

SREBRENICA
RAPPORTEN +
COMMENTAREN

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From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Sent: woensdag 24 april 2002 00:45
Subject: WAS THERE A MASSACRE IN SREBRENICA? WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AND WHY?

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WAS THERE A MASSACRE IN SREBRENICA? WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AND WHY?

[Posted 22 April 2002]

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The media is using the upcoming release of the Dutch government's report on Srebrenica and the resignation of the Dutch government to "atone" for the Dutch role in "letting Srebrenica happen," to broadcast massive amounts of sheer misinformation about what did in fact happen in the town of Srebrenica 7 years ago this July.

EMPEROR'S CLOTHES editor Nico Varkevisser in Amsterdam reports that Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok had stated his intention to move out of national politics and into the International arena before the report was issued, that the resignation comes shortly before previously-scheduled national elections and that Kok staged this pseudo-resignation as a gift to NATO and the War Crimes Tribunal, in exchange for which Kok hopes to become a new star (like Javier Solana) on the International scene.

According to media descriptions of the report, which has not yet been published on the Internet but is available for around \$200 (USD) - it is interesting that according to these media accounts, the report a) says a massacre happened, but b) apparently finds no leader responsible. (We say "apparently" because we have not been able, yet, to read the actual report.

On the one hand, this makes a mockery of The Hague "tribunal" charges against Milosevic. On the other hand, this conclusion is an absurdity. How can an army commit a massacre, and no leader is guilty? It would appear that the people who prepared the report may have compromised in a way, accepting the official NATO position that there was a monstrous massacre (without which NATO's entire stance in Yugoslavia is discredited) but avoiding the sticky question of attributing responsibility, which would require coming up with proof, which does not exist.

What really happened in July 1995 in Srebrenica? Here follow some articles critical of the official view, with brief descriptions.

1 - Jared Israel's "Five Years On & the Lies Continue" appeared two years ago as a full page ad in the Sydney Herald and the New York Post. The article, which can be read at

<http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/texts.htm>

argues that it wasn't the Islamists but ordinary Serbian villagers who were slaughtered by the terrorists under Nasir Oric at Srebrenica. The Australian newspaper ad led to an intense debate on Australian Public Radio between Israel and the NY Times Srebrenica "expert" David Rohde.

2- David Rohde versus. Max Sinclair, Jared Israel and Prof. Drasko Jovanovic

David Rohde wrote the first Srebrenica (supposed) massacre story as a Christian Science Monitor reporter in 1995. By making loud (though unsubstantiated) accusations against the Bosnian Serbs he landed a spot at the NY Times from which perch he has been issuing fanciful Srebrenica updates at ever since.

The debate between EMPEROR'S CLOTHES and Rohde began with the publication of "Why has the War Crimes Tribunal suppressed testimony about Srebrenica?" by Max Sinclair and Jared Israel at

<http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/sinclair/why.htm>

David Rohde replied to Sinclair and Israel in an email which he sent to the distinguished physicist, Professor Drasko Jovanovic, with whom Rohde had been corresponding concerning Srebrenica. Go to <http://emperors-clothes.com/letters/inaccurate.htm>

Jovanovic forwarded Rohde's comments to Sinclair and Israel who responded by email at

<http://emperors-clothes.com/letters/reply.htm>

Prof. Jovanovic also sent EMPEROR'S CLOTHES a short memoir concerning his experience as a boy in Nazi occupied Yugoslavia, which can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/letters/letterj.htm>

Here Prof. Jovanovic dealt with real genocide, as opposed to the Rohde's unsubstantiated claims.

Rohde then took his dispute with Emperor's Clothes to the pages of the NY Times, writing an article in which he omitted nothing other than Israel and Sinclair's actual arguments. Jared Israel replied to Rohde's Times piece at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/fulltext.htm>

Prof. Jovanovic also replied, at <http://emperors-clothes.com/letters/farewell.htm>

3 - In the article, "The Construction of a Trauma," René Grémaux and Abe de Vries are noncommittal about whether there was in fact a massacre, but their extensive documentation argues against.

Here you will find the statement of the Dutch-UN commander who says there was no massacre. He was immediately attacked in the Dutch press and silenced by the Army command. The article also contains some of the self-contradictory testimony from supposed witnesses. (We have uncovered much more, soon to be published.) This article can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/false.htm>

4 - Sarah Standefer has written a sharp rebuttal to the Srebrenica argument which has been revived, as she points out, to suit NATO's current propaganda needs. See "Thoughts On Srebrenica " at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/standefer/hoax.htm>

5 - Sinister Suggestion from a Surprising Source

Take a look at "Refuting the Srebrenica Myth: An Islamist Perspective," By Konstantin Kilibarda

The author quotes statements from embittered leaders of the Islamist forces in Srebrenica and from United Nations sources suggesting that Washington and Alijah Izetbegovic's Islamic fundamentalist government in Sarajevo conspired to fabricate a massacre story to foster international outrage at the Bosnian Serbs. Can be read at

<http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/kilibarda/islamist.htm>

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Srebrenica, a small town in Yugoslavia:

Five years on and the lies continue

By Jared Israel [29 July 2000]

[Following is the text of a full-page ad which appeared in the 'Daily Telegraph' in Sydney, Australia, 20 July, 2000 and the 'New York Post,' 28 July 2000.]

What really happened in Srebrenica?

When the Bosnian Serb Army recaptured the town of Srebrenica five years ago, Dutch UN peacekeepers were the only Western observers present. The Dutch UN peacekeepers ridicule Clinton Administration claims that Serbian troops massacred thousands of disarmed Muslims:

- "Everybody is parroting everybody [about Srebrenica] but nobody shows hard evidence. In the Netherlands people want to prove at all costs that genocide has been committed. I don't believe any of it. The day after the collapse of Srebrenica, July 13, I arrived in Bratunac [alleged massacre site] and stayed there for eight days. I was able to go wherever I wanted to. I was granted all possible assistance; nowhere was I stopped." (Captain Schouten, the ranking UN officer on the scene in Bratunac, *Het Parool*, 27/07/95, my emphasis)

The Myth: Led by the Clinton administration, the Western media has used the Myth of Srebrenica to slander the Serbian people for five years. The idea is: repeat a lie enough times and people will believe it.

But what really happened at Srebrenica? What happened there before the Serbian army recaptured the city?

As we will see, there was a massacre, in fact there were many massacres, but the Serbs were not the villains. They were the victims.

Islamist terrorists, based in Srebrenica, raided local villages, mutilating and murdering Serbian and moderate Muslim villagers. Innocent civilians. It's a miracle that when the Serbs retook Srebrenica they did not exact revenge.

ISLAMIST LEADER BOASTS OF MURDER

The UN declared Srebrenica a 'safe zone' in 1993. That meant a) Srebrenica was supposed to be disarmed and b) it was supposed to be safe from attack

But the UN never disarmed the Islamists who occupied Srebrenica.

The Islamists "troops" were actually a gang of sadists in the tradition of the local Islamists who joined the Nazi SS during World War II and slaughtered Serbs, "Gypsies" and Jews. Listen to their modern-day incarnation, Commander Nasir Orić, leader of what is called the Bosnian Muslim Army, in Srebrenica:

- "[On the video tape I saw] burning houses, dead bodies, severed heads, and people fleeing. [Commander] Orić grinned throughout, admiring his handiwork. 'We ambushed them,' he said when a number of dead Serbs appeared on the screen.

"The next sequence of dead bodies had been done in by explosives: 'We launched those

guys to the moon,' he boasted. **When footage of 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." (Emphasis added, 'Toronto Star,' 16/07/95)

Note that Oric says his "troops" mutilated and slaughtered innocent villagers, not Serbian troops. In War II the Nazi Islamists killed by mutilation, using so-called "cold weapons" - knives, hammers, axes. They liked to be photographed with what they called "trophies" - the severed heads of their victims. That was the Nazi past, right? Well, here again is Nasir Oric, Commander of the terrorists, otherwise known as the Bosnian Muslim Army, in Srebrenica:

- **"Nasir Oric's war trophies** don't line the wall of his comfortable apartment. They're on videocassette tape: burned Serb houses and **headless Serb men**, 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...Reclining on an overstuffed couch, clothed head to toe in camouflage fatigues, a **U.S. Army patch proudly displayed over his heart...** the Muslim commander is the toughest guy in this town [of Srebrenica], which the U.N. Security Council has declared a protected 'safe area.'" (Emphasis added, *Washington Post*, 16/02/94)

The Clinton administration strongly supported the Muslim regime in Sarajevo. Oric's killers were that regime's army. Is this why Oric wore a US army patch? Note that the *Post* expresses no horror over Oric's unbelievable crimes.

Oric worked for the Muslim regime in Sarajevo. The Clinton administration praised that regime as pro-Western and tolerant.

Well, the head of that regime was and is Alija Izetbegovic. He joined the pro-Nazi Young Muslims in nazi-occupied Sarajevo in 1943. He helped recruit members of the "SS Handzar Division." He worked with Hitler's intelligence service (ABWER and GESTAPO). In 1946 he was sentenced by the Yugoslav Military Court to three years in prison for his fascist activities. (1)

Jumping forward to 1990, here's a quote from Izetbegovic's book, "Islamic Declaration:"

- **"...There can be no peace or coexistence between the "Islamic faith" and non-Islamic societies and political institutions. ... Islam clearly excludes the right and possibility of activity of any strange ideology on its own turf...and the state should be an expression ... of the religion. ..."** (Emphasis added, 'Islamska Deklaracija,' p. 22)

Izetbegovic idolized the Ayatollah Khomeini. His fanatic Islamist movement lost the 1990 elections to Fikret Abdic. Abdic was a moderate Muslim. But the Bush and Clinton administrations backed Izetbegovic who forced Abdic out. Abdic and his moderate Muslim followers allied with the Bosnian Serb Army against Izetbegovic's Islamist fanatics.

Why has the Clinton government backed these Islamist fascists? As we will see later, Clinton is supporting the same sort of sadist butchers in Kosovo today - in fact, in Kosovo these killers have been given official jobs with the UN. More on that in a moment.

THE MYTH OF THE 7000 MISSING MUSLIMS

By 1995 Oric's murderous raids forced the Bosnian Serb Army to send some of its limited number of troops to retake Srebrenica. Unfortunately, Oric and most of the terrorist thugs escaped. Today Oric is free as a bird, running a disco in the town of Tuzla.

As the Serbs entered Srebrenica, the terrorists retreated into the forest, heading for Islamist-dominated Tuzla. Firefights raged all night. 2,000 terrorists were killed. US Ambassador to the UN Richard Holbrooke claims up to 8000 Muslims were executed, but there is overwhelming evidence that in fact they got away. The Sarajevo regime has helped spread the lie that they were killed by the Serbs in order to demonize the Serbian people.

- [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 [Islamist] Bosnian Government refused to allow the Red Cross into the area."

(Emphasis added, 'The Times,' 02/8/95)

WHY HAVEN'T THE BODIES BEEN IDENTIFIED?

We often hear that:

- "Some 4,000 bodies have been found so far in the vicinity of Srebrenica, but only 70 have been identified." (Emphasis added, 'Agence France Presse' (AFP), 10/7/00)

According to the *Sunday Mail*: 'After five years we have found 160 mass graves, but we have no idea who the people are.'

The grave sites that NATO has dug up are mostly a) near battlefields or b) near the towns attacked by Nasir Oric's serial killers. The Clinton administration admits that "we have no idea who the people [in these graves] are."

But we do know that Oric's Islamist terrorists killed thousands of Serbian villagers. Doesn't it make sense that the bodies NATO has dug up are A) victims of the Islamist terrorists, B) soldiers who fought the Islamists, C) Islamist terrorists killed in fighting?

HOLBROOKE INSULTS HOLOCAUST VICTIMS

Richard Holbrooke, US Ambassador to the UN, recently reopened the Myth of Srebrenica, attacking the Serbs. Said Holbrooke: "Srebrenica must not be forgotten" ('AFP,' 7-11-00)

The phrase "Never forget!" is associated with victims of Nazi terror in World War II, especially Jews killed in the Holocaust. How dare Holbrooke invoke the Holocaust in order to slander the Serbs? The Serbs died alongside their Jewish (and Roma, or 'Gypsy') neighbors at the hands of Islamist Nazis during World War II. In the 1990s they were killed by NATO-backed Nazis like Izetbegovic and Oric in Bosnia and the KLA in Kosovo.

COVER-UP: NATO'S CRIMES IN KOSOVO

Why is Holbrooke reopening Srebrenica? Because he wants to hide the nightmare created by the Clinton administration in Kosovo.

- "Murder, torture and extortion: these are the extraordinary charges made against the UN's own Kosovo Protection Corps in a confidential United Nations report written for Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

"The KPC stands accused in the document, drawn up on 29 February, of 'criminal activities - killings, ill-treatment/torture, illegal policing, abuse of authority, intimidation, breaches of political neutrality and hate-speech.'" ('London Observer,' March 12, 2000)

As many as 350,000 Serbs, Jews, "Gypsies", Slavic Muslims, Catholic Croatians, Turks and ethnic Albanians opposed to the KLA have been driven from Kosovo. Their property has been stolen by gangsters, blessed with official UN positions. Apartment blocs have been emptied by terror and then sold to UN and NATO personnel. This is reality. It is in order to cover-up these crimes and prevent public outrage that Holbrooke has dragged out the Myth of Srebrenica - once again. (2)

(1) - Izetbegovic's past is documented in the Russian Gazette "Izvestia," November 17, 1992.

(2) - For first-hand accounts of the terror the UN and NATO have brought to Kosovo see:

- "Driven from Kosovo" A first-hand account by Cedomir Princevic, leader of the Jewish Community in Kosovo, at www.emperors-clothes.com/interviews/ceda.htm

- "Save the Families - The Women of Orahovac Speak," at <http://www.emperors-clothes.com/misc/savethe.htm>
- "The UN appoints an alleged war criminal in Kosovo" by Prof. Michel Chossudovsky at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/chuss/unandthe.htm>



Blaming the Serbian Victims

Over 87 Orthodox Christian churches have been destroyed since the UN and NATO invaded the Serbian province of Kosovo last June. The Clinton regime forced the Kosovo Serbs to disarm. Then the NATO-allied KLA fascists drove 350,000 Serbs, "Gypsies," Croatian Catholics, Slavic Muslims, Turks, Jews and ethnic Albanians opposed to the KLA out of Kosovo. Their property was stolen or destroyed. Thousands of young girls were literally enslaved. To prevent public outrage at these crimes, US Ambassador to the UN Richard Holbrooke hypocritically evokes Srebrenica. Holbrooke says "Never forget!" He has conveniently forgotten the crimes committed by Clinton-supported Islamist-fascists in Sarajevo and Kosovo.

(For more on the destroyed Orthodox churches in Kosovo see 'Season of Peace' at <http://emperors-clothes.com/churchpics/list.htm>)

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Emperors-clothes has produced a movie that proves these pictures were a hoax. Using original footage it duplicates the steps ITN, the British news station, used to fabricate the phony death camp pictures. You see what it was actually like at Trnopolje, where ITN filmed. You watch as the film is doctored, recreating the Pictures that Fooled the World.

The suggested donation for a copy of the video is \$25 in the US, \$26 in other countries, including shipping. Please send more if you can; we rely on donations to cover our operating expenses. If you can't afford \$25/\$26, send what you can. We want you to have this video, to show it to everyone you can. It jogs the mind that has been fogged with lies, jogs it to think.

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Why has the War Crimes Tribunal for Yugoslavia suppressed forensic testimony about Srebrenica?

by Jared Israel and Max Sinclair (22-6-00)

On June 2, the War Crimes Tribunal or ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia) recessed. Just before it recessed, the Tribunal held a week of forensic testimony in the case of Bosnian Serb General Radislav Krstic. The testimony was duly reported by the ICTY. Those who testified were even named. But none of the testimony was published by the ICTY or leaked to the press. How come?

General Krstic is on trial for his alleged role in what the Tribunal claims was the massacre of thousands of Islamist soldiers which supposedly took place when the Bosnian Serb army took the town of Srebrenica in Bosnian 1995.

I say 'alleged' and 'supposedly' and 'claims' because the only thing the Tribunal has actually proven is that the Serb Army did defeat Islamist forces at Srebrenica in '95.

The rest is accusation unencumbered by evidence.

After four years of press releases full of propaganda and unsupported claims, the Tribunal has not produced a shred of evidence that there was in fact a massacre.

The forensic experts' testimony was the Tribunal's big chance. Finally they could show the public some scientific evidence supporting NATO's claim that General Radislav Krstic's soldiers killed POWs loyal to Nasir Oric in Srebrenica.

Yet there is no news. There is not one article about the testimony. There are no interviews, no emotional statements from forensic experts overwhelmed by the horrors perpetrated by 'The Serbs'. Nothing.

Why not?

Why doesn't the ICTY let the various Forensic Teams publish their findings?

Victims or Villains

Yugoslavia says the whole Krstic trial is an effort to turn matters upside down. That during the period when Islamist forces under Nasir Oric controlled Srebrenica the Islamists killed some 3,000 Serbian and moderate Muslim civilians in the area. Nasser Oric went public at that time, proudly displaying a video of Serbian civilians his troops had mutilated. And Emperors Clothes has access to extensive evidence, collected according to the most rigorous legal standards, supporting the Yugoslav charges.

On the other side, what is there? With all the resources of NATO backing the Tribunal, what is there? There is only... a claim. NATO's claim that Gen. Krstic's soldiers killed 8,000 Islamist POWs.

According to the tribunal, forensic scientists have discovered 1,668 bodies 'in and around the Srebrenica area'. Is this true? We have only the Tribunal's word. And if it is true, whose bodies did the forensic experts find?

Now we are told the experts have testified. Why hasn't their testimony been made public?

Could it be their testimony was incorrect?

Is the ICTY silent because their experts didn't testify the way NATO wanted them to testify?

Because they didn't say thousands of POWs were killed by Krstic's soldiers? Because they did say the bodies they had uncovered were the bodies of Serbian and moderate Muslim civilians murdered by Nasser Oric's terrorists, allied with NATO?

One might object to this line of reasoning. One might say "Why should a court publicize the testimony in a trial? Why should a court treat testimony as if it were propaganda?"

And that would be fair enough except that since its inception the Tribunal has frequently treated testimony as propaganda. And not only testimony that has actually been given but also testimony that may not have been given (i.e., that we are told was given in secret by witnesses later identified by a letter, as in 'the witness L testified that...' as if the ICTY was not a Tribunal at all but a team of ghostwriters for Franz Kafka). Indeed the members of this court have made propaganda out of any and every morsel of rumor or gossip, every image that can be manipulated to attack 'The Serbs.' For example, consider this from the 'Associated Press:'

- "Chief Prosecutor of the International War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia Carla del Ponte, center, looks at a coffin being removed from a mass grave site by ICTY investigators in the village of Qirez, central Kosovo, on Wednesday, June 21, 2000. Del Ponte is on the second day of her visit to Kosovo where she met with U.N. and KFOR officials as well as Albanian and Serb community leaders." (AP Photo/Visar Kryeziu, 6/21/2000)

Aside from the fact that this anti-Serb photo op offers no evidence as to who was actually buried in the graveyard - Serbs killed by the KLA? Serbs, Albanians or 'Gypsies' who died of natural causes? Albanian loyalists assassinated by Albanian secessionists? KLA terrorists shot in battle by the Yugoslav Army?

Aside from the question, "Since when do bloodthirsty mass murderers bury their victims in wooden coffins?" (To which the obvious answer is: "Never.")

Aside from these questions there is another: "Since when do serious international courts send their chief prosecutors to make appearances when coffins are being pulled out of the ground in order to stage mass-grave photo ops?"

To which the answer is: "They don't, not if they are indeed serious international courts." Which suggests that the War Crimes Tribunal is indeed not a serious international court. It is the propaganda arm of NATO, organized by Madeline Albright, financed by NATO, designed and groomed and paid very well thank you to prove that NATO has done and is doing the right thing and that 'The Serbs' are monsters.

So how come this War Crimes Tribunal and its Public Relations staff didn't stage any photo ops with the forensic experts who testified about Srebrenica?

Isn't this a case where silence is eloquent?

The report from the ICTY follows after 'Further Reading.'

Further reading...

1. More evidence: Was the Srebrenica Massacre a Hoax? by René Grémaux and Abe de Vries at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/falsely.htm>

2. The Obligatory Bash by Jared Israel at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/obligato.htm>

3. Back to the dark ages by Jared Israel at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/bac.htm>

4. 'Louise Arbour: Unindicted War Criminal' by Edward Herman and Chris Black at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/herman/louise.htm>

OVERVIEW OF COURT PROCEEDINGS

2 June 2000

KRSTIC CASE

Trial Chamber I – Judges Rodrigues (Presiding), Riad and Wald

The trial of Radislav Krstic entered its seventh week of hearings on Monday 29 May with the conclusion of the testimony of Professor Richard Wright which began on Friday 26 May.

Professor Wright was the supervising archaeologist for the exhumations conducted by the Office of the Prosecutor in 1998 and 1999, and prepared reports on both these exhumations.

The next witness, Dr. Bill Haglund, a forensic anthropologist, was chief of exhumations in 1996.

Dr. Haglund's testimony was followed by that of Jose Pablo Baraybar, an anthropologist who worked on exhumations in connection with the alleged events in and around Srebrenica and prepared reports on the anthropological remains of the graves.

After the conclusion of Jose Baraybar's testimony on Tuesday 30 May, the Prosecution called Dr. John Clark, a forensic pathologist, who worked on the Srebrenica investigation in 1998 and 1999. His testimony concluded on Wednesday 31 May.

The next witness, Christopher Lawrence, was the chief forensic pathologist in Bosnia for the ICTY in 1998.

The court has now adjourned until 19 June 2000.

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Letter from David Rohde 'Emperor's Clothes is Inaccurate'

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Prof. Jovanovic:

As I've said, I'd be happy to discuss Srebrenica with you. The story you sent had several inaccuracies. The wires may have failed to report it, but there has been extensive forensic testimony by prosecution witnesses about the 1,800 bodies that have been found. See the items that follow. The Tribunal has also not recessed for the summer. The Krstic trial resumed this Monday and continues. David

Date: Tue, 6 Jun 2000 14:18:34 +0100 From: Institute for War & Peace Reporting
<info@iwpr.net>

TRIBUNAL UPDATE NO. 178

Last Week in The Hague (May 29 - June 3, 2000)

- * General Krstic Trial: Secrets of Srebrenica's mass graves exposed.
- * Foca Trial: Prosecution withdraws expert witness.
- * "NATO Case": Del Ponte rules out investigation into alleged NATO war crimes.
- * Dodik Visit: Republika Srpska prime minister visits the Tribunal

Tribunal Update is written by IWPR senior editor Mirko Klarin, the leading correspondent covering The Hague court, and Vjera Bogati.

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GENERAL KRSTIC TRIAL

Prosecutors in the trial of General Radislav Krstic sought to strengthen their case last week by calling a series of forensic experts to testify on material evidence collected from the Srebrenica killing fields. Krstic, commander of the Bosnian Serb army Drina Corps, is accused of genocide for his alleged part in the mass murders which followed the fall of the enclave in 1995.

The prosecution opened with material evidence collected from the mass execution sites at Branjevo farm, the Pilica village House of Culture, the Petkovac dam, Kozluk, and the Kravica depot.

These sites, known as primary mass graves, had revealed a wealth of material evidence - bodies and body parts, rifle cartridges, blindfolds, ligatures and personal items belonging to the victims.

In the autumn of 1995, the prosecution contests, Bosnian Serb forces attempted to conceal the scale of the killings by exhuming the primary mass graves and removing the remains to so-called secondary graves scattered around the area. Nevertheless, the forensic teams at Branjevo farm still unearthed 53 complete bodies, 23 almost whole bodies and 170 body parts.

The judges asked why so much evidence remained at these sites if efforts had been made to remove traces of the crimes. Anthropologist William Haglund suggested the work had been done at night and by people who were not aware of the precise size of the graves or the numbers of bodies they contained.

The prosecution then presented evidence from the secondary sites. To date forensic teams have unearthed the remains of at least 1,883 persons from 17 grave sites. The forensic teams explained it was difficult to determine the exact number of bodies because the remains had been cut into several pieces when removed from their original burial places in 1995.

The forensic teams explained how a direct link could be proven between the remains found in the primary and secondary graves and the execution sites by comparing rock, earth and pollen samples found with the remains.

In addition, the teams carried out a comparative ballistic analysis of bullets and cartridges, analysed the fabrics used in blindfolds, in ropes and wires used to bind the victims hands, and tested a range of other objects found in the secondary graves.

The investigation revealed, for example, that 283 people executed at Branjevo farm were later reburied in a secondary grave, Cancari Road 12. Likewise an analysis of glass samples found in secondary grave Cancari Road 3 linked the victims to the primary grave site at Kozluk.

The Kozluk victims had been buried in a mass grave at the Vitinka glass factory's waste disposal. A search at that site had uncovered a number of "forgotten" bodies buried on top of thousands of broken bottles.

Pablo Baraybar, a forensic anthropologist from Peru, said the task facing experts such as himself was to establish the minimum number of bodies in each grave, as well as the sex, age and height of the victims. Baraybar said that of the 1,883 bodies exhumed so far, only one was confirmed as female.

The sex of a further 200 victims could not be determined with certainty, he said. Baraybar said, as far as could be determined, seven victims were aged between 8 and 12, 329 between 13 and 24, and another 1,574 over 25.

Pathologists John Clark and Christopher Lawrence headed the teams which carried out the autopsies on the remains. Clark immediately pointed to the limits of the pathological findings and explained it was difficult to establish the exact cause of death in many cases. He said the teams did not work "in ideal conditions and with ideal bodies."

Most of the remains were skeletons which had suffered multiple injuries after death, Clark said. The injuries included crushing damage from the weight of other bodies, earth and machinery, and cutting damage caused by the heavy digging equipment used to move the remains to secondary graves.

Clark said, however, that autopsies carried out on Kozluk victims revealed 89 per cent had suffered "pierce wounds". Several photographs were shown to illustrate typical wounds, mostly to the back of the head and spine.

Several victims, Clark said, had pierce wounds to their feet and arms, which would not have been fatal. It was therefore impossible to determine the exact cause of death in such cases, he said.

Lawrence, who described himself as "less conservative", pointed out that such wounds would prove fatal if left untreated. Both pathologists agreed it was "quite possible" some victims had been buried alive.

The judges asked if the pierce wounds were consistent with a combat situation. The forensic experts said this was unlikely as most of the wounds indicated the victims were shot from behind, were blindfolded with their hands tied behind their backs.

Next the judges queried the degree of organization required to exhume the original mass graves and transport the remains to secondary sites. Archeologist, Richard Wright, suggested the level of organization for such an operation would be less than that required to carry out the mass executions in the first place.

Wright indicated, however, that the relocation of bodies had been completed in a very short period of time. The more rapid the operation, Wright concluded, the greater the degree of organization required.

Head of the Srebrenica investigation, Jean-Rene Ruez, had opened the presentation of forensic

evidence by stressing the "great effort" made by the Republika Srpska army to cover up traces of the crimes. Ruez pointed out that all primary and secondary graves were located within the Drina Corps', and therefore Krstic's, zone of responsibility.

The Krstic trial will continue June 19.

Date: Wed, 31 May 2000 11:18:43 +0100 From: Institute for War & Peace Reporting
<info@iwpr.net>

TRIBUNAL UPDATE NO. 177

Last Week in The Hague (May 22-27, 2000)

* General Krstic Trial: Srebrenica massacre survivors and perpetrators testify. * Foca Trial: Kunarac - an officer or a pimp? * Kordic & Cerkez Trial: Defence witnesses deny Kordic had military role * "Ojdanic case": Case "closed" says Tribunal president

Tribunal Update is written by IWPR senior editor Mirko Klarin, the leading correspondent covering The Hague court, and Vjera Bogali.

***** VISIT IWPR ON-LINE: www.iwpr.net *****

GENERAL KRSTIC TRIAL

The Srebrenica massacre took centre stage at The Hague Tribunal again last week as prosecutors continued their case against General Radislav Krstic, former commander of the Bosnian Serb Army Drina Corps, accused of genocide and crimes against humanity for his role in the killings in July 1995.

Two survivors of the massacre and a Bosnian Serb Army soldier, who took part in the massacre, testified for the prosecution.

Protected witnesses R and S said they had tried to escape the enclave after its fall on July 11 1995. Like thousands of other Muslim men, they had fled into the surrounding forests and mountains in the hope of reaching territory under the control of the Bosnian army. They were both captured by Serb forces.

Both witnesses said they were interrogated and beaten before being taken away to be executed.

Witness R said he was taken along with nine other detainees to a site near the Konjevic Polje-Nova Kasaba road. One by one, the witness said, the prisoners were shot once in the back. Witness R said he survived because the bullet struck him in the left shoulder. He fell to the ground, feigned death and waited for the soldiers to leave. In the evening, witness R said he fled into the forest.

Witness S said he was in a group of 16 men taken to the river Jadar. Bosnian Serb forces lined the men up along the riverbank, the witness claimed, and opened fire. The witness said bullets struck his hip and back but that he managed to jump into the river. After feigning death for a few moments, witness S said he lifted his head out of the water for air. At that moment the soldiers opened fire on him again but the river currents carried him out of range.

The two witnesses are among eight survivors to appear so far for the prosecution.

One of the main tasks facing the prosecution is to prove that regular units from the Republika Srpska, RS, army participated in the massacre. The evidence offered by Drazen Erdemovic last week was therefore of particular importance.

In an interview with the American television network ABC News and the French Le Figaro newspaper in February 1996, Erdemovic, a former soldier in the RS army, confessed to taking part in the execution of between 1,000 and 1,200 Muslim men on July 16, 1995, at the Branjevo farm.

Erdemovic was subsequently arrested by the Yugoslav authorities. Intense international pressure forced his transfer to The Hague where he pleaded guilty before the Tribunal and offered to co-operate with the prosecution. The Tribunal sentenced Erdemovic to ten years imprisonment

reduced to five on appeal (See Tribunal Updates Nos. 4, 5 and 66.)

Erdemovic has since been released and appeared last week as a protected witness.

During his day long appearance, Erdemovic told the court how on July 16, 1995 he and seven other soldiers from the 10th Sabotage Unit of the RS army were sent to Branjevo farm and ordered to shoot men who would be delivered by bus. Erdemovic said he and other soldiers in the unit protested at the orders but were told to get on with it or face execution themselves.

Erdemovic went on to describe how bus after bus began to arrive, how groups of ten men at a time were led away and shot. Between ten in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon, Erdemovic said, some 20 buses arrived at the farm carrying over 1,000 civilians aged between 17 and 70. Only one man, Erdemovic said, wore military trousers - all the others were in civilian clothing.

Using an aerial photograph of the farm taken on July 17, 1995, Erdemovic pointed out where the buses were parked, where the detainees were taken and where they were shot. A pile of bodies could be seen in the photograph, as well as a freshly dug mass grave.

Erdemovic then identified the other participants in the massacre. One soldier, Stanko Savanovic, had according to Erdemovic boasted about killing 250 to 300 Muslims that day. A still taken from video footage shot on July 12, 1995 in Srebrenica shows Savanovic standing beside Krstic and two other members of the 10th Sabotage Unit.

According to Erdemovic, group commander Brano Gojkovic said he had received an order from the commander of the unit, Lieutenant Milorad Pelemis, to take an eight man squad to the farm. From their base at Vlasenica, the group had set off for the Drina Corp's Zvornik Brigade headquarters.

An unidentified lieutenant colonel and two military policemen from the Drina Corps joined the group at the Zvornik HQ and escorted them to the farm. Once at the farm, Erdemovic said, Gojkovic said he received the order from the lieutenant colonel to shoot the detainees, which he passed on to the other members of the unit. The lieutenant colonel and the military police officers then left but returned to the farm as the last busload of detainees was being led away and shot.

Erdemovic said the lieutenant colonel then tried to send the group to the near-by village of Pilica where 500 Muslims were being held at the House of Culture. Erdemovic and three other soldiers refused to go, protesting that they were not "killing machines". According to Erdemovic, Pelemis had asked a group of soldiers from Bratunac, who had "helped" during the last hours of killing at the farm, to go to Pilica - a task they willingly accepted.

Erdemovic said gun and shellfire could be heard from Pilica several minutes later.

During cross examination Krstic's defence counsel asked Erdemovic if he knew who was in command of the military police he saw at the Drina Corps Zvornik HQ and whether he knew if, on July 16, 1995, units from the Drina Corps were involved in military operations in the vicinity of Zepa. Erdemovic said he did not know the answer to either question.

Much of the defence case hinges on proving the military police were not under Krstic's command and that the accused was involved in military operations around Zepa at the time of the Branjevo massacre.

The latter part of last week's evidence came from the forensic investigations carried out around Srebrenica. Jean-Rene Ruez, leader of the forensic team, told the court that the RS army had gone to great lengths to cover up traces of the Srebrenica crimes during the autumn of 1995.

Aerial photographs supplied to the Tribunal by the US government had been crucial in thwarting those efforts, Ruez said. Ruez said that as evidence of the killings started to leak out in the autumn of 1995, the RS army began to exhume the mass graves and rebury the remains in dozens of smaller, so-called secondary graves.

Spy planes and aerial photographs, taken between July and October 1995, recorded the changes in terrain caused by the reburial. Several dozen pairs of photographs, illustrating the landscape before and after the digging activity, were shown in court. The prosecution also presented video footage and photographs taken by the forensic teams.

Ruez listed five locations - Glagova, Orahovac, Petkovci dam, Kozluk and Branjevo farm - where the Srebrenica victims were initially buried. Aerial photos from July 1995 show freshly dug ground and, in some places, unburied bodies. Photos from September and October 1995 show evidence of heavy construction machinery at the same locations as well as tracks of lorries the prosecution allege were used to remove the exhumed remains to new sites.

Ruez said his forensic teams had discovered evidence at the five mass grave locations pointing to the removal of bodies.

Locating the secondary grave sites proved much more difficult, Ruez said. But again aerial photography had helped the forensic teams uncover dozens of these sites. Ruez said the majority of secondary grave sites had been found in the areas around Zeleni Jadar, 6 sites, Hodzici, 7, Liplje, 4, and Cancari, 12.

Exhumations to date had uncovered the remains of 1,866 victims, Ruez said. The prosecution has estimated that the remains of 2,571 victims have been located so far but not completely exhumed. According to the prosecution at least 7,574 persons disappeared from Srebrenica in July 1995 and are now presumed dead.

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Reply on Srebrenica, sent to Prof. Jovanovic who forwarded it to David Rohde

www.tenc.net

Dear Prof. Jovanovic,

In the note from David Rohde, he said:

".....Prof. Jovanovic: As I've said, I'd be happy to discuss Srebrenica with you. The story you sent had several inaccuracies. The wires may have failed to report it, but there has been extensive forensic testimony by prosecution witnesses about the 1,800 bodies that have been found. See the items that follow. The Tribunal has also not recessed for the summer. The Krstic trial resumed this Monday and continues. David....."

This is an illuminating response to the Emperors-clothes article coming from David Rohde, a true Srebrenica careerist.

First, the point of our article was: why has there been "extensive forensic testimony by prosecution witnesses about the 1,800 bodies that have been found" and yet nothing written in the US media? The ICTY [the so-called War Crimes Tribunal] has also not itself published the full forensic reports. Rohde does not address these crucial concerns; rather he tries to dismiss the article in trivial fashion.

He mentions "inaccuracies" but cites none. I have no idea where he got the notion that we said the "Tribunal had...recessed for the summer" since we said no such thing. We simply stated the Tribunal had adjourned as per the Tribunal's own press release (which we included and which itself mentions the Tribunal would be back in operation on June 23...). Did Mr. Rohde not read what we wrote? Or has his schooling in the new journalism trained him to refute statements that were never made?

It is true that the emperors-clothes article refers to 1,668 bodies allegedly found though the IWPR talks about 1,883 bodies. The 1,668 number comes from a wire story discussing the prior week's testimony. There is no reason, of course, to believe that either of these numbers is accurate. David Rohde should know this; after all he was an early promoter of the "8,000 massacred" claim, now apparently discredited. It would help with the numbers game if the forensic reports were published, though of course the reports could themselves be doctored...but publishing them would be a step.

Our Lexis-Nexis search didn't find one article on the forensic testimony in question; it still does not. Rohde "refutes" this statement by naming one article, that from the IWPR, a small pro-NATO agit-prop group funded by Soros et al. But come on, Mr. Rohde; you don't work for a struggling Website like Emperors-Clothes. You work for the big bad corporate media. You are Mr. Srebrenica. How come you didn't YOURSELF write anything about a full week of detailed scientific testimony on Srebrenica, the single most important event in your journalistic career?

The IWPR article is illuminating because it supports our contention that the bodies found are more than likely (some) of the 3,200 civilians murdered by Nasir Oric's terrorist Islamist troops and paramilitaries between 1992 and 1995. The existence of so many skeletons suggests the bodies were buried more than 2-3 years prior to discovery. If the bodies had been buried after the July 1995 events, would they have had enough time to completely decompose? But if they were killed and buried in 1993 and examined 6 years later...a bit more likely, eh?

In addition, the ICTY testimony indicates some bodies were found in villages where Nasir Oric is known to have massacred civilians. The crux of the matter is, ultimately: on the one hand the War Party, represented by David Rohde, claims Gen. Mladic's 2,000 soldiers killed some 7-8,000 of Nasir Oric's brutes either after or immediately prior to their surrender. (This by the way would put them in a junior league compared with what Clinton's Drug Czar did to probably a much larger number of surrendering Iraqi soldiers, according to Seymour Hirsch...and of course the Iraqis had not been massacring American women and children for three years...) On the other hand; many people believe Nasir Oric murdered some 3,200 civilians over a 3 year period. Both

sides have "eyewitness testimony."

Aside from the fact that Nasir Oric himself confessed (or, should I say, boasted about) these crimes, "Eyewitness testimony" is suspect especially when offered to support forces (such as NATO) which have most of the world's military/economic strength at their disposal. Eyewitness testimony has been discredited a number of times at the ICTY. A son testified that he personally witnessed his neighbors slash his father's throat leaving him to bleed to death.....yet the father turns out to be alive and well. The son had merely been coached by the (unelected) Izetbegovic regime to testify to his father's murder. The ICTY kept a file on "Gruban" the notorious war criminal whose evil role was discovered by Roy Guttman. Only it turned out Roy was taken for the fool he is. "Gruban" is a fictional character from a well known Yugoslav book. Meanwhile, the ICTY grimly entertains the world with secret testimony from characters named "L" who may exist or may be borrowed from Kafka.

In order to discover exactly what happened at Srebrenica, we can't rely on hearsay and secret hearsay evidence, lurid tales and the like. We need to deal with facts. What about all the murdered Islamist soldiers whose names turn up later on voter lists? What about the satellite photos that disappeared? Why has there not been full disclosure of forensic reports? This disclosure would be only a start - it would need to be followed by full examination of the reports and the remains themselves by neutral forensic experts. We know, we know, this smacks of Due Process, a subversive notion.

Are these allegedly discovered remains the bodies of civilians murdered by Nasir Oric or of Soldiers who had just surrendered? So far the only hard evidence is the video which Oric displayed, the video of civilians his troops had beheaded.

Why hasn't Rohde himself demanded full disclosure of the reports? After all his entire career is based on his "discovery" of Srebrenica. Odd, eh? Is there some stink here even greater than that of death?

Jared Israel and Max Sinclair

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David Rohde, Srebrenica and the New Justice

by Jared Israel (24-7-00)

[Note: An Internet exchange involving Srebrenica media star David Rohde culminated in his taking our argument to the 'New York Times.' Rohde achieved 'NY Times' status by loudly broadcasting Clinton-Albright-et al's smear campaign against the Bosnian Serbs. Will we get to reply to Rohde in the 'Times'? I don't know, but we're going to try. In the meantime, here are some thoughts on Rohde's 'NY Times' article which, frankly, I found shocking. I suppose I shouldn't be shocked anymore. I'm too old.
- Jared Israel]

David Rohde's latest article is entitled "The Battle of Srebrenica Is Now Over the Truth," and one wonders, "Is he trying to be funny?" In the article, Rhode substitutes the manipulation of prejudicial language for facts and analysis (that is, for journalism). In so doing he defines himself: he is not a journalist at all; he is an advertising man. True, he writes ad copy for the richest client in the world, the American Establishment, but it is advertising copy nonetheless and the outfit he works for is nonetheless only the most influential advertising agency in the world, the 'NY Times.'

In the article, Rhode has two goals: First, to leave readers with the impression that the Srebrenica massacre story has been proven true beyond reasonable doubt and, second, to discredit those of us who have used the Internet to ferret out and disseminate information about Srebrenica, information which has raised a whole mess of doubts concerning the Srebrenica charges, from which Mr. Rohde has constructed a lucrative career. These Internet Critics include Emperor's Clothes, perhaps especially Emperor's Clothes, for a couple of us just had an unpleasant exchange with David Rhode. Unpleasant for Mr. Rhode that is; he doesn't like losing. And why should he? He is paid to win.

A bit later we have reprinted an excerpt from Rohde's article. In it he takes on his critics in his customary manner; that is, he smears us.

APPEAL TO PREJUDICE

Rhode writes that the Srebrenica Critics are "some American and European leftists." In fact we include people from all over the political spectrum. It is not political ideology that unites us but a distaste for lies. But if the leftist label is inaccurate it is nonetheless handy, for it allows readers to dismiss the Critics as ideological zealots who need not be taken seriously.

Appeal to prejudice # 1: Rhode asserts that our views "radiate out from Belgrade." This is pretty silly stuff. Does Rohde view Belgrade as the hub of some political Empire, dispensing billions of dollars and employing an army of agents to subvert other countries? Has he confused Belgrade with Washington? The articles that launched the Internet critique of Srebrenica didn't come from Yugoslavia at all, they came from George Pumphrey (an American political analyst in Berlin) and Abe de Vries (a journalist in the Netherlands) and Diana Johnstone (an American political analyst in Paris.)

Appeal to prejudice # 2: Rohde misrepresents our arguments, saying we support "Serb nationalist claims that Western governments and journalists exaggerated Serb war crimes." Aside from the pointless "Serb nationalist" bait - who cares whether they are nationalists or dentists as long as they are in fact being falsely accused by Mr. Rohde and his friends - aside from this silly bait, we do not say that Mr. Rohde's claims are exaggerated. We say they are lies. We say that NATO has produced no evidence that Serbian forces massacred anyone at Srebrenica. We say that a person (or a people) should be viewed as innocent until proven guilty, that this business of positing a crime and then spending five years failing to produce any evidence that it occurred is nightmare Justice. Meanwhile, we have done a little looking ourselves and discovered that there is

real proof that Islamist terrorists (the 'Bosnian Muslim Army') used the UN safe haven in Srebrenica to launch raids on nearby villages, mutilating and killing several thousand Serbs and moderate Muslims. Here is the confession of the commander of that 'Muslim Army,' one Nasir Oric:

- "[On the video tape I saw] burning houses, dead bodies, severed heads, and people fleeing. [Commander] Oric grinned throughout, admiring his handiwork. 'We ambushed them,' he said when a number of dead Serbs appeared on the screen.
- "The next sequence of dead bodies had been done in by explosives: 'We launched those guys to the moon,' he boasted. **When footage of 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." (*Toronto Star*, 7/16/95)

Note that Oric's 'troops' slaughtered villagers, that is civilians, not soldiers. In this they are rooted in a venerable tradition. During War II, the Nazi Islamists in the same area killed Serbian, 'Gypsy' and Jewish civilians by means of mutilation, using so-called "cold weapons" - knives, hammers, axes. They liked to be photographed displaying 'trophies' acquired in this manner, that is, holding the severed heads of their victims.

Here again is Commander Oric:

- "**Nasir Oric's war trophies** don't line the wall of his comfortable apartment. They're on videocassette tape: burned Serb houses and **headless Serb men**, 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...Reclining on an overstuffed couch, clothed head to toe in camouflage fatigues, U.S. Army patch proudly displayed over his heart... commander Oric is the toughest guy in this town the Muslim [of Srebrenica], which the U.N. Security Council has declared a protected 'safe area.'" (*Washington Post*, 16/02/94)

Note, first of all, that the above articles were written during the period (1993-1995) that Srebrenica was a so-called UN safe haven, when the Islamist 'Army' was supposedly disarmed and therefore at the mercy of the bad Serbs.

Note, second of all, that the Bush and Clinton administrations strongly supported (and still support) the Islamist regime in Sarajevo. (The Western press calls the Sarajevo regime 'Muslim' but the correct word is 'Islamist'. The press shuns the term 'Islamist' because it has an unappealing ring, suggesting an intolerance of differing ideologies and a goal of creating a purely Islamic state. Unfortunately for the media, Bosnian 'President' Alijah Izetbegovic wrote a book. Republished in 1990 (as part of Izetbegovic's Presidential election campaign), it explains his views:

"...There can be no peace or coexistence between the "Islamic faith" and non-Islamic societies and political institutions. Islam clearly excludes the right and possibility of activity of any strange ideology on its own turf...and the state should be an expression ... of the religion. ..." (*Islamska Deklaracija*, p. 22)

Izetbegovic's views were not those of most Bosnian Muslims. Thus in the 1990 elections he came in behind Fikret Abdic, a secular Muslim politician whose forces were militarily allied with the Bosnian Serbs during the fighting from 1992 to 1995. For more on Mr. Abdic, see <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/abdic.htm>

Note third of all, that Commander Oric was not some sort of renegade. He and his killers were an official part of the Islamist regime's army. Did Oric wear a US army patch 'proudly displayed' over his terrorist heart by way of recognition of all the support Uncle Sam gave the Islamists?

Note fourth of all that the Post writer expresses no horror concerning Oric's unbelievable crimes. Is that because the victims were Serbs?

PROOF BY DEFINITION

Getting back to Mr. Rohde, he also attempts to dismiss the Critics by labeling us "revisionists." This is a big word which shows Rohde has been hitting the books. Here is the dictionary

definition:

- **re-vi-sion-ist** - re-vi-sion-ist (rĭ-vĭzh'ē-nĭst') *noun* 1. One who advocates the revision of an accepted, usually long-standing view, theory, or doctrine, especially a revision of historical events and movements

Despite their control of the Western media, despite their control of NATO's armed forces, despite hiring an army of forensic experts and a full stable of War Crimes Tribunal employees - despite all this, the US elite has yet to provide a shred of evidence that the Bosnian Serbs committed war crimes at Srebrenica. But Mr. Rohde finesses this problem: he names us *revisionists*. Since a *revisionist* is one who revises the "accepted" view of "historical events," by so defining us Mr. Rohde 'proves' the Srebrenica charges are true. Neat, huh?

Having thus flailed his opponents with a variety of labels ("leftist", "Belgrade", "nationalists" and of course "revisionists") Mr. Rohde concludes with the following *coup de grâce*:

- "In the case of Srebrenica," says Rhode, "the slow pace of efforts to recover and count bodies has created an opening for denials of what occurred five years ago."

Indeed.

One might think that the failure to produce evidence that a crime has occurred should lead one to question the validity of the criminal charge; but that is old fashioned. In the New World Order system of Justice, NATO need only charge an individual or group with criminal guilt for guilt to be assured and the nonexistence of the crime in question in no way mitigates the guilt of the accused, especially if said crime is heinous. Thus fictional murder is a good deal worse than fictional theft and fictional Genocide is the worst crime of all, putting one in the category, 'similar to Hitler.'

A lack of evidence of guilt, or the presence of evidence of innocence, in no way constitutes legal remedy for a criminal charge; it is simply an annoyance since it encourages in some people (such as writers at Emperor's Clothes) a psychological aberration: the denial of guilt.

Here's the excerpt from Rohde, followed by further comments. A link to the entire article is provided at the end.

- "In that uncertain atmosphere, the bodies have become part of a broader propaganda battle, being waged across the former Yugoslavia, Europe and the United States. Aided by the Internet, a revisionist interpretation of the war has begun to radiate out from Belgrade; some American and European leftists, who a year ago took exception to NATO's bombing of Kosovo, are now backing Serb nationalist claims that Western governments and journalists exaggerated Serb war crimes not only in Kosovo but in Bosnia as well.
- "In the case of Srebrenica, the slow pace of efforts to recover and count bodies has created an opening for denials of what occurred five years ago. After Bosnian Muslims turned their heavy weapons over to United Nations peacekeepers in exchange for having Srebrenica declared a protected "safe area" in 1993, Dutch peacekeepers and United Nations commanders did little to protect the town when Bosnian Serb forces attacked in 1995." (NY Times, Week in Review July 9, 2000)

A LOADED DECK

Aside from the attacks on us revisionists, Rohde's article is structured so that the casual reader will leave with a comfortable reaffirmation of Serbian guilt. He begins:

- "For two years, thousands of bodies packed in white plastic bags have been awaiting burial in central Bosnia."

This sensationalist sentence sets the tone. In the next paragraph he informs us that "rats were allowed to feast on the bodies" (note, they didn't just knaw on the cadavrs, horrible enough; they feasted). Another paragraph refers to "7000 Muslim soldiers" who were definitely massacred. It is only later that we learn a) the very existence of a massacre is challenged by "revisionists" and b) "to date, 1,866 bodies [not thousands] have been recovered from mass graves, according to tribunal investigators." And Rohde never mentions that: "After five years we have found 160 mass graves, but we have no idea who the people are." ("Mail on Sunday," June 18, 2000).

Five years of digging. Five years of Rohde slandering the Serbs. No idea who the bodies are. They could be massacred Muslims. They could be massacred Serbs. They could be dead Serbian soldiers, or dead terrorists, or just plain dead people, just poor dead souls, people who died, as we all die, sooner or later.

There you have it, folks. Five years later. No evidence. So what?

The full text of Rohde's article can be read at
www.nytimes.com/library/review/070900srebrenica-review.html

For most informative exchanges between Prof. Drasko Jovanovic, David Rohde, Jared Israel and Max Sinclair, See '[Mr. Rohde, Srebrenica, and a little historical reality](#)' or go to www.emperors-clothes.com/letters/mrrohde.htm

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'Fare well Mr. Rohde. Continue making your living by telling the Srebrenica story'

A letter from Prof. Drasko Jovanovic

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Note: When Rohde did not reply to the letter from Max and me, which Professor Jovanovic had forwarded to him, Jovanovic wrote to Rhode. (His comments refer to Rhode's article in the 'NY Times' of July 9, 2000.)

Dear Mr. Rohde,

After reading your article today in the New York Times I have come to a closure: I will never learn the truth about Srebrenica. You have to make a living and thus mostly play the tune you are paid for to play. I am a scientist and in addition a Serb, and thus reluctant to accept anything but hard facts and true evidence.

I was expecting that you who have been there and talked to people will bring some solid, irrefutable evidence that civilian males, not soldiers, were taken away from their families, to some location and executed. Number always quoted is 7000. Now I mentioned to you that as a eleven year old I was almost a witness of a similar massacre of males, including high school seniors of 7000 in Kragujevac. No hands were tied, no eyes were wrapped, they were taken in groups of 100 in front of the machine gun and shot. To tie hands or to even screen the eyes would take too long, and yet the shooting lasted three days. You see after each group bodies had to be moved those still moving shot in the head again etc.

And they were buried at the same spot. Now you tell me that "huge Serb effort to hide bodies by moving and reburying them" has taken place. This operation would had to take longer than the shooting itself. I estimate that about 70 trucks had to be employed, designated sites dispersed over Bosnian hills dug up and bodies reburied. I find this hard to believe. The war was still going on. Gasoline was in shortage, bulldozers had to be used for exhumation and reburial. All that. I expected of you to tell me some details, believable how all that was executed. You were there. You talked to people. Presumably Serbs too. Could you not find one or two among the thousands and thousand willing to talk. Anonymously.

What you are producing is that 1,866 bodies have been found. In how many graves? Are they all civilians massacred or soldiers killed in battle. Armed or unarmed. All you say 1,866 bodies were recovered from mass graves. Do you think Serbs were planting the bodies all over like the potatoes? And with all the audacity you state: "in the thirty remaining graves, believed to hold as many as 2,000 bodies..." This still leaves 3,134 bodies yet unaccounted for. And yet you as well as others persist in calling the Srebrenica massacre of 7,000.

So fare well Mr. Rohde. Continue making your living by telling the Srebrenica story. I will have to find other sources which I can trust and believe before I assume the burden of guilt of being the Serb.

Sincerely yours,
Drasko Jovanovic

Senior Physicist, Emeritus, Fermilab
visiting professor UIUC

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Still More Evidence - *Was the Srebrenica 'Massacre' a Hoax?*

By René Grémaux and Abe de Vries

Introduction:

The Answer Is, 'Yes!'

by Jared Israel (4-28-00)

- "Everybody is parroting everybody, but nobody shows hard evidence. I notice that in the Netherlands people want to prove at all costs that genocide has been committed. (...) If executions have taken place, the Serbs have been hiding it damn well. Thus, I don't believe any of it. The day after the collapse of Srebrenica, July 13, I arrived in Bratunac and stayed there for eight days. I was able to go wherever I wanted to. I was granted all possible assistance; nowhere was I stopped." (Captain Schouten quoted below. Captain Schouten was the only UN military officer in Bratunac at the time the alleged bloodbath called Srebrenica was supposed to have taken place.)

Srebrenica. The name accuses: massacre. 7000 dead. 8000 dead.

But did it happen?

General R. Krstic, commander of the Bosnian Serb troops who took Srebrenica in July 1995 has been seized by NATO, put on trial for war crimes.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Commanding General Mladic are indicted, hunted, trashed as criminals in the media. Virtually the entire Bosnian Serb leadership is under threat of arrest for Srebrenica.

But did it happen?

Srebrenica is NATO's remedy; it compensates all sins. Did the Croatian Army drive 200,000 Serbs from the Krajina section of Yugoslavia? Were they trained, led and given air cover by US forces? Perhaps, but what about Srebrenica?

Didn't the Serbs deserve it?

By telling and retelling the story of Srebrenica over the past four and a half years the media has been able to portray the Bosnian Islamist fighters as victims and therefore humane.

Naser Oric was the Islamist Commander at Srebrenica. This gentleman met with journalists, showed them videos of the bodies of Serbian civilians decapitated by his troops during raids on nearby villages. Oric's boasts had a purpose: to instill terror. During World War II, pro-Nazi Islamist and Croatian Ustashe forces slaughtered Serbian peasants. Every Serbian family lost people. Every Serbian family remembers. By carrying out such terror in the '90s, and boasting of it, the Islamist forces were waging a psychological war. The message to Serbs was: 'We're back. Flee or die.'

But what about the Serbs? Did they respond in kind?

The following article, though very definitely not 'pro-Serb' (as you shall see, the writers assume there must be some truth to the charges) nevertheless presents strong evidence that:

- 1) The Islamist forces in Srebrenica employed vicious terror against Serbian civilians;
- 2) The supposed eyewitness reports of Serbian revenge killings at Srebrenica which have been much trumpeted by the mass media, are thoroughly contradictory. Not only do different witnesses give contradictory accounts but witnesses tell contradictory stories to different reporters;
- 3) There is no hard evidence that a massacre actually took place;
- 4) The western media has reported inconsistent and contradictory anti-Serb rumors as if they are all the Gospel truth;
- 5) Serbian observers have been falsely quoted as admitting the massacre took place;
- 6) And perhaps most important, Dutch military officers - that is, the UN officers who were on the scene when the Serbs took Srebrenica in 1995 - report there was no massacre.

In our opinion, the article below sometimes errs by seeming to accept the Western media line that a massacre definitely happened at Srebrenica. The authors do this in small ways, sometimes in the way they phrase things, sometimes in actual statements. It is a minor blemish, for the facts presented overwhelmingly contradict official massacre claims. Yet these little blemishes have an affect; on a few occasions we have taken the liberty of commenting. Our comments appear in brackets {like this}.

Here's the article:

The Construction of a trauma

By René Grémaux and Abe de Vries

Translated by 'Targets,' the Dutch independent Website and newspaper ([Subscription info at end of article](#))

Edited by Jared Israel and Nebojsa Malic

Originally published in 'De Groene Amsterdammer', 13/3/96.

- "Horrible slaughter and large numbers of missing people. That is what we think about in the Netherlands when Srebrenica is mentioned.... But were the Muslims really victims of the Serbs on such a large scale? And more important: were they so innocent themselves?"

LIEUTENANT COLONEL Karremans, the man who terribly irritated Dutch politicians, has been promoted to the rank of colonel.

- "The Muslims burned 192 villages in Eastern Bosnia," he declared guilelessly at a poorly prepared press-conference in Zagreb. "Therefore I am saying that in this war there are no 'good guys' and 'bad guys'." (Dutch UN officer Karremans)

Pure Serb propaganda, was the verdict of the press as well as The Hague establishment. Karremans' admiration of the military genius of Ratko Mladic - the Bosnian-Serb commander indicted for war crimes - was also objected to, not to mention their alcoholic encounter, cleverly filmed and broadcast by TV Pale [in Bosnia].

If we are to believe Secretaries of State Pronk and Voorhoeve, genocide took place. Supposedly as the Serbs drove into the city, DUTCHBAT [the Dutch Battalion] couldn't do much more than watch impotently...

Thus Srebrenica became the symbol of our national shame. "Our boys" had given in to Mladic's cut-throats and thus became accomplice to the cruelest European bloodbath since

the Second World War.

This is the dominant picture. But it is not the only view, nor is it complete. This becomes clear when examining conversations with experts and Serbian refugees, as well as making a detailed comparison of various reports and newspaper articles. All claims considered, how many Muslims really *are* missing? How reliable are eyewitness reports of mass executions? What is true about the rumors that some Muslim factions fought each other? And did Muslims destroy all those Serb villages and kill the inhabitants [before Serb troops retook the city] or did they not?

A Serbian Cameraman Denies Seeing Any Crime

BELGRADE, A CHILLY evening in January.

Serb cameraman and journalist Zoran Petrovic-Pirocanac is angry. He is considering legal measures now that his work is regarded as a piece of evidence concerning mass murder. The German weekly magazine *Stern* of 16 November 1995, placed the following caption under a picture taken from his videotape:

- "Seconds before the murder: Armed Serbs contain a group of Muslims near Konjevic Polje. A Serb cameraman shot the scene until the first rounds were fired."

But Petrovic says he spent plenty of time at the scene, before as well as after he filmed. And – he did not notice any crime.

Besides, he does not recognize the words Frank Westerman and Harm van den Berg of the Dutch daily *'NRC Handelsblad'* put in his mouth: "In total, our forces have massacred two thousand Muslims." According to Petrovic, the Muslims were not massacred, though many did die.

IN THE AREA of Konjevic Polje, a long column of Muslims (soldiers, militia, armed and unarmed civilians) tried to break out to [the city of] Tuzla and on July 12 and 13, 1995 attempted to cross the strategically important road that connects Pale to Belgrade, via Zvornik. Despite being ambushed by the Serbs, the operation was a big success, as General Rasim Delic, supreme commander of the Bosnian [Islamist] Army later told the Parliament in Sarajevo. What happened to the unfortunate few that did not make it, however, remains a mystery. Even the number of people involved is not known. Some died, some were taken prisoner and possibly executed on the spot, and others are supposed to have been moved to Bratunac.

Mevludin Oric - a credible witness?

A small number of witnesses say that this group was taken by lorry and bus to one or two execution spots on July 14, in the vicinity of the village of Karakaj, close to Zvornik. They talk about mass murders with two thousand or more victims.

How credible is their charge? One of them is 25-year-old soldier Mevludin Oric, born in a town not far from Srebrenica. Though asked by The Hague tribunal to refrain from public appearances, he gave an exclusive interview last October to the Croatian magazine *'Nedjeljna Dabnacija'*...

- "Oric, who said 'My father has disappeared, my four brothers-in-law and many of my cousins have been murdered,' has turned out to be a relative of Naser Oric, Commander of [Islamist forces in] Srebrenica and accused by Serbs of war crimes ('the Beast of Bosnia') and against whom the tribunal is preparing an indictment.
- "Mevludin Oric left as a volunteer to Croatia in January 1992, getting military training there. He...ended up as a member of the infamous Croatian volunteer brigade 'King Tomislav' in Herzegovina, where he helped with the occupation of the barracks at Capljina (which later became a POW camp for Serbs). After a short holiday in Croatia, Oric crossed the Sava River, together with other volunteers, to fight the 'Chetniks' [name used for Serb soldiers by the Muslims and Croats, meant to be derogatory] in the town of Orasje. It is in this area, the Posavina, that the first mass murder took place – and the war hadn't even started. Its victims were not Croats or Muslims, but Serbs." (Sijekovac, March 27, 1992).

Volunteers like Oric formed the core of the military police of the HVO [the paramilitary Croatian Council of Defence] and took care of "supplies" for the elaborate system of

Muslim-Croat prison camps that was created in this area.

When Oric learned about the fighting around Srebrenica, he decided to return to his native soil. In the interview, he claims to have served as a "commander of a sabotage unit." He knew the area around the town like no one else and the night before the exodus of the Muslims he already knew that "no more than half of us would make it."

Oric left in the rearguard of the column that stretched for miles. He was captured near Kravica and claims the Serbs took him via Bratunac to a school gymnasium in the town of Glumina, west of Zvornik. From there, the men were supposedly transported in lorries to the site of execution. And yet Oric can still talk about it, just like 55-year-old Hurem Suljic, 63-year-old Smail Hodzic and a seventeen-year-old boy named Nedžad Avdic.

Oric's personal history is reason enough for doubt, but the inconsistencies in the accounts of Smail Hodzic and Hurem Suljic are obvious as well.

Smail Hodzic: A basketball stadium becomes a soccer stadium becomes a school

Hodzic Story 1: Hodzic first said he witnessed ambushes by the Serbs on the road to Zvornik. He was captured and then moved to a "basketball stadium near Bratunac" and subsequently taken to the execution spot, "a large field not far from a forest," he declared to Alexandra Stiglmeier in *Die Woche* of July 28.

Hodzic Story 2: Soon thereafter, Hodzic told Roy Gutman (in *Die Tageszeitung* of August 11), that he was held at the "soccer stadium in Nova Kasaba," from where he and others were moved to be killed, "probably in a town called Grbavce."

Hodzic Story 3: In the third version, told on October 4 to Aida Cerkez of *Associated Press*, Hodzic went through the same experience as Oric, Suljic and Avdic. Now he was taken to "a school in Krizevci" and the executions now took place not far from Karakaj.

Hurem Suljic: Murder in a school becomes beatings in a department store

Murders were committed at this school according to Suljic as well. On February 16 of that year, he spoke on *BBC Newsnight*. Footage of a not specified "school near Karakaj" indeed showed bullet holes, one in the ceiling and one at the toilet. But in the elaborate coverage of Suljic in *The Washington Post* of 6 November 1995, there isn't a word about executions in a school; there is mention of beatings in a department store near Bratunac, a location where Suljic supposedly was kept prisoner.

Serbian woman: A school becomes a sports complex

Woman's Story# 1: Bratunac is the location of another school where massacres supposedly took place, according to Robert Block in *The Independent*, July, 1995. A woman is quoted. She is supposedly an inhabitant of Serbia who recently visited her brother-in-law, a soldier in the Bosnian Serb Army: "He and his friends are quite open-hearted about what happened over there," she said. "They are killing Muslim soldiers. They said that only yesterday (note: Monday, July 17) they killed one thousand six hundred, and they estimate to have killed about four thousand in total. They said to be in great hurry, and therefore shot most of them."

Woman's Story# 2: A few days later, Block's colleague Louise Branson of *The Sunday Times* brought the Serbian woman into the spotlight. Her {supposed!- our note, ed.} husband, also fighting in the Bosnian Serb Army, mentioned mass shootings with more than three thousand dead. But not in a school in Bratunac. In a sports complex.

Up to this moment, human rights groups such as Human Rights Watch have not been able to trace survivors of this crime. "There has to be a more detailed investigation, in order to establish the scale of violation of human rights that have taken place in the area of Bratunac," says their respective report.

[*Emperor's Clothes note:* The authors say Human Rights Watch has not been "able to trace survivors of this crime." Thus they assume there was indeed a crime. Likewise, Human Rights Watch, whom many accuse of being a humanitarian arm of US covert services, speaks of establishing the "scale of violation" which again assumes there have been violations. Since

the first question is "Did a massacre actually take place" and since so far the authors have demonstrated only that a) the Dutch UN military officers who were present don't believe it and b) the eye witnesses are ridiculously mutually-and-self-contradictory (if they offered such testimony in a legitimate court they would be arrested for perjury!) - given all that, why make this assumption of guilt? Could it be that the authors are themselves affected by the climate of anti-Serb propaganda even while honorably reporting evidence that contradicts their preconceptions? - Jared Israel]

Dutch military officer: "I don't believe it."

IT IS NOTICEABLE, however, that there has been little attention to the account of Captain Schouten, although this Dutchman was the only UN military officer in Bratunac, where he stayed for several days, at the time the alleged bloodbath took place. Schouten, quoted in *Het Parool* of July 27, 1995:

- "Everybody is parroting everybody, but nobody shows hard evidence. I notice that in the Netherlands people want to prove at all costs that genocide has been committed. (...) If executions have taken place, the Serbs have been hiding it damn well. Thus, I don't believe any of it. The day after the collapse of Srebrenica, July 13, I arrived in Bratunac and stayed there for eight days. I was able to go wherever I wanted to. I was granted all possible assistance; nowhere was I stopped."

Milivoje Ivanisevic, a Serbian publicist who has described the events in and around Srebrenica since 1992 in minute detail, confirms Schouten's story. From 6th until 16th of July, he was on the spot.

"No mass executions have taken place between Srebrenica and Bratunac," he said during a meeting with one of us in January in Belgrade. "During the liberation of Srebrenica, five hundred Muslims were killed in the direct vicinity. I don't know what happened elsewhere. I wasn't there and therefore couldn't see what was going on." Ivanisevic calls it highly unlikely that large numbers of Muslim soldiers were deliberately killed after surrender or being captured. Maybe excesses took place, due to the large size of the groups that were taken prisoner and the sometimes small number of Serb guards, but according to him the intention was to keep as many men alive as possible, so they could be exchanged for Serbs that were held somewhere else.

In his view the Muslims were even lucky to be treated the way they were. "You should have seen the women, with all those children on their laps, that we have provided transport for. They would have treated us very differently." He shows pictures of an Orthodox church that was turned into a goat pen, of destroyed Serb tombstones and of "granny Iva" (Ivanka Mirkovic), the only Serb who remained in Srebrenica, who was found on July 12 with her throat cut.

NO MATTER IF a few hundred were killed, as is whispered in some places in Serbia, or seven thousand, as is feared elsewhere. If people were executed without a trial, it is a war crime for which the guilty must be punished.

On the other hand, the enormous distinction between the search for mass graves of Muslims by the Western media, human rights organizations and government officials and the lack of interest in the over one thousand deaths of Serbs - mainly civilians - in and around Srebrenica since the war started is appalling. In order to understand how this could happen, we must take a look at the social and geographic factors and the recent regional history.

The background

In 1991 the municipality of Srebrenica had 37,211 inhabitants, of which 27,118 were Muslims (72.8 percent) and 9,381 Serbs (25.2 percent). Bratunac had 33,575 inhabitants: 21,564 Muslims (64.2 percent) and 11,479 Serbs (34.2 percent). As farmers, the Serbs on average owned more land than Muslims. "Ethnic mixing" only existed in the eyes of a superficial observer; most villages and townships had distinct ethnic-religious majorities, being either Serb or Muslim. This became a problem just prior to the war, when tension rose and both groups started to feel vulnerable.

Muslims no longer responded to draft into the JNA, the Yugoslav Federal Army. Serbs were no longer called for service in the local Territorial Defence and police reserves. As

Serbs relied on protection by the JNA, Croatian militia trained Muslim groups. SDA, the Muslim party of [Islamist leader] Alija Izetbegovic, provided the weapons.

One of the reasons for the mounting Serb suspicion was the SDA Congress held in December 1991. This party...decided to implement a radical ethnic policy. The ultimate goal was the *džamahirija* or Islamist State. Muslims had to settle Eastern Bosnia in large numbers. A *cordon sanitaire* took shape between Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs in the north, while in the south a demographic and territorial connection with Sandzak [north of Kosovo in Serbia] and Kosovo was desirable. Thousands of Muslims from Sandzak migrated to Bosnia, and descendants of Bosnian Muslims who had settled over a period of time in Turkey received an appeal to return.

IN THE BEGINNING OF 1992, Serbs were shocked again as invitations were distributed throughout the republic for a mass meeting of Muslims at Bratunac, to be held at the first day of the *Bajram*, the celebratory end of the Ramadan. The initiative for this event at the "geographic centre of Muslims from entire Yugoslavia" came from the National Muslim Council which openly advocated arming people and establishing a Muslim state within the Bosnian boundaries. Armed Muslim gangs, some of them factions of the Patriotic League – which was formed in the neighboring Vlasenica – started to intimidate Serb inhabitants of smaller towns with Muslim majorities on April 12, 1992. But let there be no misunderstanding, the Muslims themselves were scared of militia from outside the region. In this context, Ivanisevic speaks about a "balance of fear." Mutual deterrence, whereby militia and armed civilians spy on their neighbors or keep them hostage, quickly led to a drama.

On 20 April 1992, the day before Serbs took Vlasenica and drove the Muslims out of the city, five Serbs died in the area of Srebrenica. They were probably members of the Jovic militia, a group of non-local Serbs. On May 6 (the Orthodox holiday of Saint George – *Djurdjevdan*), Muslims from Potocari and Srebrenica carried out an attack on the villages of Gniona and Bljeceva. Serbian houses were looted and burned, and part of the population did not survive the ordeal. Leading the attack on Gniona was Naser Oric. The following day, seven Serbs died in an ambush at Osmace.

On May 8, judge Goran Zekic, Member of Parliament and leader of the Srebrenica SDS (the Serb nationalist party), was lured into an ambush and killed. Almost all of sixteen hundred Serbs living in the city decided to leave after this incident. In the night of May 8, they left in large numbers towards Bratunac, where they were called "kukavice" (cowards). Cerska, Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde became a refuge for thousands of Muslims who were chased away by Serb offensives, but Serbs were also victims of ethnic cleansing.

At first, between May 1992 and April 1993, all towns with a Serbian majority were attacked. Then towns with a Serbian minority were surrounded by Muslim towns, and eventually whole areas with a dense Serb population – Podravanja, Kravica and Skelani – were targeted. The Bosnian Serb weekly *Javnost* reported on 23 December 1995, that in the entire Podrinje – the area on Bosnia's side of the Drina River between Zvornik in the north and Visegrad in the south – 192 villages were burned, 2800 Serbs were killed and six thousand injured. According to Ivanisevic, more than a hundred towns, villages and hamlets in the area of Milici-Srebrenica-Bratunac-Skelani alone were affected.

These crimes [against Serbian civilians] are still waiting for independent investigation, although they have been confirmed by returning Dutch-UN military personnel.

- "Naser Oric gained control over large parts of Bosnia through scorched-earth tactics. Because of this, Karremans is right about it, large massacres of the Serb population were committed. The Netherlands in return is asking for proof. It is asking for evidence because, of course, there are no 'funniest home videotapes' showing raped women and murdered men. But these things did happen!" (Lieutenant Jasper Verplanke of the *Korps Commandotroepen* [the Dutch equivalent of the Green Berets] writing in the Dutch daily *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* of 17 August 1995)

AFTER THE UN declared Srebrenica a 'safe haven' in April 1993, the attacks continued. Speaking about funniest home videos: in February 1994, Naser Oric proudly showed a videotape of a burned town and decapitated bodies of Serbs to John Pomfret of *The Washington Post*. The fact that first the Canadian, and later the Dutch UN contingents could not prevent these kind of actions because they failed to implement the agreed-on disarmament of Muslim forces, testifies in itself to the failure of the "safe area" concept.

"The systematic attacks of Muslim fighters against Bosnian Serb targets around the enclave raised the tension in the area of Srebrenica and were used by the Serbs as a justification for their offensive against the enclave." Secretary of State Voorhoeve reported to the Dutch parliament. The "safe areas" depended too much on cooperation of the warring factions - something that was widely recognized after the collapse of Srebrenica but ignored before this event.

There are various explanations for the attack on the enclave. Serbian bloodthirstiness and desire for ethnic purity is among one of them, but not the most probable. The Pentagon considered it to be an act of revenge for the failed spring offensive by Muslims around Sarajevo. The Podrinje Brigade of the [Muslim] Second Corps was ordered to break out to the Han Pijesak-Vlasenica road and from there march to Srebrenica; the military over there was attempting to connect itself to Zepa. The Serbs on their part pointed out the fact that since the coming of the UN peace force, more than a hundred of their civilians and soldiers had been killed in raids by Muslim commandos. In May and June 1995 alone, the Muslims had supposedly organized ten of these missions, even penetrating the area close to Bratunac.

- "The goal of this action is to eliminate terrorists and is not focussed on civilians, or UN-troops," Mladic wrote to the British UN commander, General Rupert Smith, during the attack on Srebrenica. Serb soldiers, most of them living in this area, carried lists with hundreds of Muslims suspected to have committed war crimes. The arrests of Muslim men partly were of a selective character. "The Serbs knew the men," according to a Dutch UN driver. "They had complete lists and photos. They pointed them out amidst a crowd."

The attack was, according to Mladic, not primarily designed to take the entire enclave. That decision was made after a large number of Muslim fighters decided to give up the Defence and to attempt an extremely risky outbreak in the night of July 10 to Tuzla. "Muslims fled in large numbers the night before the attack," said the Dutch Army representative in Washington, Colonel G. van Oppen, in the *Fries Dagblad* of 13 October 1995: "The question of why this happened was never asked in the Netherlands."

But Michael Evans of *The Times* already knew this on July 13 when he reported, referring to "Western intelligence sources," that Muslim commanders had left the city after a provocation from their side, the night before the first Serb tanks entered the scene. "Prior to the Serb advance the Muslims had fired upon Serb units along the main road to the South. (...) The apparent decision made by the Muslims to leave the city gave the Serbs an unexpected opportunity to seize Srebrenica."

THE ORDER OF EVENTS brings to mind the situation of Gorazde in April 1994. A study made by US Colonel John Sray, former head of UNPROFOR's intelligence service in Sarajevo, reveals what happened:

- "Two British observers were located at an observation post behind Muslim lines. Various attacks by the Serbs were effectively stopped and the position could be defended for a long period. Then the Muslims realized that the British observers were positioned right behind them. During the next Serb attack the Muslims retreated unexpectedly and for no reason. Their only objective was to expose the observers to an attack of the confused Serbs. Serb bullets killed one British soldier and wounded the other, but responsibility for this lies in the hands of the Bosnian Muslims, who hoped to provoke a revenge strike by NATO as a punishment for the killing of a neutral observer."

(John Sray in *Selling the Bosnian Myth to America: Buyer Beware*)

The trap failed in Gorazde, but in Srebrenica no half-measures were taken.

Apart from the flight of the Muslim troops in the night prior to the attack, there are many more indications that the Muslim leadership abandoned the enclave on purpose. The Defence was already weakened because of the fact that best troops had been moved out to Tuzla, Sarajevo and Mt. Treskavica, long before the month of July, according to a commander of a Bosnian Serb special unit. Naser Oric himself, who had sworn never to allow Srebrenica to become Serb as long as he was in charge, was no longer present. "His whereabouts during the months prior to the collapse of Srebrenica are quite a mystery."

according to Charles Lane in *De Volkskrant* of 12 August 1995. But Ivanisevic argues that Oric, together with 2500 of his best troops, was called on duty in April and May of 1995 to an area south of Sarajevo in order to take part in the planned Muslim offensive. Estimates of the number of armed personnel that stayed behind mention six to ten thousand, comprising 3000-4000 regular Army recruits. The Serbs were able to counter this with 3,500 men, all from this region, far better equipped but only accompanied by four outdated tanks. Besides, not more than a few hundred men took part in the attack on the city itself. The difference in capabilities of the two sides seems to underline the opportunistic nature of the Serb offensive. It is also important to take into consideration that the Muslims had suffered heavy losses during supply runs between Srebrenica and Zepa in April, May and June, which could have cast doubts on chances to defend the city in the long run. The area hardly has any natural resources, and is strategically of far less significance than Gorazde, for example.

Eventually, while the "Dayton" agreement was in preparation, the Bosnian government [Izetbegovic] accepted the concept of exchanging territory. Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde for the Serb Sarajevo. Bosnian Minister of foreign affairs Muhammad Sacirbey had already informed Secretary of State Voorhoeve about this option during talks held in May (see *De Volkskrant* of 1 November 1995). The deal came as a blessing for the Americans, so close to the start of an election campaign. The fiercely criticized UN peace force very much wanted to abandon the "safe havens" as well. Srebrenica became the turning point from a military, political and publicity perspective. Only the retreat of the peacekeepers made it possible for NATO to start with the air strikes in September. The wave of horror stories about mass executions overshadowed the Croatian terror in the Krajina and no word got out about the Muslim-Croatian crimes in cities like Glamoc, Grahovo and Sanski Most...

WHAT REMAINS unanswered is the amount of Muslim men missing, who possibly died [in action] or were possibly killed. According to Miroslav Deronjic, official of the new municipality Srebrenica-Skelani, that number is two thousand; according to Amnesty International - four thousand; according to the International Red Cross, between seven and eight thousand; and Muslim sources state eight to twelve thousand. Each number represents an enormous tragedy in itself, but the results are also the product of a hypothetical calculation method. The size of the population before the fall of Srebrenica cannot be known beyond reasonable doubt.

Manipulation with numbers was turned into an art during the Bosnian war, and it is fair to assume that this also happened in Srebrenica...

On July 14, the ICRC [Red Cross] counted 23,000 refugees who were taken by bus to Tuzla, more than half of them children. This group was later joined by thousands of Muslim men who arrived on foot. In total the World Health Organization and the Bosnian government have registered 35,632 refugees from Srebrenica up to this moment. An unknown number of men have not had themselves registered and have been absorbed, as announced by the Bosnian Army, in the 28th division. Others (1,000? 2,000?) have fled to Zepa and Serbia.

MORE THAN TEN THOUSAND persons were registered as missing. "Conclusions about the number of missing people based on this figure has to be done with caution," UN inspector Tadeusz Mazowiecki wrote, "because there may have been double counts in the missing person notices and because resolved cases are not always reported to the Red Cross." It is also possible that names have been forged in an attempt to increase the number of missing people, or in an attempt to escape prosecution for war crimes. Mazowiecki's successor, Elisabeth Rehn, came to the number of 8,000 people whose fate was unknown: five thousand men of military age who left the enclave before the fall, and three thousand men who were separated from their families. Rehn agreed with Mazowiecki, who suspected on the basis of "strong indications" that the missing Muslims had been murdered. During her visit of locations near Srebrenica in January of this year, she seemed to tone down her initial comments a little bit. She was still looking for evidence.

{Editor's Note: The UN bureaucrat accuses the Serbian forces of murder despite the denials of UN military officers on the scene during the fighting. Having made the accusation, the accuser goes "looking for evidence!"}

Miroslav Deronjic also gave his version in a report about the events:

"According to intelligence of the Army of Republika Srpska, around six thousand Muslim conscripts have not joined the convoys for evacuation, but instead continued armed resistance, or tried to force an outbreak through the Serb lines of Defence in the direction of Srebrenica - Kravica - Konjeric Polje - Cerska - Crni Vrh - Tuzla. Skirmishes with this

group (...) have continued for the next twenty days in the district of Konjevic Polje – Cerska – Udrica. A large number of Muslim fighters were killed during the attempt to break through the lines of Defence of Bratunac and Zvornik, or during clashes between their own competing factions. Part of the fighters surrendered – a small number, two hundred – and they have been transferred as prisoners of war to the military prison of Bjeljina. The larger part, around four thousand, reached the territory of the municipality of Tuzla. It is impossible to give exact estimates of the number of Muslim soldiers that died, because the fighting took place over a large area and in different directions."

That Muslims fought each other, as Deronjic argues, cannot be found in the reports of Mazowiecki, Rehn and Human Rights Watch, but is known from statements made by the Dutch UN military personnel.

[This is another indication of the anti-Serb bias of the UN bureaucracy and Human Rights Watch, as opposed to the UN troops!]

At least on two occasions Muslims have clashed with each other. According to general Couzy, the issue was a dispute about the question if the enclave should be defended or abandoned. Yugoslav agency *Tanjug* already reported in February last year about a "heavy conflict and fighting" in the vicinity of the town called Slap, between Muslims who wanted to leave to Macedonia via Serbia and Oric's men, who controlled the Drina crossings in the hamlet of Luka. Later, unconfirmed reports mentioned a rivaling "modest" military unit under command of Osman Suljic. In July, Muslims from Srebrenica who wanted to surrender apparently received a harsh treatment by hard-liners under command of Zulfo Tursun, Ejub Golic and Nezir Mandzic. Such a fight, according to Deronjic, had taken place just after the fall of the enclave at Boko Potok. A team of the Dutch NOS-news discovered the corpses of tens of victims on 3 February.

NOW, CAN WE, looking at everything, say anything about the number of missing people with certainty? The latest number of 7,000, picked by the American State Department, seems to be far too high for the time being, but that the fate of many Muslims who fled is uncertain is a fact. Have they been killed on orders given from the top, or in acts of individual revenge? Are hundreds, maybe thousands of Muslims being held by the Bosnian Serbs and assigned to forced labor, as some refugees in Tuzla assume or at least hope? It is about time that an independent institution investigates suspected mass graves, and interrogates witnesses who might have been accomplices to mass murder (like the Bosnian Serb soldier Drazen Erdemovic, arrested last week). Only then there will be clarity about the real events and the actual magnitude of the tragedy in Srebrenica.

[Emperor's Clothes note: even after all the evidence they have provided, the authors still use language that assumes the credibility of the charges against the Bosnian Serbs. Thus they speak of the need to look for "suspected mass graves." In fact, as George Pumphyrey shows in *Srebrenica: Three years later and still waiting*, the NATO forces have been looking for "suspected mass graves" since 1995 with no result. Perhaps more damning, The US claimed to have satellite photos of mass graves around Srebrenica, but the photos have never been shown to the public. - Jared Israel]

René Grémaux is anthropologist; Abe de Vries was at the time this article was written a history student at the University of Groningen, Netherlands. He is now a reporter for the Dutch paper, 'Trouw'

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Further reading...

Emperor's Clothes has published many articles on Srebrenica. For a list with brief descriptions, go to <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/refutat.htm>

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Thoughts On Srebrenica

by Sarah Standefer [21 July 2001]

Ms. Standefer is a member of Women Against Military Madness (WAMM) whose Web site is located at <http://www.worldwidewamm.org/index.html>

Minneapolis, Minnesota July 20, 2001

With the illegal and dubious "extradition" of Milosevic to the Hague, once again the airwaves and newspapers are referring to the "massacre" of 8000 Muslims by Serbs in Srebrenica, Bosnia in July 1995 when the city was taken over by the Bosnian Serb Army.

This was supposedly the biggest bloodbath in Europe since the holocaust. It gave the war crimes tribunal on Yugoslavia credibility, and is the basis of the indictments against Radko Mladic and Radan Karadzic, alleged war criminals, second only to Milosovic. It justified NATO bombing and was an important piece in demonizing the Serbs. Was it a massacre or a hoax? A close and careful look at the news and official reports at the time cast considerable doubt on the massacre theory. The evidence shows the news media and the State Department played loose and fast with the numbers of Muslims missing. The official charge that they were massacred was supported by evidence which wilted under scrutiny and to date has never been produced. Most important, UN soldiers in and around Srebrenica at the time say there were no massacres.

Because the news then as now was so anti-Serb and gave little if any of that perspective, a little history is in order. In 1991 the municipality of Srebrenica and surrounding area was 73% Muslim and 25% Serb.

There was little ethnic mixing, which became a problem as tension mounted. One reason for Serb suspicion was a growing Muslim movement to establish a Muslim state within the Bosnian boundaries. To accomplish this, Serbs and Serb villages were attacked. A Serb weekly reported in 1995 that in an area around Srebrenica and including 100 villages, hamlets and towns - since 1992 - 2800 Serbs had been killed and 6000 injured in more than 100 villages, towns and hamlets.

These crimes still haven't been officially investigated, although they have been confirmed by Dutch UN military personnel present at the time. The man most responsible for this scorched earth policy was the infamous Naser Oric (1)

These systematic attacks by Muslim fighters against Bosnian Serb enclaves were the reason the Serbs attacked Srebrenica in July 1995.

Mladic, the Serb commander, informed the UN commander that the attack was to eliminate terrorists and not civilians or UN troops. The decision to capture Srebrenica was made when it was realized that Muslim fighters had fled in large numbers the night before the attack. Most probably they left because it wasn't strategically worth it to them to fight for it. (2)

The public was never informed of these events and circumstances. Instead we were inundated with the stories that 8000 Muslim men were missing and presumed massacred. The number is a falsification and misuses the UN and International Red Cross reports which said 3,000-4,000 had made it to Tuzla. Some of them rejoined the Bosnian Muslim forces and some emigrated to NATO countries. Another 3000 men had been arrested in Srebrenica and taken to Serb prisons where the Red Cross visited them.

Captain Schouten, a Dutch UN military officer present in Bratunac, (2) one of the supposed massacre sites, said he didn't believe it happened. He was free to go everywhere and saw no evidence of executions. Captain Schouten's statement was not well covered.

The myth was perpetuated by the efforts to find the corpses. We were told of satellites which could find and take pictures of decomposing bodies in the ground. We were told there were satellite pictures of highly suspicious "disturbed soil" and "mass graves". (A mass grave isn't necessarily a massacre. It is often the way the military will bury the enemy, and then identification is made after the war). When few bodies were discovered, the stories changed. (3) First we were told the Serbs supposedly used corrosive materials to destroy the bodies. When that story didn't hold up, we were told they moved the bodies (how could this happen under the watchful eye of the satellites?)

According to the CIA, a satellite photo near Srebrenica which the press was never allowed to see showed a soccer field filled with hundreds, possibly thousands, of what we were asked to believe were Muslim men (4) and boys. Another photo a couple of days later showed the stadium empty and disturbed soil nearby. The immediate explanation was that the Serbs had murdered and buried all these people. The assumption that a soccer field full one day, empty the next, means those once there had been executed is far-fetched. Even if they were Muslims, a probable explanation would be that the people had been sent to detention camps. Members of the Security Council were not shown the original pictures but copies, and one member said she saw Muslim families, not men and boys.

This, of course, also raises questions about the CIA version. In 1995 Richard Goldstone, the chief prosecutor in the Hague, became impatient with the failure of the US to hand over the satellite photos. They were the evidence the war crimes tribunal needed. The photos have never been turned over and will not because they have been classified as "national security secrets."

Is the U.S. government hiding the proof of a crime or proof that it has no proof of crime?

The massacre at Srebrenica of Muslims by Serbs is a hoax which continues to be trotted out and used to justify the arrest of Milosevic and the criminal US/Nato destruction and bombing of Yugoslavia.

Further reading:

- 1) 'Five Years On & the Lies Continue' by Jared Israel at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/texts.htm>
- 2) For another possible (and rather sinister) reason members of the Islamist Army fled before Srebrenica was re-taken by the Bosnian Serb Army, see 'Refuting the Srebrenica Myth: An Islamist Perspective' by Konstantin Kilibarda at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/kilibarda/islamist.htm>
- 3) 'The Construction of a Trauma' by Abe De Vries at <http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/falsely.htm>
- 4) 'David Rohde, Srebrenica and the New Justice' by Jared Israel at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/fulltext.htm>

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Srebrenica And the Politics of War Crimes

Findings of the Srebrenica Research Group
into the allegations of events and the background leading up to
them, in Srebrenica, Bosnia & Herzegovina, in 1995.



THE NUMBERS GAME

By Jonathan Rooper

Those who have asked questions about the Srebrenica numbers over the last ten years have invariably been treated with withering scorn. At best they have been characterised as would-be revisionists; at worst, deniers of a modern-day holocaust. Yet no serious analysis of events in and around Srebrenica in the summer of 1995 could be complete without detailed examination of the numbers. From the outset the numbers were used and abused, for a variety of political and other purposes, to conceal the fundamental truth of what had happened.

Origins of the massacre allegations

Over the years it has been held to be highly significant that original ballpark estimates for the number who might have been massacred at Srebrenica corresponded closely to the 'missing' list of 7,300 compiled by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). But the early estimates were based on nothing more than the simple combination of an estimated 3,000 men last seen at the UN base at Potocari and an estimated 5,000 people reported 'to have left the enclave before it fell'. Neither of these figures could be considered reliable: the estimate of the Dutch peacekeeping force in Srebrenica (Dutchbat) of males at Potocari was far lower. And, as the British journalist Linda Ryan pointed out in an article in 1996, the words 'before it fell' probably refer to the substantial numbers of the refugee population who had left the safe area days, weeks or months before the Serb takeover to move to other Muslim controlled areas. It was only because the Bosnian Muslim government refused to provide information on what had become of these people that they remained technically 'unaccounted for'.

Perhaps the most startling aspect of the 7-8,000 figure is that it has always been represented as synonymous with the number of people executed. This was never a possibility: numerous contemporary accounts noted that UN and other independent observers had witnessed fierce fighting with significant casualties on both sides. It was also known that others had fled to Muslim-held territory around Tuzla and Zepa, that some had made their way westwards and northwards, and that some had fled into Serbia. It is therefore certain that nowhere near all the missing could have been executed.

These points provide strong reasons for scepticism about the extent of the massacre claims. As further information has emerged over the last ten years, the version of events which was established in 1995 has come to seem more and more unlikely. The most fundamental problem of all is that the arithmetic does not add up.

The sums that don't add up

By the end of the first week in August 1995 35,632 people had been registered by the World Health Organisation and Bosnian Government as displaced persons from the Srebrenica safe area - in other words, survivors of Srebrenica. The Red Cross had also seen and noted that 'several thousand' armed Muslim men from Srebrenica had passed safely behind Muslim lines to an area called Sapna Finger and had then been redeployed to fight elsewhere 'without their families being informed'. As noted above,

some 700 soldiers from Srebrenica had made their way to Zepa, emerging safely from that town when it fell to the Serbs during the last week of July 1995. So there were in total at least 38,000 / 39,000 survivors of Srebrenica – a figure that precisely coincides with the total pre-fall population estimates of the major aid agencies.

Making the sums add up becomes even more difficult because the figures above take no account of casualties from the fighting between the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) and the armed column that left Srebrenica for Muslim-held territory. It is common ground in accounts of what happened that there were significant casualties on both sides from these clashes. A report published in September 2002 by Republika Srpska estimated an overall figure of approximately 2,000 Bosnian Muslim Army (ABiH) combat deaths, in addition to some 500 BSA fatalities. Whilst some of these casualties were from the ABiH Tuzla brigade, which had come out in support, the vast majority were from the armed column which had left Srebrenica.

It doesn't end there. Both the Dutch peacekeeping force (Dutchbat) contingent in Srebrenica and undercover British SAS intelligence officers who were in the town when it fell said they had witnessed bitter fighting between Muslims in Srebrenica shortly before the Serbs entered the town. Descriptions suggest that around 100 may have died and that their bodies were left where they had fallen. There are also reports that considerable numbers of Muslims died when they crossed a minefield which had been laid by their own side.

Taking all these factors together, in order for 7,300 people from Srebrenica to have been massacred, the population of the safe area before it fell to the Serbs would have had to be well over 46,000 – a figure far in excess of any credible estimate put forward at the time.

It is immensely significant that one of the judges in the Krstic case, Judge Patricia Wald, estimated the total pre-fall population of Srebrenica at 37,000 when writing an account of the Krstic case for the Georgetown Journal of Legal Ethics. (The Georgetown Journal of Legal Ethics Spring 2003, SECTION: Vol. 16, No. 3; Pg. 445; ISSN: 10415548, HEADLINE: General Radislav Krstic: A war crimes case study, BYLINE: PATRICIA M. WALD)

"Prior to the attack, Srebrenica was a village of some 37,000 inhabitants."

Judge Wald was apparently supremely unaware that her own figure made it impossible for the crimes for which Krstic was convicted to have taken place.

Unreliable witnesses

Witness evidence has been equally insubstantial. With the exception of one execution at Potocari that was virtually witnessed by a UN soldier (though it did not quite occur within his sight), and a separate incident in which ten men were led behind a building and nine bodies were subsequently discovered, the main supporting evidence for summary executions comes from the handful of men who claimed to have survived mass executions by playing dead. It is on this flimsy basis that the crude 3,000 plus 5,000 sum remains the basis of massacre estimates. The figures have never been revised downwards. Indeed, it has been fashionable for human rights activists to inflate the Srebrenica figures to 10,000 or 12,000.

In fact the very first claims that many thousands of people might have been massacred at Srebrenica began to be made by members of the Bosnian Muslim government before the enclave had even fallen. President Alijah Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbey were on the telephone to world statesmen with a series of prescient reports. Further allegations were made by refugees when they began to arrive at Tuzla a few days after Srebrenica had fallen. Such claims had by this time become a stock-in-trade of the Balkan conflicts. The story was fuelled, however, on 20 July when the Dutch Co-operation Minister Jan Pronk, who had been sent by his government to find out what had happened at

Srebrenica, was reported by the ANP News organisation to have said (in an interview given to the Dutch current affairs television programme 'Nova') that *'Thousands had been murdered by the Serbs'*. The article went on:

"Pronk said the claims of widespread abuses by Bosnian Serbs against Muslims could not be dismissed on the grounds that they had not been confirmed by the UN. 'They have been confirmed by those involved,' he said.

And he added that past experience of Bosnian Serb conduct did not inspire confidence. The Serbs had repeatedly violated human rights and committed war crimes in the last few years. The Muslims were justified in their fear of the Serbs because of these experiences, Pronk said. Thousands of people had been murdered, the minister added in a clearly emotional reaction to his three-day trip to refugee camps around Tuzla and to the Muslim-led Bosnian government in Sarajevo."

In common with many politicians and journalists, Pronk^[1] was prepared to reach judgement on the basis of uncorroborated accounts. He apparently did so because they were vivid and convincing – something which later found expression in the journalistic formula 'documented, consistent and credible'. As a standard of proof, it did not amount to much.

On 27 July 1995 The Boston Globe reported that atrocities were *'unconfirmed so far'*: (The Boston Globe July 27, 1995, Thursday, City Edition, HEADLINE: Reports of atrocities unconfirmed so far; US aerial surveillance reveals little. BYLINE: By Paul Quinn-Judge, Globe Staff)

"The Clinton administration has not obtained independent confirmation of reported atrocities by Bosnian Serbs but does not doubt that they have occurred, State Department and other administration officials said yesterday.

"The bottom line is that these guys have been indicted as war criminals," said a State Department spokesman, referring to the Bosnian Serb leadership.

The official noted eyewitness accounts of arbitrary executions provided by Dutch UN troops, and credible reports of atrocities from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

"These people are the experts, we trust them," the official said.

But there are ways to confirm what witnesses say, he added. If massacres were large enough "and if the timing is right, the birds can take a picture," he said, referring to spy satellites. So far, the official said, satellites have produced nothing.

Other sources with knowledge of the secretary of state's daily intelligence briefing said that Warren M. Christopher has not been presented with any intelligence imagery that could confirm massacres."

Although no further evidence was forthcoming in the following weeks, 'eyewitness' accounts sustained the story. Analysis of official reports and press coverage reveals that the same half-dozen or so men, all purporting to have survived massacres by playing dead, provided the 'evidence' from which David Rohde and other journalists projected the mass killings to the world. Little effort was made to test the credibility of these witnesses. Their testimony was accepted at face value, even though one of the most articulate, Mevludin Oric^{[2][i]} was a cousin of Naser Oric, the Bosnian Army Commander of Srebrenica.

When asked several years later by journalism students how he knew which witnesses he could believe, Rohde explained that his acid test had been whether they presented themselves as heroes or terrified victims; if the latter, he found them credible. Whether this can be considered a valid basis for judgement is a matter of opinion; it certainly made Rohde a potential victim of deception.

In an article entitled "The Construction of a Trauma", the Dutch anthropologist René Grémaux and the historian / journalist Abe de Vries drew

attention to the inconsistencies in the accounts given by 'survivors':

"Oric's personal history is reason enough for doubt, but the inconsistencies in the accounts of Smail Hodzic and Hurem Suljic are obvious as well.

"Smail Hodzic: A basketball stadium becomes a soccer stadium becomes a School.

"Hodzic Story 1: Hodzic first said he witnessed ambushes by the Serbs on the road to Zvornik. He was captured and then moved to a "basketball stadium near Bratunac" and subsequently taken to the execution spot, "a large field not far from a forest," he declared to Alexandra Stiglmeier in Die Woche of July 28.

Hodzic Story 2: Soon thereafter, Hodzic told Roy Gutman (in Die Tageszeitung of August 11), that he was held at the "soccer stadium in Nova Kasaba," from where he and others were moved to be killed, "probably in a town called Grbavce."

Hodzic Story 3: In the third version, told on October 4 to Aida Cerkez of Associated Press, Hodzic went through the same experience as Oric, Suljic and Avdic. Now he was taken to "a school in Krizevci" and the executions now took place not far from Karakaj.

"Hurem Suljic: Murder in a school becomes beatings in a department store. Murders were committed at this school according to Suljic as well. On February 16 of that year, he spoke on BBC Newsnight. Footage of a not specified "school near Karakaj" indeed showed bullet holes, one in the ceiling and one at the toilet. But in the elaborate coverage of Suljic in 'The Washington Post' of 6 November 1995, there isn't a word about executions in a school; there is mention of beatings in a department store near Bratunac, a location where Suljic supposedly was kept prisoner.

Serbian woman: A school becomes a sports complex

"Woman's Story# 1: Bratunac is the location of another school where Massacres supposedly took place, according to Robert Block in The Independent, July, 1995. A woman is quoted. She is supposedly an inhabitant of Serbia who recently visited her brother-in-law, a soldier in the Bosnian Serb Army: "He and his friends are quite open-hearted about what happened over there," she said. "They are killing Muslim soldiers. They said that only yesterday (note: Monday, July 17) they killed one thousand six hundred, and they estimate to have killed about four thousand in total. They said to be in great hurry, and therefore shot most of them."

Woman's Story# 2: A few days later, Block's colleague Louise Branson of The Sunday Times brought the Serbian woman into the spotlight. Her husband, also fighting in the Bosnian Serb Army, mentioned mass shootings with more than three thousand dead. But not in a school in Bratunac. In a sports complex.

"Up to this moment, human rights groups such as Human Rights Watch have not been able to trace survivors of this crime. "There has to be a more detailed investigation, in order to establish the scale of violation of human rights that have taken place in the area of Bratunac," says their respective report."

Grémaux and de Vries went on to quote an interview given by a Dutch soldier, Captain Schouten:

"It is noticeable, however, that there has been little attention to the account of Captain Schouten, although this Dutchman was the only UN military officer in Bratunac, where he stayed for several days, at the time the alleged bloodbath took place. Schouten, quoted in Het Parool of July 27, 1995:

"Everybody is parroting everybody, but nobody shows hard evidence. I notice that in the Netherlands people want to prove at all costs that genocide has been committed. (...) If executions have taken place, the Serbs have been hiding it damn well. Thus, I don't believe any of it. The day after the collapse of Srebrenica, July 13, I arrived in Bratunac and stayed there for eight days. I was able to go wherever I wanted to. I was granted all possible assistance; nowhere was I stopped."

So the official version of what happened in and around Srebrenica in July 1995 rests heavily on the testimony of a small number of individuals who contradicted themselves. Others who have spoken to the media have also given accounts that test credibility to the limits – for example, a report for BBC Newsnight in 1999 included this 'witness' narrative:

"This mother she fell on the side of the truck and broke her neck [demonstrates bringing both hands to her neck]. But as she slid down she grabbed my legs asking me to help her. I could not help her. I was holding my own child. She had a baby and I just managed to lift the baby with my leg to save her baby. My son was saying "Mum, I will die do not let go of me, hold me with both your hands". I said, "Son, let me save this tiny baby as well. Its mother is dead". When we finally reached Tuzla I handed the baby to the Red Cross and told them his mother is dead. I bathed that baby in Coca Cola."

A lack of evidence

Hard evidence of massacres was (and still is) in very short supply. Despite spending five days at the Tuzla airport refugee camp, where well over 20,000 Srebrenica survivors were gathered, the UN chief investigator into human rights abuses could find no eyewitnesses to atrocities:

The Daily 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...

(UN High Commissioner for Human Rights) Mr Henry Wieland said yesterday ".. 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..."

The Dutch were also unable to find any eyewitnesses. Dr Dick Schoonoord of the Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD) confirmed at the beginning of 2005:

"It has been impossible during our investigations in Bosnia to find any people who witnessed the mass murder or would talk about the fate of the missing men."

There were other indications from an early stage that the massacre claims were unreliable. A former US State Department official, who remained in close contact with past colleagues at very senior levels, wrote in 1997 that he had been told that the South Central Europe section in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research 'saw nothing, repeat nothing, that had substantiated claims in the press'. He added that the individual who had told him this had security clearances to the highest level and 'would have had to know about it' had any such information existed.^[3]

The last decade has been littered with instances where strong and specific allegations have been made, such as the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq before the 2003 war, which have later proved to be false. In 1999 NATO countries claimed that thousands (one US government official suggested a total of 500,000) of Kosovo Albanians had been summarily executed by the Serbs. When

the post-war body hunt in Kosovo produced fewer than 3,000 bodies in total, from all sides and all causes of death, stories began to emerge of a huge and immensely effective cover-up involving the mass transportation of bodies to burial sites in Serbia. The parallels with Srebrenica are obvious.

A rare example of consistency

The unchanging numbers of missing from Srebrenica are noteworthy also precisely because they have not moved in ten years. Military actions and terrorist incidents usually follow a very different pattern, as 9/11 clearly demonstrates:

The Office of the Medical Examiner of New York City reported in January 2004 that it had issued a total of 2,749 death certificates in connection with the hijacker attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001. "We believe this is the final number," a spokesperson for the medical examiner said.

"Two weeks after the attack," Associated Press reported at the time (January 23, 2004), "the number of missing-person reports [filed with New York authorities] peaked at 6,886 amid confusion and calls from frantic relatives. The number stood at 2,792 from December 2002 until October [2003], when 40 unsolved cases were removed from the list."

This final 2,749 figure represents less than half (39.9 percent) of the peak-number of missing-person reports that were filed amid the anguish and confusion of the early days. The outrage took place in the richest city in the richest country in the world, with all of the resources necessary to get the body count right. It was not a relatively impoverished, war-torn country with internally-displaced people scattered in all directions.

The role of Madeleine Albright

International outrage over Srebrenica was first provoked by claims made by the US Ambassador to the UN, Madeleine Albright, in late July 1995. Mrs Albright displayed US surveillance photographs to the UN Security Council, maintaining that they revealed mass execution and grave sites. Following the Dayton peace agreement in November 1995, the presumption was that these sites, and the rest of the surrounding area, would be fully investigated as soon as the winter was over. Mrs Albright added that the US would keep careful watch to ensure any attempt to cover up massacres was detected (*"We will keep watching to see if the Bosnian Serbs try to erase the evidence of what they have done."*). Shortly after Mrs Albright's

UN performance, the Croatian army (with massive US assistance^[4]) invaded the Serbian Krijina, displacing some 200,000 people from their homeland of 400 years' standing. Many believed that the Srebrenica massacre claims had provided a vital distraction from the greatest act of ethnic cleansing of the 1990s Balkan wars. Mrs Albright never again showed much interest in establishing what had happened at Srebrenica.

The facts of this are remarkable. Mrs Albright, as US Ambassador to the UN, had told the world that the sites around Nova Kosaba, shown on the satellite images she had brandished at the UN, might contain 2,700 bodies. Eventually just 33 bodies were discovered at Nova Kasaba, at four different sites and no detailed information was issued about circumstances of death (i.e. whether or not there was evidence of execution). As Nova Kasaba is an isolated hamlet in the mountains, 19km from Srebrenica, and accessible only by a single-track, unmade-up road, it is difficult to imagine that anyone would have chosen it as a mass execution site – particularly as there was a chronic shortage of gasoline. Many lorries and journeys would have been required to transport 2700 men there. Such an exercise would have been highly conspicuous and easily captured by satellite photo since, despite the dry summer weather, the necessary levels of traffic would have been likely to cause considerable and readily visible damage to the road.

International journalists

In March 1996, the UK magazine LM reported:

"Many (international TV) crews did not even bother to search out the site shown on the CIA satellite photograph because it had generally been agreed in media circles that it was not a mass grave".

This also probably reflected the fact that some 30 international journalists had visited the Srebrenica area soon after it fell. None had published any kind of confirmation of mass slaughter allegations and one of their number, Jacques Merlino of the French Antenne 2 station, had broadcast a story saying he had found nothing.

Miroslav Deronjic, the civilian commissioner for the Srebrenica-Skelani municipality, was reported by Tanjug on 21 December 1995 as saying that on 25 August 1995 he received a group of 10 correspondents from the USA, Great Britain and Austria, led by Mike Wallace the anchor and co-editor of CBS' 60 Minutes programme. They brought with them many photographs taken from an AWACS of alleged mass graves of Muslim victims. Deronjic is quoted thus:

"They insisted that we should take them to the sites in the photographs so that they could assess for themselves the truth of the Muslim allegations. Without hesitation, in other words immediately, although I had not seen the photographs, I agreed to take them personally to every place in which they were interested. They showed me photographs in the region of Hrnici, K. Polje and Kasaba, and asked to be taken to these places. I got into the car with Wallace and immediately took the whole group to these locations. I spent 44 hours with them driving around the area, and allowed them to see for themselves...after the investigation, Mike Wallace personally thanked me and expressed his belief that the allegations were completely unfounded, and that the entire international public had been manipulated".

Little appetite for investigation

Scrutiny of media coverage over the last ten years suggests that, once made, the massacre claims, were treated as established fact by politicians and journalists. There are no indications of any 'rational scepticism'. This is surprising on two counts. First, natural justice demands that indictments for appalling crimes should be made only on the basis of very strong evidence. Second, where there is a history of false accusations, new allegations should be treated with the greatest caution. By 1995 the wars in the Balkans had generated repeated massacre claims. One of the most notorious was the charge – delivered in live television broadcasts by the Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladzic – that Serbs had massacred 70,000 Muslims in Bihac. It transpired that this was completely untrue – Bihac was never captured by the Serbs. Of the allegations involving significant numbers, none has subsequently been proven.

Veteran journalist John Pilger, in a December 2004 piece for the New Statesman magazine, noted a similar phenomenon during the Kosovo crisis of 1999:

'Like the build-up to the invasion of Iraq, the media coverage in the spring of 1999 was a series of fraudulent justifications, beginning with US Defence Secretary William Cohen's claim that "we've now seen about 100,000 military-aged [Albanian] men missing... they may have been murdered." David Scheffer, the US ambassador at large for war crimes, announced that as many as "225,000 ethnic Albanian men aged between 14 and 59" may have been killed. Blair invoked the Holocaust and "the spirit of the Second World War". The British press took its cue. "Flight from genocide," said the Daily Mail. "Echoes of the Holocaust," chorused the Sun and the Mirror.

By June 1999, with the bombardment over, international forensic teams began subjecting Kosovo to minute examination. The American FBI arrived to investigate what was called "the largest crime scene in the FBI's forensic history". Several weeks later, having

not found a single mass grave, the FBI went home. The Spanish forensic team also returned home, its leader complaining angrily that he and his colleagues had become part of "a semantic pirouette by the war propaganda machines, because we did not find one - not one - mass grave."

In November 1999, the Wall Street Journal published the results of its own investigation, dismissing "the mass grave obsession". Instead of "the huge killing fields some investigators were led to expect ... the pattern is of scattered killings [mostly] in areas where the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army had been active." The Journal concluded that Nato stepped up its claims about Serb killing fields when it "saw a fatigued press corps drifting toward the contrarian story: civilians killed by Nato's bombs The war in Kosovo was "cruel, bitter, savage; genocide it wasn't."

Revisionism

Four months after Srebrenica fell to the Serbs the Dayton agreement brought an end to the wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The cold Balkan winter made it impracticable to search for mass graves until spring came, but the international community showed little urgency in getting the process underway. It was not until mid to late summer of 1996 that the Boston-based organisation Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) began work in the area around Srebrenica. When they halted work in the late autumn they had recovered a total of around 200 bodies from 20 separate sites. Notwithstanding hawkish comments by their leader William Haglund, this was clearly regarded as a very disappointing haul.

During the winter this surfaced in the media. One of the earlier versions was a suggestion in the New York Times that the Serbs had destroyed the corpses with a corrosive agent:

"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."

Jon Swain of The Sunday Times wrote an article on 3 November 1996 entitled "Empty Bosnian Graves baffle UN". Ignoring the evident possibility that an 'empty' grave might hold no bodies because, in fact, it had never been a mass grave, Swain contrived a bizarre logic:

"In several months of digging at mass graves in the macabre hinterland around Srebrenica, the investigators recovered far fewer bodies than they had expected. Of the thousands of men and boys from the UN safe area who were executed by Bosnian Serbs in July 1995, only a few hundred - less than 10% of the 7,000 Muslims missing - have been dug up."

The empty graves speak volumes about the conspiracy by Bosnian Serbs to cover up the massacre at Srebrenica. Their leadership claims that few bodies have been found because the stories of atrocities there were exaggerated. The more plausible theory is that bodies have been made to "disappear".

Surveillance

The reality as far as Srebrenica is concerned is that a cover-up would almost certainly have been impossible to achieve in the manner suggested. The area was under intense electronic and on-the-ground surveillance throughout the period:

"US satellites make at least eight passes over Bosnia daily, according to John Pike, an expert on satellites at the Federation of American Scientists. These include Keyhole satellites, which can detect object as small as four inches but which cannot see

through clouds, and Lacrosse satellites, which can see through clouds but cannot focus enough to detect something the size of a human being. Then there are the Predators, known technically as Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, commonly referred to as drones. Built by General Atomics, these small, remote controlled vehicles can hover over targets for more than 24 hours at a time. Four of the latest versions are thought to operate from a base in Albania. Designed to provide 'round-the-clock' coverage, the Predators are almost invisible to the naked eye and difficult to pick up on radar. They can fly at up to 25,000 feet, have infrared detectors for night vision and can purportedly relay video footage back to the Pentagon in real time." – New York Times 26 July 1995

Confirmation that electronic surveillance had revealed nothing came in April 1996 when US LtCol John Batiste was quoted by AP as saying that satellite surveillance of mass graves showed "they had not been tampered with".

The cover-up theory is also unlikely for a host of low-tech reasons. The excavation, removal, transportation and reburial of 7,000 bodies – around 500 tonnes in total weight – could hardly have escaped normal human detection. There were many UN personnel in Bosnia throughout the autumn and winter of 1995/6. Moreover, the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) was under immense military pressure during the late summer and autumn of 1995, combating determined offensives in several areas and defending a front line almost a thousand miles long. It is inconceivable that the BSA could have spared either the men or the equipment necessary for such an operation. It is also unlikely that they could have found the gasoline- their supplies were so low they had been reduced to buying fuel from the Muslims on the black market.

The hunt for graves

During the first five years after Dayton, relatively few mass grave discoveries were reported. It sometimes seemed, in fact, that the search had been quietly abandoned, only for occasional excitements of the kind described by Mike O'Connor in the New York Times in May 1998:

"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 area of 200 ft (18 m) 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 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] 2 Bosnian Serb leaders".

In 2000/2001 there was a sea-change. Reports such as this began to appear with great regularity :

"AP 11 July 2001

Since the end of the war, tribunal experts and the Muslim Commission for Missing Persons have exhumed the remains of about 4,800 victims, of whom only about 100 have been identified. "By the end of the year, we are planning to exhume 1,000 more bodies" said Amor Masovic, head of the commission.

From this point regular mass grave reports were to be seen in the international media. Some were prompted by further mass grave discoveries; others, such as the one below, measured progress. Without exception, reports referred to Srebrenica massacres as established fact, not allegation. Most included at least one reference to the Holocaust:

"Monday April 15, 2002

The smell is so overpowering that you try to breathe through your mouth. It's no good, and soon all you can taste is decay. All around, laid on shelves stretching in every direction, are the corpses of men, women and children who died in the biggest act of genocide in Europe since the Holocaust. Above the bodies, each wrapped in white plastic and marked with a serial number, are stacked brown paper bags, the kind American stores pack groceries in. They contain the washed and ironed clothes of the victims below. This warehouse, on the outskirts of Tuzla in Bosnia, belongs to the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), which has been exhuming the remains of people killed in the massacre at Srebrenica. The organisation was set up by Bill Clinton when he was US president to return victims' bodies to their families.

...Last week the ICMP made the 112th DNA identification."

Slowly but surely media coverage helped to establish an impression that the missing bodies were now being found and identified in very large numbers and that the proof of large-scale massacres at Srebrenica had been assembled. Yet even within the terms of progress defined by the international community, there had been hardly any advance. By April 2002 – nearly seven years after Srebrenica fell – the BBC's Alex Kroeger reported that only 200 bodies had been identified:

Wednesday, 10 April, 2002, 10:22 GMT 11:22 UK

Identifying Srebrenica's victims

Bosnian Muslim women remember the massacre

*By Alix Kroeger
BBC Belgrade correspondent*

Around 6,000^[5] bodies from the Srebrenica massacre of Muslim men and boys have so far been recovered, but fewer than 200 have been positively identified, most through DNA analysis.

...Nearly 200 bodies have been matched with blood and bone samples taken from their surviving relatives, and identifications are now going ahead at a rate of two or three a day."

Fifteen months later, in July 2003, the Washington Times reported a huge leap in the number of identified bodies:

The Washington Times

WORLD

12 July 2003/Pg.A5

'Forensics experts have exhumed more than 5,000 bodies, 1,650 of which have been identified through DNA analysis and other techniques.'

Even at this stage, however, the picture remained confused. Agence France Press in October 2003 placed a very different set of figures in the public domain:

'Since its introduction two years ago [the new DNA testing technique] 5,000 Srebrenica victims have been identified, compared to 73 in the six previous years'.

The ICMP now (June 2005) states on its website:

"One month before the 10th anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica in 1995, the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) has completed identifications of more than 2,000 of the Srebrenica victims."

This confusing coverage reveals one thing above all – that at the time the ICTY indictments were issued in 1995 against Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic the Tribunal had no hard evidence to support its allegations of genocide. It had, in other words, issued indictments without having even the basis of a case.

DNA

If details of the mass grave excavations were few and far between, so was information about the breakthrough DNA technique, developed in Bosnia, which had suddenly allowed identifications to be made at the claimed rate of three a day – something of an improvement on the three managed during the entire first year of investigations. Until recently, this excerpt from an article in Science magazine on August 24, 2001 was the most detailed explanation of the new technique:

"...The ICMP project got going last year, when it began dispatching teams to collect blood from relatives of the missing persons. So far the ICMP has amassed more than 12,000 samples, with some relatives coming here from as far away as Australia. On average, it requires 2.5 donors to identify a body, says Huffine. The ICMP has 100,000 blood kits in hand, enough in principle to identify 40,000 bodies. "Once we have 100,000 samples, then we can expect that almost every body we find can be identified," says Amor Masovic, director of the Bosnian Muslims' missing persons commission."

A paper by John Crews, published by the OST publication on Science & technology in April 2005, gave more detail about the DNA methodology devised by the ICMP. Mr Crews noted that:

"As the DNA Laboratory Development and Operations Director from March 2001 through December 2002, I was charged with establishing six DNA laboratories throughout the former Yugoslavia to identify the remains of missing persons exhumed from mass graves in the region. The work was particularly difficult as high-end, high-purity supplies needed for a DNA laboratory were difficult to procure in-country. Compounding this issue was the lack of individuals with experience in such high-caliber laboratories and knowledge of the equipment being used. However, by the end of 2001 a supply line was established from both in-country and international vendors; the staff had not only completed validation and begun work, but grew from only eight at the beginning of 2001, to 34 –

including three senior scientists - in less than a year...

Mr Crews goes on to give some information about the 'cutting-edge' DNA procedures developed by the ICMP:

"The process of DNA-based human identification relies upon the comparison of DNA analysis of blood samples from living family members to the analyzed DNA from bone samples cut from the femurs or molar teeth extracted from exhumed remains...

"Blood samples were collected using Schleicher & Schuell Specimen Collection Paper and extracted using a simple, quick, and inexpensive water-based technique (contact author for protocol). This process allows for the extraction and amplification set-up of a plate of 96 samples in less than two hours. With this capacity, the blood processing laboratory in Tuzla, BiH is capable of processing up to 8,000 blood samples per month. The bone extraction procedure (contact author for protocol) relies upon a technique pioneered in the Sarajevo laboratory where DNA is bound to a silica membrane (DNA Blood Maxi Kit from Qiagen, www.qiagen.com), effectively isolating the DNA from other cellular contaminants. The silica-based DNA extraction procedure uses chaotropic salts that dehydrate the DNA and enhance intermolecular attractions that bind the DNA to the silica membrane. Elution of DNA from the membrane using ultra-pure (18 mOhms of resistivity), UV-irradiated water (to kill microbes, inactivate enzymes, and cross-link potentially contaminating DNA) provides approximately 30ml of DNA at a concentration of 250pg/ml to 1ng/ml with ~90% recovery of extracted DNA."

DNA identification has come to be seen, in much the same way as fingerprint technology, as something of a gold standard. The perception is that, if the DNA matches, it constitutes unassailable evidence. This may be the case for matches made on the basis of readily available samples of uncontaminated DNA (from recently deceased bodies); whether it applies to DNA recovered in circumstances such as those associated with the ICMP's work is a matter of debate. The DNA community is deeply divided, for instance, on the validity of the DNA identification of the Romanovs.

No population database

Whether or not the DNA technique is reliable, there are compelling reasons to doubt the identifications made by the ICMP. The ICRC list of missing persons from Srebrenica was drawn up following public appeals for relatives and friends of Srebrenica missing to come forward. This inevitably created enormous potential for both deliberate and unintentional distortion. Since there were no population records for the safe area in 1995, the ICRC had no control data against which they could verify their list. The most recent population records for Srebrenica were from 1991, when the municipality (the town and the many villages in the surrounding area) of Srebrenica had 37,211 inhabitants, of which 27,118 were Muslims (72.8 percent) and 9,381 Serbs (25.2 percent). It is certain that many members of the 1991 population - 25% of whom were Serbs - were no longer living there in 1995. This means that there is no database for the Srebrenica population of July 1995. As Serbian historian Milivoje Ivanisevic has concluded :

"Anybody could add a disappeared person to the list, without any elementary check of the person doing this. ICRC should not be criticized for this. Notifications were often made by individuals who presented themselves without any proof as family members, colleagues, co-combatants, neighbors. This list, without any further actions and checking was declared and transformed into the list of Srebrenica victims, and still

later this went further, and the list was transformed into the list of massacred Muslim civilians."

Ivanisevic noted a series of further points concerning the list. In addition to Muslims, it included "persons of other nationalities and faiths", some individuals who were known to be still alive, people who had never existed, as well as:

"many that committed crimes in this region and in whose interest it is that they are listed as "disappeared". They change names and under other identity continue living in B&H or in foreign countries as refugees."

No adequate control of grave excavations and body storage

It was at the end of 1996 that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) quietly assumed control of continued investigations, taking over from the UN. At first sight it might seem quite reasonable for the ICTY to take charge of the search for mass graves around Srebrenica. But, as a Tribunal set up by nations that had played a direct part in the Balkan conflicts and had an obvious political agenda, the ICTY had none of the crucial checks and balances that characterise inquisitorial legal processes such as the French system.

From the outset ICTY prosecutors and investigators made repeated public pronouncements that the Serbs massacred thousands of Muslim men from Srebrenica, even though the only evidence that such crimes had taken place was uncorroborated witness testimony. There was some respectability attaching to the search for mass graves when it was in the hands of an apparently independent organisation, PHR; the process became fatally compromised when, from 1997 onwards, this work was carried out by the International Commission for Missing Persons, an organisation originally created by the Izetbegovic government – particularly as, notwithstanding the inclusion of some foreign forensic experts in its team, the ICMP effectively remained under Bosnian Muslim control.

In his book, "The Graves", Eric Stover reveals the inadequate nature of the forensic work:

"With the departure of the tribunal's scientists in October 1996, the task of identifying the Srebrenica remains fell to the director of the forensic institute of the University of Tuzla, Zdenko Cihlarz... In the main laboratory of the institute, Cihlarz stopped and swept his arm around the room. "So, you see, it's all improvisation. Here you have one of the biggest forensic investigations of a war crime in European history and what have you got? Forensics on a shoestring." In the dimly lit room I could make out boxes of bones stacked against the tiled walls. Here and there, bones had fallen out, collecting dust, on the floor. Makeshift examining tables had been fashioned out of planks and sheets of thick cardboard. Several medical and forensic textbooks laid strewn across table tops, their covers torn and dog-eared. I picked one up and leafed to the title page. It was more than thirty-five years old. On an examining table, laid out in anatomical order, were less than half the bones of a skeleton, and next to it a makeshift bone board, an instrument physical anthropologists use for measuring stature from the long bones. It had been cobbled together by attaching two metal bookends to a smooth wooden plank. Tacked to the top of the board between the bookends was a cloth measuring tape. Fixed to the wall above the table was an illustration of a skeleton cut from the pages of an anatomy book."

Yet it was the ICMP in particular that fostered the belief that the Serbs had mounted a major cover-up operation in the late months of 1995 in which mass graves close to Srebrenica had been dug up and the bodies removed for reburial at far more distant sites along the Drina valley.

Once the cover-up theory had been widely reported, mass grave discoveries began to be announced on a regular basis. When details were given, it was evident that almost all these sites were far removed from Srebrenica – often fifty or sixty miles away. Their discovery was generally seen as confirmatory of the cover-up thesis, but no specific evidence to support the hypothesis was made public until the ICTY trials of Erdemovic and Krstic. This consisted of confessional evidence from Dragan Erdemovic, a Croatian, whose mental health had given cause for serious concern and whose motivation was open to doubt, and anecdotal evidence from other witnesses who claimed to have taken part. As with other ICTY cases, the testimony appeared to be part of a plea-bargaining process. So far as the mass grave discoveries were concerned, the fact that the work had been carried out (albeit under supervision of the ICTY) by an organisation set up by the Bosnian Muslim government would, under almost any accepted rules of evidence, be considered to have fundamentally compromised the value of the data gathered.

Some official figures now suggest that around 6,000 bodies linked to Srebrenica have been discovered in mass grave excavations. But there continues to be an absence of detailed data about individual excavations. In particular, there has been no serious explanation of how the finds have been linked to Srebrenica; how many of the bodies can be specifically linked to execution rather than other forms of death; and how many of the bodies have been individually identified. Nor has the ICTY (nor the International Commission for Missing Persons) explained how the search for Srebrenica bodies has been kept separate from the parallel search going on for the (now thought to be grossly exaggerated) estimated 250,000^[6] people said to have died in the civil wars throughout Bosnia between 1992-95^[ii].

A seminal moment came in 1999 when the authorities in Tuzla announced that thousands of Srebrenica bodies had been gathered in the town's morgue. Once again, no detailed information was given about the provenance of the bodies, but Srebrenica relatives were requested to visit the morgue to see if they could identify their loved ones. Typical of the coverage was a report by David Sells of BBC Newsnight:

'In Tuzla there is a funeral parlour, called the Memorial Centre, a grim spot. Stored there, topsy-turvy, are 3,000 bodies. Some are kept refrigerated, most are not. They are victims of the Srebrenica massacre. Almost all are unidentified.'

'Why, still, four years on? The process of identification is painfully slow. A foreign pathologist told the Women of Srebrenica at a special Tuzla meeting: "This work is going to go on for many years." And there are thousands more Srebrenica citizens still unaccounted for.'

'.. Investigators from the Hague Tribunal, seeking to document the Srebrenica massacre, have exhumed dozens of mass graves, but their interest ends there. They are not concerned to identify individual bodies they dig up.'

It is very clear from this description that the bodies were stored chaotically at the Tuzla morgue and that few, if any, steps had been taken to ensure the integrity of the evidence. How David Sells could assert that they 'are victims of the Srebrenica massacre' is unclear; he certainly does not offer any explanation. If the bodies had not been identified, how could anyone be sure that they were connected with the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995? And, once again, there is no reference to evidence indicating that these bodies had shown signs of execution. In any case, as Sells noted, the ICTY 'are not concerned to identify individual bodies they dig up'. Unidentified bodies were apparently more useful for ICTY purposes.

More light was shed on the methodologies used in the search for mass graves in the broadcast report that Sells made at this time for the BBC Newsnight programme. The transcript below reveals that the quality of evidence-gathering was amateurish in the extreme. It is also noticeable – despite the rhetorical question in his commentary ("...the overall problem remains: who is buried where?") that Sells did

not ask his expert interviewee how, without having made any identifications, she could be sure that the bodies were those of people from Srebrenica who had died in 1995. Given the fighting that had gone on in the area from 1992-95 (not to mention the fierce engagements there during the Second World War), this seems a startling assumption. Nor did Sells raise any question about the secondary grave theory, although he must have been well aware that such an operation would have been exceedingly difficult for the Serbs to carry out and even more difficult, in a country under intense electronic and human surveillance, to achieve without detection:

"David Sells:

This idyllic valley, despite appearances, is a graveyard. Some of the Muslims who vanished in Srebrenica were massacred and when the Hague war crimes tribunal began nosing about Bosnian Serbs quietly reburied

the

victims far from the scene. This was one reburial site.

Woman with North American accent:

This is it right in front of us. You can see the faint outlines..

David Sells:

Under the logs?

Woman:

Yes, under the logs. It's right here. It came more or less right up to the road and you can see where it's dirt there and then the grass begins growing again. And from this site we exhumed the remains of approximately 160 individuals.

[a digger is shown shovelling out earth - but not carefully, just shovelling]

David Sells:

They were dug up here just last year but the overall problem remains: who is buried where? In one organised Srebrenica massacre four years ago Muslim men were separated from women and children. Then bussed, not to safety as General Mladic had so disarmingly promised, but out to a state farm and firing squads. The Serbs on this occasion taking revenge for butcheries they themselves had suffered at the hands of Muslims. The Hague tribunal is interested in the crime, one mass grave fully exhumed can be evidence enough to make their point.

Woman:

This is what we call a secondary mass grave. That means that they were originally buried someplace else and then the perpetrators dug up their remains using heavy equipment and moved them to this location and interred them here. So it's quite obviously an effort to hide evidence of the crimes that have been committed.

[footage of grassy field]

David Sells:

This is another mass grave. The tribunal has probed it, it knows there are more bodies beneath the weeds but it now has evidence enough. It has no need for another exhumation. We were shown eight more such graves in this silent valley, probed but not exhumed. So there's a conflict of interest. Hasan Muhanovic's family could be buried here, but without precise identification he will never know."

Within the forensic science community there is respect for the DNA work done by the ICMP. The technique it has developed is considered sound and the quality of the laboratory processes is also thought to be good. But, whilst this has been useful in identifying bodies recovered in Bosnia which might otherwise have remained unidentified, it has shed relatively little light on the events in and around

Srebrenica in July 1995. This is because the conventional forensic work carried out by the ICMP is perceived to have been of poor quality. Suspected grave sites were not kept secure; excavations were carried out by personnel without adequate training, using inappropriate tools and techniques; the transportation and storage of body parts was not done according to professional forensic standards; and, throughout the process, there was a failure to keep full and detailed records. As a result, there is no coherent data on such vital questions as time, cause and circumstances of death. And it must be noted once again that even the DNA identifications have served only to match body parts to individuals listed on the ICRC missing list. They provide no proof that the individuals concerned were casualties following the fall of Srebrenica.

An assumption of guilt

Although for several years after 1995 virtually no evidence was found to support the massacre allegations, politicians and the media continued to suggest that they were proven beyond doubt. This point was made as early as March 1996 by the British journalist Linda Ryan:

"Some might think that bodies would come in handy as evidence when charges of genocide are being levelled. There must be tens of thousands buried all over Bosnia. Yet not one had been uncovered at the alleged 'mass graves' near Srebrenica at the time of writing. All sorts of excuses were given for the lack of bodies—they had been covered by snow, dismembered by machines, destroyed by chemicals and moved elsewhere by the Bosnian Serbs. It almost seems like nobody wants to dig around in case they discover the 'mass graves' are empty. This is what happened when British divers went into the flooded mine at Ljubija, in north-west Bosnia, alleged to hold the bodies of 8,000 Bosnian Muslims and Croats. They found nothing."

Commentators have nevertheless characterised the body hunt as a great success and have treated the ICMP as a bona-fide, impartial organisation. Although a measure of respectability was conferred on it by the establishment of an international supervisory board, the fact that former Senator Bob Dole and former AOL Chairman James V. Kimsey are numbered among its Chairmen is not compatible with the notion that it is impartial.

Dole is an anti-Serb of long standing. He set out to undermine the economy of Federal Yugoslavia through provisions he added to US legislation passed on 5 November 1990 which made further US aid payments to Yugoslavia conditional on the holding of "democratic" elections in each of the Yugoslav republics. These elections were bound to give a boost to nationalists and encourage secessionist aspirations; they also brought effective end to aid, which immediately threw the Yugoslav Federal government into crisis because it was unable to pay the enormous interest on its foreign debt or to continue the purchase of raw materials for industry. Credit collapsed, recriminations broke out on all sides and the pathway to conflict was set. Subsequently Dole allowed his Washington office to be used by Kosovo Albanian lobbyists and, as a member of a group of US senators visiting Sarajevo in 1992, he was heard in a US TV News report telling a group of Bosnian Muslims 'We're on your side'.

Kimsey is distinct from Dole in that he had not expressed strong sympathies with particular groups in the Balkans. He does, however, have pronounced views about the United States' role in the world. In an article entitled "Former AOL Chief Seeks to Fix Washington, World", John Shaw quoted James V. Kimsey as follows:

"We should be much more chess player-like in our view of the world. We should stop thinking tactically and reactively and develop broad, strategic plans. Americans think very near term. We don't have long-range goals," he said. "George Marshall had a strategy after World War II. It was well thought out. We're in a war now, and we really haven't thought our way through it—and we need to."

VERDEROP

Over the years there has been not even a conspicuous lack of interest on the part of the international community in following up indications that the "missing" from Srebrenica might not be dead. In 1997 the Bosnian Serbs claimed that more than 3000 of the people of the electoral roll for the 1996 elections in Srebrenica were also on the list of 7300 missing from Srebrenica drawn up by the ICRC. A BBC journalist contacted the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which had overseen the elections, to ask if they could investigate. He pointed out that either more 3,000 people in the list were either still alive, or there had been massive election fraud. The OSCE were not very interested, but after some persistence the BBC journalist spoke to an official called David Foley. He promised to look into the matter and duly sent him e-mail to his colleagues:

Subject: FW: ICRC Missing List cross-ref Date: 23/07/97
 Time: 5:41p. re-sent with correct address. DF
 From: David Foley
 Sent: Wednesday, July 23, 1997 5:41 PM
 To: Linda Ridgeworth; Deborah Alexander; Michael Vaut; Cushman Cushman; Nicole Szuk

Subject: ICRC missing List cross-reference with PVL
 A BBC journalist working on the issue of the missing B.H. has asked an interesting question. He is checking a claim made by Mr. Kraljic, the President of the National Assembly of RS that 3,000 people who are on the ICRC list of missing from Srebrenica voted in the last year's elections.
 I have no memory of any attempt by OSCE to check the refugee registration database against the ICRC computerised list, and I doubt whether there are records available of who actually voted in the elections last year. Was anyone aware of this in the case?

Would it be possible to check the ICRC list against the 1996 PV?
This would be potentially waste people being separated, and could,
at a stroke, potentially do more to cut down the ICRC list of
missing than any effort so far. We should do this if it is at all
possible. Thoughts?

David Foley, Spokesman and Senior Adviser for Public Policy

Phone: 444-444 x 222, e-mail: ~~david~~ david@oscebi4.org

After several months with no further response, the BBC journalist
made repeated attempts to contact Mr Foley. Eventually
he spoke to him. Foley explained that the electoral records
from 1996 had been locked away in warehouses around Bosnia
and that the OSCE did not have the resources to recover
them and cross reference the names of that appeared both
the electoral roll and the ICRC missing list. The BBC
journalist expressed surprise, noting how important it was
to get further information on the Srebrenica missing.
Mr. Foley said the OSCE would be sure to keep this
in mind during the 1997 elections which were soon due,
but he could nothing more on 1996.

VERDICT

Reports and 'confessions'

During the past few years the international community has appeared
anxious to endorse the reprinted version of the events at Srebrenica.
Successive UN High Representatives in Bosnia, ~~eg~~ equipped with
diplomatic powers, required the government of Republika Srpska
to produce a report admitting that massacres had been carried
out by the BSA. The original report, produced in September 2002,
was a detailed and thorough account. It concluded that
there had been no massacres, but that some 2,500 Bosnians
Muslims and 500 Serbs had been killed in fighting in the

forests as the column of men from Srebrenica had made their way
towards Muslim lines. Lord Paddy Ashdown, who had just
taken over as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, was in-
formed and ordered Republika Srpska to produce a new report
to his own prescription on the pain of drastic penalties if they
did not co-operate. When the RS government sought to
approach the task with a degree of independence, he sacked
several members of the committee producing the report, replacing
them with his own plussmen, including one Muslim. This
individual is believed to have largely drafted the report
which Ashdown published with a flourish ~~in~~ *Foreign Affairs* in
2006. To cement the massacre theory more firmly still,
Ashdown had commissioned an extremely expensive
memorial at Srebrenica, a complex with 10,000 token
gravestones, with which was very publicly opened -
with a speech by former US President Bill Clinton -
on the 2nd anniversary of events in July 2003.

The Sharpsin Tape

216⁰⁰⁴ Nikolic - DOSSIER

As the 10th anniversary of Srebrenica approaches attempts to embed the mass story have intensified. In both the USA and the UK, newspapers began to carry of lengthy features a full two months before the anniversary date. On the largest scale, ICTY ~~Prosecutor~~ Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte rebooked her media campaign for the arrest of Karadzic and Milosevic, timing a visit to Belgrade to ~~coincide~~ coincide with the ~~screening~~ screening during the ICTY Milosevic trial of a video purporting to show the execution of young Muslim men from Srebrenica by a special Serbian unit called the Scorpions.

This development, eagerly seized on by the world's media as 'final proof' of the Srebrenica massacres, was no more than a linguistic stunt. Geoffrey Nice, the ICTY prosecutor in the Milosevic case, was clearly under instruction to use the video in his cross-examination of a Serbian military commander, but had not been able to work out any coherent legal basis for doing so. Nor had been able to disclose the evidence to the defense. The witness was asked to comment on video extracts which appeared to have been of extremely poor quality in their ~~own~~ original form (consumer-quality video, badly shot), but further degraded by compression to small-window streaming video format. The Court was given nothing more than Mr Nice's assurance that the video related to Srebrenica - and even Mr. Nice admitted that it had been shot at a place near Sarajevo, almost 200 km from Srebrenica.

The ostensible justification for the use of this material was that it established a link between Milosevic and the events in Srebrenica because, Mr. Nac claimed, the Sharpsons were a special unit of the Serbian police. Within a week of the screening of the video in Court, it had emerged that the Sharpsons were a group of mercenaries who had, briefly it appeared, had some relationship with the forces of Republika Srpska Krajina, but no relationship with Serbian police.

Examination of the video demonstrated that both the pictures and sound had been doctored. There were indications that it had been edited together from tapes shot at different times and different places. And the weight of clothing worn by both soldiers and prisoners did not appear consistent with weather conditions around Srebrenica in July 1995, which were extremely hot.

The provenance of the video was also highly suspect. According to official statements, it had been provided to the ICTY by Miroslav Kandić, usually described as a Serbian civil rights activist. Ms Kandić, who is reported to receive funding from a number of national governments and such sources as the George Soros foundation, had several times previously been instrumental in providing timely support for the official line when it was coming under question - for example, she was the source of the "freedom truck" story that the Serbs had disposed of thousands of massacred Kosovo Albanians by removing them to ghettos in Serbia and refrigerated trucks.

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

REPORT ABOUT CASE SREBRENICA (THE FIRST PART)

In September of 2002 the Republika Srpska Bureau for Cooperation with the ICTY issued a report about the alleged massacre in Srebrenica. The report relied on UN documents, International Red Cross documents, BH Army documents, and photographic documentation. The report, which had been destined to be part of a larger final report, exposed the official Srebrenica story as a fraud.

Needless to say, the Muslims and the so-called "international community" were furious that the Srebrenica story had been debunked. The Serbs weren't supposed to expose the story as a fraud, they were supposed to confess so that nobody would have to try and prove the Srebrenica story with evidence. The Serbian confession was supposed to be the proof, and by debunking the story those dastardly Serbs messed-up everything.

Paddy Ashdown, who is for all intents and purposes Bosnia's dictator, was furious at the Serbian disobedience. He condemned the report without even reading it. He sacked the leadership of the commission that wrote the report, and he demanded that another report be written.

According to a report issued by the International Strategic Studies Association, Ashdown and his cronies at the OHR demanded that a fabricated report be issued in which Serbs blindly accepted the all blame for everything that the Muslims accused them of at Srebrenica.

After hand picking a new commission, and firing everybody who would dare to question the Muslim version of the Srebrenica story; Ashdown, not surprisingly, recently got the report that he wanted.

But for Ashdown one problem exists. The original report of September 2002 still exists, and it still proves that the Srebrenica story is a fraud, and no amount of phony extorted "confessions" can change that.

Ashdown has been lucky so-far, because only 500 copies of the original report were ever printed. This makes it a very hard document to find, and keeps it largely inaccessible to the general public.

But Mr. Ashdown's luck has ran out. We have managed to obtain a copy of the forbidden 139-page report. We have scanned it, and now we are making it available for you to download and distribute all over the internet!

SREBRENICA REPORT, September 2002 (15 Mb) PDF File

To Download to your computer right click on link and select "save target as"

URL of the Srebrenica report is: <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/documents/srebrenica.pdf>

NOTE: The Adobe Acrobat Reader program is needed to view PDF files. This program can be downloaded for free at: <http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html>

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

**REPORT ABOUT
CASE SREBRENICA
THE FIRST PART**

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

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

Banja Luka, september 2002

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

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

CASE: Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

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

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Summary

The current situation of Srebrenica: Despair of Serbs

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

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

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

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

Depressive History of Serbs in Srebrenica:

From the majority to the minority

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

Nazi's "SS Handzar Division" and Srebrenica

Nazi collaborators in BH, which belonged to Independent State of Croatia, or a puppet state of Fascist Germany, were called "SS Handzar Division" of Ustasha. The Division was established in February 1943, by the order of Hitler and with the blessing of Jerusalem Mufti, Hitler's close associate, in order to fight against Tito's partisans. The role of "SS Handzar Division" was to eradicate Serbs, and it consisted of 20,000 soldiers, mainly Muslims¹. The techniques of terror that it used were appallingly cruel, being inherited from Turks in the period of Ottoman Empire². According to Florentin Manuel³, the most usual techniques were raping women, removing eyes and cutting testicles of alive men, and the action of "SS Handzar" was more like an armed band than a military unit⁴. It is said that their cruelty was such that even German SS officers accused actions of those people⁵. Srebrenica area was under the direct assault of this "SS Handzar Division" during World War II.

Alija Izetbegovic (President of Bosnian Muslims) and Srebrenica

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

¹ *Las Legiones Musulmanas del Tercer Reich*, Manuel, Florentin, Historia Y Vida No. 349, Barcelona, 1983.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

"Handzar Division" in collaboration with Hitler's intelligence service (ABWER and GESTAPO). In 1946, however, he was sentenced by former Yugoslav Supreme Military Court to three years of imprisonment and two years of deprivation of civil rights, because of his fascist activities.¹ This criminal record of Izetbegovic was published by Russian gazette "Izvestija" dated 17 November of 1992.

"Islamic Declaration" was another criminal record of Izetbegovic. Having shown his fundamentalism or intolerance of other religions², he was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment by Supreme Court of Bosnia on March 14, 1983. However, in spite of the prohibition of its publication, "Islamic Declaration" was reprinted in 1990. Two years later, it seemed that he began to resume the activities of "SS Handzar" based on his Islamic fundamentalism particularly in Srebrenica area, intentionally or unintentionally.

¹ Register of Military Court of Former Yugoslav Army, Museum of Victims of Genocide, Beograd.

² In "Islamic Declaration," intolerance of other religions was shown in the following sentence: "There is no peace and co-existence among Islamic religion and non-Islamic social and political institution."

Srebrenica area: Strategic Importance for Muslims

Creation of Cordon (Geographical Center of Islam)

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

Mutual Fear

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

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

¹¹ *De Groene Amsterdamner*, March 13, 1996, Holland.

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

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

¹⁴ *Ispovijest Naseru Oricu (1): Predali pokvareno oružje*, Oslobođenje, August 24-25, 1996, Sarajevo.

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

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

Start of Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

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

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

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

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

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

Ethnic Cleansing of Serbs

Reliance on Serbs' Supply and Cleansing of Serbs

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

Cruelty of violent ethnic cleansing

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

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

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

²⁰ *Ibid.* P34 L1-7.

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

De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1996, Holland.

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

²³ *Ibid.*

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

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

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

It is a mystery why the international media and society hardly paid attention to this savage behaviour although a series of attacks were so evident that even a local Muslim citizen ²⁷ explained to the author without any hesitation. More strangely, Prof. Cherif Bassiouni, Chairman of the Commission of Experts, avoided to mention the Muslims' attacks on Srebrenica in Final Report ²⁸, and submitted it to Security Council through Secretary-General on May 27, 1994. It should be noted that Dragomir Djokic, then Yugoslav Charge d' affaires to UN, had submitted the criminal report and relevant evidences on the Muslims' attacks on Srebrenica to General Assembly of Security Council in June 93, and that the Dr. Stankovic, a world-famous doctor of forensic medicine who had implemented most of the autopsies for the Serbs victims in Srebrenica in 1993, had directly handed over the same report and evidences to Bassiouni. As the report became a basis for the indictments of war criminals in the territory of former Yugoslavia later, those criminals evaded accusations, and they are still free to do any

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

²⁶ Ibid.

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

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

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

Absence of Bosnian Serb Forces

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Large Territorial Gain and Limitation

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

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

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

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

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

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

Safe Area

Srebrenica as a temporary base of Muslim attack

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

Involvement of UN

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

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

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

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

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

A number of evidences that belong to Commission of Legal Experts to Republic of Srpska easily prove that Muslim forces considered civilians as a magnet to attract relief food from international organizations. One of the proofs is 'demonstration of citizens.' A large group of civilians complained about too small rations of wheat flour, and protested against the Muslim authorities of Srebrenica on May 21, 1993³⁷ although UNHCR had sent wheat flour more than the required amount. A Muslim woman that spent years in the enclave of Srebrenica also complained in the author's interview³⁸ that a half of the vehicles carrying humanitarian aid had been usually empty. Meanwhile, Ibran Mustafić, a founder of SDA (Muslim's political party) of Srebrenica and representative to Muslim BH Parliament, explained about the abundance of supplies as follows: "It was always possible to buy at the market anything one might have wanted. Hardly anything was lacking. Still the only source of goods was humanitarian aid since not a single commercial convoy had ever reached Srebrenica."³⁹ In order to solve the problem, International aid agencies suggested that the refugees should elect their own representative for the distribution of food. However, the man elected was killed the day after his election.⁴⁰ As Dutch battalion said in "Srebrenica: Record of a war crime", Naser Orić⁴¹, top commander in Srebrenica, and his fellows such as Zulfikar Turunović and Hakija Mehović, were nothing more than gangsters who took most of relief supplies from refugee population for his personal profit⁴².

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁴ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing

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

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

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

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

Normal War Engagement

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

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

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

⁵⁰ Dutch battalion's Debriefing.

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

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

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

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

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Meanwhile, operation of Republic of Srpska forces of Bosnian Serbs were generally directed to keep the status quo and to protect Bosnian Serbs population in Srebrenica area from the attacks of Muslim forces in the enclave, or "Safe Area".⁵⁵ As all Muslim enclaves or "Safe Area" including Srebrenica were less important for Serbs, territory wise, Republic of Srpska forces did not care very much about the enclaves as long as Muslim forces refrained from attacking Serbs' village and the Serbs' vital supply route. Moreover, Bosnian Serb forces did not have enough soldiers to take over Srebrenica although they had more heavy weapons, which would become ineffective in the mountainous landscape of Srebrenica. Therefore, even when Muslim forces of Srebrenica faced food crisis in spring 1993, the two Bosnian Serb political leaders, Karadzic and Milosevic, were adamant that there was no intention to take Srebrenica.⁵⁶ Although Mladic had not been in good terms with Karadzic in those days by his quasi-coup d'état against Karadzic, he also answered to Kareeman's question on July 21, 1995, after the fall of Srebrenica, that he would not have thought about attacking the enclaves if Muslim soldiers in "Safe Area," such as Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Zepa had been completely disarmed.⁵⁷ In addition, on the fall of Srebrenica, Mladic showed his indifference to the territory itself by asking representatives of Muslim refugees and civilians in Srebrenica whether they would like to stay in Srebrenica or go to Muslim territories or foreign countries. What Bosnian Serb forces wanted from Muslim forces was to stop the assaults against Serbian civilians and their vital supply route.

Fall of Srebrenica

Chaotic Muslim Soldiers

When Srebrenica began to fall into the hands of Serbs from July 6, 1995, Muslim forces in Srebrenica were hysterical, being in confusion and chaos. Having seen Dutch Battalion of UNPROFOR withdrawing, Muslim forces together with three citizens shot a blue helmet, Sergeant Van Rensen, to death on July 8.⁵⁸ On the same day, some Muslim soldiers threw grenade at Dutch Battalion, demanding the Dutch to go towards Bosnian Serb forces and fight.⁵⁹ On July 9, Muslim soldiers who did not allow Dutch to withdraw held another Dutch battalion for overnight.⁶⁰ On July 10, Muslim troops threatened a Dutch captain with anti-tank weapons not to move although the Dutch captain wanted to move in order to target Bosnian Serb forces more directly.⁶¹ On July 11, Dutch soldiers saw mutual fighting in various places between Muslim soldiers who wanted to surrender and Muslim soldiers who

⁵⁵ Dutch battalion's Debriefing.

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

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

⁵⁸ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

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

⁶⁰ Ibid. P12.

⁶¹ Ibid. P17.

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

Negotiation With Muslim Civilians & Refugees in Srebrenica Enclave

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

Muslim Soldiers Who Did Not Surrender

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

⁶² Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁶³ Ibid. 5.19.

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

⁶⁵ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁶⁶ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

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

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

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

Muslim Who Surrendered

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dutch battalion Debriefing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸¹ Ibid.

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

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

Alleged Massacre

Fleeing Muslim Soldiers

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

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

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Dutch Battalion's Debriefing.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Vermisten Srebrenica prionen in oorlog. Algemeen Dagblad, November 11, 1995.

De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1996.

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

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

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

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

⁹⁰ Ibid.

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

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

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

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

⁹⁶ Ibid.

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

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

⁹⁹ Algemeen Dagblad, 11 November 1995, Holland.

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

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

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

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

Muslims that were transferred by bus

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

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

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

¹⁰² Ibid.

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

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

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

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

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

Summary Execution for Personal Revenge

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

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

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

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

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

Mass graves does not always mean mass execution. A village man in Cancari area began to grumble to the author about his corns, saying that his corn field was stamped so hard by massive Muslims during nights that he could not harvest corn. According to him, the combatants had been so religious that bones of soldiers killed in the combat were not allowed to be buried, and the whole area had smelled terribly as it had human bones. He also mentioned that some of the bones were caught some of internal organs of dead human bodies, and he had seen some domestic animals. Under these circumstances, someone had picked up the bones to put into the ground for the sake of hygiene.

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

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

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

Missing List

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Erdemovic

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

¹⁰⁷ Algemeen Dagblad 11 November 1995.

¹⁰⁸ Record of the court of Novi Sad.

Consequence of Alleged Srebrenica Massacre and Collective Responsibility of Serbs

Reappearance of Muslim War Criminals in 1998

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

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

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

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

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

Quasi-Protectorate of Republic of Srpska

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

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

Collective Responsibility of Serbs

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

Role of international media's

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Secretary General heavily criticized some media reports:

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Facsimile of Top-secret Bosnian Muslim Army document

REPUBLIC OF BOSNA I HERZEGOVINA DEFENCE OF THE REPUBLIC

Bosnia and Herzegovina Army

22.07.1995 time: 14:20:00

2 CORPUS TUZLA

for brigadier: DUDAKOVICH

Facsimile of Top secret
Bosnian Muslim Army
document

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

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

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

The following came to Zepa, as well:

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

Major

/s/ Ramo Cardakovic

Conclusion:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Principle is next:

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

The data contain following informations:

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

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

EXAMPLE:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1019 (1995) ON VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN THE AREAS OF SREBRENICA, ZEPA, BANJA LUKA AND SANSKI MOST

UNITED NATIONS

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

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

95-37227 (E) 281195/...
9537227

A. Missing persons

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

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

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

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

Faxsimil of document of Bosnian Muslim Army (BMA)

1.

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ARMY OF R. BiH

The 285. East Bosnian Brigade Zepa

Top secret No. 08-20-454/95

Date: 19.04.1995.

State security

Defense of Republic

military secret

Top confidential

HEADQUARTER OF ARMY

DIRECTION FOR TACTICAL ACTIVITY

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

Asim Dzambasovic

Connection with your act, top secret No:

2/628 from 18.04.1995

Requested information we submitting to you:

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

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

Comandant

Avdo Palic

COMMENT:

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

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

2.

The Republic of Srpska

-Civilian Affairs Committee for Srebrenica

No:07-27/95

Date: July 17 1995

DECLARATION

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

A meeting was held on July 12 1995 in the "Hotel Fontana", on our request, between representatives of our civilian Authorities and representatives of the civilian Authorities and the Army of the Republic of Srpska, concerning the evacuation of our civilian population out of the enclave. Our side was represented by: Purkovic Canila, Nuhanovic Ibro and me, Nasib Mandzic.

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

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

The following was agreed:

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

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

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

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

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

UN representative
(signature)

Representative of the Civilian
Authorities of the Enclave of
Srebrenica

Colonel Karemans

Mandzic Nesib

Civil Affaire Commissioner for Srebrenica
Miroslav Deronjic

Report about case Srebrenica (the first part)

FOTO DOCUMENTATIONS



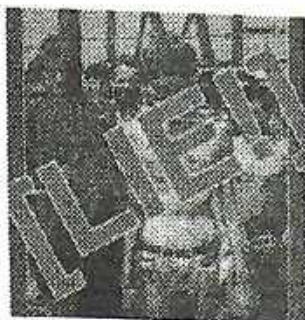
Test



Uw banner ook hier?

DE GEPLANDE VAL VAN SREBRENICA

21 Dec 2009 | Door Max | Category: Max



(Dit topic is weer bovenaan geplaatst omdat het nog enorm leeft onder de mensen die er direct bij waren betrokken. Lees vooral de comments.)

Al eens eerder gaven we hier aandacht aan Max die onder een artikel over Karadzic zijn niet mis te verstane mening en toelichting gaf over de Balkanoorlog en de val van Srebrenica.

We worden hier in het westen voorgelogen over de waarheid zei Max. De val van Srebrenica is een voor opgezet plan geweest en in scène gezet met niet bestaande slachtoffers.

Vandaag schreef hij weer een commentaar. We hebben de tekst enigszins bewerkt voor de leesbaarheid en wat we niet zeker wisten hebben we laten staan "as is". Gezien de emotionele stijl van schrijven en zijn gedrevenheid én omdat we deze kant van het verhaal ook moeten weten:

"DE GEPLANDE VAL VAN SREBRENICA".

(De video's zijn door de AmsterdamPost er onder geplaatst)

Richard Holbrooke, destijds Amerikaans onderminister voor de Balkan, waarschuwde EEN MAAND VOOR de aanval de Nederlandse regering voor de levensgevaarlijke positie van Dutchbat. In Srebrenica memoreerde Holbrooke in Nova: "Jullie troepen zitten in een dal, de heuvels zijn omsingeld door Serviërs; de situatie kan niet gevaarlijker zijn.

Maar Bihac, Gorazde, Zepa in Bosnie zijn ook omsingeld door Serviërs en werden beschermd dat gebieden? Hoe kon Holbrooke weten dat er iets vreselijks zou kunnen gebeuren in Srebrenica? Of stond hij achter de val van Srebrenica?

Door Clinton werd gemeld, in 1993, dat een bloedbad onder de Bosnische moslims nodig was voor een militaire interventie.

22 juni 1998: Interview met Hakija Meholic (moslim en hoofd van de politie in Srebrenica) in het Bosnische weekblad Dani: "Izetbegovic had gezegd: Weet je, mij was aangeboden door Clinton in april 1993 dat de Serviërs krachten invoeren Srebrenica, het uitvoeren van een slachting van 5000 moslims en dan zal er een militaire interventie komen." Meholic: "Onze delegatie bestond uit NEGEN mensen!

De VS en Groot-Brittannië (ook de Fransen waren op de hoogte) waren begin juni 1995 op de hoogte dat Servië de enclave Srebrenica zou binnenvallen.

Zaterdag 9 juli (20.30 uur, Nederland 1) stelt Voorhoeve dat twee permanente leden van de Veiligheidsraad ruim voor 11 juli 1995 op de hoogte waren van de Servische plannen. Pas een jaar later heeft hij achterhaald welke landen dit waren. Maar waarom heeft Morillon ook het vermoeden

dat er iets vreselijks zou kunnen gebeuren in Srebrenica? Wat is er gebeurd in Srebrenica voor de val in 1995; dat zou leiden hem tot deze conclusie?

De Verenigde Naties wist in het voorjaar van 1995 al van de op handen zijnde aanval op Srebrenica.

De moslims zijn de nacht voor de aanval massaal gevlucht, aldus de Nederlandse landmachtattaché in Washington, kolonel G. van Oppen, in het Fries Dagblad van 13 oktober 1995. In Nederland is nooit de vraag gesteld waarom dat is gebeurd.

Michael Evans van The Times op gezag van 'Western intelligence sources' wist te melden dat moslimcommandanten de stad Srebrenica hadden verlaten in de nacht voordat de eerste Servische tanks kwamen binnenrollen. Een bericht van een ex-lid van de SAS, de Britse elitetroepen: "Vanaf het VN-hoofdkwartier was al lang besloten dat Srebrenica niet verdedigd zou of mocht worden. Was dat ook een hoger plan? Een precedent te creëren om weer de nieuwste wapens uit te testen en de oude voorraden met raketten weer voor goed geld te kunnen verkopen? Welke voorkennis hadden de CIA en andere grote Westerse inlichtingendiensten over het Servische voornemen om de enclave op te rollen? Deze sleutelvraag van het Srebrenica-drama is ook 14 jaar na dato, ondanks een reeks van officiële onderzoeken, nog steeds niet opgehelderd. Wat is het allemaal? Was 'Srebrenica genocide' a hoax? De moslims zouden de Srebrenica over zich zelf hebben afgeroepen door in strijd met de afspraken gewapende uitvallen te plegen rond Srebrenica. Kijk maar naar wat aan Srebrenica voorafging. Waar is je morele verontwaardiging over de zeer goed gedocumenteerde bewijzen van ruim 1300 Servische ongewapende burgers afgeslacht met ijzeren staven, bijlen, messen, voorhamers, vlammenwerpers, veel onthoofdingen en van besnijdenis van Servische inwoners, enz,... over een periode van drie jaar in Srebrenica en de omliggende dorpen door Bosnische moslim troepen en jihadstrijders onder bevel van Naser Oric?

Hier heb ik gewoon geen woorden meer voor, zulke monsters!

En ja, ik weet niet hoe jij reageert als je tegenover de moordenaars van je broertjes en zusjes en moeder staat! Moordenaars van de Servische kinderen, vrouwen en oude mannen rond Srebrenica werden nooit slachtoffers!!!!??

Wat weinig mensen weten is dat de z.g.n. zielige Bosnische mannen voor een flink deel bestonden uit Al Qaida terroristen vanuit Pakistan, Iran tot Somalie samen met Albanese UCK strijders die werden opgejaagd door het Bosnisch-Servische leger. Deze actie had tot doel terroristen uit te schakelen en was niet gericht tegen burgers of VN-troepen, schreef Mladic tijdens de aanval op Srebrenica aan de Britse commandant Rupert Smith. Ondanks hinderlagen van de Serviërs was de operatie een groot succes, zoals de opperbevelhebber van het Bosnische regeringsleger, generaal Rasim Delic, later in het parlement in Sarajevo verklaarde.

Wat er gebeurde in Srebrenica is eenvoudig: de moslims vielen de Serviërs aan, zodat de Serviërs hen doodschoten. Veel stierven in de strijd en sommige werden geëxecuteerd. De VN commissie ging het NIET om het aantal slachtoffers maar alleen om het aantal VERMISTEN! Volgens de UNHCR zijn 5000 moslimsoldaten (slachtoffers) doorgedrongen tot het territorium van de gemeente Tuzla, Zenica (Bosnië).

Hieruit blijkt dat het aantal van 7000 tot 8000 doden een hoax is. Deze link: <http://www.srebrenica-report.com/>

Elke moslim die stierf in Srebrenica gedurende de hele oorlog werd genoemd als vermoord in juli van 1995. Generaal Philippe Morillon verklaarde zijn overtuiging dat de aanval op Srebrenica een directe reactie was op de moordpartijen door Nasir Oric en zijn strijdkrachten in 1992 en 1993. De VN generaal die daar het bewind voerde (de canadees Lewis McKenzie) heeft later meermaals met klem gezegd dat het gangbare verhaal over Srebrenica grotendeels onwaar is. Hij schat het aantal omgekomen moslimstrijders op hooguit 2000. bron:Globe and Mail.

Phillip Corwin, voormalig VN-coördinator voor civiele zaken in Bosnië in de jaren 1990, zei: Wat is

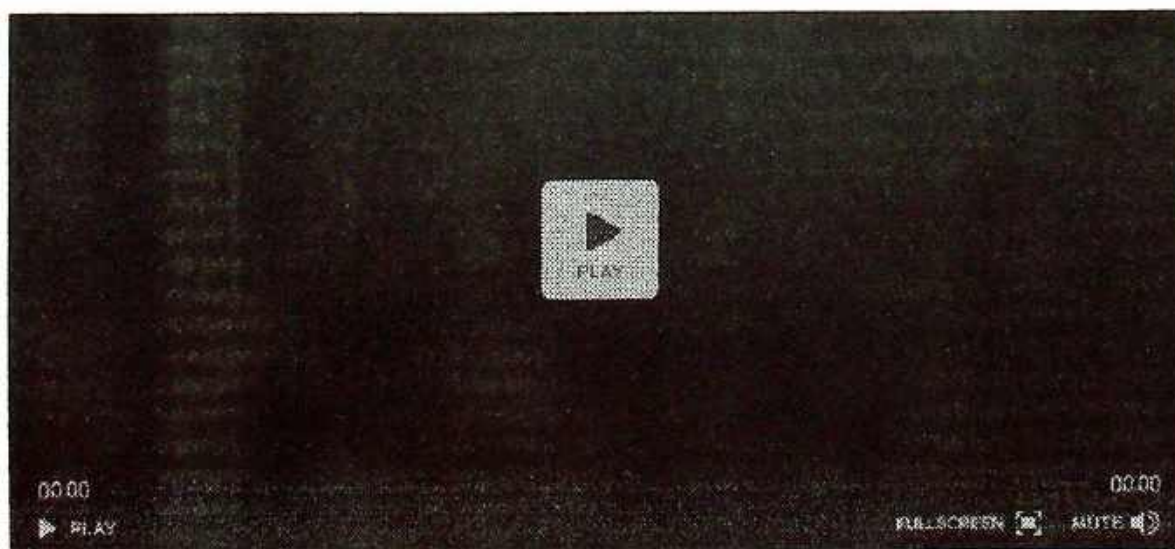
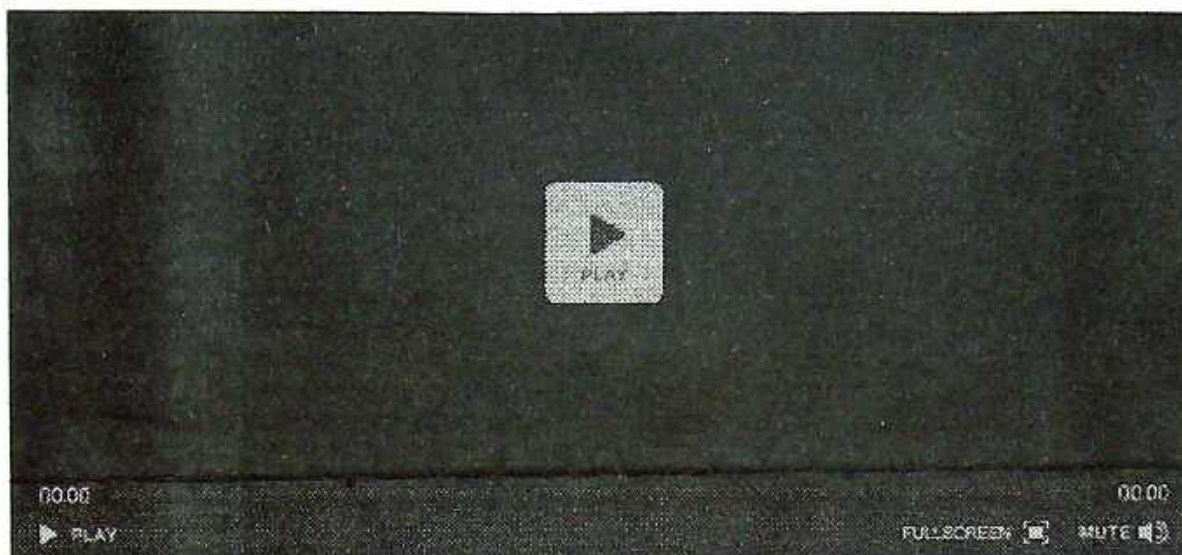
<http://www.amsterdampost.nl/de-geplande-val-van-srebrenica/>

er gebeurd in Srebrenica was niet een grote slachting van moslims door de Serviërs, maar eerder een reeks van zeer bloedige aanvallen en tegenaanvallen over een periode van drie jaar die op een crescendo uitliepen in juli van 1995. Waar zijn de andere vijf of zesduizend lijken na 14 jaar? De vraag blijft dus nog open om hoeveel vermiste, mogelijk vermoorde, mogelijk gesneuvelde moslimmannen het eigenlijk gaat.

Met ingang van maart 2007, meer dan 12 jaar na de gebeurtenis, een totaal van 2.442 slachtoffers zijn begraven op de Srebrenica Memorial Complex. Dus niet 8000!.

Maar veel van hen van 8/9 regio's buiten Srebrenica, overleden, mogelijk vermoorde, gesneuvelde. Maar, er is niet een onderscheid te maken tussen de slachtoffers van de misdaad en de slachtoffers van de oorlog. Waarom niet?! Srebrenica, de bevolking, en de Nederlanders moedwillig opgegeven voor een hoger belang.

(Video's door AP geplaatst. Voor wie dat allemaal te lang duurt; bekijk vooral de derde om te zien hoe foto's gemanipuleerd werden om u voor te liegen met vermeende Nazi-praktijken.)





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1. toetssteen december 6th, 2009 02:33

Naar waarheid heb ik getracht de vinger er nog op te leggen, daar was ik zeer naïef bij, het door mij opgeslagen materiaal geeft een blank scherm. Ik weet, ik weet, ik ben een domoor. Maar ik weet wat ik las en daarom weet ik dat de versie van de schrijver correct is.

2. Theodorus december 7th, 2009 00:56

Het blijft een misdaad tegen de menselijkheid. Niemand heeft de Serviërs gedwongen deze misdaad te begaan.

3. Max december 7th, 2009 00:56

Wereldwijd werden en worden alle feite ten gunste van de Serviers genegeerd en alle feiten die Serviers in een kwaad daglicht zetten enorm uitvergroot, opgeklapt, uit hun verband gerukt etc. om hen als zondebok aan te merken. Deze hele zaak Srebrenica is door de westerse mogendheden in scene gezet om een aanleiding te hebben om Servie te kunnen verwoesten. Zonder Naser Oric, Alija Izetbegovic en jihadstrijders zou er niet zijn Srebrenica. Vindt U het niet uiterst merkwaardig dat er meteen, nadrukkelijk en voortdurend na de val van Srebenica via alle media over 8000 tot 10000 vermoorde moslims werd gesproken terwijl dat nu nog steeds niet bewezen is? Het hele 8e moslimdivisie zat daar in Srebenica! En tot de tanden gewapend door de VS. Bosnische mensen in Srebrenica hadden nog kunnen leven als ze niet al die jaren vanuit die zogenaamde safe-areas, dag en nacht Serven hadden vermoorden. Over funniest home videos gesproken: in februari 1994 liet Nasr Oric trots een videoband zien van een uitgebrand Servische dorp en van onthoofde lichamen van Serviers aan John Pomfret van The Washington Post. Om dit te stoppen kwam Mladic met zijn leger om de verantwoordelijken voor de moordpartijen op te pakken. Actie vraagt om reactie, je oogst wat je zaait. Over excessen: Ik zal niet zeggen dat ze niet zijn gebeurd. In Srebrenica waren ook paramilitaire, met Kroat Drazen Erdemovic, werkte voor de Franse geheime dienst! Servische soldaten, de meesten afkomstig uit de streek zelf, hadden bij hun inval in juli lijsten bij zich met honderden namen van moslims die van oorlogsmisdaden werden verdacht. Arrestaties van moslimmannen hadden in elk geval voor een deel een

selectief karakter. De Serviers kenden de mannen, volgens een Nederlandse chauffeur. Ze hadden hele lijsten bij zich en foto's. Ze werden er zo uitgepikt. Op RTL4, vertelde soldaat Harry bij Barend en van Dorp rond die tijd: er waren maar 700 mannen in de ombond [dus niet 8000], en volgens het NOS journaal en het NIOD rapport ook. Ongeveer 1500 Bosnische soldaten omkwamen op het slagveld en dat er ongeveer driehonderd gedood zijn in opvolgende executies. Zij maken van de moslimdaders [oorlogsmisdadigers] de slachtoffers.??! Met andere woorden: er was geen slachting, wel een slagveld wat in een oorlog, hoe cru het ook klinkt, gebruikelijk is. In plaats van de 7-8.000 figuur, VN-functionarissen en Amerikaanse Congres deskundigen waren genoteerd geven de cijfers van "700-800," "de lage honderden," ongeveer 2.000 moslims en Serviers totaal!?

Niemand ontkent dat er individuele misdaden op de Servische zijde. Toch kan niemand geloofwaardig beweren dat deze misdaden waren een gevolg van de Servische leiders het beleid!!! Advocaat Karadzic zegt dat er schriftelijke bewijzen zijn dat Karadzic de legerleiders bevolen heeft zich aan het oorlogsrecht te houden.

Het wordt hoog tijd dat vermoedelijke massagraven door een onpartijdige instantie worden onderzocht!!!! http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVl9KF0uKhE&feature=player_embedded# <http://emperors-clothes.com/news/binl.htm>

4. Max december 7th, 2009 00:57

Harold Pinter, de Nobelprijswinnaar literatuur van 2005 verklaarde bijvoorbeeld: Het VS-tribunaal dat Slobodan Milosevic moet beoordelen is altijd compleet onwettig geweest. Navo woordvoerder Jamie Shea zei in mei 1999, tijdens de bombardementen in Balkan: natuurlijk steunt de Navo het Internationaal Joegoslavië tribunaal. Slobodan Milosevic was het eerste staatshoofd ooit dat in naam van de hele mensheid werd berecht voor een hof van de Verenigde Naties. Berecht door de hele mensheid? Ik vraag aan met wie ze de hele mensheid bedoelen? Staan alle mensen van alle volkeren dan achter dit proces? Heeft elk land haar goedkeuring gegeven voor dit hof? Het antwoord is neeeeeeeee. Dit tribunaal is toch niet tot stand gekomen door de gehele wereld. Neen, het is de beslissing van een paar machtige landen die zeggen te handelen uit naam van de internationale gemeenschap. Beslissingen door de VS of andere machtige landen worden vaak weergegeven als internationaal. Over rechtzaak tegen Milosevic/hij was winnaar en daarom is hij vermoord [door Ritalin]. Zonder er maar een flinter van bewijs is gevonden tegen Slobodan Milosovic. Milosevic was ook al veroordeeld alvorens het tribunaal was gestart. De Britse professor James Gow, voormalig adviseur van de aanklager in het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, verklaarde in 2004 al voor de Britse televisieketen Channel 4: "Het beste zou zijn dat Milosevic in zijn cel sterft, want als het proces zijn gewone verloop kent, is het heel goed mogelijk dat hij alleen voor enkele kleine aanklachten wordt veroordeeld. In de documentaire 'De zaak Milosevic vervolgd' van Tegenlicht kan je zien hoe Milosevic de zware aanklachten tegen hem ongedaan maak, en hoe erg het beeld van deze oorlog door de media vertekend werd. Dit was inderdaad een politiek showproces. Het tribunaal heeft hier en daar wel een Kroaat en een moslim opgepakt en kort voor het begin van het proces-Milosevic werden voor het eerst zelfs twee Kosovo-Albanen gearresteerd, en later weer vrijgelaten!!!! Om de schijn te wekken dat het Joegoslavië-tribunaal "eerlijk" werkt werden kleine garnalen in de gevangenis gegooit, terwijl de leiders ongemoeid worden gelaten. Dit was inderdaad een politiek showproces. In elk ander proces was hij allang op vrije voeten gesteld. Wie is het volgende slachtoffer? De echte oorlogsmisdadigers moet u zoeken op het hoofdkwartier van de NAVO. Het Servische volk is slachtoffer voor Westerse belangen. De ware misdaad is de gewelddadige vernietiging van een Europees land, het multiculturele Joegoslavië. Dat gebeurde door een dictaat van Duitsland en VS. Wanneer Milosevic aan getuige Lord Owen vragen stelt om de verantwoordelijkheid van de Duitse kanselier Kohl en minister Genscher in het moedwillig doen uiteenspatten van Joegoslavië aan te tonen, valt de rechter echt uit zijn rol: hij snoert Milosevic nogal grof de mond en noemt dat "propaganda". Tijdens een hoorzitting bij het Tribunaal in Den Haag [23 juli 2009] Karadzic zei: dit is de

laatste kans voor ons om te verduidelijken wat er gebeurd is in Bosnie, en met name in Srebrenica. Ik neem aan dat Karadzic nu eenzelfde soort lot staat te wachten [als Milosevic], zodat hij ons niet kan informeren over wat er daadwerkelijk gebeurt is!
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WldfX7GODCM>

5. Max december 7th, 2009 00:57

@Theodorus 06 Dec 2009 @ 8:36 am: Ik weet niet hoe jij reageert als je tegenover de moordenaars van je broertjes en zusjes en moeder staat? Moordenaars van de Servische kinderen, vrouwen en oude mannen rond Srebrenica werden nooit slachtoffers!!!!?? PAS OP: schokkende foto's
<http://www.srpska-mreza.com/library/facts/jihad-in-Europe.html> <http://real-srebrenica-genocide.blogspot.com/>

6. Ben Kok (Joods-Christ. pastor) december 7th, 2009 00:58

Uiteraard is er een "hoger beleid" van de wereldelite, die bestaat uit CFR, Bilderberg, Vrij Metselaars, Skull and Bones en dat soort enge clubjes, die de de VN besturen, geholpen door een meerderheid van islamlanden in dat geheel.
 Ze denken, dat ze de macht hebben, deze trieste mensen, die allemaal een keer dood gaan, net als iedereen.
 Hun maakbare wereld eindigt bij de antichrist, die op basis van hun manipulaties den NWO zal optimaliseren.
 In die werelddictatuur zien we de meest erge samenleving ooit, van de massa met een "teken om te kunnen kopen en verkopen", het 666 teken van de antichrist.
 Dan blijkt, dat Yeshua ha Mashiach ben David komt, de Enige die ons kan redden, de echte Mashiach tegenover de anti-messias.
 Het Nederlandse beleid in Srebrenica is te walgelijk voor woorden; het schoothondje van de machthebbers.
 Je zult als soldaat dat soort collaborateurs, die de dienst in politiek en leger uitmaken, maar moeten volgen.
 Je zoon of man zal er voor gesneuveld zijn of gehandicapt of getraumatiseerd.
 Dezelfde landverraders zitten nu op het pluche om de islamisering verder te ontwikkelen met Eurabie en de NWO
 Zie mijn artikel over de Pax Mohbahma
<http://torayeshua.nl/cms/?p=557>
 Shalom,
 Ben Kok (joods-chr.pastor)
<http://www.tora-yeshua.nl>

7. toetssteen december 7th, 2009 00:58

@Max

Bedankt voor de links, zal er nu zorgvuldiger mee omgaan.

Ontdek de kunst van het slim organiseren



8.

9. Max december 7th, 2009 00:59

@Ben Kok: Namen van oud bosniestrijders duiken op als verdachten of betrokkenen bij geplande aanslagen in Los Angeles, Brussel, Gaza, Bali, Manilla, Madrid. De leugens over Bosnie [Joegoslavië] beginnen zich langzaam te ontrafelen, wellicht komt ooit de waarheid nog wel eens naar boven, hoe het Westen Al-Qa'ida heeft gebruikt om Bosnie, Servische

Kosovo te destabiliseren. Osama Bin Laden, de meest gewenste terroristische in de wereld, is een paspoort van Bosnie-Herzegovina uitgegeven. Bin Laden uitgevaardigd het Bosnische paspoort door de Bosnische ambassade in Wenen in 1993. SREBENICA BEWUST OPGEOFFERD is door VS/NATO/moslims[Izetbegovic]!!! Alija Izetbegovic, die in april 1993 van Clinton te horen gekregen zou hebben dat het Westen pas zou ingrijpen als de Bosnische Serven Srebrenica zouden belegeren en een massaslachting zouden aanrichten, een slachting van vijfduizend moslims. Hakija Meholic[muslim], voormalig hoofd van de politie in Srebrenica: Onze delegatie bestond uit NEGEN mensen, een van ons was van Bratunac en hij is de enige die niet leeft, maar alle anderen uit de delegatie kan dit bevestigen. Nederland werd door de Amerikaanse topdiplomaat R. Holbrooke gewaarschuwd [een maand voor??!] voor de op handen zijnde genocide in Srebrenica. Maar waarom heeft Morillon ook vermoeden dat er iets vreselijks zou kunnen gebeuren in Srebrenica? Wat is er gebeurd in Srebrenica voor zijn val in 1995, dat zou leiden hem tot deze conclusie?

http://www.prorepublica.nl/artikel.aspx?a=nogmaals_srebrenica&t=Nogmaals%20Srebrenica http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i1a-LzxDyE&feature=player_embedded http://www.weplug.com/group_article192.html

10. Max december 7th, 2009 19:06

Hoe de VS en NATO de oorlog tegen Servie organiseerden en opstookten: "J.M.: Mister Harff, welke middelen stonden tot uw beschikking; van welke methoden bediende u zich?

J.H.: Dat is heel eenvoudig. Onze hulpmiddelen bestaan eigenlijk uit niets anders dan een kaartsysteem, een computer en een fax. In het kaartsysteem zijn de namen opgeslagen van honderden journalisten, politici, vertegenwoordigers van humanitaire organisaties en academici. Met de computer kunnen we deze databank koppelen aan actuele thema's, om zo op effectieve wijze de juiste personen aan te spreken waar we op een bepaald moment informatie van willen krijgen.... Zo kunnen we in een paar minuten alle personen waarvan we vermoeden dat ze reageren zullen van de precieze informatie voorzien. Ons werk bestaat hieruit diverse informatiebronnen te kanaliseren en daarna zo snel mogelijk te verspreiden, daarbij opvattingen die met het thema overeenkomen als eerste openbaar te maken. Snelheid is hier een eerste vereiste. Wanneer wij een informatiebron achten juist te zijn, is het voor ons de opgave deze mening in de wereldopinie als de gangbare mening te verankeren. Vanaf dat moment is het duidelijk dat alleen datgene telt wat in het begin als standpunt werd ingenomen. Opdat we niet vergeten. HET IS ONS GELUKT en wel tussen 2 en 5 augustus 1992 toen de New Yorkse krant "Newsday" met berichten kwam over Servische concentratiekampen. Trefwoorden hierbij waren "dodenkamp" "gulag" en "dodenkamp van de Serven" (deze berichten werden later door de Duitse journalist Thomas Deichmann ontmaskerd Anm. d. Hrsg.).

We stelden voor een aankondiging te plaatsen in "the New York Times" en bij de Verenigde Naties protest aan te tekenen. Dat werkte voortreffelijk, in een handomdraai konden we de Serviers in de wereldopinie neerzetten naast de nazi's, opeens hebben we nu een eenvoudige geschiedenis van goeden (moslims) en kwaden (Serviers).

Het appelleren aan emoties in de berichtgeving is zo sterk dat niemand het zich meer kan permitteren er een afwijkende mening op na te houden. Dat was echt een schot in de roos. J.M. Maar u bent zich er toch wel van bewust dat u hierin een grote verantwoordelijkheid draagt?

J.H. We worden er niet voor betaald om te moraliseren. En zelfs wanneer het daarom zou gaan hebben we een zuiver geweten. Als u zou willen bewijzen dat de Serviers slachtoffer zijn, probeert u het dan, u zult merken dat u daarin dan helemaal alleen staat.

11. Max december 7th, 2009 19:10

Hoe de VS en NATO de oorlog tegen Servie organiseerden en opstookten: "J.M.: Mister Harff, welke middelen stonden tot uw beschikking; van welke methoden bediende u zich?

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J.H. We worden er niet voor betaald om te moraliseren. En zelfs wanneer het daarom zou gaan hebben we een zuiver geweten. Als u zou willen bewijzen dat de Serviers slachtoffer zijn, probeert u het dan, u zult merken dat u daarin dan helemaal alleen staat.

12. Max december 7th, 2009 19:20

Het Joegoslavische volk verdedigde met zijn heldhaftig verzet tegen de NAVO niet alleen het eigen land, maar de gehele wereld tegen imperialistische verovering. Ooit zullen deze misdaden bekend en erkend worden in de hele wereld. Ik bedoel misdaad tegen Servische volk wat heel raar klinkt in de oren van westerse mensen want zij zijn iets anders gewoon om te horen/lezen. Waarom? Het gaat niet alleen over Milosevic maar over de hele Servische volk die zwart beschilderd is. Tot nu toe bestonden de agressors en slachtoffers (bv nazi-joden) maar voor het eerste keer moeten we horen dat de slachtoffer een agressor is!? De Serviers zijn beschilderd als agressors (in hun eigen land?) en tegelijkertijd zijn ze grootste verliezers wat de land en volk betreft. Servie word kleiner en kleiner en ze worden steeds agressors genoemd. We hebben hier duizenden keren gehoord over moslims of albaneze vluchtelingen maar de cijfers tonen dat meeste vluchtelingen Serviers zijn (meer dan 1 mil.) Ik vraag mij af hoe zoiets mogelijk is in deze tijden en waarom hebben zij Serviers als zwarte schapen gekozen? Wie is volgende volk? Het is tijd om het debat over Joegoslavië opnieuw te openen.

13. Stepan december 9th, 2009 13:37

Wat ik helaas nooit ergens terug lees of hoor. Is dat de oorlogen in Bosnië, Kroatië, Slovenië en ook Kosovo ontstonden als onrust in Joegoslavië. Vanuit de regering te Belgrado (juist hoofdstad van Joegoslavië later Servië) werden Joegoslavische orde troepen naar de verschillende delen uitgezonden en dat escaleerde overal. Wat als een interne aangelegenheid begon werd plots een internationaal conflict (ondermeer door het erkennen van de verschillende landen). De verandering die een volk met regering heeft moeten ondergaan van Joegoslavië naar Servië is onvrijwillig gegaan en heeft voor veel onrust gezorgd. Immers Orthodoxe bevolking die plots buiten de Joegoslavische grenzen vielen

werden verjaagd (Kroatië Bosnië), rechten ontzegd (Slovenië) geterroriseerd (Bosnië, Kosovo). In dit laatste geval is dit ontstoken in een bloedige strijd op leven en dood. De orthodoxe mensen kregen steun vanuit Belgrado wat plots een buitenlandse hoofdstad was (van Servië) waardoor het lijkt dat Servië op deze landen probeerde een invasie uit te voeren. Maar in feite gebeurde het omgekeerde: Joegoslavië explodeerde uiteen wat heel veel mensen in onrust en angst bracht en uiteindelijk tot volksverhuizingen. Zo'n snelle verandering van omgeving cultuur brengt veel emotie met zich mee wat er toe geleid heeft aan de vele gewelddadige gebeurtenissen, en dit geldt voor alle mensen/partijen.....

Verandering en het gevoel het te gaan verliezen geven veel negatieve emotie..... Neem de PVV die in speelt op de angst van velen maar neem ook maar bijvoorbeeld alleen een voetbalwedstrijd en het geweld die daar bij schijnt te horen. puur angst voor verlies.

14. Max december 9th, 2009 18:12

@Stepan december 9th, 2009 13:37:

Dit is wat de wereld over Joegoslavië verzwegen wordt. Balkan in een koloniale bezetting door de VS en EU! Dat was het plan! De strijd in voormalig Joegoslavië was en is een strijd tussen het Duitse en het Amerikaanse kapitaal om daar voet aan de grond te krijgen. De werkelijke aanstichters van deze oorlog zijn dan ook niet de verschillende ethnische groepen, maar de economische machten van IMF en Wereldbank. Duitsland en VS hadden er geen belang bij dat het land bij elkaar bleef, want het was een te sterk machtsblok in Europa waarbij het westen weinig invloed op kon uitoefenen. Het multi religieuze Joegoslavië barstte uit elkaar met de onafhankelijkheid van het door het Westen gesteunde Slovenië en Kroatië tot gevolg. Lord Carington/september 1992/: de politiek van de erkenning Slovenië en Kroatië was een tragische vergissing. Het is het imperialisme eindelijk gelukt de staat Joegoslavië in vijf of zes brokken uiteen te laten vallen. Volgens de akkoorden van Helsinki en het internationale volkerenrecht hebben de Joegoslaven volledig gelijk dat zij hun land niet laten opdelen. Elke andere Joegoslavische leider zou hetzelfde hebben gedaan. Milosevic wilde als president van Joegoslavië, de staat Joegoslavië bijeen houden. Dat is immers de taak van een president.. Milosevic wilde Joegoslavië niet uiteen laten vallen. Daar werd hij in 1990 door de verenigde volkeren van Joegoslavië voor gekozen nota bene. Het was zijn plicht als staatshoofd om afscheidingsbewegingen te bestrijden. Hij beschermt zijn land tegen het uiteenrukken.

Inderdaad het is tijd om het debat over Joegoslavië opnieuw te openen. Maar wie gaat het deze keer eerlijk doen? Iedereen is bang van VS. Hoe kunnen we zulke vreselijke daden tegen Serviërs[Servië] ongedaan maken? En hoe kunnen zoveel mensen toegeven (politici's, journalisten...) dat ze gelogen hebben? De leugens over Joegoslavië zijn de afgelopen jaren niet te tellen geweest. Er zit een duidelijk systeem in. James Harff directeur van het 'Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs' geeft onomwonden toe dat zijn bureau verantwoordelijk is voor vele misleidingen en glasharde leugens[Balkan] om de publieke opinie te manipuleren. En daar is ie nog hartstikke trots op ook! James Harff: als u zou willen bewijzen dat de Serviërs slachtoffer zijn, probeert u het dan, u zult merken dat u daarin dan helemaal alleen staat. Europa, Duitsland, Kohl, Genscher, USA,....., hadden en hebben nooit enig recht gehad dat land in allerlei brokstukken op te delen. Zeker niet zoals zij dat deden met leugens en geweld. Ik ben benieuwd wat Nederland zou doen wanneer plotseling enkele provincies zich eenzijdig onafhankelijk zouden verklaren. Zou de regering dan zeggen "is goed joh, ga je gang"? Door het Duitse succes inzake separatistische Kroatië, Slovenië, verschenen in 1992 ook de Amerikanen op het Balkantoneel, uit rivaliteit. Bosnië was de eerste steen van een reeks domino's. Bosnië kreeg de volle steun van de VS, Duitsland en zowat de gehele islamitische wereld.. Sinds 1992 vechten terroristen die banden hebben met Bin Laden in Bosnië om mee te helpen Joegoslavië uit elkaar te doen spatten. Het einddoel van Alija Izetbegovic in Bosnië was de dzamahirija, de islamitische staat. Op 16 maart van dat jaar, 1992[dus voor de oorlog!!!], was Karadzic andermaal duidelijk en waarschuwde nadrukkelijk voor ernstige gevolgen. Hij waarschuwde voor een burgeroorlog tussen de diverse etnische groepen en religies, met als gevolg mogelijk honderdduizenden doden en honderden dorpen

en steden die totaal zouden worden verwoest. Hij voegde er voorts aan toe: na een dergelijke oorlog zullen we exact dezelfde situatie hebben. De drie Bosnie en Herzegovina die we nu ook hebben. Karadzic waarschuwde dus openlijk voor de gevolgen. Bosnische burgeroorlog had kunnen voorkomen als Alija Izetbegovic geen illegale referendum over onafhankelijkheid had laten uitschrijven en hij koos voor oorlog. Volgens de Grondwet van Joegoslavië was een referendum alleen rechtsgeldig indien de volkeren van alle republieken hun stem uitbrachten. http://www.afvn.nl/2007_4/afpag_3_17.htm

15. Max december 9th, 2009 18:48

@Stepan:

De leugens over Joegoslavië zijn de afgelopen jaren niet te tellen geweest. Er zit een duidelijk systeem in. James Harff directeur van het 'Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs' geeft onomwonden toe dat zijn bureau verantwoordelijk is voor vele misleidingen en glasharde leugens[Balkan] om de publieke opinie te manipuleren. En daar is ie nog hartstikke trots op ook! James Harff: als u zou willen bewijzen dat de Serviërs slachtoffer zijn, probeert u het dan, u zult merken dat u daarin dan helemaal alleen staat. Europa, Duitsland, Kohl, Genscher, USA,....., hadden en hebben nooit enig recht gehad dat land in allerlei brokstukken op te delen. Zeker niet zoals zij dat deden met leugens en geweld. Balkan in een koloniale bezetting door de VS en EU! Dat was het plan! De strijd in voormalig Joegoslavië was en is een strijd tussen het Duitse en het Amerikaanse kapitaal om daar voet aan de grond te krijgen.

Duitsland en VS hadden er geen belang bij dat het land bij elkaar bleef, want het was een te sterk machtsblok in Europa waarbij het westen weinig invloed op kon uitoefenen. Het multi religieuze Joegoslavië barstte uit elkaar met de onafhankelijkheid van het door het Westen gesteunde Slovenië en Kroatië tot gevolg. Lord Carington/september 1992/de politiek van de erkenning Slovenië en Kroatië was een tragische vergissing. Door het Duitse succes inzake separatistische Kroatië, Slovenië, verschenen in 1992 ook de Amerikanen op het Balkantoneel, uit rivaliteit. Bosnië was de eerste steen van een reeks domino's. Bosnië kreeg de volle steun van de VS, Duitsland en zowat de gehele islamitische wereld.. Sinds 1992 vechten terroristen die banden hebben met Bin Laden in Bosnië om mee te helpen Joegoslavië uit elkaar te doen spatten. Het einddoel van Alija Izetbegovic in Bosnië was de dzamahirija, de islamitische staat. Op 16 maart van dat jaar, 1992[dus voor de oorlog!!!], was Karadzic andermaal duidelijk en waarschuwde nadrukkelijk voor ernstige gevolgen. Hij waarschuwde voor een burgeroorlog tussen de diverse etnische groepen en religies, met als gevolg mogelijk honderdduizenden doden en honderden dorpen en steden die totaal zouden worden verwoest. Hij voegde er voorts aan toe: na een dergelijke oorlog zullen we exact dezelfde situatie hebben. De drie Bosnië en Herzegovina die we nu ook hebben. Karadzic waarschuwde dus openlijk voor de gevolgen. Bosnische burgeroorlog had kunnen voorkomen als Alija Izetbegovic geen illegale referendum over onafhankelijkheid had laten uitschrijven en hij koos voor oorlog. Volgens de Grondwet van Joegoslavië was een referendum alleen rechtsgeldig indien de volkeren van alle republieken hun stem uitbrachten.

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http://www.afvn.nl/2007_4/afpag_3_17.htm

16. Stepan december 9th, 2009 23:37

@max

Ik weet het, u weet het.... Ik zie de heimwee en onmacht van een volk heel dichtbij..... En het doet ontzettend veel zeer... Mijn hart huilt voor een onbegrepen en onterecht geslachtofferd volk.... Ik heb heel vaak mensen met metaforen uit uitgelegd wat daar onder andere gebeurd is. En alleen als de mensen open staan voor een andere perspectief heeft dit zin. Meestal blijven mensen/politici/journalisten bij hun van te voren afgesproken standpunt en zijn ze moeilijk te vormen. Ik geloof nog in ergere redenen dan de uwe..... Door te weinig kennis van het gebied heeft de Internationale wereld fouten gemaakt in het hoe omgaan met de Balkan.... Dit heeft men proberen te maskeren en goed te praten door redenen te verzinnen. het is een opstapeling van zaken die naar een tijdje niet meer is recht te breien. Bekijk het zo : vaak in een ruzie met je echtgenote weet je door de emotie niet meer waar de essentie in het meningsverschil ligt.

En trek het nu weer naar het grote : Adolf Hitler is iets begonnen wat hij nooit van te voren had kunnen bedenken opeenstapeling van problemen creëren door problemen op te lossen en op een bepaald moment bereikt dat een climax van geen weg meer terug.

Over een bepaalde periode in de toekomst zal de waarheid van de geschiedenis zich openbaren. Ik hoop dit nog mee te maken maar ben er bang voor dat dit nog een hele tijd gaat duren. Ik kreeg eens een wijze opmerking van een journalist die mij vertelde dat geschiedenis pas na 100 jaar goed geschreven kan worden omdat de emotioneel betrokkenen er geen vat meer op hebben.

1989 nu 20 jaar geleden wordt door Europa feestelijk herdacht met het einde van de koude oorlog en hereniging..... Dat kan allemaal en is allemaal mooi Maar aan de andere kant is dat ook het jaar geweest waarin in Kosovo de onrust tegen de Joegoslavische staat en volk begon. Hoe kan een land dat aan de kant stond van de Sovjetunie maar heel veel vrijheden kende voor zijn mensen en toeristen en daarom ook veel Hongaren Roemenen Bulgaren en heel veel Albanezen binnen de landgrenzen had. zo uit elkaar klappen..... Het is gewoon gestraft omdat het aan de kant van de Sovjet unie stond en min of meer bleef staan. Ook blijf ik met het idee zitten als de aanslag op de twintowers eerder in de geschiedenis was gebeurd er het voor Bosnie en Kosovo heel anders had uitgezien. maar precies zoals u schrijft, ze zullen het eens toegeven.....

Met mijn eerdere reactie wilde ik rede en gevoel aangeven het begin van de oorlog wat door iedereen te begrijpen is. En daarbij voeg ik eigenlijk altijd toe : Het Servische volk er is bijna geen gastvrijer volk te bedenken. Je kunt alles van ze krijgen bergen voedsel en ze staan hun bed nog af.... Misbruik deze gastvrijheid en ze zijn klaar met je..... en blijven klaar met je.... en sancties deren hun niet.... Een persoonlijke ervaring was dat ik in juni 1999 vlak na de Navo bombardementen op bezoek was. In een mooi lente zonnetje sprak een oom van mijn vrouw tegen me met in een hand een lap vlees en in de andere een Jelen pivo..... Wat nou sancties ik heb eten ik heb drinken die ik kan delen met familie en vrienden wat zou ik dan nog meer moeten hebben..... Ik voelde me groot van rijkdom en meteen ook ontzettend klein wetende dat hij heel 98 en 99 als militia in Kosovo had gezeten....

17. Jan Kaas december 21st, 2009 00:53

(...) en de Nederlanders moedwillig opgegeven voor een hoger belang.

Wat is dan dit Hoger belang?

Er moest een „ruiling" van de oostelijke plaatsvinden om de gijzelings positie en het Internationaal gezichtsverlies van de NATO landen te verbreken.

Onder leiding van een hoge anonieme generaal (NIOD) .. Generaal Delic .. werden er aanvallen uitgevoerd op Servië. Toen er een groots scheepse aanval op Vlasenica werd uitgevoerd was de kous af en sloeg Servië -logisch- terug en werd de zonde bok. Terwijl veel Mujhadiens werkzaam waren – net als in Afganistan in de tijd van Reagan – voor westerse diensten.

De enclaves werden opgedoekt en er was een groot- overzichtelijk- Servie zonder vn gijzelaars.

Nog geen 3 jaar later begon in Albanie de oorlog tegen de Serven. Onder steun van VS en UK kregen Albanezen militairen wapens en opleidingen. Later werd heel Servië gebombardeerd toen Milosevic in Rambouillet (Fr) niet voor overgave wilden tekenen. En nu... Nu komt Servië bij de EU en Ratko tijgert nog vrolijk rond.

Misschien kunnen we de Serven inzetten bij het Nederlands leger in Afghanistan, zo gaat dat toch in deze gekke wereld.

Als de bilaterale economische verhoudingen met Servië maar beter worden voor de Nederlandse ondernemers.. De koopman en de dominee ... en Serge Bramertz die komt wel met een wazig briefje.

18. Susann december 24th, 2009 20:40

Goede link over deze topic;
<http://de-construct.net/e-zine/?p=9034>

19. willem december 25th, 2009 13:03

Tjaonschuldige massa moord? De meesten die ik heb gezien waren gekleed in militaire uniformenten en behoorden tot een plotselinge moord bende, die al tijden de serviers aanvielen en treiterden, en zich dan teug trokken onder de bescherming van blauw helmen. Oeps das weer ontslag, past niet in het politieke stelsel om de moslims een eigen gebied te verschaffen en servie klein te houden.

20.

A1host  Virtual Dedicated Servers

Uw banner ook hier?

21. Max december 28th, 2009 21:43

Dit is wat de wereld over Srebrenica verzwegen wordt.

Balkan in een koloniale bezetting door de VS en EU! Dat was het plan, kapitaal om daar voet aan de grond te krijgen. Bill Clinton: Als we stevige economische betrekkingen willen zodat we in de hele wereld kunnen verkopen, dan is Europa daar de sleutel toe. Daarover gaat dat hele Kosovo-ding. Joegoslavië deed niet mee aan het westerse kapitalisme en liet zich niet plunderen door de westerse maatschappijen. Zonder de burgeroorlog in Joegoslavië was er geen groot Amerikaans legerkamp in gestolen Servische Kosovo (camp BONDSTEEL) geweest. Horst Grabert, voormalig ambassadeur van de Bondsrepubliek Duitsland meende dat met de oorlogen in Joegoslavië slechts als camouflage had gediend om de eigenlijke bedoelingen van onze machtselite, namelijk een verdere stap te zetten in het tot stand brengen van de Nieuwe Wereldorde, te versluieren. Daarom moest Milosevic in een schijnproces veroordeeld worden... als voorbeeld voor alle 'onwilligen', dissidenten en andersdenkenden, die geen vazallen van die Nieuwe Wereldorde willen zijn. Waar zijn de bewezen feiten op waaraan Milosevic zich schuldig gemaakt had? Harold Pinter, de Nobelprijswinnaar literatuur van 2005 verklaarde bijvoorbeeld: Het VS-tribunaal dat Slobodan Milosevic moet beoordelen is altijd compleet onwettig geweest. Navo woordvoerder Jamie Shea zei in mei 1999, tijdens de bombardementen in Balkan: natuurlijk steunt de Navo het

Internationaal Joegoslavië tribunaal. We hebben het zelf opgericht ! Dr.Karadzic is reeds veroordeeld door het wereld publiek op basis van manipulaties, leugens, intriges ZONDER enige vorm van proces.Niemand ontkent dat er individuele misdaden op de Servische zijde. Toch kan niemand geloofwaardig beweren dat deze misdaden waren een gevolg van de Servische leiders het beleid. Karadzic :hoe kunnen ze mij als een oorlogsmisdadiger etiketteren? Voor welke misdaad? Voor het beschermen van mijn volk?Wat is daar fout aan? Karadzic gaf toe dat sommige mensen gevonden in de massagraven met gebonden handen werden geexecuteerd[tot 300],en anderen zijn omgekomen in de strijd met de Bosnische Serviërs.Het aantal 7,000-8,000 vermiste Bosnische moslims, aan het publiek gepresenteerd als de slachtoffers van een oorlogsmisdaad, is een van de grootste leugens en manipulaties.Onbloedig zal de inname van Srebrenica niet geweest zijn, maar de achtduizend lijken bleken net als de Iraakse massavernietigingswapens hardnekkig onvindbaar. Op 16 maart 1992[dus voor de oorlog!!!], was Karadzic andermaal duidelijk en waarschuwde nadrukkelijk voor ernstige gevolgen. Hij waarschuwde voor een burgeroorlog tussen de diverse etnische groepen en religies, met als gevolg mogelijk honderdduizenden doden en honderden dorpen en steden die totaal zouden worden verwoest.Karadzic waarschuwde dus openlijk voor de gevolgen,maar Izetbegovic koos voor oorlog..Het einddoel van Alija Izetbegovic in Bosnie was de dzamahirija, de islamitische staat. Een feit: vanuit de safe haven Srebrenica zijn 120 Servische dorpen uitgemoord en platgebrand. Deze terroristen[dus niet slahtovers] hadden vele honderden onschuldige Servische vrouwen en kinderen en bejaarden vermoord, verkracht en tegen deuren van hun huis gespijkerd.Deze strijders verdienden de doodstraf, Mladic verdient in die zin respect dat hij itt de moslim troepen de Bosnische vrouwen en kinderen spaarde,in vrijheid,terwijl de Servische kinderen, vrouwen, oude mannen rond Srebrenica werden gedood door monster Naser Oric en jihadstrijders.Deze strijders uit verschillende landen hebben het lot van de moslimmannen met opzet in de handen van Mladic gegeven, omdat ze wisten dat hij (na de verschrikkelijke martel en moordpraktijken op Bosnische Serviërs om Srebrenica) voor het oog van de wereld een misdaad[wraak] zou begaan en daarmee de publieke opinie van de wereld definitief tegen de Serviërs zou keren. Deze actie heeft tot doel terroristen uit te schakelen en is niet gericht tegen burgers of VN/troepen, schreef Mladic tijdens de aanval op Srebrenica aan de Britse commandant Rupert Smith.Mladic heeft verhalen over oorlogsmisdaden en massale executies afgedaan als 'sprookjes'. Er zijn bij de slag om Srebrenica in 1995 aan beide kanten doden gevallen, en dat behoort tot het 'risico' van het soldatenbestaan, aldus Mladic. Generaal Philippe Morillon, verklaarde dat de aanval op Srebrenica was een directe reactie op de moordpartijen door Nasir Oric en zijn strijdkrachten in 1992 en 1993. De internationale pers ... maakte de strijd om Srebrenica klinken als Stalingrad.In de pers worden 'oorlogsgraven' als 'massagraven' aangeduid. Lewis McKenzie heeft meermaals met klem gezegd dat het gangbare verhaal over Srebrenica grotendeels onwaar is. Hij schat het aantal omgekomen moslimstrijders op hooguit 2000. bron:Globe and Mail.Volgens mij een heel belangrijk rapport van deskundige [<http://www.srebrenica-report.com/>].Hieruit blijkt dat het aantal van 8000 doden een hoax is.In een andere moslimenclave die enkele dagen later viel, Zepa, was er geen sprake van 'massamoord'.En waarom niet? Op RTL4, vertelde soldaat Harry bij Barend en van Dorp rond die tijd[en volgens het NIOD rapport]: er waren maar 700 mannen in de ombond. Er kunnen dus maximaal 700 Bosnische moslims [oorlogsmisdadigers] in Srebrenica geexecuteerd zijn.Volgens Karadzic en Zoran Stankovic [patholoog,werkte voor het Tribunaal] tussen de 200 en 300,maar het is NIET bewezen dat Mladic of Karadjic opdracht gegeven had tot het executeren. Advocaat Karadjic zegt dat er schriftelijke bewijzen zijn dat Karadzic de legerleiders bevolen heeft zich aan het oorlogsrecht te houden.

Elke moslim die stierf in Srebrenica gedurende de hele oorlog,maar ook eerder , voor de burgeroorlog in Joegoslavië zelfs begonnen ,werd genoemd als gedood in juli van 1995?!! Waar zijn dan de andere vijf of zesduizend lijken, na 14 jaar? Bosnische regeringsleger, generaal Rasim Delic, later in het parlement in Sarajevo verklaarde: ondanks hinderlagen van de Serviërs was de operatie een groot succes. In een raport van de UNHCR wordt vermeld dat meer dan 5000 moslimstrijders enkele dagen na de val van Srebrenica aankwamen in

Zenica, Tuzla[Bosnie]. Nog een feit: de enclave Srebrenica moedwillig was opgegeven door de *eigen* moslimregering en VS, met als doel dat de internationale opinie zich ten gunste van hen zou keren, en. De topdiplomaten Holbrooke, Philippe Morillon en Bildt[VN,NL. Frankrijk, Engeland] wisten vantevoren dat Srebrenica zou vallen. Wat niet vermeld is dat het georganiseerde Bosnische moslim leger van al voor de aanval op de enclave massaal weggegaan was. Waarom werd overste Karremans direct na de val van Srebrenica met zwijgplicht naar de VS weggepromoveerd buiten bereik van de pers? **Richard Holbrooke**, destijds Amerikaans onderminister voor de Balkan, waarschuwde een maand voor de aanval de Nederlandse regering voor de levensgevaarlijke positie van Dutchbat. in Srebrenica, memoreerde Holbrooke in Nova.. Maar Bihac, Gorazde, Zepa in Bosnie zijn ook omsingeld door Serviërs, en werden beschermd gebieden!??? Welke voorkennis hadden de CIA en andere grote Westerse inlichtingendiensten over het Servische voornemen om de enclave op te rollen? En als Holbrooke, Morillon, Izetbegovic, Naser Oric, VS, Fransen, Groot /Brittanie, enz... dit dan wel wisten hadden zij dan niet aan de Bosnische autoriteiten moeten voorstellen om de enclave te ontruimen en de mensen te evacueren zodat op voorhand mensenlevens gered hadden kunnen worden? Opzettelijk beschrijven de grote mediaconcerns de gebeurtenissen in Srebrenica als 'de ernstigste gruweldaden in Europa sinds de WOII [maar grootste genocide sinds de WOII was in Kroatië] of sinds de Holocaust, soms als de ergste massamoord op burgers etc. Doelbewust halen zij de Holocaust en nazi's tevoorschijn om Srebrenica te verbinden met genocide, Serven met nazi's, en moslims als onschuldige slachtoffers. De berichtgeving over de oorlog is zodanig gemanipuleerd dat in het Westen niet anders dan haat jegens de Serviërs kon ontstaan. Shea zei: de slag om de publieke opinie was even belangrijk als de luchtoorlog. De journalisten waren evenzeer soldaten, in die zin dat ze aan de publieke opinie moesten uitleggen waarom deze oorlog belangrijk was. James Harff directeur van het 'Ruder Finn Global Public Affairs' geeft onomwonden toe dat zijn bureau verantwoordelijk is voor vele misleidingen en glasharde leugens[Balkan] om de publieke opinie te manipuleren, En daar is ie nog hartstikke trots op ook! James Harff: als u zou willen bewijzen dat de Serviërs slachtoffer zijn, probeert u het dan, u zult merken dat u daarin dan helemaal alleen staat. Inderdaad het is tijd om het debat over Joegoslavië opnieuw te openen. Maar wie gaat het deze keer eerlijk doen? Iedereen is bang van VS. Hoe kunnen we zulke vreselijke daden tegen Serviërs[Servie] ongedaan maken? En hoe kunnen zoveel mensen toegeven (politici's, journalisten...) dat ze gelogen hebben? Karadzic koestert niet de illusie dat hij wordt vrijgesproken, maar veel dingen zullen anders eruit zien als het proces over is. Wie is volgende volk?

22. Peter Siebelt januari 2nd, 2010 13:05

Uit het boek Mabel: 'Koninklijk Bal Madqué, 2004.

OOSTINDISCH DOOF

De Nederlandse regering weet ruimschoots van tevoren dat de enclave Srebrenica onhoudbaar is en moet worden opgegeven, maar neemt geen maatregelen. Zelfs wanneer alle alarmbellen rinkelen, wordt niet overwogen om Dutchbat terug te trekken. Een goede relatie met de Bosniërs weegt zwaarder. Op 5 juni 1995 faxt de plaatselijke commandant van de Nederlandse VN-soldaten in Srebrenica, Thom Karremans, een noodkreet. In een brandbrief aan de Crisisstaf van de Koninklijke Landmacht waarschuwt hij dat de opdracht van Dutchbat niet langer uitvoerbaar is en dat een ramp niet kan worden uitgesloten²⁰⁹. Karremans verzoekt om de brief ook onder de aandacht te brengen van minister van Defensie Ter Beek en minister van Buitenlandse Zaken Van Mierlo. Ten slotte vraagt hij nog een en ander via het persbureau ANP bekend te maken.

Maar de brief van de commandant komt op dat moment niet als een alarmsignaal over bij de minister van Buitenlandse Zaken en een aantal anderen. Waarschijnlijk heeft Van Mierlo 'belangrijker' zaken aan zijn hoofd. Hij heeft die maand samen met premier Kok een bezoek af te leggen aan de Volksrepubliek China. Daar gaat hij een 'hartig' woordje wisselen met zijn Chinese ambtgenoten over

de schending van de mensenrechten.

Ook Mabels latere schoonmoeder, koningin Beatrix, weet ruimschoots van tevoren dat Srebrenica onder de voet zal worden gelopen door de Servische troepen. Drie dagen na de fax van Karremans ontmoet Beatrix de Amerikaanse onderminister voor de Balkan Holbrooke. Het is precies één maand voor de val van Srebrenica wanneer de machtigen der aarde elkaar op 8 juni 1995 ontmoeten in een luxueus hotel in het Zwitserse dorpje Burgenstock op de top van een berg. Het gaat om de roemruchte Bilderberg-conferentie, vernoemd naar het Bilderberg-hotel in Oosterbeek. Zoals we reeds in hoofdstuk een hebben kunnen lezen was prins Bernhard in 1954 een van de oprichters van deze conferentie. Politici, captains of industrie en topdiplomaten treffen elkaar één keer per jaar in dit 'geheime genootschap'. Holbrooke is een van de deelnemers. Tijdens de bijeenkomst spreekt hij met Beatrix uitgebreid over de positie van de Nederlandse soldaten in Srebrenica. In de krachtigste bewoordingen waarschuwt de Amerikaan onze koningin en andere Nederlandse aanwezigen voor de rampspoed die hij voorziet in Srebrenica.

'Majesteit, ik wil met u praten over een zeer ernstig onderwerp,' zegt Holbrooke. 'Uw troepen bevinden zich in het dal van Srebrenica. De heuvels worden omsingeld door Serviërs, de situatie kan niet gevaarlijker worden.'

De Amerikaan schetst de situatie voor Beatrix op een stukje papier. 'Ik ben uiterst ongerust,' vertrouwt hij Beatrix toe, 'er zijn niet genoeg manschappen daar om zichzelf of de mensen om hen heen te kunnen verdedigen, maar er zijn genoeg om erg kwetsbaar te zijn, en ik ben er bezorgd over dan welke andere plaats in Europa.'

In juli gebeurt waarvoor Holbrooke heeft gevreesd. De Serviërs lanceren hun offensief en Srebrenica wordt binnen de kortste keren onder de voet gelopen.

Ondanks de bittere realiteit blijft Faber het ideaal van de multiculturele samenleving verdedigen. In oktober organiseert Fabers *Helsinki Citizens Assembly* een grote conferentie in de Bosnische plaats Tuzla. Zeshonderd activisten uit alle delen van Europa nemen eraan deel. Tuzla is gekozen omdat dit de enige stad is in heel Bosnië die onder multi-etnisch bestuur is gebleven.

Intussen bloeit de relatie tussen Mabel en Sacirbey nog steeds in volle hevigheid. Dat blijkt wanneer diezelfde Holbrooke haar enkele maanden later de deur wijst. In het najaar van 1995 geeft hij leiding aan de vredesonderhandelingen op de Amerikaanse luchtmachtbasis Wright-Patterson in Dayton. Alle hoofdrolspelers in het Joegoslavische conflict zijn aanwezig – voor Bosnië president Izetbegovic, voor Kroatië president Tudjman en voor Servië president Milosevic. Iedere president wordt vergezeld door zijn eigen delegatie; Izetbegovic wordt bijgestaan door Sacirbey, die inmiddels is gepromoveerd tot minister van Buitenlandse Zaken. En wie probeert er als Bosnisch delegatielid in Sacirbeys kielzog mee naar binnen te lopen? Mabel. Maar hoewel ze erg belangrijk is voor de Bosnische regering, is ze dat niet voor Holbrooke. Hij wijst Mabel de deur. Volgens de journalist Adnan Buturevic van de Bosnische krant *Slobodna Bosna* dacht Holbrooke iets als: 'Wie is dat nu weer, maak jij eens even dat je wegkomt.'²¹⁰

Een jaar na de ontmoeting in Zwitserland treft de Amerikaan Beatrix opnieuw, ditmaal tijdens de in Canada gehouden Bilderberg-conferentie van 1996. De filantroop George Soros is er ook. Over diens verbintenissen met Mabel komen we later terug. Beatrix zegt tijdens deze toponthoofding: 'Weet u, meneer Holbrooke, ik zal dat gesprek zolang ik leef niet vergeten, ik wist dat het serieus was, ik praatte erover met mensen en ik zal uw waarschuwing nooit vergeten.'²¹¹

Aan wie ze deze waarschuwing heeft overgebracht vertelt Beatrix er niet bij. Het kan bijna niet anders dan dat prins Claus het van haar heeft mogen vernemen. Dan is ook de volgende stap, via zijn functie bij Buitenlandse Zaken, snel gezet. Dus toen de toenmalige minister van dit departement, Van Mierlo, Sacirbey bij zich riep wist hij verdomd goed hoe de situatie ervoor stond. Maar er moest eerst een Nederlandse soldaat sneuvelen voordat hij Sacirbey op de vingers tikte en adviseerde om de enclaves op te heffen en de bevolking van Srebrenica te evacueren.

²⁰⁹ Srebrenica Who Cares? p. 315.

²¹⁰ Gooi en Eemlander, ERBIJ 25 oktober 2003.

²¹¹ Transcript verklaring Holbrooke <http://www.novatv.nl/index.cfm?cfid=25879849&cftoken=51138170&ln=nl&fuseaction=achtergronden.details&achtergroi>

23. Max januari 3rd, 2010 22:31

Elke moslim die stierf in Srebrenica gedurende de hele oorlog, maar ook eerder, voor de burgeroorlog in Joegoslavië zelfs begonnen, werd genoemd als gedood in juli van 1995?!! Osman (Ibro) Halilovic (1912-1989), Hamed (Hamid) Halilovic (1940-1982), stierf een volle 13 jaar voor de Srebrenica 'genocide', Nuriya (Smajo) Memisevic (1966-1993), Salih (Saban) Alic (1969-1992), Mujo (Hasim) Hadzic (1954-1993), Ferid (Ramo) Mustafic (1975-1993), Hajrudin (Ismet) Cvrk (1974-1992), enz..... http://www.srebrenica-project.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39:was-srebrenica-genocide-a-hoax-muslim-soldiers-who-died-in-earlier-battles-used-to-up-count&catid=3:2009-01-06-17-56-50&Itemid=4

24. Max januari 4th, 2010 22:19

SARAJEVO Het aantal Serviers in Sarajevo vermoord tijdens de oorlog door moslim leger, politie en criminelen, ten minste in de vele honderden en waarschijnlijk in de lage duizenden. Bosnische moslim soldaten de sluipschutters zijn geweest die herhaaldelijk en maandenlang geschoten hebben op hun eigen burgers in Sarajevo in een poging om met schokkende beelden de internationale steun te verkrijgen voor harder optreden tegen de Serviers. Franse VN-militairen hebben constateren dat Bosnische moslim soldaten de sluipschutters zijn geweest, [opereerden vanaf het dak van het voormalig parlement, dat in handen is van het Bosnische moslim-leger] die herhaaldelijk en maandenlang geschoten hebben op hun eigen burgers in Sarajevo in een poging om met schokkende beelden de internationale steun te verkrijgen voor harder optreden tegen de Serviers. Serviers vanuit de heuvels rondom Sarajevo terugschoten nadat ze zelf door de moslimstrijdkrachten in de stad onder vuur waren genomen. "Uit scholen en ziekenhuizen" nog wel. Bosnische moslims soldaten verstoopt achter eigen burgers in Sarajevo. Moslim strijders blijken aansprakelijk te zijn voor aanslagen op burgers die de afgelopen jaren de wereld deden schokken, zoals de geruchtmakende aanslagen op een rouwstoet op een kerkhof, op een wachtrij bij een bakker en op bezoekers van een markt in Sarajevo. Denk maar aan de 'mortiergranaat' op de Markale markt in Sarajevo in begin 1995 die 49 doden veroorzaakte, na forensisch tactisch onderzoek bleek het een bom geplaatst door de Bosniërs zelf. Markale bloedbad was veroorzaakt door een op afstand bediende bom! De opdrachtgever van deze misdaad: waarschijnlijk Izetbegovic zelf of vice-president Ejup Ganic. Hun doel was de Navo in te zetten in het conflict met de Serviers. Weinigen vroegen en vragen zich af hoe het toch kon zijn dat er een tunnel was van de stad naar moslimgebied daarbuiten maar dat de vrouwen, kinderen en bejaarden van de stad niet werden geëvacueerd. Waarom de Serviers demoniseren en een oorlog tegen Servie beginnen op grond van vervalst Engels "bewijsmateriaal" door ITN? En waarom wordt dit allemaal jarenlang angstvallig doodgezwegen? Moslimleider Izetbegovic heeft op zijn sterfbed bekend (aan Kouchner o.a.) dat in de Servische concentratiekampen niet werd gemarteld etc.

De gedachte achter politiek van Clinton was dat het succes van Islamistische strijders in de strijd tegen de Sovjet Unie in Afghanistan in Europa gewoon herhaald kon worden. Niet alleen wapens uit Turkije en Iran arriveerden, maar ook geld (onder andere uit Saoedi/Arabie, Brunei, Maleisie) en moedjaheddien strijders. Wellicht is Mladic de eerste generaal geweest die in het moderne Europa heeft moeten strijden tegen het islamoterrorisme. Maar in 1994 was er een wapenstilstand rond Sarajevo, de stad bloeide weer op, er was weer transport mogelijk van en naar de stad, er was gas en licht, er werden plannen gemaakt voor herstelwerkzaamheden. En wie heeft dat bestand toen gebroken? Meneer Izetbegovic. En waarom? Omdat hij nog geen vrede wilde. Hij dacht dat hij bij verdere oorlogsvoering nog wat te winnen had. Je had de gezichten moeten zien van de mensen in Sarajevo! Die wilden die geen oorlog meer, die wilden vrede. Maar de Bosnische regering had andere plannen.

Sarajevo, hoofdstad van Bosnië, vroeger multi/etnisch, vandaag meer dan 90 procent bewoond door moslims [150000 Serviers zijn weg!]. Sarajevo was Jeruzalem, nu een stad vol minaretten.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8E81K71d00U&eurl=>

25. Max januari 4th, 2010 23:11

@Peter Siebelt januari 2nd, 2010 13:05: Siebelink heeft twaalf jaar geleden maakte een gesprek van zes uur met de verdachte Bosnische Serviër Radovan Karadzic. Siebelink heeft geweigerd de ruim vier uur durende geluidopnames vrijwillig af te geven. Kunnen wij nog wat van u horen over dit interview? Mijn doel is ook om de totale waarheid omtrent de oorlog op de Balkan in beeld te brengen, waar al jaren lang over gespeculeerd, geroepen, bewust verzwegen en zelfs gelogen wordt.

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