

SREBRENICA
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Overview: Why should one read articles refuting the charge that Serbs committed mass murder in Srebrenica?

by Jared Israel
Emperor's Clothes

UN document detailing crimes against Serbs in and around Srebrenica, 1992-1993

PDF files

Comments by Petar Makara

Emperor's Clothes

[10 June 2005]

[www.tenc.net]

Overview

July 11 is the tenth anniversary of the recapture of the East Bosnian town of Srebrenica by Bosnian Serb troops. In coming weeks we will be sending you a number of pieces challenging the official story about Srebrenica. According to the official account, after the Serbs re-took Srebrenica, they slaughtered 8000 Muslim men.

Why should people read articles challenging this massacre story? After all, it's consistent with what one has been told: that Srebrenica

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was a safe haven where the UN was supposed to protect Muslims from supposedly murderous Serbs; that the Muslims, portrayed in the media as an oppressed group, were moderate and tolerant while the Serbs were supposedly fanatical Muslim-haters with a Hitlerian vision of a mono-ethnic state; that therefore it was no surprise that when the Serbs took Srebrenica, they supposedly killed thousands of Muslims as fast as they could.

Why should you read material challenging the Srebrenica massacre story when you, dear reader, have limited time and you may have read nothing in the media that would cast doubt on any of the above?

My answer is, that is precisely why you should be skeptical about the massacre story.

Permit me to explain.

The credibility of the official massacre story depends on the credibility of media coverage of Yugoslavia in general and of what happened in Eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica, in particular. If that coverage has been objective, why should one entertain the possibility that the entire media has manufactured or gone along with lies about a supposed giant massacre?

How might the media objectively cover a bitter conflict like the one in Bosnia? First, it would endeavor to fairly report what each side said, giving them equal time. Then it would investigate claims. For example, if each side accused the other of spreading hate propaganda, the media might publish each side's claims and then compare those claims to samples of each side's propaganda, both written material and what was said at rallies and in mass meetings. If each accused the other of atrocities, the media could publish the accounts of both sides, and then do hard investigative work to see who - if anyone - was telling the truth. It would hunt for lies, because what people lie about is most revealing.

If you are like most, you have no idea what the Serbs said about what happened in and around Srebrenica from the time the Bosnian war started in the spring of 1992 until the so-called fall of Srebrenica in 1995. No idea at all. And therein lies the evidence that the media cannot be trusted about Srebrenica: because in fact, the Serbs said, and published, a great deal about Muslim extremist atrocities against them, *but the Western media published virtually none of it*. What was published by the Western media stands out for the same reason that gold stands out, because it is rare. [1]

For the Western media to have lied for the past ten years about Srebrenica assumes that the media has been organized, by whatever

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means, to distort information. It is hard - and rather awful - to believe that such a level of organization for lying could exist. But exactly the same level of organization is required in order for the *entire* media not to have sought out Serbian eye-witness accounts and human interest stories, to have suppressed almost all evidence of funerals of Serb victims, news reports in the Serbian media, documents and photographs distributed by the government of Serbia and by the Bosnian Serb government and army, and so on. The public is unaware of the existence of such data *because the media has suppressed almost all of it*. You, by the very fact that you have not seen this material, are living proof.

Let me give you an example.

In June 1993 the United Nations published a 132-page report entitled "Memorandum on War Crimes and Crimes of Genocide in Eastern Bosnia (communes of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica) committed against the Serbian population from April 1992 to April 1993." Note the dates: April 1992 was the very beginning of the war in Bosnia. The Serbs charged that *from the outset of the war* the so-called Bosnian government (they say it was a government run by a faction of Muslims, the extremist faction) had a policy of genocide against Serbs.

You never heard of this document? I am not surprised. I checked with the Lexis-Nexis media search engine. I could not find a single English-language newspaper or TV news program that reported that it *existed*.

The point is, in order for the public to come to any judgment about the accuracy of this UN document, *it had to know the document existed and what was in it*. To that end, the media of course should have reported the existence of said document and what it charged, with extensive quotations in newspapers of record such as the New York Times, and it should have seriously investigated the horrific charges.

The undeniable fact that most people, at least (but not only) in the NATO countries, are completely ignorant of what the Serbs wrote and said about Muslim extremist crimes against Serbs in Eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica, is sufficient to make a *prima facie* case that media reporting concerning Eastern Bosnia, including Srebrenica, has been anti-Serb propaganda, not news. Thus there is every reason for you to be skeptical concerning media claims about a supposed huge massacre by Serbs in Srebrenica. By suppressing virtually everything said and written by the Serbian side in the bitter Bosnian conflict, the media has perjured itself. Would you accept, on faith, the word of a perjured witness?

Below are links to the pdf files of the UN report so that you may read it, only 12 years late.

Jared Israeli
Editor, Emperor's Clothes

Memorandum on War Crimes and Crimes of Genocide in Eastern Bosnia (communes of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica) committed against the Serbian population from April 1992 to April 1993.

A/48/177 and S/25835

Item 115 (c) of the preliminary list
Human Rights Questions: Human Rights Situations and Reports of Special Rapporteurs and Representatives

2 June 1993

Note: Four sections of the UN document repeat the same three introductory pages, followed by the appropriate texts.

Comments by Petar Makara

Consulting Editor, Emperor's Clothes

The horror that Bosnian Serbs suffered at the hands of Muslims in the vicinity of Srebrenica is no secret. The Yugoslav State Commission for War Crimes submitted a 132 page study presenting this Serbian suffering as early as May 24, 1993 to the United Nations Security Council. Representatives of Republika Srpska (the Bosnian Serb Republic) were not allowed to submit similar documents because Republika Srpska was not recognized by the United Nations. Yugoslavia, as a UN member state (since 1945) and one of its founding nations, was allowed to submit this document.

The Security Council admitted the study as an official United Nations document. The document was given UN id numbers A/46/171 and S/25635 and dated 2 June 1993.

Many UN documents, crucial for understanding the civil wars in Bosnia in 1990's, were, on American insistence, declared classified. But this document was not. Its distribution was marked "General."

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Any Western journalist could have stopped by room GA57 in the basement of the U.N. Building at the corner of 46th Street and 1st Ave. in New York and gotten a copy. Or they could just called the U.N. Public Inquiry Office at (212) 963-4475 and ordered it.

If the contents of this document are false, why didn't the Western media report it and refute it? Its suppression eloquently proclaims its validity and the dishonesty of the media that suppressed the very news of its existence.

We present it in its entirety. More. It is scanned in original form. You can print the PDF files and you will have a photo-copy of the original.

— Petar Makara
Emperor's Clothes

Introduction

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-intro.pdf>

Pages 1 - 21 of the document. Historical background. Serbian suffering in the region. Repeated acts of hostility toward the Serbian population in and around Srebrenica, this time in the 1990s. A list of recent Serbian victims of Muslim crime.

● **The list of Serbian victims**

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-victims.pdf>

Pages 22 - 40 of the document. Bosnian Serbs from in and around Srebrenica murdered by Bosnian Muslims from April 20, 1992 to April 5, 1993, organized by date, victim's first name, father's name (in parenthesis), last name, year of birth, place of birth, county.

● **Massacres**

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-massacred.pdf>

Pages 41 - 51 of the document. General description of the crimes committed: Types of torture and murder, plunder of Serbian property, cleansing of the Serbian population.

● **Muslim perpetrators**

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-perpetrators.pdf>

Pages 52 - 80 of the document. Bosnian Muslim perpetrators. Their full names, types of crime committed. Places and dates of their crimes.

● **Victims' statements - part 1**

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-statements-1.pdf>

Pages 81 - 104 of the document. Some surviving Serbian victims tell, in their own words, what they went through and how they survived.

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● **Victims' statements - part 2**

<http://emperor.vwh.net/sreb/un-statements-2.pdf>

Pages 105 - 132 of the document. Continuation: surviving Serbian victims tell what they went through.

[Further Reading follows the appeal]

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Further Reading

Many (but not all) Emperor's Clothes articles on Yugoslavia can be found at <http://www.tenc.net/yugo.htm>

[1] The Western media sometimes - but unfortunately, rarely - told at least part of the truth about Bosnia. Here are four examples:

* A) On 12 September 1992, the Associated Press wire service sent out a dispatch describing terror against Serbs in and around the Bosnian city of Gorazde. It was called, "Serb Refugees Face Bloody Muslim Revengc." Even when providing a fairly accurate account of brutality towards Serbs, like this one, the media used the word, "revenge," thus giving Western readers the impression that the Serbs had started the fighting. To read the Associated Press dispatch, with comments by Jared Israel, see, "A Rare Glimpse at the Reality of the Bosnian War," at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/gorazde.htm>

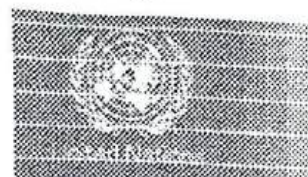
* B) On 16 July 1995, the Toronto Star published an article entitled, "Fearsome Muslim warlord eludes Bosnian Serb forces." In it, reporter Bill Schiller describes how the commander of Muslim extremist forces in Srebrenica boasted of the grisly murders of many Serb civilians around Srebrenica. It is posted in, "A Reporter's Account of Evening Spent with the Commander of Bosnian Muslim Forces in Srebrenica," at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/oric.htm>

* C) Two photos, one published in the London Times and one in the Independent, both on 11 December 1995, showed the Muslim extremist character of what the Western media called the 'Bosnian government' or 'Bosnian Muslim' army. In these photos, we see thousands of troops, in military parade, dressed in the billowing white uniforms of Mujahideen, wearing headbands with Koranic verses inscribed. These photos appeared after the Bosnian war was pretty much over - long after ordinary people in the West had been sold the idea that the Serbs were fighting moderate Muslims. Moreover, they appeared so infrequently that they could have little impact on this established (false) view of the war. To see the photos, go to <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/deja.htm#pic>

* D) An article in the London Daily Telegraph, December 1993, discusses the influx of Muslim extremists from Iran and other countries into Bosnia. It is called, "Albanians and Afghans fight for the heirs to Bosnia's SS past," and it is posted at <http://emperors-clothes.com/archive/tele.htm>

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DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY
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SKELANI (BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA)
SREBRENICA (BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA)
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SITUATION
REFUGEES FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
ETHNIC CLEANSING
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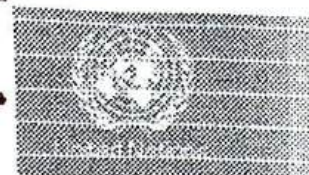
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General Assembly Security Council

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A/48/177
S/25835
2 June 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-eighth session
Item 115 (c) of the preliminary list*
HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS: HUMAN RIGHTS
SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL
RAPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-eighth year

Letter dated 24 May 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the
Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed
to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a memorandum on war crimes and crimes of genocide in eastern Bosnia (communes of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica) committed against the Serbian population from April 1992 to April 1993, deposited with the State Commission for War Crimes (see annex).**

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 115 (c) of the preliminary list and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

* A/48/50.

** The annex is being circulated in the original language of submission only.

-1-

YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION
FOR WAR CRIMES AND GENOCIDE

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM
ON WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AND GENOCIDE IN EASTERN BOSNIA
(COMMUNES OF BRATUNAC, SKELANI AND SREBRENICA) COMMITTED AGAINST
THE SERBIAN POPULATION FROM APRIL 1992 TO APRIL 1993

Belgrade, April 1993

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Introduction

The Serbian population inhabiting the part of eastern Bosnia called Podrinje (the Drina river valley) comprising the communes of Bratunac and Srebrenica, and of late also the commune of Skelane is subjected to constant pressures and a depopulation process.

Since a long time ago, one could say for centuries, the Drina river has marked the frontier between the Serbian state, stretching along its right bank and the various states that replaced one another under various occupations on its left bank and in the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Invariably, all occupying powers in the past sought, without much regard for the means employed, to move and remove the Serbs from Bosnia farther away from its border with Serbia. This lies at the root of the intensified cleansing of the Serbian population from these territories. A consequence of the intensified ethnic cleansing in Podrinje is the almost radical alteration of the national structure of the population with Serbs accounting for a lower and lower share.

Ethnic cleansing, repeated persecution and the destruction of everything Serbian, starting from the people themselves, to their settlements and property makes us duty-bound to tell everyone who is interested in our fate about it.

It goes without saying that the documents we have available are neither complete nor final. The war is still not over, the suffering of the people continues, and new victims are falling every day here. However, what is already known, what has happened over this period of less than a year, has the proportions of a human and material disaster unseen even by those who witnessed past wars. It is therefore incumbent on us to testify about that catastrophe, at least with what documentation we possess at the moment, which we managed to collect under quite difficult conditions.

/...

SURVEY OF PREVIOUS CRIMES

In the two last world wars alone the number of civilian victims among the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina was unmatched by any European people in the same period in proportion to their size.

As throughout the previous decades under Austro-Hungarian rule the Serbs would not accept to be its subjects, at the outbreak of the 1914 war they were declared arch-traitors. Court processes began throughout Bosnia immediately thereafter.

From these parts or from what then was the Srebrenica district, about 20 Serbs were convicted for arch-treason. They were all eminent men from this region. Two of them were Orthodox priests. The fate of the archpriest Milan Petković is in point of fact symbolic of that of many Serbs from Bosnia and from this particular region. He spent the First World War serving a prison sentence, he survived that war, but not the next one. In the second world war he was arrested again, taken to Dachau and ended his life in a gas chamber.

Those Serbs who were not tried at staged processes and sent to prison were subjected to other methods of annihilation and persecution. Under the Austro-Hungarian rule several thousand Serbian families either fled or were banished. Apart from the authorities, local Moslems and Croats comprising the (paramilitary) formations of the Green cadre and the Shutz corps directly expelled these people. Few of these exiles returned after the war.

The most cruel method of deportation was to camps. Such notorious camps for Serbs from Bosnia were Arad, Sapronyek, Nezyder... In Arad alone, to which the first transport set out in August 1914, almost 200 people of Serbian nationality from the Srebrenica district lost their lives. In addition to adult men, civilians, children, women, the elderly and whole families perished.

After all these persecutions, according to the first population census taken after the war and the creation of Yugoslavia, the Serbian population was reduced to only about 50% of the total number of inhabitants of the Srebrenica district, i.e. territories covered today by the communes of Srebrenica, Bratunac and Skelane.

The new war was to bring a new exodus.

Almost the same occupiers and their, also the same, collaborators saw to that. The Srebrenica district as in fact the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina were given in WW II to the Hitlerite creation of the Independent State of Croatia headed by its Poglavnik Ante Pavelić.

It is not possible to make a list of Serbian victims in the Srebrenica district either. Estimates range between 3,000 and 6,000 persons. Some testimony is provided by monuments erected in purely Serbian villages and in churchyards where the names of the sufferers are inscribed. Such inscriptions could have been found in more than 20 Serbian villages up to this latest assault on the Serbian people openly launched by the Moslems in the spring of 1992. Even on the monument in Srebrenica itself, in which after WW II the Moslems accounted for the majority, the names of 145 killed Serbs, of which 36 children under 7, are written. The genocidal campaign against the Serbian people left in its wake burned and razed to the ground almost all Serbian villages and all villagers who did not manage to escape were killed, very often in a bestial way. Ustashi and Domobran (home guardsmen) Croatian-Moslem fascist legions destroyed and devastated the villages of Zalazje, Brežane, Očenovići, Srpska Kamenica, Živkovići, Sikirić, Žiljebac, Srpski Pribidoli, Podravanje, Fakovići, Kravica, Žabukovci, Banjevići, Slapašnica, Popovići... (It is also in this area that Drinjača was, from which Pavelić was sent by his faithful Ustashi as Malaparte writes in his novel "Skin" a present of a keg of gouged out Serbian eyes). Already at the beginning of 1942 there

/...

were virtually no Serbs in the Srebrenica district except for the few who managed to survive hidden in the mountains and in refugee camps in the woods.

During the years of the Second World War the Srebrenica district was ethnically cleansed of Serbs and belonged wholly to the followers of Islam.

The results of the genocide against the Serbian people in the Srebrenica district became evident after WW II and the renewal of Yugoslavia. Once dominant in numbers, the Serbian people found itself in a minority after WW II hardly reaching one third of the total number of inhabitants.

It is important to note that in Yugoslavia, after the wars and the irrefutable crimes against the Serbian people not denied by anyone in peace either, no records of the victims or of the criminals were established. Most of the perpetrators of these genocidal acts went free. In the Srebrenica district only about 15 so-called collaborators of the occupying forces were registered of which only some were given symbolic sentences and served some time in prison. We would not be mentioning this if new butchers and killers were not being recruited afresh from the same families (the family Kamenica, from Jagličići, the family Saliković from Biljača, or the family Zukić also from Biljača).

CRIMES AGAINST THE SERBS IN 1992 AND 1993

The aim of the terror the Serbs are now exposed to is the same as during the previous wars. It is to expel now and for all the Serbs from these regions. That is why every attack on Serbian villages leaves in its wake only desolation, burned buildings, looted and destroyed property, destroyed monuments, cemeteries and churches.

All the attacks so far were as a rule thoroughly prepared, they systematically mounted and carried out by large numbers of well-armed men. The target were initially smaller Serbian hamlets in nationally mixed villages, then isolated Serbian villages surrounded by Moslem ones, and finally the remaining Serbian settlements.

It seems that even the days when attacks take place are not left to chance. It is hard to believe that Orthodox festivals and family patron saint days (St. George's Day, St. Vitus' Day, St. Peter's Day, Christmas...) when villagers are celebrating or days when they are busiest working on their farms are chosen for no reason whatsoever.

This tactics has been confirmed by all subsequent events.

The first victims of attacks on Serb territories and the Serbian people were the hamlets of Gnlona in the commune of Srebrenica and of Blječeva in the commune of Bratunac on May 6, 1992 (on St. George's Day), followed by attacks on other Serbian villages, and on January 7, 1993 (Christmas), the last large Serbian villages in the vicinity of Skelane and Bratunac were run over and destroyed. Even before the autumn of 1992 the commune of Srebrenica had been almost completely ethnically cleansed of Serbs. The following Serb settlements in that commune were destroyed and burnt down: Blažijevići (133 inhabitants of Serb nationality), Babuljice (52), Božići (152), Brežani (271), Brezovica (64) Bujakovići (166), Čičovci (180), Gaj (187), Gladovići (538), Godjevići (33), Gostilj (113), Kostolomci (234),

Krnjići (114), Medje (130), Obadi (684), Orahovica (334) Osredak (195), Podravanje (413), Postolje (107), Pribidoli (207), Pribojevići (124), Radoševići (201), Ratkovići (338), Toplica (254), Viogor (99), Žabokvica (598) as well as all Serb hamlets in nationally mixed villages.

The Serbs started fleeing Srebrenica itself as early as April, and already by mid-May the town was ethnically clean. Only some ten older persons are there today (if they are still alive). A particularly massive exodus started after May 8 and the killing of Goran Zekić, Serb deputy to the then Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina. His car was waylaid by the Moslems and riddled by fire in the immediate vicinity of Srebrenica. After that the remaining Serbs in the city had to flee for their lives. Hardly anyone managed to take away even the bare minimum of personal belongings. The Serb population of Srebrenica and its surroundings is now in exile and this commune has been cleansed of the Serbian nation.

Only three Serb villages have remained : Crvica (475), Liješća (97) and Petrića (135). Of a total of 9390 Serbs who used to live in this commune, only about 860 have remained (in addition to the mentioned villages this figure includes the inhabitants of Skelani), or a symbolic 9%.

The same fate befell the villages in the comune of Bratunac. Exceptions are only the villages of : Dubravica (398 inhabitants of Serb nationality), Jelah (23), Krasanovići (155), Pobrđe (196), Polom (436), Rakovac (258), Repovac (458) and Slapašnica (446) which have managed to survive and are today, besides the villagers, inhabited by a certain number of refugees from the surrounding destroyed Serb villages. The Serbs have not been expelled from two communal centres : Bratunac and Skelani, places on the banks of the Drina river. Of a total of about 11,500 Serbs in the commune of Bratunac only 5,391 or about 47% were not driven out of their homes. After all the cleansings carried out so far the Serbs account for only 16% of the total population of this

commune.

Testimony of the jihad campaigns of conquest are the almost totally destroyed villages of Banjevići (38 inhabitants of Serb nationality), Biljača (17), Bjelovac (238), Blječeva (71), Boljevići (415), Brana Bačići (236), Fakovići (115), Hranča (152), Jaketići (102), Ježestica (502), Kravica (353), Lipenovići (235), Loznica (132), Magašići (353), Mlečva (196), Mratinci (218), Opravdići (434), Sikirič (201), Stanatovići (206), Tegare (222), Vitkovići (200), Vraneševići (211), Zagoni (480) and Žiljebac (377).

The collective perpetrators of these crimes are Moslem military or paramilitary units, call them whatever you will, but in any case they are formations of bands comprising predominantly villagers from the surrounding Moslem villages and, in much smaller numbers, comers and mercenaries from the country or abroad. All the attempts of the Serbs who formed their own, usually small in number and poorly armed village guards, to defend these villages were unsuccessful.

The destruction of villages

It is almost impossible in such a brief survey to mention all the attacks, burning down and looting of Serb villages. As we have seen almost one hundred settlements with Serb population are in question. We nevertheless believe that a description of the desolation of just some of those villages and hamlets can be compelling evidence of their epopée. What happened to them is in some ways typical of the fate of the other settlements. If differences do exist, they mainly concern the names of the attackers, the perpetrators of the crimes, but not the final outcome of their attacks. And this final outcome are always killed people, plundered property, burned and destroyed villages.

The following examples testify to that:

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BLJEČEVA (commune of Bratunac), a village with an overwhelming Moslem majority in the total population (Moslems - 532, Serbs - 71). The attack on this village marked the beginning of a series of attacks by Moslem chauvinists on compact Serb settlements in the commune of Bratunac. The attack took place on May 6, 1992. The following were killed: Kosana (father Novak) Zekić, born in 1928, whose throat the attackers slit in her own house; Milan (Milko) Zekić, died of the consequences of wounding and Gojko (Lazar) Jovanović, an old man born in 1917, also died of injuries sustained during the attack. That part of Blječeva has been abandoned by the Serb population who fled the village and are now living in exile. Their property was plundered and taken away to the surrounding Moslem villages and their houses burned. The direct, collective perpetrators of the attack are Moslems from surrounding Moslem villages and from Blječeva itself, among whom their leader Hasib Ibrahimović, and Fužo Dželić, Meho Ćosić, Ismet Jašarević, Šaćir Memišević and Ibran Muratović have been recognized.

GNIONA (commune of Srebrenica), a hamlet of the predominantly Serb village of Gostilj (113 Serbs, 35 Moslems). The attack was made also on May 6, 1992. That was the first burned down and razed Serb village in the commune of Srebrenica. The attack was made by Moslems from the neighbouring village of Potočari under the command of Naser Orić, the leader of Moslem fundamentalists from Srebrenica. The victims of the attack were Lazar (Milivoje) Simić, born in 1936 from Studenac, a guest at his friends' family festival (St. George's Day) and Radojko (Rajko) Milošević, born in 1928, from Gniona, an ill and almost blind man who was celebrating St. George's Day. Radojko Milojković was set fire to alive and burned in his house, before the very eyes of his wife and the villagers who had fled to the nearby woods. Testimony on the tragedy of this village is given by Marko Slijepčević and Miladin Vukadinović (Statements on page 81). The direct perpetrators that have been recognized are mainly their neighbours Rifat Korović, Ibro Mujkanović, Ibro Osmanović, Behadin Mujkanović.

OPARCI (commune of Srebrenica) a Serb hamlet of the village of Brezovica in which Moslems are the majority population (64 Serbs, 462 Moslems). The hamlet of Oparci was attacked on June 1, 1992 and six villagers of Serb nationality were killed on that occasion: Dragić (Dragutin) Ilić, born in 1939, the brothers Ratko (1942) and Uglješa (1939) Ilić (father Momčilo), Živojin (Cvijetin) Petrović (1917), Milorad (Drago) Petrović (1923) and Dikosava (Drago) Petrović (1932) whose throat was slit. All Serbian houses, 22 of them, were burned down. The attack on the hamlet and the crimes were committed by Moslems from Brezovica and the neighbouring villages of Močevići, Skenderovići, Pirići and Zapolje. Their leader Akif Ustić was identified as well as Huso Salihović, Hajrudin Halihodžić, Abudlah Alić alias "Dule" from Brezovica itself, Sevdalija Begić from Pirići and Velkar Husić. Miloje Petrović from the same village testifies to the crimes.

RATKOVIĆI (commune of Srebrenica), a Serb village with 338 inhabitants, attacked on June 21, 1992, when 18 villagers were killed - five women and three older men between 64 and 71 years of age: Obren (Vojislav) Bogičević (1932), Stanoje (Vladislav) Stanojević (1949), Desanka (Rade) Stanojević, burned in her house, Nikola (Todor) Stanojević (1958), Radenko (Milorad) Stanojević (1940), throat slit, Vidosava (Luka) Djurić (1930), Vidoje (Obrad) Rankić (1928), Milutin (Obrad) Rankić (1944), Ranko (Obrad) Rankić (1933), Vinka (Filip) Maksimović (1927), Dragomir (Milorad) Maksimović (1949), Radomir (Milorad) Maksimović (1942), succumbed to torture, Cvijeta (Risto) Milanović (1925), Novka (Milorad) Pavlović (1945), Jora (Drago) Prodanović (1941), Živana (Petar) Prodanović (1966), Milovan (Joso) Pavlović (1919) and Milan (Stojan) Jakovljević (1920). The Moslem families of Pozdanović, Medić, Podkorjenovica, Martić, Osmanović, are guilty of the crimes, attack and looting and the individuals recognized are Mehmed, called "Kadić" after his mother's maiden name from Dedići, and Hajrudin Osmanović from Podkorijen. Obren Pavlović and Zarja Prodanović testify to the ordeals of the village of Ratkovići.

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LOZNICA (the commune of Bratunac), predominantly a Serb village (132 Serbs, 22 Moslems), attacked, looted and burned down by the Moslems in several instances, and had a large number of victims. The most severe attacks were on June 28 and December 14, 1992. From the beginning of the Moslem campaign this village lost 31 villagers or almost a fourth of the total number of Serb inhabitants (23.4%). The following lost their lives: Nebojša (Petko) Vučetić (1972), Jovan (Gavrilo) Milovanović (1930), Srećko (Radivoje) Milovanović (1943) , Miloje (Mitax) Damjanović (1971), Djordjo (Milisav) Filipović (1949), Živan (Vladimir) Filipović (1954), Verica (Živan) Filipović (1975), Radovan (Milan) Lukić (1950), Milenko (Nedeljko) Nikolić (1963), Milorad (Mića) Rančević (1960), Svetozar (Sreten) Vučetić (1957), Jelena Stojanović (1952), Jelena (Živojin) Stanojević (1953), Drago (Miladin) Jovanović (1962), Milić (Vidoje) Ilić(1972), Todor (Milovan) Nikolić (1951), Slavomir (Radivoje) Damjanović (1971), Nedeljko (Svetozar) Damjanović (1959), Dragan (Dragoljub) Filipović(1969) , Dragoljub (Mlisav) Filipović (1942), Milan (Petko) Jovanović (1948), Djoko (Petko) Jovanović (1956), Miloš (Veselin) Jovanović (1928), Željko (Vojislav) Knežević (1966), Kristina (Čeda) Lukić (1948), Bojan Milkovski (1938), Madjen (Božidar) Petrović (1958), Midorag (Bogdan) Petrović (1948), Boro (Krsto) Todorović (1949), Milenko (Radovan) Vučetić (1975) and Radovan (.avo) Vučetić (1943). In the attacks carried out so far, surviving villagers identified the following attackers: Alija(Mujo) Ibrić, alias Kurta, Besim(Avdo) Salihović, Hidan (Avdo) Salihović, Rešid (Rahman) Sinanović, Sadik (Salih) Zukić, Hajrudin (Alija) Begzadić, Ramiz (Idriz) Kamenica, Munib (Idriz) Kamenica, Esma (Ibiš) Kiverić, Hajrudin (Hilmo) Malagić, Midhad (Edhem) Salihović, Adil(Avdo) Salihović, Edhem (Ramo) Salihović, Fikret(Edhem) Salihović, Muriz (Rahman) Sinanović, Rifet Salihović, Edhem (Ramo) Salihović, Muliya Zukić, Rifet Daubašić, Hasan Daubašić, Mirsad Malagić, Mado Malagić, Senada Sinanović, Omerović called "Miš"(The Mouse). The following witnessed the attacks and the carnage in this village: Stanoje Milanović, Vitomir Vučetić, Zvonko Filipović, Mileva Miladinović, Slavka

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Matić, Nedjo Petrović, Janja Simić, and Stoja Petrović. (statements on pages 82 to 89 and 114.)

BREŽANI (commune of Srebrenica), predominantly a Serb village; 271 Serbs, 5 Moslems; attacked on June 30, 1992, when 19 villagers of Serb nationality were killed: Radovan (Djole) Petrović (1923), Miloš (Rade) Novković (1956), found with head cut off and buried like that , Dostana Lazić (1919), Djuka (Pavle) Lazić (1935), Vidoje (Pavle) Lazić (1937), crucified and burned, Kristina Lazić, burned in her house, Milenko (Ilija) Dragičević (1974), Ljubomir (Milenko) Josipović (1975), Miloš (Vlado) Krstajić (1937), Pero (Vlado) Krstajić (1935), Stanko (Luka) Milošević, Vidoje (Milovan) Milošević (1974), Milivoje (Dragiša) Mitrović (1930), Stanoje (Milivoje) Mitrović (1963), Milisav (Mika) Rankić (1947), burned in his house, Dragosav (Milisav) Rankić (1974), burned in his house, Mirko (Milisav) Rankić (1972), also burned in his house, Milomir (Vladislav) Stevanović (1946), Dragan (Stjepan) Stjepanović (1961). The village was burned and destroyed. All the cattle were taken away and there were over 200 cows alone. The attack on Brežane was led by Hakiya Meholjić, Akif Ustić and Huso Halinović and Vehbija Jahić, whose father was an Ustashi in the past war too, was also identified. Milorad Marjanović from the same village testifies about the attack. (Statement on page 90.)

ZAGONI(commune of Bratunac) a village with a majority Serb population (480 Serbs, 103 Moslems). Attacked several times and fared like the village of Loznica. The attacks of July 5 and 12, 1992 had especially tragic consequences when over 20 villagers were killed: Ljubica (Milovan) Milošević (1939), Miloš (Jovan) Milošević (1932), Rada (Ilija) Milošević (1968) who was massacred, Čedomir (Blagoje) Tanasijević (1942), Rajko (Sreten) Gvozdrenović (1927), Dragoljub (Miladin) Gvozdrenović (1954), Blagoje (Milorad) Gvozdrenović (1944), Rada (Radoje) Gvozdrenović (1973), Mileva (Milorad) Dimitrić (1912), Marko (Mitar) Dimitrić (1974), Matija (Stevan) Jašinski (1940), Miodrag (Ilija) Malović (1943), Mihajlo (Jefta) Mihajlović (1951), Dušanka Paunović (1954) killed by a sledgehammer, Milovan (Mirko) Dimitrić (1962), Miodrag (Jakov)

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Jovanović (1952), Dušan (Živojin) Milošević (1963), Djordje (Aleksa) Milošević (1934), Vidosav (Branko) Milošević (1968), Dragiša (Milko) Milošević (1963), Miodrag (Milko) Milošević (1970). Villagers from the surrounding Moslem villages took part in the attack on Zagoni and the following were identified: Muriz Muratović, Meho Orić, Idriz Muratović, the son of Nurija Muratović nicknamed "Špica", Zulfo Tursunović, an ex-convict, convicted of murder and now one of the commanders, Ramo Babajić, etc. The village was looted and burned. These events were witnessed by: Tatomir Gvozdrenović, Miladin Gvozdrenović, Dragan Gvozdrenović, Božana Gvozdrenović and Goran Krstić, all of them from Zagoni. (statements on pages 92 to 98.)

KRNJIĆI (commune of Srebrenica), predominantly a Serb village (114 Serbs, 11 Moslems), attacked and destroyed on July 5, 1992. Sixteen villagers were killed on that occasion: Boban (Spasoje) Lazarević (1965), Sredoje (Nedeljko) Jovanović (1947), Miroslav Jovanović, Dragutin (Miloš) Dimitrijević (1961), Srpko (Novak) Aksić (1972), Rade (Petko) Trimanović (1961), Radoš (Mirko) Maksimović (1968), Milenko (Risto) Maksimović, Miloš (Ostoja) Milošević (1961), Nebojša (Zoran) Milošević (1975), Milja Mičić, Vaso Porača (1912), his throat was slit, Ilija Simić, Veljko (Milisav) Simić (1953), Vlajko (Petar) Vladić (1934) and Soka Vujić who was found killed by a pitchfork.

ZALAZJE, a hamlet in the immediate vicinity of Srebrenica, 39 persons were killed in the attack on July 12, 1992: Svetozar (Cvijetin) Lakić (1951), Dušan (Slobodan) Blagojević (1946), Radinka (Dragomir) Cvjetinović (1952), massacred, Ivan (Ranko) Cvjetinović (1953), Svetislav (Tadija) Dragičević (1949), Željko (Milorad) Giljević (1970), Nedeljko (Desimir) Gligić (1948), Ljubisav (Nikola) Gligorić (1962), Aleksa (Miloš) Gordić (1955), Slobodan (Milan) Ilić (1946), Milisav (Sreten) Ilić (1957), Luka (Ljubomir) Jeremić (1927), Ratko (Miloš) Jeremić (1969), Marko (Ratko) Jeremić (1965), Radovan (Ratko) Jeremić (1963), Milovan (Mališa) Lazarević (1946), Momir (Stanko) Lazarević (1955), Branislav (Aleksandar) Pavlović (1947), Gojko (Jugoslav) Petrović

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(1963), Dragomir (Borisav) Rakić (1957), Svetozar (Cvijetin) Rakić (1951), Momčilo (Ljubomir) Rakić (1949), Miodrag (Ljubomir) Rakić (1959), Mile (Momčilo) Rakić (1966), Branko (Gojko) Simić (1959), Peško (Gojko) Simić (1963), Miladin (Vojin) Stanojević (1929), Miroljub (Radivoje) Todorović (1961), Radivoje (Bogoljub) Tomić (1950), Miladin (Rade) Tubić (1955), Radisav (Radovan) Vasiljević (1963), Radisav (Radovan) Vasiljević (1965), Boško (Živojin) Vujadinović (1951), Vaso (Živojin) Vujadinović (1954), Nedeljko (Bogdan) Vujadinović (1947), Dragomir (Milovan) Vujadinović (1947), Milovan (Slavoljub) Vujadinović (1948), Dušan (Vaso) Vujadinović (1940). The attack was carried out by Moslem paramilitary formations and territorial defence units under the command of Naser Orić. The other identified participants were: Zulfo Tursunović, Akif Ustić, Bakija Meholjić. Witness Velisav Vasić. (Statement on p. 99.)

MAGAŠIĆI (commune of Bratunac), a village with approximately the same number of Serbs and Moslems (353 Serbs, 292 Moslems). The Serbian part of the village was attacked several times, the most severe attacks on July 20 and 25, 1992. The following villagers were killed: Stojan (Živorad) Popović (1967), Živko (Vojislav) Cvjetinović (1950), Ljiljana (Dušan) Ilić (1975), Zorka (Marko) Ilić (1947), Milenija (Milorad) Ilić (1944), Ljubinka (Petar) Ilić (1952), Marjan (Radomir) Ilić (1963), Ljubica Milanović, Blagoje (Pero) Popović (1907), Leposava (Risto) Popović (1919), Ljubica (Živorad) Mirković (1942), and Cvijetin (Nikolija) Djuričić. Six women were killed in those two attacks. Among the attackers the villagers recognized : Meho Osmanović, Šaban Osmanović, Čamil Hasanović, Senahid Avdić, Ramo Babajić, Hajrudin Osmanović, Nedžib Osmanović, Hajro Osmanović, Meho Osmanović, Mehidin Smalović and others. Witnesses of this attack are: Vinka Božić, Radomir Ilić, Rosa Božić, Milka Božić. (Statements on pages 101 to 104.)

JEŽESTICA (commune of Bratunac), one of the larger purely Serb villages in this region (502 inhabitants of Serb nationality). The village was attacked on August 8, 1992. On that occasion fire was

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set to 55 Serb houses and nine villagers were killed: Vojin (Rade) Bogičević (1929), Andjelko (Ljubomir) Mladjenović (1965). Body buried without the head, which was cut off and taken away by the attackers, Dragan (Ljubomir) Mladjanović (1960), Savka (Obren) Mladjenović (1931), Sreten (Miloš) Ranković (1962), Milan (Vlado) Ranković (1935), Savka (Nedeljko) Stjepanović (1951), Milosav (Obrad) Stjepanović (1919) and Srbo (Savan) Djurić (1944). The larger part of the village was plundered and burned. The second attack on this same village, i.e. on its remaining hamlets, took place on January 7 (on Christmas), 1993, when the following were killed: Radomir (Vujadin) Jovanović (1959), Boško (Mika) Djukanović (1928), Nevenka (Risto) Djukanović (1946), Ivan (Vlado) Djukanović (1954) and Krsto (Vlado) Djukanović. Among the attackers the villagers recognized: Enver Alispahić, Handija Alispahić, Husain Ademović, Bekto Kamenica, Džetnil Kamenica, Avdo Kamenica, Razi Kamenica, Munib Kamenica, Kemal Mehmedović "Kemo" and Huso Zukić and Mustafa Zukić. Rade Stjepanović and Rajko Jovanović testify about the attacks on the village (statements enclosed, pages 105 to 108).

FAKOVIĆI (commune of Bratunac), a village with a predominant Serb population (115 Serbs, 33 Moslems), attacked on October 5, 1992, when 19 villagers were killed: Desanka (Radoje) Božić (1924), Olga (Milovan) Marković (1935), Slavka (Milovan) Marković (1931), Čuba Nikolić, Danilo Djurić (1910), Miroslav (Milan) Ivanović (1973), Radoje (Savo) Marković (1941), Radomir (Stevo) Marković (1939), Fetko (Milovan) Nikolić (1954), Milovan (Sreten) Nikolić (1923), Radovan (Jovo) Savić (1965), Milomir (Blagoje) Subotić (1959), Milovan (Vlado) Djokić (1936), Sreten (Mileta) Djokić (1938), Djoko (Nedeljko) Djokić (1955), Svetozar (Sreten) Djokić (1965) and Vidoje (Radovan) Djokić (1954). The village was destroyed, robbed and burned. Only the desecrated church remained standing. The following participated in the attack on this village: Akif Ustić, Esma Kivorić, Nasir Mamutović, Ibrahim Mujkić. Witness: Žikić "Drago", postman in the village, (statement enclosed. p. 109).

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BOLJEVIĆI (commune of Bratunac), a Serb village (415 inhabitants of Serb nationality), attacked on the same day as Fakovići, i.e. October 5, 1992. The following were killed in that attack: Milja Despotović, Petra Prodanović (1927), Stojka (Jovan) Stjepanović (1922), Stanija Vasić (1930), Radovan (Sreto) Djukić (1922), Milutin (Ljubisav) Ristić (1940), Zarija (Novica) Ristić (1928), Vladan (Manojlo) Vasić (1929). The people killed were mainly old people guarding their homesteads, tending their cattle and looking after the holdings of their neighbours. Most of the population abandoned the village on account of constant threats by Islamic nationalists. Today it is an ash heap. Even the old men were killed. The villagers who survived identified the following attackers: Nasir Mamutović, Ibrahim Mujkić, Aris Ridjić. Witnesses: Radovan Ristić and Stojan Djokić.

BJELOVAC (commune of Bratunac), predominantly a Serb village (238 Serbs, 51 Moslems), the fiercest attack was on December 14, 1992. On that occasion the village suffered massive human and material losses and is today mainly abandoned and deserted. In these Moslem attacks the following lost their lives: Zlatan (Milenko) Bogičević (1975), Miodrag (Ilija) Cvijić (1972), Slobodan (Vitimir) Vitorović, Stevo (Nedjo) Filipović (1951), Milisav (Ilija) Ilić (1957), Milun (Mičo) Ilić (1939), Zlata (Miloš) Jovanović (1911), Radenka Jovanović (1974), Vida (Radivoje) Lukić (1933), Miroslav Marinčević (1965), Radivoje (Ilija) Matić (1937), Gordana (Radivoje) Matić (1967), Snežana (Radivoje) Matić (1965), Mirko (Petko) Miladinović (1971), Čedo (Petko) Miladinović (1975), Slavko (Čedo) Milutinović (1963), Slobodan (Ratko) Nedeljković (1970), Mirko (Krstó) Petrović (1920), Mirko (Milan) Petrović (1972), Mitar (Ostoja) Savić (1954), Radovan (Sreten) Tanasić (1923), Rajko (Žika) Tomić (1955), Milorad (Živorad) Tošić (1972), Zoran (Tomislav) Trišić (1968). The attack on Bjelovac took place at the same time as the already mentioned attack on Loznica, i.e. Loznička Rijeka and Sikirić. These are neighbouring villages and the attackers are mainly the same ones. According to the testimony of the survivors the following attackers were identified: Alija Ibrić "Kurta",

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Hidan Salihović, Besim Salihović, Rešid Sinanović, Sadik Zukić, Haris Ahmetović "Hari", Hajrudin Begzadić, Džemail Kamenica, Ramiz Kamenica, Munib Kamenica, Esma Kiverić, Hajrudin Malagić, Midhat Salihović, Adil Salihović, Edhem Salihović, Fikret Salihović, Muriz Sinanović, Rifet Salihović, Edhem Salihović and Muliya Zukić. Witnesses of the attack on this village are: Stoja Petrović, Slavoljub Rankić and Mira Filipović. (Statements enclosed, pp. 114 to 120.)

SIKIRIĆ (commune of Bratunac), a village with a negligible Moslem majority, 201 Serbs and 241 Moslems. Attacked like Loznica and Bjelovac on December 14, 1992. The victims of that attack were: Živojin (Blagoje) Ilić (1928), Radojka (Kosta) Ilić (1935), Desimir (Nikodin) Matić (1928), Radovan (Bogosav) Mitrović (1948), Srećko (Bogosav) Mitrović (1946), Milomir (Bogoljub) Nedeljković (1940), Ljubisav (Obrad) Nedeljković (1925), Ratko (Svetislav) Nedeljković (1946), Slobodan (Miladin) Petrović (1976), Dušan (Rade) Prodanović (1931), Obrenija (Miladin) Rankić (1934), Zlatan (Ranko) Simić (1961), Živadin (Svetolik) Simić (1946), Radisav (Svetolik) Simić (1937), Grozdana (Vasilija) Simić (1931), Dragiša (Branko) Stevanović (1966), Radenko (Savo) Stojanović (1973), Milomir (Ljubisav) Tanasić (1939), Milan (Petar) Tanasić (1957), Obrenija (Obrad) Trišić (1931), Novak (Srećko) Vuksić (1931). The perpetrators of these murders, looting and burning, have mainly already been listed. They are the attackers on the neighbouring villages of Loznica and Bjelovac. They are also identified by name by the witnesses Milisava Nikolić, Gvozdenija Matić, Ratko Nikolić and Predrag Nedeljković in their statements (enclosed, pp. 121 to 131).

KRAVICA (commune of Bratunac) a purely Serb village (353 inhabitants of Serb nationality). The village was attacked on January 7 (Christmas), 1993 and the following were killed: Milivoje Živanović, Slobodan (Jovan) Bogičević (1945), Radojko (Ljubomir) Bogičević (1954), Vojislav (Ljubomir) Bogičević (1949), Ratko (Marko) Dadić (1954), Miladin (Dušan) Dolijanović (1963), Negoslav (Mikailo) Erić, Kristina (Nikola) Erić, Pajkan

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(Paja) Gavrić (1963), Vladislav (Mirko) Janjić (1948), Stojan (Mitar) Jovanović (1948), Ratko (Dragomir) Miladinović (1959), Djordjo (Dragomir) Miladinović (1958), Gordan (Cvijetin) Nikolić (1958), Milovan (Todosije) Nikolić (1946), Milovan (Risto) Ostojić (1949), Mitar (Risto) Ostojić (1934), Dušan Petrović, Risto (Kosta) Popović (1920), Kostadin (Risto) Popović (1947), Gojko Radović, Rade (Ljuba) Radović (1976), Dragan (Dragosav) Radović (1968), Vaskrsije (Djordje) Radović (1956), Milan (Radovan) Stevanović (1973), Vasilj (Petar) Todorović (1955), Lazar (Kostadin) Veselinović (1935), Stanoje (Stanko) Djokić (1941). Kravica too is today a devastated village which was not the case even during the fiercest German and Ustashi destructive campaigns in World War II. The surviving villagers and defenders of this village recognized the following among the numerous attackers: Zulfo Tursunović, Nezir from Glogova, ex cattle hustler, Ohran's son Huso, Šaban Musić and others. Rajko Nikolić and Milorad Nikolić (statements on pages 126 and 132) testify about the attack which took place on January 7, 1993.

As already mentioned, the fate of these 16 villages is typical of the other destroyed Serb villages in this region. All of them were the victims of sudden attacks by their neighbours from the nearby Moslem villages.

The plight of the villagers

It is not yet possible to establish the exact number of killed people of Serb nationality. It is estimated that up to March 1993 about 1,200 people were killed, and the number of injured and wounded, also according to estimates, ranges between 2,800 and 3,200 persons. Many of the injuries and wounds were caused by the frequent shelling of the remaining Serb villages, of Bratunac and Skelani, of many hamlets, as well as by sniper fire and numerous step mines, of which civilians are the victims.

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Many of the killed were buried after the bodies were pulled out by family members and villagers abandoning the village, several tens of bodies were delivered by the Moslems to the Serbian side for burial, while others remained on the ashes and ruins of their homes or somewhere nearby and there met their deaths. However, since the Moslems took these villages and their surroundings they have become inaccessible and there is no possibility to find the bodies of the killed Serbs. Since many were killed already during the summer it is hardly likely that they will ever be buried. It will perhaps be possible only after the war is over to ascertain the number of victims who have remained on Moslem territory for whatever reason, and who have been killed as prisoners or detainees, as well as their identities. It is difficult to maintain accurate records because due to the circumstances records are kept in a number of places, among which there are barely any regular traffic links. Thus, for instance, part of the commune of Srebrenica is linked with the commune of Milići, another with the commune of Skelani, and yet a third one with the commune of Bratunac.

The same pertains to the places of burial. Most of the victims were buried in Bratunac, then in Skelani and in Serbian villages which are still free. Some of the victims have been buried in places where they were killed and quite a few were buried in Yugoslavia, in Bajina Bašta, Ljubovija and villages on the right bank of the Drina river. The Drina is the grave of some. Current needs and obligations, reduced only to the struggle for bare survival, prevent both civilian and military authorities from undertaking a count of the victims.

Despite all this, that which is accurately known and has been established and to a certain extent medically processed, testifies to the massive tragedy of the Serbian people in these areas.

The list given below contains the names of 648 victims or about a half of the people of Serb nationality killed there so far. Even

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as we write this memo the toll rises every day. This is why this document should be seen as initial, incomplete, providing only partial information on the annihilation of the Serbian people and its property in the territories of the communes of Srebrenica, Bratunac and Skelani. A final document will be drawn up when conditions permit.

The attached list of victims contains the : a) name, father's name and surname , b) year of birth, c) place of residence, before death, d) place of death. We should perhaps mention that in addition to the above, the following is also known for most of the victims: place of birth, occupation, number of family members, cause of death, medical findings on external examination of the body, direct or indirect perpetrators of the crime, witnesses. In addition, their national and religious affiliation is known, but with a few exceptions, only Serbs of the Orthodox faith are in question.

The list has been made chronologically, by month and date of death, this providing insight into the scope and pace of the attacks of Moslem bands on Serb territories. Attention should perhaps also be drawn to the fact that not only were Serb settlements destroyed, but also whole families in some villages were wiped out.

PROVISIONAL LIST OF VICTIMS OF MOSLEM TERROR OVER THE

Massacred persons

The cruelty and insidiousness exhibited in the attacks on Serb villages, the ruthlessness towards villagers taken prisoner or captured, without distinction as to sex, age, whether they are soldiers or civilians, healthy or wounded and ill, the bestial treatment in prisons in which no water or food is the mildest punishment, represents a special chapter in the events in this region. It is hard to say whether such an attitude stems from the religious fanaticism of Islam, their jihad, or from the aroused basic, animal instincts of their warriors. And perhaps simply sadists, torturers and killers by nature, led the actions and gave the orders. Irrespective of the reasons, the consequences for the Serbian people are horrendous.

Many of the killed, but also of the wounded and even live and uninjured people were burned together with the houses they had been occupying. That happened in Zalazje on St. Peter's Day (July 12, 1992), where about twenty people were burned in three buildings. Or in Podravanje, where people were roasted on the spit (on the basis of the found corpses it could not be concluded whether the victims had already been dead or had been tortured thus while still alive). People were burned in their homes in many villages: Blječeva, Krnjići, Ratkovići, Ježestica. Tens of family houses were consumed in flames together with their occupants.

Many of the killed persons who were exchanged or were pulled out in other ways from the place of their death had traces of burns, parts of their bodies were charred, their throats had been slit, skulls smashed, arms and legs broken and in several cases, their heads had been cut off. Not infrequently even the dead were massacred.

A very large number of the victims were killed in very perfidious ways in various ambushes and by individual rifle shots (snipers). Vehicles and passers-by were waylaid not only on local and regional thoroughfares but also in fields, country lanes, forest

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paths... Everywhere where people moved. Almost a third of those on the attached list were killed in ambushes.

It is not even possible to imagine the number of people massacred, burned, those whose throats were slit, or were killed in other ways in prisons in the Moslem-controlled area. The truth about the fate of imprisoned and detained Serbs will have to wait for better times. It is to be expected that at such a time the documentation which we have will have to undergo radical changes and that the final death and casualties toll will present an even more tragic picture.

On the basis of preliminary insight into the massacres committed over the civilian population or prisoners or detainees, the first findings and results of investigations so far can be given. Victims put to death by torture or massacred, which is testified to by either authentic documentation or witnesses are exclusively in question.

It is thus quite certain that the following persons were massacred and put to death by torture:

- Kristina Lazić, Brežani, blind girl, mental patient, burned in her house on June 30, 1992.
- Kosana (Novak) Zekić, 1928, Blječeva, her throat was slit in her house in the same village on May 6, 1992.
- Radojko (Rajko) Milošević, 1928, burned in his own house while celebrating St. George's Day on May 6.
- Sekula (Mikola) Ristanović, 1906, Osredak, burned in his house on May 15, 1992.
- Nenad (Bora) Rankić, 1967, Srebrenica, caught and tortured bestially by knives, fire and blunt objects. Died on May 26, 1992 in the Moslem village of Čizmići.

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- Dikosava (Drago) Petrović, 1932, Oparci, her throat was slit in her village on June 1, 1992.
- Srećko (Drago) Spajić, 1928, Obadi, throat slit in his village on June 8, 1992.
- Milovan (Andjelko) Grujičić, 1943, Gostilj, his throat was slit in the village of Zalazje on June 8, 1992.
- Dostana Cvijetinović, Obadi, killed after torture in Zalazje on June 8, 1992.
- Živorad (Sreten) Zarić, 1956, Tegare, bestially tortured and killed in the same village on June 9, 1992.
- Milojko (Milovan) Gagić, 1947, Karna, died under torture in the same village on June 15, 1992.
- Radomir (Milorad) Maksimović, 1942, Ratkovići, died after torture in the same village on June 21, 1992.
- Desanka (Pera) Stanojević, Ratkovići, burned in her house in the same village on June 21, 1992.
- Radenko (Milorad) Stanojević, 1940, his throat was slit in the same village in his house on June 21, 1992.
- Vidoje (Srećko) Radovanović, 1939, Žabokvica, killed with a blunt object, a sledgehammer, in the same village on July 2, 1992.
- Nedjo (Borisav) Simić, 1951, Krnjići, his throat was slit in the village of Radoševići on July 3, 1992.
- Vaso Porača, 1912, Krnjići, his throat was slit in his house in the same village on July 5, 1992.

- Dušanka (Periša) Paunović, 1954, Zagoni, killed by a blunt object, a sledgehammer, in the same village on July 5.
- Rada (Ilija) Milošević, 1968, Zagoni, massacred in the same village on July 5, 1992.
- Radinka (Dragomir) Cvjetinović, 1952, Azlica, massacred in Zalazje on July 12, 1992.
- Marko (Jakov) Mičić, 1949, Slapašnica, wounded and taken prisoner and his throat was slit in the village of Glogova on July 24, 1992.
- Vidoje (Pavle) Lazić, 1937, Brežani, crucified and burned on July 30, 1992.
- Ljubica (Drago) Gagić, 1950, Pribičevac, committed suicide in prison in Srebrenica, because of constant maltreatment and torture, probably on July 7, 1992.
- Andjelko (Ljubomir) Mladjenović, 1965, Ježestica, caught while working with his mother on his holding, his head was cut off and taken away from the place of the crime on August 8, 1992.
- Savka (Obren) Mladjenović, 1931, Ježestica, caught and killed while working with her son on their holding on August 8, 1992.
- Branislav (Svetozar) Lazić, 1937, Toplica, massacred in the same village on August 10, 1992.
- Dragomir (Jefta) Mitrović, 1939, Ranča, died under torture in the Moslem village of Potočari on August 12, 1992.
- Miloš (Veselin) Jovanović, 1928, Loznica, killed in the same village on december 14, 1992.
- Uroš Jovanović, 1921, Mlečva, beaten in the prison in Srebrenica or in Potočari as a consequence of which he died in the ZVornik

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hospital.

- Božidar (Nikola) Kovačić, Tegare, due to torture committed suicide in the Moslem village of Potočari.

- Rado Jovanović from Fakovići killed as a prisoner,

-Krstó (Dušan) Lazić, 1933, Brana Bačići, his throat was slit on January 7, 1992.

-Simo Tanasijević, Čičevci, found killed and castrated.

- Aleksa (Stevan) Perić, 1928, Radoševići, tortured and his throat was slit , a letter "U" was carved on his chest, and then he was burned on May 15, 1992.

- Milun Zarić , 1957, Tegare, tortured and his throat was slit in his own house.

- Živan (Petar) Prodanović, 1966, Ratkovići, his throat was slit in the same village on June 21, 1992.

- Nikola (Todor) Stanojević, 1958, Ratkovići, massacred and burned in the same village on June 21, 1992.

- Milka Prodanović, Sikirić, burned in her house.

-Mato (Ratko) Matić, 1966, Postolje, his throat was slit in his house in the same village in May 1992.

- Miloš (Rade) Novaković, 1956, Brežani, killed by an axe, his head was cut off and taken away, the body buried on June 30, 1992.

-Radomir (Marko) Milanović, 1966, Toplica, his throat was slit and he was burned in his house on June 2, 1992.

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- Zora (Drago) Prodanović, Ratkovići, maltreated and killed in her house on June 21, 1992.

- Stojan (Dragomir) Stevanović, 1939, Ratkovići, tortured, beaten with a blunt object, especially about the head, stabbed by a knife, found castrated with his penis in his mouth, on June 27, 1992.

- Soka Vujić, 1932, Krnjići, found killed and her body stabbed with a pitchfork.

- Milisav (Mika) Rankić, 1947, Brežani, burned in his house in the same village on June 30, 1992.

- Mirko (Milisav) Rankić, 1972, Brežani, burned in his house in the same village on June 30, 1992.

- Dragosav (Milisav) Rankić, 1974, Brežani, burned in his house in the same village on June 30, 1992.

This list of victims which we have already said to be only provisional and incomplete as well as the additional list of tortured and massacred persons, also provisional and incomplete, are sufficient testimony of the heavy death toll exacted from the Serbs in villages and settlements and even in houses in which they had been living from times immemorial. This misfortune is only heightened by the fact that the initiators and direct perpetrators of all these massacres and crimes against the Serbian nation is the local Moslem population, not for the first time in our more recent history.

DESTROYED PERSONAL PROPERTY AND MATERIAL GOODS

The destroyed goods and property of the villagers and their families become insignificant in the face of their immense personal tragedies and ordeals. Nevertheless, it is impossible and would be unfair to disregard the consequences of the ruthless destruction of Serb villages and Serb houses in mixed settlements and towns. Their owners, those who are still alive, but also the families of those who have been killed, are today refugees living off the aid of others and the generosity of those who have taken them in. All their former movable and immovable property has been either destroyed or plundered and taken away. This is undoubtedly property of great value, that had been acquired painstakingly over many years of hard work.

In Bosansko Podrinje (the Drina river valley area), as in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the third time in this century, everything that the Serb population had was destroyed. The same thing is happening in this war, which is still raging, as in the previous two wars . Almost every Serb house stood only to the next war. That is why every generation had to build anew, and everything they created lasted at most for several decades between wars. Through some irony of fate people became witnesses of the destruction of what they had created but rarely of the renewal of their households. That was left to the children to whom the same would happen again just like it happened to their parents. And, now for the third time. The only thing left to them from their grandfathers and from their fathers are meadows, pastures, forests, i.e. titles to the land and the sites of their ancestral homesteads. Once again, in barren areas and barren land. The present young generation shall have to start all over again, mainly single-handedly and without their parents. That is the fourth generation to have to do so after three wars and three devastations in the 20th century.

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Of a total of 5759 Serb families in the communes of Bratunac, Skelani and Srebrenica, 4246 or 74 % have remained without their holdings. The number of destroyed family houses is approximately the same and that of other auxiliary facilities (stables, pens, cribs, sheds, silos, summer lean-tos, etc) comprised within a rural household, is even larger. In this case too, we will be able to give more precise data only after the war is over. In addition to the above, with respect to immovable property, on this occasion we should at least mention the destroyed or seized business facilities, the number and value of which cannot even be estimated at this point of time. These are artisan workshops, trading outlets, catering facilities, premises for hire, and especially, means of production: technical facilities, machines and apparatus, tools... It is impossible to determine the worth of all this, i.e. the amount of war damage the Moslems caused the Serbs by destroying their immovable property alone.

It is no less difficult to establish the damage caused by the looting and destruction of their movable property: household appliances and effects, furniture, food. Here too in question is the property of the already mentioned 4246 families inhabiting before their banishment the 79 today destroyed settlements and villages of the commune of Bratunac, Srebrenica and Skelani. (We should perhaps draw attention to the fact that in this area there were a total of 130 villages, of which 37 purely Moslem, 39 purely Serb and the remaining 59 were mixed. In the mixed ones all the Serb hamlets were destroyed and burned). According to estimates made on the basis of statistical data from the 1991 census of the livestock in individual villages, and data on the number of saved livestock, about 6700 heads of cattle, 1400 of sheep and 33000 of poultry were stolen. The case of pigs is interesting. About 11000 were destroyed. They were mainly killed or burned in their pens, but there are testimonies to the effect that they were taken away to be eaten. The only thing not known now is whether the Moslems broke the rules of Islam or had in their ranks mercenaries, Christians, whom they supplied with pork.

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This is a hilly and mountainous region, which means that the main source of livelihood is agriculture and livestock breeding. The losses of livestock alone were about US \$ 10 million in current prices. And that is perhaps the smallest part of the overall losses. At the same time, Moslem villagers and families looted so much that today they have all kinds of things, including livestock and food, like they never had before. An exception perhaps, are the years of the past wars.

The mentioned losses do not include the property damaged in the Serb settlements exposed to constant shelling from Moslem heavy artillery.

REFUGEES

People who lost their property, whose houses were destroyed and whose lives were in constant danger had no other alternative but to abandon everything and seek refuge in other places and towns. This was also done by the villagers of the burned and razed Serb villages in the communes of Skelani, Srebrenica and Bratunac. Having lost virtually everything they set out to places in which they could expect at least some degree of safety for themselves and their families. Many of them have remained near their villages hoping to return to them soon. Others went to places where they have kinsmen. And many of them, who had no other option, sought refuge with different humanitarian organizations i.e. their refugee centres.

This exodus involved a large number of people, in particular the vulnerable ones, children, women, the elderly and the sick, and has been going on for almost a year now.

According to the data of the Republican Statistical Office and the Republican Committee of the Red Cross, the number of refugees from the areas of the communes of Bratunac, Srebrenica and Skelani, registered in January 1993 was 9,561, or 45% of the number of inhabitants of Serb nationality in these communes. But this figure should not be taken at face value because Moslems, at least from the areas of the mentioned communes, account for 24% of the refugees in Serbia. The stated number of refugees is neither complete nor final. In order to avoid military service many men have not registered as refugees... This is particularly true of Serbs of conscription age. In addition, there are both Serb and Moslem refugees from this territory, albeit in much smaller numbers, in the neighbouring Republic of Montenegro, as well as abroad. It is already evident that refugee migrations are very frequent and dynamic.

Persons who are well-off mainly do not register with the competent services, the Red Cross and Commissioner for Refugees, and

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thereby do not verify their refugee status. The extent of their well-being is another matter. These records largely exclude children, especially those taken in by the close relatives of their parents.

However, irrespective of all this the sad truth stands that almost a half of the Serb population of the communes in question is outside not only their communes but also their state.

YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION
FOR WAR CRIMES AND GENOCIDE

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM
ON WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AND GENOCIDE IN EASTERN BOSNIA
(COMMUNES OF BRATUNAC, SKELANI AND SREBRENICA) COMMITTED AGAINST
THE SERBIAN POPULATION FROM APRIL 1992 TO APRIL 1993

Belgrade, April 1993

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STATEMENTS OF WITNESSES

ASSAULT ON GNIONA

It was 6 May, St. George's Day. The Simićs celebrated.

Already in the morning the people from the nearby village of Čumovići mentioned that on their way from Čumići to the house of the family celebrating their St. Patron's day in Gniona, passing through a forest known as Vrhovi, they spotted some strangers who seemed in a hurry; when Mihailo Vukadinović greeted them they did not say anything in return.

During the same day nothing could be noticed on the Muslim side except that they did not move around like before, nobody could be seen near their houses and we did not know the reason why.

On 6 May an assault was launched on Gniona at 17.30.

We were first addressed through a loudspeaker by Naser who said: "The people of Gniona, hand over your weaponry within 15 minutes at Pera Simić's house. We will not hurt anyone, but unless you hand over your arms we will capture whoever is still alive" and he repeated it. On hearing this, the villagers of Gniona started jumping out of their houses and windows and ran towards the forest.

Naser did not wait even for 2 minutes but immediately opened heavy fire on us with all available weapons.

In 2 - 3 minutes we were already in the woods, and they ran after us and set immediately five or six houses on fire.

We did not know how many of them had attacked us but there were many. Gniona was encircled with positions where the Muslims had been deployed already that morning and maybe even earlier without us knowing it.

On that occasion 2 people lost their lives in Gniona - Lazar Simić, 55, from the neighbouring village of Studenac and Radojko Milošević, 75, from Gniona:

Lazar Simić was killed on his way to Zeločuja and Radojko Milošević, being old and unable to run, remained stranded in the house which was set on fire, according to his wife who watched from the forest their house, with Radojko inside, go up in flames. The villagers of Gniona set out in the direction of Zalazje, some of them that night and others early in the morning. After 2 - 3 days nothing was to be found in Gniona, everything was destroyed in the fire which they had set.

The houses which could not catch fire were mined.

(Miladin Vukadinović)

VITOMIR VUČETIĆ, of father Sreten, born in the village of Loznica where he is living now in the municipality of Bratunac, worker, Serb by nationality.

S T A T E M E N T

on the Muslim assault on the Serb village of Loznica on St. Vitus' Day on 28 June 1992 when the Muslims killed 8 and wounded 7 civilians

On the eve of the Orthodox feast St. Vitus' Day, the villagers of Loznica appointed village guards to alert the village in case of a possible Muslim attack. On the very St. Vitus' Day I was on guard duty until 11.00 hrs together with Zoran Vučetić. We did not notice anything unusual. Then we left home to take a rest. Soon after I fell asleep and was woken up by my wife Dragana who told me: 'Get up, the village has been attacked'. I jumped out of bed and heard the sound of bullets coming from several directions. We were attacked by the Muslims from the direction of Cijepalo, Pirić, Doliva and Brdo. I immediately opened fire from my window in the direction of Šumerice, because I saw fire from infantry weapons come from that direction. I noticed that the hamlet of Cjepalo near the village of Loznica was all ablaze, the Muslims had set on fire all houses and everything that could burn. Close by our side, Djokan Milovanović and Miloš Stojanović were wounded and we bandaged them up. The villagers of Cjepalo had already withdrawn towards me and we all together offered resistance to the Muslims. I saw many Muslims opposite my house, shouting 'Allah uegber'. From the direction of Pirići, some 300 meters away from me and the stables I saw the court executor Fahrudin - Redja Hasanović, of father Edhem, my former class mate, shouting on top of his voice: 'Serbs, are you glad'. He took a loudspeaker from Rahman Sinanović, an old merchant from Bjeloc and said: 'Ustashis, do you need help?' I recognized him by his voice. At the same time, Alija known as Kurta, who used to work in Sase before the war as a mine-layer called his Muslims and said: 'Catch Vasa Petrović alive and take his mortar away from him'. As a matter of fact, he and Vaso Petrović used to work together at Sase. We were almost totally encircled and had been under constant fire from 14.00 to 18.00 hrs. before we received aid from Bratunac.

The following persons lost their lives close by my side :

Miloje Damljanović, Svetozar Vučetić, Milorad Rončević, Djordje Filipović, Milenko Nikolić and Radovan Lukić. Near the house of Bogomir Andrić, withdrawing towards the road and firing from their weapons, Verica Filipović, 17, and Jelena Stojanović, about 40, were shot down.

When I withdrew with the wounded towards the road, around 18.00 and turned over the wounded, I went back to the village to collect the dead, our neighbours and relatives. Then I saw my house being consumed by flames. Only two beds and a glass showcase were burnt down, so we managed to save the rest by putting the fire out.

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All other houses in the village had already been burnt down and the smouldering fire there could not be extinguished. There were only 3 houses which they didn't burn down for lack of time.

I forgot to mention that I saw my relative Radovan Lukić dead; he was killed and the golden cross that he had around his neck was inserted in his mouth. They first took off his boots. The following were wounded in this attack: Stanoje Milovanović, Dragan Vučetić, Zvonko Filipović, Rado and Djokan Milovanović, Miloš Stojanović.

Vitomir Vučetić - Vito, sgd.

ZVONKO FILIPOVIĆ, of father Nedja
born in 1959 in the village of Loznica
farmer, Serb by nationality

S T A T E M E N T

On 28 June 1992, on St. Vitus' Day I was in the hamlet of Cjepale near the village of Loznica where I defended together with other villagers our houses and property. This being a small hamlet, there were only 7 of us locals defending it, all of us farmers. Our wives and children were for the most part in flight.

We didn't attack any neighbouring Muslim village, nor did we provoke them in any way to do that on us. Occasionally, Muslims would open fire from the villages of Pirići and Poloznik, but they didn't break into our hamlet because we repelled their attacks.

However, on St. Vitus' Day, around 14.00, we were attacked from all sides. It rained and hailed heavily and this made our efforts to defend the hamlet even more difficult. We had taken shelter from the storm in our houses, but on seeing Milovan Lukić's house on fire and the Muslims barge into the village and start encircling us, we decided to withdraw. The Muslims attacked us from all directions and with all available weaponry, so that we had to close our eyes not to see all the bullets they showered upon us. We defended ourselves for some 2 hours and gradually withdrew in the direction of the Drina River. I saw the Muslims charging from the direction of the Pirići village shouting 'Allah Uegber', but the visibility was poor, I could not recognize anyone my sight being blurred by the forest, the shrubbery and the hills. I recognized only one Muslim by the sound of his voice; his name is Kurta and I heard him shout to the Muslims: 'Catch me Vasa Petrović alive!'

They opened fire from infantry weapons from the direction of Pirići, and we had by then already come down from Cjepale to the point which we farmers call Krizevac. I was wounded in the heavy shelling there and further away my neighbours Rado Milanović and his brother Djokan sustained injuries as well. All of us wounded, we helped each other reach with difficulty Milutin Damjanović's house, where they extended first aid to us. Radovan Lukić perished at Cjepale in an attempt to defend his home, and Djokan Milovanović was wounded and then taken towards the Drina by Ivko Filipović. While they administered first aid to me in Milutin Damjanović's house I learnt that many villagers had perished there in our close vicinity. I saw in person the body of Jela Stojanović and the little girl Verica Filipović. From that house I was taken to hospital in Loznica where I was told by my family who came to visit me that on that self-same day, i.e. St. Vitus' Day, 6 villagers and my neighbours had died and a woman Jela with her daughter Verica Filipović. Some of the corpses had been heavily mutilated.

I am prepared to repeat this statement anywhere and anytime because we were attacked by the Muslims without any reason or motives.

Zvonko Filipović, sqd.

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MILADINOVIĆ MILEVA, married to Petko, born in 1939 in the village of Repovac, resident of the village of Loznica, municipality of Bratunac, housewife, mother of 4, Serb by nationality

S T A T E M E N T

On the eve of Holy Trinity in 1992, I remember it was a Sunday, I was working in my garden when my husband Petko came back from his guards duty and asked me to make him a cup of coffee because he was tired. I went into the house and made him a cup of coffee and I didn't as much as fill the cups when two of our Muslim neighbours barged in:

1. Šaban Hasanović, of father Edhem, from Pirići,
2. Mevludin - Kiko Hasanović, of father Edhem from Pirići
3. Mehmedalija Begzadić, of father Šahman from Pirići.

Šaban attacked my husband Petko right away and started beating him, hit him with the butt of his rifle on the head so that Petko fell down. I started yelling and Šaban pressed his hand on my mouth, hit me with the butt of his rifle above my left eye and hurt me badly. Šaban was assisted by his brother Kiko, while Mehmedalija Begzadić was watching them do it.

After that, all three of them made it for the door and took away the rifle which they had seized from my husband and fled in the direction of the river.

After this incident my neighbours helped us reach the Health Home in Bratunac, and the hospital in Loznica where Petko stayed for 4 days and I was treated for 7 days for the wounds inflicted us by our Muslim neighbours on our very doorstep. We lost all documents testifying to the treatment received in this war but the copies are certainly available at the hospital.

On 14 December 1992 the Muslims attacked Bjelovac and killed my two sons Mirko and Čeda Miladinović.

Milena Miladinović, sgd.

SLAVKA MATIĆ, wife of Radivoje
born in 1945, resident of the village
of Loznica, municipality of Bratunac

S T A T E M E N T

I was in the school at Bjelovac doing something when around 6.00 in the morning the Muslims launched a strike on Bjelovac. There was shooting from all sides then, namely from the direction of the Drina as well as from the foot of the Kunjevac hill, i.e. from the direction of the Muslim villages of Pirići and Biljaša. I noticed a large group of Muslims armed with rifles. They had knitted caps on their heads, rucksacks slung over their shoulders, wore blue clothes and orange bands around their heads. I could not make it to my house, which is around 1 km away from the school, and my children and husband were there. The Muslims killed my husband Radivoje Matić and my daughters Snežana, 27, and Gordana, 25.

They tried to set my house on fire throwing three bombs into it having beforehand killed my whole family. On putting people in our village to death the Muslims immediately set about burning down our houses. I could not recognize anyone because I was far away which made it difficult to make out anything of it all. Bogdana Ilić, wife of Milun from the village of Vojna from Srebrenica, sought to come to the rescue of my children, was wounded by the Muslims but struggling for her life she killed a Muslim who had previously killed my family. I saw the wounded Radosav Vučetić near a haystack. Boraka Petrović lay close by but I do not know who had wounded them. I saw the wounded Cvjetko Lukić being taken towards the Drina to receive first aid but the Muslims had already been there awaiting our wounded to kill them while first aid was administered to them. It was there that they shot Milisav Ilić and wounded Stojan Ilić while he was transporting the wounded. But as Ilija Ilić had also been there, he managed to open fire and keep the Muslims at a distance for a while. On the right bank of the Drina in Yugoslavia Milivoje Vučetić and 5 more civilians from our village were wounded when a sniper fire was opened on them from a point known as 'Banarevi' in the Muslim village of Biljaša. I know that Vidoje Ilić, Milovan Simić and Mladjen Nedeljković, all from Sikirić were wounded while receiving first aid on a boat crossing the river.

On 21 December 1992
Bratunac

Slavka Matić, sgd.

NEDJO PETROVIĆ, son of Mladjen
from Sikirić, commune of Bratunac,
born in 1952

STATEMENT

On Sunday, December 14, 1992 I was on guard duty from 12.00 midnight to 3.00 a.m. guarding the village of Loznička Rijeka, commune of Bratunac. When I went off duty I went to sleep at the house of my neighbour Ljubisav Nedeljko. That morning i.e. on December 14, 1992, around 6 a.m. I heard shooting in the village. I got up and went out and saw my acquaintance Ljubisav Nedeljko running towards me, shouting that the village had been attacked. Firing could be heard all around us, from the direction of the Moslem villages, most of all from the direction of Pirići and Sikirić, i.e. the Moslem hamlet called Skela. I saw a group of Moslems advancing from the direction of Bjelovac towards our village. They were in camouflage uniforms and a few of them were in mufti. There were 17 of them in the group, of whom 2 were unarmed. They were silent. Having encountered a group of Moslems below Jovanovići we turned towards Bjelovac and saw another group of about 10-12 Moslems about 20 m from us. They were armed and said: "Come to us, we are on the same side". I was in the company of Srećko Mitrović and we went to the Drina and along the Drina river hoping to save ourselves; at a certain point he left me and was killed a bit later. After having met this last group I negotiated my way through the shrubbery and sat down on the bank of the Drina and started to take off my clothes intending to swim over to Serbia. Then I decided to follow the Drina and go along its bank up to Bjelovac and on the way I met Miloje Tanasić. I threw the rifle which I had into the bushes. We hid on the banks until dark, i.e. 1.p.m., and then from the direction of the Moslem Zalužje another group of Moslems came along going towards Jovanovići. It was possibly a bit before 1.p.m. when that group of enemies set off towards Jovanovići. I crossed over to Serbia by boat in the evening. I did not recognize anyone among the groups I met. The Moslems storming the village could be heard shouting "Get them alive".

I asseverate that among these voices I recognized the voice of one "Kokan", the son of Edhem from the village of Pirići, who worked with me for about 15 years in the Sase mine. "Kokan's" words were: "Get them alive, f... their Chetnik mothers".

I am not aware of any other circumstances having left the village in the above described way.

Nedjo Petrović

JANJA SIMIĆ, wife of Ratko, born in 1949
resident of the village of Loznica,
municipality of Bratunac

S T A T E M E N T

In the morning of 14 December 1992 I and my husband were asleep in our house in the village of Loznica when we were woken up by the blast of two bombs. We got up and my husband went out to empty the ash receptacle of our stove and bring in some fire to light it. When he went out and closed the door behind I heard a burst of fire that killed him. He called for our help twice but we couldn't get out for we were fired on from the direction of the Muslim village of Biljača.

My husband was shot at about 7.00 hrs., and already then the Muslims started firing at everything in our village. The moment my son Zoran, 22, went out, someone from among the Muslims called on him to surrender. He had better surrender, or else he would be exchanged. This was a trick of theirs, for they fired at Zoran right away and wounded him.

My son Zoran recognized Midhat Salihović by his voice and asked him: 'Midhat., is it you?' Midhat replied: 'Yes, it's me, come over for a drink. If you don't, we'll catch you and impale you alive to teach you how good the Turks are at that'.

At that moment Muliya Zukić, formerly my neighbour, called me to come over for a cup of coffee, cursing my 'Chetnik mother'. My brother-in-law Lazar Simić was wounded then, and was called by someone, I think it was Rifet Salihović, who said: 'Surrender, you Chetniks, your goose is cooked. Our people with Muja'addin are in Veljavica, there are 1,500 of them, we'll f..k your mother'. Someone was wounded and asked for help and Midhat Salihović said: 'Wait, now we'll slaughter the Serbs'.

I saw a group of around 20 Muslims. They wore camouflage fatigues, shouted to us to surrender for Bjelovac was ablaze. I couldn't recognize anyone. By that time the following were wounded: my son Zoran, Milenko Stojanović, Lazar Simić, Goran Lukić. As for the dead, my husband Ratko was shot and in Vujadin Kovačević's house Mitar Sarić and Zoran Trišić were shot down and Aleksa Kovačević was wounded.

At dusk, I heard the Muslims shout to each other: 'Catch Janja alive, encircle the house from left and right'. And someone called on our local villagers on the Kunjerac hill: 'Come on, carry away your dead, we have killed them all'. When day turned to night, I was the first to come out and was followed by my son and Andjelko Stojanović. We headed toward Bjelovac near the Drina and took a boat across the river to Serbia and thus managed to stay alive.

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Withdrawing to Bjelovac, I heard the Muslims rejoice and shout: 'Long live Panić, just wait, Serbs, until he takes over, he'll teach you obedience and the Shipetars in Kosovo will then make short work of you'.

We remained alive since we managed to hide in the cellar as the upper part of the house was demolished completely by MP mine throwers.

Bratunac, 16 December 1992

Janja Simić, sgd.

Milorad Marjanović, resident of the village of Brežane, municipality of Srebrenica born on 10 November 1961 to father Ivan and mother Višnja

Statement on the attack on the village of Brežane on 30 July 1992 in which 19 villagers of Serbian nationality were killed

Since the fall of Srebrenica, all Serbian villages of Orahovica, Jasenova, Radoševići, Ratkovići were burnt down and we remained isolated because the nearest village was around 15 km away from us. Since we were alone, we sent our wives, children and elderly to Fakovići so as to spare them. There were a total of some 35 of them. Around 60-65 men remained in the village some of which able to fight. There were in addition some 15 women taking care of hygiene, cooking and looking after cattle. We were in a very grave situation, poorly armed, getting whatever we needed from Fakovići on horseback by a road leading through the forest. We found it most difficult to obtain medicines and medical supplies and had no medical personnel to help us. As a result we didn't receive any medical services for some 3,5 months. We also had 3 mental patients. We were short of cigarettes, and for the heavy smokers among our men that was worse than going without food. In the past two weeks they smoked walnut leaves. We waged constant battles with the Muslims from Osmaća and Bukova Glava. For a while we contemplated breaking via Osmaća into Fakovići but the Muslims were in the majority and for that reason we wouldn't be able to defend the village.

Seven days prior to the attack, a young man Novak Krstajić decided to try it alone to Faković and bring us cigarettes. The Muslims caught him alive and in that way found out how many people we had. Until then we had deceived them by stoking fire even in the abandoned houses and by opening fire here and there from different directions, but after Novak was captured, the situation changed. The Muslims made extensive preparations for an attack, cursed 'our Chetnik mother', threatened us and started digging trenches. They launched an attack at 4.45 hrs. on 30 July. They charged first from the direction of Osmać from almost as many as 10 villages. At night they would come closer and open mortar fire in the morning. There were at least 1,000 of them. They would emerge even from places where we couldn't expect them from. After some fierce fighting they started capturing even our own trenches and, running out of ammunition, we began to withdraw. In the process, we split up into smaller groups. Some fled toward Fakovići, and some toward Podravanje and I together with the elderly and women went toward Lipad. There were some 10 men able to fight there, and the group totalled 27. We entered the forest and the Muslims followed us shouting: 'Let us go after them and may God help us'. Then they nevertheless gave up but let loose hunting dogs to track us down. On our way to Čičevci they had set an ambush and a patrol by the road in order to stop us. There were many of them on the road. We were walking next to the lower side

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of the road, even their dog was near us. We could not move, not even breathe. When they passed us by, we went over to the other side of the road and sat down by a brook where we stayed from 12.00 noon to 22.00 hrs. Then we started for the forest. Passing through the forest we made a lot of noise although we tried hard not to so that we decided to get out onto the road again. We noticed that Obren Jovanović had disappeared and we haven't heard anything about his whereabouts since. We followed the road toward the town. We wanted to wait until dawn there, not knowing for sure whether it was held by the Serbs. We decided to wait for the cocks to crow, for it would mean that the Serbs were there since the Muslims would have taken away everything they could find in front of Serb houses. Živko Kečević and I set out to survey and inspect the minefields and Živko put the butt of his rifle down (text of the original unclear) and said there was a mine laid there. We fortunately walked around it and eventually escaped an almost sure death. After that we went to Sase and then to Bratunac. There were 10 victims and not a single has been buried until this very day. I know of the deaths of the following: Milomir Stevanović, Vidoje Lazić, Dostan Lazić's mother, Krsta Lazić's sister, Miloš Krstajić, Pero Krstajić, Novak Krstajić, Milenko Dragičević, Radovan Petrović, Miloš Novaković, Dragan Stjepanović, Milivoje Mitrović and his son Stanoje Mitrović, Stanko Milošević and his grandson Vidoje Milošević, Ljubomir Josipović (an 8th former of the local elementary school the upper part of whose skull was smashed by a round of bullets; he nevertheless made it some 500 meters further and then fell down), Milisav Rankić and his two sons Mirko and Dragoslav, and Obren Jovanović.

Krstina Lazić was shot and set on fire in her home, a blind woman and a mental patient to boot. Vidoje Lazić was crucified and set ablaze to die in great pain. They proceeded to set on fire his mother, brother-in-law and sister. Vidoje Milošević was himself surrounded by them and when the Muslims came closer he activated a bomb and killed both himself and those Muslims.

The attackers and villains shouted: 'This is how it should be done, f..k you, where are you now to see your house burning!'

Huso Ralinović led those of Skenderović, including Vehbija Jahić. His father Salkica was an Ustashi in the last war. Akif Jatić took over the command from my house onwards, Hakiya Mehuljić led 140 men from Srebrenica. Our village was looted, 43 households in total, and then burnt down. All our cattle were taken away. There had been only 200 cows in the village.

Bratunac
8 November 1992
Milorad Marjanović

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TATOMIR (of father Radoje) GVOZDENOVIC
Born on 29 February 1976
Born in Ljubovija
Resident of Zagonj
Student

S T A T E M E N T

I lived with my parents in our house at Zagonj. Before the war, we were on good terms with our neighbours both from Blječeva and from Čizmić. I had many friends in those villages with whom I mixed and went to school. When the war broke out we set up guards around our village. There were frequent Muslim provocations from the villages of Blječeva, Čizmić and Poso; they would fire at our positions using infantry weapons and we would fire back but there was never any larger-scale assault. Early in the morning on 5 July 1992 I went to Bratunac to escort young soldiers. When the army left, I and my brother Dragan returned to Zagonj at around 13.00 hrs. My brother went immediately to the position. I, my sister Rada and godfather Goran Stojić from Studenac stayed at home. Around 15 hrs. the village came under cannon and mortar fire from the direction of Pale and within 10 minutes 30 of such grenades fell on it. I took my rifle straightaway and left for the position to defend the village, knowing that having shelled us they would launch an infantry attack. Goran stayed in the house to wake up Rada who was asleep, and it was agreed that he would go to the position and Rada would withdraw toward Bogunovac. By the time I reached my position, my house had been fired on from all directions. From the slope which we call 'Ladja' I heard them shooting and shouting 'Allah uegber'. I further heard heavy shooting from the direction of Jelovo and realized that the village was totally encircled. At the same time, a group of Muslims set out from the direction of Budak and Blječeva, drumming the saucepans and shouting "Catch the one from Dubovi under Medja alive, there are two of them on the road near Išćine Strane" etc. I recognized among the attackers Nurija Muratović's son known as Štico who was my classmate from Blječevo although I don't remember his first name any longer. I also recognized Muriz Martović from Čizmić who shouted 'Catch me Dragan alive, f... it!' In fact, Muriz was my brother Dragan's schoolmate. I could not recognize anyone else because they were unshaven and bearded. They were clad in uniforms and civilian clothes, moved in groups of 15 or so, were armed with automatic weapons (automatic rifles, Thompsons, and an occasional hunting rifle). They would barge into houses in groups, take out valuables and then set them ablaze. They first set on fire my Uncle Ljuba's house, then those of Uncle Blagoje, Sava, Rajo, Ilija, Miloš, Nedja, Mitar, Nega, etc. I watched it all from the nearby hill known as Kruška, having managed to break through the siege and was then about 300 meters away from them but able to see everything well. Soon our army arrived and pushed back the enemy. I entered the village with the army. I first came across Uncle Drago's body and further away lay the body of my dead sister Rada. I helped others drag out the bodies (from the ruins) and I know that the

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following were killed: Drago Gvozdrenović, Rad Gvozdrenović, Blagoje Gvozdrenović, Radinko Milošević, Ljubica Milošević, Mileva Dimitrić, Rajko Gvozdrenović, Mijo Nogović, Matija Jošinski, Miloš Milošević, Mirko Dimitrić.

On that day they did not set on fire all the houses because reinforcements arrived very soon. The whole attack lasted about an hour. I am prepared to state all this before any court of law or any organisation.

Bratunac, 5 February 1993

Tatomir

MILADIN GVOZDENOVIC (of father Sreten)
Year of birth: 1925
Place of birth: Zagoni, commune of Bratunac
Place of residence: Zagoni
Profession: pensioner

S T A T E M E N T

I have been living in Zagoni - a village near Bratunac, completely populated by Serbs - all my life. I remember well the last war, during which Zagoni was burned down. That, however, had been done by the Ustashi who came from Bratunac. We had no problems with the Moslems from the neighbouring villages of Blječeva, Čizmići and Mekote. When the Ustashi were advancing we found refuge in their villages and when the Chetniks came by we sheltered them in our village. We had good relations with them from that war until 1990, at which time they started provoking us, Serbs, in different ways. Let me give you an example: on 18 May 1990, during a bus ride, Šaćir Memišević, son of Nurija, from Blječeva, wanted to tear my "šajkača" (cap which is a part of the Serbian national dress) I used to wear all the time and which had not bothered him until then. He likewise wanted to tear the "šajkača" of Mladjo from Bratunac, whose last name I forgot, and who from then on wore a visored cap, out of fear. In 1991, after those Moslems in Kajići were killed, there was firing during the night at our village from Blječeva, and we had to organize guards around the village. After that we started arming ourselves on our own, whichever way we could and knew how. When the real war started, there was almost daily firing at our village from the villages of Blječeva and Pale, while we were working on the land, and our guards responded to those provocations.

On 5 July 1992, I was at home in Zagoni. At about 11.00 a.m. o'clock I went to my brother Rajko's place. It was peaceful, but I felt something in the air. At about 3.00 p.m. I decided to go home in order to hear the news broadcast. Grenade firing started and it went on for some 10 minutes. At the same time firing from infantry weapons started from Pale and Blječeva. Soon, there was firing from all sides from the direction of Kaolin and Ladja screaming, shouting and noise made by banging pots and pans was heard. The assailants the village from all sides. I tried to find a way out of the village, and I stole my way to my son Radoje's place. At the crossroads above his house I came across the body of his dead daughter Rada. Since I could not pull her body out, I took her Scorpion and somehow succeeded in breaking through the encirclement. From the crossroads above "Papratnica" I saw our houses on fire. I heard and recognized the voice of Rada Milošević, Milenko's wife. She was screaming. When everything was over, she was found dead in the village. As her four year old child had disappeared, we thought that it too, had been killed and thrown into the fire. However, two weeks later, it was exchanged safe and sound, since the Moslems had taken it away that day.

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I saw many people attacking our village that day, but I could not recognize any of them.

That day, they plundered all the houses and then set them on fire and burned them down. They killed the pigs in the courtyards and drove the other livestock away.

On that day, the following persons were killed in the village: Rada Gvozdenović, daughter of Radoje; my son Dragoljub Gvozdenović; Blagoje Gvozdenović, son of Milorad; my brother Rajko Gvozdenović; Miloš Milošević, son of Jovan; Mirko Dimitrić, son of Mitar; Mileva Dimitrić, all from Zagoni; Ćedo and his wife Dušanka, Mijo Malović from Bratunac; Ljubica Milošević was wounded, but she died in the health station in Bratunac; Professor Jašinski, who was also wounded died in hospital, while the wounded Radojka Gvozdenović, Rajko's wife, survived.

I am ready to repeat this statement before any court of law or organization.

Statement given in Bratunac,
on 9 February 1993

signed

Miladin Gvozdenović

BOŽANA GVOZDENOVIC
Year of birth: 1950
Place of birth: Obadi, commune of Srebrenica.
Place of residence: Zagoni, commune of Bratunac
Profession: housewife

S T A T E M E N T

We got along well with our neighbours, the Moslems from Blječeva and Čizmići. We visited each other both on feast days and at times of mourning. When the war started we did not have any contacts since we started keeping watch around our own villages. Occasionally they fired at our guards, but they did not attack the village.

On 5 July 1992, I was at home attending to my daily chores. At 1 p. m. Desa, my sister-in-law, called me to join her in collecting the hay in the field called "Milanovača" on the side of the hill facing Blječeva. A group of eight of us, six women and two elderly men, gathered to collect the hay. When we entered the field somebody started firing at us with a machine gun from Mujčin and Zejneba Muratović's house in Blječeva and we moved away. After it had stopped, we started collecting the hay. We worked together for about an hour and then sat down in the shade to rest a bit and have a drink of water. As we sat down, somebody fired a machine gun again from the same house. I saw two men on the window, but could not recognize them. At the same time there was mortar and cannon firing all over the village and our positions. There were many grenades, but I didn't count them. We started running towards the cemetery where our men were on guard. People from Blječeva started shouting "drag them to the river, take them alive!" I saw two men with rifles and yellow bands around their sleeves coming towards us from the creek. I knew that they were Ustashi, because our soldiers wore no insignia. We continued running, and when I reached our trench I asked my husband Radoje about the children, because our daughter Rada, 1973, had stayed at home and I had no idea what had happened to our sons Tatomir and Dragan. Radoje told me to go and see what had happened to them because he had to stay and organize the defense, since the Ustashi were attacking from all sides. I heard them yelling "attack the Chetniks, don't let them go to Kaolin, get them alive." Among them I recognized Muriz Muratović from Blječeva, who was my son Dragan's school-mate and fellow conscript. He and another fellow whom I did not recognize came up to Veso's stables in the hamlet of Jelah, while Desa and I hid under the shed of that same stable. The fellow whom I did not know told him "set Veso's stable on fire". He thought for a minute and then replied "let's get them alive, there they are, running down the fields, and we'll come back later. They went towards the place where crying and screaming of women was coming from. From that place I went towards my home and went in, but Rada was not in the house. I then went back to Veso's house, hid with Desa under the veranda and when my husband Radoje came along, the three of us started towards "Papratica", wherefrom he went further to see

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what had become of the others, while Desa and I started towards Kaolin. Our army from Bratunac had already reached Kaolin and they had pushed the Ustashi back to Blječeva. Before help had come, the Ustashi had already killed my daughter Rada on the crossroad, and ten other men and women in the village. They burned down almost all the houses, only four remained. They killed the livestock, took all the more valuable things from the houses, and then burned the houses down, yelling, firing and swearing all the time. I am ready to repeat this statement before any court of justice or international organization.

Bratunac, 5 January 1993

fingerprint of the right
thumb

ATTACK ON ZAGONI

I was in fact in Zagoni, commune of Bratunac, on both occasions the village was attacked, when innocent civilians were killed and houses of the Serbs burned down.

I remember well that the first attack took place on 5 July 1992, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I know the time because as I was having lunch grenades fired from Moslem positions started falling in the village of Zagoni.

As soon as I ran out of the house where I was having my lunch I met two young men whose names - as I learned later - were Dragan and Rade. I didn't know their last names. It might have been Gvozdenović.

Dragan told me that his sister, Rada Gvozdenović, had been killed. I knew her only from sight, and as soon as I heard the news from Dragan I went to the crossroads in the woods near by. The road to the right from the crossroads leads to the village. Right there, by the crossroads, I found Rada's dead body. I realized that she had been shot from a rifle. Half of her head was blown up. Judging by the place I found her at I concluded that she had been coming from her village. That was confirmed to me by the villagers who said that Rada was running from her village, that the Moslems caught up with her near the crossroads and killed her.

At a short distance from there I saw a Moslem in uniform. He shouted to me "Don't shoot, I am one of you." We neither fired at him nor were involved in any fighting against the Moslems. The village was attacked by Moslems. While I was standing at the crossroads looking at Rada's dead body, the village of Zagoni started burning. There was smoke coming from the houses and soon it turned into flame.

Some of the people from the village of Zagoni succeeded in saving their life by fleeing. The screams of the Serb people, whose village had been attacked by Moslems, running away from their village in fear and panic could be heard. The Moslems were armed and they had with them a number of women who plundered Serb houses after the people had been killed, after which the houses were set on fire.

I was there some 5 - 7 days later when the village of Zagoni was attacked for the second time by Moslems.

I did not recognize any of the Moslems nor did I hear their names as they called each other, so I am unable to say anything on that.

I left the village the day after, as I had other things to attend to. I did not hear that anyone had recognized the assailants, and I never how many there had been.

signed

Goran Krstić, of father Dušan, from
Loznica, 10 Braće Jugovića street
worker; unemployed

VELISAV VASIĆ, nicknamed Veljko, son of Sreten
Born in Radoševići, Srebrenica, in 1962
Worker, Serb by nationality

S T A T E M E N T

After the fall of Srebrenica and the taking and destruction of many Serb villages by Moslems, I found myself in the village of Zalazje, as a refugee. I joined all the other villagers in the defense of the last Serb village in the territory of the former commune of Srebrenica.

On 8 June 1992, at about 5.15 a.m. Moslems attacked us from all sides from their surrounding strongholds. The defense of the village lasted until 3 o'clock in the afternoon. We succeeded in defending ourselves and pushing the Moslems back, although we had 6 dead and 12 wounded among the villagers who had taken part in defending the village. That day the Moslems succeeded in taking a part of the village and burning it, but we did succeed in pushing them back after that. The next day after the struggle we gathered the bodies of five dead Moslems and exchanged them for the villagers from the burned down the Serb village of Čumavići.

After that attack on the village an advance party of the Moslem army from the neighbouring villages, consisting of 5 armed Moslem men and two women, attacked our guards at Zalazje on which occasion I was wounded.

When my wound healed I returned to the village of Zalazje to help in the defense of the village.

On 12 July 1992, on our big orthodox holiday, St. Peter's Day, at about 9 o'clock in the morning the Moslem fundamentalists attacked us from all sides. The village was defended by 47 villagers, among whom was the cook Radinka Cvjetinović. The following persons were killed at the very beginning of the attack: Željko Giljević a Croat from Srebrenica, who joined with his family the defense of the village of Zalazje and Momčilo Rakić from Zalazje. The fighting went on the whole day. At 7 o'clock in the evening we ran out of ammunition and thus many were killed. Five persons succeeded in reaching a vehicle and saving themselves, while two did not manage to get into the car and they were killed. The vehicle was riddled by bullets. Nenad Grujičić, Gavro Pajić, Slavko Pajić, Tomo Jeremić and Branislav Stanojević managed to get out by car while the firing was still going on. I saw six of our men get caught: Miodrag Rakić, the brothers Branko and Pero Simić, Milisav Ilić, Slobodan Ilić - a judge from Srebrenica, and Miladin Tubić. We were on the opposite side of our vehicle and unable to withdraw. As there were six of us left, we climbed up on the attic of a new house.

The Moslems had already entered the village and started setting the remaining houses on fire and killing the

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defenders of the village who were wounded. Among the six of us five were heavily wounded and only one man was unhurt, a child I believe by the name of Milan Jeremić. I think that in the fighting which had taken place that day his brother, two cousins and a considerable number of the Jeremić family got killed. The Moslems first plundered and then set on fire the house we were hiding in. At about 10 o'clock in the evening we got out by means of a cable we found lying around since the house and its roof were on fire. We started towards Sase which is 3 km away. It took us 9 hours to get from the burning house to Sase.

While we were in the house, which had already been set on fire, we saw our men being taken prisoner, plundering of property, we listened the assailants swearing at Serbs, looked on as they were setting the houses on fire, on a rampage in the village and finally as the enemy army lined up in front of the house in which we were hiding. Milomir Lazarević, Gojko Jevtić, Milan Jeremić and two other men from the village, whose names I do not remember were with me in the attic.

The enemy army was lining up in front of Naser Orić, a policeman from Srebrenica, whom I know well. During the fighting and after the lining up of the enemy army I had the opportunity to see that the leaders in massacring the Serb population were the following:

1. Zulfo Tursunović
2. Hakiya Meholjić, policeman from Srebrenica
3. Amir Mehmedavić, nicknamed "Geza"
4. Senahid, policeman from Bratunac, I heard some of the policemen also calling him Nuriya, a slim, dark haired man. Each one of them was lining up his company. With them was also a unit of Gypsies, led by a Gypsy from Kazani, whom I knew by his nickname "Hake".

Among the Moslems who attacked Zalazje and performed this unheard-of massacre I recognized also the following:

1. A man nicknamed "Beno", who used to be a worker in the "Sase" Zinc and Lead Mine, from Srebrenica by birth,
2. A man by the nickname of "Mijač," from Srebrenica,
3. A man known by the nickname of "Kreja," also from Srebrenica,
4. A man by the nickname of "Djuli," from Srebrenica,
5. Velid Delić from Srebrenica,
6. Sarija Mulalić from Bajramović, commune of Srebrenica,
7. Šukrija Čelo from Potočari who worked in the "Akumulatori" enterprise
8. A football player, also known as "Čelo", from Srebrenica,
9. Husić, whose first name I do not know, by the nickname of "Hake" from Srebrenica, a teacher from Potočari.

Out of the five of us who were wounded, two men suffered a serious nervous breakdown and are completely disabled.

signed STATEMENT GIVEN BY:
Velisav Vasić, called "Veljko"

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Vinka Božić, wife of Petar, daughter of Mladjen, born in 1937 in Opravdići, commune of Bratunac, permanent residence in Magašići, hamlet of Gornji Magašići, temporarily residing in Bratunac at Kubatovac street, house unnumbered, Serb by nationality, housewife, has given the following

STATEMENT

On July 20, 1992, I was in my house. Around 11.45 a.m. strong fire began from all sides but I did not realize at once that the Ustashi had attacked our village, I went out of the house and Krstina told me that the Ustashi had attacked the village. I ran and first hid in Boja's pigsty and later when I heard the Ustashi making a racket I jumped out of the sty and into some bushes and nettles nearby from where I could hear and see everything well. I heard Hajro Osmanović, son of Ibrahim, swearing at his men and saying: "Hurry up, if they get help, we'll all get killed". I saw him clearly, he was in mufti and he was carrying a rifle, I do not know of which make. A group of Ustashi led by Šaban Osmanović, son of Junuz, from our village, hamlet of Močilo, was coming from the direction of Deronjići. With him were Nedžad Osmanović, son of Munib, from our village, hamlet of Šumančići, and his brother nicknamed Cvrko and the sons of Halilja Osmanović, one nicknamed Tuzlo and the other Čičo. Šaban ordered them to go to my hamlet of Božići and to take from the houses everything they could and then burn everything; so they went to the village, took out everything they could from the houses and then set fire to the houses, silos and all auxiliary buildings. When they finished, I heard Šaban cursing them for having set fire to the silos without having taken the grain out. Among the Ustashi I also saw Meho Osmanović, son of Junuz, from the hamlet of Močilo, Senahid Avdić, son of Idriz, from Glogova. They assembled near their graveyard, there were a lot of them. I heard and recognized Šaban's voice saying that they were going to Avdagina Njiva to kill everyone and burn everything, but when they set out from the direction of the forest called "Klančić", fire was heard and Šaban said: "Here come men from Kajići and Kravica, retreat quickly.", after which they started retreating towards Krčevina and further on towards Blječeva.

Bratunac, October 24, 1992

Right index finger print

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Radomir Ilić, called Rado, son of Tomo, born on April 24, 1938 in Mačašići, commune of Bratunac, farmer, permanent residence in his place of birth, has given the following

STATEMENT

"For years we lived in harmony and got along well with our Moslem neighbours from the hamlet of Močilo. When war broke out in this area for a time we lived together but relations were impaired for every people kept guard around its villages. In the month of May, I do not know the exact date now, all the Moslems from the hamlet of Močilo left their houses, said good-bye to us, all were crying and went towards Blječeva and Čizmići. Their departure had nothing to do with us, they left their homes of their own accord, without any problems or apparent reason. Until July 20, 1992, no larger military units attacked our village, but there were daily provocations from the direction of Čizmići from where they opened rifle and machine gun fire on positions held by our villagers. On July 20, 1992, we were at home or working in the fields. Around 12 noon, suddenly and from all sides strong forces attacked our village opening fire from every conceivable weapon on everything moving. We started running trying to escape towards Avdagina Njiva. My son Marjan took my wife Smilja, Milenija Ilić, Zora Ilić, Ljubinka Ilić, wife of Ljubisav and Ljiljana Ilić towards Avdagina Njiva by road and I ran to a creek and hid in the bushes. I had no weapons on me. From that creek some 20 meters in front of me I saw Meho Osmanović, son of Junuz, until yesterday our neighbour, who was naked to the waist and had a machine gun called "Šarac" in his hands, he was shooting from it and moving towards the hamlet of Božići. With me in the creek was also Milojka Božić who also saw him. Meho was shooting and shouting: "Get them, get them!" At that moment I saw that the houses in the hamlets of Božići and Deronjići had been set fire to. When our army came and pushed the Moslem forces back towards Čizmići, I learned that not far from Avdagina Njiva Moslem extremists had killed my son Marjan, my daughter-in-law Zora, Ljilja and Ljubinka Ilić, the wife of our neighbour Ljubisav. I then also learned that in the hamlet of Popovići the throats had been slit of Blagoje and his wife Ljeposava Popović in a cellar and that Ljubica Milanović, wife of Vladimir, had also been killed. Vinka Božić said that among the attackers on our village she had recognized our neighbour from Močilo, Šaban Osmanović, son of Junuz, and Milka Božić, wife of Drago, told us that she had seen Čamil Hasanović, son of Mehmed, from Glogova and his group kill Milenija, Marjan, Zorka, Ljubinka and Ljilja. My wife Smilja stayed alive by sheer luck because she could not keep up running with this group and remained in a creek.

Bratunac, October 15, 1992

(sgd.) Ilić Radomir

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Rosa Božić, wife of Milovan, daughter of Stanoje Simić, born in 1949 in the village of Opravdići, commune of Bratunac, permanent residence at Magašići, hamlet of Gornji Magašići, commune of Bratunac, Serb by nationality, housewife, has given the following statement in connection with the attack on the village of Gornji Magašići:

STATEMENT

On July 20, 1992 I and others were harvesting Radojica Jovanović's field. Around 11 a.m. strong fire started on the hill called "Stolice" and I asked Radojica whether he thought that we were being attacked, and he said that he did not think so, as shooting was a common daily occurrence, so that we continued working. Radojica was honing a scythe and I was reaping. The shooting soon became stronger, coming from the hamlet of Deronjići and I turned around and saw a group of Ustashi coming from the direction of their graveyard, led by Šaban Osmanović, son of Junuz from the hamlet of Močilo. One of the men in the group was leading Marko Deronjić's cow. Šaban kept telling them to hurry up and at one moment he said to Mehidin Smajilović, son of Asim: "Why don't you set fire to Luka's stable", so that Mehidin shouted: "you in the rear, set fire to Luka's stable". In that group I also saw Ahmo Ibrahimović nicknamed "Hepa", son of Ibrahim from Močilo, Meho Osmanović, son of Junuz who was naked to the waist and who was carrying a machine gun, Osmo Ibrahimović, son of Omer who was carrying a semi-automatic rifle and one of the grandsons of Havko Ibrahimović, I do not know if he was Ibro's or Nazif's son. They were in the company of another three men whom I did not see very well and whom I did not recognize. I was hiding in the wheat all the time and could see them well. I saw that they first set fire to Luka's stable, then Boja's house and all the houses in Božići, Deronjići and Ilići. After having set fire to all that they started withdrawing over Prisoj to Močilo and from there towards Stolice.

Bratunac, November 7, 1992

Right index finger print

Milka Božić, wife of Drago, daughter of Milan Bogdanović, born in 1946 in Ježestica, commune of Bratunac, permanent residence in Gornji Magašići, temporary residence in Bratunac, Dušana Jerkovića St., house unnumbered, Serb by nationality, housewife, has given the following

STATEMENT

"At the time of the attack on Magašići I was at home and when I heard that the Ustashi had attacked our village, burned Ilići and were attacking from the direction of Deronjići, I started running towards the road leading to Avdagina Njiva. On the road I met Smilja Ilić and her son Marjan who were also running towards Avdagina Njiva. Running in front of them were Milenija Ilić, Zora Ilić, Ljubinka Ilić, Ljiljana Ilić and Nevenka Popović. Smilja started crying, saying: "Woe is me, Zlatko remained all alone in the village, they will kill him", referring to her other son, and Marjan kept telling her to hurry up and run faster, so that he came ahead of all those women who were fleeing, probably with the intention of protecting them, because he was carrying a rifle. When we came near Milisav Popović's house, a man in jeans and a blue T shirt jumped on the road from behind an apple tree in the bushes. I did not recognize him. He immediately started shooting from a rifle and first hit Marjan, after which we all turned around and started running in the opposite direction, and the man stood in the road shooting at us, and shot Milenija, Zora, Ljiljana and Ljubinka in the back. Nevenka Popović pulled me off the road into some nettles so that the two of us survived, and I later learned that Smilja had also survived, because she could not keep up with the others. I saw the man who shot at us well, but I did not recognize him, and as I was awfully scared I am not sure that I could recognize him now".

Bratunac, October 24, 1992

(sgd.) Milka Božić

pushed the Ustashi back, and they ran away leaving both their loot and victims behind. Only then could we get to our wounded and dead. Then we found the horrendous picture of the two dead brothers Dragan and Andjelko and their mother Savka Andjelković. The Ustashi had cut Andjelko's head off only because he had a beard. Then we found the dead bodies of Milosav and Savka Stjepanović, Vojin Bogićević, Milan and Sreten Ranković, and Srbo Djurić and Radomir Djokić who were severely wounded and Drago Djurić who had minor wounds.

Bratunac, August 30, 1992

Rade Stjepanović

S T A T E M E N T

by Rajko Jovanović from Ježeštica on the attack on his village by Moslem armed forces on August 8, 1992

My name is Rajko Jovanović, my father's name is Milovan and I was born in 1932 in the purely Serb village of Ježestica where I lived from birth up to August 8, 1992 when the vilage was burnt down by Ustashi units. Until that day or rather until about April of that year, all the villagers had quite good relations with the population of the neighbouring villages of Srebrenica commune, i.e. the villages of Jaglići, Brezova Njiva, Šušnjari and Babuljice. Ježestica belongs to Bratunac commune. Until April we were good neighbours as we had managed to rebuild our mutual relations after World War II when my village had also been burnt down by the Ustashis from the neighbouring Moslem villages I have already mentioned. In the last war, the worst criminals, the killers and arsonists were members of the Kamenica family led by Bekto Kamenica and members of the Alispahić family. A particularly interesting case is that of the Zukić family because in the last war Muharem Zukić was one of the commanders in Ježestica who fled to Bijeljina and changed his name to Nukić. After some time he returned to the village of Brezova Njiva and became Zukić again. However, on August 8, 1992 it was as if history was repeating itself because the members of the same families again led the bloodthirsty Ustashi unit of some 200 men who attacked Ježestica around noon. There were about 150 civilians in the village at the time and about a dozen men under arms to defend the village. The Ustashis launched their attack from behind, that is from the direction of Kravica going downstream where we had not expected them and they started their fierce attack by throwing a hand grenade at the house of Dragan Mladjenović wounding him and killing his brother Andjelko. They also wounded their mother Savka Mladjenović. The group responsible for this attack included the nephews of Bekto Kamenica, Munib, Ramiz and Džemail, the sons of Idriz Kamenica from Jaglići. Then there was his son Avdo and the sons of Omar

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Alispahić from Jagličić as well as the twins of Hamdija Alispahić also from Jagličić, I saw them and I know them well, only I am not sure of their names but I know whose children they are. All of them together tortured Dragan Mladjenović hitting him with the handle of an ax, finally breaking his skull until he passed away, they fired another shot at Savka and they cut off Andjelko's head and took it with them screaming and yelling in perverse satisfaction. I watched all this from my hiding place in the woods about 40 meters away so that I saw it all, I also recognized their voices when they called us by name to come out of hiding so they could kill us all. I know that another four people from Ježeštica were killed that same day, i.e. Srećko and Milan Ranković, Milosav and Savka Stjepanović, Vojin Bogičević and some were wounded like Srbo Djurić who passed away on the way to the hospital. After that first attack and massacre the plunder started, first of food and everything else of value, the livestock and then they set fire to everything around them, I think some 55 houses in all. This went on until help came after an hour or two when they withdrew and we had to go to Bratunac to look for shelter as our houses had been burnt down, our property plundered so that we were left with nothing. I am still a refugee.

I am making this statement of my own free will as testimony of the crimes committed against the inhabitants of Ježeštica and I am prepared to repeat this before any body or organization in this country or abroad.

Bratunac, August 16, 1992

Signed: Rajko Jovanović

S T A T E M E N T

by "Drago" Žikić from Fakovići

On October 5, 1992 I was in the vicinity of army positions with my wife and her sister. Somewhere around 12 o'clock an attack started from all sides. We ran through the corn fields until we reached an old house near the road leading to Skelani. Nearby, was the guardpost where I used to keep watch but they had all been killed.

I tried to pluck up courage and dash for the house but fire was heavy around us and I couldn't so I went on down the road under cover of the corn to another house. We waited there for 15-20 minutes to collect our strength and take a rest. There was shelling from all sides. They were all over the surrounding slopes some seven to eight kilometers away. The village of Fakovići lies in a depression surrounded by hills on all sides with the Drina river flowing below.

We waited for about half an hour and then I told the women, my wife and my sister-in-law, that we should crawl about ten meters to the river bank. My sister-in-law went first, then my wife then myself. I told them to go downstream to the boat and to hide there as there was no other way out, and I decided to stay and see what would happen. As they went down, the fire subsided.

When the shooting stopped I crept behind the arms depot and got to about 30 meters away from them. They were trying to break into the warehouse which had an iron gate. When the gate began to give way I ran for the detonator because I knew that the warehouse was mined. I wanted all of them to get in before blowing it up. However, when I got to about 10 meters from the detonator, about one hundred of them sprang out of hiding where they were guarding the warehouse. They grabbed me, beat me and dragged me to my house which was on fire. They knew who I was and they said: "...now watch us manager, burn down your house."

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They tied my hands with rope behind my back and ordered me to guide them along Mlečvanska river. I had no choice. They were afraid that the fields might be mined. I went forward but they did not trust me. They thought I might be ready to kill myself and take them with me. Behind me went the Turk, or call him what you will, an Ustashi, Zulfo by name. I don't know where he came from, he was a tall, older man, dark, with a moustache and a rather long nose. I heard them call him by his surname Tursunović. He rode a white horse. They asked me: "Do you know who this is?". I said I didn't. "Yes you do, you Chetnik motherf... ", they said. They beat me from behind, they tightened the rope round my hands, they beat me with whatever was handy. some with a rifle butt, others with a boot. The older man said: "Don't beat the old man, catch someone younger."

We crossed some 7-8 kilometers. When we came across a village they told children to throw stones at me. We came across people everywhere who knew me. They asked one of them "Do you know this man?". "Of course I do, it's our postman Drago". "What kind of a man is he?" "He's as good as gold". Hearing that one of them slapped him so hard that he fell. I can't remember everything. I know we went on and at some point came across a woman. They asked her too whether she knew me. "It's our Drago, the postman, she said, of course I know him" "What's he like?" "When I go to the post office he takes care of everything." "Let him f... your Surfa or Zurfa, something like that" he said. And so we went on until we reached a tap. They asked me if I was thirsty and one of them held me, because my hands were tied, wanting to let me drink but another one said: "I won't drink from the same bottle as a Serb", but they let me drink all the same. Then we went up a hill and I saw a dozen tractors there. They were big tractors all of them facing Fakovići.

They put me in a truck and I was brought to Srebrenica, which building, I don't know. They shut me up with four other people. It was dark and no-one beat me that night. The next day I made a statement in the presence of Mirzat, the manager. He

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told me it was best for me to tell them everything. "We know everything anyway so you might as well admit." He tortured and beat me. They took me back to the cell and the others asked whether they had beat me and I said yes. The next day I was interrogated by another man - a civilian working for the army. Whatever I said he said I was lying. He insisted I admit I had been using an "84". Then they would start beating us one by one. There were 7 or 8 of them. One of them would hit you hard but before you fell another would hit you on the other side. That man Mirzet, he was so strong that he must have been a karate wrestler. He ordered me to raise my arms and then he would kick me in the ribs. I fared no worse than the others, some of them passed out from pain. The worst part was in the evening when they returned from the field. They would come drunk, take the keys from the guards, come in and start hitting at us. I talked to one of the guards whom I knew, he was from Bratunac, and I said that I could understand them interrogating us because they were following orders from their command, but to beat us like that wasn't normal. He said he didn't know what was happening and that he would see. There was a man called Beli, he would come in with a pole in his hand and hit me on the head. Once he grabbed me by the hair and hit me from close up. There was nothing we could do but shut up. Every day when he entered the corridor he would tell his men and particularly two of them from Podravanja, "...beat the wits out of the old Chetnik". It wasn't easy for them, I begged them to beat me because otherwise they would get beaten themselves.

That last evening they took the young man from Smederevo out twice, and they took me out four times so that I fainted in my room. They came asking whether I was still alive. I don't know how many times they hit me on the head, but you know the old saying about the cat with nine lives. Since then however, I think it is even more difficult to kill a human being. During the time I spent there I think I received more blows in the jaw than an average boxer. I would fall but I would get up again. Three days before the exchange, to our misfortune, a grenade fell

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right in front of the prison and injured one of the guards. We heard them cry out "Saša". After that they barged in furious, trampling and kicking us. The night before our release they called in the boy from Smederevo. I think they beat him for more than an hour. When they brought him back they yelled "Next!". I stood up and said it was my turn. But the guard pulled out his keys and said: "I know you, you are the manager and you will not get out of here for as long as I am here. You don't know me, nor will you ever find out, and it doesn't matter anyway." He locked the door and left. All this happened because about twenty of their men had been killed, Akif among them.

This Akif had talked to me saying that we had something in common, that the Serbs and Moslems were of the same blood but that he had been the one to set my house on fire. "I saw that your people had not burnt their neighbours' homes and your neighbours would not have done that to you either so I did it because I am not a local, I was sorry but those were my orders."

In the morning, around 9 or 10 o'clock they barged in and seeing that we had blood all over they ordered us to wash and get ourselves cleaned up because otherwise our people would not agree to the exchange. When we were ready a truck came for us. Then somebody walked up to the truck and said "The postman will get off." When I climbed down they took me to an office and interrogated me all over again. They asked me whether I knew so and so and I said "Yes" because I knew they had a list. This went on for about fifteen minutes and then they said I was free. Then somebody called the young man from Smederevo. They kept him for about five minutes, when he got back on the truck they called him down again and this time they kept him for about one minute. He was covered in blood. His tongue was hanging out. They threw him onto the truck. One of them kicked me and said: "Can't you see that one of your men is dying so we won't be able to carry out the exchange." We thought he was already dead. As we passed peasants along the road yelled at us: "The Turks f... d your women who gave birth to you and that is why you are so bad

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because you are half-breeds. You don't belong anywhere."

The road was blocked. The truck went through the fields. We reached the place where we were to be exchanged. I never expected to live to see the day.

In one of our conversations Akif told me that he had been in command for the attacks on Pórvanje and Pakovići.

STOJA PETROVIĆ, father's name, Stanomir
born in Loznička Rijeka-Bratunac
on June 3, 1948

S T A T E M E N T

on the Moslem attack on Loznička Rijeka and Bjelovac on
December 4, 1992

I come from Loznička Rijeka, Bratunac commune, where I lived all my life up to December 14, 1992 when the village was attacked and burnt down by the Moslem Ustashi army.

In the surroundings of Loznička Rijeka are many villages with mixed populations as well as mostly Moslem villages but I knew all the adults in those villages, be they Moslem or Serb because we had quite good neighbourly relations before the war and we used to exchange visits. When the hostilities broke out, our village became the frequent target of attack by the Ustashis but our villagers, defending the village, managed to repulse those attacks. However, on December 14 a very strong Ustashi force attacked the village creeping up under cover of the night and surrounding us from all sides and then about 6.30 in the morning the shooting started. I woke up my husband who was one of the village defenders, who grabbed his gun and started shooting back from the house. I crept outside and saw that large numbers of Ustashis were approaching from the Drina river, I ran for cover into the house of Mika Damjanović and climbed into his loft from where I watched. An hour or two later, in the daylight I recognized that the attackers were mostly our neighbours from the surrounding villages, among them Rifeta Daubašić, born in Brezovice who later settled in Bjelovac, Hasan Daubašić, Rifeta's son also from Bjelovac, Alija Ibrić, known as "Kurta" from Pirić, brothers Mirsad and Medo Malagić, the sons of Nuja Malagić from Loznička Rijeka and their uncle Hajrudin Malagić, Hajrudin Begzadić, Hakiija's son from Pirić, the brothers Muriz and Rešid Sinanović, the sons of Rahman, Sead Sinanović, son of Safet, Nedžad Sinanović, the son of Safet and Dževad Sinanović, the son of Safet, all from Bjelovac or Sikirić, the sons of Edhem Hasanović from Pirić- Bahrudin known as "Bjelac".

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Šaban and another two brothers nicknamed "Kokan" and "Kiko". In addition to these people there were some women, Moslem women who also fired at us among whom I recognized two, Esma Kiverić, a teacher from Bjelovac and Senada Sinanović, the wife of Rešid Sinanović who machinegunned the people side by side with her husband, and there was a third young woman. I heard later that she was the daughter of a certain Ibrahim from Podloznik and that she got killed.

The orders were given by Bajro, known as "Miš" from Voljevica, I don't know his surname. The attack lasted until 6 in the afternoon and many of the village defenders were killed, a large number wounded, several women and children killed, among them sisters Snežana and Gordana Matić, my son Mirko, two women, Zlata Jovanović and Radenka Jovanović, Slobodan Petrović, Milenko Vučetić, Slobodan Nedeljković, Slavomir Damjanović and many others. When at dusk those of us who had survived had fled, the Ustashis set fire to the village after stealing all they could. Particularly prominent during the attack was Hajrudin Hasanović, nicknamed "Bjelac" from Pirić who was the unit commander and who yelled threats that he would catch us all and slit our throats, calling us Chetniks.

There is nothing else that I can say except that about 80 villagers in all, mostly old people, women and children and several village defenders had been killed during the attack on Loznička Rijeka.

I am making this statement of my own free will, it is the truth and I am ready to repeat it under oath before any body or court of law in our country or in the world because I want the truth to be known about the misdeeds of the Ustashis against the Serb people.

Signed:

Stoia Petrović

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SLAVOLJUB RANKIĆ, son of Nedeljko, born 1951,
village of Bjelovac, Bratunac commune

S T A T E M E N T

On December 14, 1992 I was in my house in the village of Bjelovac. It must have been about 6.a.m. when the sound of shooting woke me up. I jumped up and I was ready in no time as I slept half dressed fearing that the enemy, that is the Moslems, might catch us in our sleep and kill us as they had done in a number of nearby villages of Bratunac commune. When I got out of the house I thought that my village was being attacked from the direction of the Moslem village of Pirići. In fact the attack was coming from both Pirići and the left bank of the Drina river which flows nearby. As far as I could see, and I could see quite well because they were near, the Moslem formations were showering my village with fire from infantry weapons killing two people on the spot who were confused not knowing where the fire was coming from, that is God's truth. My next door neighbours they were, Stevo Filipović and Božo Todorović, who were killed on their doorstep. Steva's wife Darinka ran up to him and was hit in the leg and she was the one who told us that the Moslems were shooting from the river bank, a spot known as the gravel mine. We heard the Moslems call out "Darinka, come over here we have your husband with us". They wanted to trick her and catch her alive. But Darinka ran for my house crying out that Moslems were attacking the village from the Drina. I headed in the direction of the fire to help the wounded and drag them out of range. I gave them first aid and then went for help to get them to hospital. In the meantime, more and more Moslems were approaching our village, they were wearing camouflage uniforms and some were in plain clothes. They had large back-packs, black caps with orange head bands. I did not recognize any of the attackers. We tried to organize ourselves in defence. We were outnumbered by far. They charged into one house after another setting them on fire. The first to start burning was the house of Stevo Filipović whom they had already killed as I said.

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Then they set fire to Dragoljub Filipović's house and they destroyed his entire family except one of his sons who had run off to the village to look for help and to try and save his wife and two children. This Slavoljub Filipović had a wife and two children, a boy of 7 months and a girl of 3. His father's name was Dragoljub and his mother's Dostana. His father Dragoljub and his brother Dragan were killed but his wife Mira, his two children and his mother Dostana are missing. Their bodies have not been found to this day. Some people say they drowned in the Drina or perhaps they were captured by the Moslems and kept as hostages. On this same occasion Radovan Vučetić and his sons Milenko and Brano were also killed. Brano was 10 years old and his body has still not been found. The Moslems also broke into the house of Radivoje Matić killing him and his two daughters Snežana and Gordana, who were in the house at the time. They cut off Gordana's breasts. They simply massacred them and I think that the TV shot this. The Moslems also threw a bomb into Radivoje's house. Bogdana Ilić was inside, she was wounded but she survived. After burning several houses, the Moslems spent some time in the house of our neighbour Miloš and from there they went off into the night. It all stopped then and we collected our dead and wounded under cover of the night.

Signed: Slavoljub Rankić

MIRA FILIPOVIĆ, born May 1, 1968,
village of Bjelovac, Bratunac commune.
Occupation: formerly cook in Sase mine in
Srebrenica. Nationality: Serb

S T A T E M E N T

I have decided to put on paper how I was captured in my village of Bjelovac, Bratunac commune. I lived in that village until December 14, 1992 when I was captured by my Moslem neighbours, one might say. For previously, both my family and myself got on well with the Moslems until the first half of 1992 when they started attacking our, i.e. Serb villages, killing civilians, plundering and burning our houses.

On December 14, 1992 early in the morning, (about 6.a.m.) I was in my house with my mother-in-law Dostana, an old woman, my two children, Oliver aged 4 and a baby boy of 5 months called Nemanja. My husband Slavoljub was with us. We suddenly heard the sound of shooting coming from the direction of the Drina river (our house was located between the river and the road). I knew immediately that our village had come under Moslem attack. I jumped up, called my husband and the others. My husband rushed out and I hid in the attic and saw about 20 armed and unarmed Moslems entering our yard on the river side. Just before they appeared and immediately after the shooting started, a young boy of 10 called Brano Vučetić, the son of Radovan our neighbour ran into the house so he was with us when all this happened. Seeing the Moslems entering our yard and shooting, we locked ourselves up in the attic. I heard them squabbling outside the locked door "...you go in, I darn' t , you go, there's no-one there....." I defused a bomb and threw it out of the window to save my family (my young children and mother-in-law) but the bomb got caught in the balcony fence and injured me slightly. I later heard that the bomb had also injured a Moslem called Mithat Otanović known as "Mijač" from Srebrenica but at the time they were not aware that it was my bomb that had hit him.

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The Moslems broke down our door, barged in and up the steps yelling that I should give myself up. They also broke down the door of the attic and pointed a gun with a bayonet at us. I recognized Mirza Hasanović from Sase because he had worked in the same mine as I. He recognized me too and said "Miro why didn't you say it was you." I also recognized Haris Umetović, known as "Hari", a former soccer player of the Suber team in Srebrenica, then there was Senahid known as "Pobrin" from Biljače, Bratunac commune. He was the one who guarded us all day in my house. At one point one of their fighters, a young man from Sućeska, Srebrenica commune, walked in grinding his teeth and demanding to kill us all, but Pobrin prevented him. Later on I heard from the Moslems that the whole operation in Bjelovac was led by Bajro known as "Miš" from Voljavica, Bratunac commune. I heard that he had also participated in the attack on the lake at Skelani. I learnt all this in captivity. He was wounded there. So he was in charge of the operation on the lake one day and then Naser took over. Miš was their deputy commander of the batallion. I heard this while I was held captive in Srebrenica. Most of the attackers on Bjelovac came from the villages of Voljavice, Zalužje, Biljače, I know most of them by sight but not by name. Also in the group was Mido and his younger brother, their father's name is Edo. Edo was a porter in the Sase mine. At 2 p.m. they took us to a holiday home of a man from Sarajevo in Bjelovac not far from my house and at 5 p.m. we were taken to the Moslem village of Podloznic where they held us in a private house for 5 days. Before they took us to Podloznic I saw that they had started to plunder our homes taking shoes, food and other things. In Podloznic they held us in the house of Ramiz, the mine layer who had also worked in the Sase mine. Then Miš and Hazim from Voljavice drove us to Srebrenica in a Mercedes. They shut up my mother-in-law in Srebrenica, a building near the town hall even though she is an old woman and has nothing to do with the war. They took me, my children and little Brana to the village of Soločuša, Srebrenica commune after which I was interrogated. While I was in Podloznic I recognized Zulfo Tursum and Kemo Mehmedović from Pala, Srebrenica. Kemal wore a dagger tied to

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his knee. They offered their services to their army in Bjelovac. The commander of the attack on Bjelovac was Miš and Hazim from Voljavice. Before the attack they came to the village as an advance party, at least that is what I heard in detention where we were held for two months.

During my stay in Soločuša, Srebrenica commune, I saw that all the Serb houses had been plundered, the window panes, doors and windows, the tiles everything had been stolen, there was nothing left inside either for a normal life. They released us 6-7 days ago.

Bratunac, February 18, 1992

Signed: Mira Filipović

/...

Milosava Nikolić, wife of Milorad
from the village of Opravdići,
commune of Bratunac, Serb by
nationality

STATEMENT

After the Moslems attacked Kravica on January 7, 1992 I fled to Zelinje. I returned to my village on January 8, 1993, before my patron saint day, St. Steven's day, to celebrate it. I arrived at the village about 8.00 a.m. and everything was all right. I lit a fire, made coffee and drank a glass of brandy, then I started baking bread for the celebration. Then I went to the stable to tend to the cattle. I met Milivoje and Iva Milanović and gave them their key, to try to open their house with it. My husband Milorad was about 50 m. from me when the shooting started. He then disappeared and I could not see him and I returned to the stable of Golub Janković. Already then I did not know what had become of my husband. I returned to the village and heard the shouting of Moslems, shouting hurrah, let the Serbs have it! I hid in a ditch and saw someone going towards Jovika's house and stable and letting the sheep out. Another one was standing, all of them were armed. I started walking and saw the house of Bole Nikolić ablaze. They saw me and came after me. One caught up with me and asked me if I knew him. I knew him from sight but I did not know his name and surname. They had already set fire to my house and they made me go into the house and bring out cigarettes. The one who had recognized me asked me where the cigarettes were and told me to hand them over, and that they were taking me to their commander. They brought me to the commander whom I recognized as Nezir from Glogova, whose family lives in Avdagina Njiva, who previously smuggled cattle. There a woman carrying a machine gun, cursing my Chetnik mother, wanted to kill me. Cursing my Serb mother they wanted to kill me, while Fatima Golić, Nezir and Ahmet Gojčinović's brother, whose name I do not know, defended me. When I started from my house which was smouldering, Nezir gave me his rucksack to carry. They burned everything before them. I did not see the killing take place, but from them I heard that they had killed Novak and Vito Simić, our neighbours, elderly people. Nezir ordered what was to be burned. When we came to Kravica, I saw Ohran's son called Huso and the son of Šaban Musić who worked with my neighbour Pavle Nikolić.

In the village of Kajići, Nezir, the commander told me to come along and see my Serbs, where I saw the dead bodies of four men and of one woman on a stretcher. I recognized one of them, Goran Nikolić, son of Cvijetin. One of the dead men was without a head. According to Nezir, the woman had been wounded and had died.

They took me to Glogova to their headquarters located in the house of a Serb, Nikolić, I do not know his first name. I spent the night there. During the night three women wanted to kill me. In the morning one Ibišević threw a knife at me which stuck in the

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door, demanding that I say that I love Alija Izetbegović. That Ibišević claimed that he had killed Rašo Milošević and others in Glogova during the summer, and claimed that worked in the store in Glogova. When they attacked me, I was defended by Fatima Golić, while her brother told me "fuck your Serb mother, I would kill you if it were not for my sister". I was taken to Srebrenica by Fatima Golić, her son Hajro and her daughter. Fatima is, namely, on the military police force. In Srebrenica they took me to the police station (former Secretariat of the Interior) to the officers on duty, where Dostana from Bjelovac, I do not remember her surname, already was. I was interrogated by Zulfo Turunović and the commander Nurija. Later we were taken to prison in the courthouse. They kept coming into the prison and maltreating us all the time. They would put a gun to our foreheads, curse our Serb mothers, or come into the prison knives in hand asking whose throat to slit first. A man from Bratunac put a knife to my throat and said: "your Gavro slit my mother's throat".

With me in prison was Andja Mitrović from Patkovci, Zvornik, who told me that she had been raped in Konjević Polje, that she was pregnant, and that she even knew who the father was, one Husein from Cerska where she was in prison. One Krdža, a Moslem, told me that Drago from Srebrenica had died in prison.

Occasionally I saw my neighbour Ratko Nikolić, who had been captured in Kravica, he was black and blue all over and would only blankly stare in front of him. I know that the following were with him in prison: Mićo Milovanović from Sase, Branko whose surname I do not know from Zvornik, Mišo and Drago from Zvornik, or something like that, I do not remember well, then one Nešo or Stevo, all of them mainly taken prisoner in Cerska in May last year.

A police officer on duty, Ešref Gabeljić, formerly an inspector in the Communal Assembly, whom I knew, came one day and told me: "Your Gavro will not have you". In this police station they call each other by Serbian names, but we all know that they are Moslems. They call one of them UPI and one Salko, Osman and Hasan, a big blond man, were also there.

I am ready to repeat all this before any court.

Milosava Nikolić

(thumbprint)

GVOZDENIJA MATIĆ, daughter of Vidoje, village of Sikirić
Nationality: Serb, occupation: housewife.
Bratunac commune

S T A T E M E N T

On December 14, 1992 I was in my house in Sikirić when the shooting started at 5.55. I slept upstairs so I ran down the steps, went into the kitchen and my husband Desimir followed me. Desimir is a farmer and we've lived all our life in the village. As I entered the kitchen, I turned on the light and a bullet shot through the window from the direction of Loznička Rijeka and hit the stove in the kitchen. Desimir and I ran outside.

We came under heavy fire outside and we saw a large group of Moslems jumping over the fence of our yard. There must have been about a hundred of them. There were some civilians and some in camouflage uniforms carrying weapons. The group included some women and older boys carrying sacks for the loot. The part of Sikirić where we lived was mostly inhabited by Serbs. Among the Moslems there were unarmed men with large back-packs. I ran to the pigsty while my husband ran to the other side of the house, they shot him and killed him on the spot. I hid among the pigs and when they killed my Desimir I heard them saying "Sleep, old man, sleep". All that time, my husband's sister called Božana Ostojić was in our house. She did not manage to escape because the moment she got up to run the Moslems killed her. Actually she was killed under the kitchen table - that is where we found her. While I was hiding in the pigsty, a young dark Moslem (about 25 he must have been) came up wearing a coloured uniform, but I could not recognize him now. Seeing me he gave me a sign to crouch and asked me if I had any flour. I told him we had plenty of everything in the house begging him to take everything but not to slaughter me. He was followed by another Moslem in plain clothes, I recognized him as Rešid from Brezovica, he was carrying a back-pack. I hid and he did not see me. When the two

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of them left, fearing I would be found, I climbed up on the roof beams. Later on at least a hundred of them came looking around in my pigsty. But I stayed where I was until about 9 p.m. About 6 p.m. four Moslems appeared including the one who had spotted me in the pigsty and I heard him explaining to the others how he had found me there in the morning and that now I was gone. Another one from the group said "I have been waiting here for 2 hours, she could not have left unnoticed". A little later, another 4-5 Moslems came in to slaughter some pigs, they took about 7 pigs, killed them, cut up the meat in pieces, packed it and went off with it. I heard one of them saying to the others: "Edo or Medo, I am not sure which, you have been near pigs and you know how to kill them". He answered that he had never slaughtered any pigs. I think they were referring to Edo from Osmač, Srebrenica commune who had settled in Sikirić a few years ago. I was still in hiding when about 7.30 p.m. the same people who had killed the pigs set fire to both houses and both stables taking my cow and horse with them. Among the Moslems who burnt down our village and killed us Serbs I recognized Alija Ibrić from Pirić, he was in plain clothes and he was not carrying a gun, also Hajrudin Begzadić from Pirić in a coloured uniform, Meho from Bajrić and his two daughters and Esmā Kiverić, a teacher from Srebrenica and I heard her clearly say: "Go from door to door, wait for them and kill them and when you've killed them collect the loot". I saw Alija Ibrić take a canister with brandy inside, some meat and sitting on the porch say: "If you were alive now Desimir we would drink to you because your brandy is so good." I saw Alija break into the curing shed. I also heard that Ržešid Sinanović from Bjelovac had killed Miloš Jovanović from the small village of Jovanovići. In the group of Moslems I recognized Jusuf's youngest son and daughter-in-law, then I recognized Meho and his two daughters and he is from Bajrić, then Rukin's daughter who is Jusuf's daughter-in-law. Then there was Mirsa, Edo's brother from Osmač. Desimir and his sister were killed by Edo and Mirso, both from Osmač, because they were the first to jump over our fence. About 9 o'clock in the evening a transporter of the Serb army reached the Loznica bridge and then I heard the

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Moslems saying " Let' s get out of here, they have come from Bratunac, they could surround us and kill us." I went to hide in a shed when about 6 Moslems came by carrying their loot collected in the Serb houses, they were on the run fearing the Serb army because they knew the Serb army had probably discovered that the Moslems had killed so many civilians, plundered their homes and burnt down our village. Then I went downhill to the river in the direction of Bjelovac. As I climbed over a wire fence I stepped on a corpse in the dark. I learnt the next day that Grozda and her son Zlatan had been killed there. Zlatan was a craftsman. I was present when they carried Boža Todorović from Loznica and Novak Vuksić also from Loznica out of the transporter and when they both died there while we were waiting for the boat to carry us across to Ljuboviđa in Serbia where they would get medical care. There were a lot of wounded people waiting to be transported to Serbia for treatment. I too crossed into Serbia by boat.

Signed: Gvozdenija Matić, born 1938

RATKO (Rajo) NIKOLIĆ
Born on: July 7, 1945
Place of birth: Opravdići, commune of Bratunac
Profession: worker - night watchman
Nationality: Serb

S T A T E M E N T

I was born in the village of Opravdići, in the commune of Bratunac which is a purely Serbian village in which I lived all my life. I did not do my military service since I was found incapable, and due to the fact that I was not a conscript I did not take part in the war as a member of the Territorial Defense nor was I officially issued any arms.

I was captured on January 20, 1991 in my native village of Opravdići by the members of Muslim army, namely by a group of about 25 soldiers in camouflage uniforms, all of them armed with automatic rifles; I knew no one from the group. They appeared suddenly, fired at me immediately and wounded me in the leg, although I was in civilian clothes, unarmed and I did not even attempt to escape. They took me to Pervane and then put me onto a truck. After that Naser arrived from Konjević Polje together with Zulfo Fursunović, so I left with them and their army for Ježeštica from where I was taken on foot to a Muslim village and then from there driven to Srebrenica. They locked me up in the police station prison. There I found Kostadin Popović, called, "Kojo" who was captured on Christmas in Kravica, Mića, whose last name I do not know, but I did find out that he was from Sas and that he worked on a floatation line, as well as an old man from Ježeštica whose name or surname I did not find out, since he was badly beaten and died that night in prison. He was taken away the next day and buried somewhere. The day after, I remember it was a Wednesday, I was taken to the first floor, to the office of a man dressed in a camouflage uniform. I saw on the table in front of him a large bayonet, some salt on a plate and a gun. He asked for my name and surname, which weapons I was officially issued, how many children I had, where they were and where were the other members of my immediate family. After that he asked me whether I knew what the knife and salt were used for, and when I answered that salt was used to flavour food and a knife for many

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purposes, he said that I was wrong, and that a knife is used to draw crosses on the body and salt to sprinkle on them. He did not ask me anything else, he did not beat me and the policeman on duty took me back to prison. After that the policemen who were on duty, two or three of them would enter the prison at a time and beat us all over, using their hands, feet and rods until we would lose consciousness. They would beat us up like that on a number of occasions in the course of both day and night, as each shift would come to work. While beating us they would curse our Chetnik mothers and use other obscene words. I did not know these policemen, not even their names, since in our presence they called one another by Serbian names such as Bata, Zoran etc. I was in prison until 16 January, when Skelani was attacked. On that day they transferred three of us to a prison which was located behind the court in Srebrenica. Three of us were locked up in one room, while in the room across the hall they kept the women. On that same night they brought six more men from the vicinity of Skelane whose names I never found out, and locked them up with us. At the beginning of February, they brought from Pobudje, from a barn they kept the prisoners until then, among others, Andja, I don't know her last name, I just know that she was from a village in the vicinity of Zvornik and that she worked in the Vezionica plant in Zenica, a seventeen-year old boy named Dragan who was captured in May 1992 in Kasaba, Branko Sekulić wounded and captured at Rogać also in May 1992, Ilija, I don't know his last name captured in Skelane and Jakov from Popović who was captured in Konjević Polje while he was returning from the army as well as a man from Zenica whose name and surname I don't know and who was wounded and captured in Kajići on Christmas during the attack on Kravica. We spent the entire time in that prison. During that time we were beaten with all sorts of objects by the guards and others who the guards let it, a number of times during the day and especially at night. Zulfo Tursunović came two or three times and asked who beat us, and we answered that we were beaten by whoever wanted to do it, and immediately after he left we were beaten again just like before. Sometimes they would take out some of us, particularly Kojo and beat him up so badly that when they brought him back into the prison he would be in an unconscious state. During that entire time, a doctor never came to prison to examine us, except for one occasion when we were taken to the hospital for examination. Even then we were not examined by a doctor, we just told him where we hurt and he sent us back to prison without giving us any medication. As a result of the daily beatings in prison, Kostadin Popović, Mićo and a man from the vicinity of

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Skelane who was about 63 years old died. When Kostadin died they stopped beating us, while Mićo died a few days after Kostadin. They took the three of them from the prison and I heard that they buried them in the cemetery in Srebrenica. During the whole time we spent in captivity we did not bathe and every 2 to 3 days we got only a small bucket of water. We ate only once a day, and I know that I ate beans 43 times and potatoes on two occasions; the food was uncooked, unsalted and inadequately prepared. With the food we got a small piece of oatcake, on 3 or 4 occasions corn bread. We had nothing to lie on or cover ourselves with.

On February 18, 1993 a man without a left arm up to the elbow came to prison and said that the first one to get up would be exchanged, and as I was the first to stand up, I was the one chosen for the exchange. We were taken to be exchanged twice and then brought back, I and Ilija who was in the hospital at that time due to an injury. On the third occasion on February 26, 1993 we were exchanged at Jezero. Since I was beaten and my ribs were broken, and considering that I had lost 25 kilograms, I was sent to the hospital in Zvornik where I spent two weeks being treated and recuperating. I have the required medical certificates which I am submitting.

I am prepared to repeat this statement in any court or international organization.

In Bratunac, 3, April 1993

Ratko Nikolić, sd.

MEDICAL CENTRE -INTERNAL MEDICINE WARD
ZVORNIK

Hospital Discharge Certificate

Name and surname: Ratko Nikolić
from Zenić in the vicinity of Kravica was treated in this hospital on the internal medicine ward from March 1, 93 to March 14, 1993 for the following ailments: Asthena cerperis, St. post Centusienem cerperis., St. post Fracturam costae IV et VIII sin.

Method of treatment: Hyperalimentary diet, nutritive solutions containing high doses of proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins, electrolytes and essential amino acids and analgetics.

The patient was admitted on this ward due to extreme physical weakness, exhaustion and fatigue, pain all over the body. In addition, the patient complained of frequent, liquid defecations without any traces of blood or phlegm. Namely, seven weeks prior to being admitted to the hospital the patient was captured by the Muslim army and taken to prison, where he was physically and mentally maltreated and at the same time very poorly fed.

According to the patient's statement he weighed 75 kilos before he was captured and on admittance to the hospital he had exactly 50 kilograms. When he was admitted to this ward the patient was actively mobile,, afebrile and gave the impression of a patient in a medium grave condition. He was conscious, oriented in time and space and towards himself and others. The patient was a man of medium height and asthenic constitution and had the body of an extremely malnourished man. On the basis of an auscultation, rhythmical heart action with clear tones and no cardiac murmurs was registered. The pulse was 98/min and the blood pressure 110/80 mmHg. The breathing frequency and respiratory sounds were found to be normal. The front abdominal wall was slightly below the level of the thorax, soft and without resistance on palpation, and painfully sensitive on the entire surface. The liver and spleen could not be felt. Upon admission all the basic laboratory analyses were done: Hb-5.7mmol/l., Er-2.8., Le- 6.l., sugar level 2.8 mmol/l., total bilirubin 7.5, nik romol 171, protein plasma 63g/l, urea 4,1 mmol, creatinine 66 micromol/l., ALT

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133nkat. AST 266 nkat. sugar level control test 3.8 mmol l/l, urine normal. A surgeon examined the patient and determined a post-contusion state of the body and a post-fracture state of the fourth and eighth left ribs. Upon admission an electrocardiographic examination was made and the findings were regular: sinus noatrial node as the pace maker of the heart activity, and frequency about 65/min., negative T waves in D2,D3 while the results of the radiophotographic examination of the lungs were regular as well as the findings of the pulmonary segments examination. A radiologist examined the X-rays of the thorax and found the state characteristic for the fracture of the fourth and eighth left ribs. In addition a neuropsychiatrist examined the patient and found the patients neurological state normal and his mental state without any psychopathological symptoms. An echographic examination of the abdomen was made and gave the following results: the liver somewhat enlarged and lowered, homogenous and lighter in colour. The kidneys are large and well developed on both sides of the pyelocalicectasis system. The parenchyma is wider than normal. An edema of the medullary pyramids was found. In the lower left lobe of the kidney in the parenchyma a hyp... change was found the size of 1 cm. The urinary bladder was empty. During his stay in the hospital the patient received oral and parenteral hyperalimentation and analgetics and vitamins and oligo-elemenns and essential amino acids. Discharged as recuperated with the recommendation to be on home care and spared all physical or other activities for at least one more month and then to contact an internist for a check up and the required laboratory analyses.

Ljubisav N. Gavrić. M.D.
specialist for internal diseases

N.B.: Officially authorized by the undersigned: The Discharge certificate could not be reproduced.

STATEMENT

In the early morning hours of Monday, December 14, 1992, I was sleeping in my house in Sikirić. My father and brother were also in the house. Shooting in the village started around 6.00 a.m. I ran out into the yard and saw a Moslem machine gun firing from the direction of Salko Begzadić's house, which is some 300 meters distant from mine.

I called my father and told him to run away because the village had been attacked by Moslems. While he was leaving the house I fired some 10 bullets to frighten them. The shooting grew in intensity and did not stop, it came from all sides, also from the direction of the house of Desimir Matić, i.e. from the direction of the Moslem village of Pirići.

I set out towards my guard post and Mirko Petrović from Bjelovac (a settlement) came along running. He told me that he could not start his truck and that he was running to Bjelovac to get help. Running after him was Milovan Simić, wounded in two places, who said that a bullet had hit him and that "Turks" had entered the Serb houses there in Sikirić, from the direction of Salko Begzadić's house.

I went to the asphalt road and was joined by my father and brother and Milivoje Mitrović nicknamed "Miko". I saw a large group of Moslems coming towards us along the Drina river from the direction of Salko Begzadić's house. They were about 100-200 m. away. I saw when Rado Mitrović was killed and Dragica Nedeljković wounded. She is now in hospital in Valjevo. The Moslems were in fatigues and in civilian clothes. They were silent. I could not recognize anyone because of the distance and because it was early morning. I saw when Milivoje Mitrović was wounded near the Drina. We withdrew towards the village of Bjelovac. During the following night we crossed the Drina river, and spent the whole day hiding on its banks.

I know of no other particulars. I heard the voices of the Moslems from the asphalt road cursing; "F... their Chetnik mothers, let's take Bratunac".

That same evening, December 14, 1992, (actually during the day about 10 o'clock) we took the wounded to the Serbian side, and while they were on the right bank of the Drina they were shot at by Moslems from Bosnia from infantry weapons. On that occasion, in Serbia, 5 people were wounded, as well as Mladjen Nedeljković and Vidoje Ilić, both from Sikirić, who were driving the boat. I do not know the names of the wounded. In the evening, i.e. night the rest of us crossed over to Serbia by boat, after having taken care of the wounded first.

sgd. Predrag Nedeljković,
born in 1963, from the
village of Sikirić,
commune of Bratunac

/...

Milorad Nikolić, born in 1934
in the village of Opravdići,
commune of Bratunac, where he
has permanent residence, farmer

STATEMENT

After on January 7, 1993, our Orthodox Christmas, Moslems hit and burned the village of Kravica and killed on that occasion a lot of Serb civilians, women, children and old people, to escape the Moslems, as I am old and infirm, as is my wife, I and my wife Milosava fled to the village of Zelinje.

On the next day, i.e. on January 8, 1993 we returned to our village and were in our house somewhere around 10 a.m. My neighbours Mitar Nikolić, his wife Radojka and other villagers returned to the village with me. We returned to the village so as to celebrate our patron saint's day, St. Steven. After we had coffee in the house I and my wife went to feed the livestock to our stable, some 300-400 m away from the house. When we approached the stable firing from small arms began from the direction of Mandići and Mrakovac hill. I was startled by the fire and I saw at a distance of around 200 m away as the crow flies a firing line of Moslems, who opened fire on us. Bullets ricocheted around us hitting the frozen ground. My wife started wending her way up the hill towards the house and I stayed there to try to give her cover while she advanced towards the house. Then I heard the Moslems shooting around our houses as well. As my wife had just gone home I ran up to see what was happening and I heard the Moslems shouting to each other that she was to be caught alive and I also heard bullets blasting somewhere about 50 m. away from me behind the houses. Because of the fire from small arms I could not see what was happening around the houses but I had to retreat towards the woods so as to save my life. At that point I lost all trace of my wife who was a very sick woman and could hardly move. Some time later I heard from my neighbours that the feeble Novak Simić, 60 years old and Vitomir Milanović, aged 48, were killed. I asked the villagers who were pulling out the dead bodies of these two men whether perhaps they had also found the body of my wife and they said that they hadn't although the whole area had been searched. On that day when the Moslems caught my wife they burned down my house and all the auxiliary structures around it, they drove away a team of oxen, one heifer and 18 sheep; before that they had plundered everything that could be taken away and they took it away using my cart. They also set fire to other houses, those of my neighbours, who were either alive or were killed.

Bratunac, February 5, 1993

Statement by:
sgd. Milorad Nikolić



Sagittarius

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 Verzonden: dinsdag 5 december 2006
 Onderwerp: n.a.v. Srebrenica op uw site

Was Srebrenica a Hoax? Eye-Witness Account of a Former United Nations Military Observer in Bosnia

by Carlos Martins Branco

Global Research, July 24, 2005

First published by GlobalResearch.ca, 20 April 2004

This detailed account first published in 1998 by former UN Military Observer Carlos Martino Branco casts serious doubt on the decision of The Appeals Chamber of the Hague Tribunal (ICTY) that "genocide was committed in Srebrenica in 1995."

"...Bosnia Serb forces carried out genocide against the Bosnian Muslims (...). Those who devise and implement genocide seek to deprive humanity of the manifold richness its nationalities, races, ethnicities and religions provide. This is a crime against all humankind, its harm being felt not only by the group targeted for destruction, but by all of humanity."

Under these premises, Radislav Krstic was found "guilty of aiding and abetting genocide" and sentenced to 35 years imprisonment.

For details on the 14 April 2004 judgment, see the ICTY Press release (19 April 2004) at:

<http://www.un.org/icty/pressreal/2004/p839-e.htm>

Michel Chossudovsky, 20 April 2004

Author's Preface

I was on the ground in Bosnia during the war and, in particular, during the fall of Srebrenica.

One may agree or disagree with my political analysis, but one really ought to read the account of how Srebrenica fell, who are the victims whose bodies have been found so far, and why the author believes that the Serbs wanted to conquer Srebrenica and make the Bosnian Muslims flee, rather than having any intentions of butchering them. The comparison Srebrenica vs. Krajina, as well as the related media reaction by the "free press" in the West, is also rather instructive.

There is little doubt that at least 2,000 Bosnian Muslims died in fighting the better trained and better commanded VRS/BSA. Yet, the question remains, WHEN did most of these casualties of combat occur? According to the analysis below, it was before the final fall of Srebrenica: the Muslims offered very little resistance in the summer of 1995.

I was UNMO [United Nations Military Observer] Deputy Chief Operations Officer of the UNPF [United Nations Population Fund] (at theatre level) and my information is based upon debriefings of UN military observers who where posted to Srebrenica during those days as well as several United Nations reports which were not made public. My sources of information are not Ruder & Finn Global Public Affairs. My name is not included in their database. I do not wish to discuss numbers and similar matters pertaining thereto. There is reason to believe that figures have been used and manipulated for propaganda purposes. These figures and information do not provide a serious understanding of the Yugoslavian conflict.

The article is based upon TRUE information and includes my analysis of the events. The story is longer than what I have presented here in this article.

It is my hope that it will contribute to clarifying what really happened in Srebrenica.

Was Srebrenica a hoax?

It is now two years since the Muslim enclave, Srebrenica, fell into the hands of the Serbian army in Bosnia. Much has been written about the matter. Nonetheless the majority of reports have been limited to a broad media exposure of event, with very little analytic rigor.

Discussion of Srebrenica cannot be limited to genocide and mass graves.

A rigorous analysis of the events must take into consideration the background circumstances, in order to understand the real motives which led to the fall of the enclave.

The zone of Srebrenica, like almost all of Eastern Bosnia, is characterized by very rugged terrain. Steep valleys with dense forests and deep ravines make it impossible for combat vehicles to pass, and offers a clear advantage to defensive forces. Given the resources available to both parties, and the characteristics of the terrain, it would seem that the Bosnian army (ABiH) had the necessary force to defend itself, if it had used full advantage of the terrain. This, however, did not occur.

Given the military advantage of the defensive forces it is very difficult to explain the absence of military resistance. The Muslim forces did not establish an effective defensive system and did not even try to take advantage of their

artillery, under control of the United Nations (UN) forces, at a time in which they had every reason to do so. Lack of a military response stands in clear contrast to the offensive attitude which characterized the actions of the offensive forces in previous siege situations, which typically launched violent "raids" against the Serbian villages surrounding the enclave, thus provoking heavy casualties amongst the Serbian civilian population. But in this instance, with the attention of the media focused upon the area, military defence of the enclave would have revealed the true situation in security zones, and demonstrate that these had never been genuinely demilitarized zones as was claimed, but were harboured highly-armed military units. Military resistance would jeopardize the image of "victim", which had been so carefully constructed, and which the Muslims considered vital to maintain. Throughout the entire operation, it was clear that there were profound disagreements between the leaders of the enclave. From a military viewpoint, there was total confusion. Oric, the charismatic commander of Srebrenica, was absent.

The Sarajevo government did not authorize his return in order to lead the resistance. Military power fell into the hands of his lieutenants, who had a long history of incompatibility. The absence of Oric's clear leadership led to a situation of total ineptitude. The contradictory orders of his successors completely paralyzed the forces under siege.

The behavior of the political leaders is also interesting. The local SDP president, Zlatko Dukic, in an interview with European Union observers, explained that Srebrenica formed part of a business transaction which involved a logistical support route to Sarajevo, via Vogosca.

He also claimed that the fall of the enclave formed part of an orchestrated campaign to discredit the West and win the support of Islamic countries. This was the reason for Oric to maintain a distance from his troops. This thesis was also defended by the local supporters of the DAS. There were also many rumours of a trade within the local population of the enclave.

Another curious aspect was the absence of a military reaction from the 2nd Corps of the Muslim army, which did nothing to relieve the military pressure on the enclave. It was common knowledge that the Serbian unit in the region, the "Drina Corps", was exhausted and that the attack on Srebrenica was only possible with the aid of the units from other regions. Despite this fact, Sarajevo did not lift a finger in order to launch an attack which would have divided the Serbian forces and exposed the vulnerabilities created by the concentration of resources around Srebrenica. Such an attack would have reduced the military pressure on the enclave.

It is also important to register the pathetic appeal of the president of Opstina, Osman Suljic, on July 9, which implored military observers to say to the world that the Serbians were using chemical weapons. The same gentleman later accused the media of transmitting false news items on the resistance of troops in the enclave, requiring a denial from the UN. According to Suljic, the Muslim troops did not respond, and would never respond with heavy artillery fire. Simultaneously, he complained of the lack of food supplies and of the humanitarian situation. Curiously, observers were never allowed to inspect the food reserve deposits. The emphasis given by political leaders on the lack of military response and the absence of food provisions loosely suggests an official policy which began to be discernible. In mid 1995, the prolongation of the war had dampened public interest. There had been a substantial reduction in the pressure of public opinion in the western democracies. An incident of this importance would nonetheless provide hot news material for the media during several weeks, could awaken public opinion and incite new passions. In this manner it would be possible to kill two birds with one stone: pressure could be laid to bear in order to lift the embargo and simultaneously the occupying countries would find it difficult to withdraw their forces, a hypothesis which had been advanced by leading UN figures such as Akashi and Boutros-Boutros Ghali.

The Muslims always harbored a secret hope that the embargo would be lifted. This had become the prime objective of the Sarajevo government, and had been fuelled by the vote in the US Senate and Congress in favor of such a measure. President Clinton, however, vetoed the decision and required a two thirds majority in both houses. The enclaves collapse gave the decisive push that the campaign needed. After its fall, the US Senate voted with over a two thirds majority in favor of lifting the embargo.

It was clear that sooner or later the enclaves would fall into the hands of the Serbians, it was an inevitability. There was a consensus amongst the negotiators (the US administration, the UN and European governments) that it was impossible to maintain the three Muslim enclaves, and that they should be exchanged for territories in Central Bosnia. Madeleine Albright suggested this exchange on numerous occasions to Izetbegovic, based on the proposals of the Contact Group.

As early as 1993, at the time of the first crisis of the enclave, Karadzic had proposed to Izetbegovic to exchange Srebrenica for the suburb of Vogosca. This exchange included the movement of populations in both directions. This was the purpose of secret negotiations in order to avoid undesirable publicity. This implied that the western countries accepted and encouraged ethnic separation.

The truth is that both the Americans and President Izetbegovic had tacitly agreed that it made no sense to insist in maintaining these isolated enclaves in a divided Bosnia. In 1995 nobody believed any longer in the inevitability of ethnic division of the territory. In the month of June 1995, before the military operation in Srebrenica, Alexander Vershbow, Special Assistant to President Clinton stated that "America should encourage the Bosnians to think in terms of territories with greater territorial coherence and compactness." In other words this meant that the enclaves should be forgotten. The attack on Srebrenica, with no help from Belgrade, was completely unnecessary and proved to be one of the most significant examples of the political failure of the Serbian leadership.

Meanwhile the western media exacerbated the situation by transforming the enclaves into a powerful mass-media icon; a situation which Izetbegovic was quick to explore. CNN had daily broadcasts of the images of mass graves for thousands of corpses, obtained from spy satellites. Despite the microscopic precision in the localization of these graves, it is certain that no discovery to date has confirmed such suspicions. Since there are no longer restrictions on movement, we inevitably speculate on why they have still not been shown to the world.

had been a premeditated plan of genocide, instead of attacking in only one direction, from the south to the north - which left the hypothesis to escape to the north and west, the Serbs would have established a siege in order to ensure that no one escaped. The UN observation posts to the north of the enclave were never disturbed and remained in activity after the end of the military operations. There are obviously mass graves in the outskirts of Srebrenica as in the rest of ex-Yugoslavia where combat has occurred, but there are no grounds for the campaign which was mounted, nor the numbers advanced by CNN.

The mass graves are filled by a limited number of corpses from both sides, the consequence of heated battle and combat and not the result of a premeditated plan of genocide, as occurred against the Serbian populations in Krajina, in the Summer of 1995, when the Croatian army implemented the mass murder of all Serbs found there. In this instance, the media maintained an absolute silence, despite the fact that the genocide occurred over a three month period. The objective of Srebrenica was ethnic cleansing and not genocide, unlike what happened in Krajina, in which although there was no military action, the Croatian army decimated villages.

Despite knowledge of the fact that the enclaves were already a lost cause, Sarajevo insisted in drawing political dividends from the fact. The receptivity which had been created in the eyes of public opinion made it easier to sell the thesis of genocide.

But of even greater importance than the genocide thesis and the political isolation of the Serbs, was blackmailing of the UN: either the UN joined forces with the Sarajevo government in the conflict (which subsequently happened) or the UN would be completely discredited in the eyes of the public, leading in turn to support for Bosnia. Srebrenica the last straw which led western governments to reach agreement on the need to cease their neutrality and commence a military action against one side in the conflict. It was the last straw which united the West in their desire to break "Serbian bestiality". Sarajevo was conscious of the fact that it lacked the military capacity to defeat the Serbs. It was necessary to create conditions via which the international community could do this for them. Srebrenica played a vital role in this process.

Srebrenica represents one of a series of acts by the Serbian leaders intended to provoke the UN, in order to demonstrate their impotence. This was a serious strategic error which would cost them dear. The side which had everything to win by demonstrating the impotence of the UN was the Sarajevo leadership and not that of Pale. In 1995 it was clear that the change in the status quo required a powerful intervention which would overthrow the Serbian military power. Srebrenica was one of the pretexts, resulting from the short-sightedness of the Bosnian Serbian leaders.

The besieged forces could have easily defended the enclave, at least for much longer, if they had been well led. It proved convenient to let the enclave fall in this manner. Since the enclave was doomed to fall, it was preferable to let this happen in the most beneficial manner possible. But this would only have been viable if Sarajevo had political initiative and freedom of movement, which would never occur at the negotiating table. The deliberate fall of the enclave might appear to be an act of terrible machiavellian orchestration, but the truth is that the Sarajevo government had much to gain, as proved to be the case. Srebrenica was not a zero-sum game. The Serbs won a military victory but with highly negative political side-effects, which helped result in their definitive ostracization.

We might add a final curious note. As the UN observation posts were attacked, and proved impossible to maintain, the forces withdrew. The barricades set up by the Muslim army did not let the troops past. These troops were not treated as soldiers fleeing from the front line, but rather with a sordid differentiation.

The Muslims not only refused to fight to defend themselves, they forced others to fight on their behalf. In one instance, the commander of a Dutch vehicle decided after conversations with ABiH to pass the barrier. A Muslim soldier threw a hand grenade whose fragments mortally wounded him. The only UN soldier to die in the Srebrenica offensive, was killed by the Muslims.

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"Srebrenica story" A journey through evidence and documents

Srebrenica - falls three times!

It is frequently overlooked that during Bosnian civil war, the town of Srebrenica fell to the Bosnian Serb forces not once (in July 1995) as most people know, but three times:

- 1) April 19, 1992 - Srebrenica falls to the Serbs for the first time. Srebrenica Muslims promise not to fight and offer their weapon. The Serbs trust them and offer autonomy in return. Only days later, though, the Muslims under leadership of Naser Oric, a cop turn war criminal, not only renege on the promise given - they start slaughtering Serbian civilians. The Islamic terrorists do it in their traditional, bestial fashion.
- 2) April 18, 1993 - After whole year of struggle and suffering where the West was supporting Bosnian Muslim side few different ways, the Serbs manage to militarily take over Srebrenica for the second time. With only tiny core of Srebrenica still under Muslim control, NATO countries threaten to carpet-bomb Bosnian Serbs if they do not withdraw. The Serbs agree but only under condition that peace be guaranteed to the region. The Muslims should disarm. All sides: Muslim, Serb and U.N. (i.e. NATO) representatives sign 11 point agreement that conforms to the Serbian demand. Srebrenica - the first "safe area" is born. NATO forces

(in U.N. uniforms) are to disarm their Muslim proxy - but they renege on the agreement.
U.S. secretly arms Bosnian Muslims.
Srebrenica terrorists are now free to continue their atrocities against the Serbs. Islamic terror is under NATO protection.

3) July 12, 1995 - In order to convert NATO from defense force into a World Policeman the Western governments are ready to wage all out war against the Serbian people. But first they need a good excuse. They need a holocaust story. Clinton's Administration tells Islam fundamentalist leader of Bosnia, Alija Izetbegovic, that at least 5,000 Muslims should die. The two set Srebrenica as a trap. Naser Oric, leader of Srebrenica criminals, provokes the Serbs for the last time and then secretly withdraws with his close followers. The remaining Srebrenica Muslim forces are now without leadership. They battle among themselves whether they should oppose imminent Serb attack - or simply surrender. Most of them decide to leave their women and children and try suicidal break through thick Serbian defence lines - all the way to the next territory under Muslim control which is miles away. This insane strategy exacts heavy price. Great! The West gets its excuse. The World Policeman is born. God gives NATO right to control the Earth.

The aftermath of this story is no surprise. NATO airplanes are followed by NATO troops and large NATO bases. Bosnia is but a colony conquered. The lie about "Bosnian Serb mass-execution of Srebrenica men and boys" is revamped whenever the West is to tie their screws tighter on the conquered but rebellious Bosnian Serb population. Despite years of digging and lack of any material evidence to the atrocious claim - entire Bosnian Serb leadership (both military and political branch) is declared to be "war criminals." The intention is to decapitate and subdue the Serbian people. The side effect is utmost racism that denied one whole people the very right to exist. In other words the West conducts genocidal policy against the

Orthodox Christian Serbs in Krajina, in Bosnia, in Kosovo, in Central Serbia.

It is high crime that the Serbs who settled in Bosnia in 7th century and who formed all the towns and villages through and through (including Srebrenica) are now denied the right to exist on the lands where their forefathers did for more than millennia. That is the true crime.

Let us now take a closer look at the first fall of Srebrenica.



NEXT:

[In 1992: Srebrenica surrenders to the Serbs - right away]



BACK TO:

[Srebrenica "massacre"]

Where am I? **PATH:**

Book of facts

History of the Balkans

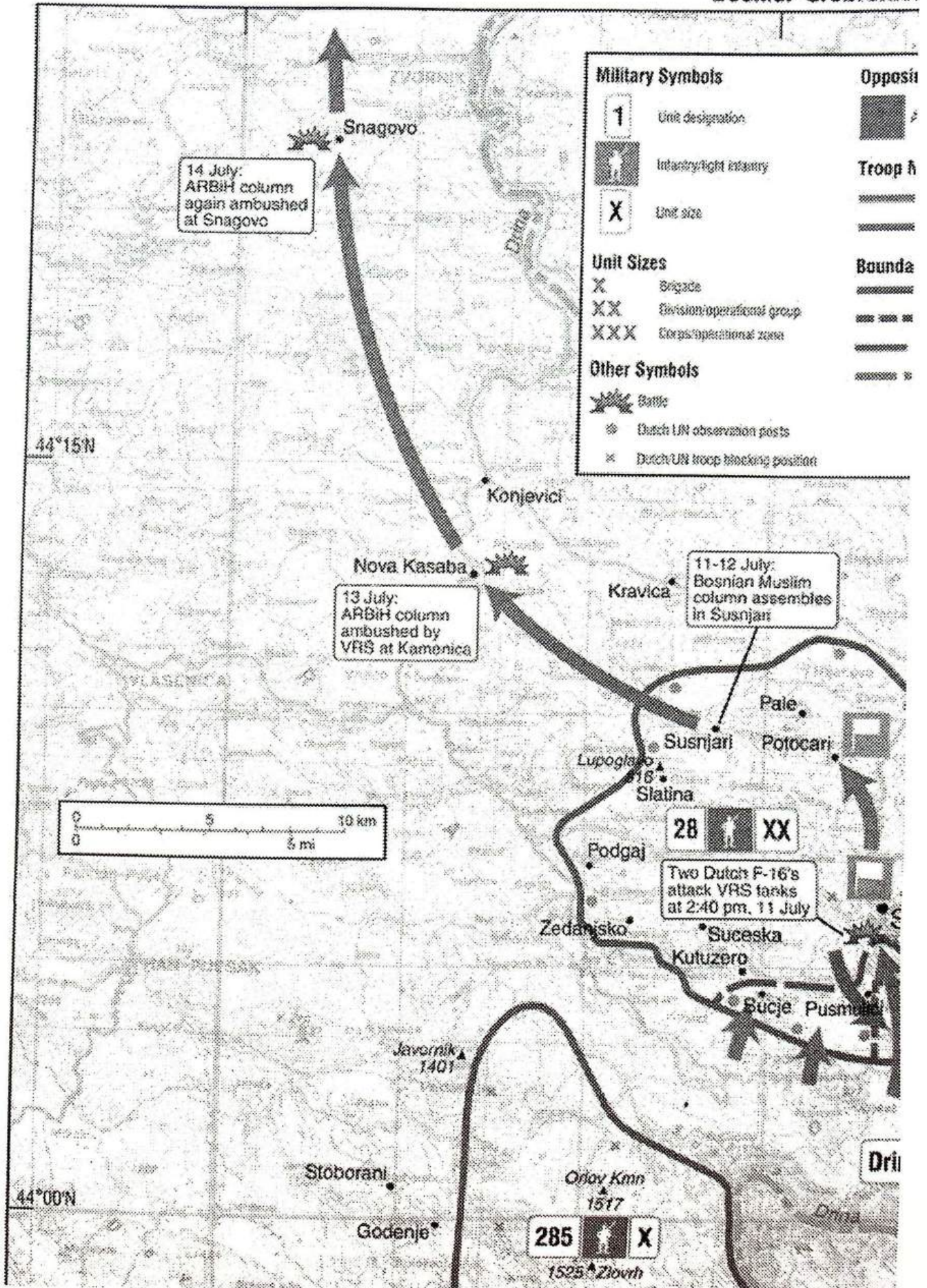
Big powers and civil wars in Yugoslavia
(How was Yugoslavia dismantled and why.)

Proxies at work
(Muslims, Croats and Albanians alike were only proxies of the big powers)

- Croats are resurrecting Nazi Croatia
- Muslims are resurrecting Turkish Empire
- Kosovo Albanians are making Drug Haven

1-3-2007

Bosnia: Srebrenica



Sagittarius

Van: "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>
Aan: "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Jenny Ligtenberg"
Verzonden: vrijdag 2 maart 2007 1:07
Onderwerp: Lies of the Vigilantes

Serbia called to account

http://oliverkamm.typepad.com/blog/2007/02/more_on_the_icj.html

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Sir, I find Janine di Giovanni's article today deeply offensive. She is clearly biased in her reporting. I have had family in Sarajevo during the so called "siege". Their water and electricity and telephone lines were cut off right at the beginning while their neighbours, Muslim and Croat, were unaffected. It was great sport in Sarajevo to round up the Serbs and move in Muslims after the owners of apartments simply disappeared. My uncle was killed by the Muslims fighters posing as doctors in Ilidza. Another relative was saved by the skin of his teeth because the butcher who rounded the Serbs up got too big for his boots and was taken care of on Izetbegovic's orders. The numbers di Giovanni gives of Muslims killed is also totally inaccurate. Please see <http://grayfalcon.blogspot.com/2004/11/bosnia-death-toll-revealed.html> from which the following excerpt was taken

"I don't like to make premature estimates. But it will be over 100,000, and surely under 200,000. Our list only includes persons killed as an action of war, not those who died of indirect reasons of war," says Tokaca who cannot give enough praise to the support of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

This number includes all three peoples Muslims, Croats and Serbs, who lost their lives, civilian and military.

To compare the Serb people to Nazis is deeply insulting, taking into account the fact that so many of them perished in WWII in Jasenovac and fighting the Nazis, Croats and Muslims who were their allies.

She mentions Srebrenica but does not mention Naser Oric who burnt, raped and butchered Serbs and destroyed their property, even killing the animals, in the surrounding villages, using Srebrenica as his safe haven after his bloody forays outside. He served three years at the Hague and is now a free man. The Dutch UN troops have a lot to answer for in turning a blind eye to what was going on. For someone who claims to be in touch with events in Bosnia di Giovanni could not have been unaware of what was going on. How could she stay silent on what was happening to Serb civilians? What was so revolting about the Serb civilians that she could not highlight their plight?

Even bringing this case before the ICJ was totally absurd. To brand a whole nation genocidal is unforgivable and I as a Serb am sickened to the core reading this. It is one thing to take sides. However, it is altogether another, to call yourself impartial and have your opinion taken seriously.

As Ms di Giovanni has put her case, I sincerely hope you will give me equal opportunity

Branka Perry

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I don't think there is that much that you are disagreeing about really.

I absolutely agree that the Croat attack on West Slavonia in May 1995 (a UN Protected Area) was a major factor in the decision by the VRS to try to "close down" the eastern enclaves (Gorazde, Srebrenica and Zepa). It is almost entirely overlooked in the western media coverage: for them it's a different country, different war completely missing the whole point that Serbs had been in one country

(Croatia) and wanted to go on living in one country not as persecuted minority under fascists (Croatia) or Islamic maniacs (BiH). The complete lack of response to the Croat attack and the NATO air strikes on VRS positions and supplies added further to the impression (correct as it turned out) that the decision had been made in the West to "change the situation on the ground" as the military guys would say. In June 1995 the Muslims and Croats launched a catastrophic attack against the VRS positions around Sarajevo: the Muslim infantry charged artillery and machine guns ("scenes from WWI" was how BBC Martin Bell described it) and they lost THOUSANDS. But even they couldn't spin that as anything other than stupidity combined with a callous disregard for their own soldiers' lives.

That's the background as I see it. The withdrawal of Oric in advance of the final abandonment of Srebrenica and Zepa is a bit confusing. As far as I know he was ordered out for "consultation" and then told that the political leaders would let the enclave fall. Oric is reputed to have disagreed and that the reason he was ordered out was because the leaders knew he would defend Srebrenica. Again it is reported that he led supporting troops from the Tuzla front lines to allow as many as possible of the men in the column of 12-15,000 coming from Srebrenica to make it through VRS lines. Many did, many did not as has been said. The real argument is how many died in combat and how many were killed after surrendering. Whatever the total (and 7-8,000 is way too high it seems) not all were killed in cold blood (however much they deserved it) as is claimed in the endlessly repeated media version. Even the ICTY doesn't maintain that (see the Krstic judgement summary which describes what I have said above)

Whether the Bosnian Muslims intended for a lot of people to die it's hard to say. If they all made it they were going to be redeployed (as the ones that got through were) in the upcoming operations which took place all over BiH after Operation Storm and under cover of NATO's Operation Deliberate Force. They also seemed to be happy to sacrifice men (as they just had a few weeks before around Sarajevo) and throughout the whole war they were always happy to serve up false propaganda and exaggerated atrocity stories to stimulate the armchair generals and laptop bombardiers who did so much damage in inciting hatred against all things Serbian. Once the stories about a massacre were doing the rounds that was the main focus. Then they were all "civilian men and boys" but I recorded a BBC news bulletin a few days after the fall. Annoyingly I didn't note the exact date but the words show it was within a week of the fall.

You can hear it here with QuickTime: <http://www.yugofile.co.uk/qt/1995071-22Bull.mov>

The text is as follows:
<start BBC>

In another development, Bosnian government troops have accused the Serbs of trying to slaughter units of their army which fled after the fall last week of Srebrenica.

The allegations have been made by some of the three thousand soldiers who reached Tuzla today after fighting their way through enemy lines.

They say that the Serbs ambushed their retreating column killing hundreds if not thousands of soldiers. It's not been possible to confirm their claims.
<end BBC>

I believe this is very important because there is no scenario I can think of in which these Muslims would describe civilians as soldiers (plenty the other way round) and it's a rare piece before the spin doctors hold of it.

Anyway it's getting late and I know I can go on for hours on this subject!

The truth will come out one day!

On 28 Feb 2007, at 20:57, dd chukurov wrote:

Andy is a bit confused:

"The real blame for what happened in Srebrenica belongs to Sarajevo. They ordered some 15,000 men and boys age 14 and older to break-out of Srebrenica and attack the Bosnian-Serb Army. ..."

That is not how Srebrenica's final chapter happened. I don't even know where to start to correct him. The Srebrenica happened after a Croat attack on Western Slavonia (May 1995, I think) and ethnic cleansing of Serbs there. At that time the B-H war was a 3-way affair – everyone against everyone. The West was giving impression of giving up and letting the situation on the ground be settled militarily. By West's allowing of cleansing of W. Slavonia (Croatia), consolidation of Serbian-held areas in Eastern B-H was a natural response. To facilitate that, and I think this was a setup by the West and BH Moslems, the

Sarajevo Muslim command removed Naser Oric and his commanding troops from Srebrenica making it easy for the Serbs to liberate the area. Considering what these same Oric and Srebrenica Muslims did to the surrounding Serbian villages over the preceding few years, this takeover was bound to be bloody and full of revenge. Some of their men did try to break through Serb held territories to Tuzla and Gorazde and a lot of them did not make it – they were killed in the process of doing that. On the other hand, some were captured right the way and some executed. However, not at the numbers the West suggests – from what I gather from reliable sources, overall deaths of Bosnian Muslim men was about 2,000, some killed in fighting some in revenge killings. All, in all, the West and the Bosnian Muslims did know what was going to happen, and they let it happen. They needed that outcome to start their own military action against the Serbs. We can go on with this, but, this is just a short version of how I understand Srebrenica happened.

As far as "genocide" is concerned, it did not happen. If anyone is guilty for the 2,000 or so deaths there, it is the West which allowed Srebrenica Muslims to stage killing runs from the "UN-protected" area, and the same West which allowed sacrifice of these men to happen for their own anti-Serb and pro-war agenda.
-ddc

On 2/28/07, **Anna Pullinger** <ajpullinger@gmail.com> wrote:

A couple of interesting comments on the Laughland article at slobodan-milosevic.org.

Andy Wilcoxson, who started the site and is a very astute young American with no ties whatsoever to Serbia or anywhere in the Balkans, became extremely knowledgeable through his work to defend Milosevic (this was something he decided to do after entering into independent research because he found the media information on what was going on in Yugoslavia fishy) and eventually became acquainted with Milosevic, himself. Andy is currently writing a book about Milosevic. Ana Dakic is very informed long-term participant on Andy's site.

Andy Wilcoxson
Site Admin

Posted: Wed Feb 28, 2007 6:21 am Post subject:



Joined: 20
Mar 2005
Posts: 238

I don't like Mr. Laughland's article. I'm not happy with the ICJ's verdict. Sure it's nice that it exonerates the Government of Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic personally, but it does so Bosnian-Serbs down the river.

The ICJ upheld the core lie that "genocide" was committed in against the Bosnian-Muslims but rather than blaming Belgrade it blames Pale.

The real blame for what happened in Srebrenica belongs to Sarajevo. They ordered some and boys age 14 and older to break-out of Srebrenica and attack the Bosnian-Serb Army. men was a mixture of soldiers and civilians, some were armed and had military training an

By mixing civilians into their military attack group Sarajevo is guilty of a war crime in Srebr violation of the Geneva Convention to use civilians to shield ones military operations and t what the Muslims did in Srebrenica.

It is a violation of the Geneva Conventions because the opposing army will invariably wind large number of the untrained and unarmed civilians who don't know what they're doing ar in the cross-fire during the fighting.

Whatever happened in Srebrenica – even if 8,000 men were killed – is the direct consequ SARAJEVO'S decision to attack the Bosnian-Serb frontline.





If Slobodan Milosevic were alive he would not see the ICJ's ruling as a cause for celebrati good for him personally, because it absolves him of any responsibility, but President Milos fighting for the truth and the truth is that there was no genocide in Srebrenica.

The central lie that the Bosnian-Muslims were the victims of "genocide" was affirmed by th was wrong to accuse Milosevic and Serbia, but it is equally wrong to accuse Radovan Kar. Gen. Mladic.

To call what happened in Srebrenica "genocide" is a gross abuse of the term genocide.

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Dakic Ana
 Posted: Wed Feb 28, 2007 11:46 am Post subject:


Joined: 20
Mar 2005
Posts: 833

True but on the other hand it is not all black. It also said in the verdict that genocide on the Bosnia DID NOT HAPPENED. Which means that at the time war broke out in Bosnia Bosr not have a genocidal intent (or the political leadership of RS) and when Alija sued Serbia in lawsuit had no merit. Which means that ICJ put the stop on the stories of "Serbian Aggress stories of "Greater Serbia" joint criminal enterprise.

This brings a question that RS have to insists on if the "Srebrenica" would happened if wor more balanced approach to war in Bosnia and condemned crimes of Alija and Oric - if they disarmed Srebrenica. (as you and me know). So this is something we can fight because e ruling it said that Serbia was aware of the "bad feelings" around Srebrenica. Million questic these feeling were running so high there and not in the rest of Bosnia (Zepa)?

By stating specifically that genocide on the level of Bosnia did not happened in 1992, 1993 Muslim story of how the war started fell into water. By saying that "...Finds that Serbia has to commit genocide, nor incited the commission of genocide, in violation of its obligations t Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; ... " it means tha Greater Serbia as the cause of war in former Yugoslavia fell trough ice.

That is a real victory and that is why Croats are now (yeah right) offering out of court agree are stupid). So now we have upper hand in saying that based on ICJ ruling we can point fir for this war where it belongs - Slovenia, Croatia, Muslims in Bosnia and Germany.

Whoever is a Serb and of Serb blood
And he comes not to fight at Kosovo
May he never have any progeny
His heart desires, neither son, nor daughter;
Beneath his hand, let nothing decent grow...

On 2/27/07, Anna Pullinger <ajpullinger@gmail.com> wrote:
http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,2022969,00.htm#article_continue

Lies of the vigilantes

The Srebrenica ruling punctures the false claims that underpin the doctrine of intervention

*John Laughland
Wednesday February 28, 2007
The Guardian <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/>>*

Slobodan Milosevic was posthumously exonerated on Monday when the international court of justice ruled that Serbia was not responsible for the 1995 massacre at Srebrenica. The former president of Serbia had always argued that neither Yugoslavia nor Serbia had command of the Bosnian Serb army, and this has now been upheld by the world court in The Hague. By implication, Serbia cannot be held responsible for any other war crimes attributed to the Bosnian Serbs.

The allegations against Milosevic over Bosnia and Croatia were cooked up in 2001, two years after an earlier indictment had been issued against him by the separate international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the height of Nato's attack on Yugoslavia in 1999. Notwithstanding the atrocities on all sides in Kosovo, Nato claims that Serbia was pursuing genocide turned out to be war propaganda, so the ICTY prosecutor decided to bolster a weak case by trying to "get" Milosevic for Bosnia as well. It took two years and 300 witnesses, but the prosecution never managed to produce conclusive evidence against its star defendant, and its central case has now been conclusively blown out of the water.

The international court of justice (ICJ) did condemn Serbia on Monday for failing to act to prevent Srebrenica, on the basis that Belgrade failed to use its influence over the Bosnian Serb army. But this is small beer compared to the original allegations. Serbia's innocence of the central charge is reflected in the court's ruling that Serbia should not pay Bosnia any reparations - supplying an armed force is not the same as controlling it. Yugoslavia had no troops in Bosnia and greater guilt over the killings surely lies with those countries that did, notably the Dutch battalion in Srebrenica itself. Moreover, during the Bosnian war, senior western figures famously fraternised with the Bosnian Serb leaders now indicted for genocide, including the US general Wesley Clark and our own John Reid. Should they also be condemned for failing to use their influence?

However, Monday's ruling is about far more than Milosevic. Ever since the end of the cold war, the US and its allies have acted like vigilantes, claiming the right to bomb other countries in the name of humanity. The Kosovo war was the most important action taken on this basis and, as such, the curtain-raiser for Iraq. Fought, like the Iraq war, without UN approval, it was waged partly because the international community felt it should have intervened more robustly against Yugoslavia over Bosnia. It now turns out that Serbia was not in control in Bosnia after all. The ruling therefore punctures a decade-and-a-half of lies in support of the doctrine of military and judicial interventionism.

The ICJ, indeed, operates on a radically different philosophy of international relations than that which inspires the ICTY. Unlike the ICTY, the ICJ is not a criminal court and claims no power of constraint over states. Its jurisprudence is based on the anti-war sovereignty-based philosophy of the Nuremberg trial and the UN charter. In the international system, born out of the second world war, war is illegal except in a very restricted cases. States have no right to attack other states, not even on human rights abuse claims. This position is based on the understanding that there are no war crimes without war, and that war always makes things worse

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Srebrenica: 3 Years Later, And Still Searching

By George Pumphrey

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- [Note: this article argues that the Srebrenica massacre was a fiction told to isolate the Bosnian Serb Army and justify NATO attacks. At the end you'll find links to other articles which expose NATO genocide stories used to justify the recent bombing of Yugoslavia.]

The third anniversary of the takeover of Srebrenica by Bosnian-Serb troops on July 11, 1995 has come and gone. The significance of this takeover determined not only the outcome of the Bosnian civil war, but reached far beyond the Balkans.

It was the events around Srebrenica, and the subsequent indictments against the Bosnian Serb political leader, Radovan Karadzic and the Bosnian Serb military Commander, Radko Mladic on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity, that changed the political constellation at the negotiation table at Dayton. With its leadership under indictment, the Bosnian Serb side had to content itself with being represented by Slobodan Milosevic, president of a, by then, foreign state.

The fact alone of an international tribunal being given jurisdiction over people and events taking place thousands of miles from the contexts of those sitting in judgement, without an existing set of legal norms creates already a new basis for the concept of "justice." Srebrenica has been the main source of this tribunal's credibility and its *raison d'être*.

As in the past two years, this year also the war crimes tribunal has sent out teams to search for mass graves containing the remains of the 8,000 Muslim soldiers that are widely believed to have been massacred in the aftermath of the takeover. But a closer look at the background of the Tribunal's search sheds a bit of light on the shadowy side of the Tribunal's work.

The New York Times published an article written by one of its correspondents, Mike O'Connor, (republished in the International Herald Tribune May 14, 1998) entitled "Mass Graves in Bosnia Bolster War-Crimes Cases." This article is very helpful in examining the work of the Tribunal in The Hague,

<http://globalresistance.com/articles/pumphrey/Srebrenica.html>

which is why it will be extensively quoted.

- Deep in a remote rural stretch of Bosnia, war-crimes investigators have found a tangle of buried bodies that they say is the remains of some of the 7,500 Muslim men that were hidden to try to thwart the prosecution of Bosnian Serb leaders for genocide. (...)

Exhumations in 1996 recovered 460 bodies, but 7,500 others were still missing from the town of Srebrenica. Finding the others has been the goal of war-crimes investigators for more than two years.

(...) The discovery Tuesday - and the thousands of bodies that investigators expect to find nearby - will bolster the cases against 2 Bosnian Serb leaders, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, the investigators say. Both have been indicted for genocide by the tribunal in The Hague.

Investigators for the tribunal spoke Tuesday on condition of anonymity.

Satellites that can locate bodies decomposing underground, according to foreign military officers working with the tribunal, aided the search. Witnesses to the reburial also offered testimony, tribunal officials said.

The first remains were uncovered Tuesday morning. Investigators unfurled a thin silvery sheet to protect their find from the sun. Next to it, small orange flags had been stuck in the ground to mark pieces of evidence such as bits of clothing or shell casings.

Tuesday evening, according to a tribunal official, a layer of tangled bodies across an areas of 200 ft² (18 m²) had been exposed. The bones were so intertwined, the official said, that it was not possible to exhume any of them Tuesday.

Proving that the soil around the bodies came from the original mass graves, or that shell casings found here match those found at execution sites, will establish the connection they are looking for, investigators said.

When the original sites were inspected in 1996, investigators suspected most of the bodies had been moved. Doubts were cast on American military's satellite surveillance, with some investigators charging at the time that slipshod monitoring had allowed Bosnian Serb authorities to move the bodies undetected.

Now, however, tribunal officials say the bodies were moved in October 1995, before the pinpoint satellite surveillance was requested by the tribunal. Once the original sites were discovered to have been tampered with, American satellite photographs of the region were reviewed and were found to

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show trucks and earth-moving equipment at the original burial sites, according to tribunal officials.

Anonymous investigators say that the find "will bolster the cases against [the] two Bosnian Serb leaders." The question should be raised: on what basis did the tribunal make its charges of no less than "genocide," if they now have to frantically run around to scrape up enough bodies to make their indictment plausible? If they now have to try to "prove that the soil around the bodies came from the original mass graves," does it mean that what they had considered to be "the original mass graves" were either empty or with too few bodies to justify the indictments? Were Karadzic and Mladic charged according to the principle: "Indict now. Look for evidence of a crime later"? "Charge the Serbs! If you don't know what for, they do" seems to be the *modus operandi* in The Hague.

But it was this widely publicized "genocide" indictment that has caused irreparable damage to the political and social constellation in this region of Europe, creating also a new set of political factors in the world. Some of them are:

- the discrediting of the United Nations for having supposedly allowed a "genocide" to take place on territory under its authority;
- promoting NATO as the new "peace keeping" force;
- making great strides to create public acceptance for inquisitorial, McCarthyist standards both in "justice" and "journalism" on both national and international levels;
- the definition of a new "moral" standard based on "human" rights, determined by membership in particular "ethnic" groups with rights to be respected and all others without rights worthy of respect;
- growing international acceptance of the concept of a people being classified *per se* as "evil."

This has all been made possible through a massive propaganda campaign colporteurung a - yet to be proven - "genocide," as if it were a certitude. Politicians have justified and based momentous decisions upon the supposition that the massacre is fact, decisions determining the welfare of the peoples of this region and beyond.

The media bases each succeeding generation of falsification on preceding generations of unproven factors. Both are so often repeated as a certainty, that the public does not even demand substantiating evidence.

O'Conner writes that "7,500 Muslim men were hidden to try to thwart the prosecution of Bosnian Serb leaders for genocide. 'Their' bodies were moved in October 1995, before the pinpoint satellite surveillance was requested by the tribunal." These and

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other allegations are in gross contradiction to other information published in the press.

1) The Numbers game:

First of all, the number 8,000 most often and most consistently given in the press is itself the first falsification. The prosecution has never proven that 8,000 Muslims were killed. It is indicative to note how the number 8,000 came into circulation.

The International Committee of the Red Cross published a press statement Sept. 13, 1995 in which it was stated:

- "The ICRC's head of operations for Western Europe, Angelo Gnaedinger, visited Pale and Belgrade from 2 to 7 September to obtain information from the Bosnian Serb authorities about the 3,000 persons from Srebrenica whom witnesses say were arrested by Bosnian Serb forces. The ICRC has asked for access as soon as possible to all those arrested (so far it has been able to visit only about 200 detainees), and for details of any deaths. The ICRC has also approached the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities seeking information on some 5,000 individuals who fled Srebrenica, some of whom reached central Bosnia."

Sept. 15, 1995 in the New York Times these numbers were juggled to make:

- About 8,000 Muslims are missing from Srebrenica, the first of two United Nations-designated 'safe areas' overrun by Bosnian Serb troops in July, the Red Cross said today. (...) Among the missing were 3,000, mostly men, who were seen being arrested by Serbs. After the collapse of Srebrenica, the Red Cross collected 10,000 names of missing people, said Jessica Barry, a spokeswoman. In addition to those arrested, about 5,000 'have simply disappeared,' she said.

Aside from simply adding the 3,000 Muslim men found still in Srebrenica (that the Serbs then took as prisoners of war) and the 5,000 Muslim men, (reported by the International Red Cross to have left Srebrenica before the arrival of Bosnian Serb forces) to inflate the figures - and therefore the gravity of the accusation - they make no mention of the fact that by mid-September 1995 a sizable portion of the group of 5,000 had already reached Muslim territory and safety. The fact that the Red Cross was asking the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities for information about the number of the 5,000 (the original figure) - "some of whom [had already] reached central Bosnia" - has completely disappeared from the news. The entire 5,000 are still today - 3 years later - being counted as "missing."

The Red Cross report was lacking the objectivity that one would hope for from a non-partisan organization. Its very off-hand "some of whom reached central Bosnia" gives the impression of only a handful could be accounted for by mid-September. But

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again the press gave another picture:

- "Some 3,000 to 4,000 Bosnian Muslims who were considered by UN officials to be missing after the fall of Srebrenica have made their way through enemy lines to Bosnian government territory. The group, which included wounded refugees, sneaked past Serb lines under fire and crossed some 30 miles through forests to safety."

O'Connor's NY Times colleague Chris Hedges published this information in the journal within a week of the takeover of Srebrenica (July 18, 1995). Similar news appeared in other journals at the time. August 2, 1995 the Times of London published the following:

- Thousands of the "missing" Bosnian Muslim soldiers from Srebrenica who have been at the center of reports of possible mass executions by the Serbs, are believed to be safe to the northeast of Tuzla.

Monitoring the safe escape of Muslim soldiers and civilians from the captured enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa has proved a nightmare for the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross. For the first time yesterday, however, the Red Cross in Geneva said it had heard from sources in Bosnia that up to 2,000 Bosnian Government troops were in an area north of Tuzla.

They had made their way there 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.

According to the Washington Post, "The men set off at dawn on Tuesday, July 11, in two columns that stretched back seven or eight miles." Even if the Red Cross did not know that they left Srebrenica in 2 columns, they at least knew that 2,000 were safe. And UN officials knew of the 3, - 4,000 that had arrived earlier. Yet the communiqué given in September failed to report that the 5,000 that "simply disappeared," simply disappeared back into the ranks of the Bosnian military.

The Red Cross must have been aware that a "Big Lie" campaign was launched around the issue of Srebrenica. By withholding and understating important information, the Red Cross was, in effect, a party to the conflict. It is unlikely that correspondents, such as Mike O'Connor, and their editors are unaware of the fallacious content of the reports they publish. The pattern of conformity in this disinformation campaign is, to say the least, astonishing.

A little more than a week after Srebrenica, Zepa, a second Moslem enclave (and UN Safe Area) was taken by Bosnian Serb forces. Hundreds of the "missing" soldiers from Srebrenica were among the defenders of Zepa in the last days of fighting. As the

New York Times recounts:

- **"The wounded troops were left behind, and when the Bosnian Serbs overran the town on Tuesday, the wounded were taken to Sarajevo for treatment at Kosevo Hospital. Many of them had begun their journey in Srebrenica, and fled into the hills when that 'safe area' fell to the Bosnian Serbs on July 11. These men did not make it to Tuzla, where most of the refugees ended up, but became the defenders of Zepa instead. 'Some 350 of us managed to fight our way out of Srebrenica and make it into Zepa,' said Sadik Ahmetovic, one of 151 people evacuated to Sarajevo for treatment today. (...) They said they had not been mistreated by their Serb captors."**

(The Muslim defenders of Zepa left their wounded behind as they ran into the hills. It is also well known that the 5,000 Muslim soldiers, who left Srebrenica before Serbian troops took over, left their women and children behind. Obviously the Muslim soldiers must not have been too worried about their women, children and wounded comrades falling into the hands of their Serbian countrymen. The Serbian forces, generally portrayed as comparable to Nazis, had the wounded members of the Muslim forces evacuated to their Muslim hospital.)

The London Times article, quoted above mentions that 2,000 Srebrenica soldiers made their way to the north of Tuzla "without their families being informed". The question is, when, if ever, were the families informed. Other than the few articles that took notice of their resurrection from the dead, the public at large was never informed that they, in fact were never massacred. On the contrary.

To maintain the myth of a gigantic massacre, is not only necessary to create the illusion of having proof that it did happen – thus the frantic searches for mass graves - but also to suppress the proof that it did not take place - which means prohibit that too many of the prisoners of war return "from the dead."

The figure of 3,000, given by the Red Cross, listed as having been arrested by Bosnian Serb forces, which is counted into the media's 8,000 "massacred," should also be taken with a grain of salt. One learns - again through isolated articles - that they too not only were not massacred, but that the Red Cross, the United Nations, and a host of "western" governments around the world all were well aware of this fact.

January 17, 1996, the Manchester "Guardian" published an article concerning one group of the former Muslim prisoners of war from Srebrenica and Zepa, who, liberated from the prison camp at Sljivovica - in Serbia, were flown directly abroad to Dublin:

- **"Hundreds of Bosnian Muslim prisoners are still being held at two secret camps within neighboring Serbia, according to**

a group of men evacuated by the Red Cross to a Dublin hospital from one camp - at Sljivovica. (...) A group of 24 men was flown to Ireland just before Christmas (...). But some 800 others remain incarcerated in Sljivovica and at another camp near Mitrovo Polje, just three days before the agreed date for the release of all detainees under the Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia (...). The Red Cross in Belgrade has been negotiating for several weeks to have the men released and given sanctuary in third countries. A spokeswoman said most were bound for the United States or Australia, with others due to be sent to Italy, Belgium, Sweden, France and Ireland. (...) Since late August, the Red Cross has made fortnightly visits from its Belgrade field office. (...) Teams from the War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague have been in Dublin to question and take evidence from the men."

Why would war prisoners, whose normal first wish would be to reunite with their families and restart their interrupted lives in peace, be rushed off to Dublin, with "papers to remain in Ireland?" And this at a time where most industrialized countries are closing their borders to refugees! Were their families informed? Could it be that they too - in a large enough group - could become living proof of the fallacy of a huge Srebrenica "massacre" before the 1996 fall elections?

US decided to accept two hundred and fourteen Bosniaks who, after the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, had been detained in Serbian camps and give them refugee status. "It is horrible that those people besides being captured during the bloodshed in Srebrenica had to spend at least another two months in Serbian detention camps under dreadful conditions," said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns. Burns emphasized that at least 800 men out of 80,000 people who have been expelled from their homes after the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa had been taken to Serbia.

This is how the US government justified their aid in secretly skirting the men out of the country. What is known is that neither the Red Cross (which has been visiting the prisoners since August), the Tribunal, (in its frantic search for evidence for the "genocide" in Srebrenica and to have someone arrest the Bosnian Serb leaders) nor the American government have made mention since August 95 of these men being in custody, as war prisoners. Why? Are they trying to conceal evidence exonerating the Bosnian Serbian forces of the charge of "genocide" in connection with alleged mass executions?

2) The vanishing corpses:

Like the juggling of the numbers of "missing" and their whereabouts, excuses had to be found for the lack of corpses.

In August 1995, during a Security Council meeting, the US delegation to the United Nations accused the leadership of the

Bosnian Serbs of having committed wide-scale atrocities against Muslim civilians. With what amounts to a satellite photo "peep show," Madeleine Albright had an excuse already prepared for the lack of evidence to support her charges. The NY Times in referring back to that session of the UN Security Council wrote:

- "On Aug. 10, [1995] the chief United States delegate to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, showed selected photos of the two sites to a closed session of the United Nations Security Council. She then said, 'We will keep watching to see if the Bosnian Serbs try to erase the evidence of what they have done.'"

One of the earlier versions was the vanishing corpses through a corrosive agent. In the same article, the NY Times adds:

- "American officials said today that they suspect Bosnian Serb soldiers may have tried to destroy evidence that they killed thousands of Muslim men seized in and around the town of Srebrenica in July. The Serbs are suspected of pouring corrosive chemicals on the bodies and scattering corpses that had been buried in mass graves, the officials said. The suspicions first arose in early August, after Central Intelligence Agency experts analyzed pictures of the area taken in July by reconnaissance satellites and U-2 planes."

With the absence of traces of a corrosive substance, when it comes time to dig up the "evidence," the entire legend falls flat. Another explanation had to be found: the bodies were simply dug up and moved someplace else. This excuse has its advantages: With the needle in the haystack search for "mass graves," the tribunal could keep the public at bay for quite a while. But also disadvantages: How do you remove thousands of buried, decomposing bodies without being seen by the "watchful eye" of Madeleine Albright's satellites? Undismayed by this factual detail, the Tribunal and media continue their course.

In Nov. 1995 the Dutch Minister of Defense, Joris Voorhove, accused the Serbs of "trying hastily to destroy the evidence of the massacre they committed against thousands of Bosniaks around Srebrenica." Citing "intelligence services" as his source, he claimed in a TV interview, that "these days Serbs have been exhuming the corpses from the mass graves in order to remove the evidence of their crimes."

Approaching the day of reckoning and desperate for more concrete evidence of the massacre, Richard Goldstone, the tribunal's chief prosecutor, wrote a letter to the US Embassy in the Hague in Nov. 95, to pressure the US government to come forward with the evidence it evidently had promised. The letter was quoted in the Washington Post:

- "Judge [Goldstone] called the 'quality and timeliness' of intelligence provided by the United States 'disappointing.'"

He complained about the failure to hand over spy photos that he said could help the United Nations-sponsored tribunal identify mass graves that appeared after the fall of Srebrenica in July. The judge also complained that much of the information provided by the United States so far was based on 'open-source material' not relevant to the original requests. He submitted an additional 25 questions to Washington, including a request for information about a transcript of a conversation between General Mladic and Yugoslav Army commanders who report directly to President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia."

[The reference to "open-source material," that the US government furnished the tribunal as "evidence," simply means that the CIA uses media reports, some of which are obviously its own propaganda plants.]

The Clinton Administration made public 3 of the 8 photos shown the Security Council. One of these 3 showed "disturbed soil." "According to one American official who has seen the photographs, one shows hundreds and perhaps thousands of Muslim men and boys in a field near a soccer stadium about 5 miles north of Srebrenica. Another photo taken several days later shows a large area of freshly dug earth, consistent with the appearance of known mass graves, near the stadium, which is empty."

One of the three photos reproduced in several newspapers showed two buildings, a main and subordinate road. Two light colored patches (indicated with arrows) in the middle of what could be a field with a parallel double-lined path (tire tracks?) leading from the main road to each of the light areas. The photo is entitled: "Possible Mass Graves; Kasaba/Konjevic Polje Area, Bosnia; unclassified Jul. 95." In the lower left corner the explanation of the arrows: "Recently disturbed earth."

As a NY Times journalist complained, the US government refused "to let reporters see the satellite photographs (...) which were said to include pictures of people crowded into a soccer field. American officials said the satellite photographs were classified, although Ms. Albright showed them to the other 14 members of the Security Council." This striptease sort of procedure, in itself, should provoke questions concerning the credibility of these photos portraying what we are told that they are supposed to show.

- Where are other more conclusive photos showing people in the process of being shot, dead bodies being removed, open pits being - or already - filled with bodies or being covered,...?
- How closely were diplomats of the Security Council able to examine (for authenticity, manipulation, falsification) the photos? Were they forced to appraise the photos quickly, or were they allowed to keep copies of the photos?

- **Why are photos purported to be the most important - those showing "Muslim men and boys," - hidden from the public? Do they actually show what the US administration claim that they show?**
- **How does the US secret service discern the difference between "hundreds and perhaps thousands of Muslim men and boys", from the same number of Serb or Croatian males - and that from outer space? The Security Council members apparently saw something different on these photos: A NY Times journalist following the presentation to the Security Council reports: "The photographs showed a stretch of fields at Novo Kasaba, near Srebrenica, where Bosnian Muslim families were apparently herded together." A mere detail? Which is the true story? The version "Muslim men and boys" given by the CIA official the day before? Or the one of "Bosnian Muslim families" the day after members of the Security Council viewed the pictures? Had they realized that they were viewing mainly women and children, (perhaps being "herded together" to prepare to be taken by bus to Tuzla)? Is this not a first indication that perhaps the satellite photos will not stand up under independent appraisal? Could this embarrassing discrepancy be the main reason why the satellite photos were made inaccessible to the public?**
- **Where is the original photo taken by the reconnaissance aircraft? Why was the original photo not shown to the Security Council? The labeling that accompanied the published photo: "Possible Mass Graves" was added after the photo was taken, meaning that the built-in time and geographical settings from reconnaissance cameras, were edited out of the picture and arrows and other written interpretations of what one is supposed to see edited onto the photo. Left to make ones' own interpretations the same photo could have been interpreted to show something having nothing to do with warfare in the Balkans. How does one know that the photo was taken near Srebrenica, or at the time that it is claimed to have been taken - and not at some other time in some other part of the world?**
- **Could it be that the US government knows that the origin of this "disturbed soil" has nothing to do with "Mass Graves"? Could this be the reason why the photo is entitled: "Possible Mass Graves"? Would this not also explain why the State Department and CIA found it necessary to launch rumors that Serbs had allegedly removed the thousands of bodies that were supposed to have been buried under this "disturbed soil" - albeit without any satellite photos to back up this new rumor?**
- **The assumption that several days after having seen a full soccer field, an empty one would signify that those formerly seen there had been executed, is so farfetched, that it could be dismissed as crazy. How many soccer stadiums remain**

filled overnight, or days at a time? If those seen had in fact been Muslims captured, why would the first assumption not have been that they had been taken to a prisoner of war camp? This type of explanation says more about the ethnic prejudices of the author than it does about those of Bosnian Serb armed forces.

In the Bible, faith is defined as "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." This seems a very appropriate description of the Tribunal's handling of the US satellite and U-2 "evidence." It was on the basis of these photos that the Security Council and tribunal accused the Serbian leadership of having committed a massacre. The Tribunal's indictments against Karadzic and Mladic were primarily based on faith in the journalists' faith in the Security Council's faith in the CIA and its spy photos. Neither the press nor the tribunal were given access to all of the photos, yet both take it for granted that the Bosnian leaders are "guilty as charged."

But once the indictment handed down, the Bosnian Serb leaders shut out of negotiations and the Serbian President Milosevic under effective threat (that he too could suffer the fate of his Bosnian Serb Brethren), the Clinton Administration showed little interest in helping "further the cause of justice."

The White House spokesman, Michael D. McCurry, and other US officials responded to Goldstone's complaints by saying:

- "There are certain types of intelligence information that our Government cannot share with the international community." The NY Times article continues: "Mr. McCurry cited 'national security reasons' as the reason the United States would withhold some evidence, and criticized the complaints by the prosecutor, Judge Richard Goldstone, as 'unfortunate.' (...) In defending their level of cooperation with the tribunal, Administration officials insisted that Judge Goldstone is getting most of his data from the United States and there would be no war crimes tribunal if not for the United States."

With this statement these "administration officials" confirmed what Serbs and independent observers have suspected from the beginning: that the tribunal is simply being manipulated by the US to serve its own foreign policy interests, and that its procedures have really as little to do with "rule of law" standards as its goals, with doing "justice."

It has been reported that in the New York central headquarters of the UN, all files relevant to Srebrenica have been classified "secret" for the next 30 - 50 years and are not even available for the tribunal. This decision was taken at the demand of the permanent members of the Security Council, the USA, France and Great Britain, in reference to their protection of the secrecy of government documents.

With what right does the US classify evidence that it claims to have, concerning what is often referred to as "the worst atrocities committed in Europe since WW-II?" One could understand the US government withholding evidence of war crimes committed by US troops. But what justification does the US have for classifying a "national security secret," crimes committed by those designated as "enemy forces?" Is the US administration hiding the proof of a crime or proof that it has no proof of a crime? Most disturbing of all is that hardly anyone raises this question.

As in November, the snow and icy winter began to set in, chances of exhuming graves were slim. Come January, and the approaching thaw, the Tribunal and their chief prosecutor, at the time, Richard Goldstone, began to get nervous. The US government was still not forthcoming with more conclusive evidence of a massacre. At one point, Goldstone threatened "the exhumation of the graves may become necessary in order to determine the identity of the corpses and the time and cause of death and to obtain the necessary evidence." What Goldstone formulated here as a threat should have been - if the tribunal were a normal court of law - the most logical first step for determining that a crime had been committed, a prerequisite for an indictment.

Confronted with the inevitability of the exhumation, American journalists began to prepare public opinion for the disappointment that would soon come when the graves turn up empty. Washington Post journalist, John Pomfret, visited a site that "according to a Western investigator, could be 2 of several mass graves in the region believed to hold corpses of some of the estimated 12,000 Muslim fighters." Pomfret observes that: "while dirt obviously had been moved recently around the sites in Glogova, if Serbian gunmen had attempted to tamper with it or destroy evidence, they did not do a thorough job. Bones were readily visible on the clay dirt, as were bandages, shoes and other things that obviously once belonged to the men buried below." Mr. Pomfret, does not take the tampering too seriously, since he leaves the efforts of the would-be tamperers at the level of "attempting to" and admits that they did it unseriously. Could it have been that it was supposed to appear as though someone had "attempted" to tamper. Since the region was being watched by American IFOR forces, maybe Mr. Pomfret has also information about whether the would be tamperers were Americans. Besides his inflationary reporting - pulling the sum of "12,000 Muslim fighters" out of thin air - it would seem that along with his "Western investigator," Mr. Pomfret must also have a very "special" source of information concerning the would-have-been tamperers: How else would he know, that they were carrying guns - "gunmen" - instead of shovels? Little wonder they did not do a good job. Ever try to dig a hole with a rifle?

Also to be noted, and not just for both Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Pomfret, many journalists have a privileged source: their anonymous "investigators," another name for intelligence agent.

It would be interesting to learn with what means the Serbian forces supposedly disposed of 7,500 decomposing bodies. Such an enterprise would not only take a lot of time and effort, but would also require quite a large space. How is this supposed to have been accomplished without having been seen by the hi-tech satellite and U-2 surveillance?

Mr. O'Connor also affirms that the US is using "satellites that can locate bodies decomposing underground." The question should arise: Why has it taken them 3 years to locate the corpses that they claim to be in the area since July '95? And they still do not have them.

(It should not be forgotten that simply the fact of finding a "mass grave" is not necessarily proof of a mass execution. In wartime the battlefield victims of the opposing side may be disposed of in this way, until a transfer of the remains could be negotiated with the other side, to avoid the health problems that their decomposition on the surface could cause, particularly in summer.)

The work of the Hague Tribunal has been highly praised as an "example" of what is needed on a more general basis as an answer to "war crimes" and "genocide." Neither the tribunal nor the press has produced substantial evidence 1) that a genocide was ever planned or attempted by the Bosnian Serb leadership and 2) that a large scale massacre - thousands of Muslims - ever took place in the aftermath of the Bosnian Serbian takeover of Srebrenica. And this after nearly 3 years of promises to bring proof to support indictments. It is as adventurous to speak of a "genocide" without corpses as it is of a "murder" without a victim.

To be sure, if this becomes the international legal norm of jurisprudence, no national legal system - no matter how good it is, will withstand the pressure of such a totalitarian judicial system. This sort of procedure if allowed to set in on the international level will determine also national judicial standards. Humanity will find itself being juridicially set back to the standards of the era of the inquisition.

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Sidebar: The Eyewitness, Erdemovic

Not anxious to exhume the suspected graves, and lacking other material proof of mass executions, the tribunal turned once again to its mainstay: "Eyewitness" testimony as "evidence." This is the most unreliable form of evidence, because it is the easiest to be manipulated and tailored to fit the desired circumstances. One need only affirm having been a witness to something. As long as the accused cannot prove the contrary - and the tribunal will not search for corroborating evidence to support the allegations, the defendant will be convicted. This turns the basic rule of "proof of a crime being with the prosecution" on its head.

When the "eyewitness" Drazen Erdemovic, came forward in March 96, asking to go the Hague, this caused a great sensation of enthusiasm in the Hague. Erdemovic described himself, in a confession to the French daily, "Le Figaro", as a "soldier in the Bosnian Serb Army." He said that he had participated in mass executions of Muslim civilians from Srebrenica, describing in details the massacres of 1,200 people on one field of a farm in Pilice, near Janja, on the road Bjeljina- Zvornik. According to him the executioners "used 7,62mm bullets."1)

With such detailed information, one would think that the Tribunal would finally have what it would need to be able to locate and secure the necessary evidence to bring concrete charges against those who participated. They would have to simply exhume the bodies and in a forensic examination verify if they had been killed with 7,62mm bullets. That is of course, if the tribunal wanted to learn if Erdemovic was a reliable witness or giving false information out of some personal or political motivation.

In 1992, in his native Tuzla, Erdemovic "first joined HVO (The paramilitary Croatian Council of Defence), then he went over to the Serbian side. In Serbia came in contact with ABC TV-station,2) and (...) offered his story, and his testimony to Tribunal in The Hague.3)" The International Herald Tribune adds: "Mr. Erdemovic, who (...) had been an ordinary soldier, said that after a falling out with his commander in Bosnia he decided to move to Serbia and tell his story, apparently in revenge."4)

Is this a reliable witness? Is it plausible that an ex-HVO paramilitary Croatian nationalist would have joined - would have even been accepted in - the Bosnian Serb army? It has also been reported - and denied - that chief prosecutor Richard Goldstone had offered Erdemovic benefit of the "state's witness" regulation, freedom from prosecution for himself and was guaranteed a new life abroad for his valuable testimony.5)

Erdemovic came to The Hague as a witness and became himself, the defendant charged with crimes against humanity, for his role in the executions that he described.

In an article in "The Nation," Diana Johnstone described the conviction as being:

- "heralded as a great "first" in establishment of global justice. [The Erdemovic] case is considered of great importance to the Tribunal since his confession of taking part in executing over a thousand Muslims after the Serb capture of Srebrenica is considered prime evidence in the Tribunal's "main event," the future trial of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic. 6)

She also points out the catch: However, inasmuch as he confessed to his crimes, there was no formal trial and no presentation of material evidence to corroborate his story. In any case, since he

had turned "state's evidence," there would have been no rigorous cross-examination from either a contented prosecution or a complaisant defense regarding the discrepancy between the number of Muslims he testified having helped execute at a farm near Pilica -- 1,200 -- and the number of bodies actually found there by the Tribunal's forensic team: about 150 to 200.7)

He was given an original ten-year sentence. Upon appeal, he changed his plea from "guilty" to a crime against Humanity, to "guilty" to a war crime. Citing among other things, "honest disposition; this is supported by his confession and consistent admission of guilt"8) his change of plea was accepted and his sentence was reduced from 10 to 5 years. (Does the "honest disposition" cited by the tribunal, would mean that those who defend their innocence would be particularly punished, particularly when the tribunal makes no effort of verifying the evidence?)

GP.

Sidebar:

1) Vanessa Vasic-Janekovic, A Man Who Knows Too Much (Covjek koji zna previše), quoted in the ARZIN index-60, 15.3.96

2) Why didn't ABC-TV take this "scoop" of a lifetime? The credit for breaking this story is "Le Figaro". This sounds like a common CIA "black propaganda" method: plant a false story in a reputable foreign paper to have the American press pick it up as a reprint. This hides the American hand at the origin of the story. The French press, at the time, was not as monolithically anti-Serb, as the German or American media.

3) ibid

4) Jane Perlez, Milosevic is expected to Aid in a War crimes Case; 2 Bosnian Serbs may face court, IHT, 14.3.96

5) cd sg Bosnien/UN/Jugoslawien; Tribunal verlangt in Belgrad Auslieferung von Srebrenica-Zeugen, dpa 12.03.1996 - 12:57

6) Johnstone, Diana; Selective Justice in The Hague: The War Crimes Tribunal on Former Yugoslavia is a Mockery of Evidentiary Rule; The Nation, 22.9.97

7) Ibid

8) Dražan Erdemović sentenced to 5 Years imprisonment; Press Communiqué of the ICTY;
<http://www.un.org/icty/pressreal/p299-e.htm>

* Opponents of the bombing of Yugoslavia charge that NATO leaders have once again fabricated evidence of Serbian war crimes to demonize the Serbs and justify bombing. This charge

gained much credibility when Spanish forensic scientists went public three months ago, charging that NATO had misled them and the world. Click on *[Spanish Experts Say Serbs Not Guilty](http://www.globalresistance.com/news/sp-news.htm)* or go to <http://www.globalresistance.com/news/sp-news.htm>

* To read the Emperors-clothes commentary on the Spanish experts' report, click on *[Spanish Experts Shoot NATO in its Logic](http://www.globalresistance.com/articles/jared/sp-comment.htm)* or go to <http://www.globalresistance.com/articles/jared/sp-comment.htm>

* Quite a few newspapers picked up on the Spanish experts' critique of NATO genocide claims. To answer the critics, Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte of the War Crimes Tribunal made a statement in mid-November. Emperors-clothes analyzed this statement and found it lacking. Click on *[Spinning the Kill: Albright's Tribunal Hastens to Save a Lie](http://www.globalresistance.com/analysis/spin.htm)* or go to <http://www.globalresistance.com/analysis/spin.htm>

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Bosnian Government soldiers from the enclave of Srebrenica, which fell to the Serbs last week, stopped for a rest Wednesday in the Government-held town of Kalesija. The soldiers had trekked for days through Serb-held territory, carrying their wounded with them.

P E R S O O N L I J K ! I N H A N D E N S T E L L E N V A N !

Geacht Kamerlid,

Misschien is het goed dat u zich, als lid van de parlementaire enquête-commissie Srebrenica, of als gewoon Kamerlid dat straks zijn oordeel moet geven over het komend rapport van deze parlementaire enquête-commissie, zich ook eens verdiept in een anderstalige visie op de zaak-Srebrenica.

Zoals hieronder weergegeven.

hoogachtend,

N.M.P. Steijnen _

SREBRENICA - ZONDER IDEOLOGIE

Hoe lang kan ideologie in politieke kwesties het beeld blijven bepalen, zonder dat men bereid is om de onmiskenbare feiten hun werkelijke plaats toe te kennen ?

Srebrenica vormt het, tot op heden, ultieme testobject voor beantwoording van deze vraag.

Dat antwoord moet zijn: hoe ongerijmd ook de ideologische fixaties, als maar voldoende maatschappelijke krachten zich daarmee verknoopt hebben, dan kan die ideologische bepaaldheid vrijwel onbeperkt doorgaan.

De ideologische lading blijft immers, als vooronderstelling en als ijkpunt, bij elk nieuwe studie fier intact. En overleeft zo, als een ongenaakbare rots in de branding, moeiteloos elk hernieuwd onderzoek. Of het nu een NIOD-onderzoek betreft, of een parlementaire enquête.

Toch nog maar eens een goedbedoelde poging ondernomen om een bres te slaan in de dijk van ideologische preoccupaties rondom de feiten van Srebrenica. Die dijk waaraan het overgrote deel van het maatschappelijk spectrum zo lang en zo noest heeft gebouwd.

De ideologie die rond Srebrenica gevlochten is, bevat onder meer de volgende componenten:

1. In Srebrenica hebben de Serviërs zich op de weerloze Moslimse burgerbevolking gestort;
2. Dutchbat, althans de internationale gemeenschap, had deze grootste genocide in het Europa van na de Tweede Wereldoorlog moeten voorkomen, of in elk geval meer moeten doen dan gedaan is;
3. In plaats van op daartoe tenminste pogingen te ondernemen, heeft Dutchbat nota bene meegewerkt aan het scheiden van de mannen en de vrouwen !;

4. Zo zijn uiteindelijk 7000-8000 onschuldige burgers afgeslacht, waarmee de Serviërs hun reputatie van de *bad guys* onontkoombaar bevestigd hebben.

Wat het eerste punt betreft: de vele Srebrenica-rapporten, die inmiddels het daglicht hebben gezien, spreken hier duidelijke taal. Van een 'weerloze' moslim-bevolking was in de enclave Srebrenica geen sprake. Er bevonden zich daar duizenden manschappen van het geregelde Bosnische leger en van paramilitaire eenheden. Het VN-rapport over Srebrenica noemt een cijfer van vermoedelijk ruim 4000 man. De aanwezigheid hiervan was lijnrecht in strijd met de voorwaarden, zoals vastgelegd in de betrokken Veiligheidsraadsresolutie en zoals ook toegezegd aan de Bosnische Serviërs. Waarbij een totale demilitarisering van de enclave vooropgesteld was.

Deze Bosnische troepen gedroegen zich ook allerminst onschuldig. Vast staat dat zij de enclave gebruikten als uitvalsbasis voor militaire acties en voor strooptochten in omringend Servisch gebied. Waarbij vooral hun commandant Nasser Oric zich onderscheidde door moordpartijen en beestachtigheden op grote schaal, gericht op de Servische burgerbevolking in de dorpen in de wijde omtrek. Volgens de Bosnische Serviërs zijn bij zulke militaire acties, gebruik makend van Srebrenica als 'safe haven', in de loop van de tijd zeker 2500 Servische burgers gedood. Ieder westers onderzoek naar deze claim is tot op heden achterwege gelaten, hoewel vaststaat dat er op grote schaal wreedheden vanuit Srebrenica werden bedreven.

Een voor de hand liggende vraag, die niettemin niemand opwerpt, is dan ook waarom Dutchbat, toch de militaire macht in de enclave, er niets aan gedaan heeft respectering van de Veiligheidsraadsresolutie op dit punt te verzekeren en demilitarisering af te dwingen.

Mladic heeft altijd gezegd dat de belangrijkste reden om Srebrenica als enclave te veroveren, gelegen was in de niet-nakoming van de verplichtingen van de betrokken Veiligheidsraadresolutie om de enclave te demilitariseren en in de noodzaak om een einde te maken aan de gewapende acties vanuit dit door de Bosnische eenheden als militaire voorpost benutte 'eiland' in Bosnisch-Servisch gebied.

Waarom dan ook op 'de internationale gemeenschap', of meer speciaal op Dutchbat, de verplichting zou hebben gerust om de val van de enclave te voorkomen, is een open vraag. We hebben het hier dan over de tweede component van het ideologische complex. Met andere woorden: onduidelijk is waarom 'de internationale gemeenschap', of een handvol Nederlandse militairen, moreel gehouden zouden zijn geweest een 'safe haven' te verdedigen die, systematisch en op grote schaal, in strijd met de volkenrechtelijke afspraken, door de Bosnische regering werd misbruikt als militaire uitvalsbasis voor duizenden troepen.

Des te meer is dat een open vraag, omdat vast staat dat het overgrote deel van deze duizenden geregelde militaire en para-

militaire eenheden zich al voordat de enclave viel uit de voeten hadden gemaakt voor het oprukkende Bosnisch-Servische leger. Waarom zouden 'de internationale gemeenschap', dan wel enkele honderden Hollandse militairen, de enclave hebben moeten verdedigen, terwijl duizenden Bosnische troepen op de vlucht waren geslagen? Nadat zij eerst zelf de wraak over de enclave hadden afgeroepen door stelselmatige militaire incursies in omringend Bosnisch-Servisch gebied. Wat een onsmakelijke verdwazing van Kok en zijn regerings-kornuiten, om bij de val van het kabinet-Kok zelfs te treuren om niet-betoonde lotsverbondenheid tussen Dutchbat en de moslim-mannen!

Na de massale uittocht van Bosnische militaire en para-militaire eenheden vielen er uiteindelijk - hoe daar verder ook over gedacht wordt - voor Dutchbat niet zoveel mannen meer van de vrouwen te scheiden. Nederlandse militairen schatten, voor de enquête-commissie, dat aantal op enkele honderden; zelfs als daarbij in de verwarring veel mannen over het hoofd zouden zijn gezien, een beperkt aantal in vergelijking met de het aantal mannen dat zich uit de voeten had gemaakt. Indien 'Nederland' dan al op enigerlei wijze verantwoordelijk zou kunnen worden gehouden voor het lot van de mannen in Srebrenica, dan toch in elk geval alleen voor deze eerste-doelde groep mannen, d.w.z. een paar honderd in getal. En niet voor de vele duizenden die al eerder de enclave hadden verlaten en zich daarmee al op voorhand onherroepelijk aan elke mogelijke beïnvloeding van hun lot door Dutchbat hadden onttrokken.

De steeds maar voortwoekerende suggestie dat Dutchbat eerst de mannen van de vrouwen heeft gescheiden en dat vervolgens als resultaat hiervan 7000-8000 Bosnische mannen zijn vermoord, is dan ook even brutaal als stuitend.

Over het immer gehanteerde cijfer van 7 tot 8 duizend tenslotte nog dit. Het betreft hier het aantal administratief vermisten. Ook als al deze in het administratief chaotische Bosnië als vermist bekend staande personen inderdaad als dood beschouwd moeten worden, dan zijn ze zeker niet allemaal vermoord. Vast staat dat er zware gevechten zijn geleverd tussen de uitgebroken Moslim-eenheden en het Bosnisch-Servische leger. Waarbij grote aantallen slachtoffers zijn gevallen, volgens meldingen vele honderden tot zelfs duizenden. Het Joegoslavië tribunaal heeft het in de zaak tegen de Bosnisch-Servische generaal Krstic niet aangedurft om hen die in deze gevechten zijn omgekomen als slachtoffer van oorlogsmisdaden te boekstaven.

Het Bosnische leger gaat er prat op dat er veel eenheden in geslaagd zijn om zich een weg te vechten naar voor hun veilig gebied. Niettemin staat vast dat er veel moslim-mannen gevangen genomen zijn. Hoeveel dat er waren en hoeveel er daarvan vervolgens zijn vermoord, blijft onbekend. Beperken we ons tot de aanklacht van het Joegoslavië tribunaal tegen generaal Krstic, dan ging het hier om een aantal van ongeveer 3500, dat ten laste werd gelegd. Krstic heeft, om procestechnische redenen, op dit punt geen verweer gevoerd.

Het vermoorden van grote aantallen moslim-mannen is vanzelfsprekend een onvoorstelbare gruweldaad. Evenals het vermoorden van grote aantallen Bosnische Serviërs, in militaire akties vanuit de enclave Srebrenica, een onvoorstelbare gruweldaad vormde. Voor eenzijdige verontwaardiging is niet langer plaats.

Om eenzijdige anti-Servische emoties op te kloppen, daarvoor bestaat trouwens ook politiek geen enkele noodzaak meer. De Bosnische Serviërs zijn al lang geleden door ons, westerse krachten, verslagen en 'gepacificeerd'. Ook Servië zelf is allang mores geleerd en voorzien van een pro-westerse regering. En Milosevic zit nu, als een trofee van de NAVO, gevangen in Den Haag.

Er is dan ook geen enkele reden meer voor om het ideologische staketsel van 'Srebrenica', inmiddels gevaarlijk uitgehold door de harde feiten, als het ultiem bewijs van de Servische moordzucht en schuld overeind te houden.

Dat dient geen enkel politiek doel meer.

Maar desalniettemin zal het, als een soort ritueel, nog wel lang in stand blijven. Totdat de wind van historie dit uitgeholde staketsel eenvoudig omver zal blazen.

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Oud-premier Wim Kok bezocht in juni Srebrenica, het 'veilig gebied' dat tussen 1993 en 1995 werd bewaakt door Nederlandse VN-soldaten, maar desondanks werd veroverd door het leger van de Servische generaal Mladić. Daarbij werden zo'n 7.500 Moslims vermoord. Kok ging destijds ook naar het onderzoekslaboratorium in Tuzla waar nog altijd niet-geïdentificeerde slachtoffers van deze massamoord liggen. (Foto WFA)

Het oordelen kan eindelijk beginnen

Zevenenhalf jaar geleden werd Srebrenica onder de voet gelopen. Een massamoord volgde. Nederlandse soldaten waren niet in staat het te verhinderen. Nu zal de politiek verantwoording afleggen.

Door onze redacteur
BAS BLOKKER

ROTTERDAM, 11 NOV. Het grote oordelen kan beginnen. Bijna zevenenhalf jaar na de val van de Bosnische enclave Srebrenica en de daaropvolgende massamoord op zo'n 7.500 Bosnische Moslims zal politiek Den Haag zich dan toch rekenschap geven van het Nederlandse aandeel in deze gebeurtenissen. Tussen 11 juli 1995 en 11 november 2002 is oordelen officieel uit den boze geweest. Het parlement heeft zijn stellingname opgeschort voor de duur van een regeringsonderzoek, uitgevoerd door het Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD).

Het NIOD-rapport is zeven maanden geleden gereedgekomen en biedt de lezer aan het eind van bijna 3.400 pagina's geen politieke conclusies of oordelen. „Dat“, schreef NIOD-directeur Blom, „dient in de politieke en publieke arena te worden gedaan.“ Vijf dagen na de publicatie van het rapport besloot toenmalig premier Kok af te treden. Nadrukkelijk niet als 'schuldbekentenis' maar, symbolisch, voor de falende internationale gemeenschap, die „niet bij machte bleek de val van de enclave en de genocide door de Bosnische Serviërs die daarop volgde te voorkomen“.

Zo werd nogmaals een politiek debat over de kwestie uitgesteld – de officiële reactie die de betrokken ministeries hadden opgesteld, kon weer in de la. Vanaf vandaag zal een parlementaire enquêtecommissie onder leiding van D66'er Bert Bakker beginnen met het openbare verhoor van verschillende betrokkenen en de voorzitter heeft beloofd dat hij vóór de verkiezingen van 22 januari met zijn bevindingen zal komen.

Er zal, door de lange tijd die met het NIOD-onderzoek verstreken is, geen betrokken politicus kunnen worden ver-

hoord die ook nu nog een verantwoordelijke positie bekleedt. En ook de oude legerleiding, die de komende weken gehoord zal worden, heeft al plaatsgemaakt voor een nieuwe. De enquête zal gaan over een voorbij verleden en lessen trekken voor een onbekende toekomst.

Voor de Groningse geschiedtheoreticus Frank Ankersmit en de Leidse historicus Rik Peters, die het afgelopen jaar college gaven over het NIOD-rapport, roept dat de vraag op of een historicus zich moet lenen voor een 'politiek onderzoek'. „Op die manier worden politieke kwesties jarenlang gedepolitiseerd en stort een geheel ander kabinet zeven jaar na dato ineens als een pudding ineen“, zegt Ankersmit.

Historici zijn de schriftgeleerden van deze tijd. Zij worden, meent de Leidse antropoloog Michiel Baud, in toenemende mate ingezet om in hedendaagse discussies relevant historisch materiaal aan te dragen. „Als een deel van dat verleden de samenleving in het heden voor morele of ethische dilemma's stelt, dan kunnen zij worden geraadpleegd.“

Baud mag als 'ervaringsdeskundige' gelden sinds hij op verzoek van premier Kok een rapport schreef over het verleden van Jorge Zorreguieta. De brandende maatschappelijke vraag of de vader van

de aanstaande bruid van kroonprins Willem-Alexander op het huwelijk van zijn dochter mocht komen, werd door premier Kok beantwoord op basis van Bauds studie: het mocht niet. Zorreguieta was, zo bewees de studie van Baud, 'te fout' ge-

PARLEMENTAIRE
ENQUÊTE



SREBRENICA

weest in het Argentinië van de generaals.

Dat NIOD-directeur Blom tot een afgewogen analyse wilde komen van „zo'n gevoelig thema, louter door het verzamelen van zoveel mogelijk gegevens, maar zonder expliciete uitspraken over politieke of moreel-ethische vraagstukken“, vindt Baud „enigszins naïef en wetenschappelijk onbevredigend“.

Sterker nog, het ontbreken van een „expliciete reflectie op de morele lading“ van het onderzoek vindt Baud „de grootste zwakte van het rapport“. De hele, tragische geschiedenis van Nederlands betrokkenheid bij Srebrenica is zwanger van morele kwesties – dat blijkt ook uit het NIOD-rapport. De uitzending van Dutchbat geschiedde op morele gronden. De Bosnische Moslims werden op morele gronden tot hulpeloos slachtoffer bestempeld. De Auschwitz-vergelijking sloop met gemanipuleerde tv-beelden van een uitgemergelde Moslim achter prikkeldraad de discussie binnen. En ten slotte werd Dutchbat het mikpunt van morele verontwaardiging toen na hun behouden terugkeer bleek dat er 7.500 mensen waren vermoord. En toch wilde het NIOD niet oordelen.

Volgens Ankersmit heeft in het NIOD-onderzoek *factfinding* de plaats ingenomen van de normale historische werkwijze: bronnenstudie, vraagstelling, argumentatie, conclusie. „Men heeft de historische werkelijkheid gereproduceerd. Dat is onaffe geschiedschrijving, als een natuurkundige die louter experimenten beschrijft.“ Volgens Ankersmit kan zo'n rapport ook geen functie vervullen bij het verhelpen van het trauma-Srebrenica. „Als je de historische werkelijkheid

slechts reproduceert, reproduceer je ook het historisch trauma.“

NIOD-directeur Blom ziet wel dat zijn rapport 'hybride' is. In een normale historische monografie zouden veel zaken niet zijn opgenomen die nu in extenso worden behandeld. „Het had wel wat meer afgewogen gekund“, zei Blom zaterdag in deze krant. „Wat wij belangrijk vonden, is in het boek niet altijd het meest omvangrijke deel geworden.“

Dit kenmerk van het rapport verklaart Blom uit de opdracht die hij kreeg. Er was in Nederland een 'sterke wil om te weten', en dan niet alleen de kern van de zaak: 'de tragedie in de Balkan'. Maar juist ook het afgeleide daarvan: 'de affaire in Den Haag'.

Als je het onderzoek half doet, zegt Blom, dan krijg je het allemaal over je heen. Hij verwijst naar Jos van Kemenade, die in opdracht van minister De Grave onderzocht of het ministerie van Defensie, dan wel de landmacht, informatie had achtergehouden over wat Dutchbat heeft geweten van de massamoord op de Moslims. Van Kemenade zei bij de presentatie van zijn rapport: 'Mensen, vergeet dat fotorolletje'. Daarmee wakkerde hij het gevoel alleen maar aan dat er wel iets heel erg expres mis moest zijn gegaan bij het ontwikkelen van dat rolletje, waarop enkele geëxecuteerde Moslims te zien zouden zijn geweest – als juist dit rolletje niet in het fixeerbad van de Militaire inlichtingendienst was verknoeid. (De maker van de bewuste foto's, luitenant Rutten, is vanmiddag verhoord.)

Ankersmit en Peters organiseren woensdag in Leiden een congres over het NIOD-rapport onder de titel 'Srebrenica: wat leren we ervan?' Beiden hebben lof voor het pionierswerk dat de onderzoekers hebben gedaan door talrijke bronnen bijeen te brengen, uit wanordelijke archieven en uit interviews met 900 personen. Maar ze zijn uitermate kritisch over het resultaat van vijftienhalf jaar historisch onderzoek. „Dit boek had tot op zekere hoogte niet tot een oordeel te komen“, zegt Peters. „Daardoor is het een gedesorienteerd onderzoek geworden.“

Toch zal grotendeels op basis van de door het NIOD aangedragen feiten, aangevuld met verhoren over die feiten, de enquêtecommissie haar oordeel vormen.

Enkele conclusies uit het NIOD-rapport

- Voortgestuwd door morele verontwaardiging en de grote ambitie van Buitenlandse Zaken besloot de regering in 1993 een bataljon uit te zenden naar Srebrenica, zonder voorwaarden en op basis van 'een zeer onhelder mandaat'.
- Het door de omstandigheden gefrustreerde Dutchbat maakte zich niet schuldig aan 'relatief veel wangedrag'.
- Er waren voor juli '95 geen aanwijzingen dat het Servische leger de enclave wilde veroveren. Toen de aanval kwam heeft Dutchbat zich niet 'krachtig militair verzet'.
- Aanvragen van Dutchbat voor luchtsteun om de Servische opmars te stuiten, kwamen (te) laat aan op de bestemde plaats, onder meer door procedurele fouten. Overigens overschatten velen de effectiviteit van het luchtwapen.
- Nederland verzamelde nauwelijks zelf inlichtingen ter plaatse. Bevelhebber Couzy wees een aanbod van de CIA in deze af.
- Tussen een medische eenheid en de bataljonsleiding ontstond een conflict over het helpen van de bevolking. Over medisch-ethische vraagstukken was vooraf niet nagedacht.
- De afvoer van de bevolking van Srebrenica stond voor Dutchbat voorop. Toezicht daarop was vanzelfsprekend, 'ook al betekende dat assistentie bij etnische zuivering'.
- In de nabijheid van de compound van Dutchbat zijn tussen de 100 en de 400 Moslims vermoord. Meldingen van Dutchbat daarover bleven zeer beperkt. De bataljonsleiding heeft daarvoor geen verklaring.
- Een onhandige persconferentie van overste Karremans ('no good guys, no bad guys') deed de aanvankelijke gunstige publieke opinie over Dutchbat omslaan.
- Een door de Landmacht uitgevoerde debriefing van Dutchbat schoot tekort; de kans dat misdragingen aan het licht zouden komen was door de opzet gering. Zodoende werd 'Srebrenica' in Nederland een slepende affaire.
- Een onderzoek van oud-minister Van Kemenade naar de informatievoorziening door de top van de Landmacht kwam tot de conclusie dat van een doofpot geen sprake was. Zijn rapport heeft echt 'onvoldoende overtuigingskracht'.

SREBRENICA

'Geen idee van val'

[• Vervolg van pagina 1] Groen verklaarde er, op het moment dat de Serviërs de aanval inzetten, nog geen rekening mee te hebben gehouden dat dit de val van Srebrenica zou kunnen inluiden, al waren hij en zijn collega's wel verontrust geweest over de uitzonderlijk zware beschietingen waarmee de Bosnisch-Servische eenheden waren begonnen.

Over de val van de enclave zelf en het lot van de vluchtelingen was Groen summier. Hij zei meteen na de verovering slechts zijdelings te hebben gehoord over het lot van de vluchtelingen, die zich op de compound van Dutchbat in het naburige Potocari hadden verzameld. Alleen een collega, luitenant Rutten, had hem verteld over geëxecuteerde mannen die hij had gezien. Hij zei niet te kunnen zeggen hoeveel

vluchtelingen zich precies hadden verzameld op de compound.

In de loop van de ochtend verhoorde de commissie ook nog luitenant Leen van Duijn, die toezag op het afvoeren van de vluchtelingen op de compound, nadat de enclave gevallen was. Tijdens deze afvoer pikten de Bosnische Serviërs de mannen tussen de vrouwen en kinderen uit, wat het verwijt aan Dutchbat heeft opgeleverd dat ze hebben meegewerkt aan het scheiden van de mannen en de vrouwen. Volgens Van Duijn had hij op dat moment echter geen andere keus. Op dat moment had de bataljonsleiding besloten de wapens neer te leggen en kwam humanitaire hulpverlening op de eerste plaats. Wel is het scheiden van de mannen en de vrouwen gemeld, aldus Van Duijn.

NIOD oordeelt niet unaniem over Srebrenica

2002

Door onze redacteur
BAS BLOKKER

ROTTERDAM, 9 NOV. Onderzoekers van het Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD) nemen afstand van conclusies die NIOD-directeur Blom aan hun onderzoek verbindt in *Srebrenica een 'veilig' gebied*. Dat blijkt uit gesprekken met acht van de negen betrokken onderzoekers en de NIOD-directeur zelf.

Het onderzoek naar de massamoord op 7.500 Bosnische moslims in de door Nederlandse VN-militairen bemande enclave in 1995 leidde in april tot de val van het tweede kabinet-Kok en tot het instellen van een parlementaire enquête. Maandag beginnen de openbare verhooren van de enquête.

In de epiloog van het rapport wordt zo nadrukkelijk geprobeerd het beeld bij te stellen dat alle moslims 'onder de ogen' van Nederlandse VN-militairen zijn vermoord, dat een belangrijke conclusie onopgemerkt bleef, aldus onderzoeker Koedijk. Hij stelde vast dat 100 tot 400 moslims zijn vermoord in de buurt van de Nederlandse militaire basis - veel meer dan tot dan toe werd aangenomen. „Dat zet de vraag wat Dutchbat aan misdaden zág in een veel ernstiger perspectief”, aldus Koedijk.

In een ander deel van de epiloog schrijft Blom dat de Servische troepen zozeer werden verrast door de vlucht van enkele duizenden mos-

lims uit de pasveroverde enclave, dat die uitbraak moet worden beschouwd als de „uiteraard onbedoelde trigger” van de massamoord. Vier onderzoekers zeggen achteraf dat zij die conclusie niet delen, twee hebben reserves.

In het onderzoeksteam waren heftige discussies over de verantwoordelijkheid voor de wreedheden in de oorlog in Oost-Bosnië. Sommigen achten de Serviërs de agressor, anderen, onder wie Blom, meenden dat de Bosnische moslims even erg misdaden begingen, maar de propaganda-oorlog beter voerden. Volgens een van de onderzoekers praatten sommige collega's op vergaderingen net als Dutchbat-militairen: „In Servië krijg je tenminste een goed hotel en [hoeven onderzoekers] niet op de grond te zitten bij een interview”. Ook onderzoeker Ger Duijzings hoorde soms iets te nadrukkelijk „pro-Servische geluiden” in de vergadering.

De studie kwam onder grote tijdsdruk tot stand. Onderzoekers kwamen er in de laatste fase nauwelijks aan toe elkaars bijdragen te lezen. Daardoor staan op vele plaatsen in het 5.507 pagina's tellende rapport tegenstrijdigheden. Twee onderzoekers zeggen: „We wachten op iemand die de vingers op inconsistenties zou leggen.”

• ZATERDAGS BIJVOEGSEL:
pagina 23



KAROLY LIEFENDEGER

Alles is Karremans is

► ZEMBLA, NEDERLAND 3,
21.15-22.00 UUR

Weer nieuws over Srebrenica

OVER Dutchbat en Srebrenica is alles nu wel zo'n beetje gezegd en geschreven, zou je denken. Maar blijkbaar klopt die gedachte niet, want *Zembla* heeft vandaag toch weer nieuwe onthullingen in petto, verzekert researcher Marcel van Silfhout. De programmamakers concentreerden zich dit keer niet op de gebeurtenissen in de enclave zelf, maar op de voorbereidingsfase (ze spraken onder meer met kolonel Lemmens, die al in een vroeg stadium zijn twijfels had over overste Karremans). Een van de specialisten die aan het woord komen is Jan Willem Honig, universitair docent aan het Department of War Studies aan King's College in Londen en mede-auteur van het boek *Srebrenica, Reconstructie van een oorlogsmisdad* (1996). Honig: „In de uitzending spelen twee dingen: de politieke besluitvorming en de voorbereidingen van het bataljon zelf. Op politiek niveau zag je dat eigenlijk alle segmenten van de Nederlandse samenleving een vredesmissie naar Bosnië wilden. Buitenlandse Zaken was sterk voor de missie vanwege het internationale presti-

ge van Nederland, maar bij Defensie was de animo een stuk minder. Mensen denken altijd dat de haviken op Defensie zitten, maar dat is een misverstand. Zij zijn het departement dat de risico's loopt en dat er later op wordt aangesproken, dus ze zijn meestal heel voorzichtig. Toch is Defensie uiteindelijk akkoord gegaan omdat men intern ook jonge Turken die wél wilde, terwijl oudere generaals als Couzy veel terughoudender waren. In de fase die daarop volgde heeft Nederland de onvoorstelbare fout gemaakt om niet bij andere landen als Canada te gaan informeren hoe het er in Bosnië en in Srebrenica toging. Men dacht het allemaal zelf wel af te kunnen. Een ander probleem was dat Dutchbat te licht bewapend was. Ze hadden geen kanonnen of zware mortieren, en ze namen bijvoorbeeld ook geen sluipschuttersgeweren mee, die de Britten en de Fransen gebruiken om artilleriebemanningen uit te schak-

kelen. Ook was er niet goed nagedacht over wat er gedaan moest worden bij een aanval.' Bij de voorbereidingen van Dutchbat zelf werd eveneens flink geblunderd,

zegt Honig: 'Bepaalde problemen met de commandostructuur waren al van tevoren te voorzien. En de Dutchbatters bleken wel goed getraind voor 'groene' (gevechts-) operaties, maar niet voor 'blauwe' (vredes-) operaties. Waarom ze uiteindelijk geen gebruik hebben gemaakt van die groene training, is een vraag die ook het NIOD nog niet heeft beantwoord.'

Zembla komt nu weer met nieuws. Moet het Srebrenica-verhaal steeds opnieuw worden herschreven?

„Dat is een beetje een paradox. De hoofdlijnen zijn al sinds 1996 bekend, maar er duikt nog steeds nieuw bewijsmateriaal op, dat de feiten vaak een stuk aanschouwelijker maakt.’

Wat vond u in zijn algemeenheid van het NIOD-rapport?
„Nou, I don't want to blow my own trumpet, maar ik vind dat Blom een aardige bevestiging heeft gegeven van de hoofdlijnen van ons boek.’

HC

Exceptions from western media on Srebrenica

It has been five years since the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) has retaken the small town of Srebrenica. These are exceptions from some of the articles that were published on Srebrenica case in the Western media:

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 hystorical 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-Hercegovina Assembly .

Shortly after, the BMA, led by Naser Oric, Hakija (Husein) Meholic, Zulfo "Suceska" Tursunovic and Akif (Enez) Ustic gave 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" acctually 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...."

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 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 before 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 metter of fact it was published that:

The Times, 14 July 1995 Muslim soldiers 'failed to defend town from Serbs' By Michael Evans, Defence 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 the main attack was carried out by a force of about 200, with five tanks. "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 centres.

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 was 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.....

...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- help Jan Pronk and later the minister of defence 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...

<http://www.balkanpeace.org/cib/bos/boss/boss03.shtml>

...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 master-piece 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.

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Oric Left Srebrenica On His Own Accord

Dani Interview with General Sead Delic

After the Serbian Unity Congress published at his web-site original documents of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina which bring into question the widely accepted version of the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, General Sead Delic, the then and now commander of the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Army, respectively, answer the questions of our journalist. Talking about the responsibility of military structures, General revealed so far unknown data and openly spoke about supplying of weapons to the Bosniak enclaves, the arrival of the commander of the 28th Division, Naser Oric, from Srebrenica to Tuzla, the breakthrough through the Serb lines in Baljkovica and demands that the enclave which was outside the reach of the Second Corps be taken out of its command

interview by Vildana SELIMBEGOVIC

Dani, Sarajevo, Federation Bosnia-Herzegovina, B-H, March 17 2000

DANI: Documents about the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa have made it to the Internet, but they still haven't been presented to the domestic public. What is the Second Corps hiding about the suffering of these two enclaves?

DELIC: Nothing at all. It is only in the interest of the enemies of Bosnia-Herzegovina that the real truth about the suffering of Bosniaks, especially those from the Drina River valley [Podrinje], is not made public. Our goals are very clear: we want to spread the truth in order to punish war criminals, establish the responsibility of the United Nations and the International Community for the fall of the protected zones Zepa and Srebrenica, and establish the responsibility within the ranks of the Army and political leadership for actions taken or not taken to reduce the number of victims or make sure they did not happen at all. Although the military organization is specific we have decided to open all of our archives.

In that case, what did take place in Srebrenica on the eve of its fall: there are allegations of conflicts among the local leaders, smuggling of humanitarian assistance and trade with the Ukrainian battalion based in Zepa which went on under the control of Srebrenica authorities, reign of terror by Naser Oric...?

I would prefer to answer this question more like an ordinary citizen than as a commander. An assessment of relations within political authorities, if there were any, and military structures, has never been made by us, at least as far as I know. I have heard about some of these allegations. I would say that there were two to three sources that indicated rather chaotic situation in Srebrenica. One of them was the Police, and as far as I recall, there is a letter, I believe sent from the local Police Chief to the civilian authorities in which he wrote about a large number of murders in Srebrenica and a generally chaotic situation. The other source, from which we could partially collect information and get insight in the local situation was the military security service. On the eve of the fall of Srebrenica, people were escaping from the enclave, so that we arrested six or seven soldiers from whom we obtained similar information. Also, the Security service using its methods managed to obtain some information. There is a third source: one of the UN officials who personally visited Srebrenica told me personally, several months before the fall of the enclave, about some of the allegations you've just mentioned. I do not want to deny nor confirm anything, but the fall of Srebrenica prompted activities to establish the true responsibility and we held a meeting here in Tuzla, attended by president Izetbegovic, Bakir Alispahic, at the time the Minister of Police, Hazim Rancic, the local Police Minister, and several key people from Srebrenica. For their protection I will not disclose their names, but for four hours they talked about the situation in Srebrenica on the eve of its fall and the fall itself, since, according to our assessments, the fall was more sudden than could have been expected militarily. We hoped that both enclaves, in the worst case situation, could resist for much longer.

Was Naser Oric among the participants in the meeting?

No. They were people from the Military and Police and also civilians. Naser Oric wasn't there, but commanders from that region did participate at the meeting.

Important command positions in the division, with rare exceptions, were given to friends and acquaintances of Naser Oric, although their military credentials were very dubious. For example, the defense was very shallow, there was no reserve line of defense at all...

All enclaves had a specific command and control system. The Second Corps, I have stated this on several occasions, demanded on several occasions, as early as a year before the fall of the enclave, that that operational group and division, respectively, be taken out of our command. The reason for that is that we had almost no influence apart from an advisory role. We had no way of verifying whether our orders had or had not been carried out, so that all of that basically amounted to a lot of paperwork. As a local, General Enver Hadzihasanovic was placed by the Chiefs of Staff in charge of assisting this part, so that all coordination of supplying weapons, equipment and the rest went through him. The role of the Second Corps was pretty minor and boiled down to preparing 30 to 40 soldiers, feeding them, providing

them with backpacks, boots and other equipment, so that they could carry 1,000 to 1,500 bullets to Srebrenica or Zepa. They usually went to Zepa first and proceeded from there to Srebrenica. If a helicopter went, we would find out only after its return. I have to say that I had no idea that that group, led by Oric, was coming to the free territory for additional training. Therefore that was more like patronage, relying on the Chiefs of Staff. On the other hand, Zepa was again a special case. I believe that the relations between the two enclaves were not smooth. They decided on their own how many weapons and how much equipment should be sent to whom. It is true that in practice only one man had some military training: late Ramiz Becirevic, the head of the headquarters. I think that that was among the justifications for pulling out some of younger commanders for additional training in Zenica.

That could be true, but the time chosen for that is very controversial. Besides, that is one of the questions that the military leadership has failed to answer.

I can only state my opinion. Brigade commanders were not in that group. As far as I know, Naser came on his own accord, no one had invited him. I know for sure that late Ejub Golic, a commander of a battalion, also came with them (he died in the breakthrough through the Serb lines), in order to have his responsibility for several murders in Srebrenica established. I know his case very well. The commander, Rasim Delic charged me with deciding whether to send him back or try him here, since there was substantial evidence that he had been implicated in several murders in Srebrenica. We discussed this for a long time and finally decided that his potential crimes do not fall under the statute of limitations, that he would be held responsible for them sooner or later and that the priority at that time was to send him back to Srebrenica. I thank God that he was sent back since he led the breakthrough from the other side. I am sure that Enver Hadzihasanovic had a plan, he even set up a small-scale model of the region, to liberate Podrinje. One plan was the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo, the other Podrinje. Because of the current political situation Sarajevo was given priority. Also the Chiefs of Staff requested plans for activities that would be directed from the other side [from the enclaves] in case of an offensive towards Podrinje. And as far as offensive activities during the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo are concerned, we concluded that a protected zone according to the International Law had a special status: no attacks, no military activities, although from the military point of view enclaves were the most sensitive spots in our military plans.

Is it true that enclaves did not receive special protection treatment and that there were problems within them?

I have between 500 and 1,000 statements by soldiers, and respected individuals from Srebrenica and Zepa made after the exodus that partly confirm that. However, Zepa cannot be compared to Srebrenica. Zepa was much better organized. The complete Zepa suffered far less casualties, almost all soldiers managed to get out of Zepa (apart from those who crossed over to Serbia), they arrived in good condition, with very few casualties. I would say that casualties were negligible in comparison with the total number of troops. They carried out their withdrawal in an organized manner, in groups. We expected that the inhabitants of the Srebrenica enclave would move towards Zepa since the Zepa plateau after all offers better conditions and is easier to defend.

You've just said that Mr. Enver Hadzihasanovic, as a local, was in charge of these enclaves. As far as I know you are also from Podrinje, and are officially his superior.

Once, at a meeting held near Pazarici, where all Corps commanders and president Izetbegovic were present, I said that it did not make sense that that operational group is connected with me only on paper, and that I do not have any significant influence nor the ability to help. For example, I could not use a helicopter to transfer ammunition, nor could I get ammunition, apart from sending them some of my own supplies.

Do you at least know how the military assistance that was delivered with a lot of trouble to Srebrenica was used? There are allegations that Naser Oric kept the sniper rifle Barret 12.5 mm caliber at home and used it occasionally for hunting; then, the anti tank weapon Red Arrow was used with fatal delay in the crucial moments of the offensive.

I haven't had a chance to discover how and in what manner these resources were used. I know that the group which came here and was supposed to be sent back in a helicopter was trained in use of the weapons that had been sent or could be captured by them. I even considered, since they refused to take an ordinary helicopter, to order them to return on foot, but I always had Ruzine Vode incident in my subconscious. In that incident, in winter 1993, about 70 men, out of 100 who had left from Tuzla for Srebrenica were killed. However, we also had information that Red Arrow, in spite of instructions, had not been used adequately; we even have information that, although its success rate is supposed to be greater than 90 percent, two projectiles were fired and missed the tank at the head of the column, which only encouraged Chetniks to continue their attack. I do not know whether this and other assistance was abused. There are some statements and indications that the humanitarian assistance was distributed exclusively by the military, that the civilian authorities were not involved and that the assistance was distributed according to the wishes of certain individuals. Of course, no one has been summoned by the authorities to establish whether that is true or not, but I think that a lot of that is true.

Two stories are making rounds among the inhabitants of Srebrenica: according to one, after the fall of Srebrenica Naser Oric broke through the Serb lines with a handful of volunteers; according to the other version, he cowardly refused to carry out that action. Which one is true?

I'd say neither one. I think that this story refers to July 13, when Oric received the order to carry out combat activities with a handful of soldiers and officers in the region of Medjedja. They left in the afternoon to try to establish a contact with units of the 28th Division that had headed towards Tuzla. One soldier, only Allah knows how, had gotten through two days before and crossed over to our territory near Kalesija. Based on his story we concluded that it was possible that they could head this way. Therefore, Naser was sent with radio stations since we thought that they would recognize his voice and that he would recognize his men, so that we could figure out which way they were going. Naser tried to get through with his group; they claimed that because of weather, it was raining, they were detected by the Chetniks [Serbs]; the Chetniks opened fire on them and they had to withdraw. There were no wounded. That was the last attempt of that kind. Naser and that whole group, when the corridor was opened, went out to meet with soldiers and people and withdrew with them to the free territory. They did not stay behind in the corridor to organize and defend it, but went along with the people. A two-kilometers-wide front was broken through by the units from Srebrenik, I believe the 211th Liberation Brigade. The 242nd and 243rd Brigades also participated in the action. These were parts of brigades, mostly companies. I personally went with Senahid Hadzic, the commander of the 281st brigade, who was at the time the only officer that got through, went to Baljkovica and crossed the paved road. That implies that I had the full insight in the situation at that frontline. Naser did not break through the Chetnik lines; he did try, but the breakthrough was carried out by organized units.

The Chief of Staff general Enver Hadzihanovic issued orders for carrying out of sabotage actions in the Serb territory near Srebrenica without any strengthening of the defense lines in the enclave. Why was that order issued? What information was it based on? Are you aware that the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina are arguing about which units should be credited with the success of these actions?

As far as I am aware, the Second Corps also received that order, but it was not related, unless it went out through the unofficial lines I mentioned earlier, to Zepa and Srebrenica. That was the time of an attempted lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo, and it is customary in military tactics to try to prevent the enemy from withdrawing, moving, and regrouping forces from one region to another. That was the goal of that order. The order was to, wherever and whenever possible, carry out sabotage and other actions in order to tie the enemy down and inflict losses and prevent him from moving reinforcements to this area. I do not know whether this order made it to Zepa and Srebrenica, but that was the period in which we intensified commando actions, and smaller attacks on certain objects, which confirms that the order indeed existed.

In mid-June, the command of the 28th Division sent to the command of the Second Corps the information about Serb military activities near the enclave. Among other, they specifically in that memo mention SAMs [rockets], movement of manpower in busses on the road Vlasenica-Bratunac, digging in of Serb artillery to the east of the enclave. What did the Second Corps do after receiving that information? What sort of information has the Second Corps withheld from the public in the meantime?

None at all. I am not sure where this line of questioning is going. I would be incredibly happy if all answers were here. We informed the superior command and set up a 24-hour communication link with the enclave. Muharem Efendic was in charge of that communication and recordings of all conversations are available. We also sent Oric and he was for a while with them non-stop, he directed them. We also have records of his orders. All of that has been recorded.

Among the documents circulating on the Internet is a moving letter from Avdo Palic sent to president Izetbegovic and several conversations and letters that imply the lack of synchronization in communication between the authorities in Zepa with the military and civilian authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Are you aware of the content of these conversations?

No, I only heard about that. I have never communicated with Avdo. I had been the head of the Corps for six to seven months, and I could not have communicated with them, but I did hear about that letter. Not only Avdo's letter but also of those sent by some politicians. I think that in Sarajevo, there is a physician who is from Zepa...

Heljic?

Possibly.

There are testimonies that the civilian authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, more precisely gentlemen Izetbegovic, Masovic, Muratovic, rejected the possibility of exchanging 400 captured aggressor soldiers for a secure evacuation from Zepa. What do you know about that?

Nothing. Negotiations were held at their level. I only know that we gave over 100 prisoners of war for children and wounded [from Srebrenica] who were held in the prison in Bijeljina. We exchanged soldiers for about two hundred, perhaps a few more, civilians, allegedly all that they had, only to save all that could be saved. I even held about 130 Chetniks until March in hope of being able to exchange them for a few more survivors. However, once there was no more chance of that, we had to turn them over to the Serb side via the International Red Cross.

The documents posted on the Internet state that General Mladic demanded to negotiate exclusively with Hasan Muratovic about the evacuation of the survivors from Srebrenica and Zepa and that the command of the Second Corps

rejected that out of fear for Muratovic's safety? Would you care to comment?

I don't think that I have exchanged more than two words with Hasan Muratovic in my whole life. I might have said salam [hello], once or twice, I don't remember. I know that the only person from that leadership for whom I struggled for was Ajanovic. He was in captivity in Dobo. I offered for him (the Chetniks demanded 50) once 15 and on another occasion 20 prisoners. He sent me two letters from captivity and I was prepared to make an effort to get him out, to assist in that, but I failed since they demanded more prisoners than I had at the time. Therefore, we never had the information that Mladic was interested in negotiating with Muratovic.

The documents presented on the Internet imply that the activities of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina boiled down to the statements of Rasid Zorlak, Rifet Bilajic, and Zicco Suljevic, who with salam and calls on faith in God and expectations of assistance from Islamic countries tried to calm down worried officers in the field. Would you care to comment?

It could be that the General Staff placed them in charge of Zepa. But definitely not of Srebrenica, since we had here a command outpost which was working properly. I must say that president Izetbegovic on several occasions in that period called me personally to inquire about the situation in Srebrenica, need for assistance, but I do not know anything about the activities of the officers you've just mentioned.

The documents I have been mentioning are presented on the web-site of the Serbian Unity Congress, an organization of the Chetnik emigrants in the West. In your opinion, how could have these documents ended up on the Internet. And what would be the goal of repeated drawing of attention to the fall of the enclave and the circumstances in connection with the fall?

I do not know if that can be explained in several sentences, but essentially, the goal is already known. We must not allow that that be forgotten and therefore it does not hurt to always work, investigate and write about that. This topic will burden the generations that lived through this war until their death. Probably, this is another attempt to exonerate the criminals and somewhat reduce the responsibility of the International Community for this crime. Even the UN Secretary General has said that Srebrenica is the biggest mistake of the International Community since WWII.

By chance, Dutch Minister Jan Pronk was in Tuzla at the time of the fall of Srebrenica. Later he traveled to Sarajevo. In his interview to Dani, he stated, about ten days before the fall of Zepa, that Zepa would be the last enclave to fall. Does that mean that the International factors had already known what was about to happen?

I have opened the archives of the Corps. The court in the Hague has also shown interest in that. Their [Dutch] defense is that one of our soldiers in Srebrenica killed a Dutch soldier and that consequently they turned against the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Another their defense is that the Serb soldiers, as they state in their reports, were a true army while on our side there was no military organization; they, because they were guests, were taking them to pubs, did what they did etc.

Will the General Staff of the Second Corps and the Joint Chiefs of Staff initiate the question of responsibility of our officers for the fall of these two enclaves?

That is a difficult question. I do not know whether this falls within the scope of that responsibility, but as a man I can state that I did all I knew and could. I did not fail to at any moment do anything I could and knew how to do. Those were my capabilities and the capabilities of the Corps. Whether we could do more or better, only history can tell. The war took its toll. Of course this was the worst genocide ever done at some limited area, if we take into account that some seven to ten thousands of people were killed and our whole Corps had during four years 20,000 soldiers. It is likely that there will be further progress towards that [sic]. Wars are such that simply some battles are won and some are lost. The ethics of our Army was such that, even when an individual made a mistake, we tried to use him as much as possible. I spoke about Golic: he was responsible for some crimes in that area, but we then decided that it was more important to have him fight than to send him to prison, since it would turn out that his punishment was a reward since he would thereby get out of the enclave. On the other hand we gave him a chance to improve. In general, as far as the military is concerned, we passed a report to the Joint Chief of Staff and I think that even president Izetbegovic has received a copy, so that he could decide who did less or did not do, and by his actions or inaction contributed to the fall of Srebrenica.

There are numerous accusations against Naser Oric, for terror...

I am not afraid of anyone, let that be known. I do not have a body guard; when I go fishing, or to play chess, I use my own car. I am not afraid of anyone. I survived and it is up to Allah until when I shall go on. I think that in that way somewhat tacitly Naser's responsibility was accentuated. Simply, he was replaced from the duty of the commander of the unit, he was not accepted to the Federation Army, or he did not want to continue to serve in the Federation Army, I would rather not discuss that, but I never heard that anyone complained about his recruitment into professional Army service. This unit, namely this division was reorganized, it became a part of a larger unit that is active in this area. None of those officers stayed on the same position as before. Most of them were degraded. We have wonderful examples, wonderful people who stayed in the professional Army. I would like to mention Husic, the commander of the armored

<http://www.balkanpeace.org/cib/bos/boss/oric/oric04.shtml>

19-7-05

oric Left Srebrenica On His Own Accord
battalion, or Smajo Mandzic, also a wonderful person.

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THE GLOBE AND MAIL, Thursday, July 14, 2005 COMMENT

The real story behind Srebrenica

By LEWIS MacKENZIE

This week marked the 10th anniversary of the United Nations' second greatest failure since its creation in 1945 -- the genocide in Rwanda being the undisputed No. 1. With much fanfare, the ceremonies focused on the massacre of "up to" 8,000 Bosnian men and boys by General Ratko Mladic's Bosnian Serb army in Srebrenica in July of 1995.

In the vast majority of recent media reports, the background and responsibilities for the disaster in Srebrenica were absent. Preferred was the simple explanation: a black and white event in which the Serbs were solely to blame.

As someone who played a modest role in some of the events preceding the massacre, perhaps a little background will provide some context. In early 1993, after my release from the Canadian Forces, I was asked to appear before a number of U.S. congressional committees dealing with Bosnia. A few months earlier, my successor in the UN Protection Force, General Philippe Morillon, had --against the advice of his UN masters -- bullied his way into Srebrenica accompanied by a tiny contingent of Canadian soldiers and told its citizens they were now under the protection of the UN. The folks at the UN in New York were furious with Gen. Morillon but, with the media on his side, they were forced to introduce the "safe haven" concept for six areas of Bosnia, including Srebrenica.

Wondering what this concept would mean, one U.S. senator asked me how many troops it would take to defend the safe havens. "Somewhere in the neighbourhood of 135,000 troops," I replied. It had to be that large because of the Serb artillery's range. The new UN commander on the ground in Bosnia, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, said he agreed with my assessment but was prepared to try to defend the areas with 65,000 additional troops. The secretary-general of the day, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, went to the Security Council and recommended 27,500 additional troops. The Security Council approved a force of 12,000 and, six months later, fewer than 2,000 additional soldiers had been added to UNPROFOR for the safe-haven tasks.

Then the Security Council changed the wording of the safe-haven resolution from "the UN will defend the safe havens" to "by their presence will the UN deter attacks on the safe havens." In other words, a tiny, token, lightly armed UN contingent would be placed as sacrificial lambs in Srebrenica to "deter" the Bosnian Serb army.

It didn't take long for the Bosnian Muslims to realize that the UN was in no position to live up to its promise to "protect" Srebrenica. With some help from outsiders, they began to infiltrate thousands of fighters and weapons into the safe haven. As the Bosnian Muslim fighters became better equipped and trained, they started to venture outside Srebrenica, burning Serb villages and killing their occupants before quickly withdrawing to the security provided by the UN's safe haven. These attacks reached a crescendo in 1994 and carried on into early 1995 after the Canadian infantry company that had been there for a year was replaced by a larger Dutch contingent.

The Bosnian Serbs might have had the heaviest weapons, but the Bosnian Muslims matched them in infantry skills that were much in demand in the rugged terrain around Srebrenica. As the snow cleared in the spring of 1995, it became obvious to Nasar Oric, the man who led the Bosnian Muslim fighters, that the Bosnian Serb army was going to attack Srebrenica to stop him from attacking Serb villages. So he and a large number of his fighters slipped out of town. Srebrenica was left undefended with the strategic thought that, if the Serbs attacked an undefended town, surely that would cause NATO and the UN to agree that NATO air strikes against the Serbs were justified. And so the Bosnian Serb army strolled into Srebrenica without opposition.

What happened next is only debatable in scale. The Bosnian Muslim men and older boys were singled out and the elderly, women and children were moved out or pushed in the direction of Tuzla and safety. It's a distasteful point, but it has to be said that, if you're committing genocide, you don't let the women go since they are key to perpetuating the very group you are trying to eliminate. Many of the men and boys were executed and buried in mass graves.

Evidence given at The Hague war crimes tribunal casts serious doubt on the figure of "up to" 8,000 Bosnian Muslims massacred. That figure includes "up to" 5,000 who have been classified as missing. More than 2,000 bodies have been recovered in and around Srebrenica, and they include victims of the three years of intense fighting in the area. The math just doesn't support the scale of 8,000 killed.

Nasar Oric, the Bosnian Muslim military leader in Srebrenica, is currently on trial in The Hague for war crimes committed during his "defence" of the town. Evidence to date suggests that he was responsible for killing as many Serb civilians outside Srebrenica as the Bosnian Serb army was for massacring Bosnian Muslims inside the town.

Two wrongs never made a right, but those moments in history that shame us all because of our indifference should not be viewed in isolation without the context that created them.

Retired major-general Lewis MacKenzie was the first commander of UN peacekeeping forces in Sarajevo.

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Onderwerp: Weapons, Cash and Chaos Lend Clout to Srebrenica's Tough Guy

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Weapons, Cash and Chaos Lend Clout to Srebrenica's Tough Guy

By: John Pomfret, Washington Post Foreign Service, The Washington Post, February 16, 1994

SREBRENICA, Bosnia: Nasir Oric's war trophies don't line the wall of his comfortable apartment— one of the few with electricity in this besieged Muslim enclave stuck in the forbidding mountains of eastern Bosnia. They're on a videocassette tape: burned Serb houses and headless Serb men, their bodies crumpled in a pathetic heap.

"We had to use cold weapons that night," Oric explains as scenes of dead men sliced by knives roll over his 21-inch Sony. "This is the house of a Serb named Ratso," he offers as the camera cuts to a burned-out ruin. "He killed two of my men, so we torched it. Tough luck."

Reclining on an overstuffed couch, clothed head to toe in camouflage fatigues, a U.S. Army patch proudly displayed over his heart, Oric gives the impression of a lion in his den. For sure, the Muslim commander is the toughest guy in this town, which the U.N. Security Council has declared a protected "safe area."

Perhaps the time for toughness in Bosnia is nearing an end. The problem, though, is that hundreds of men like Oric who still want to fight dominate all three sides in this 22-month-old war. Nobody controls them; they have access to plenty of weapons and lead many young men. And, if anything, Balkan tradition is on their side.

As the United Nations seeks to make a cease-fire work in Sarajevo under the threat of NATO airstrikes, officials face the issue of how to neutralize men like Oric. "I won't let these people destroy the peace," British army Lt. Gen. Michael Rose, commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia, told people in Sarajevo last weekend, referring to fighters who kept firing after the cease-fire began. "If we find out who they are, we will put their pictures on television and tell the world they not serving your interests."

But Oric and others like him have other plans — in Sarajevo and elsewhere. For him and his counterparts within Bosnian Serb and Croat paramilitary units, the war has been a godsend. While the vast majority of the 44,000 people crammed into this enclave about 50 miles east of Sarajevo have no fuel, Oric rents out his car — a shiny black Volkswagen Golf. While most people spend their days and nights without electricity, Oric has power 24 hours a day. His generator runs on black-market diesel oil. It's only natural, because he's the biggest dealer in town.

These days Oric's men aren't fighting much — although occasionally they sneak up behind the observation posts established by the Canadian U.N. troops on the borders of the "safe area" and take potshots at the 3,500 well-armed Serbs besieging Srebrenica.

His troops' main task is making a nine-hour trudge, across Serb lines, to the next U.N. "safe area" to the south: Zepa, where the Ukrainian U.N. troops are more amenable to deals than the 150-odd Canadian infantrymen here.

A formidably muscled 27-year-old with a patchy black beard, Oric, a native of Srebrenica, kicked around for several years after graduating from trade school, where he learned metalworking. In 1987, out of work in Belgrade, he joined the Serbian capital's police department and within several months was transferred to the republic's police force, participating in a crackdown on Muslim ethnic Albanians.

"I'm a man of action," he said in a recent interview. "I like adventure."

The highlight of Oric's career came when he served for two years as a personal bodyguard to Serbia's nationalist president, Slobodan Milosevic, the man credited in the West with igniting Yugoslavia's conflagration.

"I was a professional," Oric said. "It was a good, secure job."

Oric left the Serbian police early in 1992, when Serb nationalist fervor reached its peak. He was back in eastern Bosnia when the war broke out that April.

Last winter, a Serb attack on the Muslim villages of Cerska and Koljevic Polje pushed Oric and his men into Srebrenica. If not for the intercession of U.N. troops, Oric would either be dead, in a prisoner of war camp or living in the hills.

But Oric, who was wounded three times, sees it differently: "The U.N. saved the Serbs from our counterattack. We were ready to take it all back."

Part of Oric's appeal to this refugee-packed town is that he tells displaced Muslims what they want to hear. He will win them back their homes; he will avenge their dead mothers and fathers, raped sisters and cousins.

"As long as I am in Srebrenica," he said, "it will never be Serb. We will protect the hearths of our people. We will never be Palestinians."

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Analysis. By George Bogdanich(1). Ten years of reflection since the end of the war in Bosnia should have provided ample time to put that conflict into proper historical perspective. But judging from a recently proposed, but politically skewed, US Congressional resolution, such is not the case. The resolution in question singles out and seriously inflates reported abuses by Bosnian Serb forces following the capture of Srebrenica in 1995, and conveniently ignores equally brutal and even larger military operations directed against the ethnic Serb civilian population, both before and after Srebrenica, in the UN protected areas of Western Slavonia and the Krajina. These brutal, ethnic cleansing attacks were conducted by Croatian forces

med, trained and logistically supported by the US.

In the Autumn of 1995, former Deputy NATO Commander Charles Boyd noted in Foreign Affairs that

"more than 90 percent of the Serbs of Western Slavonia were ethnically cleansed when Croatian troops overran that UN protected area in May .This operation appears to differ from Serbian actions around the UN safe areas of Srebrenica and Zepa only in the degree of Western hand-wringing and CNN footage the latter have elicited. Ethnic cleansing evokes condemnation only when it is committed by Serbs, not against them."

Operation Flash, which took place more than a month before Srebrenica, was a straight out attack on the civilian population - men, women and children - of a UN Protected Area (UNPA), directly authorized by US President Bill Clinton. "Many Serbs perished in heavy Croatian tank, artillery and aerial bombardments on Monday and Tuesday as they tried to flee southward toward the Sava River bridge into Bosnia," wrote Roger Cohen of The New York Times, adding "The estimate of 450 Serbian dead given by Gojko Susak, the Croatian Defense Minister appears to be conservative." Very conservative. Officials of the Serbian Orthodox Church put the number of murdered civilians in the thousands.

"By acquiescing to the Croatian Government's seizure of Western Slavonia," European Union envoy Lord David Owen, observed, "the [US-dominated] Contact Group had in effect given the green light to Bosnian Serbs to attack Srebrenica and Zepa." Under existing UN resolutions, an attack on a safe area could be used to justify NATO intervention. This was a policy that the US used selectively, denying requests (including at least one from the UNPROFOR Commander in Sarajevo) to punish Muslim or Croatian violations, but urging NATO bombing when Bosnian Serbs responded to provocations out of "safe zones" that had never been demilitarized. UN Gen. Francis Briquemont wrote in 1994:

When the Bosnian Army attacks the Serbs from a Safe Area, the Serbs retaliate, mainly on the confrontation line, and the Bosnian Presidency accuses UNPROFOR of not protecting them against Serb aggression and appeals for air strikes against the Serb gun positions"

In his book, *Balkan Odyssey*, Lord Owen makes it clear that the establishment of "safe area" by the Security Council, without demilitarizing them was "the worst decision of my time as Co-Chairman [of the International Conference on Yugoslavia]".

While extensive human rights abuses were documented on all sides throughout the conflict, it was the Muslim side which used them best as a powerful weapon to gain sympathy from the international community. When Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic told a press conference in Sarajevo that "70,000 people" had been killed near Bihac in November of 1994, his demands for NATO air strikes received wide news coverage. UN investigators, however, later told BBC reporter John Simpson that "fewer than a thousand" people had been killed around Bihac, a battle which began when Muslim forces attacked the nearby Serb-held Grabez plateau, provoking a sustained counter-attack.

A recent video screened at the War Crimes Tribunal [International Criminal Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia: ICTY] purportedly showed the execution of six Muslims by Serbian paramilitaries in Treskavica, and was being used, illogically, as "proof" of highly-inflated estimates that the Bosnian Serb Army killed 7,000 Muslims following the capture of Srebrenica in Eastern Bosnia. If the Bosnian Serbs executed six Muslims, the "logic" goes (and the authenticity of the film is yet to be established), then Bosnian Serbs clearly executed 7,000 Muslims in their attack on Srebrenica.(2)

Meanwhile, for the first three years of the war in Bosnia, Srebrenica was the stronghold of Muslim warlord Naser Oric, who showed home video tapes of massacres his soldiers carried out against Serbian villages to The Washington Post reporter, John Pomfret, and Toronto Star reporter Bill Schiller. Schiller writes that Oric was "as bloodthirsty a warrior who ever

crossed a battlefield" and recounts a visit to the warlord's home in January 1994:

"On a cold and snowy night, I sat in his room, watching a shocking video version of what might have been called Naser Oric's Greatest Hits. There were burning buildings severed heads and people fleeing. Oric grinned throughout, admiring his handiwork. We ambushed them," he said. The next sequence of dead bodies had been done in by explosives. 'We launched those guys to the moon,' he boasted. When a bullet-marked ghost town appeared without any visible bodies, Oric hastened to announce 'we killed 114 Serbs there'. Later there were celebrations, with singers with wobbly voices, chanting his praises."

According to former UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Phillip Morillon, Nasir Oric "appeared to be respecting political instructions coming from the Presidency in Sarajevo", an observation which is confirmed by Gen. Sefer Halilovic, Commander of Muslim Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For several years early in the conflict, the Serbian population of Srebrenica and scores of nearby villages were either killed or forced to flee because of Oric. On May 8, 1992, Oric's forces assassinated Judge Goran Zekic President of the Serbian SDS Party in Srebrenica, triggering an exodus of 1,500 Serbs in Srebrenica. Scarcely a day went by without scorched earth attacks on nearby villages on towns and villages such as Bratunac, Sikiřici, Konjevic Polje, Glogova, Zalazje, Fakovici, Loznica, Orlice, Biljaca, Crni Vhr, Milici, Kamenica, and Kravica. The massacre at Kravica, occurred on Orthodox Christmas Eve the Serbs' most important holiday. Writing in the London based South Slav Journal, reporter Joan Phillips observed that by March 31, 1993, at least 1,200 Serbs had been killed and another 3,000 wounded by Oric's forces. She added:

"Today there are virtually no Serbs left in the entire Srebrenica municipality. Out of 9,300 Serbs who used to live there, less than 900 remain. Out of 11,500 Serbs who used to live in Bratunac municipality, more than 6,000 have fled. In the Srebrenica municipality, about 24 villages have

en razed. The last major Serbian villages in the vicinity of Bratunac and Skelani were attacked and destroyed on January 7, 1993."

Why, then, despite massive and detailed evidence provided to the UN in 1993, did the Ad Hoc War Crimes Tribunal not indict Naser Oric until 2002, and even then, on relatively minor charges of "mistreating" prisoners. The systematic slaughter of the Serbian civilian population in the area west of the Drina River apparently did not qualify as a "crime against humanity".

By contrast, the quick decision to charge Bosnian Serb leaders with "genocide" after the capture of Srebrenica reflected political correctness by the Tribunal, whose staff had been largely appointed by Madeleine Albright, then serving as US Ambassador to the UN. Meanwhile, a soon-to-be-released report by the Srebrenica Research Group, a group of journalists and academic researchers led by University of Pennsylvania Professor Ed Herman, raises serious doubts about the official version of events at Srebrenica, including bias, inflated casualty numbers, and dubious methodology used to justify estimates that were made before investigations had even begun.

Significantly, the portrayal of events at Srebrenica, is also challenged by senior UN and NATO officials on the scene in Bosnia. These include, as noted previously, NATO's Deputy Commander Charles Boyd, who was NATO's Director of Intelligence; Lt.-Col. John Sray; UN Civilian Affairs Coordinator Phillip Corwin; and Carlos Martins Branco, UNMO (UN Military Observer) Deputy Chief of Operations of the UNPF (United Nations Population Fund), who debriefed UN military observers posted to Srebrenica. Corwin, the most senior UN civilian official in Bosnia at the time of the capture of Srebrenica, and the author of Dubious Mandate, a personal account of the last year of the war, states that the official version of events at Srebrenica has been a "campaign of disinformation that has all but buried the facts along with the bodies".

Branco, a Portuguese UN military official states that casualty estimates of 7,000 have been "used and manipulated for propaganda purposes." He wrote in

98 that "there is little doubt that at least 2,000 Bosnian Muslims died in fighting the better trained and better commanded BSA [Bosnian Serb Army]" in three years of fierce fighting. This is roughly the number of bodies (2,028) which were exhumed by the International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the region by the year 2001. Many, perhaps most, of these deaths occurred before the fall of Srebrenica, according to Branco.

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CONTINUED----> http://news.serbianunity.net/bydate/2005/June_27/33.html?w=p

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Srebrenitsa, lies and media games—I was evacuating civilians from Srebrenitsa—by Zvonimir Trajkovic

[Here's another piece in CM/P's Srebrenica +10 series: Zvonimir Trajkovic has packed some very interesting information into his essay about what went down in 'the Silver City' that got President Radovan Karadzic to send him in to get the Yugoslav citizens out. He mentions that they used buses AND trucks for this evacuation--which kinda puts the monk on my call of Prof Chomsky's claim that the brutal Serbs 'trucked out the genocide survivors' from Srebrenica (as you know if you follow this blog, this is more in the spirit of what MIT's cunning linguist wrote than the exact letter--Prof Chomsky has always contended, vis à vis Srebrenica and the 1999 bombing of Serbia over Kosovo, that NATO was only slightly more brutal than its victims, the Serbs, themselves--I don't think he's said anything about the 4,000 bombing runs NATO flew against the Bosnian Serbs that culminated in the 14-day 1995 non-stop terror bombing that kicked off after the battle of Srebrenica [or was it after the Markale market bombing, staged by Izedbegovic and the Bosnian Muslims on the eve of yet another peace deal with the Serbs] and Dayton). He also mentions Dr Stankovic, the Serbian 'Quincy', who did autopsies on all the 1200 or so bodies found buried around Srebrenica only to declare that they were for the most part civilian victims of Naser Oric and his 28th Corps mates' serial murder and mutilation sprees (believe me, you don't want to see pictures of this freak Oric's work--though he'd gladly, even gleefully, show them to you, as he did to German TV a few years back.). And something that Mr Trajkovic left out is that Dr Stankovic testified in 2001 or 2002 before The Hague ad hoc tribunal about his autopsies, and all the transcripts of his testimony have disappeared from the Trib's website. Later 'independent DNA tests' verified that the bodies were mostly Muslims--this marked the first time an 'Islamic gene' had been isolated. Pretty neat forensics, huh? This is the kind of stuff's got me back re-reading Ruth Hubbard's Exploding the Gene Myth (Beacon, Boston, 1997), which I can't recommend highly enough. --mc]

Zvonimir TrajkoviÄ† [Zvonimir Traykovitch] in the authorized text:
 I was evacuating civilians from Srebrenitsa

Srebrenitsa, lies and media games
 Karagitch's war consultant truly on Srebrenitsa

"OGLEDALO"
 Belgrade, June 22, 2005

ï,§ What really happened in Srebrenitsa?

§ Why was the short movie on the liquidation of six Muslims shown just now, ten years after the event?

i, § Will this media euphoria, in which the highest state officials take part, lead to a national catharsis, or it is only the fulfillment of the obligations that our Government marionettes accepted before October 5, 2000?

i, § How much is this political exhibitionism of our politicians going to cost, and who will pay for it?

The operation in Srebrenitsa was planned and realized in the form of a horseshoe, intentionally leaving open space for the Muslim army and civilians to move towards Tuzla. The distance of 36 Km and the configuration of the terrain are such that any man with an average physique can cross it on foot. The military operation was conducted in such a manner in order to minimize the number of casualties, since the Muslims had brought in substantial military forces. If the Muslim forces had been hermetically closed in, violent fighting would have occurred in which the army of the RS would also have suffered serious losses, which was the reason why the horse - shoe plan was adopted.

All this can be clearly seen on the American map of the withdrawal of the Muslim army. It should be noted that no ambush was set up at Snagovo. Rather, the main part of the Muslim army planned to infiltrate into Zvornik and to create a new city problem to the army of the RS. The clashes at Nova Kasaba in the Konyevitch Field occurred due to the Muslim blockade of the main road connecting Belgrade-Zvornik-Vlasenitsaâ€“Han Pyesakâ€“Sarajevo (i.e. Pale).

According to the army of RS data, between 600 and 700 Muslim fighters were killed in that operation while attempting to break the horse-shoe at some places, in order to join the dislocated Muslim units. The main Muslim forces, as well as a part of the civilians, reached Tuzla across free mountain trails.

In Srebrenitsa and in Zhepa, where the Muslims stayed for almost three years, there were between 6.5 and 7 thousand Muslim soldiers who were permanently attacking the neighboring Serb villages from the UN-protected enclave. Such a strategy of permanent aggression, eventually led to the destruction of 128 Serb villages in the vicinity of Srebrenitsa, in which 2400 Serb civilians were killed. The Muslim strategy of maintaining strong forces in Srebrenitsa and Zhepa had several goals. First, it was tying down a significant part of the Serb military forces in defense against the continuous Muslim attacks, so that those Serb forces could not be transferred to the Sarajevo front to enforce the siege of Sarajevo. Next, as suggested by Croatian-Occidental strategists, it was necessary to separate the Republic of Srpska from its border with Serbia in order to ease its later destruction. For this reason, the protected enclaves, such as Srebrenitsa, Zhepa, and Gorazhde, were created along the Drina. Moreover, strong propaganda about â€˜thousands of killedâ€™™ was aimed at keeping up the tension in the world community and pushing into full oblivion the Muslim atrocities in Bratunats, Kravitsa, Skelani and other burned-out Serb villages around Srebrenitsa, in which only Serb civilians were destroyed.

In the East of Bosnia, the fighting with the Muslim forces had been going on for three years, and all Muslim soldiers that were killed in these battles, as well as the civilians, were buried in that limited area, often in mass

graves. These are now being exhumed as alleged genocide victims. Several months after the fall of Srebrenitsa, our pathologists led by General Stankovitch, together with Western pathologists, found in all mass graves a total of 1,284 bodies that were to be identified by DNA and other methods. These investigations lasted until the middle of 1997, when the investigations were halted by orders from the West, which considered the number of bodies found thus far to be a fair approximation of the total number of victims. Moreover, after five years of intensive search by KFOR and Hague investigators in the territory of Srebrenitsa, no more than 1,700 bodies were found in all mass graves together.

After the bombing of Serbia in 1999, Srebrenitsa was born again and new mass graves have since been appearing, but now the Western experts under the protection of The Hague Tribunal have been the exclusive investigators. Those investigations have not been finished yet. New graves are appearing, and at present there are alleged to be about 3,000 bodies. It would not surprise me if the number grows further and reaches 12-15 thousands. They will probably be careful enough not to exceed the total number of the civilian population of that region.

I was the consultant to Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karagitch during the execution of the Srebrenitsa operation, and I was with him during that operation. Immediately after the end of the military operation I was sent to Srebrenitsa in order to provide the buses and trucks for the transport of Muslim civilians to the Tuzla region. There was no indication of any such massacre, and none of the UN soldiers who were present during the entire operation indicated anything like that. At that time they did not give any declaration or comment that would indicate that a massacre had occurred. Only later, under the instructions of their headquarters, did they start to claim that there were killings of civilians and mass executions, all that as part of the media propaganda dictated by major lobbies and other world centers of power.

Besides, photos clearly show adult men, and not just women and children. Srebrenitsa is a little mining settlement, literally with just two streets, in which about 35,000 civilians and soldiers of Naser Oric were crowding. It is evident in the photos that nobody was wailing or crying which would be logical if 1/4 of the total number of the inhabitants had been killed, as it is claimed today.

A question arises as to how is it possible that during such an alleged massacre, none of the commandants of the Muslim forces under the command of Naser Oric suffer any damage. They all withdrew safely to Tuzla.

During the first elections after the Dayton Agreement, due to Muslim carelessness and their wish to gain the strongest possible vote score, several thousands of those "massacred" in Srebrenitsa and Zhepa appeared at the voting places throughout Bosnia! Later, they were all urgently issued new documents with different names, in order further to exploit this farce of Srebrenitsa.

A particular role in that region was played also by the French Foreign Legion, because General Morillon was the commander of the UN forces for the protected zones for a long period of time. Contrary to the agreement on the protected zones, he tolerated thousands of armed Muslims and even armed them through humanitarian convoys. Our state possesses video recordings that

above beyond dispute, with cameras in place, that arms and ammunitions were delivered to Srebrenitsa's Muslims in trucks carrying humanitarian aid. Furthermore, we also have a rich video documentation of the massacre of Serbs in the villages around Srebrenitsa, but it is not convenient for this marionette Government to show it to the public. In such case, both our and the world community would get a different insight in the events in Srebrenitsa and why it was necessary to neutralize that "Free zone".

In an unbelievable manner, Zhepa has been lost from this constructed Srebrenitsa story, because around 1,500 soldiers were captured there with a rich arsenal of arms. All of them were safely transferred across the Drina to Serbia, later to Bosnia, without losing a single hair from their heads. Before they were returned to Bosnia, numerous "humanitary expeditions" including Ms Ogata's, were visiting those imprisoned soldiers in order to verify their fair treatment as prisoners of war. That is why Zhepa is nowhere mentioned, since it would be strong proof as to how our army was behaving during that clash. It should be noted that the operations in Srebrenitsa and Zhepa were carried out simultaneously under the command of the same officers, against whom there is a claim that they conducted a massacre in Srebrenitsa. Perhaps the Muslims from Zhepa were more likeable to them and for that reason they transferred them safely to Serbia without killing anybody.

Why the video recording made 10 years ago is shown just now

The video recording of the execution of six Muslims, which is being shown in all media these days, and which was launched by radio B92 of Geo Sorosâ€™™, who else could it be, is only a part of the organized campaign before the important negotiations on Kosovo.

It does not make anybody â€™face the truthâ€™™, because the crime depicted on this video does not have any connection with Srebrenitsa. It was committed in the vicinity of Tmovo near Sarajevo, i.e., 170 km far from Srebrenitsa. Linking that crime with Srebrenitsa is aimed at refreshing the myth about the suffering of Srebrenitsa's Muslims just before the tenth anniversary of the event at which our President Taditch should appear with a full apology. It is the continuation of the propaganda war, which is aimed at representing to the world that the Serbs are a genocidal nation. Against such a nation, all is justifiable, including the bombing of 1999. Such a nation does not deserve to retain Kosovo in its state, and the hands of our "statesmen" will be tied because they are thought to represent the genocidal people in this particular international negotiations. In that case, the Republic of Srpska is a genocidal creation that should be destroyed as such, and a tutor should be imposed on the Serbs. That is why everything possible is being done to force the Serbs "to face" their "truth"; so that the West remains pure and moral. For this purpose all available means are used, such as diverse "non-government" organizations and foundations, our venal intellectuals and the world's propaganda machinery.

For this purpose of driving home the "truth", Paddy Eshdown has nimbly included himself. He angrily tore up the report of the independent commission of RS about the crimes in Srebrenitsa, and, under threat of replacement, he ordered president Chavitch and other leaders of RS to concur that there were 8,000 Muslims killed and that he expected such to be the report from them. Also, in order to drown RS in the united Bosnia, this English democrat "democratically" kicked out 73 legally elected RS officials from their positions of leadership

because they dared to think with their own heads and to defend the rules of the Dayton agreement.

Many are working to construct such an image about the Serbs, ranging from the (well known to us) International Crisis Group (ICG) to the office of David Barnow, which is often mentioned as the source of "information" about the massacre of 6,000, later 8,000, Muslim civilians in Srebrenitsa. That office is the center for a well paid Muslim lobby in the United States, which created and which has conducted the campaign about Srebrenitsa, as well as the earlier lies about thousands of raped Muslim women, concentration camps for Muslims, etc.â€

Irresponsibility of politicians and of the actual Government

Our tragedy is not Srebrenitsa, nor even other Serb gallows. Our problem is the existing marionette government that does not try to fight for the truth, to defend national dignity and Serb interests. Our tragedy is the fact that our state politics is in the hands of Natasha Kanditch and the band of other foreign hirelings, because our President apologizes under orders from the West without caring about possible consequences for the state and the nation.

Miloshevitch was hiding the truth in order not to irritate the West, as he was trying to "buy" for himself a few more years for his presidential mandate, and now he is in The Hague. The question as to whether he will, at last, present the full truth depends on the availability to him of all the documentation that we have; or he might eventually accept a negotiation with the tribunal in order to ease the punishment, as many have done so far.

For the Serbian people it would be ideal if the whole truth could be presented. We the Serbs, for the sake of the truth, have an obligation to respond fiercely to the lies and false constructions because it is the only way for our nation to undergo a real catharsis. It is a crime to kill one man, to say nothing of the cold-blooded killing of six fellows. However, such crimes are acts of ill-minded individuals who have first names and family names and who should be tried in a court, without any doubt. In the recent civil and religious clashes in these areas there were various awful crimes on all sides. We should not create epopees from some of them and forget the others as if that they had never happened.

In these civil-religious clashes, the Serbs have been ethnically cleansed from Slovenia, Croatia, from a part of Bosnia and from Kosovo and Metohiya. But only Serbs are accused of ethnic clensing. Others started the wars, but only we are accused of instigating the war and the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Just take a look at the map and you will see clearly that the Greater Croatia has been created, but we are accused of trying to create a Greater Serbia. How long will those lies and falsifications of facts continue? When will our state leadership submit under the nose of the West all these facts, which are clearly evident and easily provable? When will they say to the United States and EU that Shiptars can get the same degree of the autonomy that the West gave to the Serbs in Croatia, i.e., RSK? I hope soon. If not the present one, then a new leadership will do it.

Zvonimir Traykovitch
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-----Original Message-----

From: Ian Johnson [mailto:i-johnson@lineone.net]

Sent: 11 July 2005 10:47

To: Undisclosed-Recipient;;

Subject: CDSM: Morning Star - Srebrenica

Genocide or propaganda?

Christopher James questions the one-sided portrayal of the fall of Srebrenica 10 years on.

Morning Star (UK) Monday 11 July 2005

DOESN'T everybody know the Srebrenica story all too well by now? One week of bloody slaughter in and around the war-torn Bosnian town, sparked by its fall to Serb forces exactly 10 years ago today.

Throughout the past decade, our media and politicians have never tired of informing us that up to 8,000 Muslim men and boys were murdered there in cold blood - an act of genocide unsurpassed in Europe since World War II.

The crime was all the more appalling, it is said, because Srebrenica was a demilitarised UN safe-haven for Bosnian Muslims surrounded on all sides by a sea of Serb hostility.

Furthermore, last month's presentation of a video, at the war crimes and genocide trial of former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, purportedly showing the brutal execution of six Bosnian Muslim prisoners by Serb paramilitaries, is widely hailed as ultimate and final proof in the matter. If any lingering doubts remain, these can now be safely dispatched, courtesy of the US Congress which has, with impeccable timing, just declared the incident to be genocide. So there you go, it's official.

Under such circumstances, who would deny the official Srebrenica narrative of Serb evil and Muslim victimhood? Holocaust revisionists perhaps? How about conspiracy theorists or war crimes apologists? Diehard Stalinists? Why not diehard Satanists for that matter?

Well, here is what Phillip Corwin, the senior UN civilian official in Bosnia during 1995, had to say on the subject: "What happened at Srebrenica was not a single large massacre of Muslims by Serbs but a series of very bloody attacks and counter-attacks over a three-year period, which reached a crescendo in July of 1995."

The official version of events, recalled Corwin in his book *Dubious Mandate*, has been a "campaign of disinformation that has all but buried the facts along with the bodies."

Corwin's appraisal tallies with the following analysis of Muslim tactics in the 1992-95 Bosnian war from UN General Francis Briquemont.

"The Bosnian [Muslim] Army attacks the Serbs from a safe area. The Serbs retaliate and the Bosnian presidency accuses UN forces of not protecting them against Serb aggression and appeals for air strikes against the Serb gun positions."

Muslim forces using "safe areas" to attack Serbs? How could this possibly refer to Srebrenica which, as we are told ad infinitum, was a demilitarised civilian haven?

In truth only a very small, central part of Srebrenica remained demilitarised, giving free rein for Muslim fighters to operate out of suburban and other outlying areas, from where they launched murderous raids on surrounding Serb villages.

Forces under the infamous Muslim commander Naser Oric caused mass carnage between 1992-95 with their attacks out of Srebrenica, leaving at least 1,300 Serb civilians butchered and thousands wounded.

Oric was "as bloodthirsty a warrior who ever crossed a battlefield," commented Toronto Star reporter Bill Schiller, who visited the Muslim warlord's home in 1994.

"I sat in his room, watching a shocking video version of what might have been called Naser Oric's Greatest Hits. There were burning buildings, severed heads and people fleeing. Oric grinned throughout, admiring his handiwork."

Schiller continues: "When a bullet-marked ghost town appeared without any visible bodies, Oric hastened to announce: 'We killed 114 Serbs there'."

His final raid out of Srebrenica came on June 26, 1995 with an attack on the village of Visnjica where 40 perished. It was one atrocity too far for the Bosnian Serbs, who began preparations to take the town.

But, when they rolled into Srebrenica on July 11 1995 there was no Naser Oric or any other senior Muslim officers.

They had been pulled out, in an apparent tactical move by Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, whom both Muslims and Serbs later accused of deliberately sacrificing the town in order to undermine the UN and give NATO justification for air strikes against the Bosnian Serb army.

Izetbegovic, an enthusiastic collaborator with nazi occupiers during World War II, had been imprisoned under Tito for his crimes. He served a further jail term in socialist Yugoslavia during the 1980s for seeking to turn Bosnia into "an ethnically pure Islamic state."

Seizing the Bosnian presidency in a mysterious power grab, despite losing the election to a moderate Muslim rival, it was Izetbegovic who imported 4,000 foreign Mojahedin, fresh from their battles with Soviet troops in Afghanistan, to fight holy war in Bosnia.

In her book, *Fools Crusade*, US academic Diana Johnstone, the outstanding left analyst of the 1990s Balkan wars, notes that chaotic scenes greeted the Serb troops on their arrival at Srebrenica as terrified, leaderless Muslim combatants clashed violently among themselves over what to do.

"Some wanted to surrender, but most decided to break through Serb lines and flee. By all accounts, this chaos deepened during the long retreat. Wild scenes occurred as confused soldiers fell into Serb ambushes, sometimes fighting back, sometimes shooting each other or even committing suicide."

All the above testimonies comprise part of a body of evidence compiled by the Srebrenica Research Group - an international team of academics and Balkan analysts under the leadership of University of Pennsylvania professor Edward S Herman. Its report, which aims to bring some balance to this highly charged subject, is due for publication this month.

Herman, who is perhaps best known for co-authoring the seminal tome *Manufacturing Consent* - his collaborative study alongside Noam Chomsky into media complicity with imperial Washington policy - insists that misinformation and myth surrounding Srebrenica has proved a handy

smokescreen to obscure Western intrigue in the Balkans throughout the 1990s.

He contrasts the fixation of Western governments and media on Srebrenica to their complete lack of interest in Operation Storm, the 1995 ethnic cleansing of 200,000 Krajina Serbs from their ancestral lands including the murder - unlike at Srebrenica - of women, children and the elderly at the hands of US-backed Croat forces.

In a manner that is reminiscent of the tale of the Emperor's New Clothes, glaringly obvious questions regarding the "Srebrenica genocide" remain unasked by Western politicians and mainstream media alike.

Why, if the Serbs were so intent on genocidal murder, were the victims all males of combat age? The nazis, of course, made no allowances for women or the elderly while slaughtering their Jewish, Roma and Serb victims.

The Srebrenica myth was born at the UN security council in August 1995, when US representative Madeleine Albright, in a theatrical display that was repeated eight years later by her successor Colin Powell and his infamous phial of "anthrax," produced satellite photos showing "disturbed earth" where Muslim victims of genocide were supposedly buried. These pictures have never been made public.

No matter that only about 4,000 bodies have to date been recovered. No matter that the vast majority are unidentified and certainly include victims from all sides of a vicious, internecine three-year civil war.

No matter that the figure includes combatants who failed to surrender - many of whom were themselves guilty of heinous crimes against civilians.

No matter that the Serbs have always acknowledged that crimes were committed - that civilians accompanying Muslim regular and irregular troops had been killed in the fighting.

No matter that Naser Oric's grisly snuff movies have never been shown at the West's bogus Yugoslav war crimes tribunal at The Hague, whereas last month's video evidence allegedly showing the summary execution of six Muslims - a sickening, though not unusual, crime in wartime - is aired and declared proof positive of genocide.

No matter that Slobodan Milosevic, the man charged with orchestrating that genocide, had no authority over the Bosnian Serbs from 1993 and who was cleared of any involvement in whatever happened at Srebrenica by a Dutch government report in 2002.

"The Srebrenica massacre is the greatest triumph of propaganda to emerge from the Balkan wars," concludes Herman. "It reigns supreme for symbolic power. It is the symbol of Serb evil and Bosnian Muslim victimhood and the justice of the Western dismantling of Yugoslavia and intervention there at many levels."

. Christopher James edits the website www.free-slobo-uk.org

Was Srebrenica een HOAX? (deel 1)

Over wat breed aandacht kreeg en wat er onder de tafel bleef

Door Jan Cleton

Jaren na dato, en ruim na het overlijden van Milošević, kwam Carla del Ponte, de hoofdaanklager van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal, in een interview met Paris-Match met nieuwe 'feiten' over wat zich voorafgaande aan het Srebrenica-drama in juli 1995 afgespeeld zou hebben. De Srebrenica-genocide zou volgens haar een afspraak tussen Milošević, Karadžić en Mladić geweest zijn. 'Feiten' die weer gewillig door de westerse media uitvergroot werden, maar ook tot gevolg hadden dat de discussie over Srebrenica weer enigszins op de voorgrond kwam bij monde van kritische waarnemers. Kritische waarnemers waar wij van de AFVN / BvA ook zeker toe behoren.

In "de anti fascist" hebben we regelmatig aandacht besteed aan hetgeen zich in de laatste decennia afgespeeld heeft in Joegoslavië. (zie bijvoorbeeld in de AF2005-3 het artikel "Srebrenica video") Daarnaast hebben wij ook regelmatig artikelen geplaatst over de voortgang van het proces tegen Milošević van de hand van Nico Steijnen, die in die periode regelmatig contact had met Milošević en in bepaalde opzichten als zijn zaakwaarnemer optrad. Ook heb ik persoonlijk, door onvoorziene omstandigheden, mee mogen werken aan de Nederlandstalige uitgave van het boek van Robin de Ruiter over Milošević en het Joegoslavië Tribunaal. Voordien had ik de inhoud van het boek Blufpoker van Michel Collon ook met grote interesse bestudeerd en dus mag ik mezelf als redelijk ingevoerd in de problematiek beschouwen.

Al met al van mijn kant reden om u een aantal gegevens over 'Srebrenica' aan te bieden met een wat andere invalshoek als de massaal aanvaarde visie die u door de gevestigde media voorgeschoteld kreeg.

Laat ik beginnen met het hoofdstuk over Srebrenica uit het vernoemde boek van Robin de Ruiter en wat Slobodan Milošević tijdens het proces zei over "Srebrenica".

HET GEHEIM VAN SREBRENICA

Nadat de Serviërs de onder toezicht van de VN-troepen staande 'moslimenclave Srebrenica' zonder moeite en met medeweten van het Westen veroverd hadden verbroederden de Nederlandse blauwhelmen zich met de Serviërs en keken toe hoe moslimjongens en mannen apart gezet werden. Er werd beweerd dat kort daarop duizenden van hen door de Serviërs doodgeschoten zouden zijn. Op 13 maart 2000 werd als bewijs hiervoor een foto van een massagraf in Srebrenica aan de Bosnisch-Servische generaal Krstić voorgelegd en vervolgens werd hem de dood van achtduizend mensen ten laste gelegd. Generaal Krstić werd in Den Haag tot vijfendertig jaar gevangenisstraf veroordeeld wegens zijn door het Joegoslavië Tribunaal bewezen geachte rol bij de moord op duizenden mensen van islamitische afkomst tijdens de bezetting in 1995 van de stad Srebrenica door het Bosnisch-Servische leger.

Nu blijkt uit documenten van de Duitse overheid en andere onderzoeksrapportages dat er geen keiharde bewijzen

bestaan voor etnische zuiveringen of volkerenmoord. Ook uit rapporten van forensische onderzoekers blijkt dat niet achtduizend, maar tweeduizend lijken in en rond Srebrenica teruggevonden zijn. De bevindingen van deze wetenschappers zijn nooit publiek gemaakt! Een persconferentie met fotomateriaal werd door hun meerderen vrijdeld. Waren de bevindingen van deze wetenschappers geen mooie kans geweest om het publiek wetenschappelijk onderbouwde bewijzen voor te leggen? Men mag zich afvragen waarom de ontdekkingen van deze gerechtelijke experts niet gepubliceerd mochten worden. Misschien omdat de uitkomsten van hun onderzoek de visie en theorie van het Tribunaal niet ondersteunden? Misschien omdat niet bewezen kon worden dat de soldaten van Krstić helemaal geen duizenden krijgsgevangenen vermoord hadden? Misschien omdat het bij het gevonden massagraf helemaal niet om een oorlogsgraf ging? Is de massamoord van Srebrenica misschien geënceneerd?

Op 11 juli 2005 heeft de 'Srebrenica Research Group' op een persconferentie in het gebouw van de Verenigde Naties in New York een tweehonderd pagina's tellend rapport gepresenteerd, met als titel: *Srebrenica and the Politics of War Crimes*. Het rapport veegt de vloer aan met de officiële versie over de gebeurtenissen in en rond de enclave in 1995. Het komt met onweerlegbare bewijzen dat zowel de omvang van het aantal slachtoffers als de versie die door regeringen en de media worden gegeven, berusten op misleidende manipulatie. Hierdoor wordt een totaal verworden beeld van de gebeurtenissen gegeven. Het rapport werd op de persconferentie gepresenteerd door enkele hoge VN-functionarissen. Phillip Corwin, hoofddeskundige van de 'VN-Coördinatie voor Civiele Zaken' en Carlos Martino Branco (zie ook kader 1) die de militaire VN-waarnemers uit Srebrenica heeft ondervraagd. Beiden waren destijds in Bosnië aanwezig.

Op 27 september 2002 verklaarde Milošević in zijn openingsrede tijdens het begin van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal: "Ik wil dat de waarheid over deze waanzinnige misdaden in naam van de rechtvaardigheid aan het licht komt. Uit de volgende informatie moge blijken dat ene 'Izetbegović', Srebrenica gebruikt heeft voor zijn politieke machinaties. Op 1 juli 1995 vond er een bijeenkomst plaats bij de burgemeester van de stad Zvornic, een moslim. In zijn huis sprak Izetbegović met twee vertegenwoordigers van de Moslimregering van Sarajevo en met vertegenwoordigers van soldaten van het republikeinse leger van Srpska. De laatste vertegenwoordigers stonden echter niet onder het commando van het leger van Srpska, maar onder het commando van de Franse inlichtingendienst. En deze heren kwamen overeen om Srebrenica plat te walsen. En niemand anders! Alle informatie wijst erop dat noch generaal Mladić noch generaal Krstić, hier ook maar iets

anaf wist. Ze werden er echter wel voor veroordeeld. Onder dezelfde leiding werd de dezelfde groep huurlingen een jaar later naar Zaïre gestuurd om Mobutu te steunen en de revolutie daar de kop in te drukken. Deze groep soldaten kocht de wapens in die nodig waren voor Srebrenica. De kern van het Franse plan was om de oorlog in Bosnië door een militaire ingreep van de NAVO te laten stoppen. En het voorwendsel voor een dergelijk ingrijpen moest een volkerenmoord zijn die het Servische leger zou worden aangerekend. Dit zou de onderhandelingspositie van het Servische leger verzwakken. De aanwezigheid van Ratko Mladić in Srebrenica zou bevestigen dat hij de aanstichter was, zodat hij in Den Haag kon worden veroordeeld voor volkerenmoord. De internationale gemeenschap kon op die manier maatregelen nemen. En zo geschiedde.”

Op 1 juni 2005 werd tijdens het Joegoslavië Tribunaal in Den Haag een video vertoond waarop een duidelijk verband tussen Milošević en het bloedbad van Srebrenica te zien zou zijn. Op de video zouden de executies van zes moslims te zien zijn. De beelden werden nooit volledig op televisie uitgezonden om de ‘kijker te beschermen tegen de gruwelijke beelden’. Op de video was alleen te zien hoe een man in het gras viel terwijl kort daarvoor een gewerschot te horen was. Op deze video blijkt uit niets dat het hier om executies uit Srebrenica anno 1995 gaat. Voor Carla del Ponte was het echter een duidelijk bewijs tegen Milošević. De zeldzame logica van Carla del Ponte bestaat erin dat als Serviërs zes moslims doden, Serviërs ook achtduizend moslims gedood hebben. Milošević heeft stelselmatig ontkend dat hij ooit ook maar iets te maken had met de gebeurtenissen in Srebrenica. “Deze video is een willekeurig gemonteerde film zonder een enkel bewijs van plaats en datum. Uit niets blijkt dat dit slachtoffers van Srebrenica zijn”, aldus Milošević! Elk bewijs dat Milošević in verband bracht met Srebrenica waar volgens het Tribunaal achtduizend moslims stierven, werd consequent door hem weerlegd. Milošević legde haarfijn uit dat de Verenigde Naties betrokken waren bij het bloedbad in Srebrenica en daarom werden de transcripties van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal ook zwaar gecensureerd. In feite was Srebrenica een zogeheten ‘veilige zone’. De vredesmacht hield zich opzettelijk afzijdig en men gaf Milošević de schuld van dingen die er niet gebeurden. Er zou zelfs nog aan toegevoegd kunnen worden dat de commandant van het onder VN-vlag aanwezige Dutchbat, overste Karremans, de aan de Franse collega’s gevraagde luchtsteun niet kreeg. Een bewijs te meer van de Franse betrokkenheid of toeval? Overste Karremans werd na terugkomst in Nederland met een sneltreinvaart weggepromoveerd naar de VS om lastige vragen van de media te ontlopen.

Iedereen die dit leest zal zich verbazen over de vooroordelen van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal en de publieke media. Ze gaan zonder uitzondering voorbij aan de werkelijke geschiedenis van Srebrenica (en wijde omgeving JC) dat gebukt ging onder de bloedbaden die Bosnische moslims met grote regelmaat aanrichtten onder de Servische bevolking. Zoiets verzwijgen staat haaks op

onafhankelijke journalistiek! Hun kleding is ogenschijnlijk al even correct als hun politieke houding en met een blik van waarachtige integriteit verkopen ze zelfs de sluwste propaganda als de waarheid. Ze doen dit echter geheel volgens de wens van hun broodheren en ze liggen er geen moment van wakker.

Om een misverstand te voorkomen: Terecht zijn de Serviërs om hun fanatisme tegenover de minderheden in Bosnië bekritiseerd. Maar voordat dat gebeurde zijn moslims minstens even misdadig tekeer gegaan tegen de Serviërs. Servische troepen, waarschijnlijk paramilitairen, hebben in juli 1995 verschrikkelijke excessen en misdaden begaan, daar bestaat geen twijfel over. Hier was echter sprake van een escalatie van geweld en tegengeweld, want ook de Kroaten en de moslims hebben naar vermogen geplunderd, verkracht en vermoord. Zoals in elke oorlog laden alle strijdende partijen schuld op zich wegens begane gruweldaden. De Servische slachtoffers zijn echter nooit in beeld gekomen, terwijl het aantal slachtoffers onder moslims sterk werd overdreven.

Slobodan Milošević zei tijdens een twee uur durend interview met de journaliste Elisabeth Vinmout in 1998 voor de *Washington Post*: “Wij zijn niet van mening dat de moslims en de Kroaten minder huisgehouden hebben in Bosnië dan de Serviërs. Wij hebben ons best gedaan om alle gruweldaden zoveel mogelijk een halt toe te roepen.” In *Der Spiegel* verklaarde zijn vrouw Mira Markovic, dat er wel degelijk Servische soldaten en politiemensen waren die excessief geweld uitoefenden en dat zodanig geweld niet binnen de ‘normale’ verdedigingsstrategie paste. Volgens haar werden deze gebruikers van overmatig geweld echter streng bestraft. <<Einde hoofdstuk>>

Bij het lezen van het voorgaande hoofdstuk moeten we er rekening mee houden dat het Bosnisch-Servische leger van Karadžić bestond uit een allegaartje van de samenleving ter plekke. Daaronder bevonden zich o.a. ook aanhangers van de Cetniks, de anti-communistische tegenstrevers van de partizanen die in de Tweede Wereldoorlog onder het ‘bevel van Tito’ vochten, en andere rechtse elementen. Karadžić zelf was in feite een vertegenwoordiger van de bourgeoisie in Srpska. Srpska met als hoofdstad Pale, zoals de hoofdstad van Bosnië, Sarajevo, ondanks 40% Servische inwoners aangemerkt mag worden als een bolwerk van de Bosnische moslims onder leiding van Izetbegović. Tijdens de beschietingen van en in Sarajevo, het in die tijd bekende media-verhaal van de sluipschutters, waren er dan ook verschillen welke wijk van Sarajevo het betrof. Was dat een wijk met overwegend moslims, of overwegend Serviërs. Dat verschil werd door de media niet duidelijk gemaakt, met als gevolg dat uitsluitend de Serviërs daarvoor verantwoordelijk gesteld werden.

Waarmee ik maar aan wil geven hoe complex de situatie in dat deel van Joegoslavië was. Uiterlijk en qua kleding viel er praktisch geen onderscheid te maken wie of wat men vertegenwoordigde!

Dit gegeven gaf ook de imperialistische krachten, die uit waren op de onderwerping van Joegoslavië in hun belang

en waar ook het Joegoslavië Tribunaal onderdeel van is, de mogelijkheid de publieke opinie op grove wijze te manipuleren.

Kader 1

Vertaling: Denise Grobben

Was Srebrenica bedrog?

Ooggetuigenverslag van een voormalige Militaire Waarnemer van de Verenigde Naties in Bosnië

Door Carlos Martino Branco

Global Research 24 juli 2005

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Dit gedetailleerde verslag, dat door de voormalige Militaire Waarnemer van de VN Carlos Martino Branco voor het eerst werd gepubliceerd in 1998, roept ernstige twijfels op over de uitspraak in hoger beroep van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal in Den Haag dat 'in 1995 in Srebrenica genocide is gepleegd'.

"...Servische eenheden in Bosnië pleegden genocide op de Bosnische Moslims (...). Al wie genocide bedenkt en uitvoert is erop uit om de mensheid te ontdoen van zijn rijke verscheidenheid aan nationaliteiten, rassen, etniciteiten en religies. Dit is een misdaad tegen de menselijkheid, waarvan de schade niet alleen gevoeld wordt door degenen die direct getroffen worden door de vernietiging, maar door de hele mensheid."

Onder deze vooronderstellingen werd Radislav Krstić 'schuldig bevonden aan medeplichtigheid aan genocide' en tot vijftig jaar gevangenisstraf veroordeeld.

Bekijk voor het volledige verslag van het oordeel van 14 april 2004 het persbericht van het Joegoslavië Tribunaal (9 april 2004): <http://www.un.org/icty/pressreal/2004/p839-e.htm>

Michel Chossudovsky, 20 april 2004

Voorwoord van de auteur

Ik was werkzaam in Bosnië tijdens de oorlog en specifiek tijdens de val van Srebrenica.

Je kunt het met mijn politieke analyse eens zijn of niet, maar je zou in ieder geval het verslag moeten lezen van hoe Srebrenica viel en wie de slachtoffers waren, wiens lichamen tot nu toe gevonden zijn. En waarom de auteur denkt dat de Serviërs Srebrenica in wilden nemen en de Bosnische moslims eerder op de vlucht wilden jagen, dan dat ze de intentie hadden om ze af te maken. De vergelijking maken van Srebrenica met Krajina, alsmede de bijbehorende reactie in de media van de 'vrije Westerse pers', is ook vrij leerzaam.

Er bestaat weinig twijfel dat minstens tweeduizend Bosnische moslims zijn omgekomen in de strijd tegen de beter getrainde en beter aangestuurde VRS/BSA. De vraag blijft echter, WANNEER vielen de meeste slachtoffers van de strijd? Volgens de analyse hieronder was dit vóór de

uiteindelijke val van Srebrenica; de Moslims boden maar weinig tegenstand in de zomer van 1995.

Ik was UNMO (United Nations Military Observer - Militaire Waarnemer Verenigde Naties) Deputy Chief Operations Officer van de UNPF (United Nations Population Fund - Fonds voor Bevolkingsvraagstukken van de Verenigde Naties - (op operatie niveau)) en mijn informatie is gebaseerd op debriefings van Militaire Waarnemers van de VN die in Srebrenica gestationeerd waren gedurende die dagen, en op verscheidene VN-rapporten die nooit openbaar gemaakt zijn.

Ik heb mijn informatie niet van Ruder & Finn Global Public Affairs. Mijn naam komt niet voor in hun database.

Ik heb geen zin om het over aantallen te hebben en soortgelijke dingen die daar mee te maken hebben. Er is reden om aan te nemen dat getallen zijn gemanipuleerd en gebruikt voor propagandadoelen. Deze getallen en informatie geven geen goed inzicht in het Joegoslavische conflict.

Het artikel is gebaseerd op ware informatie en geeft mijn analyse van de gebeurtenissen. Het verhaal is langer dan ik in dit artikel heb beschreven.

Ik hoop dat het zal bijdragen aan het verhelderen van wat er daadwerkelijk in Srebrenica gebeurd is.

Was Srebrenica bedrog?

Het is inmiddels twee jaar geleden dat de moslimenclave van Srebrenica in handen viel van het Servische leger in Bosnië. Er is veel geschreven over die gebeurtenis. De meerderheid van de verslagen bleef echter beperkt tot uitgebreide media-aandacht voor het feit, zonder echt grondige analyse.

De discussie over Srebrenica mag niet slechts beperkt worden tot genocide en massagraven.

Een diepgravende analyse van de gebeurtenissen dient rekening te houden met de achtergrondsituatie om de ware motieven die tot de ondergang van de enclave leidden te kunnen begrijpen.

Het gebied rond Srebrenica, zoals in bijna het hele oosten van Bosnië, wordt gekenmerkt door zeer wild terrein. Steile valleien met dichte bossen en diepe ravijnen zorgen ervoor dat het bijna onmogelijk is om er met gevechtsvoertuigen te komen, en leveren een duidelijk voordeel op voor de defensieve strijdkrachten. Gezien de middelen die beide partijen tot hun beschikking hadden, en de kenmerken van het terrein, lijkt het erop dat het Bosnische leger (ABiH) voldoende slagkracht had om zich te verdedigen, als ze hun terreinvoordeel ten volle benut hadden. Dat gebeurde echter niet.

Gezien het militaire voordeel van de defensieve strijdkrachten is het uitblijven van militaire tegenstand zeer moeilijk te verklaren. De moslim strijdkrachten zetten geen effectief verdedigingssysteem op en deden zelfs geen beroep op hun zware artillerie, onder bevel van de troepen van de Verenigde Naties, terwijl ze op dat moment alle reden hadden om dat te doen.

Dit gebrek aan een militair antwoord is het tegenovergestelde van de offensieve houding die de acties van de

defensieve strijdkrachten kenmerkte in voorafgaande beleidsituaties, waarbij ze over het algemeen gewelddadige 'razzia's' uitvoerden op de omliggende Servische dorpen om zo zware verliezen onder de Servische bevolking te veroorzaken.

Maar in dit geval, met alle ogen van de media gericht op dit gebied, zou de militaire verdediging van de enclave de ware situatie in de veiligheidszones hebben getoond, en laten zien dat het nooit echte gedemilitariseerde zones waren geweest, zoals men beweerde, maar beschermde zwaarbewapende militaire eenheden. Militaire tegenstand zou de beeldvorming van 'slachtoffer' in gevaar brengen, een beeldvorming die zorgvuldig tot stand was gebracht en voor de moslims van groot belang was om in stand te houden.

Gedurende de hele operatie was het duidelijk dat er ernstige conflicten waren tussen de leiders van de enclave. Vanuit militair opzicht heerste er totale verwarring. Oric, de charismatische leider van Srebrenica was afwezig.

De regering van Sarajevo keurde zijn terugkeer om het verzet te leiden niet goed. De militaire macht kwam dus op de schouders van zijn luitenanten te liggen, die al heel lang niet met elkaar overweg konden. De afwezigheid van het duidelijke leiderschap van Oric leidde tot een situatie van totaal onvermogen. De tegenstrijdige bevelen van zijn opvolgers verlamden de belegerde strijdkrachten volkomen.

Ook het gedrag van de politieke leiders is interessant. De lokale voorzitter van de SDP, Zlatko Dukic, verklaarde in een interview met EU-waarnemers dat Srebrenica onderdeel was van een handelstransactie inzake een route voor logistieke ondersteuning naar Sarajevo, via Vogosca.

Hij beweerde ook dat de val van de enclave onderdeel was van een georkestreerde campagne om het westen in diskrediet te brengen en de steun van de Islamitische landen te verkrijgen. Dat was waarom Oric wegbleef bij zijn troepen. Deze vooronderstelling werd ook verdedigd door de lokale aanhangers van de DAS. Daarnaast deden er veel geruchten over een deal de ronde onder de lokale bevolking van de enclave.

Nog een merkwaardig aspect was het uitblijven van een militaire reactie van het tweede corps van het moslimleger, dat niets ondernam om de militaire druk op de enclave te verlichten. Het was algemeen bekend dat de Servische eenheid in de regio, het Drina Corps, uitgeput was en dat de aanval op Srebrenica alleen mogelijk was met de hulp van eenheden uit andere regio's. Desondanks deed Sarajevo helemaal niets om een aanval te plannen die de Servische strijdkrachten zou hebben verdeeld en de zwakke punten zou hebben blootgelegd die waren ontstaan door een concentratie van middelen rond Srebrenica. Een dergelijke aanval zou de militaire druk op de enclave vermindert hebben.

Ook het trieste beroep dat de president van Opstina, Osman Suljic op 9 juli deed op de militaire waarnemers om toch vooral tegen de rest van de wereld te zeggen dat de Serviërs chemische wapens gebruikten, is het waard om te noemen. Ditzelfde personage beschuldigde later de media

van het uitzenden van valse nieuwsberichten over het verzet van de troepen in de enclave, waarop een bericht van de VN kwam die dit ontkrachtte. Volgens Suljic reageerden de moslim troepen niet, en zouden ze sowieso nooit met zwaar artilleriegeschut hebben gereageerd. Tegelijkertijd klaagde hij over het gebrek aan voedselvoorraden en over de humanitaire situatie. Vreemd genoeg mochten de waarnemers de voedseldepots niet inspecteren. De nadruk die door politieke leiders werd gelegd op het uitblijven van een militaire reactie en op het gebrek aan voedselvoorziening lijkt min of meer op de doorschemering van officieel beleid te wijzen.

Halverwege 1995 begon de publieke interesse af te nemen door het voortduren van de oorlog. Er was een aanzienlijke afname in de druk die werd uitgeoefend op de publieke opinie in de westerse democratieën. Een incident van deze omvang zou echter voor enkele weken voorpaginamateriaal leveren voor de media, de publieke opinie kunnen wakker schudden en een nieuwe passie losmaken. Op deze manier zouden twee vliegen in een klap geslagen kunnen worden: er kon druk mee worden uitgeoefend om het embargo op te heffen en tegelijkertijd zou dit het de bezette landen moeilijk maken om hun troepen terug te trekken, een hypothese die ter sprake was gebracht door leidende VN-figuren als Akashi en Boutros-Boutros Ghali.

De moslims hoopten altijd al heimelijk dat het embargo opgeheven zou worden. Dit was het belangrijkste doel geworden voor de regering in Sarajevo, wat werd aangewakkerd door stemmingen in de Amerikaanse Senaat en het Congres in het voordeel van een dergelijke maatregel. President Clinton sprak echter een veto uit over de beslissing en stelde dat minstens een tweederde meerderheid in beide kamers gehaald moest worden. De val van de enclave gaf de beslissende doorslag die de campagne nodig had. Na de val stemde de Amerikaanse Senaat met een ruime tweederde meerderheid voor het opheffen van het embargo.

Het was duidelijk dat de enclaves vroeg of laat in de handen van de Serviërs zouden vallen, dat was onvermijdelijk. Er bestond overeenstemming tussen de onderhandelaars (de regering van de VS, de VN en de Europese regeringen) dat het onmogelijk was om alle drie de moslimenclaves te handhaven, en dat ze ingeruild zouden moeten worden voor gebieden in Centraal-Bosnië. Madeleine Albright stelde deze uitwisseling, gebaseerd op voorstellen van de Contact Groep, bij meerdere gelegenheden voor aan Izetbegović.

Al in 1993, ten tijde van de eerste crisis van de enclave, stelde Karadžić aan Izetbegović voor om Srebrenica te ruilen voor de voorstad Vogosca. Deze uitwisseling behelsde ook het meeverhuizen van de bevolking in beide richtingen. Dat was het doel van geheime onderhandelingen die werden gevoerd om ongewenste publiciteit te vermijden. Hieruit vloeit voort dat de westerse landen akkoord gingen met een etnische scheiding en die aanmoedigden.

Wordt vervolgd