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Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina  
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE  
TUZLA SDB<sup>1</sup> SECTOR

~~02966204~~ [crossed out in original text]

STATE SECRET

/registration number/

/date of registration/

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Line of work: 02

Operative worker: JM339, JK189

NO. [handwritten numbers: 14-1441]

Date: 14 August 1995

#### OFFICIAL NOTE

During July 1995 we conducted multiple informative interviews with exiled citizens from Srebrenica area regarding the facts connected to security-wise relevant information from the period of 1994-1995 that influenced the fall of Srebrenica.

The sources told us that in May 1994 a Transitional Municipal Council was established in Srebrenica SO<sup>2</sup>. The engineer Osman Suljić was appointed the President of the council, Adem Salihović was appointed the Head of the Municipal Council, and Hamdija Fejzić [underlined in original text] is his Deputy. The Transitional Municipal Council immediately started working on constituting the civilian authorities. Municipal institutions were established, a court that Mesud Omerović [underlined in original text] was appointed the President of, Srebrenica SJB<sup>3</sup> with the Chief Hakija Meholjić [underlined in original text], Civil Defence with the Commandant Jusuf Halilović [underlined in original text]. Džulzida<sup>4</sup> [sic] Akagić was appointed the Public Investigative Prosecutor [underlined in original text]. The Transitional [handwritten note: Council] with the newly formed institutions is trying to implement the existing laws and decisions brought by the bodies of civilian authorities and Municipal Council throughout the entire area of the free municipality during wartime. It has all been difficult to do because there was anarchy since the beginning of the war. In the period of 1994, the work of the Court and the Civil Defence were particularly visible. The biggest problem for the municipality was how and in which manner should the humanitarian aid be distributed and the exiled citizens placed. That is when the Municipal Council made the decision to form the central warehouse and the commission for distribution of humanitarian aid. Hazim Hodžić [underlined in original text] was the director for humanitarian aid, Senad Delić the president of the central commission [underlined in original text], and other members were trustees from [different] local communities. Šaban Fejzić, Sadik Suljagić, Šefik Hasanović, and others [underlined in original text] were in the central warehouse in the Department Store in Srebrenica. The humanitarian aid that was received per family member was enough to help [the people] survive for as short as a week.

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<sup>1</sup> Translator's note: State Security Service

<sup>2</sup> t/n: Municipal Assembly

<sup>3</sup> t/n: Public Security Station

<sup>4</sup> t/n: actual first name is Džuzida

The citizens requested via trustees that the Municipal Council annuls its decision [handwritten note: on humanitarian aid distribution], makes social security cards for each citizen, and creates several categories for food distribution. They believed that those who owned land should get somewhat less of the aid than those who do not own it, and they made up about 60%. President Suljić together with the other members of the Municipal Council did not change the decision even though they knew that in the area of Sućeska, Bektići, Potočari people lived well in comparison to the very town of Srebrenica where about 35000 citizens lived and they lived exclusively off the humanitarian aid. Day after day, the situation was becoming more complex, robberies started happening, and the fear rising among the citizens from May 1995 until the fall of Srebrenica. Children went away from homes and begged. In that period, men that were physically fit for military service were heading towards Tuzla in droves, women feared for the children due to the hunger, and everybody was expecting that 1993 when people were dying of starvation would happen all over again. The citizens were commenting among themselves that they would head towards Tuzla with the children on their own initiative. Chetniks from the surrounding hills of Pribićevo, Jadar, and Zalazje were saying that they would not let the humanitarian aid pass through and that the citizens would die of starvation, that Srebrenica was sold, and that they should go to Tuzla. Radio Bratunac asked all citizens of Srebrenica to leave Srebrenica, [and stated] that the corridor towards Tuzla was opened, and that the Serb authorities guaranteed them free passage. Civilian authorities were acquainted with all this and did nothing about it. On one occasion at the end of 1994, Suljić Osman, as a guest of the Gost Studija<sup>5</sup> show, spoke via Radio Srebrenica and answered questions asked by citizens. Some of the questions asked were the following: For how long will Ramo Karačić [handwritten note, probably correction of surname: Kadrić], called Hljebara<sup>6</sup>, sell flour from the humanitarian aid at the market, followed by for how long would humanitarian aid be sold in order to organise weddings for some individuals at the Domavija hotel [underlined in original text], and there really were weddings. Every day citizens came to the Municipal Hall to ask for help, [handwritten note: in] the Municipal Hall they often told them that they had no food, and when the citizens asked what should they do, they sometimes [handwritten note: responded] with "eat grass" and so on. Due to discontent and hunger, the central warehouse in the Department Store was frequently broken into, and that was usually done by soldiers of Naser Orić and Zulfo Tursumović [sic], as far as the sources know, they did not return the goods to the warehouse nor were some measures taken against the above-named. Members of the police worked on securing the central warehouse.

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<sup>5</sup> t/n: Studio Guest

<sup>6</sup> t/n: bread maker

The humanitarian aid goods in their original packaging were sold at the market, and the goods were the following: flour, oil, sugar, salt, and so on. Occasionally, the policemen took the goods away and transported them to the police station.

From the beginning of May 1995 until the fall of Srebrenica, the humanitarian situation was disastrous because as early as then, about 60% of citizens had enough food for just one meal. After Srebrenica fell, all food warehouses were broken into, more specifically the Cooperative's warehouse in a place called Baratova, warehouse on Klisa where Hajrudin Gluhić and Omer Jahić worked, and the warehouse on Učina bašča [sic]. Some food was found in all warehouses but it is assumed that it was war-reserve food (minimal).

The second factor that affected the work of the Transitional Council are the relationships within SDA<sup>7</sup> party and struggle of some of its members to take control of the entire municipality. Zulfo Salihović from Sućeska was president of SDA party. The work of the party was satisfactory until the return of Ibran Mustafić, member of RBiH Assembly from Sarajevo, at the beginning of March 1993. Upon arriving to Srebrenica, Ibran is trying to take over control. Members of the Army and legal members of SDA acquainted the headquarters of SDA in Sarajevo [with that], which, according to the sources, forbade the party to work until further notice. Despite that, Ibran Mustafić, Hamed Efendić, and Hamed Salihović went to the villages of Sućeska, Potočari, and Pale, and introduced themselves as legal government representatives. According to source's findings, they had a number of supporters. They organised dances in Potočari where young people gathered. On those gatherings there was shooting from firearms, throwing grenades, and it was all done by the supporters of Transitional Council which was supported by the military authorities. On one occasion, they threw a grenade in the house of Hamed Efendić. More than once, legal authorities put Efendić in prison, and he was released from prison with the help of Zulfo Tursumović [sic] and Naser Orić, but he was told not to go around villages and gather people any more. Despite that, all three of them continued working on SDA behalf. At the beginning of May 1995, in a place called Kapetanova ćuprija<sup>8</sup>, in the evening unknown persons opened fire from infantry weapons. On that occasion, Ibran Mustafić was wounded, Hamed Salihović killed, and Hamed Efendić survived without injuries. After the fall of Srebrenica, Ibran stayed in Potočari, and according to the source's findings, he was taken for an interview with General Mladić. Hamed Efendić also stayed in Potočari, and when Abid Efendić asked him to join him and flee through the woods, he responded that he did not dare because "he would be killed by his men".

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<sup>7</sup> t/n: Party of Democratic Action

<sup>8</sup> t/n: Captain's bridge

The third reason for the situation in the area of Srebrenica demilitarised zone is the nonchalance of the army which appeared after the departure of the Commandant of the Division, Naser Orić. The Chetniks immediately found out about his departure, thus they provoked from the surrounding hills on a daily basis. During that period they took control over the checkpoint in Zelene jadar [sic], inserted one sabotage group of Chetniks via Kiselica mine entrance into the settlement of Vidikovac, and on that occasion they killed one man and wounded one woman. They said that Naser fled and he would not return, and that he gave them the green light to take Srebrenica. Many citizens believed that Naser fled, and that before that he got his 14 officers somewhere safe, and that he would not return. After Ramiz Bećirović was appointed Commandant of the Division by the Commandant of the Second Corps, Delić, many citizens thought that Naser would not return [underlined in original text]. Men that were physically fit for military especially exhibited fear, and left in bigger and bigger groups towards Tuzla. The opinion of many soldiers was that Ramiz Bećirović was not up to the task set before him, and for that reason he was not accepted by the other officers, which is one of the main reasons for the fall of Srebrenica.

Through further operative work we shall work on investigating the causes for the fall of Srebrenica, confirming, and broadening the new findings from the official note.

[drawn check mark] [handwritten note: /15 August 1995] [handwritten note: illegible]

DELIVERED TO:

1 X OA<sup>9</sup> Tuzla SDB Sector  
1 X Department 02

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<sup>9</sup> t/n: unknown abbreviation, possibly a typing mistake

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