 Jusufovic Salcin Ramiz 335 Kabilovic Salko Mehmed

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336 Kabilovic Bego Nesib 337 Kadric Jusuf Jusuf 338 Kadric Sado Kadrija
339 Kadric Kadrija Nurudin 340 Kadric Kadrija Nurija
341 Kalic Hamid Bekir 342 Kalic Idriz Muris 343 Kandzetovic Bekto Behaja
344 Kardasevic Ramo Mehan 345 Klancevic Halid Sead
346 Klempic Sevko Amir 347 Klempic Edhem Kadrija 348 Klempic Muso Zulfo
349 Krdzic Ramo Behudin 350 Krdzic Baro Izet

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number.
All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's Muslim operational army group.

International Red Cross Committee List of Missing persons -Examples of manipulations

The Lists of missing persons are from ICRC documentation. Bolded names represented found persons, which mean that they can't be treated and notice as missing. There are more than thousand persons found on the same matter, what cause suspicion to IRRCR list.

Principle is next:

Persons were founding upon Top secret and confidential documents of Bosnia Muslim Army. For this book needs, we separate just one part of informations about so called missing people from Srebrenica. On that way we make example with list of people with family names which beginning with capital B.

The data contain following informations:

- 1) Basic informations about person - ICRC
- 2) Informations from Army of Muslim - Croatian Federation.
- 3) Registration numbers and data from main document
- 4) Conclusion.

All this data showing us manipulations with numbers of so called missing people from Srebrenica in July 1995.

EXAMPLE:

Mr. Ademovic Adem from father Zulfu is on list of missing persons of ICRC from July 1995. But true is that Mr. Ademovic Adem was on list of missing and killed persons of Bosnia Muslim Army during the combat 12.9.1992. Informations about that is from secret Bosnia Muslim Army documentations,

Basic data from registration list of international organizations	Full name BECO JOHIC Sex male DOB.POB 12 th May 1972, Rovasi, Vlasenica
Data from documents of Moslem Croatian Federation	*BECO (SULJO) JOHIC, born 1972 in Rovasi Vlasenica. Killed on 15 th March 1993, in village Baljkovica, zvornik
Registration number and data from original document	List of killed and disappeared soldiers on the territory Debelo Brdo and Baljkovica from 284.IBL brigade Srebrenica
Conclusion	*Killed on 15 th March 1992, before July 1995

Basic data from registration list of international organizations	Full name HAMDIIJA JASAREVIC Sex male DOB.POB 15 th May 1963, Macesi, Vlasenica
Data from documents of Moslem Croatian Federation	*HAMDIIJA (AVDO) JASAREVIC, born 1963 in Vlasenica, Disappeared on 6 th July 1993 in Ruzina Voda, Vlasenica, on the road to Tuzla
Registration number and data from original document	List of killed and disappeared soldiers on the territory Debelo Brdo and Baljkovica from 284.IBL brigade Srebrenica
Conclusion	*Disappeared on 6 th July 1993, before July 1995

Testemonies of survivors of crimes committed by Muslim Jihad Warriors in Srebernica and surrounding villages

On October 5, 1992, Moslem armed formations attacked the house of Sreten Djokic in the village of Divovici near Bratunac, and two days later the bodies of the people killed in Divovici were handed over to the Serbs. The body of Sreten Djokic was given without the head and the right arm. On the neck hung a patch of skin with hair from the top of his head. The head and the arm were never found and the body was buried without them. Proof: 37/94-6¹¹⁰.

In clashes between Moslem armed forces and those of the Army of the Republic of Srpska on November 5, 1992 in the area of Kamenica, the commune of Zvornik, the Moslems captured and killed by beheading Vlado Grabovica, Savo Djokic, Dragomir Bozic, Slavko Tijanac, Savo Kazanovic and Radomir Pavlovic. Dragomir Bozic was massacred and the head severed from the body. The head of Slavko Tijanac was found without the eyes, ears and nose, a 6 mm diameter iron bar was found in his chest, while his neck, hands and feet were tied with wire.

The head of Savo Kazanovic had also been cut off, his chest pierced with a large nail, and he himself nailed to an oak tree and crucified. A head without the body was also found which is assumed to have belonged to Milos Grabovica. The following were also killed in Kamenica on November 5, 1992: Miladin Asceric, 28 years old; Mico Tesic, 24 years old and Nikola Milinovic, 27 years old. They were also beheaded. Proof: 184/94-5, 184/95-6, 184/95-7 and 184/95-8.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

In an attack carried out on June 3, 1992 on the village of Brezane, the commune of Srebrenica, Moslems killed Milivoje Mitrovic and Stanoje Mitrovic. When this village was liberated in April 1993 their headless bodies were found.

One person with nickname "Kemo" from Pale had slit Stanoje Mitrovic's throat. Proof: 635/94-9.

¹¹⁰ Confidential number in order to protect identity of vitnes and victims.

On September 24, 1992 Moslem forces occupied the village of Podravanje in the commune of Milici, set it to fire, looted it and killed all the wounded whom they found in the village. They killed 19 persons on that occasion and massacred their bodies.

Zulfo Tursumovic from Sucasca had the severely wounded Tomislav Perendic put his head in his (Tursumovic's) lap and then slaughtered him and cut his head off. Svetozar Jovanovic's head was cut off and impaled on a stake and Gojko Tomic was beheaded and his head thrown some 20 metres away from the body.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Divovici, the commune of Bratunac, September-October 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: When the war broke out in Croatia, the Moslems from this village started provoking the Serbs. In early September 1992, the husband of the witness, Sreten Djokic, was attacked while he was picking plumbs near their house, hit by an object in the back of his head after which he fell and lost consciousness. After that he was taken to the Uzice hospital for treatment. The witness learned that he had been attacked by Moslems who had left him behind believing that he had been dead. On 5 October, after her husband returned from the hospital, the witness and her husband were at home. At one moment Sreten went to the stable to feed the cows, when the witness heard shots and her son yelling "Dad fell". Then she saw her husband lying motionless five meters away from the house on the way to the stable.

Fifty meters away she saw Hasanovic with a rifle, cursing her Chetnik mother, ordering her to get out of her house where she hid with her son. Soon after that, a flammable device was thrown into the house causing fire, and the witness and her son started suffocating. Her son jumped out of the window, and the witness heard shots and saw the perpetrators running after her son. She then ran to the opposite direction to a nearby forest. Two days later, on 7 October, the bodies of those who were killed in Divovici were given to Serbs. The witness saw the body of her son Svetozar, with the right eye plucked out, the right arm broken, a wound on the right side of his chest, and a number of holes on his shirt, probably as a result of stabbing. The body of her husband was decapitated and without the right arm. A piece of his skin with hair taken from his head was hanging down his neck. His head and arm were not found and the body was buried without them.

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INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Izet Hasanovic, 2. Haris Ridjic, of father Munib, 3. Edem Mahmutovic, sixty years of age, whom the witness saw taking a cow and a goat out of her stable during the attack.

EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness Savka Djokic, of 31 August 1994, filed with the Committee under number 378/94-6 and medical documentation (Dr. Stankovic).

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: Visegrad, 24 July 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: On 24 July Ranko Samardzic, born 23 April 1931, of father Pero, was killed in Visegrad near his house by Moslem soldiers.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Kemal Isic, a Moslem soldier from Visegrad, 2. Ibrahim Susko, from Visegrad, 3. Hasan Veletovac, from Visegrad. EVIDENCE: Committee 440/94-27 NOTE: Supplement to application I-139.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Jelasci, the commune of Visegrad, 1 August 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: In the night of 2 August Moslem military troops attacked the village of Jelasci and shot the following civilians:

1. Milo Savic, born in 1943, of father Gvozden, 2. Petka Savic, born in 1945 of father Dragomir, 3. Radomir Savic, born in 1949, of father Gvozden, 4. Dragan Susnjar, born in 1928, of father Jovan, 5. Slavka Susnjar, born in 1930, 6. Trivun Jelacic, born in 1929, of father Velizar, 7. Sava Jelacic, born in 1920, 8. Mirjana Jelacic, born 1960, of father Miloje, 9. Dragana Jelacic, 8 years old, 10. Vidoje Jelacic, 11 years old. The victims were killed in their homes or leaving their houses. Each of them had several bullet shots on their bodies.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Ahmed Sejdic, from Visegrad, commander of a Moslem military unit. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witnesses filed with the Committee under numbers 440/94-36 and 440/94-40. NOTE: Supplement to application I-139. Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Vlahovici, the commune of Visegrad, 9 June 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: A group

of Moslem soldiers killed the following civilians from the village of Vlahovici on 9 June in a field called Krcevina:

1. Dragomir Simsic, born in 1949, of father Momcilo, 2. Perka Simsic, maiden name Gogic, born in 1941, of father Vitomir, and 3. Bozo Simsic, born in 1932, of father Obren. Dragomir and Perka Simsic were killed by Bajic and Sabanovic from fire arms, and Bozo Simsic was both shot and slaughtered by Hurem.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Hamdo Bajic, from Velika Gostilja, the commune of Visegrad, of father Asim and mother Mejrema, 2. Adil Sabanovic, from Mala Gostilja, the commune of Visegrad, born on 27 November 1972 in Visegrad, of father Rifet, 3. Ragib Hurem, called Rapce, from Mala Gostilja, the commune of Visegrad, born on 24 September 1960, of father Ragib and mother Hajra. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness and an application of the public security station in Visegrad, Ku. 6/93, filed with the Committee under number 440/94-35. NOTE: Supplement to application I-139.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Donja Lijeska, near Visegrad, 25 October 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: The witness Pecikoza was nearby the house of Milka Zecevic when Moslem soldiers who attacked that Serbian village took the fifty year old Milka out of her house and killed her. The witness was about fifty meters away from them. He recognized Maric, Alija Kustura and Zain Kustura. After the murder they burnt her house, as well as the houses of other Serbs from the village.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Osman Maric, from the village of Babica Potok near Visegrad, 2. Alija Kustura, from the village of Okruglo, near Visegrad, 3. Zain Kustura, from the village of Okruglo, near Visegrad. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness filed with the Committee under number 440/94-29

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Mesici, the commune of Rogatica, 26 June 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: On 26 June 1992, Moslem soldiers attacked the Serbian village of Mesici near Rogatica and in the settlement Hidroelektrana they killed Nedjo Gladanac from Mesici, born on 25 August 1922 in Sudici, of father Ostoja. On his body there were several bullet wounds and several knife stabs in the chest and the neck. The next day when the family was burying Gladanac Moslem soldiers came and disturbed the funeral.

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INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Members of the Moslem Army. 2. Minutes from the hearing of the witnesses filed with the Committee under number 440/94-21.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The villages of Klisura and Bursici, the commune of Visegrad, 8 August 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: On 8 August 1992 a Moslem military unit attacked the Serbian villages of Klisura and Bursici near Visegrad, in which there were no Serb troops. In front of the house of Marko Kusmuk Moslem soldiers killed his two sons while he was tending sheep nearby:

1. Milorad Kusmuk, born in 1961 and 2. Milos Kusmuk, born in 1965, and burnt the house in which were: 3. Danica Kusmuk, Marko's wife, born in 1931, of father Dusan and 4. Joka Vukasinovic, Marko's aunt, born in 1914 of father Milos. Danica burnt in the house, and Joka managed to escape the fire, but was shortly afterwards killed by Moslem soldiers. The following persons were also killed: 5. Drago Kusmuk, born in 1954, of father Veso and 6. Zoran Kojic, from the neighbouring village of Adrovici, born in 1965, of father Ljubo. On the same day the following persons were killed in the village of Bursici by Moslem soldiers: 7. Bozana Ircagic, born in 1905, and her daughter 8. Stanojka Ircagic, born in 1933, of father Vojin. After that they burnt Kusmuk's house, two stables, a pigsty, a shed, a cottage and a dairy, and left out 105 sheep and 13 cows, altogether to the value of 700,000 DM.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Dzevad Susic, born in 1961, in the village of Bogdasici, near Visegrad, of father Ismet, 2. Dzevad Muharemovic, from Medjedja near Visegrad, born in 1961, of father called "Pobro". EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness filed with the Committee under number 440/94-20. NOTE: Supplement to application I-116.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Donja Lijeska near Visegrad, late July 1992.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION: In late July 1992, a group of Moslem soldiers headed by Ramiz Nuhanovic, entered the house of Radojka Rajak, born in 1927, of father Milic Bozovic; Nuhanovic killed Radojka from firearms on the threshold of her house. Radojka had several bullet wounds on her body. After the murder, they burnt the house and all auxiliary facilities (a stable for cows, a pigsty, a barn), altogether to the value of 500,000 DM.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Ramiz Nuhanovic, from the village of Tustamedj near Visegrad. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness filed with the Committee under number 440/94-30. NOTE: Supplement to application I-139.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of arrested persons-POWs. PLACE AND TIME: Srebrenica, September-October 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: After the arrest, Tursumovic cut the witness's chest with a knife, which left a visible scar. After that he was taken to the Srebrenica police for hearing. There they put a pistol into his mouth and Koljevic pulled the trigger, but the bullet was not in the barrel, and only a clicking sound could be heard. Then everybody started beating him, after which they called Dragoljub Kukic for hearing; they hit him against the ground and beat him. Kukic reacted at one point by cursing their Ustashi mother, after which Ahmetovic took a log which was by the stove, and hit Kukic in the chest with it until he died. They threw Kukic's body on a junk yard somewhere near Podravanj.

The witness was later beaten with the same log, and Ahmetovic knocked his tooth out. When he was beaten on other occasions they knocked out all his teeth and broke his ribs in 14 places. They put out cigarettes on his legs, which left scars. They urinated into his mouth. They hanged him on the ceiling by tying his legs with a rope hung on a wheel fixed to a strip. As a result of such an inhumane treatment and poor diet, the witness lost 30 kg in 21 days in the prison, and had 62 kg when he left the prison. Naser Oric also participated in the beating of prisoners.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Zulfo Tursumovic, 2. Mirzet Koljevic, head of the police, 3. Kemal Ahmetovic, called "Kemo", 4. "Beli", a guard, 5. Naser Oric, commander of the Moslem army in Srebrenica. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness filed with the Committee under number 378/94-14.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of arrested persons-POWs. PLACE AND TIME: Gornji Potocari, the commune of Bratunac, June 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: Dragan Mitrovic, a retired miner, born in 1929, from the village of Donji Magasic, was heavily

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disabled and walked with two walking sticks. On 16 June he tended cattle nearby his house when he was approached by Babajic, Ramic and Ibrahimovic from the village of Glogovo and forcibly taken to the Moslem village of Cizmici and closed in the house of Camil Muratovic. He was beaten. On 25 June Mitrovic's sons were on the hill called "Cuka", in the neighborhood of Cizmici, when they heard Moslems calling them, proposing to negotiate on the exchange of Mitrovic. They wanted to see their father first, and they took him out in front of Camil Muratovic's stable. Mitrovic could hardly walk with the help of a stick; he shouted that he was alive and well.

In exchange for Mitrovic they demanded 5 tons of flour or 5 boxes of ammunition, which his sons did not have. Then they shouted to them: "Send your mother Jovanka. We have no one to fuck; we'll give you your father back". Mitrovic's sons felt humiliated and asked in despair their friends to kill their father so that Moslems could not torture and humiliate him any more, but they refused. Mitrovic was taken to the prison in Gornji Potocar, where Beslic, the warden, beat him daily; one day he hit his head against the wall, and when he fell kicked him to death with his boots. His body was thrown into the Potocanska reka (a river), and later taken in a truck in an unknown direction.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Hajro Beslic from Bratunac, prison warden in Gornji Potocar, 2. Ejup Golic, former shipper, from the village of Glogovo, 3. Sabrija Babajic, of father Mehmed, from the village of Glogovo, 4. Murat Ramic, of father Osman, from the village of Glogovo, 6. Camil Muratovic, from Cizmici, 7. Refik Babajic, of father Rama, from Glogovo. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of Mitrovic's son Jovan, filed with the Committee under number 560/94 and the document of the Basic Court in Zvornik Ki. 70/93 filed with the Committee under number 266/1-94.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Inhumane treatment of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: Srebrenica, 1992-February 1994. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: The witness, a 70 year old pensioner, lived with his wife in his family house in Srebrenica where he was born. When a great number of Serbs escaped from Srebrenica, where until the war 1/3 of the population had been Serb, the witness believed that was just a phase, and that life would become normal again. In the end only 21 persons of Serb nationality remained in Srebrenica.

Life was difficult for Serbs. They were constantly exposed to various forms of abuse, especially by Moslem refugees who threw stones at Serb houses, demolished them, and often plundered them. Moslem military police searched the witness's house twice. The first time they searched his house they took all food he had, as well as medicines and other valuables. The second time, a police patrol consisting of Hajrus and Safet from Voljevica, searched his house and then came back the same day and took away his clothes, his wife's underwear, stockings, hygienic necessities. The two men continued visiting the witness another 6 evenings. They forced their entry every time by breaking the gate.

The witness complained to the military police and commander Krdzic told him that he would "take necessary measures". The witness knew about the killing and maltreatment of other Serbs which is why he was afraid to leave his house during the day, so he went out only in the evening, while his wife had to wear long dresses like Moslem women to hide that she was a Serb. The witness finally left Srebrenica assisted by the Red Cross because he fell ill and required a surgery. In Srebrenica he left behind his real estate, a two- storey house (11x8m), a yard and an orchard.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Atif Krdzic from Osmaca, who was a policeman before the war, commander of the military police in Srebrenica, 2. Hakija Mehovic, commander of the military police in Srebrenica, 3. Hidajet Mustafic, from the surroundings of Skelani, member of the military police, 4-5. Safet and Hajrus, both from Voljevica, near Bratunac, members of the military police. **EVIDENCE:** Minutes from the hearing of the witness of 30 August 1994, filed with the Committee under number 378/94-3.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Inhumane treatment of arrested persons - POWs. **PLACE AND TIME:** Srebrenica, the prison in the police building, September-October 1992. **BRIEF DESCRIPTION:** The witness was arrested in his house in the village of Podravanje in an attack of the Moslem army and taken to a prison in Srebrenica.

He was placed in a cell (2 x 2.5m) in which there were no beds or covers. In fact, there was no furniture in the cell. They could not lie down, because there were six of them in the cell, and guards kept spilling water on the floor, so that they stood or crouched all the time. The witness and other Serbs were beaten every day. The witness was beaten with boots, as a result of which his ribs were broken. This was done by Koljevic whose boots, as it occurred to the witness, were specially intended for beating, since they were strengthened with pointed boot legs, and the witness often lost consciousness after beating.

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The beating usually started at 10 p.m., and ended at 4 a.m. The witness was also beaten with electric cables, cords, metal pipes. He particularly had a difficult time when they burnt his hands with cigarettes made of walnut leaves. On one occasion Koljevic ordered him to strip naked, and burnt his penis with a cigarette. The witness lost consciousness. Seven of his teeth were knocked out - five in the upper and two in the lower jaw. Apart from Koljevic, he was also beaten by the guards Kemo, Beli and Dule. Guards often clogged the toilet, so that the witness and other prisoners had to put their hand in the opening.

Several times they brought women and children from the town to the cell in which the witness was, and they spat on them and insulted them. They were not allowed to take a bath or to wash their faces ever, and when they asked to go to the toilet, it depended on guards whether they would go or not. If they let them go, they had to go out together, and they were beaten by guards in the corridor. This is why they had to avoid going to the toilet. They usually received food twice a day - leftovers from what guards ate. Occasionally they received tea with no sugar and a piece of bread of the size of a cigarette package. As they were not allowed to wash, sometimes they had to take bread with hands on which there were feces from the cleaning of the toilet.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Mirzet Koljevic, head of the police, 2. Naser Oric, commander of the Moslem army in Srebrenica, who beat the witness so hard that his left eye remained damaged as a result of a blow. 3-6. Guards Kemo from Pale near Sarajevo, Beli and Dule from Osmaca near Srebrenica, Cemo from Sucevka. EVIDENCE: Minutes from the hearing of the witness filed with the Committee under number 378/94-1.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing and inhuman treatment of the wounded and the sick PLACE AND TIME: Srebrenica, a prison located between the Town Hall and the Courthouse, January - February 1993.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION: During a Moslem attack on Serbs in the village of Kusici, the witness, a student of the second year of high school was on holiday when she received a wound in her left hip while feeding the cattle with her mother. After that they were captured by the Moslems and taken away. But, since she was unable to walk on account of the wound, her

mother carried her for two kilometers and then she was loaded on an oxen cart, took to Srebrenica and put into the prison between the Town Hall and the Courthouse. She stayed in the prison from January 16 till February 6, 1993. She lay on a stretcher and was completely unable to move. During the above stated period she had her wound dressed only once and was given a few pills. She was not taken to the hospital, which at the time existed in Srebrenica and was providing services. She and other inmates were given food only once a day consisting of a slice of bread and beans soup. The water was supplied in the least possible quantities depending on the mood the guards. They were not provided with any facilities for washing or taking a bath. Men were imprisoned in the adjacent room wherefrom guards' curses and wailing and howling from the inmates being beaten could frequently be heard. Owing to the effects of the inflicted wound and the untimely medical care, she had to spend four months in a hospital after the exchange and her leg remained shorter by 5 cm.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Zulko Turusovic, the prison commander in Srebrenica. EVIDENCE: The minutes from the hearing of the witness of August 30, 1994 filed with the Committee under No. 378/94-5.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of prisoners - prisoners of war. PLACE AND TIME: Gornja Kamenica, a village near Zvornik, 24 August 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: At about 6 a.m. on August 24, 1992, armed Moslem formations attacked the village of Gornja Kamenica. Most of the inhabitants managed to leave the village, but the following persons stayed behind:

1. Ljubomir Tomic 2. Dragomir Tomic, and 3. Milomir Kukolj, of father Veljko, all from Gornja Kamenica. After the arrest, members of the Moslem armed formations tortured and then killed the three mentioned persons. After the liberation of Gornja Kamenica on October 20, 1992, their bodies were found near a stable which belonged to Bo a Tomic. Their bones were broken, including their skulls, which proves that they were killed.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Esad Mehmedovic, former policeman from the village of Besici, the Milici Commune 2. Meho Suljagic, from Kamenica, the Zvornik Commune 3. Saban Redzic, former inspector of the Commune of Zvornik 4. Edo Haskic from Gornja Kamenica 5. Esad Haskic, from Gornja Kamenica 6. Ahmed Grebic,

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former policeman from Zvornik 7. Hazir Begic, former policeman from Zvornik 8. Esad Salkic 9. Muhamed Selimovic 10. Meho Suljic EVIDENCE: A document of the Basic Court in Zvornik, No. Kri. 71/93, filed with the Committee under No. 266/1-94 and document 378/94-19-23 including testimonies of B.V., T.M., K.V., T.M. and K.T.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Willful killing and inhuman treatment of wounded and sick persons. PLACE AND TIME: Srebrenica, hospital, between July 24 and 27, 1993. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: Halilovic, as soldier of Moslem Armed formations, shot to death a civilian in the hospital. The civilian was Stojan Krsmanovic, nee 1924, from the village of Rekovac, the municipality of Bratunac. Krsmanovic was placed in the hospital after he had been captured and injured by Moslem armed units of Ejup Golic, when he was on his way home from Jelovac to Rekovac, unarmed. INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Emir (Safet) Halilovic, barber by profession, from Srebrenica, born in the village of Budak, the municipality of Srebrenica. EVIDENCE: The documentation filed with the Committee under No. 371/94-1 and in the documents of the Basic Public Prosecutor's Office in Zvornik Kt. 9/94, where the records on autopsy performed by the physician of the out-patient health center in Bratunac are also filed.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Ethnic cleansing. PLACE AND TIME: Medje, a village near Srebrenica, May - August 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: On May 16, 1992 the commander of a Muslim armed formation, Beketic, came to the Serb village of Medje and, promising to the villagers that nothing would happen to them and that they could go on living and working in peace, he seized all their weapons and came again to the village on July 15, 1992 in the company of armed members of his unit and, on that occasion, killed:

1. Cvijetin Gagic, alias "Mato" , of father Srecko,
2. Velimir Simeunovic, of father Petar,
3. Radojka Simeunovic, of husband Velimir,
4. Milojkko Gagic,
5. Milovan Gagic,
6. Ljubica Gagic, of husband Milovan,
7. Milena Gagic, of husband Milan,
8. Danica Gagic, of husband Djordje,
9. Milovan Andric, of father Sava,
10. Mladjen Subotic, of father Simeun,
11. Ilinka Subotic, of husband Milisav,
12. Manojlo Subotic,
13. Milena Subotic, wife of Manojlo,
14. Vidoje Subotic, of father Drago,
15. Andja Gagic, wife of Miladin,
16. Petar Gagic,
17. Petrija Andric, and
18. Radivoje Subotic, all from the village of Medja.

Individuals were put behind the bars after they were transported by lorries from Medja to Srebrenica where they were locked up in the rooms of the former territorial defence HQs, subjected to torture and abuse, and then slaughtered; their bodies were exchanged on August 13.

At the same time, Serb houses in this village were looted, cattle driven away and the houses and auxiliary buildings owned by the following set alight and destroyed:

in the hamlet of Karan: Velimir Simeunovic, Mladjen Subotic, Manojlo Subotic, Vidoje Subotic, Milenko SUBotic, Cvijetin Gagic, Djordje Gagic, Milovan Gagic, Dragan gagic, Milenko Gagic, Petar Gagic, Vojislav Andric and Milovan Andric;

in the hamlet of Radacevic: Pera Vasic, Ljeposava Vasic, Stanisa Vasic, Stevan Golic, Bo a Golic, Jova Todorovic, Radisav Gligic, Todor Todorovic, Nedja Jovanovic, Milenko Jovanovic, Milan Jovanovic, Jevdja Jovanovic, Zivko Jovanovic, Cvjetin Jovanovic, Draga Jovanovic, Jova Jovanovic, Dragan Jovanovic and Radoje Vasic;

in the hamlet of Valtovic: Zivan Trifunovic, Milenko Trifunovic, Vlada Lukic, Steva Lukic, Mara Lukic, Vinka Lukic, Radisav Lukic, Zivko Lukic and Milan Lukic;

in the hamlet of Crni Vrh: Radomir Djuric, Vojislav Djuric, Radivoj Jezdic, Krsta Petrovic, Petar Jovicic and Milka Petrovic.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Members of the Muslim armed formations under the command of Ned ad Bektic, former JNA lieutenant, born at Karadzici, commune of Srebrenica to father Rama and mother Zelja, a Muslim. EVIDENCE: Documentation filed with the Committee for Compiling Data on Crimes against Humanity and International Law under No. 371/94-2 and with the Basic Court at Zvornik under No. Ki.78/94.

LIST OF THE CAMPS FOR SERBS IN SREBRENICA: (320. SREBRENICA, a prison between the buildings of the Municipality Court and the City Hall 321. SREBRENICA, prison of a police station 322. SREBRENICA, village of Potocari, private prison of Oric Naser 323. SREBRENICA, village of Sceska, Zulfo Tursunovic's private prison

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

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DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Zeravice and the village of Recice, the municipality of Han Pijesak, August 1993.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION: On August 2, 1993, soldiers of Muslim armed formations attacked the Serb villages of Recice and Zeravice. In Recice, there were no victims in the civilian population because the villagers had fled before the soldiers' arrival. The soldiers looted and then burnt seven houses with auxiliary buildings. The burnt houses were owned by Dusan and Milovan Golijan, Tomo and Vasa Golijan, Stevan Golijan and his brothers, Rajko Vaskovic, Svetozar Golijan and Milorad Golijan.

Muslim soldiers attacked Zeravice the same day and killed: 1. Dobrivoje Golijan, born on April 6, 1926, resident of Zeravice, 2. Rajka Todorovic, born in 1958, who had been mentally ill, 3. Aleksa Golijan, born in 1923, 4. Danica Sokanovic, born in 1926, 5. Milovan Golijan, born in 1967, 6. Marko Mirovic, born in 1923, 7. Jovan Sokanovic, born in 1931, 8. Zora Sokanovic, born in 1936, wife of Jovan Sokanovic. During the attack, Dana Sokanovic, a primary school pupil, sustained a wound in the arm, after which she was captured and taken by Muslim soldiers to Kladanj, together with Golijan Velimir, born in 1946 and Milojka Mirovic, born in 1926.

When they occupied the village, the Muslim soldiers plundered and burnt down more than 70 Serb-owned houses and their auxiliary buildings and took away some 200 heads of cattle.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Brajko Huseinovic, of father Hamid, m. Ajsa - maiden name Doljancic, born on October 7, 1959 in Rubnici, the municipality of Han Pijesak, tradesman by profession, employed in TP "Napredak" before the war, permanent residence in Rubinici, the municipality of Han Pijesak,

2. Rifet Vrabac, called "Bekan", of father Djulbeg, m. Sema - maiden name Bubic, born on December 1, 1961, in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak, timber dispatcher by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak,

3. Rizvo Vrabac, of father Sahbaz, born on November 10, 1953, in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak, driver by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, permanent residence in Nevacka,

4. Becir Makanic, of father Jakub, m. Cura, born on April 15, 1957, machine technician by profession, permanent residence in Vlasenica, commander of 1st Muslim detachment of Cer,
5. Ismet Vrabac, called "Redzo", of father Djulbeg, m. Sema - maiden name Bubic, born on September 1, 1963 in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak, worker by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka,
6. Muhamed Vrabac, of father Mujo, born on February 10, 1939, in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak, employed in PTT, Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka,
7. Resid Imanovic, of father Bajra, born on July 13, 1955 in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak, locksmith by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka, reserve JNA officer before the war,
8. Zaim Avdagic, of father Himzo, born on May 28, 1946, in Turalici, the municipality of Vlasenica, carpenter by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak,
9. Zijad Avdagic, of father Himzo, born in 1962 in Turalici, the municipality of Vlasenica, worker by profession, employed in DP "Stupcanica", Olovo, permanent residence in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak,
10. Galib Durakovic, of father Osman, m. Mevla - maiden name Sanderovic, born on August 12, 1945 in Sasevci, the municipality of Olovo, coachman by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak,
11. Hajrudin Glasic, of father Began, born on January 5, 1953 in Rubinici, the municipality of Han Pijesak, worker by profession, employed in SIP "Planinsko", Han Pijesak, before the war, permanent residence in Rubinici,
12. Semso Harderbasic, of father Hamid, born on January 24, 1939 in Nevacka, worker by profession, employed in DP "Stupcanica", Olovo, before the war, permanent residence in Nevacka, the municipality of Han Pijesak,

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

13. Ramiz Camdzic, born in 1938 in Podglavica, the municipality of Kladanj, butcher by profession, permanent residence in Podglavica, the municipality of Kladanj,

14. Alija Mutapcic, born in 1957, in Vlasenica, worker by profession, permanent residence in Vlasenica, the "Bacino Brdo" settlement.

EVIDENCE: Records on investigation on the spot, with photo- documentation, medical findings, testimonies by witnesses filed with the Committee under No. 136/95-2. Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

DESIGNATION OF CRIME: Deliberate killing of civilians. PLACE AND TIME: The village of Potocani, end of May and beginning of June, 1992. BRIEF DESCRIPTION: At the end of May, 1992, most probably on 25 or 26 May, in the village of Potocani, Muslim soldiers in "Green Beret" uniforms, under command of Semin Rustanpasic, killed the following Serbs:

1. Draga Cavic, of father Nedeljko, born in 1933, 2. Milenko Lukic. At the beginning of June, the following persons were also killed in this village: 3. Ljubo Cavic, of father Ljubo, born in 1911, and his wife, 4. Bosa Cavic, of father Aleksa, born in 1924 - slaughtered in front of their house. A big cross was cut into Ljuba's chest. Bosa's throat was cut, both her breasts were cut off, her eyes were gouged out and her ears cut off. Both her arms were cut to the elbows. 5. Jelena Jovic, of father Milan, born in 1928. Her nose, ears and arms were cut off and her eyes were gouged. 6. Mara, from Kupres by birth, was slaughtered. 7. Radojka Prgomelja, of father Stanoje, born in 1944. Her right leg and nose were cut off, her eyes were gouged out and she was cut all over the body.

INDICATIONS CONCERNING PERPETRATOR: 1. Semin Rustanpasic, commander of the "Green Berets" unit, 2. Senad Bajric, 3-6. Eric, Corina, Rizvan and Durakovic, "Green Berets" soldiers. EVIDENCE: Testimony by the witness 234/95-13.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

On October 5, 1992, Moslem armed formations attacked the house of Sreten Djokic in the village of Divovici near Bratunac, and two days later the bodies of the people killed in Divovici were handed over to the Serbs. The body of Sreten Djokic was given without the head and the right arm. On the neck hung a patch of skin with hair from the top of his head. The head and the arm have not been found and the body was buried accordingly. Proof: 37/94-6.

In an attack on the Serb village of Brezani, the commune of Srebrenica, on June 30, 1992, members of Moslem armed forces killed 19 serb villagers. The body of Milos Novakovic from the hamlet of Cicevac was found with the head cut off. Proof: 493/94-9, 493/94-5, 493/94-6, 493/94-7, 493/94-8 and 635/94-9.

Slavko Mladjenovic, (father Ljubomir), born in 1965, was killed on August 8, 1992 during an attack on the village of Jezestice, the commune of Bratunac. He was buried without the head which had been cut off and taken away. Proof: 68/94 and 635/94-28.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

In clashes between Moslem armed forces and those of the Army of the Republic of Srpska on November 5, 1992 in the area of Kamenica, the commune of Zvornik, the Moslems captured and killed by beheading Vlado Grabovica, Savo Djokic, Dragomir Bozic, Slavko Tijanac, Savo Kazanovic and Radomir Pavlovic. Dragomir Bozic was massacred his head severed from the body. The head of Slavko Tijanac was found without the eyes, ears and nose, a 6 mm diameter iron bar was found in his chest, while his neck, hands and feet were tied with wire. The head of Savo Kazanovic had also been cut off, his chest pierced with a large nail, and he himself nailed to an oak tree and crucified. A head without the body was also found which is assumed to have belonged to Milos Grabovica. The following were also killed in Kamenica on November 5, 1992: Miladin Asceric, 28; Mico Tesic, 24, and Nikola Milinovic, 27. They were also beheaded. Proof: 184/94-5, 184/95-6, 184/95-7 and 184/95-8.

Some of the war crimes that are reported to the UN and listed by the case and proof number. All Bosnian Muslim units were from Srebrenica's operational Muslim army group.

In an attack carried out on June 3, 1992 on the village of Brezane, the commune of Srebrenica, Moslems killed Milivoje Mitrovic and Stanoje Mitrovic. When this village was liberated in

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

April 1993 their headless bodies were found. Stanoje Mitrovic's throat had been slit by one "Kemo" from Pale. Proof: 635/94-9.

The Moslems killed the Serb Sredoje Jovanovic from Krnice by beheading him when they attacked this village on July 5, 1992. Proof: 493/94-13.

On September 24, 1992 Moslem forces occupied the village of Podravanje in the commune of Milici, set it to fire, looted it and killed all the wounded they came across in the village. They killed 19 persons on that occasion and massacred their bodies.

Zulfo Tursumovic from Sucevka had the severely wounded Tomislav Perendic put his head in his (Tursumovic's) lap and then slaughtered him and cut his head off. Svetozar Jovanovic's head was cut off and impaled on a stake and Gojko Tomic was beheaded and his head thrown some 20 metres away from the body. Proof: 184/95-34.

April 1992 their bodies were found. Six other victims of the ...
The bodies were found on the ...
On September 24, 1992, the ...
The ...
The ...
The ...
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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1019 (1995) ON VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN THE AREAS OF SREBRENICA, ZEPA, BANJA LUKA AND SANSKI MOST

UNITED NATIONS

Security Council
Distr. GENERAL
S/1995/988
27 November 1995

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

95-37227 (E) 281195/...

9537227

A. Missing persons

4. The Bosnian Serb offensive on Srebrenica from 6 to 11 July 1995 led to a mass displacement of the entire Bosnian Muslim community of the area. An estimated 25,000 people were forcibly evacuated on a convoy of buses and trucks organized by the Bosnian Serb authorities. A group of people, estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000, most of whom were men, left Srebrenica on foot. The exact number of persons from these two groups who arrived safely in Bosnian Government-held territory is not known. By most accounts, the local population prior to the Bosnian Serb offensive numbered 38,000 to 40,000, although UNHCR estimated the population of the enclave for food distribution purposes at 42,600.

5. Thousands of people still remain unaccounted for. An unknown number who made their way to safety have simply not been registered by the appropriate authorities. At least several hundred persons are believed to have been killed in armed combat. There are also accounts of men in hiding in Bosnian Serb-held territory, although no more than a few hundred men are believed to be still at large.

6. It is thus difficult to ascertain the exact numbers of those missing.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has received over **10,000** tracing requests from families and has determined that **2,000** of the requests are duplicative, leaving a total of 8,000 tracing requests. A further analysis by ICRC indicates that **5,000** of the tracing requests concern individuals who are said to have left the enclave before it was taken by Bosnian Serb forces. Some **3,000** requests concern persons who were taken from their families by Bosnian Serb forces during the expulsion itself.

Faxsimil of document of Bosnian Muslim Army (BMA)

1.

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

ARMY OF R. BiH

The 285. East Bosnian Brigade Zepa

Top secret No.08-20-454/95

Date: 19.04.1995.

State security

Defense of Republic

military secret

Top confidential

HEADQUARTER OF ARMY

DIRECTION FOR TACTICAL ACTIVITY

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Asim Dzambasovic

Connection with your act, top secret No:

2/628 from 18.04.1995

Requested information we submitting to you:

We are submitting you data of military equipment, which arrived;

ARTICLE	ZEPA	SREBRENICA	IN TOTOAL
Bullets cal 7,62	23.500	50.000	73.500
Mines 82mm	15	35	50
Mines 60mm	25	75	100
Rockets TF-8	4	-	4
B.R. M-93	34	90	124
Lancer TF-8	1	-	1
Cigarettes	2	5	7
Office materials	-	1	1

Comandant

Avdo Palic

COMMENT:

It is evidently that Srebrenica, which was Demilitarization Zone under the protection of UN, was supplied by weapons and military equipment.

quest about case reference file 100-100000

Final bill of document of Division of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) dated 10/10/61 and to 10/11/61, with comments and has outlined that all work done since 10/10/61 and to 10/11/61, in terms of health, education and welfare, is being reviewed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) and that the results of this review will be reported to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) and that the results of this review will be reported to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW).

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT
John D. ...

Comments with you are not to be
used for 10/10/61
Respectful attention is being given to you

We are awaiting for data of military equipment, which is as follows:

ARTICLE	QTY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
Medical 701	27,000	Medical 701	10.00
Medical 702	13	Medical 702	10.00
Medical 703	22	Medical 703	10.00
Medical 704	2	Medical 704	10.00
Medical 705	24	Medical 705	10.00
Medical 706	1	Medical 706	10.00
Medical 707	2	Medical 707	10.00
Medical 708	1	Medical 708	10.00

Comments
As to file

COMMENT:

It is evident that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW) is reviewing the results of this review and that the results of this review will be reported to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW).

2.

The Republic of Srpska

-Civilian Affairs Committee for Srebrenica

No:07-27/95

Date: July 17 1995

DECLARATION

of the Representatives of the Civilian Authorities of the Enclave of Srebrenica on the realization of the agreement on the evacuation of the civilian population of the Enclave.

A meeting was held on July 12 1995 in the "Hotel Fontana", on our request, between representatives of our civilian Authorities and representatives of the civilian Authorities and the Army of the Republic of Srpska, concerning the evacuation of our civilian population out of the enclave.

Our side was represented by: Purkovic Camila, Nuhanovic Ibro and me, Nasib Mandzic.

The Serb side was represented by: Civil Affairs Commissioner for Srebrenica, Deronjic Miroslav, General Ratko Mladic, the President of the country of Bratunac Ljubisav Simic, the Chief Executive of the country of Bratunac Srbislav Davidovic, the Chief of Police Zvornik, Mr. Vasic, General Kristic, Corp Security Chief Mr. Popovic and Colonel Krstic.

The negotiations were attended by UNPROFOR Representative, Dutch Battalion Commander.

The following was agreed:

-The civilian population can remain in the enclave or evacuated, depend upon the wish of each individual;

-In the event that we wish to evacuate it is possible for us to chose the direction of our movement and have decided that the entire population is to evacuate to the territory of Country of Kladanj;

-It has been agreed that the evacuation is to be carried out by the Army and Police of the Republic of Srpska, supervised and escorted by UNPROFOR.

After the Agreement had been reached, I assent that the evacuation on was carried out by the Serb side correctly and the clauses of the agreement had been adhered to.

During the evacuation there were no incidents on either of the sides and the Serb side has adhered to all the regulations of Geneva Conventions and the international war law, *as far as concern convoy escorted by UN forces.*

UN representative
(signature)

Representative of the Civilian
Authorities of the Enclave of
Srebrenica

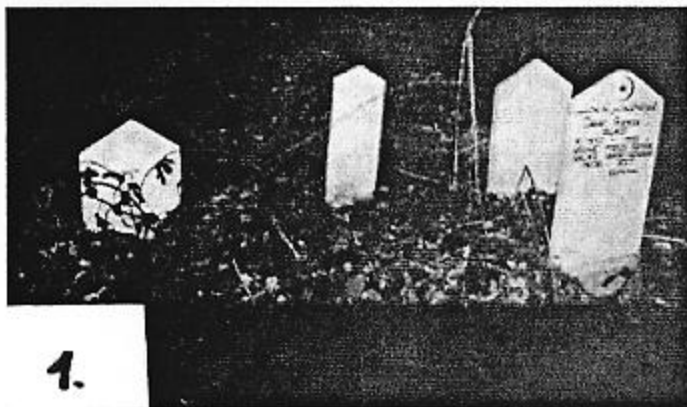
Colonel Karemans

Mandzic Nesib

Civil Affaire Commissioner for Srebrenica
Miroslav Deronjic

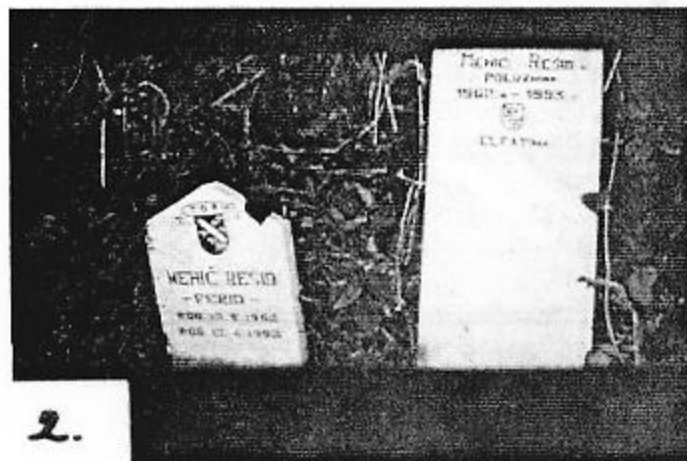
FOTO DOCUMENTATIONS





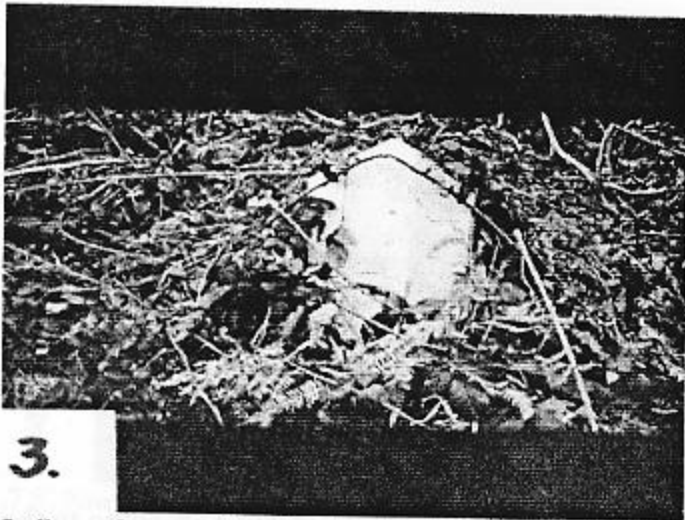
1.

1. Muslim Graveyard near Srebrenica. In the center of the photo, there are two gravestones which do not have names.



2.

2. Two different gravestones for the same person at the Muslim Graveyard near Srebrenica.



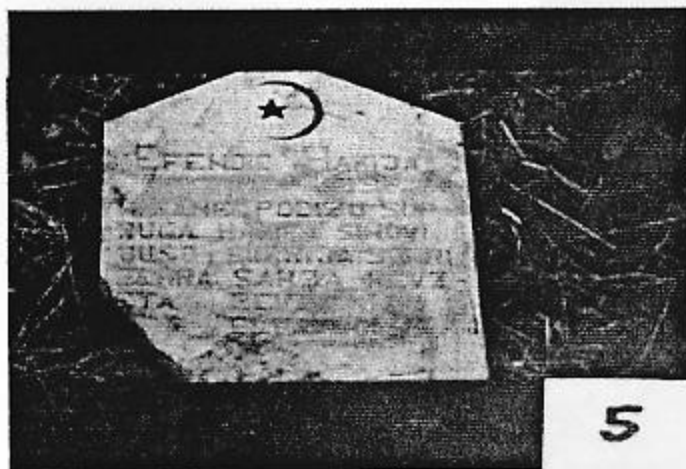
3.

3. One of many Muslim gravestones which appear to have been built recently.



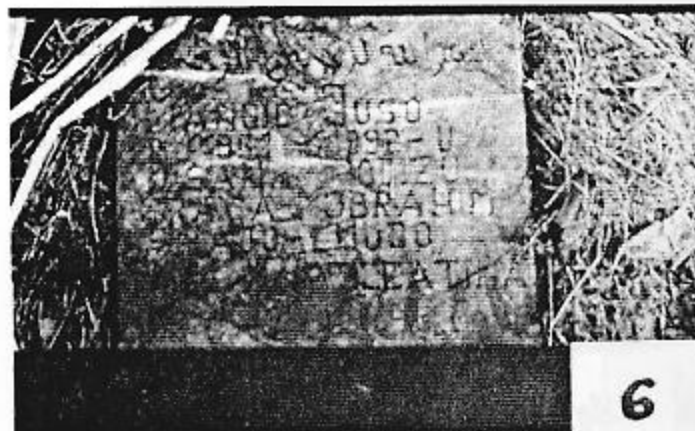
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4. Gravestone of Hajra AVDIC (Muslim), being registered as a person who became missing during the fall of Srebrenica (July 1995) in the ICRC list under the registration number of BAZ-106072. According to the footnote of ICRC Missing List, the data of missing persons are supposed to be registered by their close relatives who usually know the details of the missing persons. Thus, it became strange that Hajra's close relatives did not know that he had died before the fall of Srebrenica.



5

5. Gravestone of Hakija EFENDIC (Muslim) at the Potocari Cemetery. According to the inscription on the stone, Hakija died in 1992. However, he was listed as a person who became missing during the fall of Srebrenica in the ICRC Missing List.

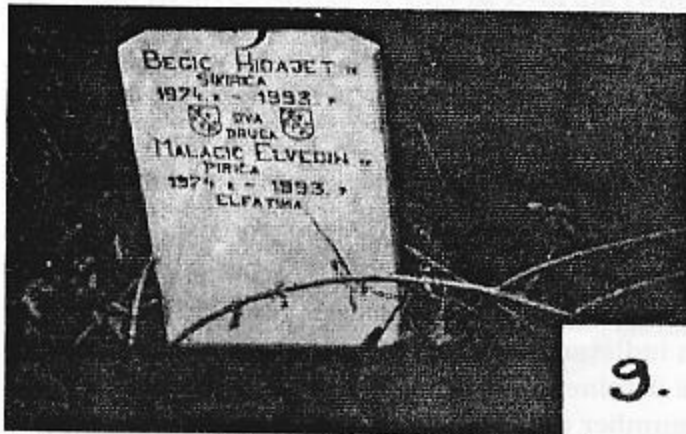


6

6. Gravestone of MANDZIC Jusa (Jusuf) (Muslim) in Potocari. Jusa, who had died in 1992 in Potocari before the fall of Srebrenica, is listed as a person who became missing at Potocari during the fall of Srebrenica in ICRC Missing List under the registration number of BAZ-906268. Although the gravestone indicates the year of his birth as 1951, the missing list shows 1938 as the year of birth without specifying the exact date. Judging from this, it seems that somebody other than MANDZIC's close relatives gave the data



7,8. Normal gravestone of the Muslim soldiers with the inscribed details such as the name of the dead, the date of the birth and the death, the names of the close relatives. The Muslim soldiers under these gravestones are not listed as missing persons in ICRC Missing List.



9. Two name of Muslims who died in 1993 are seen on the gravestone. As for Elvedin MALAGIC could be Elvir MALAGIC who is registered as a person became missing during the fall of Srebrenica in the ICRC list under the registration number BAZ-901466 as Elvir is a nickname for Elvedin. Because of insufficient data in the ICRC list, it cannot be confirmed whether Elvedin and Elvir are the identical person.



10. Town of Karakaj



11. Primary school in Karakaj. ICTY's indictment against Mladic and Karadzic said that thousands of Muslim soldiers were detained in this school and its adjacent sports hall, and continued to say that a large number of them were killed in this school complex. However, the school does not have any sports halls. Moreover, judging from the size of the school complex, there are no space that could accommodate thousands of people in this school.



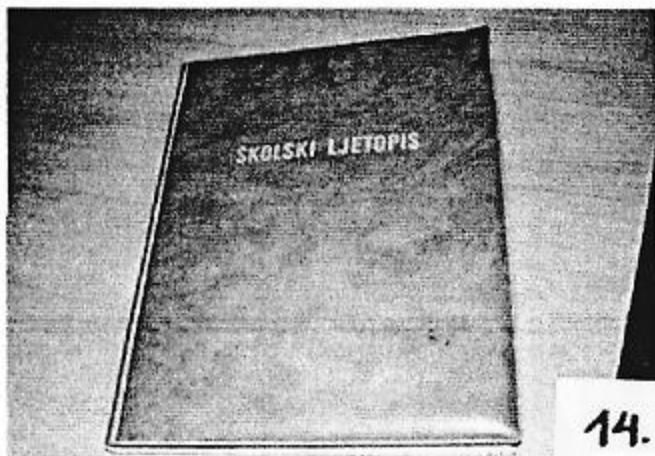
12.

12. Mirko REBIC, Mayor of City of Zvornik (where Karakaj is situated), claimed that there were no massive killings, executions or even combats in or around Karakaj during the fall of Srebrenica.

13. Primary school in Karakaj.



13.



14.

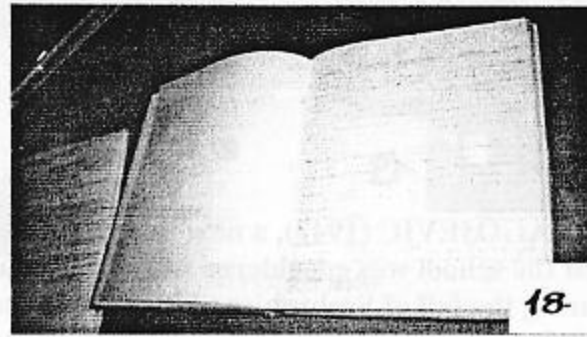
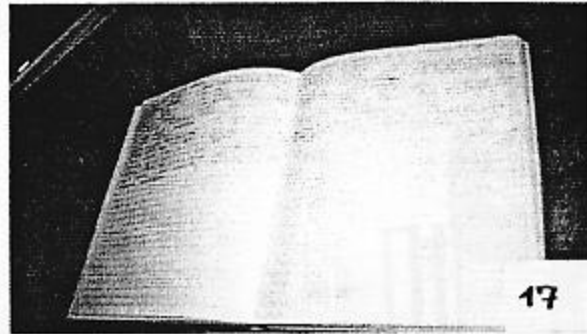
14. School record of the students who were attending classes in the period when Muslim soldiers were allegedly massacred in the school during the fall of Srebrenica.



15

15. Nedo VASIC (1948), Principal of the school, explained that the students were studying normally in the classrooms during the period when Muslim soldiers were allegedly massacred in the school complex.

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)



16-18. School record which shows the daily attendance of the students who were at classes during June - July 1995.



19. Cveta BLAGOJEVIC (1947), a next door neighbor of the school, did not know even the fact that the school was considered as a questionable site for the massacre of Muslim soldiers during the fall of Srebrenica. Although she said that she had seen trucks transporting people to Kladanj, she had never heard or seen a large number of persons detained or killed in the school in her next-door.



20 View of Mali Zvornik in Serbia from Karakaj in Bosnia (Republic of Srpska) across the River Drina. The mosque is seen at the center of the photo.



21. View of Karakaj from Mali Zvornik across the River Drina.



22. View of Mali Zvornik in Serbia from Karakaj in Bosnia (Republic of Srpska) across the River Drina. The mosque is seen at the center of the photo

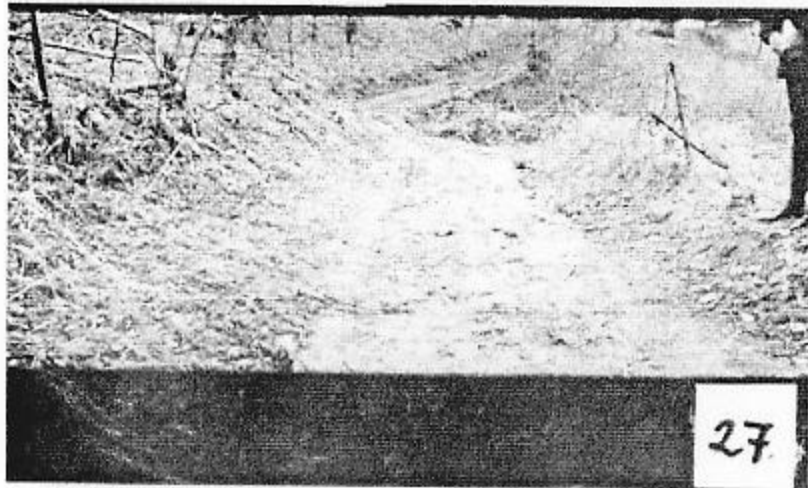


23-25. Two Muslim women who live near the mosque in Mali Zvornik across the river from Karakaj. They said that they had seen the trucks transporting many people but added that they had not heard any shooting sounds during the fall of Srebrenica. Note

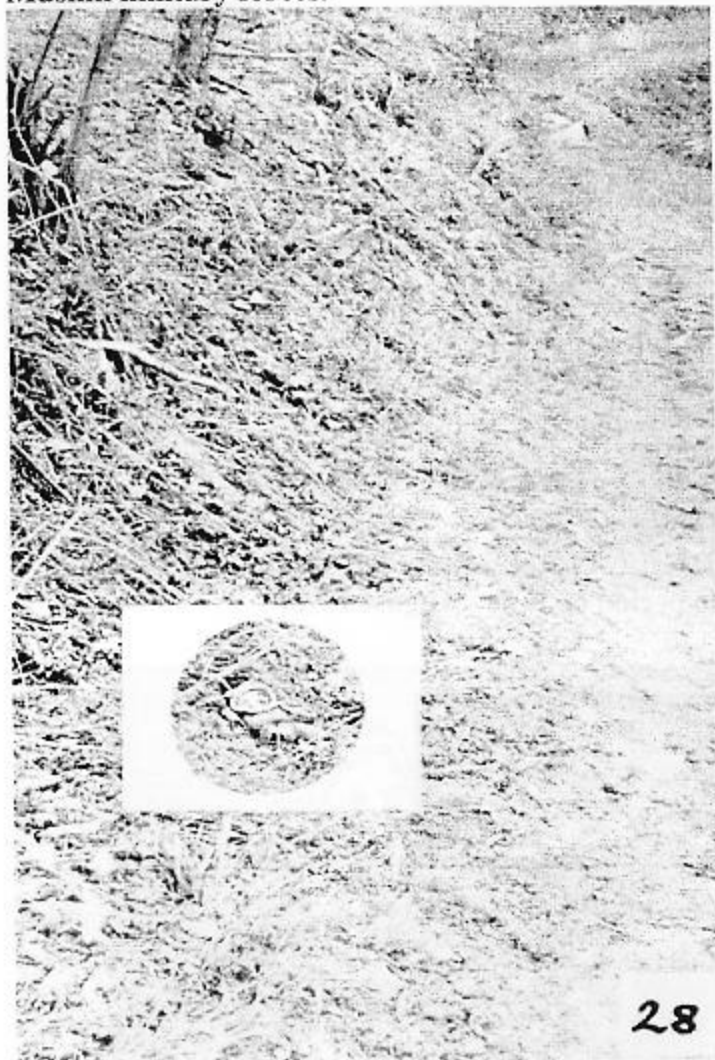
that Mali Zvornik is so close that they could have heard something in the case of shootings of thousands of Muslim soldiers.



26. The man at the right is Milan MIHAJLOVIC (1946), the school caretaker who was living and working in the school in the period of June - August 1995.



27. The road that most of the Muslim troops used in escaping from Srebrenica to Konjevic Polje, Nova Kasaba, Cerska, and finally Kladanj or Tuzla under the control of Muslim military forces.

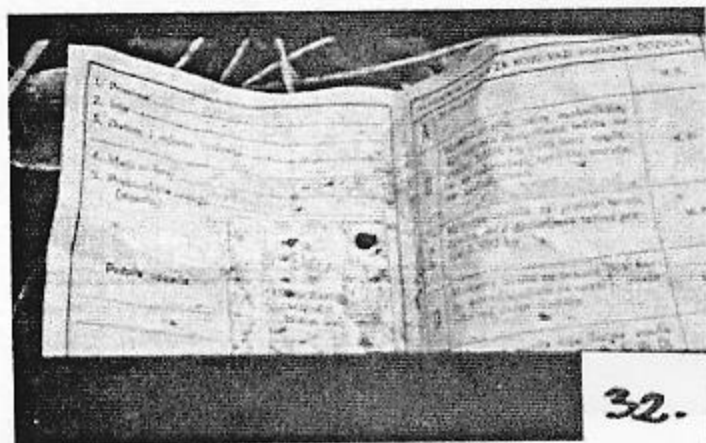




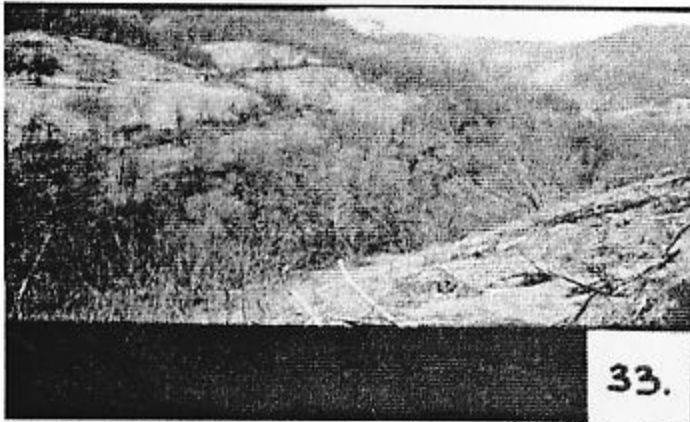
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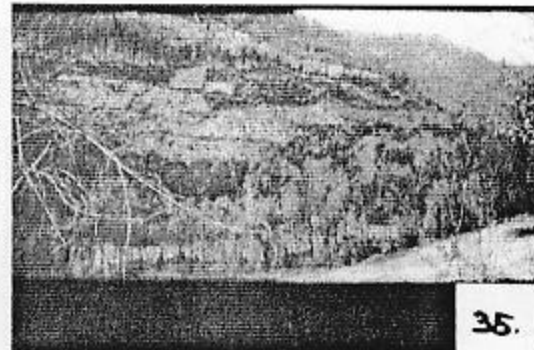
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28,29,30,31,32 Personal belongings of Muslim soldiers which appeared to have been thrown away on the road (Photo 27). Most of the Muslim troops were fleeing from Srebrenica while fighting. Inside of the gas mask were an identity card of Rizah BEGOVIC (1985), a Muslim soldier, and a drivers' license of Alja BEGOVIC (1945). Both of them were from Srebrenica, and neither of them were registered as persons missing during the fall of Srebrenica in the ICRC list. This kind of personal belongings were often used by journalists and foreign organizations as evidences for the death of the holder of the identification card in mass killings.



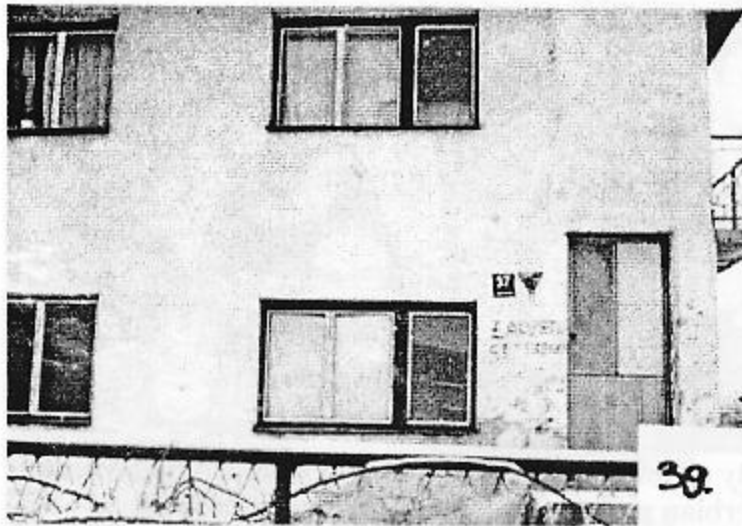
33. Crni Vrh, which is situated near Konjevic Polje. During the fall of Srebrenica, almost 100 Serbian soldiers of Republic of Srpska Army were killed in the fierce combat with Muslim forces which fled Srebrenica. Majority of Muslim soldiers succeeded to break the Serbian soldiers' line of Republic of Srpska. However, taking into consideration the number of the killed Serbian soldiers who had good weapons and were waiting for Muslim soldiers, the Muslim forces fleeing Srebrenica must have suffered 800 - 1000 deaths (estimate) of soldiers in the combat.



34, 35. Mountain road near Crni Vrh. Bones of the persons killed in the combats have been often found even recently. In escaping from Srebrenica, Muslim soldiers who wanted to continue fighting fought against Muslim soldiers who wanted to surrender. Elizabeth REHN (then special envoy of UN Human rights?) came here and witnessed that the dead bodies of Muslim soldiers, and their weapons were located as such a way of indicating a mutual fighting. The Dutch soldiers of UNPROFOR confirmed the incident. (?)



36,37. Buildings and houses which used to belong to the Serbs in Sarajevo before the war. At present, Muslims from Srebrenica and its surrounding areas occupies those accommodations.



38,39. House that used to belong Serbs in Sarajevo before the war. It is occupied by Muslims from Srebrenica now. The scribble on the wall said "Occupied by Srebrenica".



40. The family of IBISEVIC, a Muslim family who came to Sarajevo from Srebrenica after the fall of Srebrenica.



41. Hata (Muslim), the eldest family member of IBISEVIC (left) explained that Muslim extremists who had disguised in Serbian para-military had threatened the general Muslim citizens in order to agitate the antagonism and fear against Serbs. Right is her close Serbian friend who has experienced hard time in Muslim's Sarajevo.



42.Hata Ibisevic (Muslim)



43. Hata and her daughter-in-law, Sehra (Muslim), who hopes to see her missing husband (Muslim).

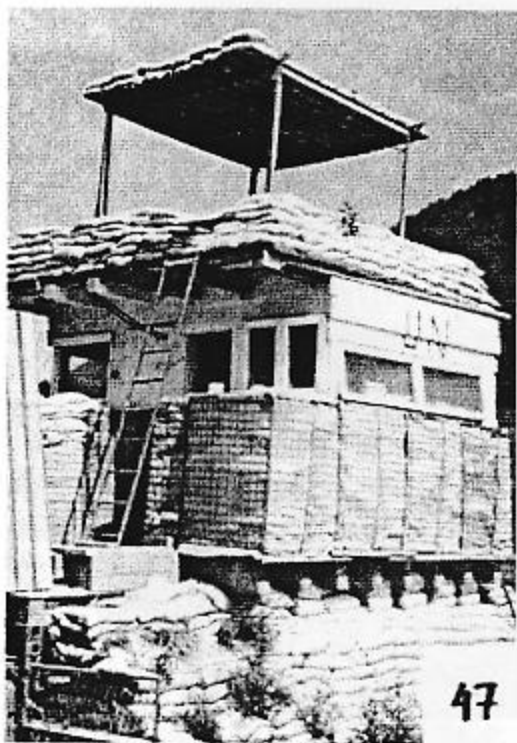




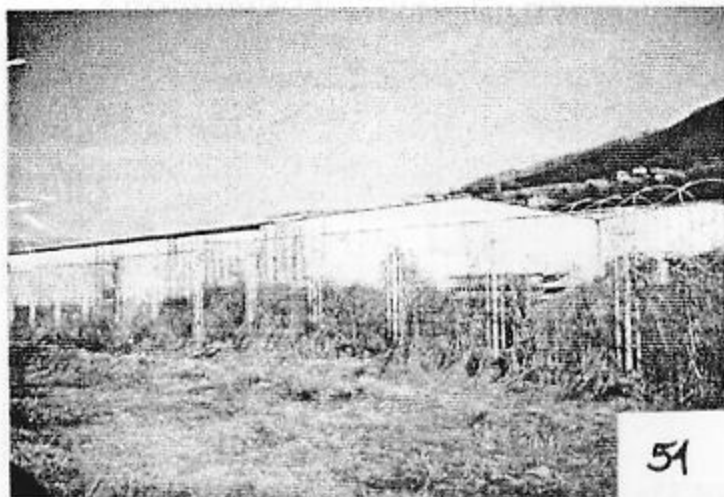
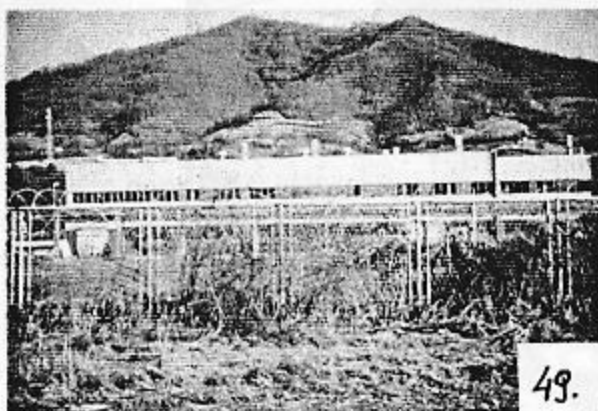
44,45. The members of IBISEVIC family, who hope that their husbands and brothers would come back alive. They talked that their relatives and friends had received contacts from their male families who had sought an asylum in the third countries, such as the Netherlands, Germany, USA, etc. Although Hata's oldest son, Hajrulah (Muslim), is registered as a person missing during the fall of Srebrenica under the registration number BAZ-906813, he was found alive and in good health in Yugoslavia. He has been working as an officer of Yugoslav Army.



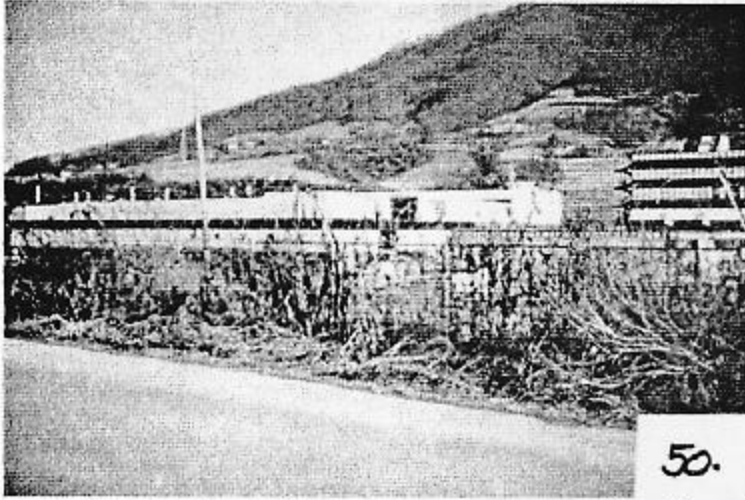
46. The entrance to the base of Dutch soldiers of UNPROFOR in Potocari (between Srebrenica and Bratunac)



47. Bunkers that were raised around the base of Dutch soldiers of UNPROFOR for security reasons.



48, 49, 51. Safety fence that surrounds the base of Dutch soldiers of UNPROFOR. It is still undamaged now.



50.

50. The road where the buses were arranged for the evacuation of 25,000 Muslim civilians from Srebrenica to Kladani and Tuzla.



52.

52. The scene which was broadcast around the globe, showing sorrow of a Muslim woman who lost her son. In fact, however, the woman was a Serb, Dobrilla PRODA-NOVIC and her son Zivan (1966), who was killed in a small Serbian village called Ratkovici by Muslims from Srebrenica on June 21, 1992. A large number of Serbs in this village were killed then.



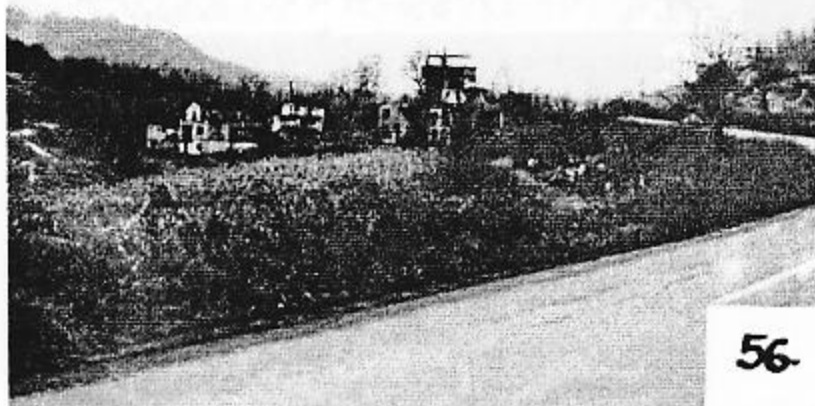
53, 54. Ivanka MIRKOVIC (a Serb) was killed by the knife in Srebrenica by Muslim soldiers only an hour before the Muslim soldiers withdrew from Srebrenica on July 11 1995. She was at the age of 80 then, and was the last Serb who remained in Srebrenica except Serbian prisoners of war.





55.

55. The spot where Judge Goran ZEKIC (a Serb) was killed on May 8, 1992 on the road to Srebrenica, and immediately afterwards, Serbs left Srebrenica massively, having been afraid of Muslims' assaults. At the same time, Muslim soldiers began to burn down more than 105 villages, killed inhabitants (mostly civilians such as women and children), destroyed their property and goods. It continued until the beginning of 1993. ZEKIC was a Srebrenica representative of SDS party to Bosnian Parliament as well as the local leader of SDS in Srebrenica, and became a first Serbian victim in Srebrenica.



56.

56. Serbian houses in the suburb of Srebrenica. They were burned down and robbed from April 1992 to May 1992.



57. Goran VASIC (a Serb) showed his house in the Serbian village of Zalazje near Srebrenica. The village was completely burned down and robbed, and most of the inhabitants were killed in Muslims' offensive on July 12, 1992.



58.



59.

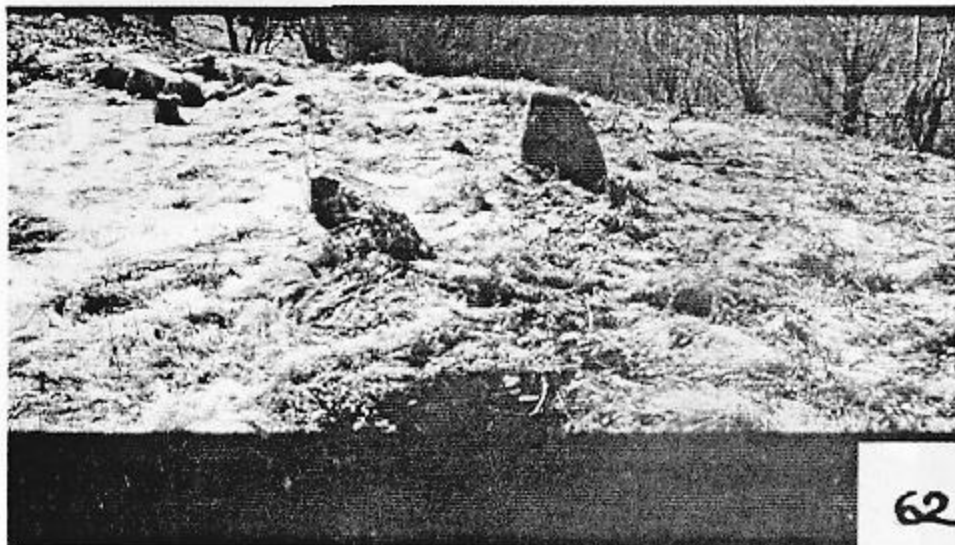
58,59. Goran VASIC, standing at the door of his destroyed house where Muslims from Srebrenica killed his father.



60. Two monuments. One is for the Serbian victims of the war from 1992 - 1995, and the other is for the Serbian victims of World War II. During the World War II, Serbian males of 96 houses were murdered by their Muslim neighbors who were members of fascist forces, Handzar Division.



61. Monument for the Serbian victims of Muslim extremists during the war of 1992, in the village of Zalazje near Srebrenica.



62

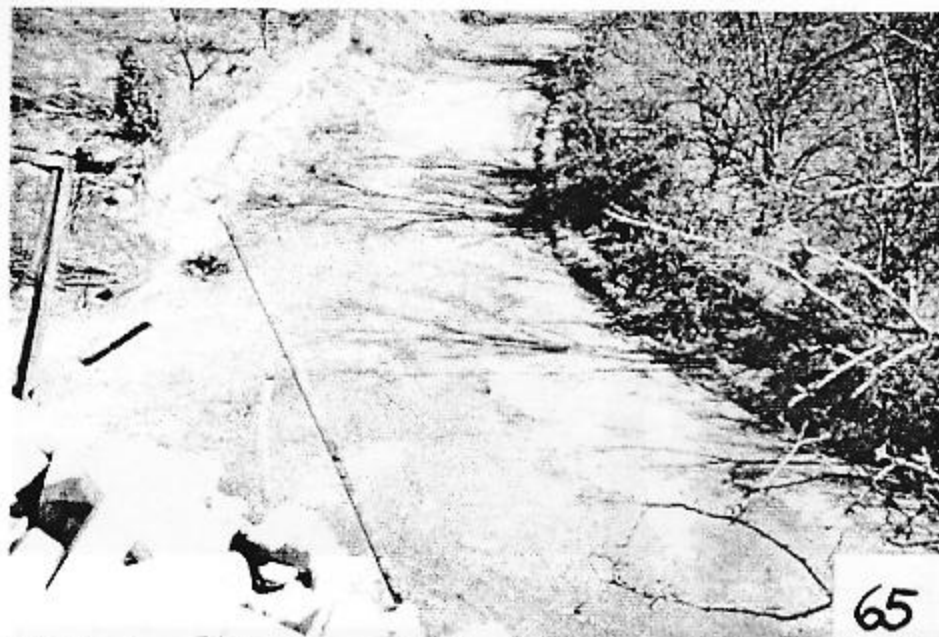


63.

62, 63. Ancient Roman gravestone standing aside by the Serbian gravestone.



64-69. Serbian houses which were burned down and robbed in the village of Zalazje. The roof where three Serbs were hiding themselves and watched over the massacre of other Serbian citizens on the road in Zalazje.

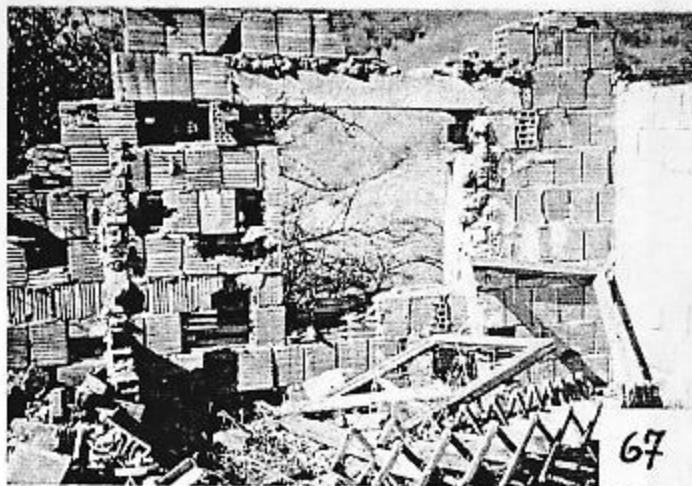


65. The view of the witnesses hiding on the top of the house. Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica told Serbian civilians to stand in a line in front of the house in Zalazje. They later brutally executed them.

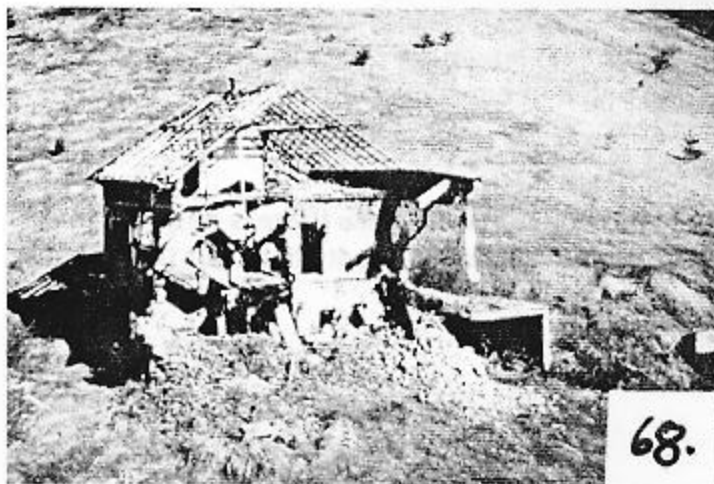


66.

66. Inside of house. Witnesses manage to hide them self because there is no stairs to the top of house. That was main reason why Muslim soldiers did not check out top of house.

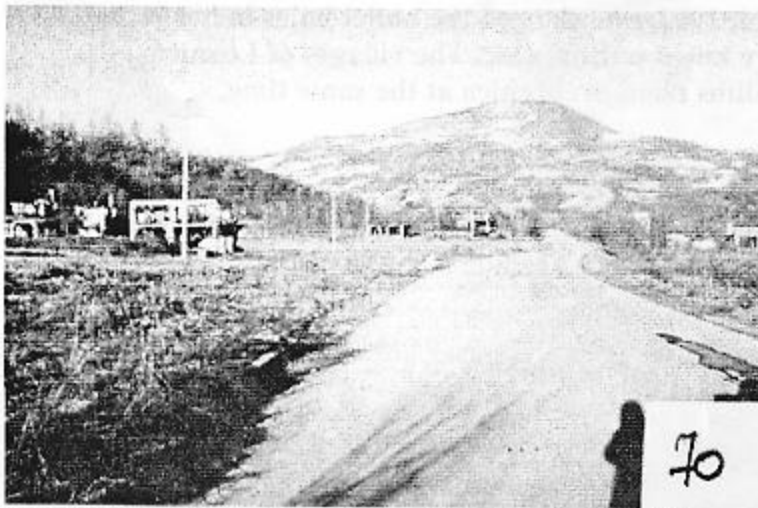
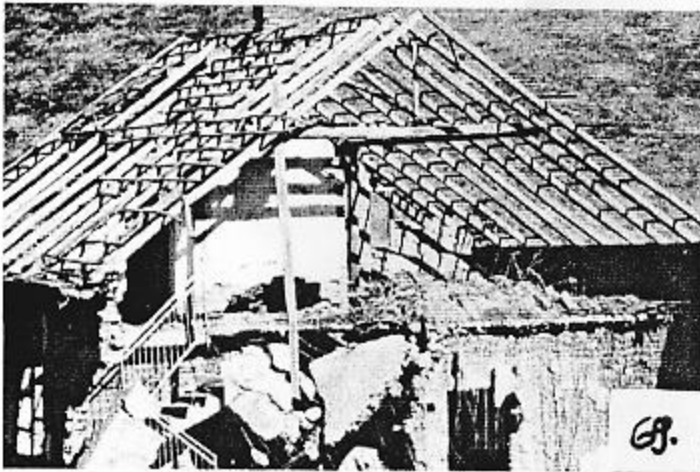


67. Bask window on the top of the house, which was used by witness to escape.



68, 69. All Serb's house in village Zalazje were first looted and destroyed by Muslim soldiers under the command of Mr.Naser Oric. Inhabitants were killed or forced to flee.

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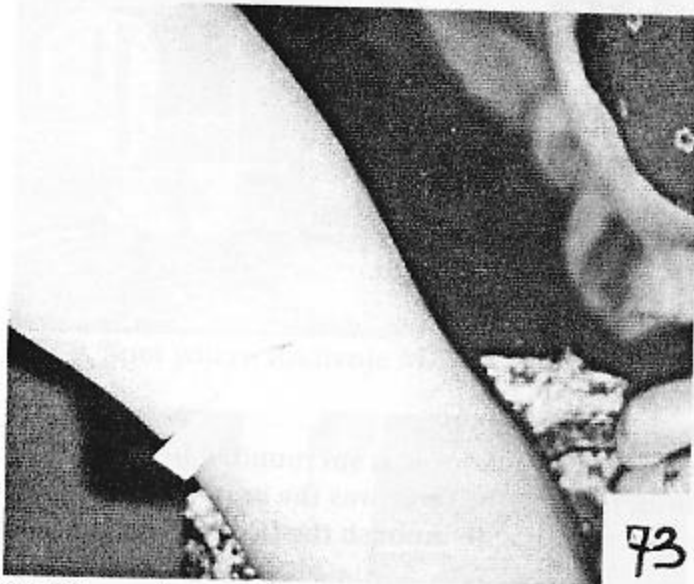
70. The road from the village of Zalazje to the village of Bjelovac. The mountain in the center is situated in Serbia, where most of Serb's from Srebrenica and surrounding villages found refuge (1992-1995).



71. Dostana FILIPOVIC (Serb) was lucky enough to survive Muslim attack against the village of Bijelovac on December 14, 1992. She showed the bullet holes in her jacket. In this attack, a number of Serbs were killed in Bijelovac. The villages of Loznica and Sikirici were also attacked by Muslims from Srebrenica at the same time.



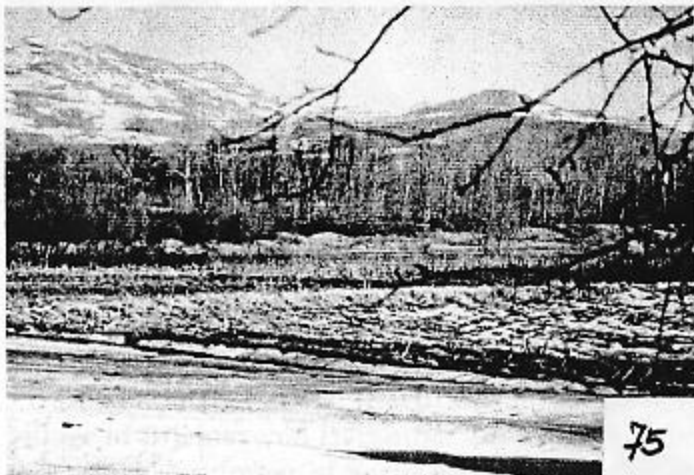
72. All FILIPOVIC families except the man in the center were attacked by a bomb, and were imprisoned in Srebrenica for 2 months. Later, they were lucky enough to be exchanged for Muslim soldiers.



73. Pieces of grenade are still seen in the arm, the head, the stomach and chest area of Mira FILIPOVIC, who used her body as a shield for her children.



74. The hill where Muslims started to launch the attacks against the village of Bijelovac on December 14, 1992.



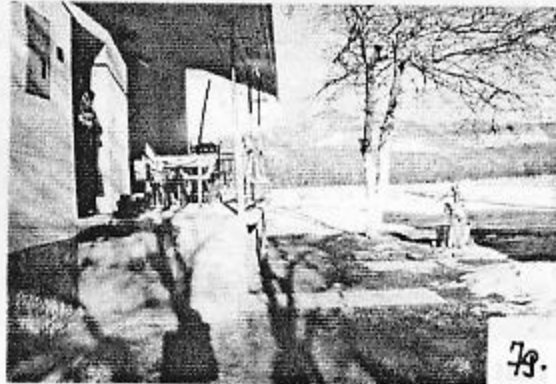
75. Frozen River Drina along the border to Serbia. Bijelovac is surrounded by hills and the river. As Muslim soldiers occupied hills, to cross the river was the only way to escape. However, Muslims' Special Forces were waiting to ambush the fleeing Serbian civilians near the river and killed them.



76. Slavka MATIC (a Serb). Muslim soldiers killed her husband Mr. Radivoj. He was

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killed when he cutting woods in front of the house. Her two daughters, Snezana (1965) and Gordana (1967) were also killed on the same time.



77-79. Spot where Radivoje MATIC (husband) was killed in front of the house.





80. Hill that was used by the Muslim soldiers to shoot the inhabitants of the village of Bjelovac. Radivoje MATIC and his daughter, Snezana, were shot dead by the bullets from this hill.



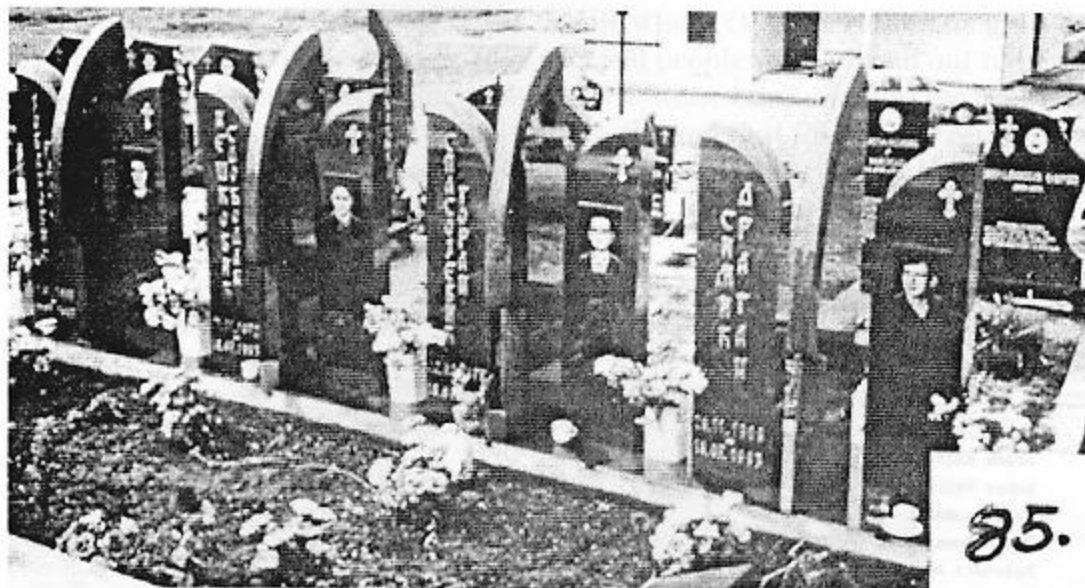
81, 82. Toilet where Gordana MATIC was killed.

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83, 84. Stairways in the house of MATIC. Bogdana ILIC, a Serbian refugee, hid herself from Muslim soldiers, and witnessed the killings of MATIC families accidentally.





85, 86. Gravestones of MATIC sisters, Gordana and Snezana in Bratunac brutally killed by Muslim soldiers.

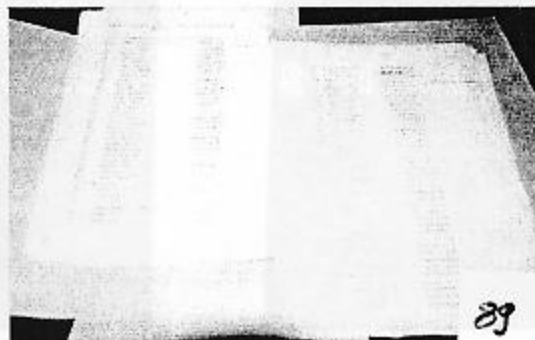
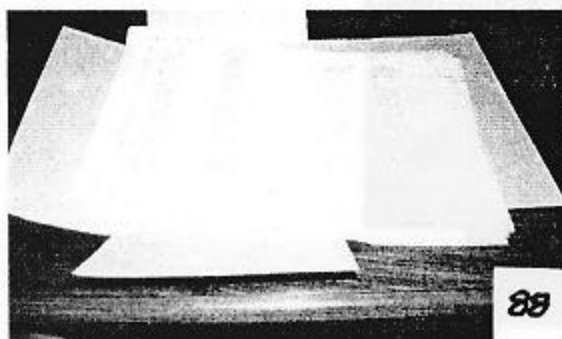


S P I S A K

birača koji se nalaze na KPS a ne nalaze se na popisu birača iz
1991.godine.

Red. Broj	Ime i prezime	Matični broj
1.	Habiša Harboš	1501957188942
2.	Ešefa Ališ	1501962185076
3.	Zunra Hafiš	1501961188199
4.	Fata Muškafiš	1501961189279
5.	Osma Osmanović	1501962183169
6.	Hajrudin Bektiš	1501962183177
7.	Mura Habibović	1501962188160
8.	Fatima Kariš	1501964188141
9.	Fulajmana Avdiš	1501965188153
10.	Fadil Hafišović	1501967183124
11.	Ševko Mehmedović	1501968183144
12.	Sakib Šaranović	1501969183121
13.	Hijaza Čandiš	1501969188131
14.	Verica Avdiš	250197

87. Election list of people who had the rights to vote at the election in Srebrenica in 1991 before the war.



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88,89. Election list of more than 3,500 people whom OSCE irrationally gave the right to vote at the election of 1998. Over 70% of 3,500 people were turned out to be women who were not from Srebrenica municipality. It is assumed that Muslim government in Sarajevo would have issued identity cards which showed that they were from Srebrenica in order to give them the right to receive aids from various organizations as well as the right to vote.



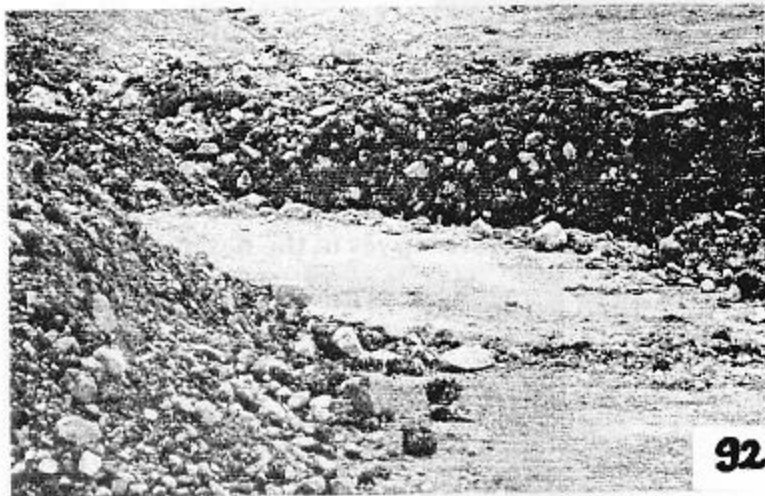
90.

90. SFOR members built the fence and prevented the students from going out of the schoolyard and participate in the citizens' demonstration to protest against the entry of Muslim representatives to the Assembly of Srebrenica. Most of the general Serbian citizens immediately recognized one of the Muslim representatives to the Assembly of Srebrenica as a war criminal which is on the list of Republic of Srpska.



91.

91 Weir Brnik (Brnica) near city of Zvornik (East Bosnia). Forensic team of ICTY are digging up under the protection of SFOR.



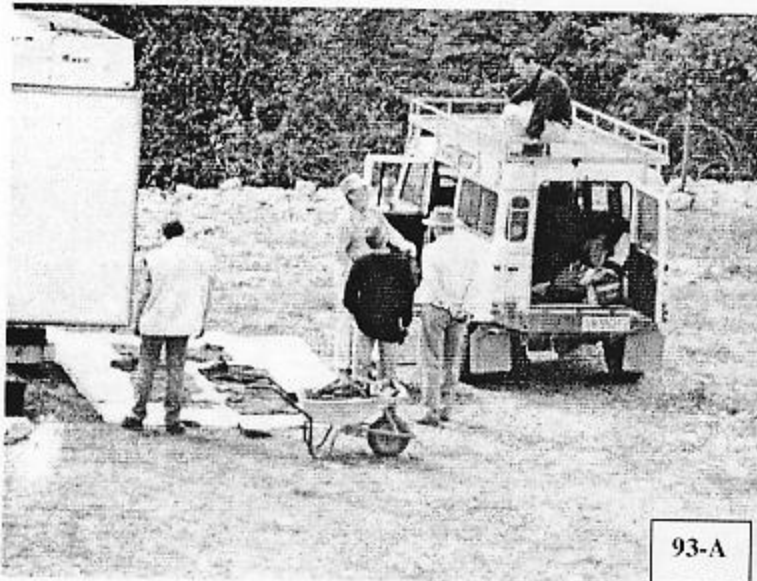
92

92. Ground dug up by the forensic team of ICTY.

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93. What the forensic team of ICTY found out were old clothes.





93-
D

93. B

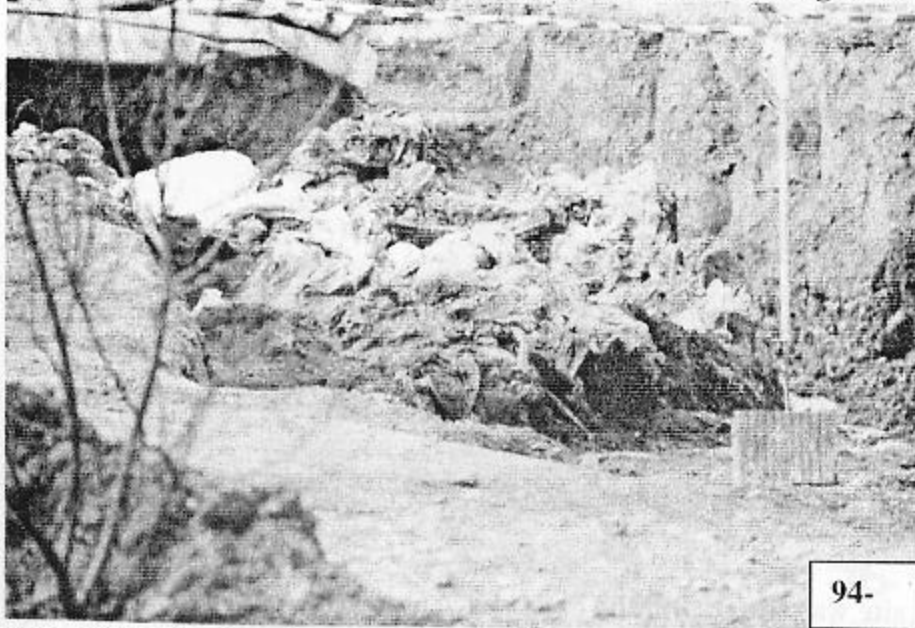


93-
C

93.C Members of forensic team headed by Mr. George Garner



94. and 94-A Exumation site of ICTY forensic team in village Kamenica.



94-A. Mixed human boons and remaining.



94.B Works on exhumation site – ICTY experts



95.and 95a Exumation site was situated in the open space along the two roads.



95a Exumation site was situated in the open space along the two roads



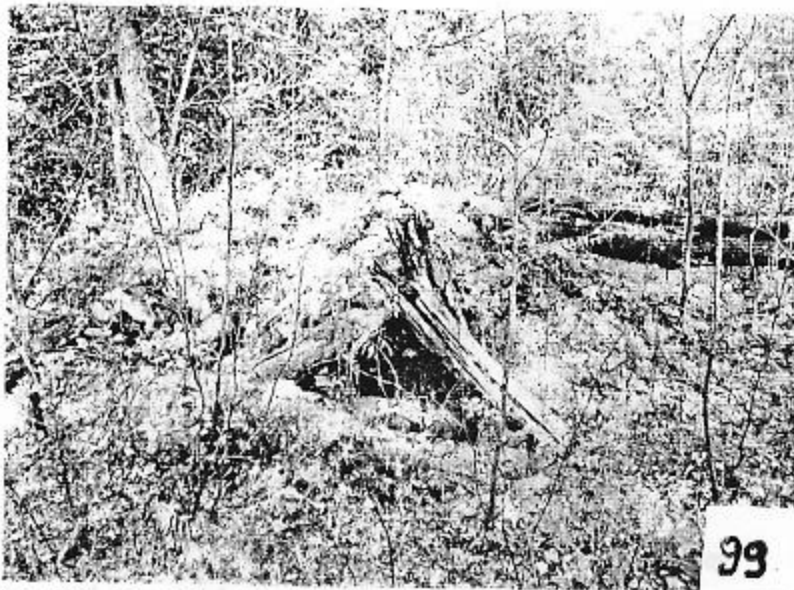
96 Glodjansko Brdo. Mountains road to the hiding place of Serbian victims.



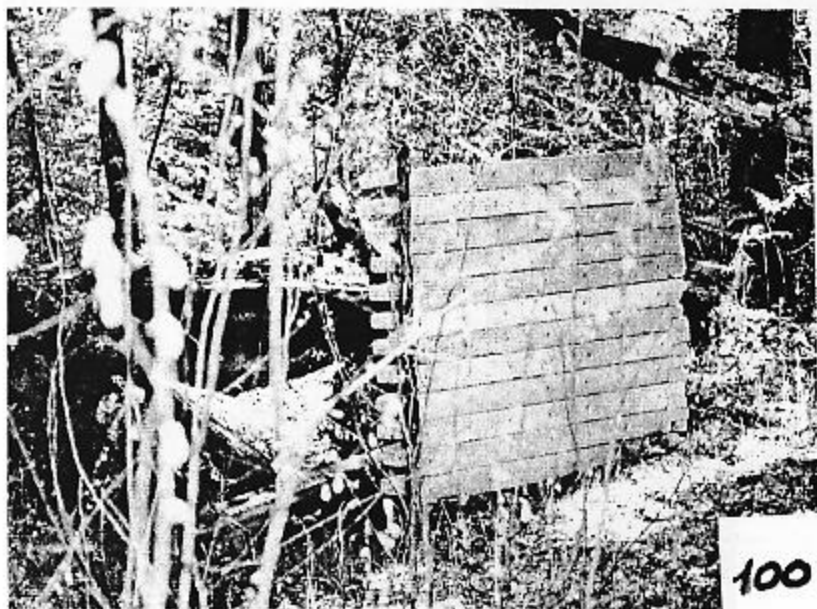
97.Exumation site of Serbian victims deep in the forest.



98-99-100. Each bunker shows the intensity of fights between Muslims and Serbs.



99-100. Each bunker shows the intensity of fights between Muslims and Serbs.



101. Miodrag Subotic (Serb) a refugee from Sarajevo, showed his arm, which was broken by Muslim soldier.



102. Family of Subotic: Ognjen, a 9-year old son, said: "NO" on behalf of his father to the question: "Can you live with Muslims again?"

Photo by [unreadable]



The family of Subotic (right) and his wife, with their 9-year-old son and 11-year-old daughter. The question: "Can you live with [him]?"



101. Miroslav Subotic (left) and his wife, with their 9-year-old son and 11-year-old daughter. The question: "Can you live with [him]?"

