

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina [handwritten and circled number: 16]
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
STATE SECURITY SERVICE [handwritten note: illegible]
TUZLA SDB¹ SECTOR

02966892

No.

Date: 9 August 1995

R E C O R D

CITIZEN: NESIB MANDŽIĆ, son of Mehmed and Rukija Mustafić, born on 12 November 1962 in Skelani, Srebrenica municipality, JMB²: [REDACTED], bachelor's degree in electrical engineering, Principal of Mixed Vocations Secondary School in Srebrenica, not married, Bosniak follower of Islam, permanent residency in Seklani, house number 110, was temporary residing as an exile in Crvena Rijeka in Srebrenica municipality and in Petriča³ [sic], which is also in Srebrenica municipality, and since 26 July 1995 has been temporarily residing at 9 Rudolfa Vikića Street in Tuzla, on 9 August 1995 gave the authorised officials the following:

S T A T E M E N T

Right before the war broke out, more specifically on 14 April 1992, I arrived to Tuzla from Srebrenica, where I had been working as a professor at the Midhat Haćam Secondary School Centre. Immediately after I arrived to Tuzla, I joined the Patriotic League; or rather I occasionally had contact with the founders of the Patriotic League (Kulenović, Karavelić, Hodžić, and others). After the event in Brčanska Malta on 15 May 1992, the following day I immediately reported to the Husinska buna barracks on my own initiative and placed myself at the disposal for the defence of the town, i.e. the state. After the training, on 22 May I set off into combat operations on the Kalesija battlefield as a member of the 1st Tuzla Brigade. I was a commander of one BST⁴ and remained in the brigade until the end of June 1992. At that time appeared Nurif Rizvanović who was organising and gathering people from our area and was forming the 16th Muslim Brigade. Headquarters of that brigade were in Zlaća at the excursion site, and about 500 of us gathered in that brigade. As early as 22 or 23 July that same year, we set off from Zlaća towards Rainci, with about 500 gun barrels and about 1.5 million bullets at our disposal. During the breakthrough towards Srebrenica, seven fighters were killed, and on 31 July or 1 August we arrived to the free territory of Konjević Polje, more specifically to the village of Lolići, where we were awaited by, among others, commandants

¹ Translator's note: State Security Service

² t/n: Unique Master Number

³ t/n: Petriča

⁴ t/n: recoilless cannon; it has a crew of up to five soldiers

Naser Orić and Velid, whose surname I believe is Šabić. The fighters who arrived mainly went to the units from their birthplaces, so I, too, on 2 August 1992 came to Srebrenica and then to the village of Miholjevina, location of the headquarters of the Biljeg Battalion, commandant of which was Ahmo Tihić, a good friend of mine, an SDA⁵ activist, and a respected commander.

[signature: illegible] [signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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At the beginning, I was an ordinary soldier in that unit, and within 20 days I was appointed Assistant Commandant of the Battalion. I immediately launched an initiative to form a Logistical Centre, a single unified one for the entire area, because I noticed that the units had been individually invading [some villages] while liberating them, and were taking food, livestock, and other war booty, all of which would later get snapped up and would not be concentrated in one place, and thus there was no insight in the quantity of the war booty. I did not like that manner of collecting the war booty, so in a meeting of the military leadership of Srebrenica that was held at the end of August 1992, Tihić and I spoke about that problem, i.e. the need for establishing a central storage house in order to build logistical support, and so as to distribute the war booty in accordance with the engagement in unit operations, in accordance with the difficulty of the line of responsibility, and priority should be given to the poorly armed units. I can say that we did not find support and that our proposal was mainly not accepted. In the following period came considerable successes of our units in the area of Fakovići, then Podravanje, Sase sector, i.e. eastern and south-eastern sector of Bratunac and Srebrenica municipalities, and on 25 January 1993 I was wounded in one of the operations on Maltaški Vis, not far from Skelani. For a while I was hospitalised and then I was in home care. It should be noted that not all battalions were in the same position, i.e. some were being overexploited, depending on who were their commandants, while certain commandants were absolute masters of war and peace, so to speak, and they used to decide about everything; first and foremost, those were Zulfo Tursunović, commandant of the battalion in Sućeska area, and Naser Orić, commandant of all armed forces of that part of the free territory. I remember that in November 1992, a meeting of the Srebrenica Municipality War Presidency was held and it was conducted by the then President Hajrudin Avdić, and it was also attended by Naser Orić, Hamed Salihović as the officer for security who was previously the Chief of Srebrenica SJB⁶, Zulfo Tursunović, Ahmo Tihić, Zulfo Salihović who was the morale officer in one of the battalions, and a number of persons that I cannot remember. In that meeting, the political and security situation for the area of Konjević Polje, Cerska, and Kamenica was presented. It was determined that one delegation consisting of Tursunović, Salihović, Nedžad Bektić who was a commandant of one of the battalions at the time, and Orić had been staying in that area, and Nurif Rizvanović was particularly

⁵ t/n: Party of Democratic Action

⁶ t/n: Public Security Station

accused for communicating with the Chetniks⁷, for being passive, for trying to escape to Tuzla, and for a number of his collaborators who tried to set off for Tuzla, but were apprehended or liquidated. After a few days, there was talk in Srebrenica of how Rizvanović was murdered, saying that he was led from Konjević Polje towards Srebrenica and was liquidated somewhere in a forest. In that same meeting there was no discussion about his fate, but one could assume that the worst happened to him. In the same meeting, an initiative was launched to form a sub-region that would encompass the free areas of Bratunac, Srebrenica, Vlasenica, and Zvornik municipalities. One of the initiators of that idea was Hamed Salihović and he explained that idea of his. It was concluded that the public and the state bodies of the RBiH⁸ were to be informed of that. [signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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The then Chief of Staff Osman Osmanović, a physics and mathematics teacher, now an educator in Madrasa⁹ in Travnik, whose phone number is 072/813-382, was sent to Goražde at the beginning of December 1992 from where he was supposed to come to Sarajevo and Tuzla, to provide via the authority bodies the minimal equipment necessary for further warfare. I am emphasising Osmanović's departure because he himself believed that he had been sent primarily so that they could get rid of him and appoint some other man to his post. That was essentially confirmed because, after he returned to Srebrenica by helicopter in February 1993, he was told that another man, Ramiz Bećirević, was appointed to his post. I remember that on that occasion he told me that, at that moment, the military leadership of Srebrenica was sending him "into a trench". Osmanović was the only man who dared confront Orić, and after he saw that they were trying to go around him, he decided to leave Srebrenica again.

At the beginning of March 1993, the Chetniks attacked the wider area of municipal community of Kostolomci, particularly the mountain pass of Javorak which, according to me, was strategically important for the defence. That is why, despite the fact that I was wounded, I went to the Staff and personally requested assistance for the support to my Biljeg Battalion that was anyway covering the above-stated zone of responsibility. In front of the Department Store I ran into Zulfo Tursunović who was in the presence of Aziz Nekić from Daljegošta and Ohran Smajlović from Liješće. I told him to send assistance to the Biljeg Battalion so as to defend the Javorak, emphasising that if we lost Javorak we would be unable to keep the Chetniks away until Srebrenica. Zulfo just glared at me, and I immediately understood what that means, and immediately after that Nekić came up to me and whispered, "Mandžo, step aside. Can't you see the game? They're preparing a game for Ahmo Tihić, because if Javorak falls, Ahmo will be replaced too, because Ahmo is undesirable in the leadership due to his sharpness." After that, Zulfo came up to me, took my arm and said, "Come,

⁷ t/n: derogatory term for Serbs - members of Yugoslav royalist and Serbian nationalist movement in World War II in Yugoslavia

⁸ Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

⁹ t/n: the word usually refers to a specific type of religious school or college for the study of the Islamic religion, though this may not be the only subject studied

you should hear something." He brought me to one man whom I recognised; I think his [sur]name is Imširović and that he is from the village of Kulovci, aged about 42, [and] I know his daughter was killed as a nurse in our battalion, and on that occasion he said to me, "Tell him what Ahmo did." Imširović said, "Yes, he was selling flour," and that shocked me because knowing my Commandant Tihić as an honest and respected man, I could not believe that he would be qualified as such, but I concluded that Zulfo and others were using him to get rid of Tihić, and I even believe that my battalion was denied assistance in order for them to get rid of Tihić more easily. Later on, it was even publically stated, especially in the second half of 1994, by Chief of Srebrenica SJB Hakiija Meholjić, Naser Orić, Tursunović, and others that Tihić was the main culprit for the fall of the eastern and south-eastern parts of Srebrenica municipality, which I disregard as unsubstantiated, even more so because in the aforementioned offensive about 50 fighters who were members of the Biljeg Battalion were lost, or they were put out of action. After my encounter with Tursunović, I went to the Staff where I found Ramiz Bećirević and begged him to do something and to send reinforcement so as to defend Javorak, and he responded by saying that at the moment he had no available units.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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I did not want to accept that so I told him that if we did not defend Javorak, we would come down to one dulum¹⁰ of land. With my hand I pointed at the troops that were walking around the town and I told him that for the defence of Javorak it would be enough for every second man in the street to go. I added that the only chance we had was to set off for a counter-attack with infantry, because we could not endure the artillery shelling by the Chetniks on the line, more so because our fighters were not trained for such methods of warfare. Nine days later, the Chetniks took Javorak, and then the Kragljivoda elevation point as well, and they headed towards Srebrenica. At the end of the March, I once again went to the Staff and spoke to Orić, inquiring about the situation in the field. On that occasion Orić told me that Adil Muhić, a professor at the SŠC¹¹ in Bratunac, and I were to undertake the obligation to personally go to the line, i.e. to the left and right flanks of Srebrenica defence and to coordinate the defence and fortify the lines in cooperation with the existing commandants, as well as to lift the morale of the Army members because we, as he said, were not compromised and the people believed us. I accepted his proposal, but I told him that I could not spend a longer amount of time on the line due to my health. Soon I got the decision that I was appointed the commandant of the left flank of Srebrenica defence. I must say that the state on the line of defence was ultimately alarming; I found a few unorganised groups of fighters who had not fortified their positions, and they did not possess the morale necessary for the defence. They said that throughout the entire period of the aggressor attacks no one had visited them or tried to

¹⁰ t/n: dunam or dunum - Ottoman unit of area representing the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of oxen in a day, although the new or metric dunam has been redefined as exactly one decare (1000 m²)

¹¹ Secondary School Centre

organise them. Then happened the "parachute" operation, and then came the order to go for a breakthrough towards the village of Osmače. The order was accepted and my fighters, with me by their side, came to the destination near the village of Osmače, but no one came to assist us as it had been previously arranged. I later descended into town and write a report to the Staff in which I listed the facts about the state, more precisely [I stated] that the fighters' morale was poor, that it was a consequence of not working with the fighters earlier, that the positions were not fortified, and so on. After Naser read the report, he just looked at me and walked out. The following day, Muhić told me, "Because of this report you are not allowed to come to the Staff. That's what Naser said. He does not want something like that in official writing." Muhić agreed with my report, and I was on home treatment from then on, and from that period I never joined the RBiH Army again. As early as on 18 April 1993, the UN forces entered Srebrenica which was declared a demilitarised zone. To that end, i.e. with the aim of a complete demilitarisation, came the official RBiH Army delegation (Enver Mandžić, Zaim Čivić), a Chetnik delegation, and a UN delegation.

In the summer of 1993, I was sitting in the office of Hajrudin Avdić, who was the then President of the War Presidency, and through the window I saw that women were gathering in front of the SO¹² building and the Staff. About 150-200 were shouting things like "thieves", "you stole from us", "our children are starving", and so on. On that occasion they even demolished the Staff building, and they threw rocks even at the Municipal building.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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When I was leaving the office, in the corridor I saw Zulfo Tursunović taking one man by pulling him by the hair and neck, and the man was aged about 33, dark-haired, and about 172 cm tall, and later I heard that he had come by a helicopter from Tuzla in February 1993 and that was born in Cerska or Kamenica. Tursunović was saying, "Here's the organiser of the riot," and was taking him towards Avdić's office, and in front of the door stood a young man from Potočari whom they called Beli and who was holding a wooden stick, not allowing anyone to come into the corridor. Beli is close to Orić and Tursunović, and I know that his mother is from Skelani. Hasanović Suljo, the then Secretary of the Defence Secretariat, walked out of the office and said that the organiser of the riot was Ahmo Tihić. Since I was a close friend of Tihić I feared that someone could link me with that and I would live to experience the same fate that the young man whom Zulfo took experienced, and who was later taken out to the bathroom to wash blood and traces of beating off himself. 2 or 3 days later I heard that the young man was murdered during the night opposite the house of police officer Mujo in Klisa settlement.

In the summer of 1993, at the initiative of SDA President Hamed Efendić, MP in the RBiH Assembly Ibran Mustafić, and former Chief of Srebrenica SJB Hamed Salihović, an Initiative Committee of the SDA was assembled in order to start the work of the SDA, because at the end of May 1992, the work and

¹² t/n: Municipal Assembly

operating of all political parties were banned, as was the political engagement of individuals who were in parties or were Srebrenica municipal officials. I was personally joined the initiation for the launching of the work of the party. We had several meetings at Ahmo Tihić's house where we discussed the manners and modalities for activating the members of the SDA Executive Committee, as well as the members within the Srebrenica municipality. We had turned to more than one person, requesting that we be given space to legitimately operate, but all our requests were denied with irony and underestimation, and some went as far as to threaten us. That is where Orić, Meholfjić, Avdić, [and] Džemal Bećirević, the Head of Secretariat for Economic and Social Activities, particularly stood out. I think that the decision about the work of the party being banned exists somewhere in Tuzla.

In July 1993, around 80 of us, members and sympathisers of the SDA, gathered in front of the primary school building in Srebrenica with the aim of holding a meeting, i.e. starting the work of the SDA. Around 40-50 police officers led by Commander Taib Mustafić, who came to Tuzla about two months ago, had not allowed us to enter the school building. Mustafić said that the group assembly of citizens was banned, as was the work of all political parties. Orić was nearby with 5-6 young men. Mustafić and Salihović argued with Commander Mustafić about the ban on the work of the party. Ibran Mustafić said that the only one in the world who had banned the work of the SDA was Milošević, and that, there in Srebrenica as well, [shockingly] existed people who also banned the work of the party. Commander Taib Mustafić responded that he was acting the way he was ordered and instructed, so we dispersed without incidents about 20 minutes later.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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I remember that in the end Ibran said, "Put me in prison and keep me there for as long as you want, but give me in writing the reason for my imprisonment." On that occasion, the present people mainly agreed with him. After that, the work of the individuals that were in the party was being monitored, with whom and where they met was being monitored, as well as what were they saying, and similar things, and at the end of March 1994, those who had banned the work of the party sent us an invitation to attend the SDA IO¹³ meeting in Domavija hotel in Srebrenica. The invitation was signed by one of the SDA Secretaries, Zulfo Salihović. With his name also stood names of Hajrudin Avdić, Husein Aljkanović who was called Behadija, Džemal Bećirević, Dr. Avdo Hasanović who was the Director of the Military Hospital, and next to them who were the meeting initiators, it was also attended by other IO members, namely Hamed Salihović, Hamed Efendić, Ibran Mustafić, I, Hajrudin Bajraktarević, and others - a total of 18 of us. The meeting was held on 6 and 7 April 1994, and in it Hamed Efendić was accused of abuse of position because he had opened a kiosk with a sign that said SDA, borrowed money from the SDA giro account, signed the division of Srebrenica municipality together with Goran Zekić, and things similar to those. Ibran Mustafić was accused that, while he was the President of the

¹³ t/n: Executive Board

SO IO, he did nothing to arm the Muslim people and nothing about the defence from the aggression, that he participated in reselling of weapons and ammunition which he had allegedly been receiving from the SDA Central, that he did not prepare the people for defence, that he did not secure the war reserves of goods, that he had fled to Sarajevo, and so on. Salihović was accused that, while he was the Chief of Srebrenica SJB, he had not gotten the weapons out, that he did nothing to organise and arm the units that were resisting the aggressor, and he was also attacked because, as they pointed out, in a poem that he had written he was attacking the RBiH Army, negating the resistance, and minimising the roles of Shaheeds who had given their lives for freedom. On that occasion, his poem was even read aloud and I remember some details from the poem that in an allegorical manner referred to the aggression and Muslim *mezarje*¹⁴ being ploughed through by the aggressor, and then Salihović explained it one stanza at a time. I remember that he was explaining a detail from the poem which said, "And the strange man strangely wonders why the shepherds had lost their herds". Even that detail was differently interpreted by Salihović and those that were attacking him (Aljkanović, Ekrem Salihović). In order to attack Salihović as much as possible, that song was sent to each brigade in order for all members of the RBiH Army to be acquainted with it. What followed next in the meeting was a vote of confidence regarding the members of the SDA IO. On that occasion, only Hamed Efendić did not get the more than half of the votes, and since the leading people within the Army and the authority were not satisfied with such an outcome, another meeting was held at the end of April 1994, and after voting in secret, both Ibran Mustafić and Hamed Salihović received votes of no confidence. After that meeting, Efendić, Salihović, and Mustafić tried to call up a meeting of the Main Committee and the SDA Assembly emphasising that only the Main Committee and the [SDA] Assembly can decide about the confidence or no confidence regarding the IO members. The Main Committee meetings which were called up were mainly not attended by those who were in the opposition against the above-named three SDA IO members.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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I remember that on one occasion, I think it was the beginning of fall in 1994, members of the Main Committee gathered at the Domavija hotel and about 35-40 members were present. The military and civilian leadership demanded that the present members of the SDA Main Committee disperse, and when they refused to do it, someone even threw a smoke grenade into the premises where they had gathered. I do not know on whose order that was done, but I think that, among other people, Husein Mustafić from Sulice in Srebrenica municipality, who worked in the wood processing factory and who, I know, arrived to the free territory recently, knows the details of that event as well as other details relevant from the security standpoint. And after that event, various accusations were said against the above-named three SDA activists, in the sense that they had been undermining the military and civilian authority, and they were openly threatened that they

¹⁴ t/n: Muslim graveyard

would be liquidated. Mid-May 1995, I think on 12 or 13 May, Hamed Salihović was murdered, and on that occasion Ibran Mustafić was wounded, while Hamed Efendić managed to escape. I heard that the attack against them had been carried out in Kapetanova Ćuprija settlement, more specifically at a big [?road] curve, and on 13 May I went to the crime scene and on that occasions I saw traces of blood, trampled grass, and empty bullet shells. I know that the police conducted the on-site investigation, but I personally do not know the details of that case. At Salihović's janazah¹⁵ - and he was from Potočari - I noticed that the smallest number of people were from that settlement, i.e. that over 90% of people were from the areas outside of Potočari. I personally believe that a lot of people from Potočari did not dare to come to the janazah. During the janazah, while we were in front of the mosque in Potočari, not far from the people that were present, one bullet was fired from a gun. The following day I visited Ibran Mustafić who was hospitalised in the hospital in Srebrenica, and severely injured as he was, he told me that he had to speak to the military and civilian leadership to make possible for him to leave Srebrenica. he said that around 2300 hours, the three of them had been returning from Srebrenica, more specifically from Ahmo Tihić's house, and while they were walking by, not far from the curve, in Kapetanova Ćuprija they noticed three men and they saw that one of them was certainly carrying an automatic weapon. After they came closer, one of the three pointed a flashlight at them and they showered them with bullets. There was later talk around the čaršija¹⁶ that Ibran even knew who had attacked them, but he did not dare to say it. Out of fear from retaliation, even many people from Srebrenica did not dare spend time with them.

This is just one of the cases of many murders that had happened in the free area of Srebrenica during the war. I personally remember that 5 or 6 months ago, a driver from Potočari - [illegible] I know he was a small man and of frail physical constitution - in his own apartment, murdered four persons and committed suicide. There were showdowns between people in Potočari, and I know that the brothers Kemo and Refo from Budak in Potočari MZ¹⁷ killed one or two young men that were members of the RBiH Army due to some unfinished business. During the parachute operation, i.e. in April, May, and June 1993, about 10 murders happened during the search for food. I remember that early in the morning [sometime] in May 1993, I found myself in front of the Srebrenica SO and noticed seven tabuts¹⁸ that had been made.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

[Beginning of the 8th page of original text.]

In my close proximity stood Chief of CZ¹⁹ Staff Jusuf Halilović who told me that all seven tabuts had been prepared for the persons who had lost their lives the night before while searching for food. I do not remember the names of any of the killed persons. In that same month, Salko Mustafić from

¹⁵ t/n: Muslim funeral

¹⁶ t/n: čaršija - Ottoman street or square; centre of merchant and social life

¹⁷ t/n: local community

¹⁸ t/n: tabut - Muslim coffin

¹⁹ t/n: Civilian Protection

Dobranci in Srebrenica municipality was killed while searching for food in close proximity of Srebrenica, in Kazani settlement. It was determined that he was killed by a man called [?Hrusto] from Kazani settlement. In 1993, one young man from Potočari killed another young man of Serb nationality, whose surname I know was Zec and who had a permanently disabled arm, and his mother as well in their apartment in Srebrenica. There was talk of how the murderer had been arrested and transferred to the District Prison in Tuzla via the UNPROFOR. I heard that there had been many murders in Sućeska settlement, but I am not familiar with the details. Cases of raping were recorded in Potočari as well, and I know that even police interfered in some cases. Maltreatments and raping of girls were done in some other parts of the free territory also, but particularly in Srebrenica. I know that one such case was recorded in 1992 and that there was mention of some RBiH Army members. A similar case happened 5 or 6 months ago. There was talk of how the police had given up on the investigation. It actually happened often that the police had tried to shed light on some criminal offence, but usually someone from the RBiH Army would stand up to them and the case would then be covered up. There were also cases of attacks on the police by the RBiH Army members, as well as [cases] of physical maltreatment of police members. In the winter of 1994 and 1995, cases of explosive devices being thrown in the hospitality facility owned by Ahmo Tihić were recorded on about ten different occasions, but I do not know who had done those things, but when it comes to Ahmo Tihić I must say that he is a man who had had 6 or 7 stores and some other properties before the war, i.e. he was a wealthy man who at the very beginning of the war joined the armed resistance and formed the Biljeg Battalion. Later he, as I previously stated, was repressed and attacked by the leading men from the military and civilian authorities, and their reasons for that were of strictly political nature. In the free area of Srebrenica there was a lot of smuggling and reselling of goods, in particular of the humanitarian goods. There was smuggling of cigarettes that had been obtained from the aggressor, as well as other goods that had also come from the aggressor (coffee, footwear, sugar, salt, and so on). There was talk of how some of the smugglers had been meeting the Chetniks at the UNPROFOR base on the Žuti most²⁰ [sic] and there was mention of some woman from Potočari who was buying opanci²¹ [from them] and was selling them then in Srebrenica. People often also went to Žepa from where they brought goods that had also come from the aggressor, but those goods, as they were saying, were mainly obtained through the Ukrainian Battalion. Chetniks often set ambushes on the route to Žepa and killed and apprehended our citizens. Last year in April only, about 40 citizens were killed or apprehended in one of the Chetnik ambushes and no one knows anything about their fate. Attention was often drawn to the fact that the distribution of humanitarian aid was unequal, and that both the domicile people and the exiles were being given equal quantities [of the goods].

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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²⁰ t/n: Žuti Most - Yellow Bridge

²¹ t/n: traditional peasant shoes worn in Southeastern Europe

I heard that in the winter of 1993, two girls had gone to Bratunac and that they did not return until a couple of days later. I know that our police members detained them in prison and were establishing the circumstances in which they left and the reasons for their departure. One girl from [?Petriča] in Srebrenica municipality, whose surname I know is Begić, about 17 years of age, went missing 6 or 7 months ago and there was talk of how some shepherds had seen her go towards the Chetnik lines. I think that no one ever found out what happened to that girl. I do not know all the men who collaborated with the Chetniks, but I wish to emphasise that on 12 July 1995, during my stay at the Fontana hotel in Bratunac, when Ćamila Osmanović²² [sic], Ibro Nuhanović, and I were staying there as members of the delegation for the negotiations, Mladić pointed out that he knew what had been done in Srebrenica and that they had had their own men in Srebrenica who were informing them about everything. I think Mladić said something similar to the gathered mass of people in Potočari during the stay on the same day. I even heard from some Srebrenica residents that some young men had been crossing over to the aggressor side, particularly in 1993 right after the demilitarisation of Srebrenica, and there was often calling out on the lines with the Chetniks. One of the ways in which the Chetniks could have found out what was happening in Srebrenica was that some citizens, while searching for food, would often stray and cross over to the side under the aggressor's control, and usually nothing would ever be known about their fates from then on.

About the aggressor's attack on the free parts of Srebrenica at the beginning of July 1995, as well as about their invasion and the ethnic cleansing, the genocide against the people and my role in that case, I have given a detailed statement in written form to our Embassy in Zagreb, where I was seen by the Ambassador Trnka personally. I told him all the details of that case and he asked me to write a statement which I am hereby delivering to you personally, and its content consists of the following:

In the second half of June, Karadžić's Chetniks during the night, undisturbed by the soldiers of the Dutch Battalion within the UN contingent, invaded the Srebrenica suburb called Vidikovac and a nearby hill above the town hospital and surrounding buildings and opened strong infantry as well as rocket and anti-tank fire. In that Chetnik attack which lasted for about 3 minutes, several civilians were killed and about a dozen of them wounded. The Dutch Battalion Command in Srebrenica did nothing to physically secure the enclave of Srebrenica after that attack.

On 6 July 1995 (Thursday), early in the morning sometime about 04[00] hours, the Chetniks launched a full-scale artillery and infantry attack on the enclave of Srebrenica. Most of the Chetnik artillery projectiles landed in the very town area. On the above-stated day, about 1500 shells had fallen on the enclave, while the UNPROFOR representatives stated that the town had been hit only by 2 (two) projectiles, while outside the town area only 5 (five) artillery projectiles fell. The Chetnik forces, assisted by 2 (two) full brigades of the so-called Yugo army continued to attack, demolish, and to kill the civilians in the so-called demilitarised enclave of Srebrenica.

²² t/n: Omanović

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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Tens of residents were killed every day of the Chetnik attacks, while the number of wounded was several times higher. During the Chetnik attacks, the Dutch Battalion forces were completely passive, [and] most of them were in their military base in Potočari. A part of their stationed and patrol units surrendered to the Chetniks or were withdrawing towards the town itself. And finally, the Chetniks entered the very town on 11 July 1995 around 1400 hours. At one UNPROFOR post in the town (former knitted fabric and clothing factory called Vezionica) there were several thousands of refugees that were expecting protection from the UNPROFOR forces - the Chetniks fired at that place and several civilians were fatally shot, and that happened on 11 July 1995 at around 1300 hours.

Almost all civilians from the town and the nearby villages, at around 1530 hours that same day, were moving towards the main UNPROFOR base in Potočari in deathly fear and with last hope that the UNPROFOR forces would provide them with protection. On the way from the town centre to Potočari settlement, the Chetniks showered the column of refugees, consisting of several tens of thousands of refugees, with artillery [fire]. By 2000 hours on the above-stated day, over 20,000 refugees gathered in front of the UNPROFOR base in Potočari. At that moment, the Chetnik forces were only 200 or 300 m away from the refugees in straight line distance. The Chetniks opened infantry fire against the refugees, artillery projectiles were falling from 2 to 30 meters away from the tens of thousands of refugees. The largest number of refugees were in an area of about 700 m² in the street, in the canals by the road, and in two almost completely destroyed factories. No representative of the Dutch Battalion came out and stood before the refugees to explain the new situation to them and to provide them with protection, with the exception of a few members of the Dutch Battalion. Sometime around 2115 [hours] I heard through the speaker that I, Nesib Mandžić, was to report to the Dutch Battalion Command. I reported there that same moment, not knowing and not having a hunch about the reasons for which they had requested me to come. When I was inside the Dutch Battalion Command, the Commandant of the Dutch Battalion told me, "The situation is truly difficult and precarious, and in this situation the UNPROFOR is unable to provide protection for the refugees, because over 30 Dutch soldiers and officers with their full equipment had already been captured, and the Chetnik General Mladić threatened [me] as the Commandant of the Dutch Battalion that if another NATO airplane appears in the sky, he would kill the captured Dutch soldiers as well as issue an order for the instantaneous operating of Chetnik units against the refugees in front of the base itself as well as for the destruction of the UNPROFOR military base in Potočari." The Commandant of the Dutch Battalion told me and suggested me one solution both for them and the salvation of the refugees, [which was] to contact the aggressor military and civilian authorities about the intention to evacuate the refugees to the free territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I rejected the offer at first, stating that I was no official representative of the local authorities of

Srebrenica and that I was not authorised to negotiate with the aggressor authorities. The Commandant of the Dutch Battalion and his Deputy Major Frenkli²³ [sic] insisted and convinced me that I could appear on my own behalf
[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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as a representative of the refugees and that in such a situation an official representative or some other type of an official organisation was not necessary, while once again stressing their inability to provide any sort of protection for the refugees. And finally, after they had been persuading me for almost half an hour, I accepted to stand as representative of the refugees in the conversation with the aggressor. The Commandant of the Dutch Battalion and the communications officer of the Dutch Battalion, Major Buring²⁴, were accompanying me. On the way to Bratunac, they told me that they would support me in my intention to request completely safe evacuation of the refugees by vehicles and under the escort of UNPROFOR soldiers. Around 2215 hours we arrived to Bratunac for negotiations. We were awaited by General Mladić, who was there on behalf of the Chetnik side, President of Bratunac Municipality Ljubisav Simić, President of the SDS²⁵ terrorist organisation in Bratunac Miroslav Deronjić, and several other representatives of the aggressor civilian and public authorities whose names are in the "statement" that was signed on 17 July 1995 in the Dutch Battalion base in Potočari. General Mladić gave me and the UNPROFOR representatives a "lecture" in a threatening manner, "The Muslims burned 170 Serb villages and killed everything they could kill in Srebrenica and Bratunac municipalities." Of course I could not have, nor would I have been allowed to disprove those fascist lies of General Mladić, but the Commandant of the Dutch Battalion could have presented the gravity of the situation that the refugees were in, but he did not do than and instead he even lowered the number of refugees by 10 to 15 thousands. I told the aggressor General Mladić that it would be best in that situation to evacuate that population safely to the free territory of the Republic of BiH²⁶ by vehicles and under full UNPROFOR forces escort. General Mladić stated, "All right, I accept that. It's up to the people; the people can stay in this territory as well if they wish so." He further stated, "I will be merciful towards the people of Srebrenica, but I will be ruthless to Sarajevo and Sarajevo residents." He was referring to the attack of the RBiH Army members against the former soldiers of the Yugo army in May 1992. That night, the meeting lasted somewhere between 30 and 40 minutes. While exiting the Fontana hotel in Bratunac, the Chetnik General Mladić underlined [the following] for me, "Tomorrow, on 12 July 1995, by 1000 hours, I want to know your final stance as well as the UNPROFOR stance; in case you change your mind or come with new proposals, I will issue an order for operating against the civilians and the UNPROFOR forces." On multiple occasions that night, I told the aggressor Chetnik leaders that I was no

²³ t/n: Robert Franken

²⁴ t/n: Pieter Boering

²⁵ t/n: Serb Democratic Party

²⁶ t/n: Bosnia and Herzegovina

official representative of the local authorities in Srebrenica and that I only appeared there as the representative of the refugees. The aggressor General Mladić stated, "We do know that, but that does not reduce your historical liability for the fate of Srebrenica residents." While returning that night, on the way from Bratunac to the Dutch base in Potočari, I noticed hundreds of Chetnik soldiers who were approaching the gates of the Dutch Battalion [base] and the civilians. The speech dialect of the aggressor soldiers was different from ekavica and ijekavica dialects, but instead it was some sort of speech that was something between ekavica and ijekavica, which indicates to the conclusion - and also due to the fact that we were not familiar with the aggressor soldiers - that most aggressor soldiers that were engaged in the attack on Srebrenica were from the so-called Yugoslavia and from the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia.

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During the night the Chetnik soldiers encircled the Dutch base too, and they came within about ten metres from the refugees. Almost the entire night I had been trying to reach the cantonal authorities in Tuzla, as well as representatives of the R/F BiH²⁷ Government. The UNPROFOR communications officer kept telling me that it was impossible to get Tuzla and Sarajevo on the line. And finally, I got them on the line the next day, around 1000 hours on 12 July 1995, when the aggressor soldiers had already invaded [the town] and started attacking the civilians. I immediately informed the Prime Minister of the Republic of BiH Government, Dr Haris Silajdžić, of what was happening, and the Prime Minister referred me to the Minister for Relations with the United Nations, Dr Hasan Muratović.

In the meeting with the aggressor representatives on 12 July 1995, our delegation (representatives of refugees) members were also: Ibro Nuhanović, B.Sc. (Econ.), and Čamila Purković, B.Sc. (Econ.), as a representative of the refugees, speaking for women and mothers with young children. In that meeting General Mladić stated, "The Serb authorities will make possible for you to be evacuated to wherever you want; first the women with young children, feeble, and elderly persons, and then the rest too, no matter their gender and age." The aggressor President of the temporarily occupied Bratunac municipality Ljubisav Simić cut off the Chetnik General Mladić, "We still must conduct some informative interviews with adult males, because there are members of the enemy army among them, and, of course, the UNPROFOR representatives should be present at those interviews." I reacted to that statement of Ljubisav Simić by saying that there were no members of the BiH Army in that mass of 25 to 30 thousand refugees. The Chetnik General Mladić said to that, "This time I will be merciful to everyone, and we should let them go and make possible for them to go where they want to go." When I insisted that the UNPROFOR commits to carry out obligations surrounding the food, safety, and evacuation, the Chetnik General Mladić brought the meeting to a halt. I noticed that the Chetniks were in an awful hurry to ethnically cleanse the area and to separate the males [from the rest of

²⁷ t/n: Republic/Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

the population] as soon as possible. While we were returning at around 1130 hours before the noon, the Chetnik units had already entered the base itself and were among the civilians, setting fire to Muslim houses and interrogating the civilians. By the time we arrived to the Dutch Battalion base with the UNPROFOR representatives, the Chetnik General Mladić and Chetnik soldiers with about a dozen buses, trucks, ready for evacuation appeared in the street among the people by the base where there were over 25000 refugees. Such speed, and the very manner of evacuation, indicate that the means for the evacuation had been prepared from long before, maybe even from several days before, while the UNPROFOR knew and approved of that. I managed to speak to Mr. Minister Muratović who explained to me that it would be best if the refugees did not go anywhere and, leastways, evacuation by transport helicopters could be requested for the wounded and the feeble, and he asked me to explain the situation to the people but it was already late for that because the Chetnik soldiers had already started boarding women and young children in their busses and trucks essentially without any supervision by the UNPROFOR, and also the Chetnik soldiers

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did not allow me to exit the base in which there was a significantly smaller number of refugees, somewhere around 3000 or 4000 refugees, compared to the most of the refugees, over 20,000 of them, in the street by the base. From that moment on, I was a prisoner just like those other Dutch soldiers were. I managed to glance outside the base, and I saw that the Chetniks were boarding women with young children and elderly females into busses and trucks, while they were separating the males over the age of 14 to the other side. Around 1800 hours that same day, the Chetnik General asked me and my colleague Ibro Nuhanović to come out of the base, and while we were exiting the base, we were stopped at the gate by Chetnik soldiers who were offending us and one Chetnik soldier hit my colleague Ibro Nuhanović saying: "Are you a Turk?" In front of everyone, Chetnik soldiers disarmed the UNPROFOR soldiers, and they even took one officer's gun. The Chetnik soldiers mainly disarmed the Dutch soldiers by stating in their broken English, "Give me a gun," while pointing automatic infantry weapons at them. The Chetnik General Mladić brought me and my colleague Nuhanović in front of the people and asked the refugees, "Do you know these two?" Some persons said that they knew us by saying that I had been a High School Principal and that colleague Nuhanović had been a teacher at that same school. The Chetnik General Mladić ordered us to address the people. We had no choice; we told the people not to panic, and that, as agreed, everyone would get to the free territory, even though we were completely aware just like all the other present refugees that we were all at the Chetniks' mercy. The Chetnik General Mladić then stated before the gathered refugees the same thing he stated before us, representatives of refugees, and the UNPROFOR, "You will all get out; first the women with young children, elderly, and feeble, and then the rest."

I returned back to the base and begged the Deputy Commandant of the Dutch Battalion to stop further evacuation because the males were being separated to one side, and the Chetniks were getting them out one by one and

interrogating them. To that what I stated, the Deputy Commandant of the Dutch Battalion Major Frenkli said the following, "My soldiers were instructed to escort the convoy to the free territory of the BiH Army, and that 43 men had been boarded onto a bus and are on their way to the free territory." During the night between 12 and 13 July 1995, a true genocide happened, a nightmare and an indescribable fear of the aggressor soldiers felt by the refugees. The screaming and crying of women and children could be heard all the way to the base. I insisted that Major Frenkli checked what was happening. An hour later, Major reported to me that "the Serb soldiers were interrogating men in the street, but that the Serb soldiers were just scaring the male refugees by shooting in the air, and that nothing could happen to those male refugees because UNPROFOR soldiers were present up there in the street." Of course I was not satisfied with Major Frenkli's statement and I dreaded the worst would happen to all of us male refugees. The following morning, at around 1200 hours on 13 July 1995, the Chetniks completed the evacuation of female refugees and young children, [and] in the afternoon they continued boarding males over 14 years of age onto motorised transport vehicles. They cancelled the UNPROFOR escort for that population, and according to what one Serb translator called Petar

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stated, all the men would get off in Bratunac and would be directed to the football field in Bratunac. From Major Frenkli I got the information that the Chetniks took 3000 men off in Konjević Polje settlement and 2000 men in Bratunac. After that, there were about 100 wounded refugees left in the base. It should be noted that colleague Čamila Omanović jumped out of a truck in the morning of 13 July 1995 after she was threatened by the aggressor soldiers that they would kill her, and she got to the base and told us, "I heard shots, death rattle of murdered people, some were even hanging themselves and committing suicide by slamming their heads against the road so they would not end up at the mercy of the Chetnik [illegible]." The Chetniks got among the people that night and killed some on the spot, while they took some to the nearest houses, slit their throats and murdered them there. After that, colleague Omanović tried to commit suicide so she would not fall into the hands of the barbaric Chetnik hordes.

I know nothing about the fate of men who were taken off in Konjević Polje, Bratunac, and Nova Kasaba. The only one who had any information was the translator in the Dutch base, student Hasan Nuhanović, and the information said that one part of the Bosniak refugees had been deported to the Chetnik camp of Batkovići in Bijeljina.

Around 100 refugees that were previously mentioned were waiting to be evacuated for days. Some of them died, and some of them, alongside their serious wounds, also started having mental problems. And finally, on 17 July 1995, appeared the initiator of the genocide in areas of Srebrenica and Bratunac municipalities, the so-called President of Bratunac SDS Miroslav Deronjić, and conditioned my signature on the statement No.07-27/95. That conditioning referred to those wounded and helpless refugees, as well as to the evacuation of personnel that was serving in the UNPROFOR, UNHCR, and MSF. I signed the statement under duress and the weight of the

fate of the wounded refugees and other staff of international organisations. Around 30 persons of Bosniak nationality remained at the Dutch base in Potočari until 21 July 1995. While we were on the way, from some UNPROFOR soldiers and UNHCR and MSF representatives we received the information that the Chetniks had taken some wounded civilians off and that they were holding them in Bratunac together with some men from the first group of the evacuated wounded refugees.

All the facts stated above, as well as the previous actions of the UNPROFOR Command in the Srebrenica enclave point to the conclusion that the Chetniks had informed the UNPROFOR that the Srebrenica enclave would be attacked. They left or donated to the Chetniks about 30 transport and combat vehicles, hundreds of pieces of infantry weapons, other equipment, food, and so on, and they assisted the aggressor in their intention to cleanse the enclave of Bosniaks just so they could pull their soldiers out of Srebrenica.

[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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In the UNPROFOR column, there was a total of about [illegible] of us Bosniaks, among whom were the translators [?Vehid] [illegible] from Sućeska, [illegible] from Krivače in Han Pijesak municipality, [illegible], son of [illegible], from Vlasenica, [illegible] Mujo from Potočari, a man called [?Almir] from Krivače, [illegible] Suljagić from Voljevica in Bratunac municipality. We all [illegible] Pleso airport in Zagreb [illegible] countries. I also said that I would go to [illegible] but I later managed to illegally leave the airport and to report to our Embassy [illegible] [?Ibro] who was also a member of the delegation that had negotiated with the aggressor side, [illegible] just as I, to stay in the UNPROFOR base, but because of his son who was 20 and his wife, he decided to head [illegible] and other people that were supposed to [illegible] the free territory. However, I later [?heard] that his son and wife had never come to the free territory. In connection to that, [?it should be noted] that I personally [?suggested] to the UNPROFOR officers both [illegible] and Ćamila Omanović for the members of the delegation that was to negotiate with the aggressor side. While we were staying at the UNPROFOR base, the Chetniks entered it on a daily basis and asked inquired about some individuals, and I remember that in the night between 12 and 13 July 1995, according to [illegible] said, one Dutch soldier tried to [illegible] corpses that were located somewhere outside the circle [illegible] the details [illegible], but the Chetniks prevented him from that at one moment by shooting at him. On 17 July 1995, Miroslav Deronjić brought a document, more specifically a statement about how the Chetniks allegedly treated the refugees fairly and the evacuation of population in accordance with the international conventions and the laws of

war, to the UNPROFOR base. I signed that statement, but Major Frenkli and I insisted that the evacuation which was done in accordance with the international conventions was only the evacuation of population under the escort of UNPROFOR members. When I arrived to Tuzla, I submitted the copy of the document which I had with me to the Governor of Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, as I did with the copy of the statement I gave in Zagreb. Finally, it should also be noted that Major Frenkli, Deputy Commandant of the Dutch Battalion, on 12 July 1995, asked me to make a list of all the men aged 15 to 60 who were in the base, stressing that he needed that list in case something happened and those men were separated by the Chetniks, so they could then subsequently search for them. After I asked him what would happen if the Chetniks got their hands on that list, he said that he would hide the list in his underwear. Via some young men who helped me make the list, I delivered it to Frenklin, and there were [?239] persons on it. I know that some young men made a copy of the list and gave one copy to some women to hide it and carry it over to the free territory. Finally, I wish to state what I think conditioned the occupation of Srebrenica by the Chetniks. As I previously stated, the Chetniks certainly
[signature: Mandžić Nesib]

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knew about the relations in Srebrenica and the fact that our Army was poorly armed, and that at the southern side of our defence we had no established defence system and reserve positions, they knew the structure of our command staff and that Commandant Naser Orić had gone to Tuzla together with a number of officers. They knew about the political split within the party, as well as the general split within the civilian and military authority. There was also a particular split between the refugees and the domicile population, and the refugees were especially without any food supplies because the deliveries of it were irregular, i.e. the Chetniks were preventing the humanitarian convoys from passing. The Chetniks felt that they could lift the wavering morale of their troops by taking Srebrenica, and I have also considered the possibility that the Chetniks were afraid that Naser had perhaps been planning to carry out a breakthrough along the axis of the free territory of Srebrenica-Tuzla, in which manner he would unblock the enclave of Srebrenica. Since they were afraid of that intention, it is possible that they decided to foil those plans.

I have nothing else to state. I have listened to the statement being read out and I participated in its formulation, and should I remember any details that could be of interest to the Service from the security aspect, I will personally address it and deliver them to it. I confirm everything I stated above by appending my signature to this.

STATEMENT GIVEN BY:
[signature: Mandžić Nesib]
Nesib Manžić

RECORDING CLERK:
[signature: Zlata Dizdarević]

AUTHORISED OFFICIALS:
[signature: illegible]
[signature: Brkić M.]