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S A R A J E V O

GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA 1992 – 1995*

Summary

This paper analyzes important events in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century, particularly the period 1991-1995 and to that end, primarily from the position of history and relevant scientific findings, including the results of my personal scientific studies, the reasons for dissolution of the common Yugoslav state; reasons and the objectives for the attack against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Serbian and Croatian genocidal ideology, intent and policies; planning, preparation and execution of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the genocide against Bosniacs.

Key words: SFRY, Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro /Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Republic of Croatia, pseudo-state creations Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Republika Srpska and Croatian Community Herzeg- Bosnia, Bosniacs, genocide.

* Scientific and other findings are based on the most relevant theoretical and scientific sources from the empiric studies by the author, particularly in his scientific works: *The Aggression Against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Planning, Preparation, Execution* – Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law – Kult B, Sarajevo, 2005; *Genocid i istina o genocidu u Bosni i Hercegovini*, University of Sarajevo and the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, Sarajevo, 2012; *Dejtonski (mirovni) sporazum – legalizacija genocida u Republici Bosni i Hercegovini*, Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, vol. I-III, Sarajevo, 2016 (for more details see: www.institut-genocid.unsa.ba), as well as scientific findings by other scientists – scholars, and scientific findings by ICTY, ICJ and national courts (Federal Republic of Germany and Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Numerous and versatile relevant sources of different provenance clearly confirm two initial, essential, and fundamental empiric and scientific facts surrounding the contemporary events and episodes in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century:

- First, a **classic armed aggression** was conducted against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is, it was crime against peace and safety of mankind which is according to the basic understanding and definition an international armed conflict, and
- Second, the worst crime – **crime of genocide** was committed in the occupied territories of an independent and internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a member of the United Nations, on the towns under siege and the UN territories – United Nations Safe Areas against Bosniacs, members of the (protected) national, ethnic, and religious group as such.

These crucial facts serve as the postulate basis in the scientific and other studies of social, political, military, moral, and value facts:

- The Serbian fascism, unfortunately once again – in course of the last decade of the 20th century – renewed, escalated and generated the worst crimes, unprecedented in the history, which is not in line with the basic values, norms, customs, culture, and tradition of the Serbian antifascism;
- The Serbian nationalistic elite (intellectual, political, military, and religious), in course of the 90s of the 20th century, based on the political genocidal project – Serbian great-state project “**all Serbs in one state**”, whose primary objective relates to the establishment of a single (great) Serbian state in the Balkans to accommodate “**the entire Serbian nation**” – “**unification of all Serbs in the same state structure**”, which (project) along with the Yugoslav program existed for about two centuries, resulted in the internal crisis within the

Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and destroyed the common state;

- The Milošević's nationalistic policy and practice of mass gatherings and demonstrations (which gathered around 5 million people in 1988-1989) and coup methodology ("bureaucratic anti-revolution") removed from power (in late 1988 and early 1989) in Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Montenegro, the legitimately elected leadership and eradicated "unwanted" personnel;
- Republic of Serbia, with the revision of the 1974 Constitution, and the adoption of the Constitution dated 28 September 1990, revoked the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo, and it practically carried out the cessation (from SFRY), undermined the SFRY constitutional order (coup at the federal Constitution and "**legal aggression against the Yugoslav constitutional order**"), took over the functions of "**new independent Serbian state**", and in this way it excluded itself from the SFRY legal system, which was the gravest crime according to the SFRY laws, and began with the process of establishment of Great Serbia even before (multiparty) elections;
- Collaborationist regime was established in Montenegro;
- Republic of Serbia carried out the coup against the SFRY monetary system (9 January 1991) – Slobodan Milošević got in possession of the gold reserves kept abroad, worth 1.4 billion US dollars;
- The process of homogenization of Serbs, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was sped up;
- Political project – Serbian great-state project "**all Serbs in one state**" escalated by way of aggressive wars and genocide. Serbia and Montenegro/Federal Republic of Yugoslavia pursued aggressive wars in the period 1991-1999 in the Balkans (fight for the territories, for the "living space" – lebensraum), including the wars against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991-1995);
- This campaign was, among others, accepted, supported by various and numerous political, military, and social subjects in Serbia,

Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, who also participated in it, including the nationalistic Serb Democratic Part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose policy was unfortunately and unexpectedly embraced by a large number of Serbs;

- Political project – unification of all Serbs – **establishment of a big ethnic (Serbian) state** won a massive support of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, Association of Writers in Serbia, Serb Orthodox Church, Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA, since the 90s of the 20th century, had neither Yugoslav nor national character), political and cultural institutions and establishments, along with unfortunately indiscriminate support of the Serbs;
- JNA leadership embraced the Serbian nationalistic ideology and politics and it became an instrument in hands of the Serbian great-state project, whose task was to “**protect territories inhabited by Serbs, arm them and secure future, envisaged borders**”;
- The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and genocide against Bosniacs make the essence of the genocidal project of **joint criminal enterprise** by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Croatia, their respective leadership and numerous figures within the political, military, police or administrative leadership, accompanied by their fifth-column supporters, collaborators, and mercenaries;
- **The intent** (*mens rea*) of that criminal act, based and presented in the Serbian and Croatian great-state projects, aimed at taking over and destruction of the state Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and “**final solution**” of the **Muslim question** – destruction of Bosniacs or their reduction to an ethnic and religious group. The pseudo-state creations and obsequious fifth-column supporters from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (“Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia”/“Croatian Republic Herzeg-Bosnia”, “Republic of Serbian Bosnia and Herzegovina”/“Republika Srpska” and “Autonomous Province Western Bosnia”) offered obediently themselves to serve the function of those

criminal activities, in capacity of the direct associates and executors. Similar forces from the Republic of Croatia (“Republic of Serbian Krajina”) did the same. The states – aggressors (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia), following the Nazi model, designed, planned, prepared, organized, established, managed, armed, trained, and issued orders to these forces, whereby they were just the marionette regimes of those states, guided and controlled by the aggressor states. They depended on them and they acted in their behalf – in capacity of *de iure* and *de facto* organs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia.

To achieve this joint criminal enterprise, the aggressors, particularly Serbia and Montenegro, executed the planned activities and actions in line with the strategic plans:

- Constitutional concept of the SFRY defense was destroyed;
- Republics and provinces were deprived of their sovereign right in the area of organization and management of the territorial defense, an equal component within the SFRY Armed Forces, and the territorial defense was subordinated and placed under the total JNA control;
- Territorial defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina was reduced and disarmed, including some other constituent SFRY elements;
- JNA was “transformed” from the antifascist, Yugoslav, national, and multiethnic army to the great-Serbian army;
- The situation escalated and the fascist movements were renewed – great-Serbian and great-Croatian; methods, mechanisms and procedures in planning, organization and preparation for the crime were defined established;
- A principle agreement (March 1991) on the destruction of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was made between the heads of neighboring countries (*Pact Milošević – Tuđman*);
- The boundaries / borders of “Great Serbia” and “Great Croatia” were defined;

- The fifth column (great-Serbian and great-Croatian) of the neighboring countries was organized, armed and well equipped in Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Initial position for the commencement of the aggression and other criminal activities, including the genocide against Bosniacs were taken;
- Command and control in the occupied territories was unified in hands of the heads of neighboring countries – occupation force;
- Holders of the activities and those in charge of individual activities were defined and appointed, their objectives were defined, as well as methods, means and effects – results and consequences.

These are the crimes against humanity and international law, grave violations of international humanitarian law, committed on the grounds of the fascist ideology, practice and policies of the two great-state projects, two genocidal policies, two joint criminal enterprises, two nationalistic movements, two states, then two or better to say three collaborators and fifth-column creations, two armed forces, four collaborator's military formations and several other armed units and groups, including foreign mercenaries (Russians, Greeks, etc.). Such a fascist ideology, policy, and practice, of genocidal and aggressive character, aimed at **establishment of great-Serbian and great Croatian states** to the detriment of the independent, sovereign, and autonomous, historically permanent and clearly defined state – Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Goal of these ideologies and policies was**, similar to Nazi project – “the fight for living space” and “final solution for the Jewish question”, then the Nazi creation in Croatia (so-called Independent State of Croatia) and Serbia (quisling administration of general Nedić), **the campaign for territories (“fight for territories”**, territorial expansion), fight for “living space”, stealing the Bosnia and Herzegovina land, **and destruction of Bosniacs**, national, ethnic, and religious group as such.

The following relevant scientific findings have been established in the results of scientific researches carried out until present day, and they confirm the **scientific truth**, whose elements are:

- The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs were **planned** (intellectually, ideologically, politically, militarily, economically, media, intelligence, psychologically, etc.), with clear **goals, ordered, directed, organized, and pursued** from the competent political and military positions; they were carried out in a planned, systematic and organized manner. The **state aggressors** are known, **ideologists, planners, order issuing authorities, executors, and associates, as well as how the crimes were committed and why**;
- Serbia and Montenegro/Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia – the Belgrade and Zagreb regimes, led by Slobodan Milošević and Franjo Tuđman: **planned, prepared, directed, organized, and carried out the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs; commanded and controlled the operation of aggression; operationally planned prepared, coordinated, directed, and with their own armed forces** (Yugoslav National Army/Yugoslav Army, Croatian Army, “Army of Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”/“Republika Srpska”, “Republic of Serbian Krajina Army”, “Croatian Defense Council” /HVO/ and “National Defense of Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia”) **carried out the combat operations against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; secured the manpower (commanding staff and soldiers), logistical and financial support (tanks, transporters, helicopters, artillery and infantry weapons, radar-computing systems, explosive ordnance, ammunition, fuel, oils and other strategic resources), medical material, healthcare insurance and other military equipment, salaries and pensions, and in this way directly took part in the commission of genocide and other forms of crimes**

against humanity and international law. In the period up to the 31st December 1994, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia secured for the purpose of the aggression 89.4% infantry, 73% artillery, and 95.1% anti-aircraft ammunition. These figures were, even in the course of trial, in possession of the International Court of Justice, but the Court decided not to take them into account, just like with so many other pieces of conclusive evidence on the direct involvement and responsibility of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs;

- The armed aggression, the campaign of conquering Bosnia and Herzegovina, made an integral part of the Milošević's and Tuđman's state policy, in whose name was the biggest part of Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied, Bosniacs killed, expelled, and taken to the concentration camps only on the background of their **national, ethnic, and religious affiliation, including to takeover their living space**;
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) exercised *complete (overall) control and effective command* over the forces of "**Bosnian Serbs**", which as "**part of the FRY military structure**" acted *de facto* and *de iure* as organs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which "**carried out military operations, necessary for the establishment of the Great Serbia**", whereby "**Bosnian Serbs acted on behalf of the FRY Government**", "**an international subject enforcing the authority over Republika Srpska**";
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), with its engagement in the aggressive wars in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs, **supported "70,000 soldiers in the Republic of Serbian Krajina Army, and around 200,000 soldiers in the Republika Srpska Army, as well as the Yugoslav Army /around 230,000 – note by S. Č./, which is nearly half a million of soldiers"**;

- In the period up to the 30th August 1994, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia “**spent around two billion** /American – note by S. Č./ **dollars in Bosnia and Herzegovina**” – for the needs of aggression, campaign against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and extermination of Bosniacs; however, up until the 8th July 1994, the FRY “**spent, only for ammunition and military equipment for the wars in RS and RSK**” around a billion American dollars (“... around **1,000,000,000 \$**”);
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia provided its “**maximal support**” to the Serbian people “**across the Drina river, to create Republika Srpska, to create the Republic of Serbian Krajina**” and it won that the so-called international community “**offered legalization of the state in a half of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by which the territory** (of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was increased “**by one quarter, as Yugoslavia would have 102 thousand of square kilometers, whereas the population would be increased by one tenth, and this would all be legalized**”, thanks to which “**the required foundation for the entire Serbian people to practically live in one state would be created**”;
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia “**created Republika Srpska**”, a Serbian state in the territories in which there has never been any Serbian state”, and “**registered a half of Bosnia**”;
- Slobodan Milošević “**secured the legitimacy of Republika Srpska before the entire world**”, while the Yugoslav Army generals “**committed honorably**” the crime against peace (aggression) and the crime of genocide;
- Pseudo-state creations Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Republika Srpska, Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia/Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, and Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, and their political, military, police, and executive organs were the organs and/or agents of the neighboring countries – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia.

These marionette regimes did not represent any independent political or military subject. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Republic of Croatia, in the role of occupation forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, exercise complete (overall) political and military, and the effective control over their respective pseudo-state, collaborator, and fifth-column creations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and their respective political, military, police, and executive organs (authority). These pseudo-state creations were equaled with the state authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, and they were completely dependent on those countries, whose acts – acts of genocide (*actus reus*) are attributed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia;

- In addition to the crime against peace and humanity, the aggressors committed, in the occupied territories, towns under siege, and the UN territories – UN Safe Areas, numerous forms of crimes against humanity and international law against civilians and civilian population, civilian objects, such as: organized targeted killing, in fact, often, the horrific massive and individual execution, slaughtering, burning, and mutilation of men, women, children and the elderly, mostly Bosniacs, then Muslims – Albanians and Roma (“**deprivation of life during the attack at towns and villages**”), members of the protected national, ethnic, and religious group as such, who were systematically targeted for destruction; arrests, deportation, and incarceration in the concentration camps, prisons, and other places of incarceration; killing and mutilation in the concentration camps and other places of incarceration; intimidation, beating, torture, ill-treatment, persecution, humiliation, and starvation of civilians in camps and prisons, and cruel and degrading treatment and inhumane conditions in places of incarceration, of which numerous Bosniacs kept dying daily; targeted killing and injuring of intellectual and political elite (doctors and healthcare professionals, lawyers, clerical servants, particularly those working with the Islamic community –

Imams, professors, students, pupils, and other, businessmen, and other experts and prominent and respectable Bosniacs, particularly political leaders and members of the Party of Democratic Action; inflicting serious bodily and/or mental harm; systematic and massive rapes and sexual harassment of women (even the older women), girls, even young girls in camps, prisons, hotels, garages, private houses, and other places; taking and killing hostages; violent baptizing of Bosniacs; systematic forcible expulsion, resettlement, persecution and deportation of civilian and civilian population, mainly Bosniacs, from their homes, where they lived for centuries (horrific extent of these crimes attest to transformation of the occupied places into the areas with one ethnicity, ethnically pure Serbian and/or Croatian territories); forcible separation of women, children and the elderly from the male members of their families; brutal, cruel, and inhumane treatment with the injured and ill persons, prisoners of war; attack at the healthcare centers, inflicting injuries and killing injured people; systematic widespread military attacks (with the use of artillery, 105 mm howitzers, T-84 tanks, guided missiles, cluster bombs, and other tools and weapons) directed against civilian objectives (civilian population and civilian objects); attack at the humanitarian aid convoys, impeding and restricting the delivery of humanitarian aid, and attacks at the humanitarian organization staff; indiscriminate and disproportionate use of force (including heavy armament) and the siege of civilians, civilian population and civilian objects; cruel and inhumane treatment with the civilians and civilian population, which includes the infliction of great suffering, severe injuries to physical and mental integrity; physical starvation and terrorizing civilian population; unlawful (massive) dismissal from work; deliberate destruction of cities, settlements, and villages; permanent shelling of civilians and civilian population, sniper campaign at the Bosnia and Herzegovina towns and settlements under siege; use of civilians as a living shield, for forced labor at the frontline (digging trenches,

carrying ammunition, etc.); excessive labor; infliction of bodily injuries and harassment of civilians; deliberate inflicting living conditions calculated to bring about the complete or partial physical or biological extermination of Bosniacs (deliberate starvation, denial of appropriate medical assistance, food, water, clothes, sanitary conditions, energy, gas, heating, telephone communication, and city transport); use of forbidden (according to the international conventions) methods and warfare, physical starvation, etc.; devastation of homes not justified by military necessity; planned and selective looting, devastation, and destruction of residential, educational, scientific, healthcare, religious and industrial facilities; destruction and eradication of cultural, historic, and religious monuments, as well as the entire infrastructure of Bosnia and Herzegovina (roads, PTT installations, radio and TV transmitters, power lines, water supply and water reservoirs, healthcare institutions, etc.), including natural resources (forests, rivers, mines, etc.), and many others.

In addition to numerous relevant, available, and reliable documents, data, information, statements, knowledge, and other pieces of evidence, including professional findings of the international and national courts, there are also objective indicators – mass and individual killings and mass graves, which speak about the crime of genocide against Bosniacs in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century, that massacre of the innocent, unarmed, and helpless victims which the West left to the mercy of the aggressors and their collaborators and the fifth-column to destroy them, especially along the valleys of the rivers Drina, Neretva, Sana, Una, Lašva, in Bosnian Posavina, particularly the genocide in and around the UN Safe Areas Srebrenica and Žepa in July 1995, including other forms of crimes against humanity and international law;

- The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the **arms and military equipment embargo; humanitarian policy** of the United Nations, Europe, and the so-called international

community; **deployment of UN peace keeping forces** – UNPROFOR, which acted as “protectors of the Serbian aggressor” this giving the criminals some kind of legality and legitimacy; **political peace talks, political and military pressures on the genocide victims**, which verified the occupation of the territory by the Serbs and the crime of genocide, which facilitated the policy of the territorial division of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; **shameful policy of (im)moral equaling of the aggressors and genocide victims; intentional erroneous qualification of the armed conflict and nature of crimes; international strategy of ignoring the Serbian great-state fascist and genocidal project**, and so much more, made an integral part of the Milošević’s state policy, in whose name the major part of Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied, Bosniacs killed, expelled, and taken to concentration camps on the ground of their national, ethnic, and religious affiliation, and the taking over of their land, plundering of the material wealth and other property, stealing their homes and apartments, including the eradication of traces of civilizational and cultural legacy;

- The implementation of the great-Serbian ideology, policy, and practice in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was pursued by the Serb Democratic Party and its leaders Radovan Karadžić, Momčilo Krajišnik, Biljana Plavšić, including other war criminals, who were unfortunately embraced by a surprisingly large number of Serbs. The Serb Democratic Party leadership, the Serbian pseudo-state and collaborator creations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina/Republika Srpska) were involved in the joint criminal enterprise under the direct political and operational leadership of Slobodan Milošević, whose objective and intention were to destroy the state Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its inhabitants, Bosniacs, national, ethnic, and religious group as such, in line with the political project of establishment of “**single state of Serbian people**” (“**single Serbian**

- state in the Balkans**”) and “*Strategic goals of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina*” (Serbian form of Nazi Wannsee conference);
- Collaborators and members of the fifth-column of the (great)Serbian aggressor (political, military, police, and executive and management potential of the marionette regime of Republika Srpska), under the direct leadership, organization, command, involvement, and support of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), which occupied over 70% territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, participated, just like the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes against Bosniac, including the war crimes against other nations;
 - The fascist and genocidal leadership of the pseudo-state and collaborator creation Republika Srpska, led by Radovan Karadžić, Momčilo Krajišnik, Biljana Plavšić, Ratko Mladić and others, which generated the Serbian Nazism and inaugurated, on the bones of the killed Bosniacs, the genocidal creation that they called republic, had a **genocidal intention and genocidal plan** to destroy Bosniacs, national, ethnic and religious groups as such, based on which the genocide was executed in an organized, targeted and systematic manner;
 - In reference to the destruction of Bosniacs, a group protected by international humanitarian law (national, ethnic, and religious group as such), there was a **genocidal criminal intention and genocidal plan** (among other things, there are also orders to commit genocide, including the setting up of the concentration camps);
 - **genocide** against Bosniacs was committed under the difficult and complex conditions of the international armed conflict – **aggression** against an independent, internationally recognized state of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a member of the United Nations, and the **occupation** of its large portion of the territory. The convicted war criminal, Biljana Plavšić, stated at the 17th session of the Republika Srpska Assembly, held on 24-26 July 1992, that **70% of**

the Bosnia and Herzegovina territory was taken over. Radovan Karadžić stated, at the 34th session of the Republika Srpska Assembly, held on 27 August-1 October 1993: **“And we preserved 250,000 places for the living space in the areas where Muslims used to live.”** Slobodan Milošević among other things stated at the session of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Supreme Defense Council, held on the 15th April 1994: **“... our forces control 72% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina”**;

- genocide against Bosniacs was executed in continuity all the way until the end of 1995, in line with the (great)Serbian genocidal ideology, policy and practice, following the Nazi and fascist model, and it was broadcasted live on television, regardless of the number of killed, injured, expelled, raped or otherwise hurt people. The intention to destroy Bosniacs was obvious from the beginning and this was a determinant, which was continuously present throughout of the aggression. Those who committed genocide were convinced that the genocide as a political practice would be *via facti* legalized, considering that the United Nations and leading Western countries tolerated their actions;
- genocide against Bosniacs in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the result of a collective great-Serbian ideology, policy, and practice surrounding the destruction of Bosniacs. Only the well designed, planned, organized, directed, supervised, systematic and targeted genocide against Bosniacs in and around the UN Safe Area Srebrenica in July 1995 involved, according the results of the Republika Srpska Government study, more than 25,000 persons.

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The Serbian and Montenegrin aggressor committed the crime of genocide against Bosniacs in the occupied territories of the Republic of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly in the areas of Serbian strategic priorities in **Eastern and Northern Bosnia**, as well as **Bosnian Krajina**, towns under siege, UN territory – the UN Safe Areas, including the free territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most massive crime of genocide was committed in the municipalities with the Bosniac majority in Podrinje, Bosnian Posavina, valleys of the rivers Sana and Una, and the territory of Sarajevo, especially in Sarajevo under siege, and other places in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;

- the great-Serbian aggressors and their collaborators executed (mass and individual killings, slaughters, and burning) dozens, hundreds, and thousands of civilians and civilian population, including children, women, and the elderly persons, as well as pregnant women and even (newly born nameless) babies in the territory of: Trebinje, Bileća, Ljubinje, Gacko, Nevesinje, Mostar, Kalinovik, Foča, Goražde, Čajniče, Rudo, Višegrad, Rogatica, Sokolac, Han-Pijesak, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Zvornik, Kalesija, Bijeljina, Brčko, Bosanski Šamac, Modriča, Doboј, Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Teslić, Šipovo, Jajce, Čelinac, Maglaj, Zavidovići, Prnjavor, Kotor-Varoš, Skender-Vakuf, Banja Luka, Prijedor, Ključ, Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, Sanski Most, Bosanska Gradiška, Bosanska Dubica, Bosanski Novi, Bosanska Krupa, Bihać, Cazin, Velika Kladuša, Sarajevo (Ilijaš, Vogošća, Hadžići, Ilidža, Trnovo, Centar, Novi Grad, Novo Sarajevo, Stari Grad, Pale, especially Sarajevo under siege) and other places;
- almost all these areas, from Trebinje in southeast, through Bijeljina in northeast, parts of Sarajevo – capital of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Posavina, to Bihać Krajina in northwest, make the present Republika Srpska (an entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina), legalized by the Dayton Peace Agreement, which is, based on obvious relevant and reliable data, established on the grounds of genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law.

Numerous mass and individual killings were committed against the civilians and civilian population, unarmed human beings, men, women, children, the elderly the youth, sick and disabled persons in all the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied places and towns under siege, including in the concentration camps and other places of incarceration, and they were committed in continuity in a planned, organized, and systematic manner. The Bosniacs were, **due to their national, ethnic and religious group as such intentionally** and systematically selected and targeted for physical and biological destruction (they were killed “**just because they were Muslims**”).

Forms of crimes and methods and means used for killing of Bosniacs are versatile and multiple, and they have the form of monstrous pathology characterized by barbarism, sadism, cruelty, and brutality. Men, women, children, and the elderly were killed individually and in groups (in their houses, in front and around their houses, apartments, backyards, orchards, stables, barns, garages, in the streets, in the fields, in camps and other places of incarceration, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, mosques, and other places); they were tortured and massacred mainly by firearms (automatic rifles and pistols: they fired mainly the victims' heads, chests, or backs), then mortars, rockets, modified cluster bombs, by shelling, sharp tools (knives, axes, even sabers), blunt objects (various bars, buttons, chains, cables, and with the use of physical force – hands and feet); they were slaughtered (even by chain saws), burnt alive (the criminal, mainly neighbor, whose identity is known and who knew the victims burnt also numerous bed-ridden, seriously ill, helpless, and exhausted live persons, killed and slaughtered older men and women), impaled, grilled, thrown into pits and wells, mutilated, beheaded; their hands and fingers were cut, as well as ears, eyes plucked out; they were buried alive, publicly tortured; they were bulldozed with the construction machinery and loaders; nails were put to their heads and their feet (like animals), their private parts were cut, and the killed genocide victims were burnt (many Bosniacs were burnt after they were killed or slaughtered) and executed in other ways (criminal also used

trained dogs against civilians and civilian population). Newborns were also killed, still nameless, including the unborn babies (in mothers' wombs). Bosniacs were killed brutally, even the entire families, so that the mortal remains of the entire families were found and identified in some of the mass graves. The victims were “**in front of numerous eyewitnesses, mainly in presence of the closest relatives or in places where the family members could witness the act of killing**”, killed individually or in groups. Moreover, the criminals also “**kicked Muslim skulls**”.

The Serb criminals ill-treated and humiliated, physically and mentally, helpless, unprotected and unarmed civilians; they beat them up (with batons, sticks, hey-forks); they systematically and in an organized manner, massively, raped and sexually abused the women, girls; they engraved crosses in the victims' faces (they even “made” crosses of the killed Bosniacs); they separated able bodied civilians – men from women, the elderly, and children; they also separated girls from women, and so many other things.

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Despite the fact that **Srebrenica** and its surrounding were declared the *territory of the United Nations – UN Safe Area*, the acts of genocidal destruction were pursued constantly against the completely isolated Bosniacs population until its final take over in July 1995. The Serbian aggressor continuously “**made the life impossible**” for Bosniacs and it brutally violated the status of the UN Safe Area, by shelling Srebrenica, whereby numerous civilians were killed or injured, and the civilian objects destroyed. Srebrenica became a concentration camp, the UN concentration camp, in which the crime of genocide was committed publicly and continuously – before the eyes of the entire international community.

Following the takeover of the UN Safe Area Srebrenica on the 11th July 1995, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) armed

forces, along with the (Serb) collaborator armed formations from the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, committed the genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law against the Bosniacs of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to the mass and individual executions, the genocide victims were inflicted permanently serious bodily and mental injuries and harm; around 30,000 civilians – women, children, and the elderly were forcibly expelled, whose objective was the physical or biological extermination of Bosniacs, a national, ethnic and religious group as such; they intentionally imposed on the victims difficult living conditions; crimes of rape were committed; families were separated by force; property was looted, destroyed; Bosniac civilian objects, particularly sacral ones were demolished and burnt, etc.

In a unique and massive *operation of killing*, mainly in four days, deliberately, in an organized and brutal manner and in line with the precisely defined plan and pattern, more than 8,000 captured and imprisoned Bosniacs of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were executed, including more than 800 children, and all this was caused by their national, ethnic, and religious background, and the attempt of the aggressor to capture victims' living space, marked in the Serbian great-state plans as strategically important. Three generations of men were exterminated, which facilitated radical destruction of the Bosniac national, ethnic, and religious community. This is the crime of genocide, deliberate, intentional, and targeted extermination of people – civilians and civilian population in Europe after the WWII.

The Serbian aggressor and its collaborators committed also the crime of genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law in the territory of **Žepa**, in the period 1992-1995, including during the time when Žepa was the territory of the United Nations – UN Safe Area (June 1993-July 1995), especially in July 1995, when it was taken over and occupied, just like the UN Safe Area Srebrenica.

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The great-Serbian aggressor and its collaborators committed also the crime of genocide in the area of **Sarajevo**, particularly Sarajevo under siege, one of the “*strategic goals of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina*”, and other UN territories (UN Safe Areas) and all towns under siege, as well as free territories of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the indiscriminate and permanent shelling. Sarajevo under siege, people waiting in queues for water and food, markets, schools, university facilities, hospitals, buses, streets, residential buildings, businesses, funerals were among other things subjected to coordinated, long-lasting, widespread and systematic shelling campaign (weapons used for indiscriminate shelling, such as mortars, guided missiles, and artillery); civilian areas, objects and civilian population were subjected to artillery and mortar shelling and infantry fire. As the result of shelling and sniper activities, the thousands of civilians, of both gender and all age groups, were killed or injured, especially women, children and the elderly persons. **The total number of the killed and those who died** in the area of Sarajevo under siege in the period April 1992-December 1995, according to the ICTY research, **is 18,889**.

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- the Serbian aggressor, in some of the occupied places of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Brčko, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Vlasenica, Rogatica...) forcibly **baptized Muslims to Orthodox religion**, which is confirmed by the available documentation and (surviving) genocide victims;
- aggressor intentionally, **systematically looted, destroyed, devastated, demolished, and damaged 1,565 objects of Islamic architecture**, including numerous mosques, Masjid, Maktab /school/, Tekke, tombs, Vakif objects and other sacral facilities with

invaluable historic and cultural value, artistic and scientific relevance. At the same time, the Serbian and Montenegrin fascists destroyed and/or damaged more than 500 catholic sacral buildings and several Jewish;

- aggressor **systematically looted, appropriated, burnt numerous residential and business premises**. It is evaluated that 60-70% of the total number of residential buildings in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were destroyed or damaged. Many infrastructural objects in the area of transport and communications (railways and roads, PTT, RTV) were damaged and destroyed;
- aggressor **looted, damaged and destroyed many industrial and agricultural facilities, hotels, motels, tourist centers, and so many crafts-shops and private shops**. It is evaluated that 50-60% of industrial objects were damaged and destroyed;
- the great-Serbian aggressor **destroyed around 55% of the healthcare facilities**, including thousands of hospital beds. Many doctors and other healthcare professional were killed, mainly on their jobs, especially in Sarajevo under siege. Around 400 ambulances were destroyed;
- the most devastating results of the aggression include **the destruction and demolition of almost all the historic, educational, scientific, cultural, healthcare, and sports facilities**. It is enough to say to that end that the aggressor (25 August 1992) shelled and burnt National and University library in Sarajevo, destroying 1.5 million volumes of books. The aggressor (17 May 1992) completely burnt (incendiary ammunition) Oriental Institute, along with the archive and library, and thus destroyed 200,000 documents, including the collection of over 5,000 Islamic manuscripts. The aggressor also destroyed almost all the facilities used for the XIV Olympic games in 1984, and used several hundred years old Jewish cemetery as a strong military post to constantly kill civilians of Sarajevo under siege;

- in the towns under siege, particularly Sarajevo, the aggressor **disabled or disconnected systems for water supply, electricity, gas, and telephone communications**. In this way, the aggressor intentionally imposed on the civilians and civilian population severe living conditions calculated to bring about their complete or partial physical destruction;
- the Serbian and Montenegrin aggressors and their collaborators **did not respect** international conventions, applicable to the customs of war, and they used such methods and means against civilians and civilian population, which are forbidden according to the international legal principles, rules, and standards. The aggressor used artillery, tanks, mortars, multiple rocket launchers with guided missiles, incendiary and airburst ammunition, chemical gases, cluster and modified bombs, snipers, etc. against civilians and civilian population and civilian objects. Using all types of artillery and infantry weapons, the aggressor, in an organized and planned manner, carried out the attacks against the unprotected and undefended villages, settlements and towns of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- in addition to killing and injuring, aggressor **systematically starved civilian population, especially in Sarajevo, prevented their medical treatment and epidemiological protection, provision of the humanitarian aid by UNHCR and other international and local organizations – food, clothes, and medications**. In such occupied places, where a smaller number of Bosniacs remained, the aggressor also **dismissed them from work, evicted them from their homes**, after they were forced to sign the document according to which they gave up their property; they were also denied any social and medical protection and so many other things;
- in course of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the aggressor used **siege as means of warfare, and indiscriminate and disproportionate use of force**, which was

characteristic for Sarajevo, Gorazde, Žepa, Srebrenica, Bihać, and other towns under siege.

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The Republic of Croatia Armed Forces (Croatian Army and their collaborators and fifth-column supporters – Croatian Defense Council, fascists segment of the HVO, which acted under the total – overall control of the Republic of Croatia for their interests, *de facto* and *de iure* organ (instrument) of the Republic of Croatia, which exercised *total control* and *effective control* over the armed forces and civilian authorities of the pseudo-state creation of Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia/Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, whereby the crimes of HVO are attributed to the Republic of Croatia), committed numerous crimes against humanity and international law against Bosniacs, civilians, and civilian population in the **central Bosnia, valleys of the rivers Rama and Neretva, in the West Herzegovina**: mass and individual murders and burning, injuring, including women, children and the elderly; expelling from homes and resettlement; mass and systematic arrests and incarceration of civilians in the concentration camps and other places of incarceration; attacks at civilians and civilian population; terrorizing civilians; rapes and sexual harassment; military attacks at towns and villages, and their destruction; demolition of residential, religious, historic, educational, scientific, cultural, healthcare, sports, economic, and other civilian objects, including Old Bridge in Mostar; looting and burning of public property; looting of Bosniac houses, apartments and other property, including their burning; mass dismissal from work; baptizing to Christianity; forced labor at frontline, where the camp inmates and prisoners were forced to be human shield; intentional impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid; attacks at the humanitarian workers; introduction of huge taxes on humanitarian aid and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law. This was in

line with the Croatian nationalistic ideology and policy aimed at establishment of “**common Croatian state within its ethnic and historic boundaries**”, which involved a joint criminal enterprise aimed at its fulfillment at the end of the 20th century, led by the state, political, and military leadership of the Republic of Croatia, under the leadership of the president Franjo Tuđman. This was a part of the well-designed and systematic policy and practice of genocide, executed by the Croatian forces in an organized manner in these areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such a genocidal policy and practice were carried out in the municipalities: Stolac, Čapljina, Ljubuški, Tomislav-Grad, Mostar, Jablanica, Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Bugojno, Kiseljak, Busovača, Vitez, Žepče, Vareš and other places, which was among other things confirmed by the mass graves (Lapsunj-Prozor; Tasovčići-Čapljina; Balinovac-Mostar; Trzna-Žepče, and other). The most illustrative examples of mass crimes are the genocide in **Ahmići, Vrbanja, Stupni Do, Prozor**, in the settlements of Tulica, Grahovci, Radanovići and Han-Ploča (**Kiseljak**), where many civilians, including women and children were killed and burnt alive, whereas the houses and other civilian objects were set on fire by incendiary bullets, shells, and gasoline.

In the occupied area of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia “**had a role of occupational force due to its total (overall) control it exercised over HVO, support it provided, and connections it maintained**”. HVO acted in favor and on behalf of the Republic of Croatia, whose acts (acts of genocide by HVO) are attributed to the Republic of Croatia. HVO forces acted as *de facto (armed) forces and agents of the Republic of Croatia*. Due to the “**overall control Croatia exercised over HVO, the property of Muslims at the time of the destruction was under the control of Croatia and was in the occupied territory**”.

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The armed formations of Fikret Abdić, who placed himself in service of the aggressor, committed numerous crimes against civilians and Bosniacs prisoners of war, especially those civilians who did not support his traitor's and criminal policy, such as: murders, injuring, ill-treatment, physical and mental harassment and beating, especially in camps and other places of incarceration (Drmaljevo, farm Dubrave, hall Nepeka, Infirmary in Polje, camp in Cetingrad, military prison in Miljkovići, and other), then rape, looting and destruction (indiscriminate shelling) of residential and other civilian objects.

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Even a number of Bosniacs committed some war crimes against Serbs during the defense of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the aggression and biological extermination (in camp Čelebići-Konjic, Kazani-Sarajevo, ...) and against Croats (Uzdol, Grabovica...). Even during the course of aggression and genocide, the energetic criminal prosecution was initiated against a number of such individuals.

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The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an internationally recognized state and a member of the United Nations, during the aggression and genocide, suffered huge human losses and enormous material damage. The total **number, identity, and status of victims – killed, dead, injured, forcibly expelled and deported, including victims of other forms of crimes against humanity and international law** in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as manner, place and time of crime, due to the complexity of the research and results of the research, have not been fully

researched and scientifically verified. Based on known results of the researches, the mere number of the killed varies between 25,000 and 328,000. ICTY researchers, Ewa Tabeau and dr. Jakub Bijak, having based their data also on the results of the researches carried out by the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the Sarajevo University, which they regarded as reliable and authentic, and sources relevant, made assessment in 2005 indicating that the **number of “deaths related to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina” amounted to 102,622 persons, of whom 55,261 (54%) were civilians and 47,360 (46%) “military victims”, emphasizing that the data was still incomplete.** Their analysis did not include data on all **“deaths related to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, or the death cases that were the result of difficult living conditions.** Dr. Ewa Tabeau and Jan Zwierzchowski (ICTY demographic experts), in February 2010, based on sources of different provenance, including the research results of the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the Sarajevo University, assessed that the **“total number of the war victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina” – “minimal number of deaths related to the war” – amounted to 104,732 persons: 42,106 (40,2%) civilians and 62,626 (59.8%) “military victims”.**

In addition to the mass and individual killings, numerous other forms of crimes against humanity and international law were committed in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We shall mention only some of them on this occasion:

- **hundreds of thousands persons were injured**, of whom several dozens of thousands of children;
- **several hundreds of thousands of incarcerated** in numerous concentration camps and pother places of incarceration;
- **several thousands of raped and sexually abused women, girls and young girls**, including a number of men;
- around **2,200,000 persons** (1,170,000 refugees and around 1,030,000 displaced persons) were expelled from their homes, and in

panic and chaos deported from their places of origin, which makes more than a half of total population of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the March 1991 census;

- **1,370,000 persons** are with severe mental injuries;
- aggressor (great-Serbian and great-Croatian), in all occupied places, towns under siege and UN Safe Areas, including the free territories, **imposed on population such a difficult living conditions calculated to bring about the complete or partial destruction of Bosniacs**, members of national, ethnic, and religious group as such, as well as **measures calculated to prevent the birth within the group**;
- **mortality of population grew enormously due to the difficult conditions of aggression and genocide**;
- **birth rate of population was significantly reduced due to the difficult conditions of aggression and genocide.**

Systematic pattern in violent takeover of the authority; crimes committed; extent and pattern of the attack; their intensity; a large number of killed Bosniacs; expulsion, deportation, and cruel treatment in the concentration camps and other places of incarceration, and targeted attacks at individuals important for the survival of the group (prominent intellectual, political, and spiritual figures, rich Bosniacs) are clear, among other things, evidence on the genocidal intent (*mens rea*) and the crime of genocide (*actus reus*) committed against Bosniacs. Unfortunately, Muslims were partly destroyed in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century. In so many places, where they used to live for centuries, they do not live any longer or their presence is rather symbolic; they only exist as biological persons, who do not represent either a social or a political factor.

The Dayton Peace Agreement legalized Serbian territorial conquest, Serbian pseudo-state creation and the crime of genocide, and it awarded the executors and those who ordered the crime of genocide. This agreement is imposed on the genocide victim, and as such it represents a punishment for

the genocide victims.

Conclusion

The science has established and also verified the findings that the crime of genocide, including the genocide against Bosniacs in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century, is not an accidental. It is not uncontrolled event. The commission of genocide requires a delicate and complex campaign of ideological, political, legal, military, economic, media, psychological and other types of preparations by a state – regime that wishes to intentionally commit a crime of genocide. Genocide is not a crime committed by enraged crowds, which spontaneously start thinking of killing their neighbors of a different national, ethnic, racial or religious background. Genocide victims were selected and targeted as the goal of attack and destruction (targets of the genocide) due to their affiliation with a certain (national, ethnic, racial, or religious) group as such. Genocide is a systematically planned crime, organized and targeted crime, which takes place systematically under the full sponsorship and responsibility of a state through the military, police, and other subsystems and holders of the armed forces of a state.

In the attempt to prevent the repetition of genocide, it is necessary to establish the truth about this gravest form of crime against humanity, that is, it is necessary to research the genocide in line with the research methodology applicable to social sciences, accompanied by interdisciplinary approach used in valid scientific and research projects. Revealing the truth and the truth make important factors and determinants of the rule of law norms, being fundamental assumptions for practicing and protection of universal human values in a modern democratic society, such as: peace, freedom, reconciliation, common living, human dignity and equality, regardless of national, ethnic, racial, religious, ideological, or political background.

Having this in mind, the Holocaust and Genocide scholars, by way of their research and results influence the awareness of people and their communities about the understanding the need of joining all the democratic, progressive, and antifascist forces in fighting genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law, wherever and whenever they occur on the planet Earth. By way of comprehensive research activity, endeavors, and results obtained through organized, targeted, systematic, permanent and continuous work, the scholars get scientific findings and truth, which they timely and adequately present to the national and international public, and thus warn about numerous, versatile, and different extents of Holocaust and Genocide, taking place in different locations and in different times, as well as other forms of crimes against humanity and international law, which is ultimately one of the possible adequate, preventive strategic form of activity.

One of the most important activities to that end is spreading truth and preservation of historic remembrance of genocide victims. It is necessary to that end to strengthen intellectual capacity, and educate personnel and experts who will consistently study and preserve the historic relevance of the findings and objective facts related to the roots, causes, intention, and the extent of the crime of genocide. Only by knowing the history of its own nation, historic context in which that nation lives, but also the history of other nations subjected to the crime of genocide, it is possible to understand and comprehend and the indicators applicable to planning and preparation of the crime of genocide.

By studying (theoretically and empirically) genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law, the scholars – researchers at the same time raise their voice against genocide and send their strong message which will influence and act on consciousness and morality of the powerful ones to do their best and save humanity and civilization, preserve

highest human values, human freedoms, human rights and lives of all, particularly the small, weak, and helpless human groups, communities, and nations. The present and future generations of all previous genocides have to finally, in the interest of future of the contemporary world and civilization, learn a historic lesson on the need to strengthen, develop, and unify all the antifascist forces, regardless of their national, ethnic, racial, religious, ideological, or political background and determination, within the strategy of prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide.

Only the scientific and research findings may be a permanent basis for the development of (our) abilities for timely detection, identification, prevention, and punishment of the crime of genocide, in which exercise the scholars of Holocaust, Genocide, and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law play a significant role and have important responsibility. It is the duty of scholars, Nobel prize winner Elie Wiesel wrote, to speak in the name of victims, remind the world of their suffering and tears, and suppress the fear of oblivion. Scholars must have professional responsibility and sufficient moral courage to study and inform the public about the scientific truth on genocide.

Reminding on Holocaust, Genocide, and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law has a historic value for the entire mankind. Remembering universal lessons from genocide – the crime that inflicted upon society huge human and material losses, cannot be left to the past and oblivion. It is still possible to learn historic lessons from genocide, although the genocide committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century suggests otherwise.

There cannot be any silence or indifference in relation to genocide. It is dangerous to be mute and indifferent towards the crime of genocide. There cannot be any neutrality in relation to genocide. Human beings cannot be neutral when confronted with evidence on genocide – they have to react.

“Neutrality helps criminals, never victims”, Elie Wiesel argues.

Executors of genocide at all levels of responsibility really do care about the denial of genocide, they want to keep it secret, and erase systematically all the traces of genocide. This is not only related to disappearance – execution – of individuals, selected for destruction, but also to deprivation of the genocide victims of their graves and memories on their dearest. This is a specific policy related to removing the traces of memories to the crime of genocide and genocide victims. It is therefore the duty of all the surviving genocide victims to keep this memory – according to Elie Wiesel, that “honorable and needed act” – on genocide and genocide victims, and to protect them from oblivion.

Activities on these painful memories are necessary, not only for the genocide victims, who will be remembered in this way (they will be remembered forever, which is the sign of the least respect they deserve), but also for the criminals and the entire society, particularly the young generations. Remembering the genocide victims, among other things, contributes also to the development and strengthening of consciousness, which helps us to successfully fight against the historic myths, forgeries, deceits, lies, quasi researchers, and quasi studies, and final genocide denial.