

ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BiH¹
 COMMAND OF THE 28th DIVISION
 Strictly confidential No.04-72/95
 Srebrenica, 20 May 1995

Defence of the Republic
 Military secret
 Strictly confidential

Evaluation of the state of morale
 in the units of the 28th Division,
 is hereby delivered .-

Command of the 2nd K² Tuzla
 - Morale department -

In connection to your document, strictly confidential No.04/1/-NS/37, dated 4 May 1995.

a) Command of the 28th Division with general evaluations of combat morale

1. Our forces' morale

Restructuring of the 28th Division has not yet been entirely completed, but it is nearing its end. The 283rd iblbr³ that was declared a manoeuvre one is finally completely filled on the extraterritorial principle and was made operational for carrying out the most complex tasks, which by now it has been carrying out very successfully. It turned out that the functioning of that brigade was indeed hindered by its former Commandant. The forming of VP⁴ Company as a staff unit is also nearing its end, while DIČ⁵ has been completely formed and it represents the shock elite troops of the 28th Division. These days, since NS⁶ Major Ramiz Bećirević, who was wounded in the recent helicopter crash in Žepa, has slightly recovered, we have been finalising the consultations for filling the officer posts within the Command of the 28th Division. Upon finalising those tasks, the restructuring would be entirely completed. Problems are caused by some units, first and foremost by the 284th iblbr, the 282nd iblbr, and the 28th BB⁷, which, when it comes to resolving staff issues, still continue to resolve them by sticking to some [old] division into units that had been shut down, and which are a part of their composition.⁸ Nonetheless, such actions do not have a negative effect on the fighters' morale, but that is just something that individuals who want to build careers on are trying to force.

Pov.⁹ Srebrenica has granted authorisation to form a forward department of court martial, thus we are soon expecting a judge to be appointed and that very important institution to take root. The bad logistical supplies, especially those of food, clothes, and footwear, have a negative effect on the morale. It is extremely hard on us that the army is completely naked and barefoot, and we are unable to help them. In a few shipments, we received around 700 uniforms from GŠ¹⁰ of the Army of RBiH¹¹, but we are still unable to create a redistribution key without causing a general revolt. How does one distribute 700 pairs to 6,200 soldiers without causing

¹ Translator's note: Bosnia and Herzegovina

² t/n: Corps

³ t/n: East Bosnian Light Brigade

⁴ t/n: Military Police

⁵ t/n: Sabotage and Reconnaissance Company

⁶ t/n: Chief of Staff

⁷ t/n: Mountain Battalion

⁸ t/n: the end of the sentence does not make sense in the original text, thus it was translated literally

⁹ t/n: abbreviation unknown, most likely an institution that is authorised to allow forming of such departments, perhaps it refers to some kind of Srebrenica Commission

¹⁰ t/n: Main Staff

¹¹ t/n: Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

a general revolt and a fall of b/m¹²? All units are complaining about anything else being in the possible ones¹³ [sic] and are mentioning as allegedly bad examples that we borrowed /5 pairs/ [?of boots and uniforms] to the municipal authority representatives [to use] for two days time during their trip through PZT¹⁴ to Žepa to visit those that were injured in the helicopter crash.

The people have an extremely positive attitude towards the Army of RBiH. The mood of the people gets worse when some of the members of the Army of RBiH during their free time shoot around the town or commit a criminal offences. There truly were such cases, and there was especially a lot of shooting on the occasion of the Eid al-Fitr. Such carelessness was emphasised by the absence of the Commandant of the Division, who is in Tuzla at the moment. However, it is positive that the Command of the 28th Division is doing everything to form VP as soon as possible and to put an end to such scenes. The people are mentally exhausted and they want to meet with their families who are in other parts of the free territory or abroad. This panic caught one part of the members of Army of RBiH, especially the 284th iblbr. Such state in the 284th iblbr was aided by the difficult social conditions as well as the poor operating of the Command of the Brigade.

The department of the Ministry of Defence in Srebrenica has not yet managed to enter its work in the files. Thus, no conscript yet has a military service book. Their shortcomings are mainly caused by objective

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difficulties, but they have a negative effect on the OS¹⁵ functioning system.

Problems in the work of the bodies of civilian authorities are connected to the polarisation within SDA¹⁶, within its branches for Srebrenica and Bratunac, and they have a negative influence on the fighters' morale. Those divisions often allow for spreading of various rumours that cause panic among people and population. The Security Department of the 28th Division is unable or unwilling to obtain the names of the true vessels of disinformation.

An extremely positive effect on the morale had the fact that the training had been completed in all units. The training has not yet been finished by the 280th iblbr for justified reasons.

One can feel the need in Srebrenica for a visit by one highest state delegation, primarily SDA leaders who would help solve the problems within that same party because the situation is critical and there could be undesirable consequences. On 19 May 1995, around 24 hours, on the Srebrenica-Potočari road, former Chief of Srebrenica SJB¹⁷ Hamed Salihović was murdered, and an MP of the Republic Ibran Mustafić was wounded. There is an ongoing investigation, but this event and a series of others are associated with the aforementioned polarisation within the SDA for Srebrenica.

Despite all above-stated problems, the combat morale of our fighters is still at a satisfactory level.

2. Aggressor's morale

¹² t/n: combat morale

¹³ t/n: the first part of the sentence does not make sense in the original text, thus it was translated literally

¹⁴ t/n: temporarily occupied territory

¹⁵ t/n: Armed Forces

¹⁶ t/n: Party of Democratic Action

¹⁷ t/n: Public Security Station

The aggressor is holding the entire line along the length of the free territory within unchanged borders around Žepa and Srebrenica. Through constant provocations from infantry and anti-aircraft weapons [the aggressor] is disturbing the people in DMZ¹⁸. Since the aggressor was expecting a decision to be brought for the withdrawal of UNPROFOR, it has denied them any type of movement should they wish to replace personnel, and it only allows them the departures. It prevented the delivery of oil¹⁹ and petroleum products to the UN forces so as to make them powerless in case they would be ordered to defend themselves.

No matter the losses it suffered in other battlefields in RBiH, the aggressor is maintaining good morale thanks to the strong technical supremacy and logistical support.

On 23 May 1995, in Bratunac-Milići sector, aggressor's army helicopters that were delivering MTS²⁰ were once again noticed.

In the addendum of the report, we are forwarding you the reports that arrived from the units:

1. The 280th iblbr,
2. The 281st iblbr,
3. The 282nd iblbr,
4. The 283rd iblbr,
5. The 284th iblbr,
6. The 28th bb.
7. Report from the 285 ibr²¹ Žepa was not delivered by the unit.

NM/ŠZ²²

PK²³ for morale
C a p t a i n,
Nijaz Mašić

1. Our forces

a) The state on the lines of our z/o²⁴ is as usual and mainly unchanged. All units were put on first degree of readiness. Reconnoitring and observations are carried out from the line of our responsibility on a daily basis in order to notice even the slightest movements of the enemy forces. The surface of our z/o has remained unchanged, and all the lines and axes towards the enemy have been reinforced and filled to the maximum, by personnel as well as by armament and general MTS.

b) The state on the lines of our responsibility is satisfactory, and there is a high level of patriotism and determination to, within the limits of our abilities, physical and material conditions, resist or at least stop the enemy. All members of our units as well as the entire population

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wish and want to proceed until final victory and freedom. It is true that the muhajir²⁵ citizens are again troubled and taken over by thoughts that unless offensive operations happen soon they should head down that uncertain path that many have gone down so far. All those news and information that something would be done for these people and the entire territory of the Republic of BiH has a positive influence on the state of

¹⁸ t/n: demilitarised zone

¹⁹ t/n: petroleum

²⁰ t/n: material and technical equipment

²¹ t/n: most likely a typing mistake, also stands for East Bosnian Light Brigade

²² t/n: abbreviations unknown, most likely initials

²³ t/n: Assistant Commandant

²⁴ t/n: zone of responsibility

²⁵ t/n: Arabic word for refugee, emigrant, or immigrant

morale and [their] will to live to see it happen. Everything else, i.e. realisation that maybe nothing will be done [about it] this summer either has a completely negative influence on the state of the morale of both the [army] members and the people, and especially of the muhajirs. Also, further weight is added to those facts by the constant problems with the humanitarian aid, especially the information about inadequate and insufficient distribution of the humanitarian aid.

As for those information-disinformation, we will mention here the frequent statement that the money had arrived for these [men], or for those [men], as well as the latest finding that while certain officials of the municipal authorities were being escorted to and from Žepa on a secured path, they wore full dress military uniforms while those soldiers that were escorting and securing the corridor were barefoot and naked, which additionally troubles each [army] member in this area and has a negative influence on them.

2. The aggressor

As for the enemy forces, they are on their usual lines on which they were before, without movements, but with additional engineering digging in and moving of a tank in Buljim. What is noticeable is the grouping of enemy soldiers and their constant presence on the lines, them being of different age structure, and possessing their usual [type of] MTS that they possessed before. As for the state of the aggressor's b/m, we have no information about the evaluation with the exception of occasional individual signalling on the demarcation lines, where one can notice the rising impatience and the growing insecurity about the outcome of all of this. There is no [information] about there being citizens of Muslim nationality in the PZT, thus we have no reports about actions against them and how they are being treated. There are always infantry provocations by the enemy, but since 1 May 1995 there are constant shootings at and shelling of our z/o lines and the territories within MZ²⁶. We delivered [information about] the disciplinary measures and behaviour in the monthly reports, yet the disorganisation within units in the sense of formation, in these new formations, affects the carrying out of disciplinary measures and proceedings, thus they cannot be carried out in the best form and order.

Until final victory!

PK for morale
C a p t a i n,
Alija Jusić

The 281st iblbr

1. The combat morale of the members of the 281st East Bosnian Light Brigade is still unchanged considering the situation that we are in and the situation in the whole free territory of the internationally recognised RBiH. These days, wartime-induced psychosis is present and noticeable, and it is especially visible in civilians and one part of our brigade's members. The new situation in the area of the neighbouring Republic of Croatia.²⁷ A large number of Serbs, among whom many are fit for the army and are armed, who can make the already difficult situation even worse, especially with intensification of the aggressor's attacks at our defenders' lines, while the civilians are systematically inhabiting the houses and apartments of the Bosniak residents.²⁸

- People's concern is noticeable and it is caused by the unfortunate event involving the helicopter in the area of Žepa, and there is concern about the potential outflow of men fit for the army from this area. We are suggesting to the Command of the 28th Division as well as the Command of

²⁶ t/n: local community

²⁷ t/n: the sentence was unfinished in the original text, thus it was translated literally

²⁸ t/n: the sentence was unfinished in the original text, thus it was translated literally

the 2nd Corps to make some visible progress for the citizens and members of the 28th Division in order to ensure a definite survival of those fit for the army on the territory of the free Srebrenica, and thus relieve the citizens' tensions in order for them to survive in the territory without troubles.

With the expiration of four-months-long ceasefire and with the arrival of more favourable days for carrying out combat operations, both the fighters and people of the Srebrenica area are living in hope of not awaiting the next winter in the existing encirclement, but instead managing to link-up with the free territories of Tuzla and Sarajevo.

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The desire for leaving this casemate is immeasurable, and we thus rightfully conclude that the morale, on those grounds, of each resident of the heroic Srebrenica is at the highest level.

Humanitarian aid is arriving to the address of all residents of Srebrenica, without emphasis on priorities or particular separation for individuals, especially when it comes to the smaller quantities of strategic and vitamin foodstuffs, like the last case we had with the biscuits for children, which instead of being given to the children who were eagerly expecting them, they were instead exchanged in larger quantity for marks²⁹ at the market. When the members of our brigade saw that, their morale was not only unsatisfactory but was in the fourth quadrant of the Venn diagram.

2. These days, the Chetnik³⁰ leader Vojislav Šešelj has been intensively visiting the temporarily occupied territories in order to try and save the wavering moral and political state of the population that is in a crisis, especially due to the successes of the Croatian army in the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the great exodus of Serbs from those areas. Our reconnaissance and sabotage units reconnoitred these days the territories deep behind the Chetnik lines and noticed the truly vast spaces without any residents, even in the Serb settlements that are far behind their first lines.

Officer for morale
Alija Ademović s.r.³¹

3. The 282nd iblbr

1.4. On the basis of the Order by the 2nd Corps, strictly confidential No.02/1-474/1, about the state of the combat morale, an evaluation of the 282nd iblbr was carried out and the determined state of b/m in the 282nd iblbr was satisfactory.

The recent operations and successes of the ARBiH³² had a positive influence on b/o³³ morale and our units. But there is a series of factors that have a negative influence on b/o morale of our unit, and they are the following:

First of all, there are the poorly equipped soldiers, unresolved housing issues, and low supply of food.

One of the factors that affect b/o morale of our unit's soldiers is the psychological burden caused by the long blockade.

Within our unit's z/o, those same factors affect the morale and mood of the civilian population.

²⁹ t/n: a currency

³⁰ t/n: derogatory term for Serbs - member of Yugoslav royalist and Serbian nationalist movement in World War II in Yugoslavia

³¹ t/n: personal signature

³² t/n: Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

³³ t/n: combat

2. On the basis of the information that we have, there are frequent cases of defecting among aggressor soldiers, which only indicates that their b/o morale is low, and they treat those soldiers very strictly.

Within our z/o we are unable to evaluate the political mood of the aggressor's civilian population because we have no contact with the civilian population.

PK for morale
Lieutenant
Hajrudin Bajraktarović

4. The 283rd iblbr

a) Our forces' morale

1. Positive b/m indicators

Pursuant to the Order of the superior Command, the 283rd iblbr is to be restructured into a manoeuvre brigade on the extraterritorial principle. During the previous period, a lot has been done on the forming of the lower basic units and the Command of the Brigade. However, the final formation of the brigade has not been completed due to the absence of the Commandant of the Brigade and the lack of quality MTS. The unfinished work on the forming of the brigade is making the effective and normal functioning of the brigade as a whole more difficult in many ways /most officers were not appointed to the formation positions by orders, more officers are undertaking one same duty, eighty members were not in favour of entering the manoeuvre brigade and they have not been deployed to other units, and so on/, thus, during the following period, adequate measures should be

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taken in order to solve the above-stated problems and to finally organise, in the sense of formation, the basic units and the Command of the Brigade in accordance with the new "Temporary war formation".

- Pursuant to the order of the superior Command, one light infantry company /equipped with adequate MTS/ from the composition of the 285th iblbr /Žepa/ joined, in the sense of formation, the composition of the 283rd iblbr.

With the aim of finalising the formation lists for the lower formation units, as well as getting insight into the level of military training of unit members, the Command of the Brigade formed a group of four officers and sent them to Žepa with the following tasks:

- Carry out the lining up and the parading of the company and acquaint it with the intention and tasks of the 283rd iblbr as a manoeuvre brigade during the following period.
- Obtain the formation lists of units.
- Carry out analysis of the work on the plan of military and professional training.
- Establishing the level of unit's b/g³⁴.

The group has not yet returned from the task.

- During the previous period, members of the brigade carried out all set tasks in the field in a conscientious, disciplined, and responsible manner. Even though the 283rd iblbr, as a manoeuvre brigade, does not have its own z/o, with the aim of reinforcing l/o³⁵ and the safety of z/os of other brigades of the 28th Division, during the previous period, members of the brigade were engaged in carrying out the following tasks:

³⁴ t/n: combat readiness

³⁵ t/n: line of defence

- Members of the 1st LPČ³⁶ regularly and on a daily basis carried out the "PATROLE SERVICE" in z/o of the 280th iblbr.
- Members of POČ³⁷ and the 3rd LPČ and of other units /each consisting of 25 armed fighters/, on a daily basis and regularly, assisted the members of the 282nd iblbr in defending and controlling l/o in "Jovino Brdo" sector.
- Members of the 2nd LPČ and DIV [are to] regularly carry out the "PATROLE AND RECONNAISSANCE SERVICE" in Podravanje sector on the axis of Buća-Poljanci-Previja-Brestovik voda.
- With the aim of securing the corridor through Podravanje, in the period between 7 May 1995 and 16 May 1995, 217 members of the brigade were engaged directly on the first line, while also soldiers and officers, in that same number, were on stand-by for potentially assisting the carrying out of the task of securing [the corridor].

Even though during the previous period we have been experiencing very difficult weather conditions /rain, extreme cold/ for carrying out the tasks in the field, all set tasks are executed successfully despite the lack of quality footwear, clothes, and sleeping bags, thanks to the high moral conscience and soldier responsibility of the brigade members. With the aim of improving the social situation of the families of killed and severely injured soldiers, during the previous period, five members of families of killed fighters were hired to work with the UNPROFOR, and the children were given out 140 boxes of biscuits.

- With the aim of raising the general level of v/s³⁸ training, as an important element of b/m of both soldier and officer troops, the planned v/s training, despite the difficult conditions /many field tasks, sowing season, and so on/ is being carried out on a regular basis. During the previous period, a cycle of v/s training in MILITARY TOPOGRAPHICS AND MILITARY SECURITY was completed with all members of the brigade. Around 85% members participated in the training, which is a somewhat lower attendance in comparison to the previous period.

Looking at the general living and working conditions, we can be satisfied with the fighter's interest in and attendance of v/s training, considering the large number of problems that the fighters are facing in their daily lives.

With the aim of raising the level of brigade members' v/s training, the Command of the Brigade shall insist on and push the execution of the programme for general and specialist v/s and physical and psychological training, despite the problems.

2. NEGATIVE COMBAT MORALE INDICATORS

- Negative b/m indicators from the previous period are ongoing at the present moment.

That period is characterised by:

1. Still unexecuted social categorisation of population by the competent authority bodies.

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2. Unexecuted process of awarding ranks to the officer staff on all levels of RiH- [sic]

3. Lack of quality footwear and clothes.

4. Fighters' and their families' diet still consists of the received humanitarian aid which, even though it's of low range of products and of low energy-lifting effects, does not come on a regular basis to Srebrenica.

³⁶ t/n: Light Infantry Company

³⁷ t/n: Anti-Tank Company

³⁸ t/n: abbreviation unknown, most likely meaning military and professional

5. What also has a negative influence on the fighters' b/m is the fact that the Command of the Brigade and the Morale Department are still dealing exclusively with resolving the social status problems of the families of killed and severely injured fighters, due to the fact that the Secretariat for the Veteran-Invalid Issues of the fighters, within the bodies of municipal authority, still has not taken root. And the social issues of active fighters are still piling up, while the [poor] living and working conditions of active fighters and their families are also piling up. Accordingly, 66 fighters and officers do not have adequate accommodation, 84 soldiers are requesting stoves and iron chimneys, 84 soldiers are requesting beds, and 32 of them mattresses. During the following period, measures will have to be taken in order to resolve the above-stated issues because in the opposite there could be a significant fall of b/m.

b) Enemy's morale

- The 283rd iblbr does not have its own z/o, thus we do not have the opportunity to gain insight into the state of b/m of aggressor soldiers in PZT in comparison to our own z/o. However, if we were to give an evaluation of b/m of aggressor soldiers in PZT throughout the RBiH, we can conclude that the aggressor soldiers' b/m is very low. Reasons for such an evaluation are the defeats they are suffering on battlefields throughout the RBiH, and especially in z/o of the 5th Corps of the Army of RBiH. The idea about creating a "Greater Serbia" has finally failed, thus the common people are starting to realise that any further combat is meaningless. To that end, we should increase the intelligence and propaganda activities on all levels of organisation of the Army of RBiH.

3. Final evaluation of b/m

Despite the poor living and working conditions, we are evaluating the combat morale of the brigade fighters as good. Good b/m is present due to the high patriotic consciousness of the fighters and their will to reach the final triumph of peace and freedom and to return to their homes, as well as due to the efforts made by the bodies and commands of the Army of RBiH.

PK for morale
C a p t a i n
Amir Kulagić

5. The 284th iblbr

1. Factors affecting the morale

a) Positive: After the performed training of all units /companies and platoons/ during the previous month, lasting two days each, the topic being machinery training: tactical training, department, platoon, [and] company during attack, navigation /using map and portable means/, communication means, medical squad, infantry armament with aiming training, department, platoon, [and] company during defence and engineering training, an altogether of twenty teaching classes. Also, these days, more precisely on 3 May 1995, training was performed that dealt with those same topics, and it was done with the entire Command Staff of the Brigade, i.e. the Commanders of the departments, platoons, and companies, and their deputies, as well as the entire DIV in Viogor sector, and it included practical work. After the aforementioned trainings were completed, their b/m was increased a lot.

The MTS delivery from the Staff of VK³⁹, primarily in ammunition and anti-tank materials.

The more regular arrivals of humanitarian aid convoys, and in accordance with that, giving out flour, salt, and oil to the brigade members as stimulus measures.

³⁹ t/n: Supreme Command

b) Negative: Bad accommodation of fighters and their families, as well as families of killed fighters, along with the new firings of the members of our brigade by the owners of private houses, without anyone among the military and civilian authorities of Srebrenica municipality doing anything to prevent that.

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- Lack of clothes and footwear, and due to that even those that arrived via ŠVK⁴⁰ are in the storage room, and the army is carrying out tasks on a daily basis under such conditions.

- The crash and deaths of pilot officers and doctors in the Žepa sector, that happened on 7 May 1995, who had the intention to help the people and fighters of the free territory of Srebrenica municipality.

Attempts of individuals from the Command of the 28th Division and the civilian authorities of Srebrenica municipality to take away from our soldiers, who [?were] with two other men, one fighter from SBB⁴¹ and the other one a civilian⁴², around 110 sheep and lambs that they had brought there from the Chetnik territory from the Lukić Polje sector, from Milići. Our command and other fighters stood up to that indecent act that cannot be justified.

- About one third of our fighters have been separated from their families, some of them for as long as three years, which clearly indicates that if we do not work on the linking-up of the territories, i.e. reconnecting the fighters with their families, many will soon search for a way through the Chetnik lines which can lead to extremely undesirable consequences, both for the people and the survival of the brigade.

2. Aggressor's morale

Since the operation of taking away the sheep from the Chetnik territory, only two kilometres from Milići, was carried out, that tells us enough about how the Chetniks feel, both civilians and their army. After that act, they are no longer safe, either on the line of contact with our forces or deep behind their lines.

PK for morale
Džemail Bećirović

We wish to remind you that the 28th BB Srebrenica was formed of Glogova SBB, fighters of the 16th Muslim [Brigade], and a smaller number of soldiers from municipalities of Srebrenica, Han Pijesak, and Vlasenica. Knowing everything these fighters have been through in their living and warring time, I wish to mention that in this 28th BB there are 90 alone fighters, those who have been away from their dearest for the fourth year already. Their life and standard of living are awful; we live in these difficult conditions without a sufficient quantity of food, barefoot, [and] naked, because this unit was the last to come to town out of the entire population. The big protest from the extended meeting of the officers of the 28th BB was directed at the very distribution of humanitarian aid in this town. It is sad to say that the residents of this town and surrounding villages have the same status as the refugees, and we can even say greater rights than the refugees when it comes to the humanitarian aid. We cannot skip to mention the market either. Most of the goods that are being sold [there] are from the humanitarian aid. It is all from our storage rooms,

⁴⁰ t/n: Staff of the Supreme Command

⁴¹ t/n: Individual Mountain Battalion

⁴² t/n: one part of the sentence does not make sense in the original text, thus it was translated literally

kitchens, and the biggest source is the Department store. All that is watched by our authorities in silence, thus we wonder why is it so, and whether they are accomplices in that smuggling or they are unable to stop it.

I wish to look back at the very beginning again. As we said, there are 90 fighters who are alone, who are away from their closest and who wish to reunite with their families, and are speaking to the 2nd Corps and requesting a definitive answer whether they are thinking about [doing anything to achieve] the link-up of these territories with the free areas of Kladanj or Tuzla. If they do not want that, the fighters want them to know that they will leave this town. I would also like to mention that we are ready for all combat operations in any direction of our BiH. Leaving this territory is hard on us, but the living standard and conditions allow us to think like that. One big problem of this battalion is that during its forming, the made officers were deployed to other units' commands. Thus, we only have the Commandant of the Battalion, while others have not been made officers. We are indignant at the 28th Division itself because not a single person from our brigade is in the Command or on any other key position in the municipality or in the distribution of humanitarian aid. Until yesterday, we were a manoeuvre unit of the 28th Division, which we believe we deserved to be, but many things that were forced on us during the very forming of the manoeuvre brigade we could not accept. We remained further as the Independent 28th BB Srebrenica under the command of the 28th Division. All attempts of shutting down the battalion were met by the fighters' strong resistance. In that manner, we remained stronger and more determinate for further operating. We would also like to mention that our firepower is not weaker than a brigade's. That can be seen by the z/o held by the 28th BB. It was once a brigade [that held it], and now we are the only carriers of that z/o.

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We are also indignant at the work of the 2nd Corps and the failed offensives on Majevisa. Because that is our main unit that this area trusts in, but all in all it was just bad luck. We are glad that this 28th BB has good reputation among the population and that it cooperates with the civilians in its z/o.

The high morale of the fighters of the 28th BB can be sensed with the return of this battalion's Commandant, because all sorts of rumours were going around this town. We would also like to mention the delivery of MTS for this area, because we are becoming stronger and stronger day by day. Looking at the circumstances from the beginning of the war, we are much stronger and more determined to retrieve our temporarily occupied territories.

We would like for some top people in this town to re-examine themselves and to perceive the circumstances in which these people live, especially the families of our killed fighters, who gave their lives for our dear and one and only homeland of BiH. It is hard on each fighter to look at our municipal officials wearing our military uniforms, and our fighters are, believe me, barefoot and naked and are still carrying out their tasks flawlessly. A great discrepancy was made between the soldiers and workers under work obligations, and judging by everything the workers are more acclaimed and have greater rights than the soldiers. Let us just recall the footwear, toothpastes, and so on; that is all hard on each soldier of ARBiH. We are mentioning here again that should there be no combat operations leading towards this area, the fighters stated that they shall

leave this territory because they desire to see their loved ones and to lead better lives, because this is unbearable.

Within z/o of our 28th BB we are very familiar with the Chetnik forces and their aim and axis. We know that the enemy force [located] in our z/o is one battalion. The battalion consists of domestic population from the so-called Republic of Srpska, who had been deployed from Zenica to Bratunac and placed in Muslim houses and apartments. The type of the unit is, as mentioned, a battalion with great combat experience. We know that special Chetnik forces such as for example Arkan's men⁴³, Mungosi⁴⁴, Drina Wolves⁴⁵, and strong forces from Serbia /Valjevo, Užice, and Novi Sad Corps/ used to attack along these axes. The logistical support of Chetnik forces within our z/o is good, and they are 100% equipped with MTS. The weapons they have in our z/o are the T-55 tank, a personnel carrier with cannon, pragas⁴⁶, artillery battery of MBs⁴⁷, howitzers, and so on.

Their access areas are thoroughly mined. The age structure is between 30 and 55 years of age, them being of primary and secondary education. They are non-stop engaged on the lines, and the rotation is carried out on the lines at different times during the week. Chetniks' treatment of their disobedient soldiers consists of abuse, apprehension, and so on. We know that the local Serb radio stations of Bratunac, Milići, Pale, and so on, are strong on the side of media informing, and they publish many incorrect things that we are acquainted with.

Looking at all the factors mentioned above that have a negative effect on this entire area as well as the fighters of this battalion.⁴⁸ As for the combat morale for the combat operations, it is safe to evaluate the general combat morale of the fighters of the 28th BB Srebrenica as high.

Until final victory!

Oper. komp.⁴⁹
Safija Jusufović

PK for morale
Zurijet Mumović

⁴³ t/n: The Serb Volunteer Guard - a Serbian volunteer paramilitary unit founded and led by Željko Ražnatović known as Arkan

⁴⁴ t/n: Serbian volunteer paramilitary unit that was formed as a sabotage and reconnaissance platoon

⁴⁵ t/n: a sub-unit of the Zvornik Brigade

⁴⁶ t/n: praga - a Czechoslovakian self-propelled anti-aircraft gun developed in the late 1950s

⁴⁷ t/n: mortar

⁴⁸ t/n: the sentence was unfinished in the original text, thus it was translated literally

⁴⁹ t/n: abbreviations unknown, most likely meaning typist