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# Genocid Genocide

INSTITUT ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE ZLOČINA PROTIV  
ČOVJEČNOSTI I MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA  
S A R A J E V O

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH OF CRIMES AGAINST  
HUMANITY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW  
SARAJEVO

**GENOCID U SREBRENICI, SIGURNOJ ZONI UN-A, JULA 1995. GODINE**  
**GENOCIDE IN UN SAFE AREA SREBRENICA, JULY 1995**

Sarajevo, 2007.

## Uvodne napomene

I

Svjedoci smo krajnje zlonamjernog negiranja i falsifikovanja stravičnog genocida zločina nad Bošnjacima u Bosni i Hercegovini na kraju 20. stoljeća, posebno u Srebrenici, sigurnoj zoni UN-a, jula 1995. godine.

U bezočnoj "operaciji ubijanja", uglavnom za četiri dana, s namjerom i po tačno utvrđenom obrascu, velikosrpske oružane snage likvidirale su preko 8.000 zarobljenih Bošnjaka, radi njihove etničke i vjerske pripadnosti i što su živjeli na teritoriji na koju se velikosrpski agresor, sa svojim kolaboracionistima, planirao proširiti. Tri generacije muškaraca su istrijebljene. To je najveći pojedinačni i u kratkom vremenu izvršeni masakr i totalni progon ljudi u Evropi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

O tom zaumlju zorno svjedoče brojni pisani, foto i filmski dokumenti, te do sada otvorene masovne grobnice, a posebno Memorijalni centar u Potočarima u kome su pokopani posmrtni ostaci do sada identifikovanih žrtava genocida Srebrenice, sigurne zone UN-a, jula 1995.

Želeći prikriti zločine, mnoga od tih masovnih stratišta zločinci su prekopavali, posmrtne ostatke uništavali i premještali na druge lokacije.

Treba, također, imati u vidu i činjenicu da je Vijeće sigurnosti Ujedinjenih nacija 16. aprila 1993. grad Srebrenicu i dio istoimene općine, uključujući i dijelove općina Bratunac i Vlasenica, proglasilo sigurnom zonom (safe areas) Ujedinjenih nacija. Međutim, komandant UNPROFOR-a, general Valgren, zloupotrijebio je svoj položaj i, umjesto da sigurna zona bude **"pošteđena svakog oružanog napada ili bilo kojeg neprijateljskog čina"**, nametnuo improvizovan Sporazum o demilitarizaciji, što je imalo katastrofalne posljedice po Enklavu. Mirovne snage UN-a, zadužene za sigurnost potpuno izoliranog bošnjačkog stanovništva Enklave, nisu odgovorile svom zadatku.

Pa ipak ta, UN-ova sigurna zona, 1995. je okupirana od velikosrpskih snaga i pored prisustva i garancija UN-ovih mirovnih snaga. Ne smije se zaboraviti ni izričito odbijanje saglasnosti za aktiviranje NATO-avijacije tada-

## Introductory remarks

I

We are witnesses of mean denials and falsifications of the horrible crime of genocide, which was committed against the Bosniak population in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in Srebrenica, UN safe area, in July 1995.

In an unspeakable "killing operation", during only four days, and with the specific intent, according to an established pattern, Greater Serb forces have murdered over 8.000 captured Bosniaks, solely on the grounds of their ethnic and religious belonging, and the fact that they lived on the territory, that the Greater Serb aggressor, with his collaborators, planned to expand to. Three generations of men have been eradicated. This is a single, biggest committed massacre and a complete exodus of people committed in Europe since World War 2.

Numerous written and recorded evidence testify vividly of this plan, especially newly discovered mass graves and the Memorial Center in Potočari, where bodily remains of identified murdered victims of July 1995. Srebrenica genocide are buried.

Wanting to conceal the crimes, many of these mass burial places were dug up again, body remains destroyed while transporting to other locations, where they again were buried.

One should also keep in mind the fact that the Security Council of United Nations, has, on the 16th of April 1993., awarded the Srebrenica enclave (including parts of Bratunac and Vlasenica municipalities) the status of a United Nations safe area. However, the UNPROFOR commander, general Walgreen, has abused his position, so instead of keeping the enclave **"spared of any armed attack or any other hostile action"**, he imposed an improvised agreement on demilitarization, which had catastrophically consequences for the enclave. UN Peacekeeping forces were in charge of security of the completely isolated Bosniak population, and did not live up to their task.

The UN safe area was thus, in 1995., overrun by Greater Serb forces, in spite of the presence

šnjeg glavnokomandujućeg mirovnih snaga UN-a za u bivšu Jugoslaviju, francuskog generala Žanvijeja, iako je imao ovlasti da to učini, što su tražili potčinjeni oficiri sa terena, čime bi sigurno bio spriječen genocid nad bošnjačkim stanovništvom.

Tako je Srebrenica, to, još od drevnih rimskih vremena po rudama i mineralnim vodama poznato mjesto, postalo simbolom, ne samo genocida nad Bošnjacima u Bosni i Hercegovini nego i licemjerja i dvoličnosti međunarodne politike u vezi sa zločinima u velikosrpskim osvajačkim ratovima na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije na kraju XX stoljeća.

## II

Prošlo je punih 12 godina, a još su na slobodi i Karadžić i Mladić – Gebels i Ajhman te zločinačke operacije (likvidacija Srebrenice, sigurne zone UN-a; deportacija civila i drugi zločini u Potočarima, te zarobljavanja, zatočenja i likvidacije Bošnjaka), ali i svekolikog barbarizma u Bosni i Hercegovini od kraja 1991. do kraja 1995. godine. U međuvremenu je za genocid u i oko Srebrenice pred ICTY-em odgovarao i sam balkanski Hitler – Slobodan Milošević – a grupi optuženih srpskih oficira dokazana odgovornost za genocid. Ali, sve dok se na optuženičkoj klupi ne nađu Karadžić i Mladić, kakve-takve "satisfakcije" za žrtve genocida u Bosni i Hercegovini naprosto ne može biti.

## III

Genocid nad Bošnjacima Bosne i Hercegovine, u sigurnoj zoni Ujedinjenih nacija Srebrenica, jula 1995, odveć je zastrašujući da bi ga iko negirao ili smio i pomisliti na šutnju o tom najtežem obliku zločina, koga, pored ostalog, potvrđuje i Presuda Međunarodnog suda pravde od 26. februara 2007. Pred nama su dokumenti koji zorno svjedoče o karakteru i razmjerama tog genocida.

U konceptualnom smislu ova izložba obuhvata devet tematskih cjelina i to: Srebrenica do agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu; Srebrenica do jula 1995; Okupacija Srebrenice jula 1995. Prognanička golgota; Masovna smaknuća; Masovne grobnice; Memorijalni kompleks u Potočarima; Odnos svijeta prema genocidu

and guarantees of UN Peacekeeping forces. One must not forget that appeals to activate NATO air force were also denied by the French general Janvier, even though he had the authority to grant them, and the fact that officers on the field bagged him to do so. This would surely have prevented genocide against the Bosniak population from occurring.

This is how Srebrenica, a city known for its metals and minerals since ancient times, has become a symbol, not only of genocide against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of hypocrisy of international politics in relation to crimes in Greater Serb conquering wars in the area of ex-Yugoslavia in the end of the 20th century.

## II

Twelve years have passed since these events took place, and Karadžić and Mladić – Gobbles and Eichmann of this criminal operation (Srebrenica liquidation, deportation of civilians and other crimes in Potočari, capturing and torturing of Bosniaks), and of the general barbarism in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1991 to 1995. In the meantime, even the Balkan Hitler himself, Slobodan Milošević, was trialed for the genocide in Srebrenica before the ICTY - where responsibility for genocide was proven to a group of indicted Serb officers. Even so, until Karadžić and Mladić are trialed for these crimes, one can not talk about any kind of "satisfaction" for victims of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## III

Genocide against Bosniaks in UN safe area Srebrenica, in July 1995, is too horrible for anyone to deny, or stay silent about the gravest of the crimes, that even the judgment of the ICTY, from February 26<sup>th</sup> 2007, has defined as genocide. Before us we have documents that vividly testify about the character and the extent of this genocide.

In conceptual sense, this exhibit functions in 9 thematic wholes, and those are: Srebrenica before the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srebrenica until July 1995, The

izložba Srebrenice, te ciklus umjetničkih radova  
Hasana Fazlića, istaknutog likovnog umjetnika.

occupation of Srebrenica in July 1995, The  
Golgotha of the refugees, Mass murders,  
Mass graves, Memorial complex in Potočari,  
The attitude of the world towards genocide  
in and around Srebrenica and a collection of  
artworks of Hasan Fazlić, an esteemed artist.

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SREBRENICA JE SIMBOL GENOCIDNOG STRADANJA BOŠNJAČKOG NARODA TOKOM AGRESIJE NA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU. PREMA DO SADA PRIKUPLJENIM PODACIMA, TAMO SU VELIKOSRPSKE VOJNE I POLICIJSKE SNAGE POBILE, I TO NA NAJSVIREPIJI NAČIN, PREKO 8000 LJUDI.

POSEBNU DIMENZIJU ZLOČINA U SREBRENICI NALAZIMO U ČINJENICI DA JE RIJEČ O SIGURNOJ ZONI UN-a. OD 1993. GODINE, PA DO GENOCIDNOG POKOLJA U JULU 1995. GODINE, U NJOJ SU SE NALAZILI VOJNICI UN-a SA ZADATKOM DA ZAŠTITE POTPUNO IZOLOVANO BOŠNJAČKO STANOVNIŠTVO.

SKANDALOZNO JE DA SU TU SIGURNU ZONU UN-a SRPSKE SNAGE OKUPIRALE UZ PRISUSTVO I NAOČIGLED MEĐUNARODNIH "MIROVNIH" TRUPA, A POTOM IZVRŠILE I NAJGNUSNIJI ZLOČIN - GENOCID - KOJI JE VIĐEN NA TLU EVROPE NAKON HOLOKAUSTA.

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SREBRENICA IS A SYMBOL OF GENOCIDAL SUFFERING OF THE BOSNIAK PEOPLE DURING THE AGGRESSION ON BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. ACCORDING TO COLLECTED DATA, THE GREATER SERB ARMY AND POLICE FORCES HAVE MOST BRUTALLY MURDERED OVER 8000 PEOPLE.

A PARTICULAR DIMENSION OF THE SREBRENICA CRIME IS FOUND IN THE FACT THAT THE ENCLAVE WAS GIVEN A „SAFE AREA“ STATUS BY THE UNITED NATIONS. FROM 1993 TO THE VERY GENOCIDAL MASSACRE IN JULY 1995, UN SOLDIERS WERE PRESENT IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE ISOLATED BOSNIAK POPULATION.

IT IS SCANDALOUS THAT THIS SAFE AREA WAS OCCUPIED BY SERB FORCES IN THE VERY PRESENCE AND IN FRONT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE KEEPING FORCES, AFTER WHICH THE MOST HORRIFIC OF CRIMES - GENOCIDE - THAT HAPPENED SINCE THE HOLOCAUST IN EUROPE, TOOK PLACE.

## DO AGRESIJE NA BOSNU I HERCEGOVINU

Srebrenica, nekadašnja Domavija, odnosno Argentarija, danas je gradić i općina u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni. Zbog izuzetno važnih prirodnih raskrsnih bogatstava od davnina je bio prostor za koji su se ljudi zanimali i od najstarijih vremena do danas oštro se zbog njega sukobljavali, pa i pre/otimali.

Pod imenom Srebrenica ovaj se grad u historijskim izvorima prvi put spominje 1352. godine. Na prirodnim bogatstvima ove regije krajem XIX stoljeća počeo je snažan industrijski razvoj, ali je za vrijeme monarhističke Jugoslavije (1918-1941) snažno stagnirao, pri čemu je prosperitet nastao tokom socijalističke Jugoslavije (1945-1991).

Po Popisu stanovništva iz 1991, na 527 kvadratnih kilometara u preko 80 naseljenih mjesta živjelo je 36.666 stanovnika. Najviše je bilo Bošnjaka: 27.572 ili 75,2% (Srba je bilo 8.315 ili 22,7%). Velikosrpske snage 18. aprila 1992. zauzele su Srebrenicu i pod okupacijom je držale do 9. maja iste godine, gdje su u gradu i na području općine izvršile brojne zločine protiv čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava.

## UNTIL THE AGGRESSION ON BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Srebrenica, formerly known as Domavija and Argentarija, is today a small city and a municipality in Eastern Bosnia. Due to very important natural wealth (silver), it has, since the dawn of time, been an area people fought over and attempted to conquer.

Under its current name, the town of Srebrenica is mentioned in historical archives in 1352 for the first time. Thanks to the natural wealth of this region, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a strong industrial growth takes place, which stagnates during the era of the monarchist Yugoslavia (1918-1941), but again prospers during the Socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991).

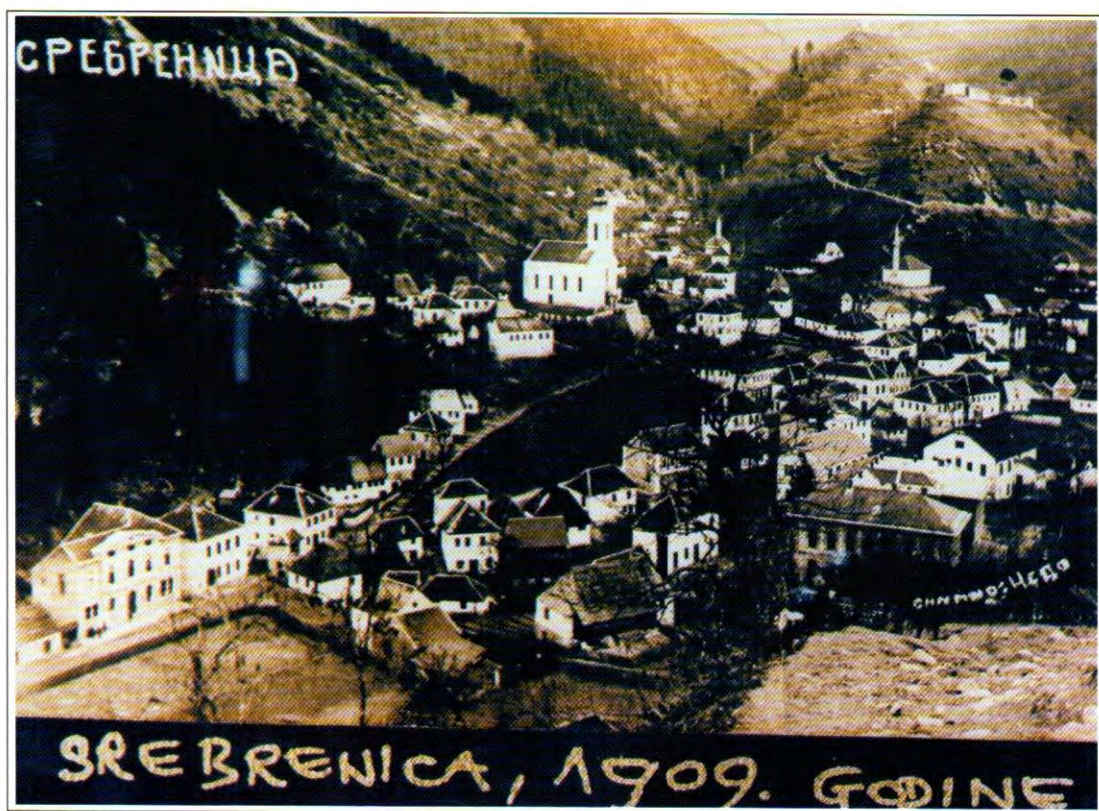
According to the census from 1991, 36.666 citizens lived on 527 square meters or 80 urban places of the enclave. Most of them were Bosniak 27.572 or 75,2% and 8.315, or 22,7% were Serbs. Greater Serb Forces overran Srebrenica on April the 18<sup>th</sup> 1992. and had it occupied until May 9<sup>th</sup> same year, when numerous crimes against humanity and international law were committed in the town and the surrounding area.



**Mapa Bosne i Hercegovine (općine)**

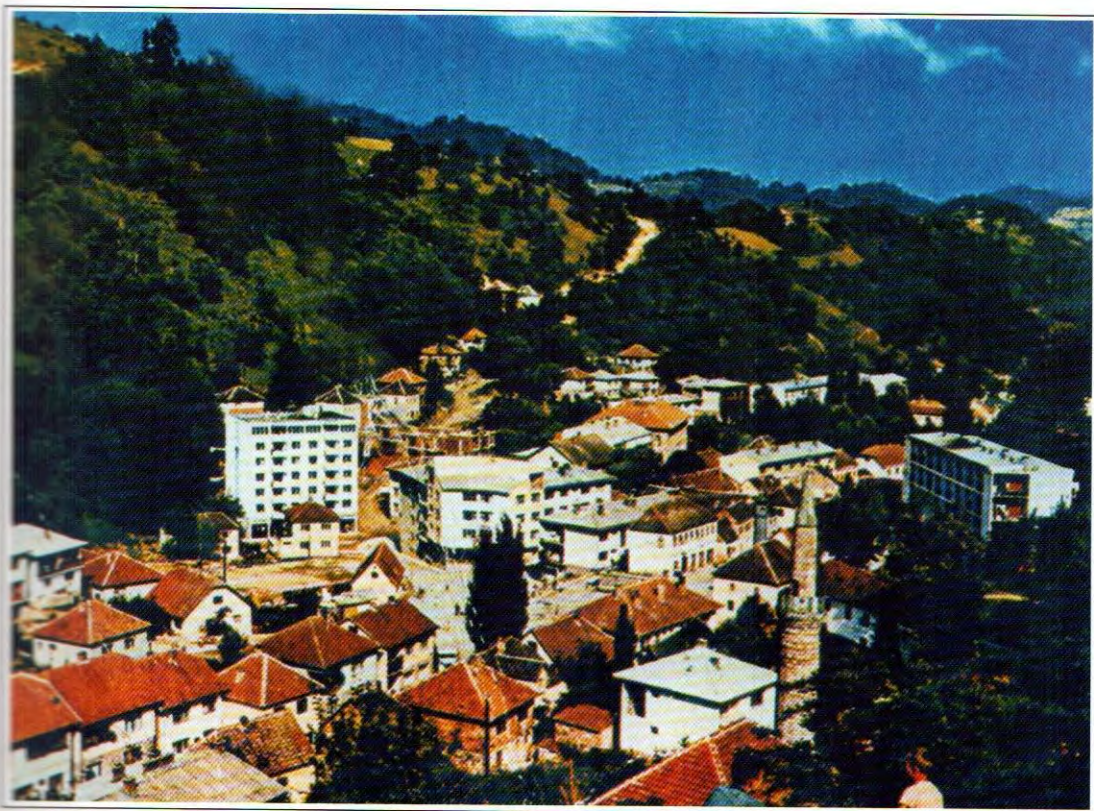
**Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina (municipalities)**





Srebrenica početkom XX stoljeća

*Srebrenica by the beginning of the 20th century*



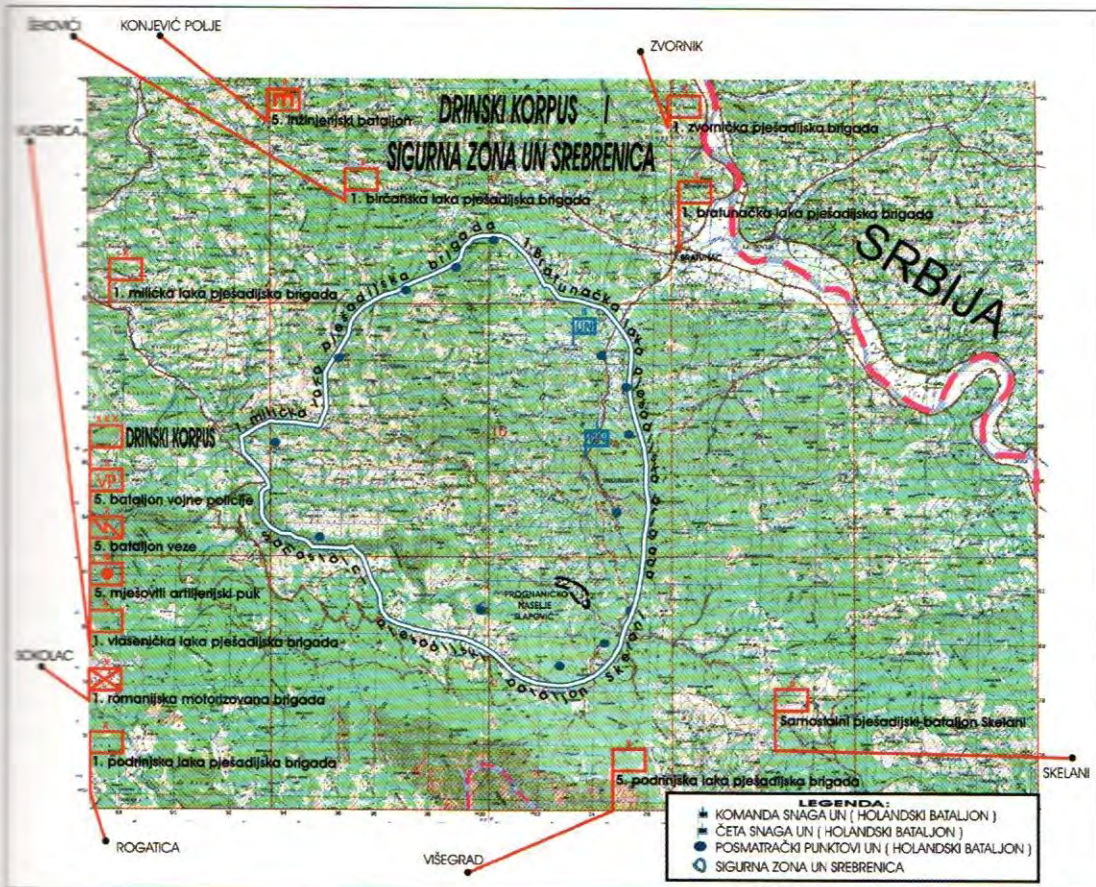
Srebrenica 80-ih godina XX stoljeća

*Srebrenica in the 80-ies of the 20th century*



Potpuno opkoljene enklave (sigurne zone UN-a) sa bošnjačkim stanovništvom u središnjem dijelu istočne Bosne, kome pripada i Srebrenica

Completely encircled enclaves (UN safe areas ...) with Bosniak population in the central part of Eastern Bosnia, where Srebrenica also is situated.



Karta sigurne zone UN-a Srebrenica

Map of UN safe area UN Srebrenica

## SREBRENICA DO JULA 1995. GODINE

Srebrenica je u proljeće 1992. postala stjecište brojnih bošnjačkih prognanika iz cijelog Podrinja: Foče, Višegrada, Rogatice, Han-Pijeska, Vlasenice, Bratunca, Zvornika i Bijeljine. Svi su oni pred napadima srpskih snaga bili prisiljeni da napuste svoje domove, tražeći spas u srebreničkom kraju. Već krajem 1992. godine pojavio se problem nedostatka hrane, lijekova, odjeće i obuće.

Velikosrpski agresor je od aprila 1992. do jula 1995. preduzeo više masovnih brutalnih ofanziva na tu slobodnu teritoriju. U velikosrpskoj ofanzivi početkom 1993, u kojoj su jedinice Vojske Jugoslavije učestvovala i u klanju bošnjačke djece, zauzeta je Kamenica, Cerska i Konjević-Polje, čime je veličina slobodne teritorije smanjena sa 900 na oko 150 km<sup>2</sup>. Bošnjaci s okolnih područja slili su se u grad Srebrenicu i njegovu bližu okolinu, čime je broj stanovnika porastao na 50.000 do 60.000 ljudi. Napuštanjem 90% sela izgubljena je svaka mogućnost prehrane. U Srebrenici su postojali užasni uslovi opsade: bez tekuće vode, struje, hrane, lijekova i drugih životnih potreba. Srpske vlasti u Bratuncu, Zvorniku i drugim mjestima pljačkale su i zabranjivale prolaz UNHCR-ovim konvojima humanitarne pomoći. Bližila se humanitarna katastrofa – na pomolu je drama!

## SREBRENICA UNTIL JULY 1995.

Srebrenica, in the spring of 1992., becomes a safe heaven for many Bosniak refugees from the whole Podrinje area: Foča, Višegrad, Rogatica, Han-Pijesak, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Zvornik and Bijeljina. All of them were forced to leave their homes due to the attacks of Serb forces, seeking refuge in Srebrenica. The problem of lack of food, medical supplies, footwear and clothing was present already from 1992.

The Greater Serb aggressor has, from the April 1992, continuously attacked and carried out a number of brutal offensives on the free territory. In the Greater Serb offensive, in the beginning of 1993, where armed forces of the Yugoslav Peoples Army participated in slaughtering of Bosniak children, villages of Kamenica, Cerska and Konjević-Polje became occupied, so that the size of the free territory shrank from 900 to around 150 km<sup>2</sup>. Bosniaks from the surrounding areas have fled to the city of Srebrenica and its closest suburbs, so the population increased by 10.000 people (from 50.000 to 60.000). Since 90% of the villages were abandoned by now, any possibility of securing food supplies was lost, and the siege imposed horrible living conditions on the citizens of the town: no running water, electricity, food, medication or any other living necessity. Serb authorities in Bratunac, Zvornik and other places have robbed the UNHCR and denied access to the humanitarian aid convoys. A humanitarian catastrophe was becoming a reality, a drama on its way!



Dvanaestog marta 1993. godine general Filip Morion, komandant mirovnih snaga UNPROFOR-a u Bosni i Hercegovini, Srebreničanima i drugim Bošnjacima koji su tražili zaštitu od UN-ovih vojnika, obećao je: "Vi ste sad pod zaštitom Ujedinjenih nacija". Nažalost, Ujedinjene nacije su ih iznevjerile.

*On March the 12th 1993. general Phillipe Morillon, the commander of the peacekeeping UNPROFOR forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina promised to the people of Srebrenica and other Bosniaks who sought protection from UN soldiers: "You are now under the protection of the United Nations". Unfortunately the UN forces let them down.*



**U ponižavajućoj potrazi za hranom – grupa gladnih Srebreničana na smetljištu UNPROFOR-a sredinom 1994. godine.**

***In a humiliating search for food – a group of hungry citizens of Srebrenica on the UNPROFOR garbage disposal site, in 1994.***



Svakodnevni prizori primanja i slanja poruka putem Crvenog križa u potpuno opkoljenoj Srebrenici 1993-1995. godine

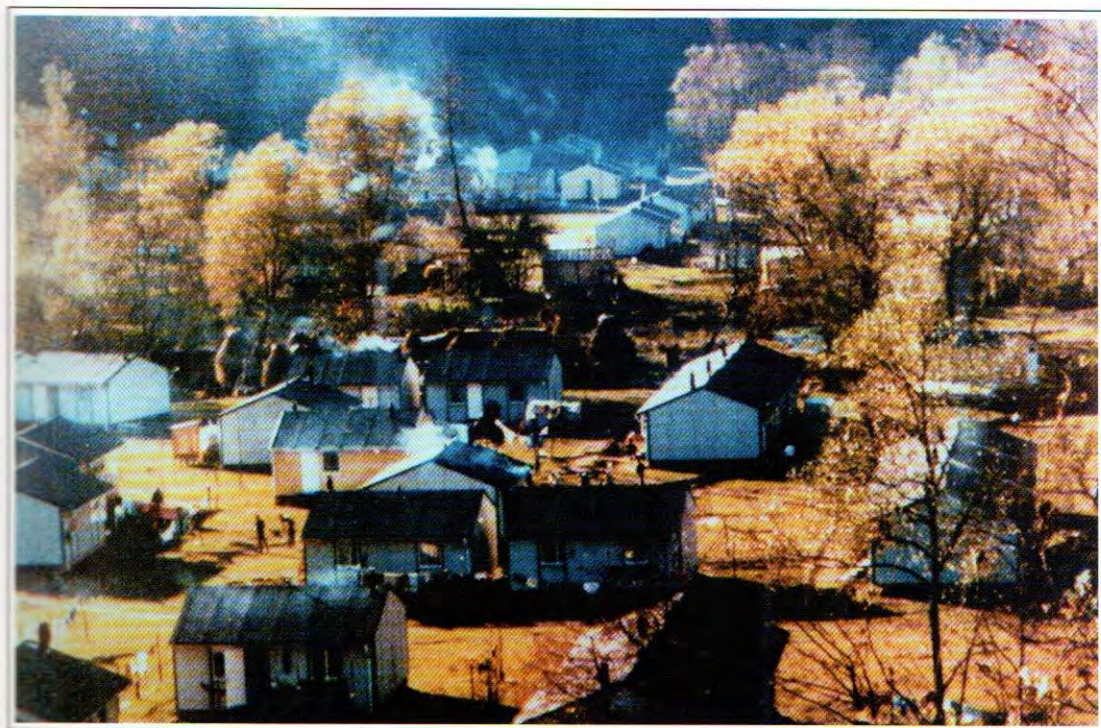
*Everyday scenes of sending and receiving Red Cross messages from loved ones in completely surrounded Srebrenica 1993-1995.*





Upravna zgrada "Energoinvesta" pretvorena je u prinudni improvizirani centar kolektivnog smještaja za prognane Bošnjake Podrinja

*Administrational building of "Energoinvest" company, turned into an improvised housing for expelled Bosniaks of Podrinje.*



Kolektivni centar u Slapovićima, podignut sredstvima Švedske vlade, za prognanike Podrinja u potpunom obroču agresora, bez vode i struje, sredinom 1994. godine.

*Collective center in Slapovići, sponsored by the government of Sweden in order to house the expelled citizens of Podrinje, who were completely surrounded by the aggressor without food or electricity, middle of 1994.*

## **SRPSKA OKUPACIJA SREBRENICE 11. JULA 1995. GODINE PROGON I GENOCIDNI POKOLJ BOŠNJAKA**

Prvi nagovještaj da će biti prekršene odluke i rezolucije UN-a dogodio se u junu 1995. godine kad su velikosrpske snage zauzele osmatračku stanicu "Echo" na južnom rubu Enklave, kod prognaničkog naselja Slapovići. Tada je 3.000 izbjeglica pobjeglo u Srebrenicu. Taj događaj nije praćen adekvatnim odgovorom mirovnih snaga UN-a. Tako je počeo završni čin ubijanja Srebrenice.

Velikosrpske snage su, nakon što su Radovan Karadžić i Ratko Mladić izdali naredbe za zauzimanje Srebrenice i izvršenje genocida nad Bošnjacima, 11. jula 1995. zauzele Srebrenicu, sigurnu zonu UN-a. Holandski bataljon UN-a "nije ispalio nijedan jedini hitac u pravcu nadolazećih srpskih snaga". Na trgu u Srebrenici general Ratko Mladić je izjavio: "Evo nas 11. jula 1995. godine u srpskoj Srebrenici. Uoči još jednog praznika srpskog naroda poklanjamo srpskom narodu ovaj grad. Napokon je došao trenutak da se poslije bune protiv dahija Turcima osvetimo na ovom prostoru."

Karadžić je lično naredio da se u Srebrenici, pored srpske, postavi i grčka zastava, čiji su pripadnici (tj. Grci), pored Rusa i drugih, učestvovali u napadu i zauzimanju Srebrenice.

Oko 25.000 izbjeglih je u večernjim satima 11. jula u Potočarima tražilo zaštitu kod mirovnih snaga UN-a. Tu su velikosrpske snage opkolile civile i, uz prisustvo Holandskog bataljona i noseći njihove uniforme i šljemove, u grupama izdvajale muškarce, dječake i djevojčice iz mase i na najsvirepiji način ih ubijali i klali,

## **THE SERB OCCUPATION OF SREBRENICA ON JULY 11<sup>TH</sup> FORCED REMOVAL AND GENOCIDAL MASSACRE OF BOSNIAKS**

A first hint that the decisions and resolutions of the UN would be breached happened in June 1995., when the Greater Serb army captured the UN camp "Echo" on the southern corner of the Enclave, by the refugee camp Slapovići. At this point 3000 refugees fled to Srebrenica. This event was not followed by an adequate answer by the UN peace-keeping forces, so the final act of murdering Srebrenica began.

The Greater Serb armed forces have, after Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić have issued orders to take Srebrenica and commit genocide against Bosniaks, captured UN safe area Srebrenica on July 11<sup>th</sup> 1995. The Dutch battallion of the UN "did not fire a single hit in the direction of the marching Serb troops". On one of Srebrenicas squares, general Ratko Mladić announced: "Here we are, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1995. in Serb Srebrenica. As a gift for an upcoming Serb holliday we give the Serb people this city. The moment to take revenge over Turks in these areas has finally come."

Karadžić personally ordered that Greek flag be placed by the Serb one, since Greeks have, except for Russians and others, also participated in the occupation of Srebrenica.

In the evening hours of the 11th July around 25.000 refugees sought asylum in Potočari, with UN peacekeeping forces. Here, the Greater Serb forces surrounded the civilians, disregarding the presence of the Dutch

silovali žene i djevojke, pljačkali njihovu imovinu i drugo. Po naređenju zločinca Mladića, i u njegovom prisustvu, agresor je žene, djecu i starije osobe deportovao preko linije fronta i minskih polja prema Kladnju, Živinicama i Tuzli.

Jedan se broj civila iz Srebrenice, sigurne zone UN-a, bježeći od agresora, povlačio preko šuma u pravcu slobodne teritorije. Na tom su putu agresorske snage, strateški raspoređene na svim ključnim mjestima kuda

su civili pokušavali proći, postavili zasjede i artiljerijom, protivavionskim topovima i automatskim oružjem, uz upotrebu bojnih otrova, ubile, ranile i zaklale veliki broj Bošnjaka.

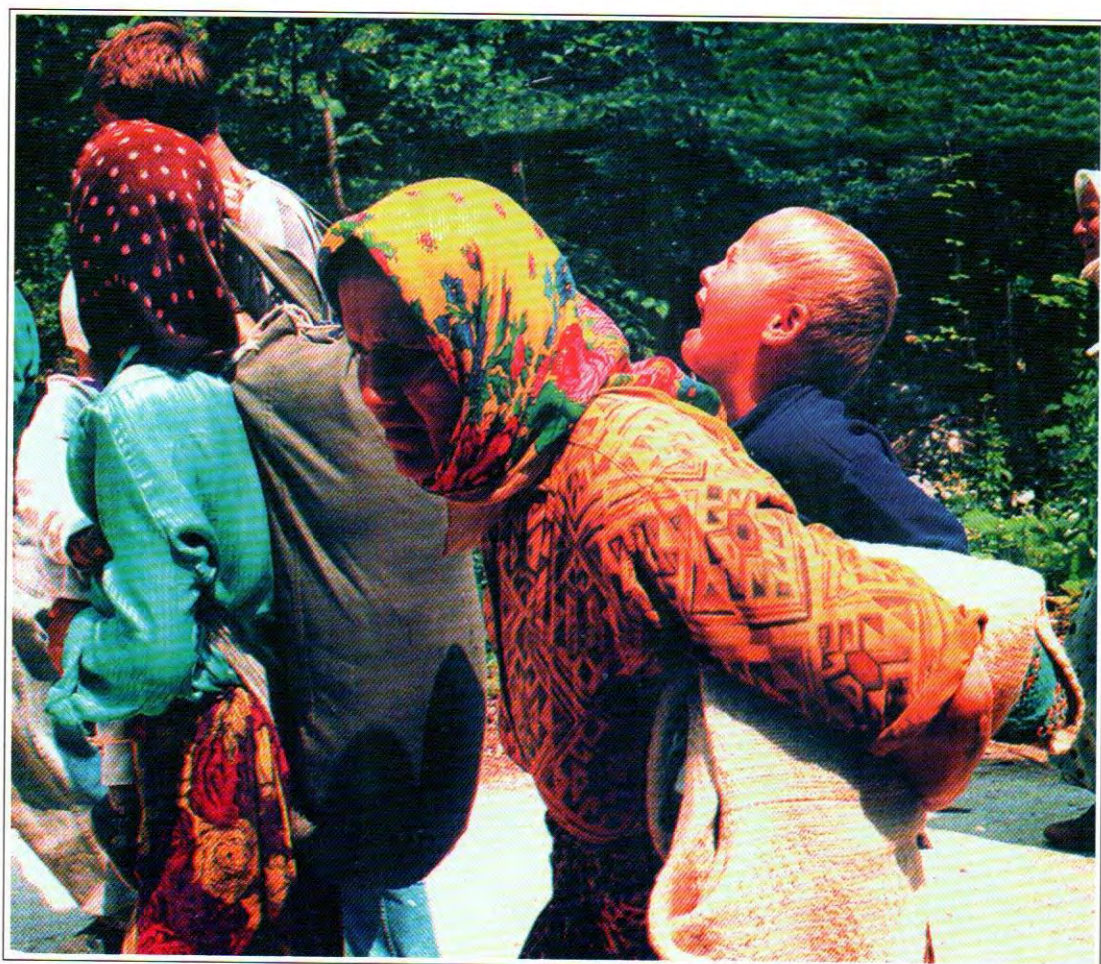
soldiers, and have, dressed in their uniforms and helmets managed to separate men, boys, and girls from the masses, and murdered, tortured and raped them in the most outrageous ways, while plundering their property. According to Mladić' orders and in his presence, the aggressor has deported women children and elderly, accross the mine fields and into free area: Kladanj, Živinice and Tuzla.

A number of Srebrenica civilians has, fleeing from the aggressor, managed to sneak into the woods in attempt to reach the free territory on foot. On this road, the serb forces, strategically placed on all key spots, have ambushed, killed, wounded or slauthered a huge number of Bosniaks.



Prizori prognaničkih kolona iz srebreničkog pakla

*Columns of expellees in Srebrenica' hell*



**Preplašene majke sa uplakanom djecom: kuda i kako dalje?**

*Frightened mothers with weeping children: where and how to go on...?*



**Umjesto predaha: srpske su zasjede vrebale sa svih strana**

***Instead of a respite: Serb ambushes were lurking from everywhere***



I djeca su morala nositi...

*Even children had to carry ....*





I oni su morali napustiti svoj dom i uputiti se ka slobodnom teritoriju kroz zločinačke pojaseve smrti: majka sa dvoje male djece

*They also had to leave their homes and set out towards the free territory through the criminals' death zones: a mother with her two small children*



Sa ranjenikom u naručju, bosi, kroz planinske vrleti, u pokušaju da se domognu slobodne teritorije

*With a wounded person in arms, barefooted, walking through the mountainous craggy area, in the attempt to reach the free territory*

FOR THOSE WHO REACHED THE  
FREE TERRITORY ALIVE,  
A RECEPTION CAMP  
WAS ORGANIZED  
IN DUBRAVE NEAR TUZLA

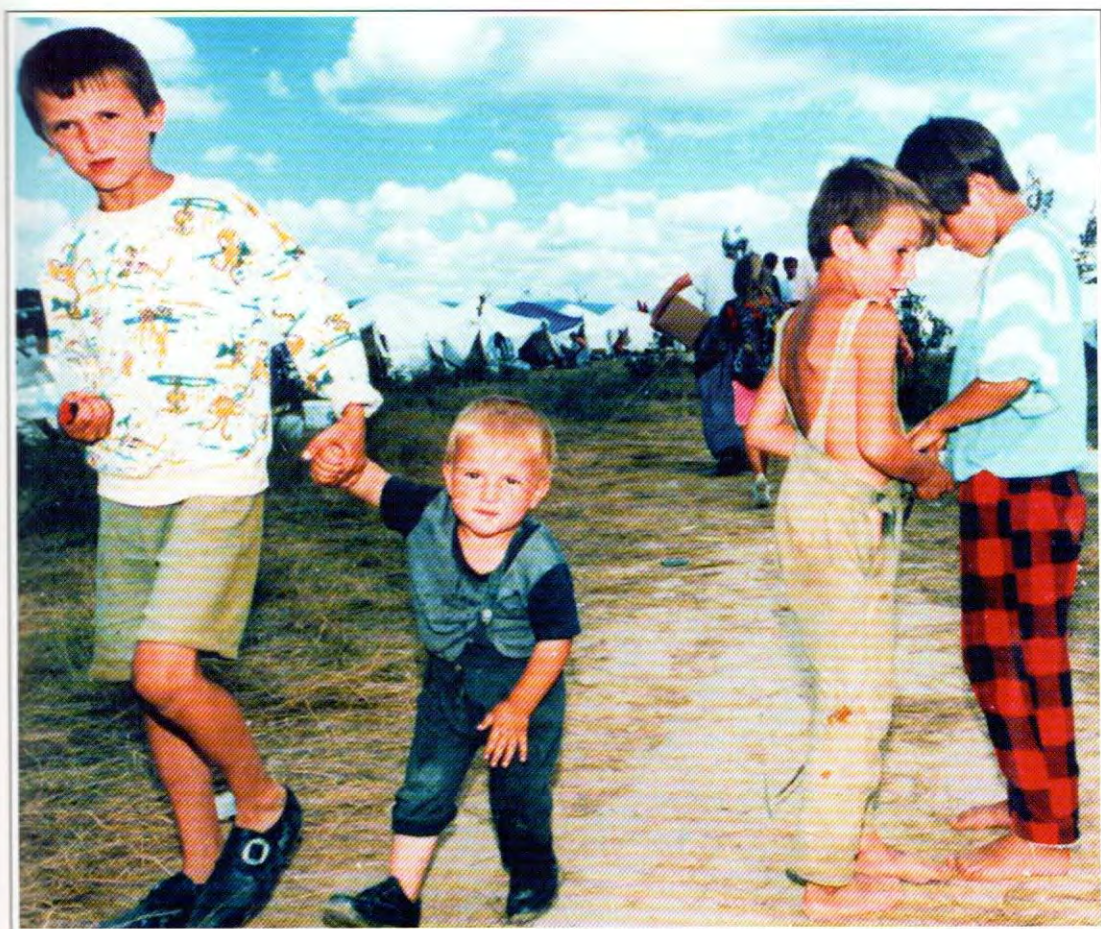
ZA ONE KOJI SU ŽIVI STIGLI  
DO SLOBODNE TERITORIJE  
ORGANIZIRAN JE  
PRIHVATNI KAMP  
U DUBRAVAMA KOD TUZLE



Prizori iz kampa Dubrave kod Tuzle  
*Scenes from the Dubrave camp near Tuzla*



Prizori iz kampa Dubrave kod Tuzle  
*Scenes from the Dubrave camp near Tuzla*



**Njima je surovo oteto pravo na bezbrižno djetinjstvo**

*They have cruelly been deprived of the right to a carefree childhood*



**Suze koje nema ko brisati. Ko zna koliko je njegovih vršnjaka ostalo bez jednog ili oba roditelja?**  
***There is nobody to wipe off these tears. Who knows how many of his peers lost one or both parents?***



Umjesto toplog dječijeg doma  
*Instead of a warm children's home*





Pravo na život - šta to za njih znači?

*Right to live - what does it mean to them?*

IV

**MASOVNA SMAKNUĆA**

IV

**MASS EXECUTIONS**

Karadžić - Deronjiću 9. jula 1995. godine:

"Miroslave,

**TO SVE TREBA POBITI ...**

**SVE ŠTO STIGNETE ... !"**

- Karadžić to Deronjić on July 9, 1995:

"Miroslav,

**THEY SHOULD ALL BE KILLED...**

**ANYBODY YOU COME ACROSS ... !"**

Mladić - Mandžiću u hotelu "Fontana" u  
Bratuncu, 12. jula 1995. u 12. 00 sati:

**"DA LI ŽELITE DA OSTANETE ILI DA OPSTANETE?"**

Mladić to Mandžić in Hotel "Fontana" in  
Bratunac, on July 12th, 1995, at 12:00:

**"DO YOU WANT TO STAY OR TO SURVIVE?"**

- X-Y 13. jula 1995. na kanalu 6 u 17.30 sati:

**"ODMAH IH ZOVI DA DOBU  
(autobusi iz Bijeljine), TRENUTNO  
(vojnospobnih) IMA... JEDNO ŠEST HILJADA..."**

- X to Y on July 13, 1995; channel 6 at 5:30 p.m.:

**"CALL THEM IMMEDIATELY TO COME  
(buses from Bijeljina). AT THE MOMENT,  
THERE ARE ... SOME 6 THOUSAND ...  
(fit for military service)"**

Mladić - Mandžiću 12. jula 1995:

**"INSISTIRAM DA VIDIM SVE MUŠKARCE  
U DOBI IZMEĐU 16 I 60 GODINA...  
MORAĆU IH PONAOSOB ISPITATI..."**

Mladić to Mandžić on July 12, 1995:

**"I INSIST TO SEE ALL MEN  
BETWEEN THE AGE 16 AND 60 ...  
I'LL HAVE TO INTERROGATE  
THEM INDIVIDUALLY..."**

Pukovnik Beara - Generalu Krstiću 14. jula 1995:

"Krla,  
**IMA JOŠ 3.500  
PAKETA (ljudi za likvidaciju) KOJE MORAM DA PODIJELIM,  
A NEMAM RJEŠENJA.  
Beara"**

Colonel Beara to General Krstić on July 14, 1995:

"Krla,  
**THERE ARE STILL 3.500 PACKAGES  
(men for liquidation) I HAVE TO DISTRIBUTE, BUT I HAVE GOT  
NO SOLUTION.  
Beara"**

K O M A N D A  
5. INŽINJERIJSKOG BATALJONA  
Str. pov. br. 38-56  
Dana 14. juli 1995. godine

"VOJNA TAJNA"  
"STROGO POVE LJIVO"  
"Primerak br. 2"  
"K U R I O M"

Redovni borbeni izveštaj,  
d o s t a v l j a.-

KOMANDI DRINSKOG KORPUSA

1.- N e p r i j a t e l j :

- ubačena veća grupa neprijatelja u rejonu Pobudja brda i rejonu Konjević Polja, jedinice 5. inžinjerijskog bataljona i MUP-a uspešno su se suprostavile neprijatelju. Uhapšeno je ubijeno oko 1000 do 1500 neprijateljskih civila i vojnika.

4.- Stanje na teritoriji:

- ubačena veća grupa neprijatelja iz pravca Srebrenice u rejon Pobudja - Konjević Polje.

5.- Vanredni događaji:

- dana 13.07.1995. godine prilikom vođenja borbe protiv neprijatelja na stražarskom mestu br. 6 u Konjević Polju odko 08.00 časova oosio je do ranjavanja stražara od strane neprijateljskog vojnika vojnika vojnih obveznika koji su u to vreme bili na stražarskom mestu izvršavajući svoju dužnost BANDJUR Trifka SPASO i CRASANIN Milana VASILJIĆ, navedeni su ranjeni u nogu pištoljem.

6.- Pozadinsko obezbeđenje:

- potrebno je izvršenje radova za rad utovarivača koji će biti angažovan na zakopavanju ubijenih neprijateljskih vojnika dodeliti za navedeni zadatak 50 litara nafte.

- zbog povećanog brojnog stanja ljudstva koje je angažovano na zadatku u Konjević Polju potrebno je da se dodeli artikli ishrane.

7.- G u b i c i :

- n e m a.

8.- Zaključci, predviđanja i odluke:

- i dalje organizovati zasede za borbu protiv neprijatelja koji je ubačen na brdo Pobudje, gde imati težište za borbu protiv istog da se što pre uništi neprijatelj i oslobodi Pobudje brdo. Nastaviti sa izvođenjem radova koje izvode jedinice 5. inžb, povećati mere budnosti i bezbednosti u rejonu Konjević Polja.

9.- Z a h t e v i :

- dodeliti 50 litara nafte za navedeni zadatak. *Rešeno*  
- zbog povećanog broja ljudstva dodeliti artikli ishrane.

MB/MB



DOKUMENT

The Command of the Engineering Battalion  
Strictly Confidential No. 38-56  
24 July 1995

Military Secret  
Strictly Confidential  
Copy no. 2

Sent by courier

Regular Battle Report

Delivered to the Command of the Drina Corps

1. Enemy:

- a large group of enemy soldiers was injected in the area of Pobude and Konjević Polje. The units of the 5th engineering battalion and the Ministry of Interior Affairs had successfully confronted the enemy whereby approximately 1000 to 1500 of enemy soldiers and civilians had been arrested and killed.

4. Territory situation

- a large group of enemy soldiers was injected from the direction of Srebrenica to the area of Pobude - Konjevic Polje

5. Extraordinary events:

- On the 13th of July 1995, during the fighting against the enemy, at 8. am and near the observation point number 6, our watchmen on the duty were wounded by the enemy's soldiers. The injured watchmen, BANDJUR (Trifko) Spaso and ORASANIN (Milan) Vasilije, were wounded in their legs by a pistol hit.

6. Logistics security

- It is necessary to execute the actions for the preparation of the pick up trucks to be used for burrial of killed enemy's soldiers. We will need 50 liters of oil to carry out this task.

- Due to an increased number of people engaged in the task in Konjević Poljem, we need more food supplies.

7. Losses:

- None

8. Conclusions, estimations and decisions:

- keep organizing ambushes in order to fight the enemy injected into the area around the hill of Pobude, with the emphasis on the destruction of the enemy and liberation of the Pobude hill. Continue with the execution of works by the 5th engineering battalion, and increase the security measures in the area of Konjević Polje.

9. Demands:

- 50 liters of oil necessary for the execution of the task mentioned above.
- Additional food supplies due to an increased number of people.

Signed by:

Vice Commander  
Mile Simić

DOCUMENT



“ŠKORPIONI”

“SCORPIONS”

V

**ZNAJUĆI ŠTA IH ČEKA AKO SE  
PREDAJU ZLOČINCIMA, JEDAN DIO  
BOŠNJAČKOG STANOVNIŠTVA IZ  
SREBRENICE POKUŠAO SE SPASITI  
KROZ PLANINSKE VRLETI PODRINJA,  
BROJNE SRPSKE ZASJEDE I  
GRANATIRANJA, GLADNI, BOSI...**

**SLIJEDE UŽASNI PRIZORI NJIHOVE  
GOLGOTE I SMRTI:**

V

**KNOWING WHAT IS WAITING FOR  
THEM IF THEY SURRENDER TO THE  
CRIMINALS, A PART OF THE BOSNIAK  
POPULATION FROM SREBRENICA  
TRIED TO SAVE THEMSELVES  
THROUGH THE MOUNTAINOUS  
CRAGGY AREAS OF PODRINJE,  
NUMEROUS SERB AMBUSHES AND  
SHELLING, HUNGRY, BAREFOOTED,...**

**HORRIBLE SCENES OF THEIR  
GOLGOTHA AND DEATH FOLLOW:**



Rahunići - Pobuđe: Razbacani dijelovi bošnjačkih tijela

*Rahunići - Pobuđe: Scattered parts of the Bosniak' bodies*





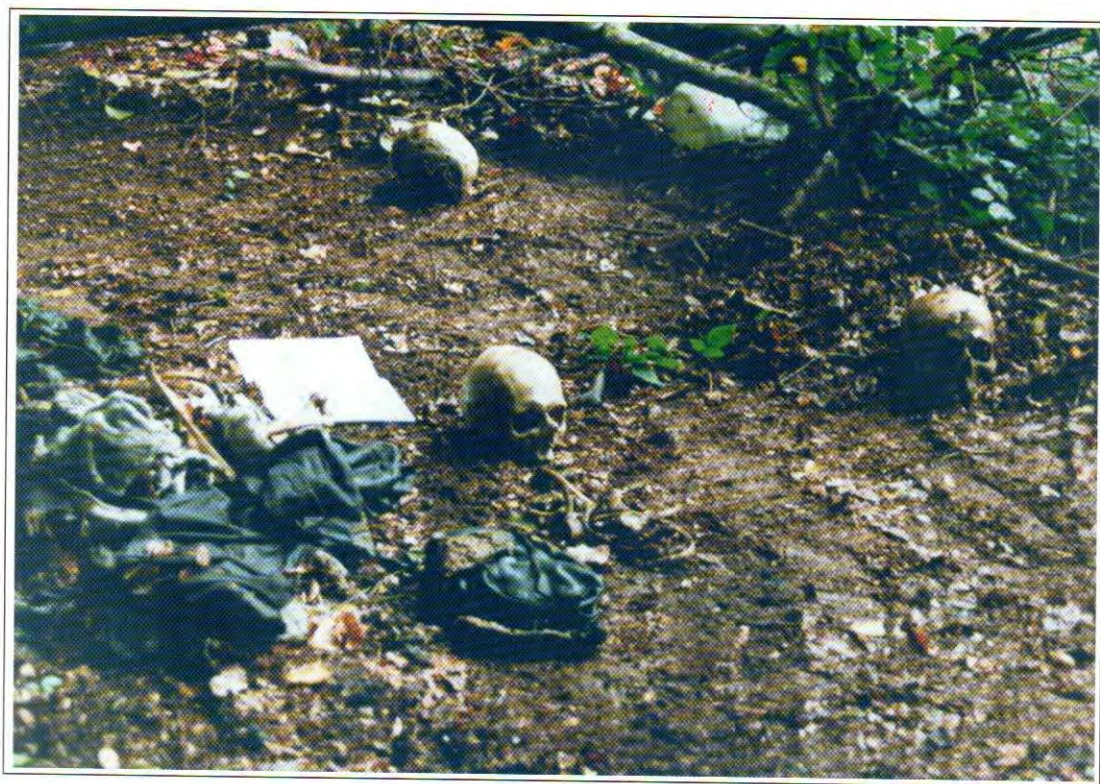
**Krajinovići - Pobuđe (Kanjon potoka Crvanj): Zastrašujući prizori ubijenih Bošnjaka**

*Krajinovići - Pobuđe (Canyon of the Crvanj stream): Frightening scenes of the killed Bosniaks*



**Krajinovići - Pobođe: Svjedočanstva genocida nad bošnjačkim narodom**

***Krajinovići - Pobođe: Testimonies of the genocide against Bosniak people***



**Mratinsko brdo: Odrubljene bošnjačke lobanje**

*Mratinsko brdo: Bosniaks' skulls cut off*



**Mratinsko brdo: Lobanja sa prostrijelnim oštećenjem na lijevoj strani čela**

*Mratinsko brdo: A skull damaged by a piercing shot through the left side of the forehead*



**Mratinsko brdo: Polomljene i razasute bošnjačke lobanje**

*Mratinsko brdo: Broken and scattered Bosniaks' skulls*



Suljići - Pobuđe: Odrubljena i na drvo zakačena bošnjačka lobanja

*Suljići - Pobuđe: A cut off Bosniak's skull and hitched on to a tree*



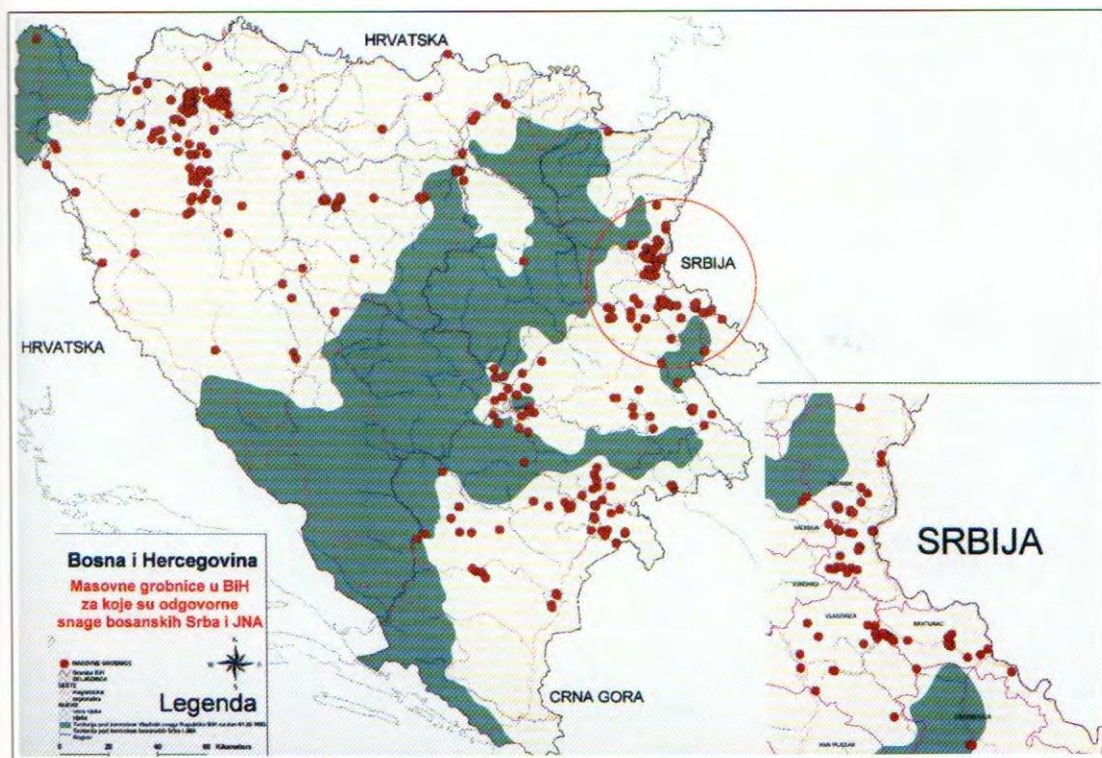
Mratinsko brdo: Dokumenti bošnjačkih žrtava koje su zločinci izvadili iz njihove odjeće u potrazi za novcem i drugim dragocjenostima

*Mratinsko brdo: Bosniaks' documents that perpetrators removed from the victims' clothes searching for money and jewelry*

MASOVNE GROBNICE TERITORIJA  
BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE ZVANA  
REPUBLIKA SRPSKA NASTALA NA  
GENOCIDU "POPLOČANA" JE  
MASOVNIM GROBNICAMA  
U NJIMA SU, UGLAVNOM, UBIJENI  
BOŠNJACI, NAROČITO  
IZ ISTOČNE BOSNE

MASS GRAVES THE TERRITORY OF  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA NOW  
CALLED REPUBLIKA SRPSKA IS BUILT  
ON GENOCIDE  
AND MASS GRAVE SITES  
IN THESE GRAVES LIE MAINLY KILLED  
BOSNIAKS, ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM  
EASTERN BOSNIA





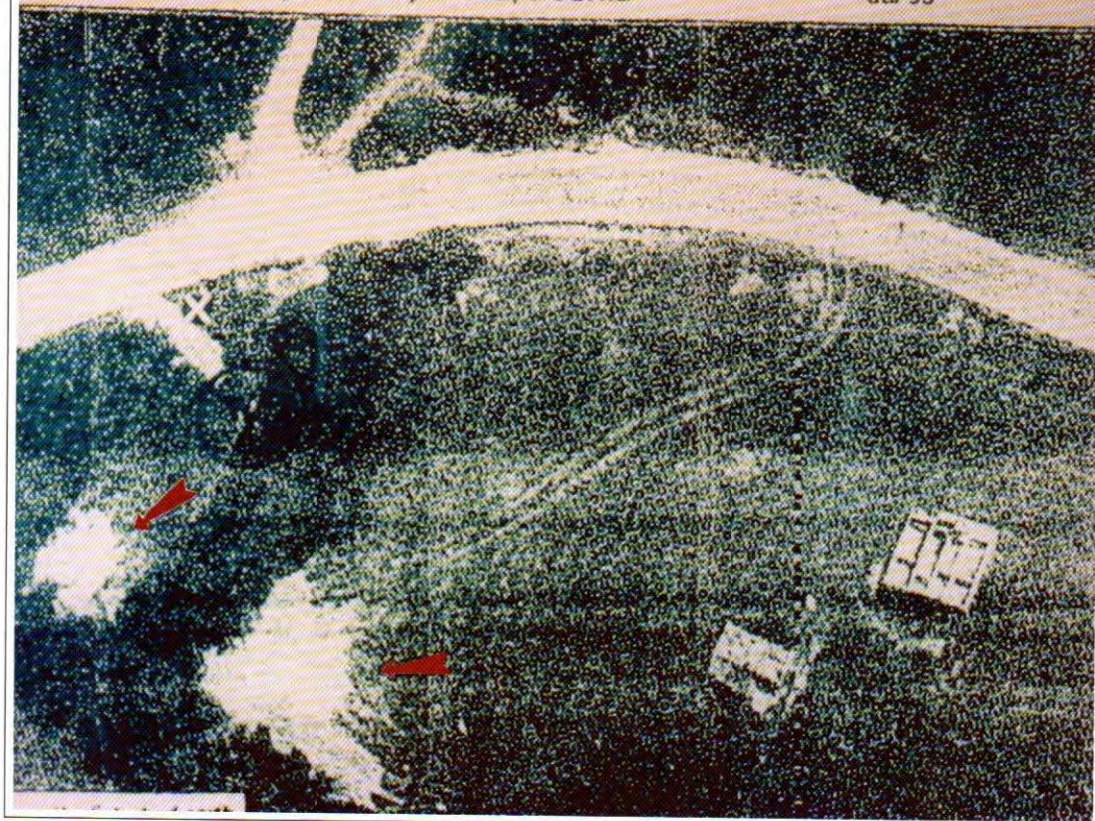
Karta masovnih grobnica u Bosni i Hercegovini. Apsolutna većina ih se nalazi na području koje je okupirao velikosrpski agresor i njegovi kolaboracionisti

*A map of mass graves sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The major part of the mass graves is entirely in the area occupied by the Greater Serb Aggressor and their collaborators*

**POSSIBLE Mass Graves**  
**Kasaba/Konjevic Polje Area, Bosnia**

Unclassified

Jid 95



**Aviosnimak masovne grobnice u Kasabi/Konjević-Polje**  
**Mass grave in Kasaba – Konjević-Polje, Photo from air**



**Mravinjaci: jedna od otvorenih masovnih grobnica u istočnoj Bosni**

*Mravinjaci: one of the opened mass graves in Eastern Bosnia*



**Zastrašujući prizor iz otvorene masovne grobnice na lokalitetu Mravinjaci - istočna Bosna**  
*Frightening scene from the opened mass grave on the location Mravinjaci - Eastern Bosnia*



U toku 2004. i 2005. godine intenzivirane su aktivnosti na otvaranju novih masovnih grobnica u istočnoj Bosni

*During 2004 and 2005 activities of opening new mass graves in Eastern Bosnia were intensified*



Jedno od brojnih bošnjačkih stratišta u Podrinju - istočna Bosna

*One of the numerous Bosniaks' execution sites in Podrinje - Eastern Bosnia*



Mnoge od masovnih grobnica u istočnoj Bosni prekopavane su i premještene na druge lokalitete kako bi se prikrili dokazi o zločinima

*Many of the mass graves in Eastern Bosnia have been dug up repeatedly and moved to other places in order to cover up the evidence of the crimes committed*



Zastrašujući detalj iz masovne grobnice u istočnoj Bosni  
*A frightening detail from a mass grave in Eastern Bosnia*



VII

**MEMORIЈALNI CENTAR  
U POTOČARIMA**

*VII*

**MEMORIAL CENTRE IN POTOČARI**



Dio mezarja u Memorijalnom centru Potočari gdje su ukopani posmrtni ostaci do sada identifikovanih ubijenih Bošnjaka

*A part of the Moslem cemetery in the Memorial Centre in Potočari where the killed Bosniaks' remains, identified up to now, have been buried.*

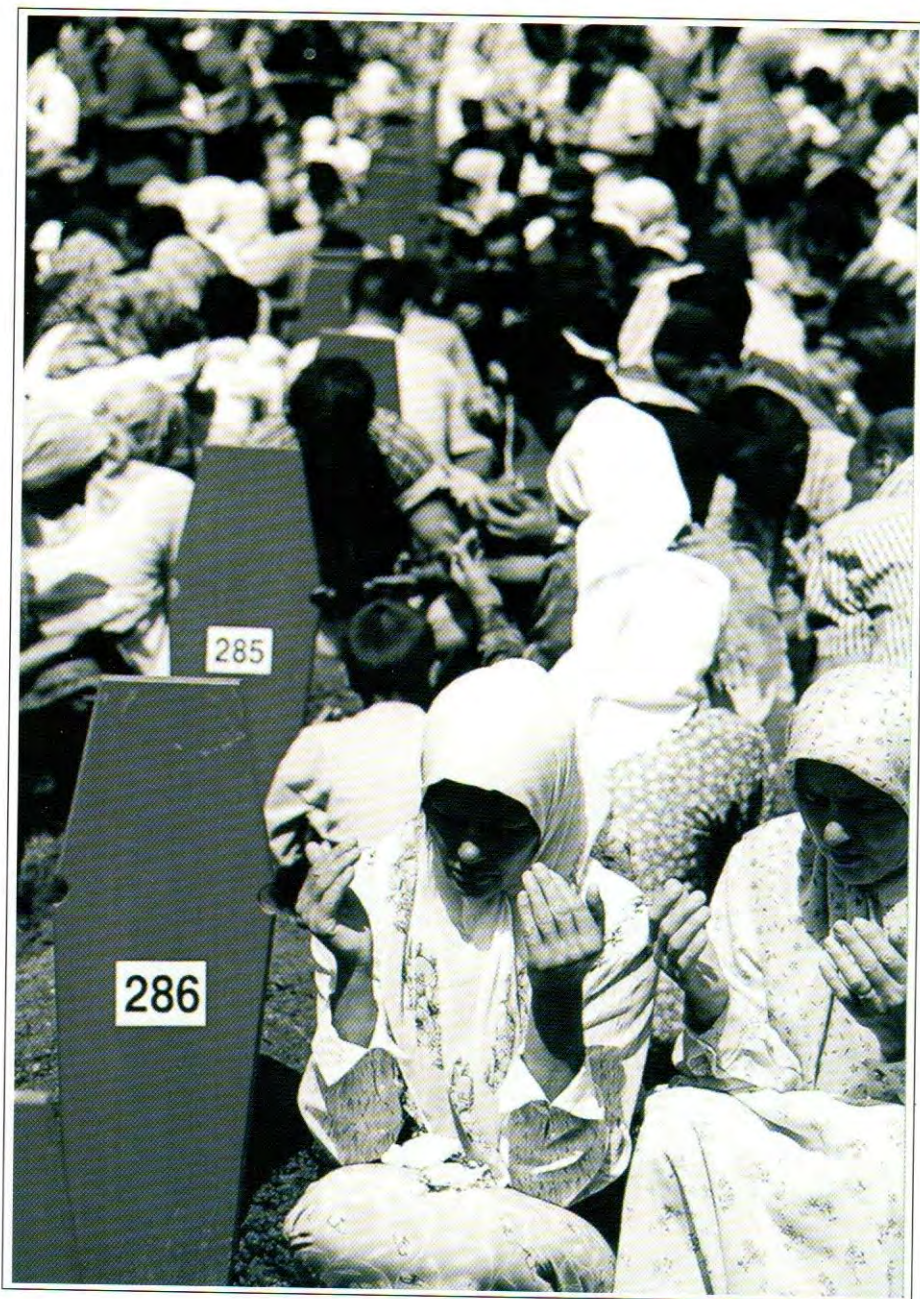


Detalj iz Memorijalnog centra u Potočarima  
*A detail from the Memorial Centre in Potočari*



Prizor sa jedne od dženaza u Potočarima

*A detail from one of the Moslem funerals in Potočari*



Molitva za ubijene - Memorijalni centar u Potočarima  
*A prayer for the killed - Memorial Centre in Potočari*



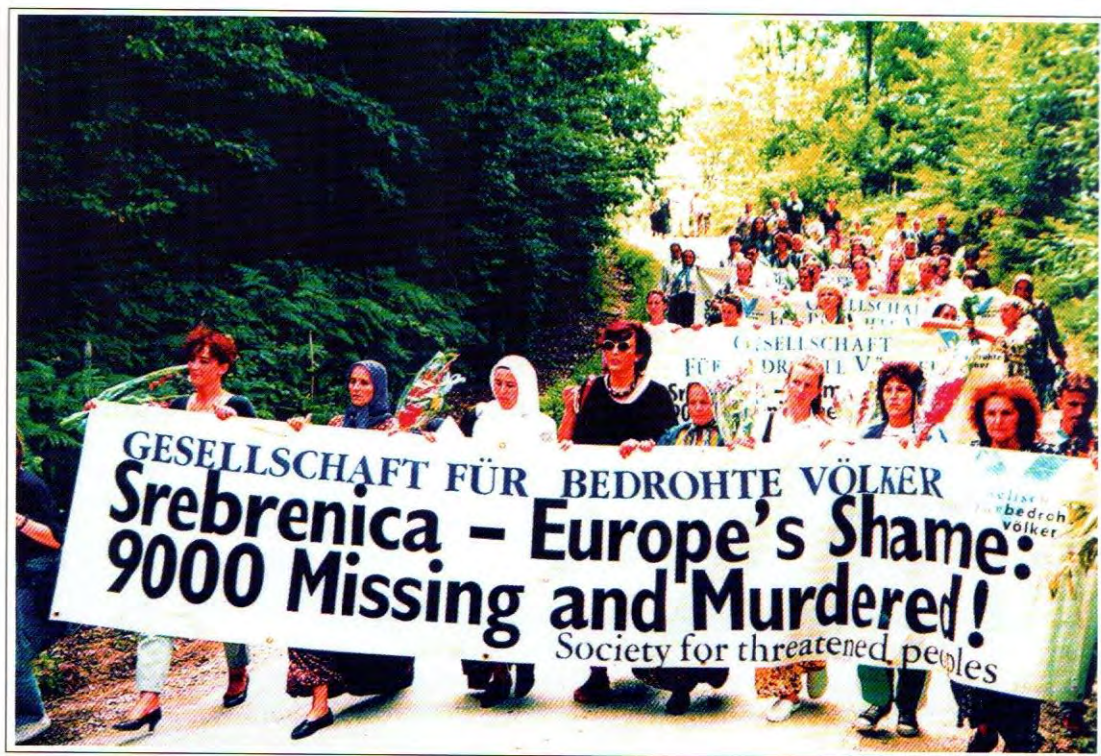
Beskrajna tuga za najmilijim  
*Endless sorrow for the dearest*

VIII

**ODNOS SVIJETA PREMA  
GENOCIDU U SREBRENICI**

*VIII*

***THE ATTITUDE OF  
THE WORLD TOWARDS  
THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA***



Srebrenica, sigurna zona UN-a, ne samo da je simbol stradanja muslimana Bosne i Bošnjaka nego i dokument sramnog odnosa Evrope i svijeta prema tom zločinu

*Srebrenica, UN safe area, is not only the symbol of suffering for Bosnian Muslims and Bosniaks, but it is also the document of the shameful attitude of both Europe and the world towards such a crime.*



## Paragraf 297 iz Presude (Verdict, Paragraph 297)

297. The Court concludes that the acts committed at Srebrenica falling within Article II (a) and (b) of the Convention were committed with the specific intent to destroy in part the group of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina as such; and accordingly that these were acts of genocide, committed by members of the VRS in and around Srebrenica from about 13 July 1995.

Presudom Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu, od 26. februara 2007, potvrđeno je da je u i oko Srebrenice jula 1995. godine počinjen genocid "sa posebnom namjerom da se djelimično uništi grupa muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine kao takva" (Međunarodni sud pravde, Presuda, 26. februar 2007, paragraf 297).

*According to the verdict of the International Court of Justice in the Hague, of February 26<sup>th</sup> it has been established that a genocide was committed in and around Srebrenica "with a special intent to partially destroy the group of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as such" (International Court of Justice, Verdict dated February 26<sup>th</sup> 2007, par. 297.)*

### Paragraf 388 iz Presude, Verdict, Paragraph 388

388. The Court notes first that no evidence has been presented that either General Mladić or any of the other officers whose affairs were handled by the 30th Personnel Centre were, according to the internal law of the Respondent, officers of the army of the Respondent — a *de jure* organ of the Respondent. Nor has it been conclusively established that General Mladić was one of those officers; and even on the basis that he might have been, the Court does not consider that he would, for that reason alone, have to be treated as an organ of the FRY for the purposes of the application of the rules of State responsibility. There is no doubt that the FRY was providing substantial support, *inter alia*, financial support, to the Republika Srpska (cf. paragraph 241 above), and that one of the forms that support took was payment of salaries and other benefits to some officers of the VRS, but this did not automatically make them organs of the FRY. Those officers were appointed to their commands by the President of the Republika Srpska, and were subordinated to the political leadership of the Republika Srpska. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, those officers must be taken to have received their orders from the Republika Srpska or the VRS, not from the FRY. The expression “State organ”, as used in customary international law and in Article 4 of the ILC Articles, applies to one or other of the individual or collective entities which make up the organization of the State and act on its behalf (cf. ILC Commentary to Art. 4, para. (1)). The functions of the VRS officers, including General Mladić, were however to act on behalf of the Bosnian Serb authorities, in particular the Republika Srpska, not on behalf of the FRY; they exercised elements of the public authority of the Republika Srpska. The particular situation of General Mladić, or of any other VRS officer present at Srebrenica who may have been being “administered” from Belgrade, is not therefore such as to lead the Court to modify the conclusion reached in the previous paragraph.

Presudom Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu, od 26. februara 2007, dokazano je da su genocid nad muslimanima Bosne i Hercegovine u i oko Srebrenice jula 1995. godine počinili organi vlasti Republike Srpske (Međunarodni sud pravde, Presuda, 26. februar 2007, paragrafi 288, 290, 292, 293, 297 i 388).

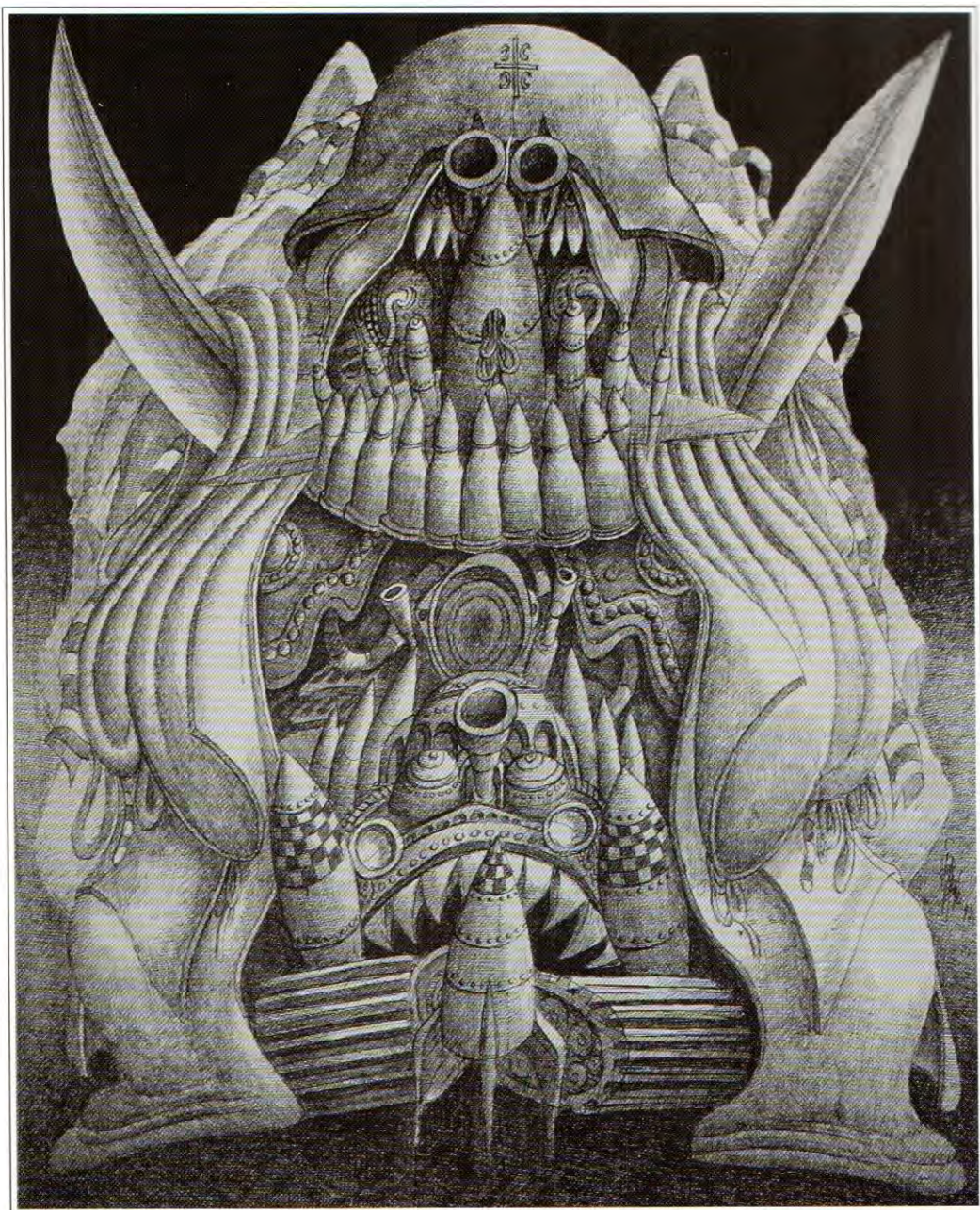
*In the verdict of The International Court of Justice in the Hague, from February the 26<sup>th</sup> 2007, it was proved that the genocide against muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in and around Srebrenica in July 1995., was committed by the authorities of Republika Srpska. (The International Court of Justice, Verdict, February 26<sup>th</sup> 2007., Paragraphs 288, 290, 292, 293, 297 and 388)*

## NOŽ, ŽICA, SREBRENICA

Genocid u Srebrenici, sigurnoj zoni UN-a, jula 1995, teško se može opisati riječima. Nažalost, u prošlosti je bilo još ovakvih zločina ali su na sjećanje ljudi impresivnije djelovali razni oblici umjetničkog stvaralaštva, nego sama historija. Da li bi se danas tako sjećali Gernike da nije Pikasove slike? Jedan od najpoznatijih likovnih umjetnika današnjice, Hasan Fazlić svojim specifičnim izrazom predstavlja ovaj užas. Likovni ciklus pod nazivom "Nož, žica, Srebrenica" umjetnik je posvetio žrtvama genocida.

## KNIFE, WIRE, SREBRENICA

*The genocide in Srebrenica, UN safe area, from July of 1995 is difficult to describe in words. Unfortunately, numerous such crimes happened in the past, but art has always had the specific ability to effect the memory of people, perhaps even more than the history itself. Would Gernica be remembered today if it was not for the Picasso painting? One of the most famous artists of the day, Hasan Fazlić, shows the horrors of Srebrenica in his specific way. The art exhibition under the title: "Knife, wire, Srebrenica" the artist has dedicated to the victims of genocide.*



Bojni poklič sa Gazimestana (Kosovo polje 1989.)

*Battle scream from Gazimestan (Kosovo polje, 1989)*



Kosovski boj 1389. godine

- Odakle vi, junaci
- S kraja dvadesetog veka, svetli care Lazare

Battle of Kosovo 1389.

- Where did you come from soldiers?
- From the end of the 20th century, King Lazar.



Miloševićevo kolo smrti

*Milosevic' dance of death*



Genocid

Genocide



Ujedinjena Evropa i Slobodan Milošević  
*United Europe and Slobodan Milošević*





Cvijeće smrti

*Flowers of death*



Balkanski monstrum

*The monster of the Balkans*



Balkanski kasapin – Slobodan Milošević

*The butcher from the Balkans - Slobodan Milošević*



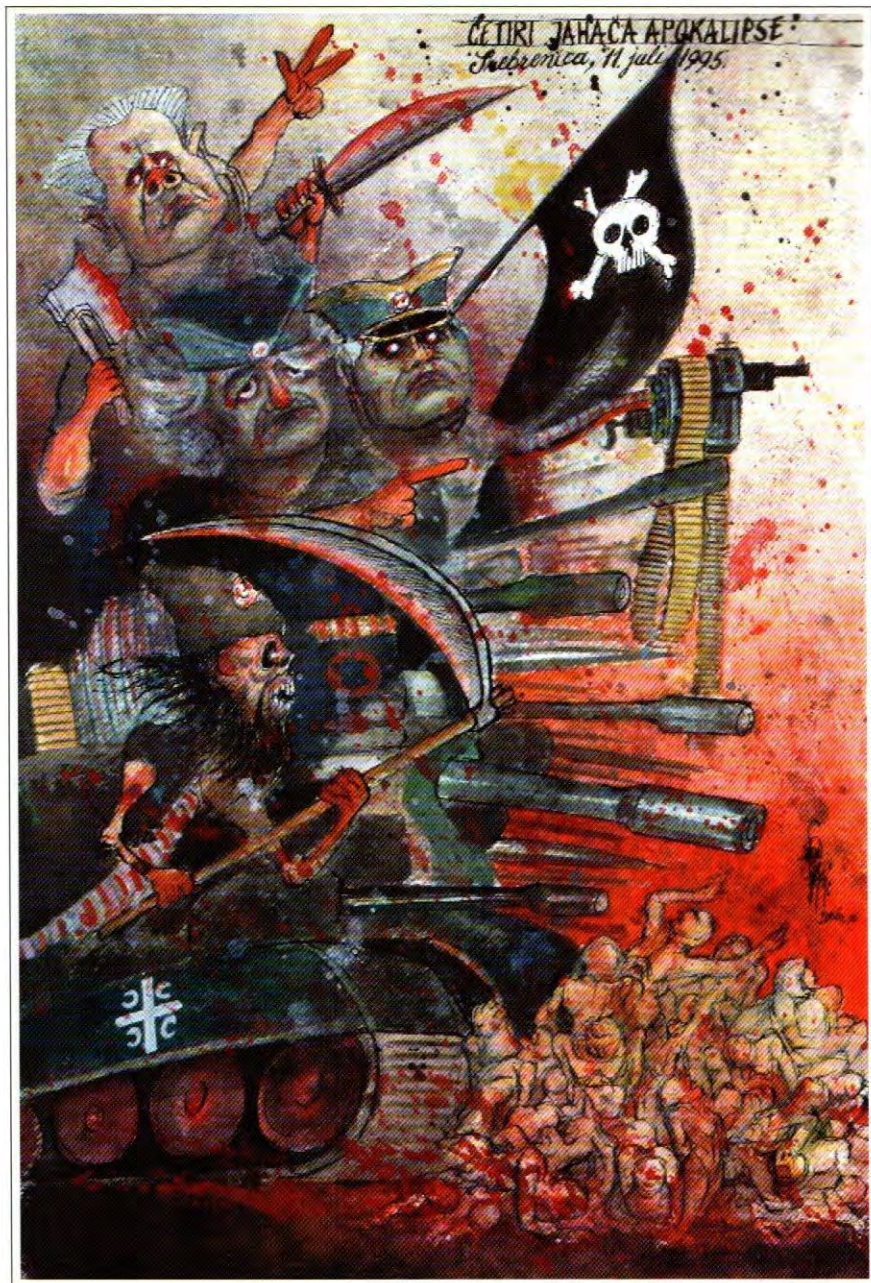
Kreator mržnje – Radovan Karadžić

*The creator of hatred - Radovan Karadžić*



Blagoslov zločinu

*The blessing for the crime*



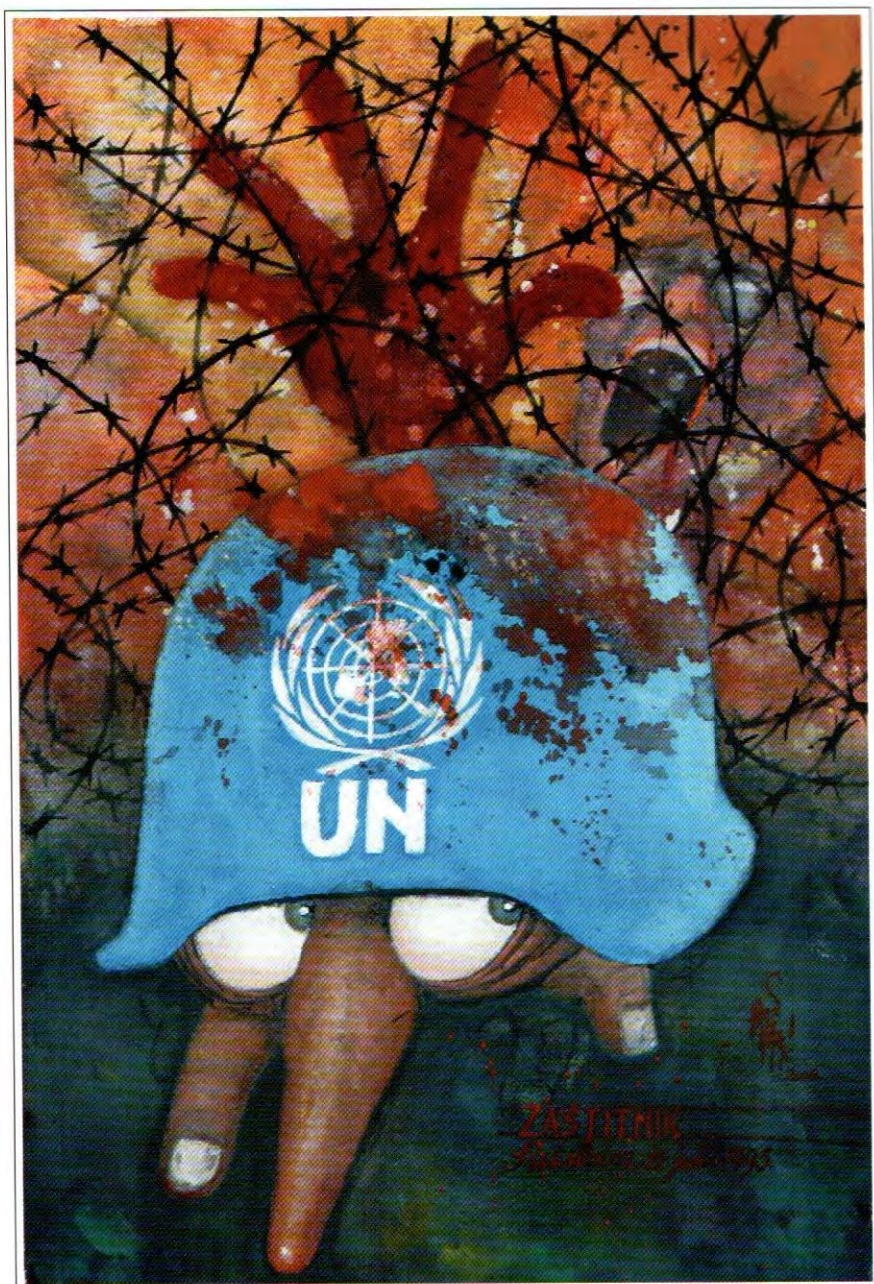
Četiri jahača apokalipse

*The four horsemen of the apocalypse*



Nož, žica...

Knife, wire...



Zaštitnik  
*Protector*





Krvavi pir  
*The bloody feast*



Nebeski narod  
*Heavenly people*

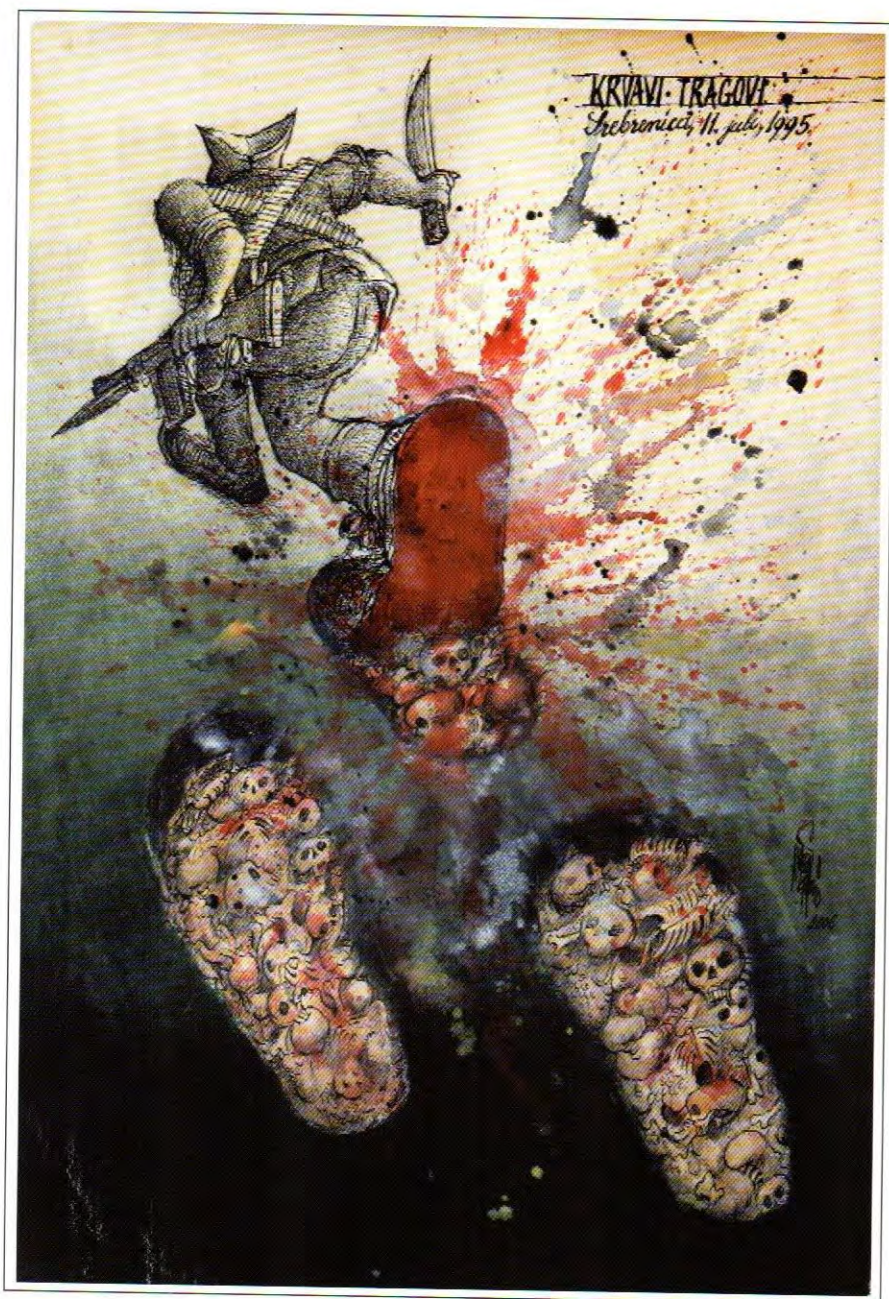


- Ooo sine Nermine,  
sidi dolamo!!!  
Ne boj se, neće ti ništa!

- Hello, Nermin dear  
Come down here !!!  
Don't worry, they won't hurt you !!



Nebeski zločin  
*Heavenly crime*



Krvavi tragovi  
*Bloody traces*



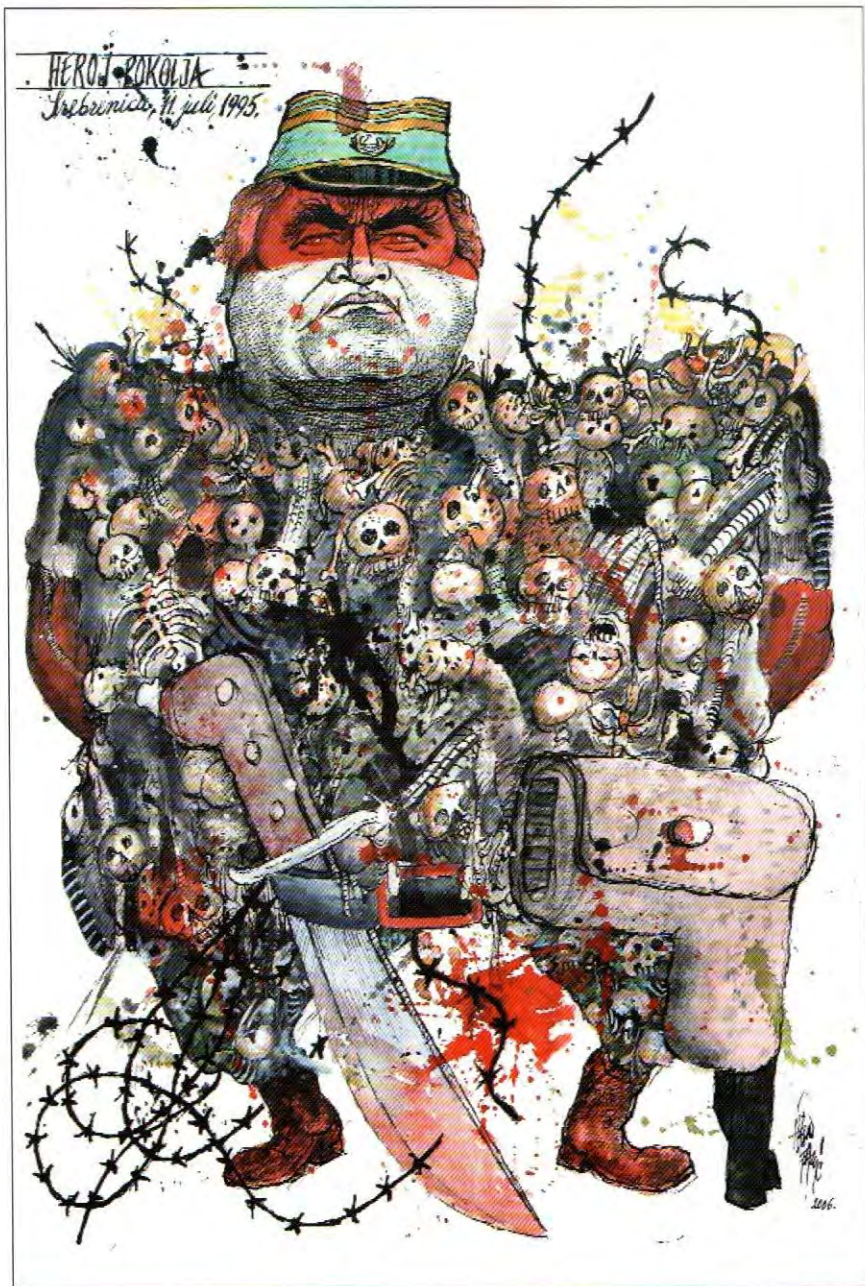
Osveta Turcima za poraz na Kosovu polju 1389. godine

*The revenge against the Turks for the defeat on the Kosovo polje in 1389.*



**Trijumf mržnje**

*The triumph of hatred*



Heroj pokolja – Ratko Mladić

*The hero of the massacres - Ratko Mladić*





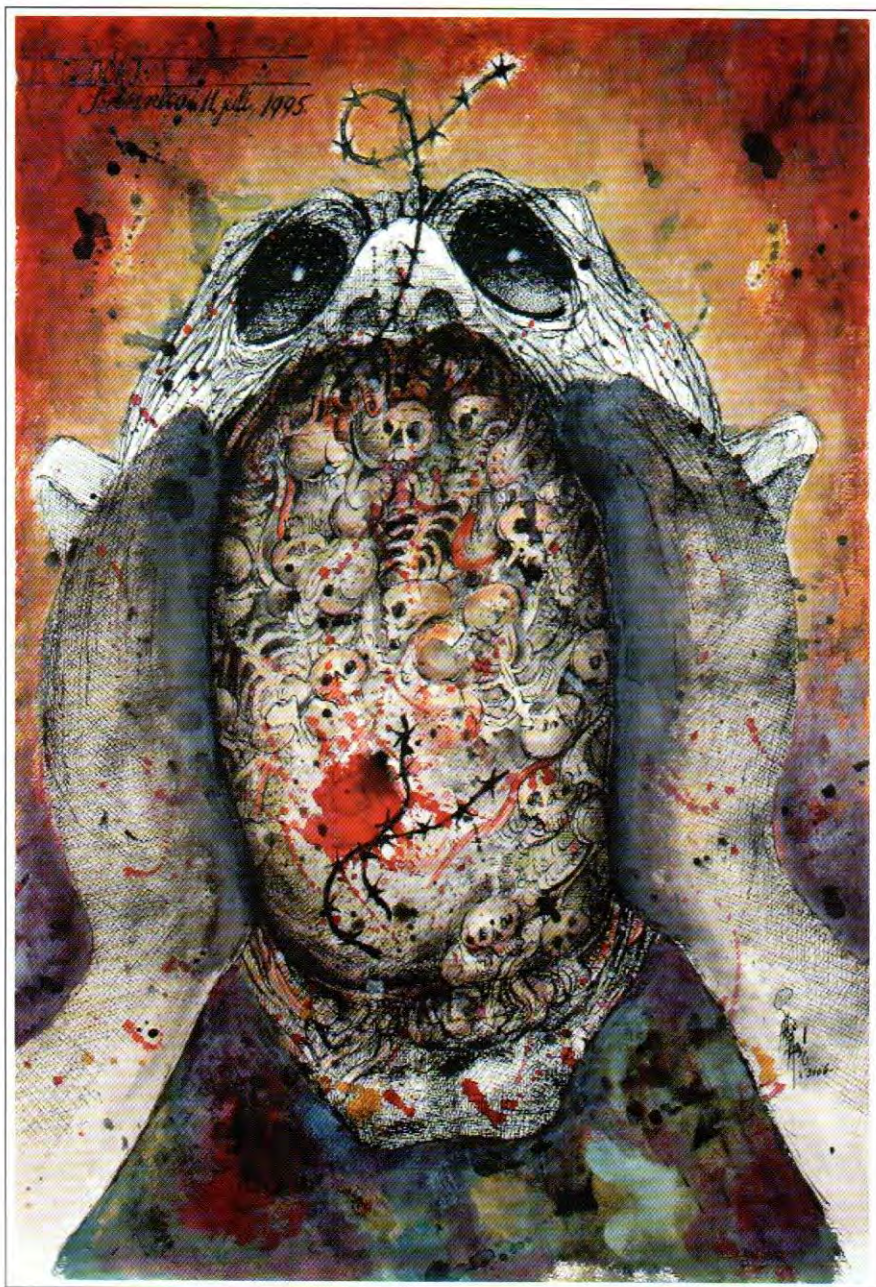
Krivac za genocide  
*Guilty of genocide*



Pravda  
Justice

**UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU**  
 Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv  
 čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava  
 SARAJEVO

Primljeno:			
Org. jed.	Broj	Datum	
	1201		



Očaj  
*Desperation*



Zločin i pomirenje  
*Crime and reconciliation*



SREBRENICA  
SREBRENICA



Radovan Karadžić i Ratko Mladić

- Prema Međunarodnom sudu pravde, uz Srebrenicu i Den Haag pripada nama

Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić

- According to the International Court of Justice, in addition to Srebrenica even The Hague belongs to us

Izdavač: **Institut za istraživanje zločina protiv  
čovječnosti i međunarodnog prava,**  
Sarajevo

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