

BOSNIA:
TESTAMENT TO
WAR CRIMES
AS TOLD BY SURVIVORS



Edited and with an Introduction by
Alijah Gordon

MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
1993

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Half of the profits from the sale of this book will be shared among the Survivors who contributed their Testimonies and the Bosnian woman who recorded their evidence.

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DEDICATION

These are testimonies of survivors whose sufferings wrench our souls.

The tribulations of those who died under the barbarities of the Serbs they have carried with them to the grave, to the heavens beyond where surely they now dwell.

May God give respite to the victims — sung and unsung — and to their families who have shared their pain.

The Serbs who would now rape, torture, murder, plunder and burn alive their fellow humans until yesterday were neighbours. Faced with this human deformation we can only join in saying: "I have met the enemy, and it is me."

Let our tribute to the brave Bosnian people be a commitment by each one of us to rid ourselves of our human capacity to commit atrocious sadistic violence against our fellow man.

Long live the brave Bosnian people.

ALIJAH GORDON
June 11, 1993

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This book would not have been possible were it not for the ongoing sincerity of a Bosnian woman, herself a refugee-guest in Malaysia, who recorded these testimonies in the Bosnian language and then translated them into English as best she could. Fearing for the security of her parents, who remain in a Serb-occupied area of Bosnia, she did not want her name to appear. But without her *ikhlas*, this book wouldn't exist.

We also appreciate the efforts of Ms. Gouri Subramaniam who typed and re-typed the much-edited versions of the testimonies, as well as Puan Aida Abdullah for her contribution in this regard. Further, our thanks to Aliyah Fong Abdullah, Fan Yew Teng, Peter Yusuf Hollings, and particularly Ms. Kay Lyons, each of whom read through the final manuscript. We are also indebted to Kris Jitak for the design of the front cover.

ALIJAH GORDON

EDITOR'S NOTE

Only the Mesinovic family — in the security that all five of them are here in Malaysia — and Dzevad Salihovic agreed that their real names be used. All others preferred anonymity, and we have given them pseudonyms. But they are equally real and are living out their pain as guests in Malaysia.

You will see we use Serb rather than Serbian, for the acts we describe were and are being committed by Serbs in and from Bosnia, rather than by Serbs from Serbia, while undoubtedly Serbia is the supplier, paymaster, and strategist of the genocidal onslaught.

ALIJAH GORDON

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ABBREVIATIONS

- HDZ: *Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka:*
Croatian Democratic Party
- HVO: *Hrvatske Odbrambene Snage:*
Croat Defence Force
- IRC: International Red Cross
- JNA: *Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija:*
Yugoslav National Army, now the Serbian Army
- MOS: *Muslimanski Omladinski Savez:*
Muslim Youth Society
- SDA: *Stranka Demokratske Akcije*
(Muslimanska Stranka):
Party of Democratic Action
(Muslims' Party)
- T.O.: *Teritorijalna Odbrana:*
Territorial Defence Organization
- ZNG: *Zbor Narodne Garde:*
Croatian National Guard

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POSITION OF BOSNIA ON THE BALKAN PENINSULA



POSITION OF BOSNIA IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA



BOSNIAN MUSLIMS: A HISTORY OF GENOCIDE

GENOCIDE DURING WORLD WAR II

The world is little aware that during World War II a genocide of unbelievable proportions was executed against the Bosnian Muslims, an old and proud European nation. After the Jews in Yugoslavia, the Bosnian Muslims had the largest percentage of their population killed. Since the Bosnian Muslims and their homeland Bosnia — officially named Bosnia-Herzegovina — stand in the way of aspirations for greater states of Serbia and Croatia, which are the main generators of crisis and conflict in this region, it is not surprising to hear the present pronouncements on the intended destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

During World War II, Jews, Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats were all exposed to genocidal thrusts. But the world knows more about the other attempted genocides executed in Yugoslavia than it does about the offensive against the Bosnian Muslims. Numerous war criminals responsible for brutal murders and the slaughter of about 100,000 Bosnian Muslims from 1941 to 1945 remain unpunished for their crimes. Did this immunity from prosecution not encourage the present genocidal thrust? The ideologies that have demanded the liquidation of the Bosnian Muslims have a long history. These fascist conceptualizations have resulted in horrible murders, persecutions and the attempted negation of

the Bosnian Muslim nation. The successors and the patrons of these ideologies threaten again the culture, state, and very existence of the Bosnian Muslims.

WHO ARE THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS?

Bosnian Muslims inhabit the central-south Slavic ethnic and geopolitical region of what was the state of Yugoslavia, where they live in territorial continuity from the Vardar River and the mountain ranges of Sarplanina and Prokletije in the southeast to the Sava and Una rivers in the northwest. In that region, the Bosnian Muslims have lived in a territory which they share with Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Albanians and Macedonians. To the north and west, Bosnia borders the Republic of Croatia, to the east and south the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro, while 20 kilometres of its southern border run along the Adriatic coast. The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina encompasses 51,129 square kilometres. The total inhabitants before the present bloodbath were 4,354,911 out of which 1,909,018 or 43.7% were Muslims; 1,364,363 or 31.3% Serbs and 752,068 or 17.3% Croats. According to the official census taken in 1971, and again in 1981 and 1991, the Bosnian Muslims were the third most numerous nation in former Yugoslavia. In 1991 — before the present onslaught — there were over 3,000,000 Bosnian Muslims in what was Yugoslavia, while 3,000,000 had migrated to Turkey, the Middle East, Albania, Western Europe and America. Of the total number of Bosnian Muslims living in former Yugoslavia, 80% lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they made up 43.7% of the total population of the republic.

Bosnia, the customary name for Bosnia-Herzegovina since the early Middle Ages, was the area of conflict between the Orthodox and the Catholic churches, since Bosnia was situated between the Byzantium and the Frankish states. Through the ages, between those two churches, existed a separate Bosnian church, whose members accepted Islam *en masse* at the end of the 14th and in the course of the 15th century. Thus was a Bosnian Muslim ethos, people or nation formed on a Bosnian-Slavic ethnic and linguistic foundation, through the assimilation of Islamic culture. This ethos shares a common language with other south Slavs: Serbs, Croats

and Montenegrins, but is of a different religious, cultural and political experience.

With further Ottoman expansion into the Balkans and Middle Europe, the Bosnian Muslims settled in many neighbouring countries: Serbia, the northeastern, western and coastal parts of the present Montenegro, Slavonija, Lika, Krbava, Dalmatia, and Hungary. It is important to realize that the Ottoman Empire, as an Islamic state, did not execute any kind of religious or physical extermination of conquered nations. In various ways these nations participated in the economic, military and administrative systems of the Ottoman Empire, and they preserved their own religions and cultures.

SOURCE AND BEGINNINGS OF THE GENOCIDE

The military and political conflicts between the European states and the Ottoman Empire significantly threatened the population on both sides of the border that ran between the Islamic state and the Christian states. The conflicts and changes of borders in Europe especially endangered the Bosnian Muslims, since they populated the borderline regions of the Ottoman Empire. In the wars during the 17th and 18th centuries between Austria and the Venetian Republic on the one side, and the Ottoman Empire on the other, soldiers fighting on both sides were Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and Bosnian Muslims. Through the course of those wars, the Ottoman Empire retreated from those regions in which the culture of the Bosnian Muslims had already taken root. Those wars and the religious exclusiveness that followed suppressed the Bosnian Muslims and everything that belonged to their culture. One of the worst genocides ever witnessed in Europe was carried out. In many provinces, whole villages and towns with Muslim characteristics were wiped out. Men, women, children and old people were killed or forcibly converted to Christianity. Whole regions were 'cleansed' of non-Christians. Streams of refugees left their homes in search of refuge in other nations. Before the war in 1737, in his proclamation to the Bosnian Muslims, the Austrian Emperor Carl VI granted safety of life and property to all who went over to his side. However, there was an explicit stipulation that he

would not tolerate any religion in his empire other than Christianity.

The genocidal drive against the Bosnian Muslims began in the so-called Viennese War of 1683-1699 in which the Ottomans lost their territories in Hungary, Slavonija, Lika, Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska. All Bosnian Muslims who did not manage to retreat into Bosnia-Hercegovina and other parts south of the Sava and Danube rivers were soon converted to Christianity. Documents from the archives of that time offer a wealth of evidence about the forcible conversions to Christianity and the general persecution of the Bosnian Muslim population.

As for the reasons for the wish to exterminate the Bosnian Muslims in the modern age, they lie in the desire of the Balkan ruling ideologies, primarily Serbian and Montenegrin, and their patrons, to create their own ethnically pure territories. In modern history, the genocide of Bosnian Muslims began in Montenegro with the policy of "extermination of those who accepted Islam" at the beginning of the 18th century. This event was eulogized by the Orthodox Bishop and poet Petar Petrovic Njegos in his "Mountain Wreath". In that epic he gave an ideological basis for all the later persecutions and killings of the Bosnian Muslims by Serbs and Montenegrins. Njegos dedicated his work to Karadorde, the supreme commander of the First Serbian Rebellion in which the cruel persecutions and killing of Bosnian Muslims were continued. After that followed constant attacks on Bosnian Muslims in regions of Bosnia-Hercegovina bordering Serbia and Montenegro. Genocidal campaigns by Serbs and Montenegrins against Muslim settlements led to large-scale emigration of Bosnian Muslims.

In 1878 Austro-Hungary occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina notwithstanding an armed resistance by the Bosnian Muslims. With their defeat, there was a mass exodus to Turkey. Thus, in the course of more than two centuries before the beginning of the 20th century, Bosnian Muslims were subjected to persecutions and killings. In certain regions they completely disappeared, while their developed and valuable material culture was systematically eradicated. Today there are only insignificant remnants in numerous towns and villages north of the Sava River and in Serbia and Montenegro testifying to their former existence.

GENOCIDE THROUGH THE 19th CENTURY

The most notorious case of genocide was described in "Mountain Wreath" by the Orthodox Bishop Njegos. It happened at the beginning of the 18th century, on the eve of the Orthodox Christmas.* According to historical sources from the second half of the 17th century, in old Montenegro lived 1,000 Bosnian Muslims, who disappeared after 1712. They had six *masjids*, none of which survived, but their names and locations are still known. All those Bosnian Muslims were brutally murdered.

It has been estimated that at the beginning of the 19th century, 20,000 Bosnian Muslims, not counting members of military garrisons, lived in the Belgrade pashadom. All Muslim citizens in Serbia were called 'Turks', although there was only an insignificant number of ethnic Turks among them. Most of the citizens were Bosnian Muslims, with a small number of Albanians. Serbian rebels attacked and murdered the civilian population in Muslim settlements in the cruellest way. They robbed, burned and destroyed whole villages and towns.

According to Serbian historian and politician, Stojan Novakovic, a thorough "cleaning of the nation from Turks" was organized in the Belgrade pashadom during the last century. That 'cleaning' was especially brutal and merciless during two months' violence against all Belgrade Muslims. Unruly rebels entered Belgrade on January 8th, 1807 and began violently robbing, raping, killing and molesting all non-Serbian populations. Tens of *masjids*, graveyards and schools were demolished. Besides Muslims, neither Jews, nor Greeks nor Vlachs** were spared. Such violence was never again repeated in that city which suffered so much throughout history.

The policy of persecution and killing of Muslims was continued during the Second Serbian Rebellion. It is estimated that in 1830 10,000 Bosnian Muslims still lived in Serbia on the territory of the Belgrade pashadom. When Serbia gained au-

* As a sign of the memory of that event, most of the *Chetnik*-fascist massacres of Bosnian Muslims during World War II, 1941-1945, as well as in earlier times, happened on the eve of the Orthodox Christmas.

** Vlachs: southeast European Latin-speaking people, Walachian or Romanian.

tonomy, it was decided that the Muslims should leave Serbia — the Belgrade pashadom — within a year. That deadline was extended later, so that after its expiration a certain number of Bosnian Muslims remained in that newly-formed state. However, at the International Conference in Kanlica in 1862, it was decided that the Muslims must leave Serbia. Many towns became deserted and the monuments of Muslim culture were destroyed in a barbaric way.

Meanwhile in 1852, the forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity was executed in Montenegro, in the valley of the Lim River. That conversion was organized by the Montenegro state. Contrary to the canons of the Orthodox Church, according to which baptism is an individual act performed by a priest in a church, this baptism was collectively performed on an open field and in the presence of tribal captains, gendarmes and other officials.

When Serbia and Montenegro, as autonomous principalities, were recognized as independent states by the decision of the 1878 Congress of Berlin, Serbia gained a significant enlargement of its territory, including four districts in which several thousand Muslims lived. The Great Powers, gathered at the Congress, demanded from Serbia that it guarantee freedom of religion to all its inhabitants. This requirement was set in response to the complaint of the Universal Israelite Alliance (Alliance Israelite Universelle) about the discrimination against Jews in Serbia. However, in spite of its international obligation, Serbia drastically violated the human rights of its citizens of other religions, which caused the emigration from Serbia of almost the entire Muslim population.

Also by the decision of the Congress of Berlin, Montenegro expanded its territories to include regions and towns in which Bosnian Muslims lived. The Muslim populations of Niksic, Podgorica, Berane, Kolasin, Bar and Ulcinj were forced to leave their homes due to the pressure of the authorities who did not show even the slightest tolerance towards Muslims and their culture. The Muslims mostly emigrated to Bosnia, Sanjak, Kosovo and Albania.

Austro-Hungary occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1878, but

only after the heroic resistance of the Bosnian Muslims was broken. That occupation wrought a total change in the position of Muslims. They suddenly became a part of Western civilization, after having been a part of Islamic culture and civilization for centuries. Years after the occupation, the Muslims felt completely lost, left to themselves. They had either to accept the changes brought on by the occupation or perish. The hardships which resulted from newly-imposed conditions caused an extensive emigration to Turkey. That exodus would assume such proportions that almost every third citizen of Bosnia would leave his ancestral home for Turkey or some other country in the Middle East.

GENOCIDE IN THE 20th CENTURY UP TO WORLD WAR II

The Balkan Wars of 1912-1914 brought new hardships to the Bosnian Muslims. The Muslims from the Sanjak of Novi Pazar were especially subjected to persecution. That province was to be divided between Serbia and Montenegro, and with the new position of Sanjak began a long period of inequality for the Sanjak Muslims, a period of persecution and genocide. This caused the emigration of the Sanjak Muslims to all parts of the world. The fate of the Muslims in Plav and Gusinje was especially dramatic. Unofficial Montenegro companies robbed and burnt houses, raped women and killed innocent people. After the killing of several hundred men, women and children, these criminals began the forcible conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Around 13,000 Muslims were forcibly converted, but later all of them returned to Islam.

After the unification of the south Slavic ethnic entities — nations — that is after the forming of Yugoslavia, which at the beginning was called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the genocide against Bosnian Muslims in Sanjak and Bosnia-Herzegovina continued in various forms. The same hostile policy affected the Bosnian Muslim population of Kosovo and Macedonia. In the first years after the unification, in the region of Eastern Herzegovina alone, over 3,000 Muslims were

killed, of course illegally and without trial. Majo Vujovic and Petar Rogan were the leaders of gangs which robbed and slaughtered Bosnian Muslims.

The most ferocious genocidal attack on the Bosnian Muslims in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia happened at the beginning of November 1924 in the villages of Sahovici and Pavino Polje in the district of Bijelo Polje. Armed Montenegrins slaughtered around 600 Muslims in one night. It is difficult to find a comparison in history with the manner in which that crime was committed. Bodies of living men, women and children were cut into pieces, eyes were pierced, ears were torn off, sexual organs were severed, internal organs were ripped out of stomachs over which the sign of the cross was made with a knife. All this was followed by beastly orgies of the criminals. The surviving Muslim population emigrated forever to northern Bosnia, Turkey and Albania.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia carried out an anti-Muslim policy which was especially evident in the unjust agrarian reforms, the goal of which was to impoverish economically the Bosnian Muslims. Furthermore, Bosnia-Hercegovina as a cultural and historical entity, a prerequisite for the survival and development of Bosnian Muslims, was subjected to destruction and division. Artificially-created regions were formed in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the goal that in each of these regions the Bosnian Muslim population should become a minority. Thus, could these regions be united with Serbia. In 1939, Bosnia was divided between Serbia and Croatia, the prelude to the bloody drama that was to follow in these areas in which every tenth Bosnian Muslim would lose his life.

Different plans for the expulsion of the Muslim population were devised in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Serbian Cultural Club held ostensibly scientific debates about these 'transfer' plans. Two projects regarding the emigration of Muslims were made. The first project was devised by Vaso Cubrilovic, and the other by the famous writer and diplomat Ivo Andric. Cubrilovic regretted that nothing was done immediately after 1918. He referred to "the cleaning of Serbia from foreign elements and populating it with its own nation" undertaken by

Karadorde, Milos and Mihailo Obrenovic. That was a time of extensive emigration of Bosnian Muslims to Turkey. Monuments of Muslim culture: *masjids*, graveyards, *medresas* (religious secondary schools), *tekijas* (Sufi monasteries), Turkish baths, various objects of social, economic and general humanistic interest, and even whole settlements, were destroyed.

GENOCIDE DURING WORLD WAR II

In the very complex situation of civil war and the fight for liberation from the Nazi occupiers of Yugoslavia during the years 1941-1945, Bosnian Muslims were subjected to one of the cruellest genocides in their history. This was executed from two directions. The pro-Nazi independent State of Croatia denied the Bosnian Muslims their national identity, while the Chetnik^{*} Serb movement executed the physical extermination of the Bosnian Muslims. Continuing the tradition of the cruel fight against the Bosnian Muslims, the Chetniks systematically attempted to exterminate this nation and destroy all forms of its culture. Chetnik ideology was based on the complete physical extermination of Bosnian Muslims. This is evident in the famous programme of the Chetnik ideologist Stevan Moljevic entitled "Homogenous Serbia". According to Moljevic, the country should be cleansed of "all non-Serbian elements". To realize this goal "the guilty ones should be punished on the spot, and the others should be allowed to go: the Croats to Croatia and the Muslims to Turkey (or Albania)." Draza Mihajlovic, the leader of the fascist Chetnik movement, left numerous notes and written orders regarding the extermination of Bosnian Muslims. Mass slaughters of the Muslim population were executed three times by the Chetniks of Draza Mihajlovic: in eastern Hercegovina, eastern and western Bosnia, and in certain parts of Sanjak. The first Chetnik genocidal wave includes the period from June 1941 until February 1942; the second occurred in August 1942; and the third in 1943. In those cruel mass murders, the Bosnian Muslims of the following regions were exter-

* Chetnik derives from *Ceta*, troop; now synonymous with a Serb fascist.

minated: Ljubinje, Plana, Berkovici, Avtovac, Bileca, Kulen-Vakuf, Koraj, Visegrad, Rogatica, Gorazde, Cajnice, Vlasenica, Srebrenica, Nevesinje, Foca, Prozor, Jablanica, Plevlja, Ustikolina, Gornji Birac, and Mali Zvornik.

Although the most prominent Muslims in Bosnia raised their voices against the persecution of Gypsies, Jews and Serbs by the Nazis and *ustashas*,* the Serbian nationalists, imbued with Chetnik-fascist ideology, encouraged genocide against the innocent and unprotected Muslim nation. The obsession with the ideal of Greater Serbia, whose territories were to be extended to include the historical territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, was the inspiration for many criminal wars, and inspired many soldiers to kill off the Muslim population with impunity. They believed they would cleanse those territories of Muslims, and thus 'cleansed' they could become united as Greater Serbia. On the contrary, Bosnian Muslims can proudly show numerous resolutions signed by their compatriots during the war in which all manner of persecution and killings of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies were condemned.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Muslim population, especially the peasantry, exposed to Chetnik pogroms, sought salvation in mass flight from their homes. A large number of refugees went to Sarajevo, Visoko, Mostar, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Derventa, Brcko, Gradacac, Tesanj and other towns in central Bosnia and Posavina.

After the second large massacre of Muslims in Foca, the Committee of National Salvation was formed in Sarajevo. Its members worked in co-operation with the members of the Muslim charitable organization Merhamet to save and take care of the refugees. These two organizations collected extensive documentation about the genocide of the Bosnian Muslims.

The killings and persecution of Bosnian Muslims during World War II represent perhaps one of the bloodiest and cruellest phases of European history. Most of the 100,000 murdered Muslims were savagely slaughtered. The murderers did

* *Ustasha (ustaša)* originally meant someone who stood up against something bad and referred to a soldier in the regular Croatian army. It became derogatory when Croatia collaborated with the Nazis during World War II.

not make any distinction between children, women, old men and able adult men. The murders were committed in the houses of the victims and were preceded by molestations, rapes and disfigurements. The houses and farm buildings were often burned together with their inhabitants; people and animals alike. There are numerous cases of skin being stripped off the face and back of the head to symbolize the custom of Muslim women to cover their faces; of skin stripped off the hand to symbolize Muslim ritual ablution; of slaughtering on the bridges over the Drina River in order to show Bosnian Muslims that they had no bridges connecting them with the future. Bosnian Muslims were thrown alive into natural pits and their little children were smashed against rocks. Murdered and slaughtered, Muslims were thrown into rivers and left unburied for months.

The monstrous stories told by the survivors are all the more gross when one bears in mind that the truth about all of this has remained mostly unknown to the present day. In fact that truth was outlawed. The communist authorities, into which a large number of Chetniks-turned-partisans infiltrated, punished any public mention or memory of the victims of these crimes. In Foca on the bank of the river, where during 1941 and 1942 the Muslims were brutally slaughtered, a jail was built. In that way the memory of this nation was symbolically imprisoned. The places where these crimes took place and the crimes, themselves, remain unmarked and undescribed until the present day. The first complete book about the attempted genocide of the Bosnian Muslims was published as late as 1990.*

Documents and reminiscences clearly show that most Bosnian Muslims were not killed in concentration camps or during war operations. They were victims of terror in their habitats, in various pits, on the bridges and river-banks, on their own thresholds, very often killed by the hands of their nextdoor neighbours, members of the Chetnik organization. Herein lies the monstrous distinction in these genocidal acts because in

* Vladimir Dedijer and Antun Miletic, *The Genocide Against Muslims, 1941-1945, A Collection of Documents and Testimonies* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990).

most cases the victim and the executioner knew each other well, so it could be said that the victim was killed precisely because the executioner knew him. In the Nazi concentration camps, which represented an industry of death, the victim was depersonalized. He was represented by a register number and was destroyed like a used thing. The genocide perpetrated against the Muslims, on the contrary, was a crime committed out of passion, and due to base instincts which had distant, far-reaching and dark roots.

The genocidal campaigns against Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Sanjak during the war period 1941-1945 were only a bestial finale to a 250-year-old history of systematic and premeditated persecutions and pogroms, a story of historical and cultural disfigurement and ethnic extermination. The statistical calculations of the losses among the Muslims during World War II are estimated at somewhere between 86,000 and 120,000. If these numbers are compared to the expected increase in population, then World War II took away the lives of 6.8% to 8.7% of the projected population. Accordingly, it should be stated that after the Jews in Yugoslavia, Bosnian Muslims had the highest percentage of victims during World War II. Without any intention to auction off tragic destinies, for the sake of historical truth alone, it must be said that the Bosnian Muslims were the most decimated south Slavic nation in World War II.

That tragedy has remained unjustly neglected. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why the Bosnian Muslims today face once more the revival of Chetnik-fascist ideologies and the brandishing of flags and insignia in the same way as at the beginning of World War II, on the eve of the horrible persecution and slaughter of that old tolerant European nation.

GENOCIDE AFTER WORLD WAR II

In the communist regime, which in everyday experience was often reduced to primitive Serbian and Montenegrin hegemonism and aggression, the tragic fate of Bosnian Muslims was silently ignored. The genocidal offensive during World War II

was not mentioned in post-war Yugoslavia in the course of forty-five years. One gained the impression that there was an effort to cover everything with oblivion, as if the victims of the genocidal drive against the Bosnian Muslims were not important, as if they were of less human value than the victims from other ethnicities in Yugoslavia. In most places of execution of hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Muslims of all ages, from children and women to old men, there are still no signs of remembrance of these innocent victims. They were killed only because they were of a different religion from their executioners. Without any tombstones or monuments to commemorate their tragedy, these victims are threatened even in death. But since a moratorium can never be declared on crimes against humanity, however long ago they happened, the memory of these crimes cannot fade, neither do the documents disappear that testify to the scope and nature of that genocide.

Although the Bosnian Muslim population was decimated during World War II, it proved its vitality by biological regeneration and intellectual development in the post-war decades. That development was realized in spite of the systematic political and cultural negation of the Bosnian Muslims and the efforts to destroy their spiritual identity. Educational programmes were devised in such a way that during 45 years of communist rule the Bosnian Muslims could not, in the course of their education, find out anything about themselves, their origin, their past, their literature, their spiritual and material heritage.

Years after 1945, Muslim religious activists were persecuted and brought before the courts. For decades, Muslim sacred and other objects were obliterated, graveyards were dug up, architectural and urbanistic cores of old Bosnian-Muslim towns were destroyed, and Muslim names of streets were changed. There was an attempt at the complete assimilation of Bosnian Muslims into an allegedly overall 'Yugoslav' cultural and political entity, which in reality was no more than a euphemism for Greater Serbia. Bosnian Muslims, in accordance with the circumstances and their possibilities, resolutely confronted these attempts. Because of their steadfastness, a large number of

Muslims were imprisoned or perfidiously killed.*

Today, not yet three years after the first free and multi-party elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other parts of the former Yugoslavia, the Bosnian Muslims are living a new genocide. The general conditions have turned into a state of anarchy, irresponsibility and darkness. Such a situation exactly suits the morbid illusions of creating 'great' states to the disadvantage of other nations. Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a cultural and historical entity, as a sovereign state, is the target of the nationalistic and hegemonistic pretensions of Serbian national policy. That policy long ago proclaimed that it wanted its borders established along the line Karlobag-Ogulin-Karlovac-Virovitica. This would mean Bosnia-Herzegovina would be absorbed into that state, which is unacceptable to any non-Serbian people living in these regions. Without Bosnia-Herzegovina existing as a state equal to Serbia and Croatia, there can be no peace or balance in that part of Europe. The protection of the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina against the aggressive pretensions of the neighbouring states, and especially Serbia, represents the first prerequisite for the protection and preservation of peace among the former Yugoslav republics and nations.

Therefore, it is natural that the Serbian leadership in Belgrade delegated to the Serbian leadership in Sarajevo the responsibility to prevent any decisions regarding the state and constitutional equality of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Serbia and Croatia. And when the Parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina was

* In March 1983, Muslim leaders were arrested, including imams (prayer leaders) and professors. By October 1983 it was reported that after a trial that ran for more than a month, 11 were sentenced to prison terms of 6 to 15 years. Among them was Bosnia's present President, Alija Izetbegovic, who was sentenced to 14 years for having written an Islamic Declaration in 1969, 14 years earlier, two parts of which had been published as far back as 1972! It is indicative of the lack of commitment to the welfare of the *ummah* — worldwide Muslim community — that while this repression went on — and Muslim-majority Kosovo had been under martial law from 1981 — leaders of Muslim-majority countries were actively establishing trade and other commercial links with the Yugoslav state and even advancing credit and loans. Muslim member states of the International Monetary Fund actively supported Yugoslavia's demand for more grants and credit. Thus do we reap what we sow.

preparing to reaffirm its state sovereignty, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, said from the rostrum: "Do not think that you are not leading Bosnia and Hercegovina straight to hell, and the Muslim nation perhaps into disappearance, since the Muslims cannot defend themselves in case of a war here."

That statement, a clarion call for a new genocide, together with a whole series of similar statements, and the intensive militarization of the Serbian Democratic Party, both secretly and openly helped by the generals of Greater Serbia and the nationalist army, should have been taken seriously by the comity of nations. The policy of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina was clearly a threat to Bosnia-Hercegovina and to all its constituent peoples. Bosnian Muslims, in the new division of the Balkans, are especially threatened. And if one knows that the Bosnian Muslims have historically been one of the most peaceful and tolerant European peoples, then the eyes of the whole civilized world should have been turned to the history of that nation and its future destiny.

Did any of us have the right to have forgotten over a hundred thousand massacred Bosnian Muslims? Did the forgetting of that monstrous crime of the Second World War incite the present genocidal intentions in the same regions in which they were earlier executed? Does the indifference of the world facing such crimes in fact represent the moral and physical death of the whole world?

ALIJAH GORDON
June 12, 1993

Adapted from *Bosnia and the Bosnian Muslims: The Genocide Against the Bosnian Muslims* (Sarajevo: M. Imamovic, R. Mahmutcehajic, 1992).

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF SERB GENOCIDAL ACTIONS AGAINST BOSNIAN MUSLIMS

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DOCUMENT I

FRAGMENT FROM THE PROJECT *HOMOGENEOUS SERBIA* BY DR. STEVAN MOLJEVIĆ

... Therefore the first and main duty imposed on the Serbs today is the following: *to create and organize a homogeneous Serbia which is to encompass the whole ethnic region in which the Serbs live; to provide and ensure necessary strategic and traffic lines and junctions, as well as the economic regions in order to provide a free economic, political and cultural life and development for ever...*

BORDERS

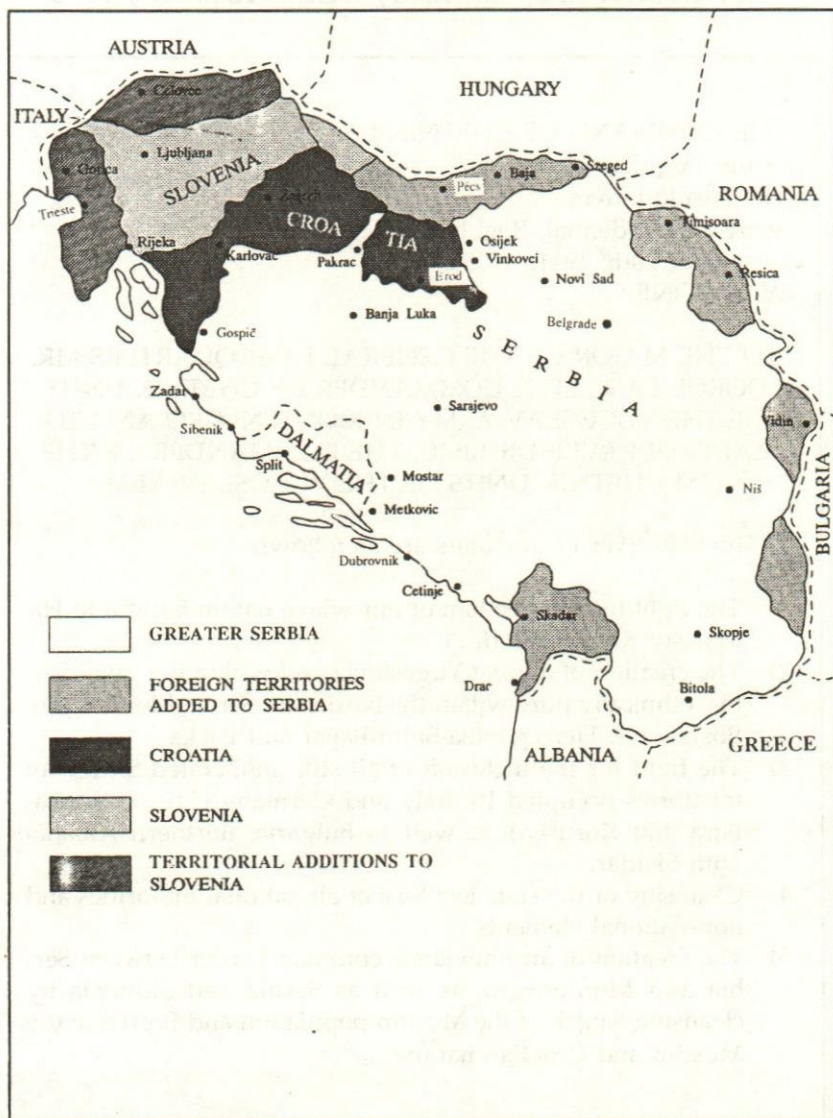
The basic mistake in our state structure is the fact that the borders of Serbia were not defined in 1918. That mistake should be rectified today or it shall never be rectified. The borders should be defined today, and they are to encompass the entire ethnic region in which the Serbs live and they are to have free access to the sea for all Serbian regions near the sea.

- 1) In the east and southeast (Serbia and southern Serbia) the Serbian borders were defined after the liberation wars. These borders are to be enforced by Vidin and Čustendil.
- 2) In the south (Montenegro and Hercegovina) the following territories, besides the Zeta regional unit, should be added to south-western Serbia:
 - a) The whole of eastern Hercegovina, with the railroad from Konjic all the way to Ploče including the zone for the protection of the railroad, is to be included. That

* Stevan Moljević was one of the ideologues of the Chetnik movement. In his works, the old intention of the nationalist movement for Greater Serbia to destroy the cultural and historical identity of Bosnia is worked out in detail. An ethnically pure Greater Serbia was to be created after the persecution and killing of Bosnian Muslims, Albanians, Croats and Hungarians. (For more details, see Vladimir Dedijer and Antun Miletić, *The Genocide Against Muslims 1941-1945*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1990). Documents whose fragments are given here are taken from that book.

- zone would include the whole district of Konjic: the communities of Bijelo Polje, Blagaj Žitomislići and Mostar town belonging to the district of Mostar, the whole district of Stolac; from the district of Metković, the community of Ploče and all communities south of Ploče; and finally Dubrovnik which would be given a special status.
- b) Northern parts of Albania, unless Albania gained independence.
- 3) The Western Serbian region should include, besides the Vrbas regional unit, northern Dalmatia, the Serbian parts of Lika, Kordun, Banija and a part of Slavonija. In that way, the railroad from Plaško to Šibenik and the northern railroad from Okučani via Sunja to Kostajnica would become a part of that region. The whole district of Bugojno, except Gornji Vakuf, would belong to that region. Lijevno and Donje Polje from the district of Lijevno, Šibenik and Skradin from the Šibenik district, the community of Knin and the Serbian part of the community of Drniš from the Knin district, the part of the territory to which the railroad Knin-Šibenik belongs, and eventually the Serbian part of the community of Vrlika in the district of Sinj...

DOCUMENT II
MAP OF FUTURE YUGOSLAVIA ACCORDING TO
THE PROJECT OF CHETNIK IDEOLOGUE
DR. STEVAN MOLJEVIĆ, 1941



DOCUMENT III

FROM THE INSTRUCTIONS OF GENERAL DRAŽA MIHAJLOVIĆ, MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE CHETNIK MOVEMENT, DECEMBER 20, 1941

THE COMMAND OF CHETNIK UNITS

of the Yugoslav Army

The Headquarters

Strictly Confidential, Reg. No 370

December 20th, 1941.

WAR ZONE

TO THE MAJOR OF THE GENERAL HEADQUARTERS MR.
DORDE LAŠIĆ, THE COMMANDER OF CHETNIK UNITS
OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY IN MONTENEGRO AND TO
CAPTAIN PAVLE DJURIŠIĆ, THE COMMANDER OF THE
LIM CHETNIK UNITS OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY

... The objectives of our units are as follows:

- 1) The fight for the freedom of our whole nation faithful to His Majesty King Petar II.
- 2) The creation of a great Yugoslavia and within it a great Serbia, ethnically pure within the borders of Serbia-Montenegro-Bosnia and Hercegovina-Srem-Banat and Bačka.
- 3) The fight for the inclusion of all still unliberated Slovenian territories occupied by Italy and Germany (Trieste-Gorica-Istra and Koruška), as well as Bulgaria, northern Albania with Skadar.
- 4) Cleansing of the state territory of all national minorities and non-national elements.
- 5) The creation of an immediate common border between Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Serbia and Slovenia by cleansing Sanjak of the Muslim population and Bosnia of the Muslim and Croatian nations...

DOCUMENT IV

FROM A CHETNIK COMMANDER'S REPORT ON
THE EXECUTION OF A GENOCIDAL CAMPAIGN
AGAINST THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS,
JANUARY 10, 1943

HEADQUARTERS
OF THE LIM-SANJAK CHETNIK UNITS

Strictly Confidential, Reg. No. 23

January 10, 1943

WAR ZONE

TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE SUPREME COMMAND
WAR ZONE

The campaign on the right bank of the Lim River in the district of Bijelo Polje is completed. It was executed exactly according to plan. The result of this action is as follows:

1) *The following Muslim villages are completely destroyed* (Sections: Plevlje, Sjenica, Peć and Kolašin):

-Voljevac, Gubovača, Radijelja, Ušanovići, Prešečenik, Baturiče, Donji Vlah (section of Pljevlje), Mirovići, Šolja, Radojeva Glava, Mediše, Pobretiće, Donja Kostenica, Stublo, Vrh, Zminjac, Šipovice, Negobratina, Osmanbegovo Selo, Dupljaci, Jasen, Kostiće, Kaševan, Ivanje, Godijevo, Žilići, Gornja Crnča, Gornji Radulići, Vrba, Crhalja, Kradenik, Sipanje, Ličine (Section Sjenica-Peć).

Total of 33 villages.

2) Victims: Muslim fighters approximately 400 (hundred)
Women and children approximately ... 1,000

Our casualties:

14 dead and
26 wounded,
3 of them women ...

DOCUMENT V

VICTIMS OF CHETNIK SLAUGHTER IN MEDJEDJA
NEAR FOČA IN THE FALL OF 1942 (ABOVE) AND
IN GORAŽDE IN 194- (BELOW)



DOCUMENT VI

FROM A SUBORDINATE CHETNIK COMMAND'S
REPORT TO GENERAL DRAŽA MIHAJLOVIĆ ON
THE GENOCIDAL ACTION AGAINST THE
BOSNIAN MUSLIMS ON FEBRUARY 13, 1943

HEADQUARTERS
OF THE LIM-SANJAK CHETNIK UNITS

Strictly Confidential Reg. No.

February 13, 1943

War Zone

TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE SUPREME COMMAND

The campaign in the Plevlje, Čajniče and Foča districts against the Muslims has been completed...

All property has been destroyed except the cattle, grain and hay. The collecting of food for both men and animals in certain villages and towns has been ordered, in order to form stores of food reserves and to ensure the feeding of units which remain on the terrain in order to clean and search the wooded areas and to establish and fortify our organization on the liberated territory.

During the operations the complete Muslim population was exterminated regardless of sex and age.

Victims: Our total casualties are 22 dead, two of them due to accident, and 32 wounded.

Around 1,200 Muslim fighters and up to 8,000 other victims: women, old men and children were killed.

At the beginning of the action, the Muslims started fleeing towards Metaljka, Čajniče and the river Drina. A smaller group found hiding places in Metaljka. It is estimated that there are around 2,000 refugees in Čajniče, while a certain number managed to escape across the river Drina before our units cut off the ways of retreat in that sector. All the other population was exterminated ...

DOCUMENT VII

A REPORT ON CHETNIK CRIMES IN BUKOVICA (PLJEVLJA), MARCH 1, 1943. (ARCHIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SFR OF YUGOSLAVIA, NDH HOLDINGS, BOX NO. 184, REG. NO. 54/3)

REPORT

on the monstrous slaughter of Muslims
and the arson of their property in the
community of Bukovica

Copy!
March 1, 1943

TO THE COMMAND OF THE FIRST ALPINE DIVISION
"TAURINEUZA"

Pljevlja

I inform you about the fact that in the community of Bukovica around 500 Muslims, mostly women, children and helpless old men were tortured, slaughtered and burnt in the most monstrous way. Men were crucified and nailed to trees. Women and children were gathered and forced into houses, and then burned together with the houses. In the village Močevići, 81 persons were slaughtered and burned. A part of the "liberation" army spent the night in this village and used the corpses of the Muslims to build a latrine. At the entrance of the latrine, they put a sign saying "Muslim mosque". Muslim young girls were found raped, killed by poles stuck into their private parts. A large number of Muslim young girls were taken away and nothing is known about their fate. The body of Hadžija Tahirović was found in the village of Stražica, whose skin was stripped from under the knees, up the back, and then down the chest, and there was a sign saying: "A Muslim woman with veil".

All houses and other buildings have been burned down, so that not even a chicken coop was left. All that was not enough

so that all the trees in Muslim gardens were cut down.

All the cases and events that happened in the community of Bukovica are impossible for me to describe.

This report is only for your information.

President of the community of Bukovica,
Latif Močević, signed personally

The accuracy of the copy is confirmed and notarized
by: M. Sijerčić, signed personally

DOCUMENT VIII

FRAGMENT FROM THE TESTIMONY OF AN EYE- WITNESS TO CHETNIK CRIMES IN FOČA, 1942

THE INTERROGATION OF OČKO DRAGUTIN IN THE
COMMAND OF ROGATICA, JANUARY 29, 1942.

THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA
THE COMMAND OF THE DISTRICT OF
ROGATICA

Copy!

Interrogation of
Očko Dragutin,
Prisoner of War

Rogatica, January 29, 1942

Present on behalf of the Command:
Branković Sinan, District Judge
Ferhatbegović Nezir, District Notary

... The same day the Chetniks started picking up civilians in the town and asked especially about the refugees from Rogatica. I know this because I personally heard them yelling around the town: "Where are the people from Rogatica?" They caught them and killed them all. First they tortured them, then slaughtered them and threw them into the river Drina. I personally did not see the Chetniks torture and slaughter the citizens, but they boasted in my presence how many Muslims each of them slaughtered. I saw with my own eyes the whole bridge covered with blood and mutilated corpses in the water under the bridge. This slaughter lasted for 10 days, because the citizens hid in houses and the Chetniks searched for them, caught them and slaughtered them. The Chetniks caught and slaughtered the citizens of Foča; they left only a few craftsmen they needed. They slaughtered both the citizens of Foča and all the refugees that were in Foča.

After all of that happened I spent another month and a half in Foča, and I did not see a single person anywhere, either a

citizen of Foča or a refugee, except for the few craftsmen they left...

Answering a question, he said; "I do not know how many people were killed in Foča, but I heard Captain Sergije Mihajlović say: "We got rid of the enemy; we killed 5,000 Muslims in Foča and Goražde." He emphasized that 3,000 were killed in Foča and 2,000 in Goražde...

DOCUMENT IX

ACCOUNT BY AN EYE-WITNESS WHO SURVIVED THE CHETNIK SLAUGHTER ON THE BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER DRINA IN FOČA

THE SURVIVOR DERVIŠ BAĆVIĆ from Foča states:

The crimes of the Chetniks in the period from December 5th, 1941 until February 20th, 1942.

...When they brought us to the railway bridge, one of the bandits yelled: "Why are you bringing so few of them?", while the other answered that with the 16 persons he had brought the total number for that night was 84 (eighty-four). After that they started with the slaughter. The slaughtering was executed in the following manner. One of the bandit Chetniks knelt down holding a large knife in his left hand. Each victim had to lie down by himself, but if the victim resisted, they would hit him on the head with their rifle-butts, and the victim would fall. The other Chetnik would grab the victim by the legs and force him under the knife. After each slaughtering, they searched the victim for valuables and robbed him. Then they would kick the victim in the stomach and throw him into the river Drina. This was repeated several times until it was my turn. I can still remember the order in which the slaughters were executed:

1) Avda Baćvića; 2) Sulja Isanovića; 3) Edhema Isanovića, son of Avdo; 4) Muja Aganovića; 5) Murata Aganovića; 6) Aziza Isanovića; 7) Hasana Isanovića; 8) Jusa Čeba; 9) Smaila Isanovića; 10) Smaila Baćvića; 11) Edhema Isanovića, son of Mehmed; 12) Aziza Baćvića; 13) Muja Baćvića; 14) when it was my turn, my Chetnik guard...

**SCENE OF WAR CRIMES 1941/1942
BRIDGE OVER RIVER DRINA IN FOČA**



DOCUMENT X

IN FOCA, DECEMBER 1941, CHETNIKS FIRST
BOILED WATCHMAKER MUFTIĆ IN A CAULDRON
AND THEN HUNG HIM IN FRONT
OF THE MASJID



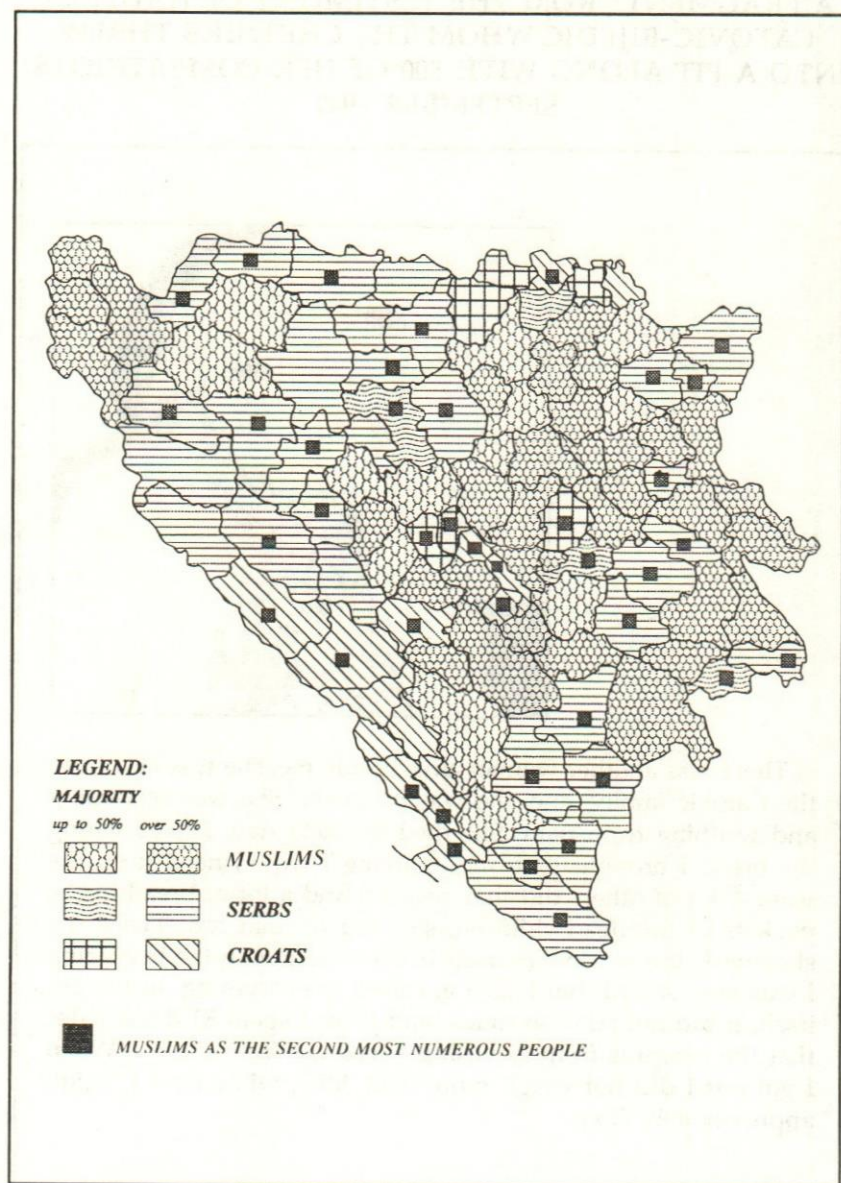
DOCUMENT XI

A FRAGMENT FROM THE TESTIMONY OF HADZERA
ĆATOVIĆ-BIJEDIĆ WHOM THE CHETNIKS THREW
INTO A PIT ALONG WITH 800 OF HER COMPATRIOTS;
SEPTEMBER 1941

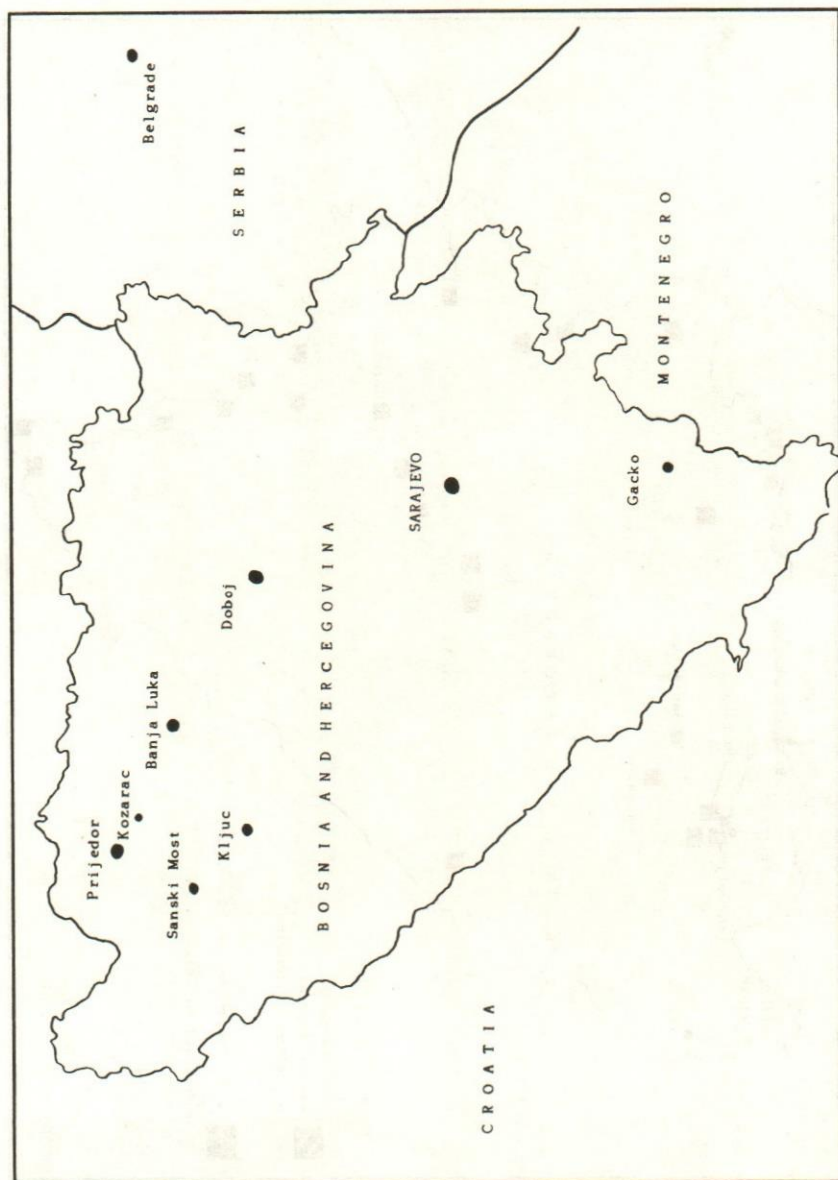


... There was another woman alive beside me, she was also from the Ćatović family, and she was pregnant. She was screaming and writhing from pain. She died the next day. I lived eating the bread I brought with me, thinking I would need it on the way. A lot of others did that also. I found a lot of bread in the pockets of the dead children, so I fed on that too. Twice the shepherds threw some morsels of bread to me. In the beginning I was very scared, but later I got used to everything. In the pit, itself, it did not stink so much, and there I spent 81 days. After that the peasants from Nevesinje saved me from the pit. When I got out I did not weigh more than 30kg, while now I weigh approximately 70kg.

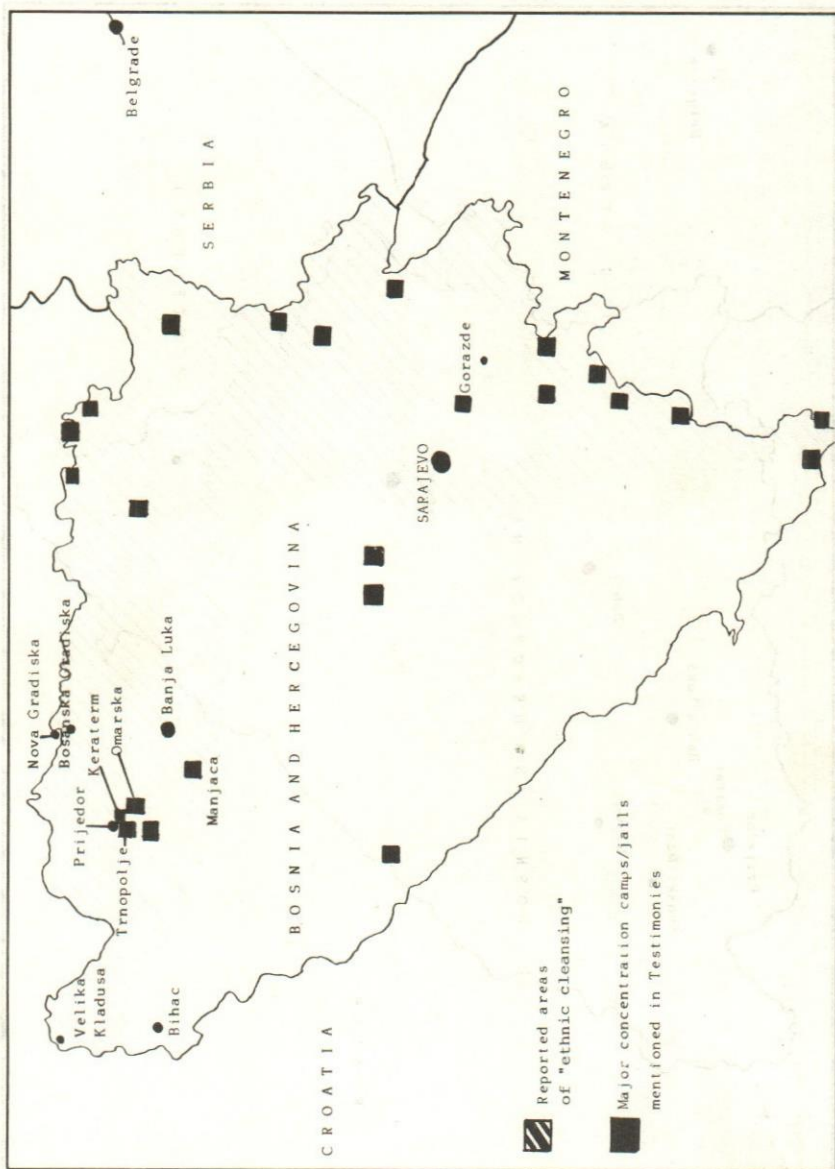
ETHNIC MAP OF BOSNIA : 1991



HOME TOWNS OF THE SURVIVORS



AREAS OF 'ETHNIC CLEANSING' AND DETENTION CAMPS MENTIONED IN TESTIMONIES



In the face of barbaric Serb aggression, each of us must rally to the slogan of the Spanish Civil War when that brave people faced armed fascist aggression:

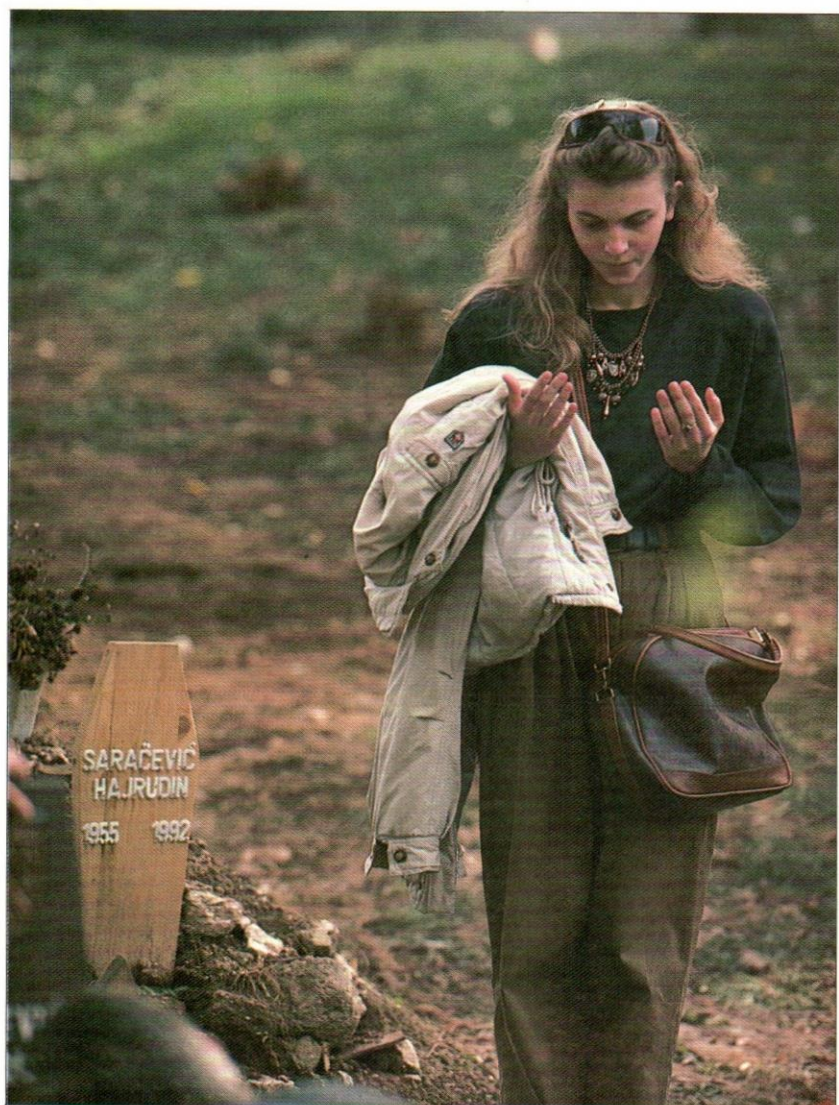
"NO PASARAN"

"THEY SHALL NOT PASS"

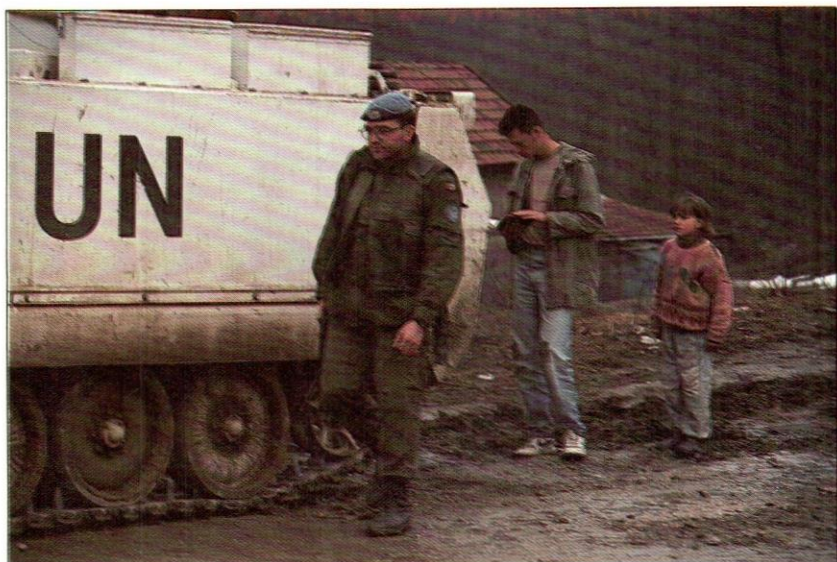
The first step in the process of the formation of the United States was the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. This document declared the thirteen colonies to be free and independent states, no longer under the control of the British Crown.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

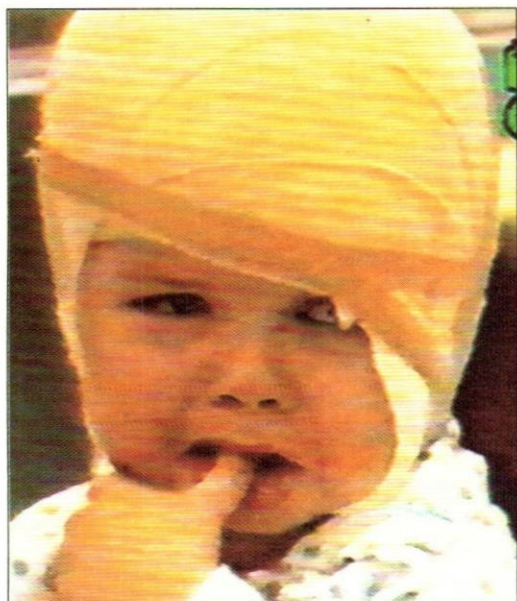
THEY SHALL NOT PART



Can we only pray for our dead?
Sarajevo, November 03, 1992.



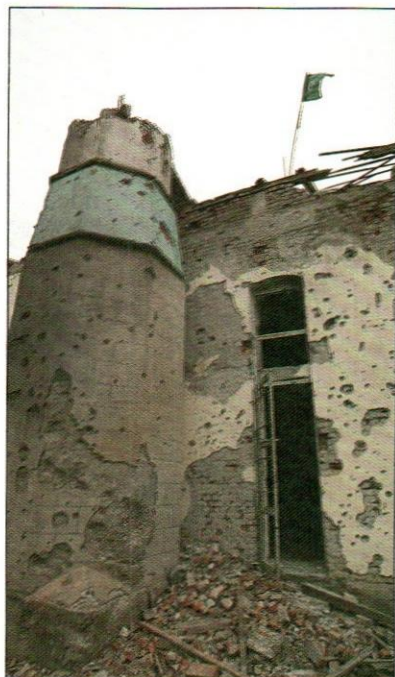
UN presence in Tarcin.
March 1993.



◀ Pain and confusion.

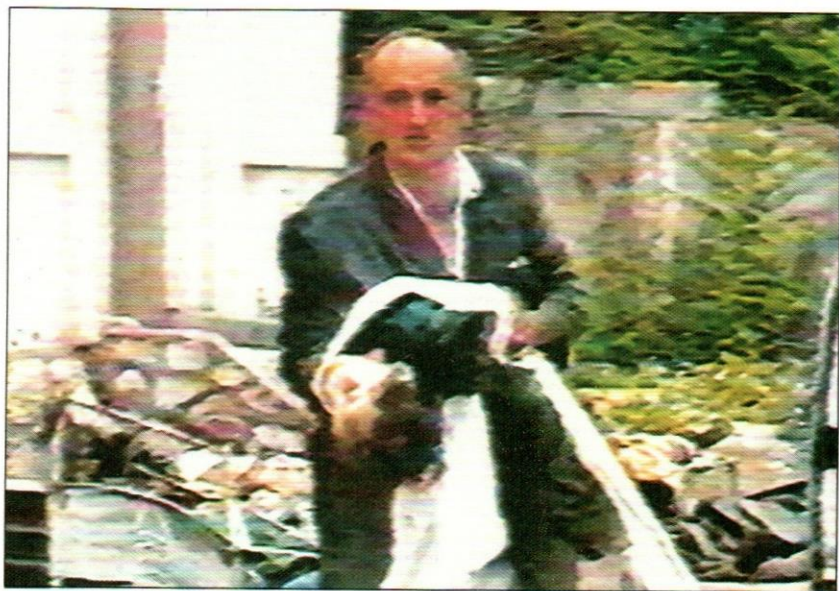


Horror of indiscriminate bombing.



◀ Destruction of mosque near Brcko. March 1993.

Another precious child killed by Serb bombardment.



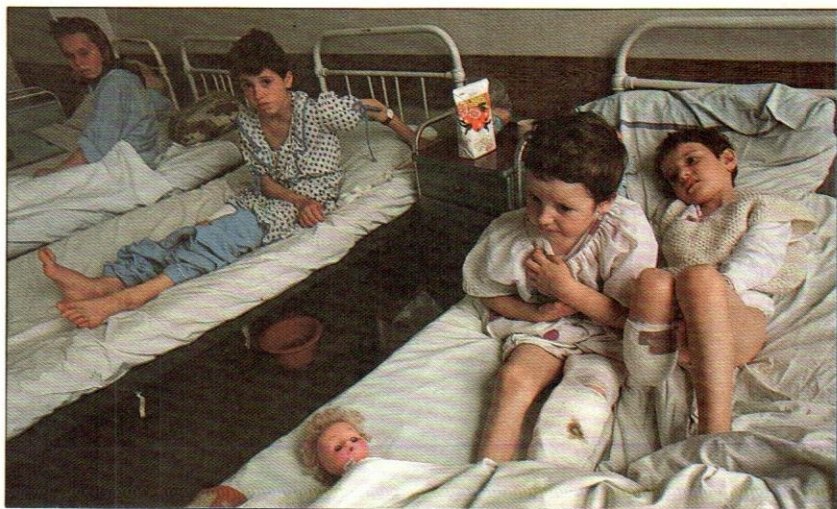


Refugees from Jajce queuing for food.
Travnik, November 06, 1992.



◀ Bosnian army
defenders of Travnik.
November 06, 1992.

Wounded children from
"safe haven" Srebrenica.
Tuzla, March 1993.

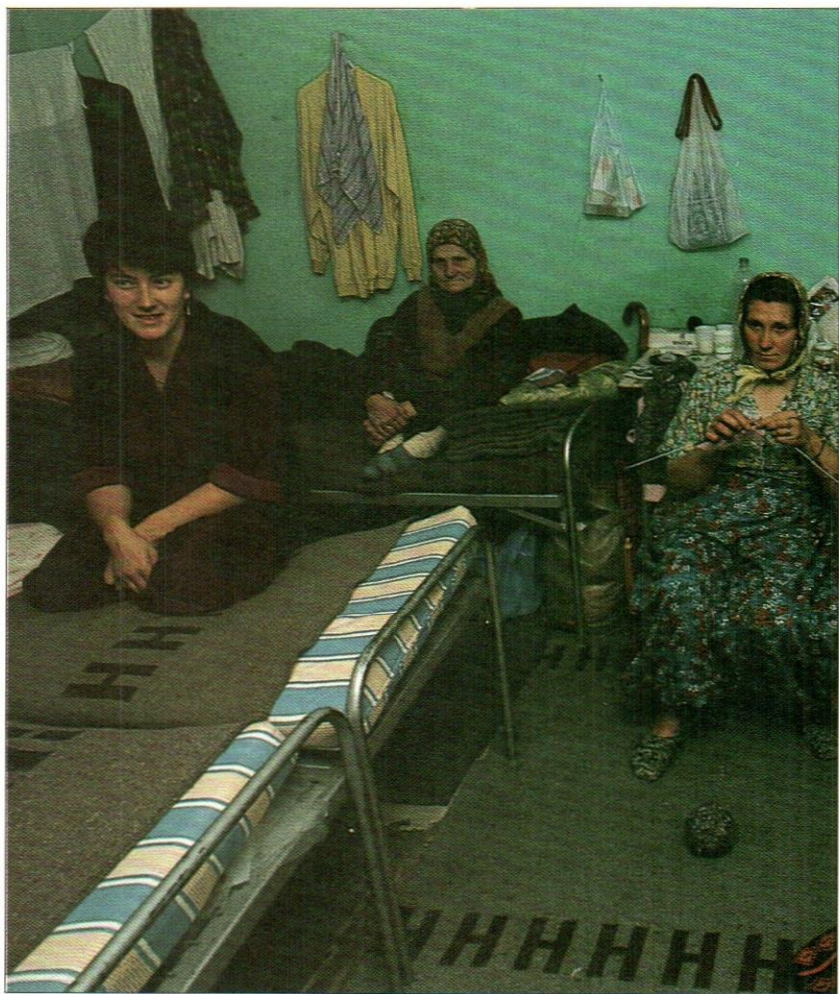


We are indebted to photographer Murata Shinichi for all dated photographs, which are under his copyright.

Our appreciation to Muslim Aid of London for undated photographs reproduced from their video: "Bosnia: A Cry for Help".



"I paid with my eyes ..."



Life in the Resnik refugee centre.
Zagreb, November 20, 1992.

town! The townspeople were crying and asked permission from the Serbs to give us some water, but the Serbs just watched and smiled and beat us. If nevertheless someone from the town tried to give us water, they were shot.

After three hours, the Serbs again covered the lorry and our journey began. I could breathe a little through a small hole in the cover, just enough to let me survive. Sometimes I looked through that hole and would see destroyed houses, buildings, even a *masjid*, and burning bodies; I didn't know where we were going. The temperature was very hot. When the lorry stopped, many of us tried to drink the steam coming out of the engine, although it was contaminated.

I heard Serb soldiers singing Chetnik fascist songs. And I heard sounds as if coming from people being killed by knives cutting their throats, and then the noise of a bulldozer. I realised the Serbs must be killing the people one by one and burying them with that machine. When we got down from the lorry, I saw 18 people on the ground. Some of them were still alive, waiting for death. Only later did I know that these 18 people had been brought in the first lorry.

The Serbs from Manjaca Concentration Camp, which we had reached, did not want dead bodies among them, and they took them back to the town where they were buried in communal graves. Many had died of suffocation inside those covered lorries and others the Serbs killed on arrival. As we got off the lorries the Serbs beat us on our heads with sticks, so that a few more men died.

The situation along the perimeter of Manjaca Concentration Camp was the same as in a World War II movie of German concentration camps. The camp was fully guarded by the army both by machine-guns and by guards with dogs, and the camp was surrounded by mines and booby-traps.*

The Serbs separated us into groups of 10, and took away

* Ed Note: in the 1960s or 70s, the Yugoslav Government cleared this mountainous area of villages. The villagers were re-settled in flats in Banja Luka or were integrated into villages around Banja Luka. Manjaca was developed into a major army installation. It became a training centre; war games were carried out there; and it also had a tank corps.

our clothing except for our trousers, and, of course, they took our money, watches, cigarettes, etc. They put us in a long building which had been a stable for animals. We were given only one glass of water for five persons. The next morning we prisoners, 3,000-5,000 of us, had to walk to get our breakfast, and we had only 10 minutes in which to do so. We were given only a third of a cup of tea, a small piece of bread and a small piece of ham, which we had to eat to keep alive although it is forbidden for Muslims. During that time I lost 30 kilograms. Each day we worked in the nearby forest. If along the way, going through what had been villages, we took a piece of fruit from a tree, we were beaten. The situation in the camp was horrible: most of us had diarrhoea, and two men got typhoid. One boy washed his trousers and went to hang them near the gate of the camp, but ended up stepping on a mine and losing both his legs.

Each night the Serbs called some of us out for interrogation. Sometimes we heard screaming. The Serbs sadistically joked with some of our men: they forced a few boys to kiss one another and after that they beat them, asking: "What are you doing, are you homosexuals?"

In November 1992, after the IRC in conjunction with Merhamet, the Muslim humanitarian organization, from Banja Luka, took responsibility for supplying our camp, our situation changed. But the Serbs still confiscated three-quarters of the food, medicine, and clothing that was meant for us. IRC and Merhamet visited us once or twice a week. It was only then that we were able to send out messages or letters. It was the first time in months that our parents, wives and children had heard about us, even to know we were alive, let alone where we were. In December 1992 I was released from that camp.

My wife and children were by then in Austria. My wife's brother was there and had arranged documents for their asylum. When I was released and reached Croatia, the IRC brought them there to join me, and together we took refuge in Malaysia."

18
HARE

"I am 22 years old and come from Trnopolje, near Prijedor. I am unmarried and I was a metal worker. When the war started in Croatia, I was in the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), as an ordinary soldier. I was in an artillery unit around the town of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik is one of those historic cities in the world which are under the protection of UNESCO. And yet the order was given from Belgrade to bombard that beautiful town, even the oldest part which is a heritage for the world; churches, schools, hotels, nothing was spared, because the Serbs told us the Croatian Army was holed up inside.

The so-called Yugoslav National Army, the JNA, was in fact a Serb Army. It was the first to infringe the peace. I had no place being in that Army. When the Commandant gave me and my friend Haris a few days' rest-leave, we left and never went back. I returned to my village a few months after the war began in Bosnia.

We, the men from my village, used our own money to buy guns, because the Serbs in the nearby villages were armed to the teeth. When the Serbs bombarded Kozarac, which is near my village, we had to join in the defence. When they surrendered, I didn't want to do so and tried to return to my house.

On 28th May, Trnopolje Concentration Camp was opened. The Serbs kept people from Kozarac there, but later they also brought in people from other places.

I remained in my house with my parents and my two sisters. Every day the Serbs would arrest or kill someone from our village. They killed my cousin and my uncle. On one day alone, they killed 50 village men.

I was arrested on 9th July 1992 together with 80 other men. They took us to Trnopolje, to the yard around the school, where they kept us for two hours. There they killed 30 men from my group.

We were then transferred by bus to Omarska Concentration Camp, but as the camp was full, they moved us to Keraterm Concentration Camp. At Keraterm there were a few

Serbs in front of the gate who beat us with sticks. I recognised my Professor from school, Zvonimir Paunovic. He also beat us! We were put in a store-room. Each night they took a few of us for beating. I remember one man, 65 years old, by the name of Nijaz Trnjanin; notwithstanding his age, he was beaten very hard.

During the interrogation the Serbs accused me of absconding from military service, but they didn't beat me.

The next day, I and others were moved to the infamous Omarska Concentration Camp. Once inside, they lined us up facing the wall and forced us to raise our hands showing only three fingers, the Serb national symbol! Then five Serbs beat us with sticks. After that, they put us in the 'White House'. The walls were bloody. They took our money, gold, watches and even our shoes. After that, we were put in one small room, three by three metres. Out of our group of 37 only 11 managed to stay alive, the others were killed or died from severe beatings in the course of four days. We were always thirsty. One of our men became delirious, and in his delirium he talked nonsense. A Serb policeman came inside and killed him. They beat us every day, during interrogation after interrogation.

After six days, we were moved to a larger room. There were about 300 men in there. Every night the Serbs would call some one out to be tortured. All night through we heard their anguished screams. In that room, there were many sick and injured men and many with mental disorders as a result of torture.

Each day when we would go for our food, the Serbs would line up in two rows and beat us. It was normal to see dead bodies. Behind the 'White House' I saw four dead bodies. One of them was Dr. Senad Sivac, a veterinary surgeon from Kozarac. One night a Serb policeman ordered me to place three dead bodies on a lorry. It happened every night, and they would always call one of us out to carry the dead. For some unknown reason, before they killed someone, they would first weigh him and measure his height!

On 6th August 1992, I was transferred to Manjaca Concentration Camp along with a large group. Even while we were

travelling, we were beaten, and we were ordered to sing Serb national songs. The policemen who were with us in the buses were from Prijedor, and when we arrived, they killed eight of our men in front of the gate.

After 15 days, the International Red Cross took responsibility for us. They also had me weighed; I was down to 49 kilos. In December 1992, I was released. I now live with pain in my kidneys and in my chest.

My parents and my sisters are in Slovenia. I wonder when, if ever, we will live together again as a family."

19
SMAJO

"I am 25 years old and married with one daughter. My village is Biljani, near Kljuc. Before the war I worked as a locksmith.

On 30th May 1992 we handed over all our weapons to the Serbs. We had not fired one shot. Yet the next day 200 Serb soldiers came into our village with two anti-aircraft guns and machine-guns. They searched the whole village, which they then blockaded, and they took all the men, including myself, to our primary school. There they made their interrogations, but without beating.

After that they moved us by bus to the sports hall in the town of Kljuc. About 400 of our men were already there; they were black and blue from beating. We stayed there for three days and during that time we were only given water. I found my own father there; the Serbs later released him after interrogation. I heard how he returned to our village where he remained for two months. But one morning the Serbs collected all the people from my village, and until now I don't know what became of him. I heard how the Serbs had killed many of my neighbours. In July, they killed many of our villagers in front of our primary school, and in front of a house close to ours they killed 25 men.

The Serbs took two bus-loads of men from our village; they first took them to Manjaca Concentration Camp, but as that camp was already full they moved them to a camp in the town of Drvar, but that too was full, so they took them to Laniste village. After that nothing further was known of them; we only heard that there had been shooting in that village.

When the Serbs did their killing close to our house, a woman named Lejla Dzaferagic was looking out of her window. She was seen by her Serb neighbour who then came into her house with a machine-gun and killed her, her 16-year-old daughter, her brother, named Najko, her daughter-in-law and her two grand-children, aged two and five years old. The name of that Serb murderer is Braco Maric. My mother, who is now in Croatia, was a witness to this, and she told me about it. In

front of another house they killed 13 men. I know the names of some of them: Fiko; Osman; Sefik and Besim Avdic; Omer and Aziz Dervisevic.

The Serbs kept us in the sports hall at Kljuc where they carried out their interrogations. They accused me of being an officer from the Yugoslav National Army. The truth is there is one man with the same name as me; he was our leader who led the group from our village walking across the mountains to reach the town of Bihac and our Bosnian forces there. As was usual, during the course of their questioning, we were beaten.

Then they moved us into buses, but we didn't know where they were taking us. We reached a village named Sitnica where we remained for three days. There we found around 500 of our men. Some of the Serbs from that village secretly gave us food. From Sitnica we were obliged to walk 30 kilometres to the concentration camp at Manjaca. Before reaching Manjaca, we had to pass near a Serb army barracks. There were 3,000 soldiers there who started to beat us with knives, guns, and stones, and they made very vulgar noises. Imagine 3,000 soldiers against 700 unarmed prisoners. After that we were black and blue and bloodied all over.

Once in the Manjaca Camp, they searched us and took from us whatever we had and again we were beaten. We were sent to stables where we were to live. In each stable the Serbs appointed one man as the leader. From our stable they selected Akif Dzafic, who before the war was a commandant of a police station. They beat Akif daily and even forced him to drink his own urine.

At night the Serbs would call out the well-known men for beating; men such as Professor Nail and Hasanbegovic. The Serbs beat them for ten days and nights. They broke two of Nail's ribs. There was also a Dr. Zaim, a veterinarian; the Serbs broke his arm.

Two days after we arrived they started their interrogations. At that time there were 2,500 men at Manjaca. Before the interrogation, we were obliged to pass through two lines of Serbs who beat us with sticks. During the questioning, they beat us again, and also when we were returning to our stables.

They first called for me and for Elvir Karadzic. I was singled out because my name was the same as that of our resistance leader and Elvir because he was wealthy and they accused him of selling guns. They had all the information with them; they knew who I was and they insisted on details about my relationship with the officer of the same name as mine. I told them I had never seen him, but, of course, I knew him very well. After that session I was black and blue; my urine had blood in it for the next ten days, and I could not open my eyes.

I was then obliged to work building a church! It was absurd, but I had to do it. The Serbs respected nothing. They ripped out the copper from our *masjid* to use it for their church. They even removed the copper from the new *masjid* in the village of Pudin Han.

After the visit of the IRC representatives, on the very next day, they threw all of us out of the stables and beat us simply because we had spoken to the IRC. In Manjaca I lost 20 kilos in weight.

On 16th December 1992 I was released. Before the war began my wife and daughter had gone to Slovenia where my sister lives. Now they are here with me in Malaysia. My mother is in Croatia. I only long to know what actually happened to my dear father."

REDZO

"I am a 36-year-old unmarried engineer, from the town of Prijedor. My parents died when I was just nineteen; my sister Alma was only five and my brother Senad was fourteen. Our home was in the Muslim area of the town.

One night the Serbs surrounded the area. There were many soldiers with two tanks. In a very noisy fashion they went round all our houses calling the men to come out. We were forced into a bus and taken to the Keraterm Concentration Camp. Some of us were beaten. The Serbs put us into a room and a taxi driver name Zigic beat us. I didn't see this myself, but I was told how he killed some of our brothers. The room we were in was very small so that we couldn't walk around and could not even breathe comfortably. For four days we were not given food or water.

Later we were called for interrogation. We were asked if we had any guns and where we were during the attack on Prijedor. Surprisingly, they didn't beat us. In a big garage near our room were men from Kozarac, and we could hear their screams as they were badly beaten.

A Muslim named Hamza Kapetanovic had a good relationship with one Serb at Keraterm. He gave that Serb a list of the names of people living on his street, many of whom were his relatives, and begged that they be spared.

The next day, I was among 13 men who were released, including three brothers of Hamza Kapetanovic. However, those brothers of his were not allowed to leave their house. And a few days after that they were captured again and taken to Omarska Concentration Camp.

Our houses were kept under guard by Serb soldiers. Again they searched my house and left a big mess; even food was thrown all over the floor. They took me with them. They intended to take me to a concentration camp, but on my street we met a Serb Commander who was my friend in primary school, and he ordered that I be allowed to return to my home. My own brother Senad had gone into hiding (and has now

reached Sweden safely).

The Serbs arrested my brother-in-law, his father and his brother, and put them in a camp where they killed two of them leaving only my brother-in-law alive. Until now, we don't know what has become of him. His wife, who is my dear sister Alma, came with me to Malaysia along with her two-year-old daughter. She was pregnant at the time and has now given birth to a baby girl. I am sure her husband is dead.

I know who killed my sister's husband's brother. It happened in front of the gate of Manjaca Concentration Camp. It was the taxi driver Zigic and policeman Grabez, both from Prijedor. They killed them along with eight other men. Other prisoners told me about this. My sister's husband was released and was together with one large group of men who were taken to Mount Vlasic. The Serbs took about 200 men there and then killed them. A few did survive, and my sister hopes her husband is among them.

According to one of our friends, the Serbs had taken a decision that only 10% of the Muslims could remain in Prijedor. This meant that practically the entire Muslim population had to be driven out of the area controlled by the Serb Army.

The Serbs organized a convoy from Prijedor to Mount Vlasic from where we were made to walk 28 kilometres to a nearby town which was controlled by our Bosnian Army. From there we travelled in eight big lorries and two buses. At Kozarac we waited for about 20 minutes. The Serb brought plastic bags and ordered us to put our valuables into them.

In each lorry was a Serb soldier who tried to keep us away from the other Serbs who waited along the way to kill us. One bus broke down on the road, and the men had to spend the night there. That bus was under the control of a Serb from Prijedor. He claimed that the people on the bus were from his home town, and no one should touch them.

When we reached the top of the mountain, many Chetniks — Serb fascists — came out from the forest and surrounded us. If they liked any of our belongings such as a jacket, they simply took it. Worse, they took away 250 of our younger and stronger men. We have no idea to where they were taken, but

shortly after that we heard they had been killed.

From where we were put down, we walked 28 kilometres to arrive at Bosnian-controlled Travnic. Some of the men with us remained there to join our Bosnian fighters while others, including myself, continued our journey. From Travnic I reached Croatia and then to Malaysia."

21
ALMA

"I am the sister of Redzo. I am 24 years old, married, and am now the mother of two girls, aged two years five months, and the second, who was born in Malaysia, is just three months old. Before the war, I worked as a hairdresser, while my husband was a stone-cutter. We lived in a large house on the outskirts of Prijedor town, together with my husband's parents and his two unmarried brothers.

One day, I cannot remember the precise date, sometime in May 1992, my husband returned from work and told me how his boss, a Serb, had warned him about the possibility of shooting in the town the next day and had suggested we go elsewhere. With my daughter and all the women from the family — many relatives had houses nearby — we went to a hill and village of the same name, Hambarine, where we had relatives. Our men remained at home.

The men from Hambarine organized its defence; on the road they instituted check-points. On the night of the same day, Serb soldiers in a car passed the check-point without stopping. Our men killed one or two of them and wounded another. The next day the bombardment of Hambarine began. For two days the Serbs hit the hill from all sides. At first we went into the basement of the house, but after that we evacuated to the nearby forest where we stayed for another night. There were a few hundred people there, women and children and old people. One woman gave birth in that forest.

The next day, using an indirect route, my family and I walked three to five kilometres back to our house. But my husband suggested we go on to Sredice village where we had relatives. We stayed in that village for eight days.

During that time the Serbs totally destroyed Kozarac, which is a small place about 12 kilometres from Prijedor. They took the people of Kozarac either to Keraterm, Omarska or Trnopolje concentration camps. In the bombardment of Hambarine, many people died or were wounded; I don't know how many. After a few days the Serbs arrested those who sur-

vived and also took them to the concentration camps.

After the destruction of Kozarac, about 100-150 Muslim and Catholic men from Prijedor went with guns to Karan Hill. From there they made an attack on the Serbs in Prijedor town. The commander of this resistance force was Slavko Ecimovic, a Catholic. Initially this force succeeded. They even entered the centre of Prijedor and killed eight to sixteen policemen. But the Serbs were stronger; they had many soldiers and heavy artillery, and in the end they destroyed that group. I think only a few survived. The Serbs eventually captured and killed the brave commander Slavko. During that fight the Serbs demolished Stari Grad, the oldest part of Prijedor town where Muslims lived, and they also destroyed some places in the town centre. My own house was damaged in that bombardment. From the Muslim quarter they hauled people off to concentration camps, while relatives of the resistance fighters were tortured.

Even before the fighting in Prijedor, but especially after that, the situation for Muslims and Catholics was very difficult. Every day the Serbs killed or arrested someone and searched our houses. We were frightened and could not go out from our homes. We had neither water nor electricity. Because of the danger, my mother-in-law, myself and my daughter went to the house of my mother-in-law's brother's wife. This lady is a Serb. Many times she called us to come and stay in her house, because it was safe. She is a very good person, as are all the members of her family. We stayed in her home for seven days.

Each day she and I would go back to my own house because we had many cattle to feed.* Also we needed a wood-burning stove, which we had in our home, to be able to cook food. My house is across the bridge on the other side of the river. On that bridge, Serb soldiers and policemen kept 24-hour control. Only Serbs were allowed to pass. Because that lady is a Serb, we didn't have a problem. But then one day the Serbs didn't allow us to pass, and we had to return. The same day

* Ed. Note: in all of the testimonies people speak very gently of their cattle; they were all sad that they could not take proper care of them.

we went to another part of the town in order to find a house with a wood-burning stove. In the town we met that same Serb who had blocked our way on the bridge. He, together with one sniper, stopped us. They were very vulgar with that Serb lady. They scolded and threatened her and wouldn't allow us to pass. Again we were obliged to return. At twilight, we went once more to the bridge where another Serb was now on duty, and we were able to pass.

After ten days the situation in the town became better, and we went back to our house where the men from our family were. We thought the war was over, because the Serbs had taken control of the town, having arrested and killed many people. But one morning many soldiers came into our yard and encircled our house. We were forced to go out into the yard. They separated our men from us and took five of them with them: my husband, his two brothers, and his uncle, who was married to the Serb lady, and their son. The Serbs said they would be back after interrogation, but they never came back.

My father-in-law and his brother were in his brother's house. Because they looked old, the Serbs didn't take them. However, my father-in-law's brother was a very wealthy businessman. The Serbs came again that night, broke up his house, and asked about his cars, lorries, and bulldozers. Initially, the Serbs took only one of his cars, because he had hidden the other vehicles and bulldozers in another village. But eventually he was forced to hand over everything.

Two days later I was in my godmother's house, which is opposite ours. The Serbs came again and arrested our godfather and took him to Omarska Concentration Camp. One of the Serbs named Dragan Mrdja, nicknamed 'Dado', asked me about my husband and told me that my husband was a 'Green Beret'.

After that time I learned that my husband was in Keraterm Concentration Camp, which is in Prijedor town, itself. I went there every day to give him some food. His brothers and uncle were also held there. The Serb lady who is married to my husband's uncle accompanied me every day and helped me because she knew someone there. But after that the Serbs transferred them to the infamous Omarska Concentration Camp, and

I never saw my husband again. At that time I was two months pregnant.

When I went back from my godmother's to our own house, my mother-in-law told me how the Serbs had arrested my father-in-law and his brother. After that, we heard that they too were in Omarska Concentration Camp.

Seven days later, my mother-in-law, myself and my daughter, and all the women from our family, joined a convoy to the Bosnian-controlled town of Travnic. In Travnic we stayed two weeks with a Muslim family. From there we travelled to Zagreb in Croatia where we stayed for two months with my aunt. My aunt had been living there for many years, but her flat was small, and she had no money. So we moved to the Resnik Camp for refugees, also in Zagreb. We were there for four months in a good situation.

While in Croatia, I met my father-in-law's brother who had been released from Omarska. He told me how the Serbs had killed my father-in-law because he refused to bow his head! He also told me how the Serbs had beaten my husband and his brothers with baseball bats.

When forced by the IRC, the Serbs started to release our men from Omarska. I often went to Karlovac in Croatia hoping to find my husband. One day I heard that my husband, his brothers and his uncle had been released, and they had gone to Travnic in a convoy. But when my brother came to Zagreb, he told me what actually happened, for he had been in that same convoy. Indeed, they were released, and they were in that convoy to Mount Vlasic. But there, the Serbs separated 250 men, allegedly for exchange. Among them was my husband. My brother told me how that same Dragan Mrdja, nicknamed 'Dado', had recognised my husband and called him out from the convoy. He also related how only my husband and two of his brothers had been in Omarska Concentration Camp. The third brother was killed in front of the gate at Manjaca Concentration Camp because he was among 150 of our fighters in the battle of Prijedor.

When my brother Redzo reached Zagreb, we decided to take refuge in Malaysia. My mother-in-law remained in Zagreb,

and after two months she went to Germany where she has relatives, and where she is now.

My husband's two brothers reached Germany safely and are now with my mother-in-law, while my godmother and godfather are in Holland. The husband and son of the Serb lady were released and they are living together in Prijedor.

I pray that my husband is still alive. He may be as I heard a month ago that there is one small place where the Serbs still keep our men as slave labourers.

Two days after I arrived in Malaysia I delivered our second daughter. I'm here with my brother and children. I would like to go to Germany to be with my mother-in-law and to wait for my dear husband."

22
ZAIM

"I am 28 years old, married with one child. We lived in the village of Velagici, near the town of Kljuc where I worked as a technician.

The war began in my village on 27th May 1992. Before that we had made our preparations; we had managed to buy some guns. On that day the Serbs bombarded our village. But when we had won a good position, for some unknown reason we were ordered to stop, and we had to do that. Until today I cannot understand why. Maybe it was because we didn't have a real possibility of holding that position, I wouldn't know. The next day the Serbs continued their bombardment of our village and the surrounding villages. In their attack on the village of Pudín Han, they killed 12 women and children. After that the men from that village surrendered, and we also decided to surrender.

The Serbs ordered that we must go to the town of Kljuc on 29th May. They put us in a sports hall where we were separated into three groups: those having guns; those without guns; and those with military guns. Then began the usual interrogation and beating. From there we were moved to Nova Gradiska jail where we remained for 14 days. We were beaten day and night. Then we were moved to Manjaca Concentration Camp where I was interned for seven months. During that time I personally knew 10 of our men who were killed by the Serbs. I was beaten many times, and like the other men I was obliged to work. And there my story follows those you have already been told. I was released on 14th December 1992.

The Serbs killed my father along with 180 men from our village, and they pushed out my mother, wife and child, to Croatia. My wife and child were able to join me when Malaysia offered asylum. But I'm only sorry for my mother who remains in Croatia."

The women left behind...

23

HATIDZA

"My home was in Sarajevo, the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am 39, married with a seven-year-old son, and worked as an accountant in a bank. My husband was a locksmith. We lived in a flat in Sarajevo. This is a city where all religions are found and where people of these religions freely mix with one another.

When the war began our men formed the Territorial Defence Organization; many Serbs from Sarajevo also joined in this defence effort. The first Serb to stand against the Serb nationalists was the commander of the police special guard.

Notwithstanding the attacks on Sarajevo, we all went on working as best as we could. I would walk to work. It was dangerous because of the continual shelling and the snipers, but despite the Serbs we tried to keep up with our work. I was able to go on working until 6th May 1992.

During the bombardments we were all together in the shelters: Serbs, Croats and Muslims. But invariably when any of our group was outside the flats, they would be shot at and killed, like eight boys from the neighbouring flats who were mowed down during their play. This created doubt and led our fighters to search all flats where Serbs were living. They found many weapons and bombs, but what was worse they found lists of names of Muslims to be exterminated. Our soldiers then realized that some of the Serbs, our neighbours, had signalled to the Serbs on the hills around Sarajevo when our people were gathered outside so that they could be targetted and killed. Our soldiers felt compelled to order the Serbs to leave that part of town. But before leaving, many of the Serbs dynamited their flats!

My son and I were in besieged Sarejevo for seven months. My husband was away fighting. We lived without electricity, water, and food, and we were always frightened. I lost 22 kilos in weight. I suffered most when my son would ask for food and

I didn't have any to give him. We received food packages from Merhamet, the Muslim charitable organization, but it was never enough. Because of this deprivation and fear, my son began to stutter. After seven months, I too was at the end of my tether.

I and 15 other women decided we must leave Sarajevo. Our soldiers warned us how dangerous it would be and that they could not guarantee our safety if we decided to leave the city as our part of the town was encircled by Serbs.

One night, at midnight, we started walking, 15 women and our children and three of our Bosnian soldiers. We had to walk until Bjelasnica Mountain. When we reached that mountain, the Serbs saw us and began to shell, but we were lucky, none of us were wounded. We had walked for 48 hours. From Bjelasnica we had to walk on to the town of Konjic which was under Bosnian control. There we were able to rest and to get food. Finally we got a bus to the Croatian city of Split on the Adriatic Sea. On the way the Serbs spotted our bus and shelled us. Fortunately, the driver had told us to be in the front of the bus and the shells hit the back, injuring no one.

In Split, we went our separate ways, because each of us had relatives somewhere to whom we could turn. When my son saw the shops in Split and the bananas, he stared at them for a very long time. I bought him two kilos of bananas, and he ate them all.

From Split we went to Zagreb, where I have a sister. She has lived there with her family for a long time. At first we could not sleep because of the quiet. But when there was the sound of a tram-car, my son thought it was shelling and would call me to run to a shelter.

Eventually, we were given refuge in Malaysia. Also here in Malaysia, in the beginning, we could not sleep because of the quiet. I am here with my son. My mother and my brother are in Bosnian-controlled Travnic. I haven't had any news from my husband since January 1993."

24
AJSA

"I am 41 years old with a daughter who is seven. I was a master-level teacher of Geography. I would not wish to say from what town I came for the sake of my husband, whom I pray may still be alive.

Before the war my husband, daughter and I lived in a large house with a large area of land. That town is small, and as my husband was the head of the best secondary school there, he was very respected. Everyone knew us, and we had a good life. We had only one problem, we waited a terribly long time to have a child. My husband was a member of SDA, the Democratic Action Party, and he was the president of the community of members in our municipality.

On 22nd May 1992 when the Serbs started shelling a nearby village, I went with my daughter, my sister-in-law (the wife of my husband's brother), and their three daughters, to the house of our relatives in the village of Rakovcani. My husband and his brother remained in our house. As the Serb shelling increased, we had to leave for the forest. There we found thousands of civilians from the nearby villages, because the Serbs were not only shelling the village of Hambarine, which had resisted them, but all the villages around. In the forest it was terribly cold, and it rained at night. The next day we moved on to the adjacent village; fortunately, we had our own car. The day before, my husband and his brother had joined us. We stayed in the home of my husband's sister, who is now in Croatia.

A few days after that one of our neighbours who has a battery-operated television came to tell us that he had seen the Serbs accusing my husband and his brother of being the organizers of the armed resistance. My husband's brother is a construction engineer; ironically, he worked in building the mine at Omarska that was to be used as a hideous concentration camp. He insisted he was innocent and would go on radio and television to denounce this slanderous accusation. He left for the town. At the very first barricade he was recognized by

the Serb reservist who took him to the police station, and he never came back. When my husband saw that his brother did not return, he was ready for arrest. That very evening a military lorry arrived with many soldiers who encircled our house. Two of them came inside and searched before taking my husband away with them. My husband just told me: "Take care of our daughter." I never saw my husband again. My daughter cried. I tried to pacify her saying her father would return, although I, myself, did not know whether he would.

A couple of days later, a few soldiers who were ex-school-boy students of my husband came and took away our car. When I asked about my husband and his brother they just answered, "Don't worry, they will be okay."

We remained in that village for a month. Many times I went to the town, although it was dangerous, trying to learn something about my husband. We had heard that he and his brother were taken to Omarska Concentration Camp. Because we knew well-known people, I went to them to ask, but nobody was ready to help because they said my husband was accused of very serious things.*

One day from a hill in that village we saw that the Serbs were burning many houses in the nearby village, also our own house. Before burning, they had pillaged those homes.

After another month, we went to a house in the suburbs where we had relatives and also my husband's sister. She was alone because the Serbs had taken her husband and her 17-year-old son off to Keraterm Concentration Camp. On 20th July, the Serbs encircled that part of the town and hundreds upon hundreds of soldiers came in from all sides. Before that they had destroyed the surrounding villages, killed the people or taken them off to concentration camps. Without bothering to question anyone, they started killing all the men in our street. Only two very old men managed to stay alive and one younger man because he went into hiding. The shooting and screaming were terrible. A few soldiers came into the house, searched, threw food all over the place, and forced us to go outside into

Ed. Note: as in all fascist systems, an accusation of guilt is sufficient.

the yard. Then they separated my father-in-law from us and killed him. He was 73 years old, yet before they killed him, they beat him. After that we were forced to go back into the house and were not even allowed to go out to bury him.

After three days, one of the Serb neighbours came and asked that my husband's sister sign a contract to sell her tractor to him and in return he would bury my father-in-law. She signed that agreement under duress, but he paid her nothing and once he took the tractor, we, ourselves, had to bury the body. His whole purpose in having her sign the document was to protect himself from other Serbs as now the Serbs were fighting one another over booty. When we went outside we saw many dead bodies on the streets. We — five women and two old men — had to bury five bodies.

Those who were still alive on our street grouped in two big houses and stayed together, because we were very frightened. The next day the Serbs came with buses and ordered us to enter. They took us to Trnopolje Concentration Camp. There were a few thousand people there and also a large group of older men who had been transferred there from Omarska. At night the soldiers would shout and verbally abuse all of us. They were mostly drunk. They continually demanded money and gold. I heard they had raped the girls, but I didn't see it myself.

After five days the Serbs came with many lorries and forced us into them. They were so full that we couldn't sit down; we were treated like cattle. They also closed the lorries with tarpaulins. It was July and very hot, 32° Celsius. My daughter was all the time in my arms. We had a problem breathing, and at one moment she turned blue and fainted. I had a little water with me which helped her.

From Mount Vlasic we walked 28 kilometres to Travnic. But we were lucky, the Serbs took whatever we had, but they didn't beat us or kill anyone.

In Travnic we remained for three weeks waiting for news of our husbands, but nothing came. We didn't know where we should go. Then we decided to go to the town of Sisak in Croatia, where we had relatives. There I heard how one night

the Serbs had taken two bus-loads of men out of Omarska Camp. They were mostly intellectuals. No one knows what happened to them. I was told that my husband was amongst them. But even the IRC has no information.

Now I am in Malaysia with my daughter and my sister-in-law with her daughters. I pray that my husband may still be alive. I learned that the Serbs have a pig farm between Banja Luka and Gradiska where they are keeping Muslim prisoners to work for them. This has given me hope."

25
HALIMA

"I am just 22 years old, married and with a daughter who is three years old. I am from the village of Kozarac near Prijedor.

On 24th May 1992, I was in my house washing clothes when I heard an alarm. My daughter was in my neighbour's house. I ran there, grabbed her and carried her running through fields and gardens to the shelter. All the inhabitants were running and crying. The shelter was full of women, children, and old people. Our husbands stayed outside with guns at the ready to fight.

The next day began the shelling of nearby Jakupovici village, and then of our own village. The shelling lasted all day. The children in the shelter were crying. We spent the night in that shelter expecting at any moment the Serbs would burst in and kill all of us.

The following day we decided to go back to our houses to remove whatever we really needed onto our tractors to bring back to the forest because shells were falling on our homes. On our way we saw dead people: women, children and men. A column of tractors moved into that forest. For two days we did not eat anything because we didn't even think about food.

The shelling became stronger, and we decided to walk to a house which was near the home of a few Serbs. We thought that house might be safe because of the Serb neighbours. We went there amidst the shelling; my husband went with us. That house was full of our neighbours. The next morning a Serb neighbour from a nearby house called us to his house saying we would be safe there. His house was full of Muslim villagers. We started to prepare some food, but at that moment one of our men came and told us we must be in front of the *masjid*, in the centre of the village, in five minutes time. That order came from the Serbs who had already entered the village. If we didn't go, they said they would kill all of us. I suggested to my husband that he run away to the forest and try to save himself, but he refused. On the way to the *masjid*, we saw many whom they had killed as well as burned or destroyed homes. All

around were Serb soldiers looting our homes of TVs, videos, anything of value. One of the Serbs even took the Holy Qur'an, tore out and ripped the pages which he threw on the street under our feet as we walked. When we reached the centre of the village, the Serbs separated the men from us. My husband gave me our daughter and told me with tears in his eyes: "Please take care of our daughter." It was to be our last meeting. The Serbs forced us to go faster, faster, even to step over dead neighbours. The Serbs then took us in buses to the front of the primary school in Trnopolje. They told us there were 'Green Berets' making an attack on Kozarac, and when they had smashed them, we could return to our village.

Around the school where we were detained was a fence and many Serb soldiers. Inside there were a few thousand people from nearby villages. My daughter was crying from hunger. For three days in Trnopolje we had no food. One woman gave my daughter a small piece of bread. A few of the children fainted from hunger.

In the first few days the Serbs killed many men, and the other men were forced to bury them. They also beat our men. Every day they took our men to Prijedor for interrogation. From there they would move them to concentration camps in Omarska or Keraterm. I don't know what happened to my husband. A few days later I heard that he, along with one group of our men, had been slaughtered. Until now I don't know what is the truth. Is he alive or is he dead? No one ever saw his body.

After six days, the Serbs brought a kettle for making tea and soup and those who had any utensil could take some and those who had not, could not! In Trnopolje we were continually hungry. Once when my daughter fainted from hunger I took her to see the Serb doctor from the Red Cross, but he only told me she was okay! One day the Serb soldiers gave us some milk for the children and biscuits, but at that moment a helicopter appeared above us and took photographs of us with that food. When their PR mission was done, the Serbs took away the food!

The Serbs didn't know what to do with us. Food was a problem. Finally, they allowed the women to go out to find some food in nearby houses. But for that we had to ask for a

document. Every day I went out to try and search for some food. Once when I was on my way back, I met one of our girls who was running and very frightened. She told me how the Serbs were taking girls outside the camp to rape them. That night I stayed in one house with a few women. But everywhere there was danger. The next day a few Serb soldiers came to that house and spoke of how good it was that we were there so that they might come back often and take joy in our company, which could only mean we would be sexually violated. I decided to go back to Trnopolje Camp because I felt safer amongst many people.

One day the Serb soldiers told us we must leave that area of Bosnia. The same day they took us to the railway station and put us in cattle-cars. There were about 7,000 of us, predominantly women and children. Everyone cried because each of us had someone in a camp in Keraterm or Omarska, and we had no idea where we were being taken. When we arrived at Banja Luka,^{*} we stayed in that train for a few hours while the Serbs decided what to do with us. Outside were Serb soldiers, and we could hear them discussing how it would be best to kill all of us!

Into the cattle-car wagon came three Serb soldiers who told us we must stay there for four days because our people in Doboij town, under Bosnian control, had refused to receive us. They asked us for money, saying they would buy us food. But they took our money and never came back.

A few hours later the train began moving. I don't know how long we travelled. When the train stopped and we went outside, we saw we were far from any town. We thought the Serbs had taken us this far away in order to kill all of us. We were surprised when we saw only a few soldiers near us. They ordered us to walk. We had to walk for a very long time until we arrived at a river. There they herded us across the bridge. When we reached the other side, we met other soldiers, and the first few disappeared. These new soldiers asked: "Where are the

* Ed. Note: the Serb authorities in Banja Luka deny that these cattle-cars had ever been there.

Chetniks?" We were so frightened and tired we could only beg them: "Please, just kill us, but don't rack us any more." Then they told us they were Muslims in the HVO: *Hrvatske Odbrambene Snage*, the Croat Defence Force.^{*} We could not believe they were our soldiers and we were alive and free. Their uniforms were the same as the Serbs, only their insignias were different. They took us walking to a village nearby called Ravan where the local people gave us some food and found us places to sleep in their houses and yards. The next day, walking, we headed for the town of Maglaj, which is 50 kilometres from that village. There my daughter and I stayed for a few days. From there we went by bus to the larger town of Zenica where we stayed for two weeks together with other refugees. From Zenica — this is a town in central Bosnia close to Sarajevo — I went on to Croatia. We stayed in a *masjid* in Zagreb, waiting for news of my husband. But no news came. In October I decided it was best to accept refuge in Malaysia. I am here with only my daughter. Members of my family, other than my dear husband, are in Croatia."

* Ed. Note: in Croatia there are two armed forces: HVO, Croat Defence Force, and ZNG, *Zbor Narodne Garde*, Croatian National Guard, which is the more nationalistic of the two. When the war began in Croatia, many Muslims stayed on to join the Croats in fighting the Serbs. Even Muslims from Bosnia went over to fight alongside the Croats.

When the war began in Bosnia, the Croats in Bosnia — in fact they are not ethnic Croats, but Bosnians of Catholic faith — formed their HVO in 'Croat' majority areas. In Muslim majority areas, the TO: *Teritorijalna Odrana* or Territorial Defence Organization was formed which included Muslims, Croats, and also Serbs.

The Bosnian HVO and TO later merged to become *Armija BiH* or the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbs in this Bosnian national army are primarily from urban areas, especially from Sarajevo, where people of all faiths have lived together harmoniously.

APPENDICES

TESTIMONY FROM ADEM OF RAMICI VILLAGE PROVES:

- 1) In Manjaca Concentration Camp, Vahid Ceric (previously commander of the territorial defence in Prijedor) betrayed and blackmailed his fellow prisoners. Appointed as leader of the group by the Serbs, he reported to them on his friends, who as a result were beaten and put into solitary confinement. He blackmailed his friends by demanding gold from them if they wished to escape beatings. It was estimated he earned about 5,000 DM and one kilo of gold from these activities.
- 2) Serb soldiers and policemen working at the Nova Gradiska prison who were very cruel and who tortured prisoners included: Drasko Mircic, Obrad Kosic, Dejan Majstorovic, Mladen Lovric, Zoran Vlahovic, Momcilo Grgic, Momir Bosancic, Jelenko Dobras, Radenko Stojcic, Nedeljko Gostivarac (from Ramici), Zoran Bojic, Zoran Bula, Milenko Djukic, Milenko Savic and Dragan Mirkovic.

**SERB CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND JAILS
IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA**

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
1.	Sarajevo - "Kula"	approx 30,000		500-850
2.	Sarajevo - Lukavica			
3.	Sarajevo - Vraca	over 27,000	over 500	
4.	Semizovac - Military Barracks	7,000		840
5.	Semizovac - Bunker	over 50		30
6.	Vogosca - Pension "Sonja"		over 100	
7.	Vogosca - Bunker			620
8.	Vogosca - Sports Centre			1,750
9.	Vogosca - Krivoglavci Tunnel			950
CARRIED FORWARD		64,050	600	4,690

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
BROUGHT FORWARD		64,050	600	4,690
10.	Vogosca - Factory			
11.	Ilidza - Old Medical Centre	over 300		520
12.	Ilidza - Police Station			150
13.	Ilidza - KSC Sports Centre	over 30,000		
14.	Ilidza - Camp "Luzani"			650
15.	Ilidza - Red Cross			400
16.	Ilidza - Hall of Energoinvest Blazuj Company			1,100
17.	Rajlovac - Barracks at Military Airport			
18.	Rajlovac - Dump			2,200
CARRIED FORWARD		94,350	600	9,710

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
	BROUGHT FORWARD	94,350	600	9,710
19.	Rajlovac - Camp		over 100	730
20.	Rajlovac - "Energo-petrol" (Petrol Station)			740
21.	Hadzici - KSC Sports Centre	over 300		2,500
22.	Ilijas - Primary School			450
23.	Ilijas - Primary School Podlugovi	approx. 200		750
24.	Ilijas - old house			
25.	Ilijas - "INA" Petrol Company			660
26.	Pale - Sports Hall	over 20,000		2,500
27.	Pale - Cinema			
	CARRIED FORWARD	114,850	700	18,040

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
	BROUGHT FORWARD	114,850	700	18,040
28.	Pale - Cultural Centre			
29.	Sokolac Town			
30.	Zvornik - Karakaj (area) Factory Glinica	3,000	over 400	1,500
31.	Zvornik - Stadium Divic			400
32.	Zvornik - village house in Celopek			
33.	Zvornik - Stadium of F K "Bratstvo"	7,000 - 8,000	over 2,000	
34.	Bratunac - Primary School			910
35.	Vlasenica - Susica Camp	approx. 3,000	over 1,000	1,200
36.	Visegrad - Police Station			
	CARRIED FORWARD	127,850	4,100	22,050

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
	BROUGHT FORWARD	127,850	4,100	22,050
37.	Visegrad - Sports Centre		over 1,000	1,630
38.	Visegrad - Hotel "Bikavac"			
39.	Visegrad - Hotel "Vilina vlas"			
40.	Rogatica - Centre of Secondary Schools			
41.	Rogatica - Camp Podosoj			2,300
42.	Rogatica - Primary School			
43.	Rogatica - Sladara Factory			500
44.	Foca - Jail	over 10,000	over 1,000	2,500
45.	Bijeljina - Camp			1,320
	CARRIED FORWARD	137,850	6,100	30,300

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
<hr/>				
	BROUGHT FORWARD	137,850	6,100	30,300
46.	Majevisa			860
47.	Ugljevik			600
48.	Ugljevik - Termoelektrana Power Station			7,000
49.	Lopare			
50.	Sekovici			
51.	Brcko - Luka (area)		over 3,000	5,000
52.	Brcko - "Faser" Car Depot			
53.	Brcko - Restaurant "Festfema"			
54.	Brcko - Brezovo polje (area)			5,000
55.	Doboj - Camp			
56.	Doboj - Softball Stadium	4,000		
<hr/>				
	CARRIED FORWARD	141,850	9,100	48,760

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
BROUGHT FORWARD		141,850	9,100	48,760
57.	Doboj - "Spreca" Jail			
58.	Doboj - Railway Station			
59.	Doboj - Secondary School Centre			
60.	Doboj - "Ozren" Sports Recreation Centre			1,400
61.	Teslic - "Proleter" Stadium			
62.	Teslic - "Banja Vrucica" Sanatorium			
63.	Banja Luka - Manjaca Military Camp			over 8,000
64.	Prijeedor - Omarska Mine			11,000
65.	Prijeedor - Tomasica Mine			
CARRIED FORWARD		141,850	9,100	69,160

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
BROUGHT FORWARD		141,850	9,100	69,160
66.	Prijedor Trnopolje Primary School			4,000
67.	Prijedor - Cela Village			220
68.	Prijedor - Kevljani Village			
69.	Prijedor - Brezicani Village Sports Hall			2,000
70.	Prijedor - "Keraterm" Ceramic Factory			3,000
71.	Prijedor - Sports Centre			2,600
72.	Prijedor - Mine in Ljubija			2,300
73.	Prijedor - Sivac Village			238
CARRIED FORWARD		141,850	9,100	83,518

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
BROUGHT FORWARD		141,850	9,100	83,518
74.	Prijeedor - Senkovac Village			
75.	Prijeedor - Majdan Village			
76.	Sanski Most - Sports Hall			over 2,000
77.	Bosanski Novi - Stadium			over 6,000
78.	Bosanska Krupa - Jasenica Village			
79.	Bosanska Krupa - Primary School			4,000
80.	Kotor Varos - Factory			
81.	Kotor Varos - Secondary School Centre			
82.	Kotor Varos			
CARRIED FORWARD		141,850	9,100	95,518

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
	BROUGHT FORWARD	141,850	9,100	95,518
83.	Stara Gradiska - Jail			1,500
84.	Banja Luka - "Tunjice" Jail			980
85.	Glamoc - Stadium			400
86.	Donji Vakuf - Head office of "Vrbas- prometa" Factory			860
87.	Donji Vakuf - in Omlandinska Street			440
88.	Trebinje - Military Jail			1,490
89.	Nevesinje Town			
90.	Gacko - Avtovac (area)			approx. 1,000
	CARRIED FORWARD	141,850	9,100	102,188

No.	Town/City	Number Initially Imprisoned	Number Killed	Number of Prisoners at 01.08.92
	BROUGHT FORWARD	141,850	9,100	102,188
91.	Gacko - Fazlagica Tower House			
92.	Bileca - Camp			approx. 2,600
93.	Kalinovik - "Jelasica"			60
94.	Kalinovik - Primary School			150
GRAND TOTAL		141,850/ 142,850	9,100	104,998/ 105,348

Source: Kuč, Ibrahim, *Srpski Koncentracioni Logori U Bosni* (Brčko: Agencija Saraj, 1993, pp. 79-84).

**CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND JAILS
IN SERBIA (#1-7) AND IN MONTENEGRO (#8-11)**

No.	Town/City	Prisoners at 01.08.92
1.	Loznica - Sports Recreation Centre	1,380
2.	Belgrade - Batajnica Military Airport Area	2,200
3.	Belgrade "4th July" Camp	2,500
4.	Nis - Military Camp	1,540
5.	Subotica Town	5,000
6.	Aleksinac - Unused Mine	4,000
7.	Sabac Town	1,460
8.	Mokra Gora - Uzice Town	3,000
9.	Prijepolje Town	480
10.	Herceg Novi - Baosici Town on Adriatic Sea	350
11.	Niksic Town	840
GRAND TOTAL		22,750

Source: Kuč, Ibrahim, *Srpski Koncentracioni Logori U Bosni* (Brčko: Agencija Saraj, 1993, p. 84).

INTERNAL AND LEGAL SUBSTRATUM OF THE BORDERS OF BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Considering the fact that BOSNIA was a part of the Ottoman State* from 1463, and HERCEGOVINA from 1482, until 1878, the borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA have double state and legal content:

1. international and legal, with respect to the neighbouring Christian states that surrounded BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA from the north, west, and partly from the south, and
2. administrative and legal, with respect to the borders with the other parts of the Ottoman State.

ad.1.

- a) The Sremski Karlovci Peace Treaty, signed in 1699, after the Viennese War between Austria and Ottoman Turkey: in the north, the border of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA ran along the Sava River; to the west it followed the Una River; while to the south it was almost identical with the present borders with Croatia or rather Dalmatia.
- b) The Treaty of Požarevac of 1718, signed between Austria and the Ottomans: borders under "a" were partly changed. Austria acquired 6-10 kilometres of land on the right banks of the Una and Sava rivers, as well as the town of Bijeljina. By this Treaty, the Venetian Republic was given the towns of Imotski and Cavčina, but it had to give over Gabela to the Ottomans. Additionally, by the Treaty with the Republic of Dubrovnik, the Ottomans obtained the towns of Neum-Klek and Sutorina, so that the Republic of Dubrovnik would be protected from the attacks of the Venetians.

* Ed. Note: 'state' rather than 'empire' as the Ottomans did not claim themselves the rulers of an 'empire' but of a *daulat* or 'state'.

- c) Peace between Belgrade and Austria was made in 1739. Austria lost all it had obtained under "b", with the exception of the town of Furjan.
- d) The Peace Treaty of Svištov was signed with Austria in 1791. Along with some Croatian towns (Cetin, Lapac, Srb), Dubica, Gradiška and Novi, which Austria had taken, were returned to the Ottomans as late as 1791 (the War of Dubica, 1788-1791). Such international borders remained mostly intact until the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878.

ad.2

The administrative borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA to the east, towards the Sanjak of Smederevo, were fixed, as were those to the south-east, as well as the border with the former Sanjak of Novi Pazar, which had been a constituent part of the Bosnian *eyalet* (*pashaluk*).

The Ottomans considered Montenegro to be Ottoman territory. Thus it was only on the insistence of the Great Powers, and after the defeat at Grahovo, that the borderline between a part of Hercegovina and Montenegro was drawn in 1868, but it did not have a pure international and legal character.

Only at the Congress of Berlin were borders with Serbia and Montenegro definitely determined, thereby acquiring international legal character.

II

In their entirety, the borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA obtained international and legal recognition at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, since that contract (Article 25) determined the territory that Austria-Hungary, by the mandate of the Great Powers, had the right to occupy and rule, while continuing under the sovereignty of the Sultan. (At that Congress the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, which had been a part of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA until 1872, was again separated from Bosnian and Hercegovinan territory and left under Ottoman rule).

Therefore, the complete international and legal recognition of the borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA — after a series of treaties signed from the Treaty of Karlovac onwards — took place for the first time at the Congress of Berlin.

Finally, in the context of the Treaty of St. Germain of 1919 the borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA were reaffirmed in their present form, a fact carefully omitted in current legal literature and treatises.

Namely in Articles 9 and 10 of that Treaty in which were stated so-called minority rights, which in some states (also in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) had to be observed and applied.

Articles 9 and 10, on the insistence of the Serbian delegates, WERE NOT MADE APPLICABLE to the minorities (Muslims among them) in the regions that belonged to Serbia on January 1, 1913: thus including the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, Macedonia, etc. Thus only BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA remained as an area in which minority rights set out in Articles 9 and 10 of the St. Germain Treaty had to be applied. For that reason, in the Appendices to the contract the borders of BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA were set out (therefore, internationally confirmed). These borders were spelled out in the contract itself at the request of Austria, which insisted that her obligations towards BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA arising out of the Congress of Berlin had also to be incorporated into the St. Germain Treaty.

(There is considerable literature dealing with Articles 9 and 10 of the St. Germain Treaty; among others should be emphasized: Franques-Duparc: *La protection des minorités de race, de langue et de religion*, Paris, 1922.)

Source: this is a considerably re-written version of a document under the same title which appeared in *Bosnia and the Bosnian Muslims: The Genocide Against the Bosnian Muslims* (Sarajevo: M. Imamovic, R. Mahmutcehajic, 1992).

ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, 1981/1991

Muslims	1981	1991
Bosnian Muslims	1,999,957	2,332,280
Albanians	1,730,364	2,054,370
Gypsies	168,099	208,000
Turks	101,191	121,000
TOTAL	3,999,611	4,715,650
Orthodox-Christians	1981	1991
Serbs	8,140,452	8,415,503
Montenegrins	579,023	569,038
Macedonians	1,339,729	1,419,943
TOTAL	10,059,204	10,404,484
Catholics	1981	1991
Croats	4,428,005	4,648,664
Slovenians	1,753,554	1,822,850
Hungarians	426,866	426,866
Italians	15,132	15,132
TOTAL	6,623,557	6,913,512
Others	1981	1991
TOTAL	1,219,045	861,269
GRAND TOTAL	1981	1991
	21,901,417	22,894,915

These are testimonies of survivors whose sufferings wrench our souls.

The tribulations of those who died under the barbarities of the Serbs they have carried to the grave, to the heavens beyond where surely they now dwell. May God give respite to the victims—sung and unsung—and to their families who have shared their pain.

The Serbs who would now rape, torture, murder, plunder and burn alive their fellow humans until yesterday were neighbours. Faced with this human deformation, we can only join in saying: “I have met the enemy, and it is me.”

Let our tribute to the brave Bosnian people be a commitment by each one of us to rid ourselves of our human capacity to commit atrocious sadistic violence against our fellow man.

Long live the brave Bosnian people!

Half of the profits from the sale of this book will be shared among the survivors who contributed their testimonies and the Bosnian woman who recorded their evidence.

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