



Humanitarian Law Center Foundation

Dossier: Tomislav Kovač



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Abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CJB	Public Security Centre
HLC	Humanitarian Law Centre
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IRMCT	International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
MUP	Ministry of the Interior
PJP	Special Police Units
PPOWC	Public Prosecutor's Office for War Crimes
RS	Republic of Srpska
RSK	Republic of Serbian Krajina
RDB	State Security Department
SDG	Serbian Volunteer Guard
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SBP	Special Police Brigade
SFRY	Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
SJB	Public Security Station
SNB	National Security Service
TO	Territorial Defence
UN	United Nations
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UN SC	United Nations Security Council
VJ	Yugoslav Army
VRS	Army of Republika Srpska



Introduction

The judgements of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) determined that the Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska (MUP RS), in coordination with the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) and other military and paramilitary units, took part in the armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), including in the forced take-over of municipalities, forcible transfer and deportation of the non-Serbian population, imposition of repressive and discriminatory measures, and imprisonment, abuse and killing of civilians and other protected ethnic non-Serbs.¹

In July 1995, multiple units of the MUP RS took part in the military operation for seizing Srebrenica, and through their actions contributed to the perpetration of genocide in Srebrenica.²

This Dossier is based on documents from the Ministry of the Interior and the Army of Republika Srpska, and the judgements and evidence of the ICTY, the Higher Court in Belgrade and the Court of BiH, as well as numerous open sources, including academic papers and the database of the Humanitarian Law Centre (HLC).

The Dossier demonstrates that during the armed conflicts in BiH, Tomislav Kovač, as Head of the Command Staff of the police forces of the MUP RS, and Deputy Minister and Minister of the Interior of RS, acted in contravention of the Law on Internal Affairs and other regulations of the Republika Srpska and of the norms of international humanitarian law, that required him to protect the civilian population. Even though he was responsible and obligated to bring charges against his subordinates if they had committed a crime, he made MUP RS units available to the Army of Republika Srpska in the enforcement of the plan for the forcible transfer of several tens of thousands of women, children and elderly from the territory of Srebrenica, and the execution of at least 8,000 men, including minors.

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1 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krajišnik* Case (27 September 2006), para. 255; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Stanišić & Župljanin* Case (27 March 2013), vol. II, paras. 737–740, 671; ICTY Trial Chamber Judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 2991.

2 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krstić* Case (2 August 2001), para. 289; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 1566–1569.



Ministry of the Interior (MUP RS)

The Ministry of the Interior of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established by the Law on Internal Affairs, which the Assembly of the Serbian People in BiH adopted at the Ninth Sitting, on 28 February 1992. It officially came into operation on 1 April 1992.³

Mičo Stanišić was appointed the first Minister of the Interior.⁴ On 15 May 1992, the Minister issued an order on the organisation of the MUP into war units, “for the purpose of defending the space of the Serbian Republic of BiH”⁵ The order stipulated the subordination of police units to the orders of the armed forces in execution of combat operations, with Ministry employees maintaining direct command.⁶

Starting on 6 August 1992, Tomislav Kovač performed the duties of chief of the Police Administration, i.e. Assistant Minister of the Interior.⁷

As part of the preparations for the establishment of the Serbian police and for the war during 1991 and in the first half of 1992, members of the police from the ranks of the Bosnian Serbs armed the Serbian population, while disarming the non-Serbian population.⁸ Non-Serbian police employees were required to sign statements of loyalty to the Serbian leadership, and by the end of June 1992 the majority of them had been discharged.⁹ Prior to the establishment of the Army of Republika Srpska, the MUP RS was the only armed force controlled by the Bosnian Serbs.¹⁰

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- 3 The stenographic records of the Ninth Sitting of the Assembly of the Serbian People in BiH (28 February 1992), Exhibit P01997, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 27; the Law went into effect on 31 March 1992, following publication in the *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH*: Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P02964, *Karadžić*, pp. 74–88; MUP RS Dispatch 02/2482 (31 March 1992), Exhibit P03009, *Mladić*; Christian Nielsen, *The Bosnian Serb Ministry of Internal Affairs: Genesis, Performance and Command and Control, 1990–1992*, 19 May 2011, Exhibit P02958, *Karadžić*, para. 172.
- 4 Stenographic records from the Thirteenth Sitting of the Assembly of the Serbian People in BiH (24 March 1992), Exhibit P01354, *Karadžić*, p. 7.
- 5 Order of the Ministry of the Interior SRBiH (15 May 1992), Exhibit 2D00878, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 1–2.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 7 Decision of the Ministry of the Interior of SRBiH Sarajevo (6 August 1992), Exhibit P00599, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.
- 8 Ilidža Serbian Public Security Station dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2; Report on the work of the Prijedor Public Security Station for the last 9 months of 1992 (January 1993), Exhibit P00689, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2; Pale Public Security Station Record (8 February 1993), Exhibit P01457, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1.
- 9 According to the June 1992 Performance Report, the MUP RS had only 6 non-Serbian employees. See: Performance Report for the April–June 1992 Period, Ministry of the Interior of SRBiH (29 June 1992), Exhibit P03486, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 13.
- 10 Christian Nielsen, *The Bosnian Serb Ministry of Internal Affairs: Genesis, Performance and Command and Control, 1990–1992*, 19 May 2011, Exhibit P02958, *Karadžić*, paras. 191, 215.



In November 1992, Radovan Karadžić established the Supreme Command of the Army of Republika Srpska, which included the Minister of the Interior. Thus the MUP also became part formally of the armed forces of the Bosnian Serbs.¹¹

Joint MUP and VRS operations

The distribution of the responsibilities of control and command between the MUP and VRS was defined in November 1994, with the Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War.¹²

The police units were to be commanded by a predetermined commander from the ranks of the police, and were subordinate to the commander of the VRS unit in whose zone of responsibility they were active, while maintaining their own formation and structure.¹³ The law regulated that police units, despite being subordinate to the VRS command, maintained their internal command structure and organisational unity, and that the VRS did not have absolute control over them. It also forbade the unilateral issuing of orders by the VRS without the previous explicit approval of the Ministry of the Interior or the Supreme Command.¹⁴

MUP RS Structure

The Law on Internal Affairs centralised and hierarchically organised the MUP RS into two services: the Public Security Service and the National Security Service (SNB).¹⁵

The Public Security Service was established with the task of protecting the constitutional order and citizens, maintaining public law and order, and the detection and suppression of crime. The Law regulated that the under-secretary in charge of the Public Security Service should report to the minister.¹⁶

The National Security Service conducted intelligence and other tasks in the domain of state security, including identifying and preventing the activities of individuals and groups aimed at threatening the constitutional order and security of the state.¹⁷

11 Decision of the Presidency of Republika Srpska on the establishment of the Supreme Command of the Army of Republika Srpska (30 November 1992), Exhibit P03610, *Stanišić & Simatović*, Arts. 3, 14–25.

12 Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (29 November 1994), Exhibit P02104, *Mladić*, pp. 2–3.

13 Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (29 November 1994), Exhibit P02104, *Mladić*, Art. 14; Order of the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Republika Srpska, to the Main Staff of the VRS (22 April 1995), Exhibit P03687, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 1.

14 Richard Butler, *VRS Brigade Command Responsibility Report* (31 October 2002), Exhibit P02201.B, *Mladić*, para. 6.3.

15 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Art. 14.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, Art. 19.



In April 1994, the amendments to the Law on Internal Affairs renamed these bodies the Public Security Department and the State Security Department, respectively.¹⁸

The Public Security Services centres, and later Public Security Centres (CJB), were sub-units of the Ministry of the Interior that covered the territories of the newly formed Serbian autonomous districts (SAO) in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboј, Sarajevo, and Trebinje.¹⁹ Public security stations (SJB) were established at the municipal level, within which police stations and reserve police stations, as well as other organisational units, operated as internal organisational units.²⁰ In addition to the active duty members, there was also a reserve police, consisting of civilians who were part of the defence organisation, separate from the Territorial Defence.²¹

Special police units and the Special Police Brigade under the MUP RS minister

A number of combat units operated within the MUP RS, equipped with heavy weapons, and these included the Special Police Units and the Special Police Brigade.

The law stipulated that the Minister of the Interior was authorised to establish **Special Police Units (PJP)**, which, subject to orders from the Supreme Commander and the Minister of the Interior, would take part in combat missions. It is explicitly stated that these police units were to be controlled by the Minister of the Interior through the Police Forces Command Staff.²²

10 The Special Police Units were organised at the regional level, as part of the Public Security Centres, and consisted of members of the regular police.²³

18 Law on Internal Affairs, revised text, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (15 April 1994), Exhibit 4D00212, *Popović et al.*, Arts. 14–20.

19 CJB Banja Luka for the territory of the Autonomous Region of Krajina, CJB Trebinje for SAO Hercegovina, CJB Doboј for the territory of SAO Northern Bosnia, CJB Sarajevo for the territory of SAO Romanija-Brčko, and CJB Bijeljina for the territory of SAO Semberija. See: Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 26–28; Law on Internal Affairs, revised text, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (15 April 1994), Exhibit 4D00212, *Popović et al.*, Art. 21.

20 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 27, 30.

21 Testimony of protected witness ST-027 before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (2 October 2009), pp. 723–730.

22 Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (29 November 1994), Exhibit P02104, *Mladić*, Arts. 12–13.

23 Instructions on the establishment and engagement of PJP, MUP RS Bijeljina (12 September 1994), Exhibit 4D00215, *Popović et al.*, pp. 1–2; Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (29 November 1994), Exhibit P02104, *Mladić*, Art. 12; Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8571–8572.



The **Special Police Brigade** (SBP) was established in April 1992.²⁴ The SBP headquarters was in the village of Janja near Bijeljina.²⁵ The first commander of the Special Brigade was Milenko Karišik, who held the post until February 1994.²⁶ Starting in February 1994, the SBP commander was Goran Sarić, and his deputy was Ljubomir Borovčanin.²⁷

From an organisational standpoint, the SBP was part of the MUP Police Administration from September 1992 to October 1994, and was then transferred to the jurisdiction of the Minister's cabinet. Prior to October 1994, the SBP had five detachments, deployed territorially in accordance with the CJB headquarters.²⁸ The number of detachments was then increased to nine, and a canine unit and Training Centre on Mt. Jahorina were established.²⁹

According to the Law, the mission of the SBP was participation in combat activities and neutralising sabotage and terrorist groups and individuals, as well as establishing law and order in cases of significant violations.³⁰

In accordance with Radovan Karadžić's order of 16 June 1995 declaring the imminent threat of war, the MUP RS was engaged in carrying out the mobilisation of military conscripts who had left their previous permanent residences, including those who had taken refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).³¹ Accordingly, by 22 June 1995, the Camp for the Admission and Training of Conscripts, where forcibly mobilised refugees who were repatriated from the FRY were dispatched, was established as part of the **Jahorina Training Centre**.³²

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24 The legal framework for the activities of the Special Police Brigade was defined in September of that same year. The Rules on the Internal Organisation of the Ministry of the Interior Under Conditions of an Imminent Threat of War or State of War (September 1992), Exhibit P02965, *Karadžić*, Arts. 10, 23.

25 Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8570–8571.

26 Decision of the Ministry of the Interior of SRBiH (1 April 1992), Exhibit P01413, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; Decision of the Ministry of the Interior of SRBiH (15 May 1992), Exhibit P00457, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; Testimony of Milenko Karišik before the ICTY (23 June 2013), Exhibit D00935, *Mladić*, paras. 23, 33.

27 Testimony of Ljubomir Borovčanin before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (6 June 2013), p. 39436; Decision of the MUP RS (24 February 1994), Exhibit D03660, *Karadžić*.

28 The Police Administration was one of the organisational units of the Ministry of the Interior, part of the Public Security Service. See: Rules on the Internal Organisation of the Ministry of the Interior under Conditions of an Imminent Threat of War or State of War (September 1992), Exhibit P02965, *Karadžić*, Arts. 7–10.

29 Rules on Staffing Specification at the Ministry of the Interior (5 October 1994), Exhibit 4D00145, *Popović et al.*, p. 4; Testimony of Mladen Bajagić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (7 October 2008), pp. 26758–26759; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Goran Sarić* Case (16 February 2018), para. 133.

30 Rules on Staffing Specification at the Ministry of the Interior (5 October 1994), Exhibit 4D00145, *Popović et al.*, p. 4.

31 In December 1993, Tomislav Kovač, as Assistant Minister of Internal Affairs, attended a meeting in Belgrade where the military, police and political leadership of Serbia and Republika Srpska discussed the possibility of conscripts from the FRY forcibly being returned to the territory of the RS. In June 1995, Kovač approached the Ministers of the Interior of Serbia and Montenegro with the request that their authorities prevent the unauthorised absence of conscripts from Republika Srpska, and for them to find and return those who had previously deserted to the FRY. Excerpt from the wartime diary of Ratko Mladić regarding the meeting of 13 December 1993, Exhibit P02933, *Perišić*, pp. 2–3; MUP RS dispatch (17 June 1995), Exhibit 4D00388, *Popović et al.*; Radovan Karadžić's order declaring an imminent threat of war (16 June 1995), Exhibit P04926, *Karadžić*.

32 Reports on the Special Police Brigade for June 1995 (July 1995), Exhibit 4D00511, *Popović et al.*, p. 1; MUP RS Request to the Yugoslav Army General Staff (22 June 1995), Exhibit 1D01285, *Stanišić & Simatović*.



On the same day, Tomislav Kovač sent a request to the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army for securing weapons, equipment and all-terrain vehicles, in order to “join the struggle for the Serbian areas immediately.”³³

On 23 June 1995, Kovač reported to Radovan Karadžić that 149 out of the total of 1,586 conscripts who had been handed over to the Republika Srpska armed forces by the MUP Serbia, had been dispatched to the Jahorina Training Centre.³⁴ By the beginning of August 1995, around 200 forcefully mobilised conscripts had undergone training at the Centre.³⁵ In addition to the conscripts, forcibly mobilised refugees returned from the FRY, and wrongly mobilised citizens of the FRY, the camp was also used for training regular police officers.³⁶

The head of the Jahorina Training Centre was Duško Jević aka “Stalin”, assistant commander of the SBP, while the instructors were members of the SBP.³⁷

Daily reports from the Jahorina Training Centre were sent directly to the cabinet of the Minister of the Interior, i.e. to Tomislav Kovač.³⁸

Police Forces Command Staff

The Police Forces Command Staff was established on 15 May 1992, on the orders of RS Minister of the Interior Mićo Stanišić, organising the MUP forces into war units, based on the declaration of the imminent threat of war in the territory of Republika Srpska.³⁹ The staff consisted of the Minister of the Interior as the commander, the Under-Secretary for Public Security as deputy-commander, and the Under-Secretary for National Security, several assistant ministers, the commander and deputy-commander of the police detachment, and heads of the CJB as the members, and the minister’s *chef de cabinet* as the secretary.⁴⁰

The Police Forces Command Staff decided on the engagement of police forces and commanded the Ministry’s joint forces.⁴¹

33 MUP RS Request to the Yugoslav Army General Staff (22 June 1995), Exhibit 1D01285, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

34 Report by the MUP RS Ministry cabinet (23 June 1995), Exhibit 4D00119, *Popović et al.*

35 Report on the work of the Special Police Brigade for the January–September 1995 period (4 November 1995), Exhibit 4D00095, *Popović et al.*, p. 5; Daily report for the Jahorina Training Camp (31 July 1995), Exhibit 4D00352, *Popović et al.*; Daily report for the Jahorina Training Camp (1 August 1995), Exhibit 4D00353, *Popović et al.*

36 See: HLC, *Dossier: Forcible Mobilisation of Refugees*, Belgrade, November 2019, pp. 47–49.

37 Testimony of Mendeljev Đurić before the ICTY (1 May 2007), *Popović et al.*, pp. 10793, 10796–10797.

38 Daily report for the Jahorina Training Camp (31 July 1995), Exhibit 4D00352, *Popović et al.*; Daily report for the Jahorina Training Camp (1 August 1995), Exhibit 4D00353, *Popović et al.*

39 MUP RS order No. 01-1/92 (15 May 1992), Exhibit 2D00878, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 1–2.

40 MUP RS order No. 01-1/92 (15 May 1992), Exhibit 2D00878, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 2; MUP RS decision (15 May 1992), Exhibit P00741, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1.

41 Christian Nielsen, *The Bosnian Serb Ministry of Internal Affairs: Genesis, Performance and Command and Control, 1990–1992*, 19 May 2011, Exhibit P02958, *Karadžić*, para. 218; MUP RS Police Forces Command Staff order (25 March 1995), Exhibit 4D00245, *Popović et al.*



The adoption of the Rules on the internal organisation of the MUP, in April 1994, defined that the Police Forces Command Staff would be established in the event of the declaration of a state of war, and be controlled by the minister.⁴² In addition to those at the level of the Ministry, staffs for control and command of the police forces were also established territorially, at the level of the public security centres and public security stations. The CJB staffs were responsible for controlling the use of police war units in combat operations with the armed forces and for reporting to the Ministry of the Interior.⁴³

Competences of the heads of the MUP RS

According to the Law on Internal Affairs and regulations, the minister was in charge of and responsible for establishing special units, overseeing, directing and coordinating the activities of all police units, activating the police reserve, supplying police units with weapons, with the authority to appoint, assign and relieve subordinates, to punish and initiate disciplinary and criminal proceedings against subordinates who commit crimes.⁴⁴

It was the duty of the Ministry to “directly participate in the performance of duties and tasks to protect the lives and personal safety of the citizens, as well as the protection of buildings and other material assets in the event of a public danger or when public order and peace are violated on a larger scale”.⁴⁵ The Ministry was also authorised, in complex cases, to undertake direct measures for the prevention and uncovering of crimes and their perpetrators.⁴⁶

Regular reporting to higher levels of the Ministry was compulsory. In accordance with established procedures, the police stations reported to the competent SJB, which further notified the CJB, while the CJB forwarded the information to the Ministry.⁴⁷ Lower bodies were required to report urgently significant security events and occurrences to the Ministry, including war crimes, information about prisoners, larger scale looting and other serious incidents.⁴⁸

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42 The legal basis for establishing the Police Forces Command Staff was the Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, which stated that police units taking part in combat operations are controlled by the Minister of the Interior, through the Police Forces Command Staff, see: Law on the Implementation of the Law on Internal Affairs during the Immediate Threat of War or State of War, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (29 November 1994), Exhibit P02104, *Mladić*, Art. 13; Report by Mladen Bajagić, *Ministry of the Interior of Republika Srpska: Organisation and Competence (1992–1995)*, Exhibit 4D004999, *Popović et al.*, para. 287.

43 Directive on the training and use of CJB Banja Luka war units (25 August 1992), Exhibit 1D01279, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 2.

44 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 33, 37, 95, 41, 43, 113–118.

45 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Art. 33.

46 *Ibid.*

47 Instruction on urgent, current, occasional and statistical reporting in law enforcement bodies (October 1992), Exhibit 1D00051, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

48 *Ibid.*



All MUP RS employees, and especially authorised officers, were required to “preserve the lives of people and human dignity” in the course of performing their jobs and tasks.⁴⁹

In accordance with the Law and the principles of international humanitarian law,⁵⁰ the heads of the MUP were required to protect civilians from combat operations and investigate committed crimes.⁵¹

Tomislav Kovač’s functions and competences at the MUP RS

Tomislav Kovač had been employed by the Ministry of the Interior of BiH since 1982.⁵² He was a BiH State Security Service operative; Chief Inspector of the BiH State Security Administration in Sarajevo; and in command of the Police Station in Novi Grad, Sarajevo (which was declared the best police station in the SFRY).⁵³

In early April 1991, Kovač was put in command of the Ilidža Police Station. In April 1992, following the split of the MUP into the Muslim and Serbian sections, Kovač was appointed Chief of the Public Security Station (SJB) in Ilidža.⁵⁴

In August 1992 he was appointed chief of the Police Administration and Assistant Minister of the Interior.⁵⁵

In September 1993, following the resignation of Minister of the Interior Ratko Adžić, Kovač was appointed acting Minister of the Interior.⁵⁶ Immediately after that, by Decree of the President of

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49 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 12, 42; Law on Internal Affairs, revised text, *Official Gazette of Republika Srpska* (15 April 1994), Exhibit 4D00212, *Popović et al.*, Art. 12.

50 Penal Code of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1 July 1977), Exhibit P00119, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 48, 188; Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 12, 33, 35, 42; Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (12 August 1949), Art. 13; Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (12 August 1949), Art. 27.

51 The order of the Minister of the Interior sent to the CJB chiefs, pertaining to treatment of prisoners, where he stated that they were “personally responsible for the lives of the people”, supports that the MUP leadership was aware of these duties; see MUP RS order (10 August 1992), Exhibit 1D00055, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

52 Tomislav Kovač was born 4 December 1959 in Sarajevo. He graduated from the College of Internal Affairs in Zemun in 1982, and two years later from the Faculty of Security Studies in Skopje. He completed the SFRY School of State Security in 1984; see: Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 1.

53 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 2.

54 MUP Sarajevo decision on the appointment of Tomislav Kovač (1 April 1992), Exhibit P01415, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, paras. 4, 49.

55 Decision of the Ministry of the Interior of SRBiH Sarajevo (6 August 1992), Exhibit P00599, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

56 Decision of the President of Republika Srpska 01-231/93 (17 September 1993), Exhibit P06700, *Mladić*.



Republika Srpska, Kovač was awarded the Order of the Nemanjići for contributions in organising and conducting the defence of the Serbian people in Republika Srpska.⁵⁷

Kovač was again appointed RS Deputy Minister of the Interior in July 1994.⁵⁸

In June 1995, after Radovan Karadžić declared a state of war in the zone of responsibility of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the VRS, Tomislav Kovač, as Deputy Minister of the Interior, formed the Pale Police Forces Command Staff, which he also commanded.⁵⁹

From May to September 1995, despite being formally the deputy, Kovač performed the duties of Minister of the Interior.⁶⁰ He assumed the office of Minister of the Interior in September 1995.⁶¹

According to the Law and regulations of the MUP RS, the minister's competencies included **responsibility for forming special units, supervising, directing and coordinating the activities of all police units, activating the police reserve, supplying police units with weapons, and exercising the authority to appoint, assign and relieve subordinates, and to punish or initiate disciplinary or criminal proceedings against subordinates who commit crimes.**⁶²

Kovač held high-ranking positions in the Republika Srpska Ministry of the Interior until December 1995.

57 The Order of the Nemanjići is awarded by decree of the President of the Republic, to units and members of the armed forces for distinguished military feats in combat, as well as to civilians who have made especially significant contributions to the organising and conducting of the defence of the Serbian people in Republika Srpska. Decree of the President of Republika Srpska on awarding decorations, Exhibit P00732, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1.

58 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 5.

59 MUP notification K/P-1-307/95 (19 June 1995), Exhibit 4D00140, *Popović et al.*; Decision on Declaring a State of War in the Zone of Responsibility of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps (17 June 1995), Exhibit D01845, Mladić

60 RS Minister of the Interior Živko Rakić, who held the post starting in October 1995, was relieved of duty at his own request on 24 May 1995, on account of his retirement. See: Audio recording of the 3rd extraordinary sitting of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska (23–24 May 1995), available at: <https://srebrenicamemorial.org/app/tg/transkripti-genocida.html>.

61 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 5.

62 Decree on the promulgation of the Law on Internal Affairs, *Official Gazette of the Serbian People in BiH* (23 March 1992), Exhibit P00530, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, Arts. 33, 37, 95, 41, 43, 113–118.



Ilidža, April–August 1992

The Ilidža municipality was one of ten municipalities in Sarajevo. According to the 1991 census, Ilidža had a population consisting of 43.2% Muslims, 36.8% Serbs, 10.2% Croats, 7.6% Yugoslavs, and others.⁶³

During 1991, Tomislav Kovač, then in command at the Ilidža Police Station, organised meetings with ethnic Serbian ethnic members of the police in Dobrinja, Ilidža and Blažuj, where plans were made to arm the Serbian population.⁶⁴ Members of the police collected the required weapons from Ravna, Romanija, Pale, Sokolac, Kalinovik, Trnovo, as well as from the “Jusuf Džonlagić” barracks, and barracks in Lukavica and Nedžarići.⁶⁵ At the time, Tomislav Kovač and other members of the police kept a check on the Muslim and Croatian population in Ilidža and confiscated their weapons, which were then handed out to Serbian police officers and members of the SDS.⁶⁶ Starting in September 1991, the Muslims were discharged from the SJB Ilidža police reserve, on orders from Tomislav Kovač, while at the same the number of ethnic Serbian police officers was increased.⁶⁷

Guided by the principles prescribed in the document adopted by the Serbian Democratic Party, titled “Instructions on the organisation and operation of the bodies of the Serbian people in BiH”, the Serbian Assembly of the Ilidža Municipality was formed on 3 January 1992.⁶⁸

The Ilidža Municipality Crisis Staff, which had informally existed since 2 January 1992, was officially established by the SDS Municipal Board and the Assembly of the Ilidža Serbian Municipality on 10 April. The President of the Ilidža Municipality Crisis Staff was Nedeljko Prstojević, whilst Tomislav Kovač was a member, as the head of the SJB Ilidža.⁶⁹

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63 Ilidža had a population of 67,937; see Excerpt from the 1991 Bosnia and Herzegovina Population Census (April 1995), Exhibit P05964, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

64 SJB Ilidža dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2; Christian Nielsen, *The Bosnian Serb Ministry of Internal Affairs: Genesis, Performance and Command and Control, 1990–1992*, 19 May 2011, Exhibit P00508.B, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, paras. 70–71; Decoration of Sreto Samardžija (undated), Exhibit P02975, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

65 Ilidža Public Security Station dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2.

66 Decoration of Sreto Samardžija (undated), Exhibit P02975, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

67 Of the 377 members of SJB Ilidža, 166 were Muslims and 143 were Serbs; but by March and April 1992, out of the total of 220 members, 218 were ethnic Serbs and two were Croats. Overview of Activities of the members of the police reserve and SJB Ilidža, Exhibit P02977, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Ilidža Public Security Station dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 3.

68 Instructions on the organisation and operation of the bodies of the Serbian people in BiH (19 December 1991), Exhibit P43, *Krajišnik*; Decision on the proclamation of the Serbian Assembly of the Ilidža Municipality (3 January 1992), Exhibit P02408, *Karadžić*.

69 The list of members of the Crisis Staff of the Ilidža Serbian Municipality (10 April 1992), Exhibit D01193, *Karadžić*; Statement of witness Momčilo Čeklić to the ICTY (8 March 2013), Exhibit D03112, *Karadžić*, para. 11; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (18 March 2011), pp. 13658–13660; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (8 March 2011), pp. 12961–12962.



In March or April 1992, Serbian police forces under Kovač's command occupied the TO depot in Ilidža municipality, confiscating between 5,000 and 10,000 weapons and ammunition, which they then handed out to the Serbian population.⁷⁰

Establishment and Activities of the SJB Ilidža

In late March 1992, the Ilidža MUP was split into Muslim and Serbian parts. On 1 April 1992 Tomislav Kovač was appointed chief of the SJB Ilidža, and held this post until 6 August 1992.⁷¹ Edin Mlivić, the former chief of the SJB Ilidža, became the chief of the Bosnian Muslim police station, which was relocated to the Stup neighbourhood, on or around 6 April 1992.⁷²

The SJB Ilidža staff consisted of around 700 active and reserve members of the police.⁷³ The SJB Ilidža comprised three police stations (Centre, Nedžarići, and Kula) and three police reserve stations (Vojkovići, Blažuj, and Lužani).⁷⁴ The National Security Service in Ilidža was commanded by Predrag Čeranić.⁷⁵

In the second half of April 1992, Tomislav Kovač established the Special Police Unit within the SJB Ilidža, which was initially commanded by Branislav Okuka, and later by Goran Zubac.⁷⁶

In the first half of 1992, Kovač commanded the police units in Ilidža that took part in operations in Nedžarići, Doglodi, Otes and other places.⁷⁷

In addition to the military and police, members of several volunteer units that cooperated with the police or were subordinate to the SJB Ilidža, were also active in the territory of the Ilidža municipality, starting no later than May 1992. At the beginning of the month, around 20 members of the Serbian Volunteer Guard (SDG) arrived in Ilidža, headed by Milorad Ulemek aka "Legija" (Legion), in order to mobilise volunteers and organise their training.⁷⁸ The members of the SDG came to Ilidža at the

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70 Ilidža Public Security Station dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (8 March 2012), pp. 27129–27130, 27120–27122; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 60.

71 MUP Sarajevo decision on the appointment of Tomislav Kovač (1 April 1992), Exhibit P01415, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 4.

72 MUP SRBiH report on daily events (4 May 1992), Exhibit D01208, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (18 March 2011), p. 13705.

73 CBJ Sarajevo submission of nomination for decoration, (10 November 1993), Exhibit D01524, *Karadžić*, p. 5.

74 Police Administration report to the MUP SRBiH on the execution of order, strictly confidential No. 10-17/92 (3 August 1992), Exhibit P05114, *Mladić*, p. 5.

75 Overview of Activities of the members of the police reserve and SJB Ilidža, Exhibit P02977, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

76 Branislav Okuka, MUP RS nominations for decorations (undated), Exhibit 1D01271, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 1; SJB Ilidža report to Minister Mićo Stanišić personally (5 August 1992), Exhibit P06639, *Karadžić*, pp. 1–2; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 82.

77 CBJ Sarajevo submissions of nomination for decoration (10 November 1993), Exhibit D01524, *Karadžić*, pp. 2, 4–5.

78 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 71; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (15 June 2005), p. 14558; Intercepted conversation between Milorad Ulemek and Valter, NN and Željko Ražnatović (15 May 1992), Exhibit P529.415.A, *Krajišnik*, pp. 7–11.



invitation of Tomislav Kovač and took part in combat together with the members of the SJB Ilidža.⁷⁹ Volunteers from the Serbian Radical Party were also under the command of the SJB Ilidža during 1992.⁸⁰

In July 1992, the War Commission of the Ilidža municipality approved the use of the Motel in Gladno Polje and abandoned summer houses in the vicinity, by the volunteer units from the SJB Ilidža. One of the units was “Brne’s Chetniks”, whose commander, Branislav Gavrilović aka “Brne”,⁸¹ conducted the admission and training of volunteers in this area.⁸²

In early August 1992, Tomislav Kovač reported to Republika Srpska Minister of the Interior, Mićo Stanišić, that the SJB Ilidža had been supplying Serbian volunteer units with weapons, mortars, bombs, explosives and other ammunition.⁸³

Establishing control of Ilidža

The Ilidža Municipality Crisis Staff ordered a general mobilisation on 6 April 1992.⁸⁴ In late April 1992, the members of SJB Ilidža, who were on the front line, took part in the shelling of Butmir, Hrasnica and Sokolović Kolonija, on the orders of Tomislav Kovač.⁸⁵ In an intercepted telephone call on 23 April 1992, Momčilo Mandić, then Deputy Minister of the Interior and subsequently Minister of Justice,⁸⁶ and Tomislav Kovač discussed the situation in Sarajevo and agreed that the Sokolović Kolonija neighbourhood in Ilidža should be “razed to the ground”.⁸⁷

By 8 May 1992, the members of the SJB Ilidža and the TO had established control of Ilidža.⁸⁸ Subsequently, members of the SJB Ilidža, VRS and paramilitary units illegally detained the ethnic non-

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79 *Borba*, “Bolje da smo Sarajevo uzeli, nego što smo ga gađali” [It Would Have Been Better if We Had Taken Sarajevo Than Shot at It] (1 March 1996), Exhibit 2D00074, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 6.

80 VRS Sarajevo-Romanija Corps report on combat operations in Dobrinja (17 June 1992), Exhibit P04498, *Mladić*.

81 In September 2021, the Court of BiH partially confirmed the indictment against Branislav Gavrilović, on charges of war crimes committed in December 1992 and July 1993 in the municipalities of Ilidža and Hadžići. Gavrilović is presently in hiding in Serbia. See: Court of BiH, Gavrilović Branislav Case Data, available at: <https://sudbih.gov.ba/Court/Case/2043> (last visited 10 February 2025).

82 Approval of the War Commission of the Ilidža Serbian municipality (9 July 1992), Exhibit P02302, *Karadžić*; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (15 June 2005), pp. 14546–14548.

83 SJB Ilidža report to Minister Mićo Stanišić personally (5 August 1992), Exhibit P06639, *Karadžić*, p. 5.

84 Order for carrying out general mobilisation, Ilidža Municipality Crisis Staff (6 April 1992), Exhibit P02410, *Karadžić*.

85 Statement of witness Drago Čevro to the investigating judge of the Higher Court in Sarajevo (8 July 1992), Exhibit P702.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 3; Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (27 September 2006), par. 553.

86 Momčilo Mandić was acquitted by final judgement of the Court of BiH of the charge of crimes against humanity and war crimes during 1992; see Judgement of the Court of BiH in *Momčilo Mandić* Case (18 July 2007), available at: <https://www.sudbih.gov.ba/Court/Case/22>.

87 Intercepted conversation between Momčilo Mandić and Tomislav Kovač (23 April 1992), Exhibit P02798.B, *Stanišić & Simatović*, pp. 4–5.

88 MUP SRBiH report on daily events No. 16 (8 May 1992), Exhibit P825, *Krajišnik*.



Serbian population in several detention facilities that were under the control of the police, including the SJB Ilidža premises, the Ilidža Health Centre, and the Kula Penal and Correctional Facility (KP).⁸⁹

On 14 May 1992, following fighting, members of the police, TO Ilidža and SDG arrested around a hundred ethnic Croats and Muslims, and detained them in the old building of the Health Centre.⁹⁰

Around 17 June 1992, members of the SJB Ilidža and a unit of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the VRS attacked the Dobrinja neighbourhood, temporarily detaining the women and children at the barracks in Lukavica, while the men were detained at the KP Kula.⁹¹

Upon establishing control of the municipality, members of the SJB Ilidža took part in deportations forcing the non-Serbian civilians to leave the area.⁹²

- **14 May 1992 – Kasindolska Street**

Starting early in the morning on 14 May 1992, every hour or two a transporter passed down Kasindolska Street in Ilidža, from which members of the SJB Ilidža and the TO used a megaphone to call on Muslims to surrender. On that morning, a group of men who had been hiding in Salih Bihorac's house attempted to escape in the direction of Stup, but were quickly stopped by intense fire from infantry weapons. Rasim Suljević (1959) was shot and killed during the attempted escape.

When the gunfire had subsided, members of the Serbian police and military gathered 38 men in front of Alija Durić's house, holding them at gunpoint for around two hours, and then forcing them into a TAM truck. They were taken to the KP Kula, which the police used as a detention facility, where they were searched and their personal valuables confiscated, after which they were held in two separate rooms.⁹³ Around 15:00h on that same day, the guards on duty at the KP Kula compiled a list of all the men who had been brought in.⁹⁴

The detainees at the KP Kula were: Rešad Brdarić, Devro Bihorac (1953), Salih Bihorac (1940), Mahmut Čatović (1946), Alija Durić (1935), Samir Durić (1968), Suvad Durić (1962), Seid Dević (1946), Besim Dević (1970), Hasan Džanić (1953), Elmaz Džanković (1936), Rifat Džanković (1971), Šefčet Džanković

89 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krajišnik* Case (27 September 2006), para. 554; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 2152.

90 Ilidža National Security Department, Serbian Police Station Ilidža, report (15 May 1992), Exhibit D01218, *Karadžić*, p. 5; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 72; Intercepted conversation between Milorad Ulemek and Valter, NN and Željko Ražnatović (15 May 1992), Exhibit P529.415.A, *Krajišnik*, p. 7; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (15 June 2005), p. 14558.

91 VRS Sarajevo-Romanija Corps report on combat operations in Dobrinja (17 June 1992), Exhibit P04498, *Mladić*.

92 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krajišnik* Case (27 September 2006), para. 554; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 2165.

93 Record on the questioning of witness Rešad Brdarić before the BiH Prosecution in *Lalović & Škiljević* (5 January 2006), pp. 2–3.

94 Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 28 July 1992, Exhibit D01243, *Karadžić*, pp. 22–23.



(1963), Mujo Džindo (1937), Feho Erović (1956), Huso Gačević (1959), Šemso Gačević (1951), Zufdija Gačević (1968), Emir Hajdarević (1973), Zildžo Hajdarević (1948), Emin Katica (1954), Haris Kikić (1971), Rušid Kovač (1956), Emin Kulo (1934), Hasan Kulo (1936), Nail Maksumić (1948), Ervan Martinović (1966), Habib Medović (1968), Elmaz Mulić (1962), Sabahudin Mulić (1957), Ujkan Mulić (1953), Ibrahim Rastoder (1939), Rahman Rastoder (1933), Husein Ramović (1954), Sabid Selimović (1951), Džafer Turković (1956), Husejin Turković (1953), and Kasim Turković (1958).⁹⁵

According to available reports from the Kula Police Station, members of the TO Ilidža disarmed and brought 38 persons from Kasindolska Street to the KP Kula, who, as stated, were “not to be exchanged”.⁹⁶ Of the detained men, only Rešad Brdarić survived; on around 21 May 1992 he was exchanged on the Vrbanja Bridge, where a group of 18 detainees was handed over to members of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁷ The other men were killed at an undetermined location, on an undetermined date after 25 May 1992.

The mortal remains of all 37 men were later exhumed in May 2007 from a mass grave on Romanija, by the Mokro–Sokolac road, between Pale and Sokolac. The mortal remains of Bislim Gaši (1941), who had been brought from Dobrinja to the KP Kula and detained by members of the Serbian police or military on 12 May 1992, were discovered in the same mass grave.⁹⁸

- **15 May 1992 – killing of wounded persons**

20 On 15 May 1992, members of the SJB Ilidža and other units stopped two ambulances, escorted by UNPROFOR, which were transporting wounded persons to the Koševo Hospital. They removed nurse Jagoda Galešić (1953), wounded persons Anes Bučan (1970), Sead Hodžić (1967), and Rama Husref, as well as driver Ismet Osmanović (1962), took them in an unknown direction, and killed them on an unknown date.⁹⁹

95 Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 28 July 1992, Exhibit D01243, *Karadžić*, pp. 22–23; Submission of list of missing persons on Kasindolska Street (29 May 2005), Prosecution of BiH, Department for War Crimes, T-104, *Lalović & Škiljević*, pp. 1–2; *Dnevni avaz*, “Sjećanje” [Remembering] (16 October 2009), Exhibit O2-6, *Lalović & Škiljević*.

96 Kula Police Station report to SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad (20 May 1992), Exhibit P01126, *Karadžić*; Proposal for resolving the further status of 38 detained persons, SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad to Kula Police Station (25 May 1992), Exhibit P01151, *Karadžić*.

97 Record on the questioning of witness Rešad Brdarić before the BiH Prosecution in Case No. KT-RZ-33/05 (5 January 2006), p. 3.

98 Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 28 July 1992, Exhibit D01243, *Karadžić*, p. 18; Klix portal, “Potvrđen identitet žrtava iz Kasindolske ulice” [The identities of the victims from Kasindolska Street confirmed] (13 September 2007), available at: <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/potvrđen-identitet-zrtava-iz-kasindolske-ulice/70913114> (last visited 5 February 2025).

99 *Fokus*, “Tužilaštvu BiH podnijeta krivična prijava protiv Prstojevića i 44 osobe” [A criminal report filed with the BiH Prosecutor’s Office against Prstojević and 44 persons] (11 July 2023), available at: <https://www.fokus.ba/vijesti/bih/tuzilastvu-bih-podnijeta-krivicna-prijava-protiv-prstojevica-i-44-osobe/2668542/> (last visited 13 March 2025); *Dnevni avaz*, “Sjećanje na svirepo ubijene ranjenike Anesa Bučana, Ismeta Osmanovića i Jagodu Galešić” [Remembering the brutally murdered wounded persons Anes Bučan, Ismet Osmanović and Jagoda Galešić] (15 May 2020), available at: <https://avaz.ba/vijesti/bih/570221/sjecanje-na-svirepo-ubijene-ranjenike-anesa-bucana-ismet-osmanovica-i-jagodu-galesic> (last visited 13 March 2025).



In June 1992, the BiH Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners of Wars and Detained Persons demanded that the RS Central Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners and Other Persons carry out the previously agreed exchange of more than 70 persons, which included wounded persons detained in Ilidža.¹⁰⁰ On 30 August 1992, RS Minister of the Interior Mićo Stanišić also demanded the release of Anes Bučan. According to his letter, Anes Bučan was detained at the KP Kula.¹⁰¹

In December 1994, the RS authorities handed over the mortal remains of all five victims to the BiH Missing Persons Commission.

- **19–21 May 1992 – refugees as hostages**

On 19 May 1992, members of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, under the leadership of Milorad Ulemek, along with members of the SJB Ilidža, stopped a convoy in Ilidža consisting of several thousand refugees who were trying to leave Sarajevo.¹⁰² According to UNPROFOR reports, the refugees – who primarily consisted of women and children – were held as hostages for the purpose of guaranteeing the withdrawal of JNA members from the barracks in Sarajevo or ensuring the safety of the Pofalići neighbourhood in Sarajevo.¹⁰³

The refugees were detained in Ilidža for three days under difficult conditions, and there were cases of members of the Serbian forces robbing, harassing and beating them.¹⁰⁴ The convoy was released on 21 May, when an agreement was reached to evacuate the refugees under UNPROFOR escort, in return for the JNA barracks in Sarajevo receiving food.¹⁰⁵

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- **9 June 1992 – disappearance of the men detained at the SJB Ilidža**

On 9 June 1992, members of the Special Police Unit from the SJB Ilidža took Nikola Tomić, Anto Tomić, Branimir Tomić (1944), Anto Kaselj, Ivica Kaselj (1947), Asim Zuban (1950), Fikret Zuban (1957), and Mirsad Čatić aka “Pire” (1967) to the SJB Ilidža offices, where they physically and psychologically abused them. The Zuban brothers, Branimir Tomić, Ivica Kaselj, and Mirsad Čatić were taken away by persons in uniform. As they were being led away, Anto Tomić asked Branislav Okuka, commander of the Special Police Unit, not to take his brother Branimir. As Anto Tomić later heard, members of the

100 Letter from the BiH Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners of Wars and Detained Persons (26 June 1992), Exhibit P01318.24, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 2; Testimony of Slobodan Marković before the ICTY (12 July 2010), Exhibit D00935, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 12662–12665.

101 Testimony of Slobodan Marković before the ICTY (12 July 2010), Exhibit D00935, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 12674–12677; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (8 March 2012), p. 27160.

102 *Muslimanski glas*, “Koljači, ubice, zločinci” [Butchers, murderers, criminals] (12 June 1992), Exhibit P770, *Krajišnik*; Intercepted conversation between Željko Ražnatović and Milorad Ulemek aka “Legija” (20 May 1992), Exhibit P02743.415.A, *Mladić*, pp. 2–3.

103 Situation in Sarajevo, report by Adnan Abdelrazek (22 May 1992), Exhibit P00322.B, *Mladić*, p. 1; Situation in Sarajevo, report by UNPROFOR (21 May 1992), Exhibit P00321.B, *Mladić*, p. 4.

104 *The Siege of Sarajevo 1992–1995*, Sarajevo Canton Memorial Fund, Sarajevo, 2022, p. 94.

105 Situation in Sarajevo, report by Adnan Abdelrazek (22 May 1992), Exhibit P00322.B, *Mladić*, p. 2; Situation in Sarajevo, report by UNPROFOR (21 May 1992), Exhibit P00321.B, *Mladić*, pp. 4–5.



police set his brother and the other men on fire in the house where they had been taken.¹⁰⁶ In late June 1992, RS President Radovan Karadžić inquired about the fate of Branimir Tomić and the possibility of exchanging him, but was informed, however, that Tomić was not at the KP Kula.¹⁰⁷

After being detained for four days, the men who remained at the SJB Ilidža were deported, together with their families, to the town of Kiseljak.¹⁰⁸

The mortal remains of Asim and Fikret Zuban, Branimir Tomić and Ivica Kaselj, who were killed under undetermined circumstances, have not been found to this day, while Mirsad Čatić's name is on the ICRC list of missing persons. The participation of the Special Police Unit in the rounding up of men from the Stup neighbourhood is apparent from the unit's wartime report, in which Branislav Okuka stated that on 9 June 1992 the entire unit was engaged around Kasindolska Street, and that the "cleansing" of Nikole Kolumbića and Lepenička streets, in the immediate vicinity of the house from which the men were taken, started on the same day.¹⁰⁹

Deportation of non-Serbian population from the Ilidža municipality

In mid-May 1992, members of the Serbian police and military deported the women and children from the Kotorac neighbourhood in Ilidža, while the men were detained in detention facilities – most commonly at the KP Kula.¹¹⁰

106 *Klix*, "Kako je prijava za ratne zločine protiv Dodikovog savjetnika Branislava Okuke 'izgubljena' u bespućima bh. pravosuđa" [How the war crimes report against Dodik's adviser Branislav Okuka was "lost" in the wastelands of the Bosnia and Herzegovina judiciary] (2 October 2024), available at: <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/kako-je-prijava-za-ratne-zlocine-protiv-dodikovog-savjetnika-branislava-okuke-izgubljena-u-bespucima-bh-pravosudja/241001106> (last visited 13 February 2025); Decision of the European Court of Human Rights in *Zuban and Hamidović v. Bosnia And Herzegovina* (2 September 2014).

107 Intercepted conversation between Radovan Karadžić and Momčilo Mandić (1 July 1992), Exhibit P01102, *Karadžić*, p. 3.

108 *Klix*, "Kako je prijava za ratne zločine protiv Dodikovog savjetnika Branislava Okuke 'izgubljena' u bespućima bh. pravosuđa" [How the war crimes report against Dodik's adviser Branislav Okuka was "lost" in the wasteland of the Bosnia and Herzegovina judiciary] (2 October 2024), available at: <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/kako-je-prijava-za-ratne-zlocine-protiv-dodikovog-savjetnika-branislava-okuke-izgubljena-u-bespucima-bh-pravosudja/241001106> (last visited 13 February 2025); Decision of the European Court of Human Rights in *Zuban and Hamidović v. Bosnia And Herzegovina* (2 September 2014).

109 Report by Branislav Okuka on the Special Unit to MUP Ilidža (undated), Exhibit 1D01271, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 2.

110 Intercepted conversation between Nedeljko Prstojević, a certain Milenko, and a certain Novaković (14 May 1992), Exhibit P01086, *Karadžić*, pp. 2–3; Testimony of Nedeljko Prstojević before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (15 June 2005), pp. 14604–14610, 14648–14649; Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 29 July 1992, Exhibit D01243.E, *Karadžić*, pp. 10–12.



In an intercepted conversation between Tomislav Kovač and then RS Assistant Minister of the Interior Momčilo Mandić, on 26 May 1992, Kovač informed Mandić that the local authorities had adopted “a general policy that all Muslims should be expelled from Ilidža”, and that he could not stop it.¹¹¹

On 20 May 1992, members of the SJB Ilidža transported a group of 114 persons from the neighbourhoods of Gornji Kotorac and Dobrinja IV, who had been detained at the KP Kula since 12 May 1992, across the Vrbanja Bridge to the parts of Sarajevo under the control of the Army of BiH.¹¹² On or about 26 June 1992, around 400 civilians, predominantly women and children from Dobrinja who had previously been detained at the KP Kula, were forcibly transferred from Ilidža to a part of Sarajevo under the control of the Army of BiH, also across the Vrbanja Bridge, which was the demarcation line between the warring sides. RS Minister of Justice Momčilo Mandić handled this transfer, with the help of the police.¹¹³

A dispatch sent by the SJB Ilidža to the Sarajevo Security Service Centre in September 1993 states that the crowded departure of Bosnian Muslims in flight was the result of “repressive acts undertaken against them on various grounds”.¹¹⁴

Based on agreements with the UNHCR and the RS Central Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners and Other Persons, or on private arrangements, during the war the military and police transferred detainees from the KP Kula to territory that was not under the control of the Serbs; this included refugees and unlawfully detained civilians, who were therefore forced to leave the territory of this municipality.¹¹⁵

On 4 April 1993, the wartime presidency of the Ilidža municipality, which was headed by Neđeljko Prstojević, passed a decision banning Croats and Muslims from returning to the Ilidža municipality, as well as prohibiting crossing into this area without the written permission of the competent authority.¹¹⁶

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111 However, in the statement that Tomislav Kovač gave to ICTY investigators, he said that the movement of the population in Ilidža was the consequence of the civil war, and that the mass departure of the non-Serbian population occurred following the attack on Serbian police officers, members of the TO and civilians, in April 1992. Intercepted conversation between Momčilo Mandić and Tomislav Kovač (26 May 1992), Exhibit D01239, *Karadžić*, pp. 2–4; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 57–58.

112 Report by the Kula Police Station to SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad (25 May 1992), Exhibit P01151, *Karadžić*.

113 Testimony of Momčilo Mandić before the ICTY (26 November 2004), *Krajišnik*, pp. 8868–8878; Intercepted conversation between Momčilo Mandić and Momčilo Krajišnik (26 June 1992), Exhibit P01101, *Karadžić*, pp. 3–4.

114 SJB Ilidža dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 3.

115 Kula Police Station report to SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad (25 May 1992), Exhibit P01151, *Karadžić*; Intercepted conversation between Radovan Karadžić and Momčilo Mandić (1 July 1992), Exhibit P01102, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Report by the Central Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners and Other Persons (13 April 1993), Exhibit D03358, *Karadžić*, pp. 1–2; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* (24 March 2016), para. 2161.

116 Decision of the Wartime Presidency of the Ilidža Serbian Municipality (4 April 1993), Exhibit D01244, *Karadžić*.



The parts of the Ilidža municipality controlled by the Serbian military and police in July 1995 contained almost no non-Serbian population.¹¹⁷

Distribution of the property of the deported population – second half of 1992

The Ilidža Municipality Crisis Staff and the Commission for the Assignment of Apartments, which was presided over by Slavko Mijanović, assigned houses and apartments belonging to Bosnian Muslims for temporary use to combatants, as well as to Bosnian Serb civilians who had taken refuge in Ilidža.¹¹⁸

On 19 July 1992, Radovan Karadžić ordered Ilidža municipal officials to take a census, in cooperation with the SJB Ilidža, of all “the housing capacities (...) that are free following the voluntary departure of the Muslims”, and to make them available to Serbs.¹¹⁹ By the summer of 1993, the Commission for the Assignment of Apartments in Ilidža had passed more than 3,000 orders on the assignment of apartments, including an order on 31 August 1992 assigning a three-room apartment to Tomislav Kovač’s family.¹²⁰

117 Letter from the Sarajevo State Security Service to MUP RBiH (4 July 1995), Exhibit D04002, *Karadžić*, p. 24.

118 Rules on issuing apartments for temporary use to families of killed and wounded combatants, refugee families of combatants and other persons (5 July 1992), Exhibit P06942, *Mladić*, pp. 1–3; Intercepted conversation between Nedeljko Prstojević and Rade Ristić (25 June 1992), Exhibit P02770.B, *Mladić*, p. 2; Statement of witness Slavko Mijanović to the ICTY (19 January 2013), Exhibit D02773, *Karadžić*, paras. 6–8.

119 Letter from Radovan Karadžić to the municipalities of Novo Sarajevo, Pale, Ilidža, Hadžići, Rajlovac, Sokolac, and Han Pijesak (19 July 1992), Exhibit P00739, *Karadžić*.

120 Statement of witness Slavko Mijanović to the ICTY (19 January 2013), Exhibit D02773, *Karadžić*, para. 10; Testimony of Slavko Mijanović before the ICTY (25 November 2014), *Mladić*, pp. 28825–28827; Order of the Ilidža Serbian Municipality Commission for the Assignment of Apartments (31 August 1992), Exhibit P06944, *Mladić*.



KP Kula

The Butmir Penal and Correctional Facility, also known as the KP Kula, was located near the Sarajevo airport. Before the war it had served as a semi-open prison for persons serving sentences for lesser felonies or traffic violations.¹²¹ In early April 1992, the KP Kula ceased operation as a civilian prison under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice. By decision of the prison's administration, all the convicts were released.¹²²

Between May and early August 1992, part of the KP Kula was used as a detention facility controlled by the Kula Police Station, part of the SJB Ilidža, which was headed by Tomislav Kovač, and the SJB Novi Grad, commanded by Milenko Tepavčević.¹²³ The commander of the Kula Police Station was Radenko Vujičić.¹²⁴ Members of the SJB Ilidža and the VRS brought detained civilians from Ilidža and surrounding municipalities to the KP Kula facility.¹²⁵

Tomislav Kovač and high-ranking Republika Srpska police officials Momčilo Mandić and Mićo Stanišić visited the KP Kula on multiple occasions.¹²⁶

Members of the police brought the first detainees to the KP Kula in early May 1992.¹²⁷ Civilians were transported directly from their homes, prisoners of war from the front, and detainees from other detainee facilities. Members of the MUP, the National Security Service with the SJB Ilidža and the VRS Military Police conducted interviews with the detainees in two small rooms, physically separated from the detention facility.¹²⁸

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In mid-May 1992, a group of around 30 men from Dobrinja, who had previously been separated from the women and children by members of the police and TO Ilidža, were detained at the KP Kula. The

121 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (8 September 2011), pp. 18614–18615; Testimony of Momčilo Mandić before the ICTY (25 November 2004), *Krajišnik*, pp. 8730–8731; Statement of witness Slobodan Avlijaš to the ICTY (9 March 2013), Exhibit D03105, *Karadžić*, para. 7.

122 Statement of witness Soniboj Škiljević to the ICTY (5 April 2013), Exhibit D03331, *Karadžić*, para. 3; Statement of witness Momčilo Čeklić to the ICTY (8 March 2013), Exhibit D03112, *Karadžić*, para. 28.

123 The Police, Ministry of Justice and VRS used certain parts of KP Kula as a detention facility until October 1994. Testimony of Momčilo Mandić before the ICTY (25 November 2004), *Krajišnik*, pp. 8730–8732, 8736, 8751; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 2152; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), paras. 265, 270, 276; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Lalović & Škiljević* Case (16 June 2010), paras. 265, 270, 276.

124 Statement of witness Soniboj Škiljević to the ICTY (5 April 2013), Exhibit D03331, *Karadžić*, para. 5; Statement of Slobodan Avlijaš to the ICTY (7 October 2010), *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 15566.

125 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Lalović & Škiljević* Case (16 June 2010), para. 351.

126 Statement of witness Soniboj Škiljević to the ICTY (8 April 2013), *Karadžić*, pp. 36811–36815.

127 Statement of witness Mirsad Smajš to the CJB Sarajevo (18 December 1993) and the ICTY (14 January 1998), Exhibit P00043.B, *Karadžić*, p. 7; Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 28 July 1992, Exhibit D01243, *Karadžić*, p. 3.

128 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (8 September 2011), pp. 18580–18582; Report by the VRS Sarajevo-Romanija Corps on combat operations in Dobrinja (17 June 1992), Exhibit P04498, *Mladić*; Statement of witness Mehmed Musić to the ICTY (28 February 2011), Exhibit P02225.B, *Mladić*, paras. 92, 97.



group consisted of Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and one Serb. He and several detainees were released.¹²⁹ At least 156 persons were detained at the KP Kula until 20 May 1992, transported by members of the SJB Ilidža and the TO Ilidža from Kasindolska Street, Gornji Kotorac, Nedžarići, Vojkovići and other neighbourhoods in Ilidža, which had previously been attacked.¹³⁰

Around 23 June 1992, approximately 230 men from Hadžići, who had previously been detained at the Slaviša Vajner Čiča Barracks and other detention facilities, were brought to the KP Kula. The guards at the KP Kula placed them in two overcrowded rooms, where they could neither sit down nor sleep.¹³¹

The transfer of detainees from other detention facilities to the KP Kula also continued after August 1992, when the Ministry of Justice took control of the prison, as well as during 1993.¹³²

By the end of 1994, around 10,000 civilians had passed through the KP Kula, having been detained for periods of several days to several months.¹³³ In addition to men, the police and military also detained women, children, elderly and mentally ill persons at the facility.¹³⁴

Detention conditions and detainee killings

Members of the police and guards at the KP Kula kept the detainees in overcrowded rooms and under inadequate conditions. There were no beds, other than a few mattresses and mats. The detainees were forced to sit on tile floors, or in each other's laps, due to the lack of space. Some cells had beds, but there were not enough for everyone, so many detainees were forced to sleep on the floor.

There was very little food. During May and June 1992, the detainees received one meagre meal per day; after that they ate in an improvised dining area, in the morning and the afternoon.¹³⁵

The guards allowed the detainees to use the latrine only in the morning and the evening, otherwise they had to use a cracked bucket in the room where they were held, which emanated a strong stench.¹³⁶

129 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Lalović & Škiljević* Case (16 June 2010), para. 279.

130 Kula Police Station report to SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad (20 May 1992), Exhibit P01126, *Karadžić*.

131 Statement of witness Mehmed Musić to the ICTY (28 February 2011), Exhibit P02225.B, *Mladić*, paras. 92–95; Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, pp. 2–3.

132 Statement by witness Safet Gagula to the ICTY (12 June 2001), Exhibit P02525, *Mladić*, p. 7; Testimony of protected witness FWS-111 before the ICTY in *Krnojelac* (27 November 2000), pp. 1283–1284.

133 Letter from the Central Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners of Wars regarding KP Butmir (28 October 1994), Exhibit P01127, *Karadžić*, p. 1.

134 Statement by witness Hajrudin Karić to the ICTY (13 May 2011), Exhibit P02839, *Karadžić*, par. 47; Intercepted conversation between Momčilo Mandić and a certain Ninković (18 June 1992), Exhibit P01152, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Testimony of protected witness FWS-111 before the ICTY in *Krnojelac* (27 November 2000), pp. 1283–1284; Statement of witness Mehmed Musić to the ICTY (28 February 2011), Exhibit P02225.B, *Mladić*, para. 96.

135 Statement of witness Mehmed Musić to the ICTY (28 February 2011), Exhibit P02225.B, *Mladić*, paras. 94, 98; Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Statement by witness Hajrudin Karić to the ICTY (13 May 2011), Exhibit P02839, *Karadžić*, para. 46; Statement of witness Mirsad Smajš to the ICTY (14 January 1998) and the ICTY (14 January 1998), Exhibit P00043.B, *Karadžić*, p. 3.

136 Statement of witness Mehmed Musić to the ICTY (28 February 2011), Exhibit P02225.B, *Mladić*, para. 94.



On 20 May 1992, SJB Novi Grad chief Milenko Tepavčević reported to the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice that 156 detainees at the KP Kula were being kept with “inadequate accommodation, food and hygiene conditions”¹³⁷

The detainees were used for forced labour, often on the confrontation line, where they were forced to clear and dig trenches, put up barricades and bury the dead. Certain detainees volunteered to work in order to ensure better detention conditions, more meals and better-quality food. The forced labour included tilling the soil around the KP Kula, gardening and working on the egg farm within the prison.¹³⁸

A number of detainees were injured by shell explosions or sniper fire while performing forced labour;¹³⁹ and several detainees were killed working on the front line. The victims included **Vahid Gačanović** (1942) on Ozrenska Street, and **Mehmed Isić** aka “**Zido**” (1945) and **Ramiz Smajić** (1946) at the KP Kula agricultural farm, from shelling and sniper activity in their direction.¹⁴⁰

Detainees were frequently beaten at the KP Kula, as well as during transfers from one detention facility to another.¹⁴¹ Around 9 May 1992, **Zlatan Salčin** (1955) and another unidentified detainee died from the consequences of a beating, with their hands bound and blindfolded. Other inmates were forced to load their bodies into a van, which was then driven by guards in an unknown direction.¹⁴² The mortal remains of Zlatan Salčin were discovered in 2000 in the Miljevići III mass grave in Sarajevo.¹⁴³

In early August 1992, the Ministry of Justice took over control of the KP Kula.¹⁴⁴

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137 Kula Police Station report to SJB Ilidža–SJB Novi Grad (20 May 1992), Exhibit P01126, *Karadžić*.

138 Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Testimony of witness Hajrudin Karić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (23 June 2011), p. 15307; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Lalović & Škiljević* Case (16 June 2010), paras. 486–506.

139 Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, p. 3; Statement by protected witness KDZ-310 ST-027 to the ICTY (28 November 2010), Exhibit P01938.B, *Karadžić*, para. 46.

140 Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, p. 3; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Lalović & Škiljević* (16 June 2010), para. 508; Updated list of victims from the Report by Amor Mašović (5 April 2012), Exhibit P04853, *Karadžić*, pp. 90–91; Documentation of the Cantonal Court in Sarajevo on exhumation, autopsy and identification at the Vranješ Cemetery site, between April and June 1999, Exhibit P04886, *Karadžić*, p. 24.

141 Record on the questioning of witness Rešad Brdarić before the BiH Prosecution in Case No. KT-RZ-33/05 (5 January 2006), pp. 3–4; Statement by witness Adem Balić to the MUP R BiH RDB – RO SDB Hadžići (7 February 1993), Exhibit P00161, *Karadžić*, p. 2; Statement of witness Mirsad Smajš to the CJB Sarajevo (18 December 1993) and the ICTY (14 January 1998), Exhibit P00043.B, *Karadžić*, pp. 2–3.

142 Statement of witness Mirsad Smajš to the CJB Sarajevo (18 December 1993) and the ICTY (15 September 2000), Exhibit P00043.B, *Karadžić*, pp. 2–3, 7; Ledger of transfer of duties at KP Kula, for the period from 1 May to 29 July 1992, Exhibit D01243, *Karadžić*, p. 11.

143 Updated list of victims from the Report by Amor Mašović (5 April 2012), Exhibit P04853, *Karadžić*, p. 89.

144 Testimony of Momčilo Mandić before the ICTY (25 November 2004), *Krajišnik*, pp. 8730–8732, 8736, 8751.



Establishing control of Ahatovići (Novi Grad)

On 27 May 1992, VRS and MUP forces deployed tanks and armoured vehicles on the hills above the village of Ahatovići, in the Novi Grad municipality of Sarajevo.¹⁴⁵ They then used a PA system to call on the population to surrender, threatening them by saying “*Baliže*, surrender or we will slaughter your children!”¹⁴⁶ Two days later, on 29 May 1992, they started an artillery attack and shelled Ahatovići from all directions nearly continuously, including from the Butile and Rajlovac barracks.¹⁴⁷ Between 150 and 200 women children and elderly residents took shelter in several larger houses in the centre of the neighbourhood.¹⁴⁸ The shelling lasted until 2 June 1992, resulting in nearly all the houses in the Ahatovići area being destroyed, followed by the destruction of the village mosque.¹⁴⁹

After that, the Serbian forces carried out an infantry attack on Ahatovići, accompanied by two armoured personnel carriers, from the direction of the neighbourhood of Dobroševići.¹⁵⁰ The SJB Iliđza bulletin of daily events for 2 and 3 June 1992 states that “the mopping-up of the terrain” around Ahatovići was under way.¹⁵¹ The village of Ahatovići fell under the control of the MUP and VRS forces on 3 June 1992.¹⁵² The taking of Ahatovići was strategically significant for the Serbian forces, because it connected the Butile and Rajlovac areas.¹⁵³

Several civilians, including 15-year-old **Elma Bašić** and her mother **Razija Bašić**, were killed in the shelling and subsequent attack on Ahatovići.¹⁵⁴

28 After the attack, the remaining ethnic Bosniak residents of Ahatovići, as well as some Serbs and Croats who were in mixed marriages, were detained or deported from the village.¹⁵⁵ After being captured, the residents – the majority of whom were women and children – were imprisoned in several facilities in Rajlovac, including the distribution centre, the oil hangers and the oxygen plant.¹⁵⁶ In July 1992, the newer and undamaged houses in Ahatovići were assigned to Serbs from Sarajevo.¹⁵⁷

145 Testimony of protected witness KDZ-041 to the ICTY in *Karadžić* (17 February 2011), p. 12092.

146 Statement of Elvir Jahić to the ICTY (2 and 5 April 2013), Exhibit P03122.B, *Mladić*, para. 19.

147 Testimony of Ramiz Mujkić before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (3 November 2004), pp. 7938–7940; Testimony of protected witness KDZ-041 before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (17 February 2011), pp. 12097–12098; Statement of Ramiz Mujkić to the ICTY (4 February 2011), Exhibit P02314, *Karadžić*, paras. 26–28; Statement of Elvir Jahić to the ICTY (5 April 2013), Exhibit P03122.B, *Mladić*, para. 18.

148 Statement of Elvir Jahić to the ICTY (5 April 2013), Exhibit P03122.B, *Mladić*, para. 19.

149 Testimony of Ramiz Mujkić before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (3 November 2004), pp. 7947–7950; Testimony of Elvir Jahić before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (1 November 2004), pp. 7759–7760, 7817; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* (22 November 2017), paras. 979–980.

150 Statement of Ramiz Mujkić to the ICTY (4 February 2011), Exhibit P02314, *Karadžić*, para. 26.

151 SJB Iliđza report on daily events (2–3 June 1992), Exhibit D01240, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

152 Report from the Sarajevo Security Services Romanija–Birač Center (3 June 1992), Exhibit P02333, *Karadžić*, p. 1.

153 SJB Iliđza dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 5.

154 Testimony of Ramiz Mujkić before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (3 November 2004), pp. 7956–7957; Statement of Ramiz Mujkić to the ICTY (4 February 2011), Exhibit P02314, *Karadžić*, paras. 40–41; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krajišnik* Case (27 September 2006), para. 567.

155 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), para. 990.

156 Testimony of Ramiz Mujkić before the ICTY in *Krajišnik* (3 November 2004), pp. 7950–7955; BiH Prosecution – Special Section for War Crimes, indictment against *Mile Stojanović* (12 July 2022), pp. 1–2.

157 Statement of Ramiz Mujkić to the ICTY (4 February 2011), Exhibit P02314, *Karadžić*, para. 39; Letter from the President of the SRBiH Presidency (19 July 1992), Exhibit P00739, *Karadžić*.



Members of the Special Police Unit from the SJB Ilidža, commanded by Branislav Okuka, as well as members of the VRS unit from Ilidža, paramilitary formations and local Serbs took part in the attack on Ahatovići and the rounding-up of civilians.¹⁵⁸

158 SJB Ilidža dispatch to MUP RS (20 September 1993), Exhibit P00648, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 5; SJB Ilidža report on daily events (2–3 June 1992), Exhibit D01240, *Karadžić*, p. 2; Nomination for the decoration of Tomislav Kovač and killed members of the special police, Commander Branislav Okuka, Exhibit 1D01271, *Stanišić i Simatović*, p. 2; Nomination for social commendation of the Blažuj Reserve Police Station (11 September 1993), Exhibit P02976, *Karadžić*, p. 6; Testimony of protected witness KDZ-601 before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (8 September 2011), pp. 18589–18592; Tomislav Kovač states in his report that the police forces took part in hundreds of combat actions “from Hadžići, Rakovica, Blažuj, Ahatovići, Dobrinja”; see: SJB Ilidža report to Minister Mićo Stanišić personally (5 August 1992), Exhibit P06639, *Karadžić*, p. 6.



Cover-up of crimes in the MUP RS

Detention facilities

During 1992, members of the MUP RS took part in the establishment of detention facilities and running those facilities on the territory under the control of the Bosnian Serbs, where, together with the civilian authorities and the military, they unlawfully detained civilians and prisoners of war. The detainees were exposed to harassment, sexual abuse and torture at these facilities. They were starved, denied water, hygiene and medical care. A large number of people were killed there.¹⁵⁹

Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Manjača camp on 16 July 1992. During the visit they recorded all the detainees, and in the report that they sent to Radovan Karadžić on 25 July 1992, they stated that the detainees were subject to harassment, that the living conditions were unsatisfactory, and that the camp was not suitable for housing detainees, which was why they recommended that the civilians be released and the prisoners of war be transferred to suitable facilities.¹⁶⁰

In early August 1992, several international delegations, accompanied by reporters, visited the Omarska and Trnopolje camps in Prijedor, with many international media subsequently reporting on the abuse and poor detention conditions.¹⁶¹

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Even though the police, military and state leadership had information about the conduct and conditions at the detention facilities,¹⁶² it was only following international pressure and media reporting that Radovan Karadžić, on 6 August 1992, ordered the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice to prepare “information about the attitude and conduct of the Serbian authorities towards prisoners of war and the living conditions of the detainees at the prisons”.¹⁶³ After that, Minister of the Interior

159 Regarding the detention facilities on the territory controlled by the Bosnian Serbs, see the conclusions of the ICTY Trial Chamber in *Stanišić & Župljanin* and *Karadžić*; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), paras. 2522–2530; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Stanišić & Župljanin* Case (27 March 2013), paras. 760–761.

160 ICRC report (25 July 1992), Exhibit P00179.13, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 9–10.

161 *Sunday Times*, “Death-camp scoop made the world sit up”, article by Jonathan Miller (9 August 1992), P00427.20.B, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; *ITN*, video report by Penny Marshal and Ian Williams from Omarska and Trnopolje camps (5 August 1992), P01357, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; *The Guardian*, “Shame of camp Omarska” (7 August 1992), Exhibit P00204.B, *Mladić*.

162 Summary of the meeting of the leadership staff of the MUP RS (11 July 1992), Exhibit D01013, *Stanišić & Simatović*, p. 5; Minutes from the 41st sitting of the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (22 July 1992), Exhibit P00200, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 7; Regular combat report of the First Krajina Corps (25 July 1992), Exhibit P1441b, *Brđanin*, pp. 1–2.

163 Conclusion of the RS Presidency 01-533/92 (6 August 1992), Exhibit P00191, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; Minutes from the 24th sitting of the SRBiH Presidency (6 August 1992), Exhibit P00427.18, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 2–3.



Mičo Stanišić ordered the CJB leadership to “immediately release [the civilians], i.e. to allow them free movement”, and during August 1992 he issued two more orders related to the treatment of detainees.¹⁶⁴

On 8 August 1992, Tomislav Kovač, as Assistant Minister of the Interior, sent the Prime Minister and President of Republika Srpska a dispatch regarding the establishment of jurisdiction over the detainees and their categorisation.¹⁶⁵ In the dispatch, Kovač stated that members of the MUP and the military were involved in detaining persons in the zone of combat operations, organising their accommodation and living regime, as well as deciding on “their fates”. Kovač then proposed that the status of detained persons be “legally rearranged” in accordance with international conventions, in order to actually conceal the true nature of these facilities. According to the proposal, detained persons would be classified into three groups: prisoners of war, persons that had committed crimes or war crimes, and civilians, a category which applied “only to refugees, subject to certain increased controls by the Serbian Ministry of the Interior”.¹⁶⁶

On 9 August 1992, the Government of the Serbian Republic of BiH established two commissions, consisting of representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice, and of the Administration, “for visiting the collection centres and other facilities for detainees in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”.¹⁶⁷ The report by the first commission, which was tasked to visit the detainee facilities in the so-called Autonomous Region of Krajina, stated that the accommodations in Trnopolje, Omarska, Manjača and other facilities were not satisfactory, and that there were no regulations regarding the treatment of civilians.¹⁶⁸ The RS Government adopted this report at a closed session on 19 August 1992, and ordered the MUP and the Ministry of Defence to hand over the securing of the detainee facilities to the military.¹⁶⁹

In the judgement in the case against Mičo Stanišić and Stojan Župljanin, the ICTY determined that it was precisely the MUP RS which shared responsibility for the detention facilities with the Ministry of Justice and Army of RS. The Ministry of the Interior was also involved in the establishment of those facilities, managing them as well as their security. Furthermore, the MUP did not take the measures required under its jurisdiction to have those facilities closed.¹⁷⁰

164 MUP RS dispatch 10-242/92 (8 August 1992), Exhibit 1D00563, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; MUP RS Order (10 August 1992), Exhibit 1D00055, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; MUP RS Order (17 August 1992), Exhibit 1D00056, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

165 MUP SRBiH dispatch (8 August 1992), Exhibit P01100, *Karadžić*, pp. 1–2; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 84.

166 MUP SRBiH dispatch (8 August 1992), Exhibit P01100, *Karadžić*, pp. 1–2.

167 Decision 6-20 on the establishment of a commission for visiting the collection centres and other facilities for detainees in the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (9 August 1992), Government of the Serbian Republic of BiH, Exhibit P00193, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; Minutes from the 46th sitting of the Government of SRBiH (9 August 1992), Exhibit P00427.13, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 5.

168 Report by the commission for visiting the collection centres and other facilities for detainees in the Autonomous Region of Krajina (17 August 1992), Exhibit P00194, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 5–6.

169 Minutes from the closed session of the Republika Srpska Government (19 August 1992), Exhibit P583.91, *Krajišnik*, p. 2.

170 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (27 March 2013), para. 761.



This was confirmed by Kovač, who testified before the ICTY that criminal proceedings against the individuals in the MUP who were responsible for the detention centres, poor conditions and war crimes committed against detainees, were not initiated because “the heads of the CJB did not have sufficient strength or capacity to deal with these problems”.¹⁷¹

(Non)Punishment of Members of the Police

In late October 1992, Minister of the Interior Mićo Stanišić authorised Tomislav Kovač, as Deputy Minister of the Interior, to act on behalf of the minister in his absence. Kovač used this authorisation to act in certain areas, such as attending meetings, submitting reports to the RS Government, personnel issues, and operative tasks.¹⁷² This decision remained effective until January 1993, when Ratko Adžić replaced Stanišić as Minister of the Interior.¹⁷³

Kovač testified before the ICTY Trial Chamber that during that period he initiated different disciplinary measures against members of the police who, in his opinion, had not acted professionally or ethically. These included Stevan Todorović, the head of Bosanski Šamac SJB, Simo Drljača, the head of SJB Prijedor, Malko Koroman, head of SJB Pale, and others.¹⁷⁴ However, the initiated proceedings did not pertain to the war crimes committed, but to crimes such as theft and abuse of office. Also, none of these persons were dismissed from their positions within the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷⁵

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Even though Kovač stated on several occasions that in late 1992 and 1993 he believed that Stojan Župljanin,¹⁷⁶ the head of the CJB Banja Luka, was not capable of controlling and commanding the Centre and public security stations within his jurisdiction, on 16 October 1993, as acting Minister of the Interior, Kovač again appointed Župljanin head of the CJB Banja Luka, after he was relieved during the military rebellion and occupation of the MUP offices by members of the military.¹⁷⁷

The Ministry of the Interior was aware of the actions by Simo Drljača, the head of the SJB Prijedor, and members of the police pertaining to the founding and functioning of multiple detention facilities in the municipality of Prijedor, the number of detainees at them, and the detention conditions.¹⁷⁸ Following

171 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (7 March 2012), pp. 27066–27067.

172 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (7 March 2012), pp. 27034–27037; Minutes from the 46th sitting of the Government of SRBiH (9 August 1992), Exhibit P00427.13, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1.

173 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (7 March 2012), p. 27036.

174 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (7 March 2012), pp. 27041–27044; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (8 March 2012), pp. 27091–27092.

175 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Stanišić & Župljanin* Case (27 March 2013), para. 754.

176 In a 2016 judgement, ICTY Appeals Chamber found Stojan Župljanin guilty of crimes against humanity and violation of the laws and customs of war, committed in the territory controlled by the CJB Banja Luka; he was sentenced to 22 years in prison.

177 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (7 March 2012), p. 27044; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (8 March 2012), pp. 27103–27105.

178 Report on the work of the Prijedor Public Security Station for the last 9 months of 1992 (January 1993), Exhibit P00689, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 4; Report on the work of SJB Prijedor for the first half of 1992 (June 1992), Exhibit P00657, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 6; Report by SJB Prijedor on the reception centres on the territory of the Prijedor municipality (August 1992), Exhibit P00672, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 3–6.



the killing of at least 200 detainees at the Trnopolje camp at Korićanske Stijene on Mt. Vlašić, which were committed by members of the Intervention Platoon of the SJB Prijedor, in late August 1992 Stanišić ordered an investigation into the crime, and for those responsible to be punished.¹⁷⁹ Drljača avoided conducting this investigation by sending the police officers who had been involved in the murders to the front line in Han Pijesak.¹⁸⁰

Five days after the members of the Sokolac Special Unit and other police units had killed 22 civilians in the Balatun neighbourhood in Bijeljina,¹⁸¹ Tomislav Kovač, on behalf of the MUP RS, issued a statement that an investigation was ongoing, but that the police did not have reliable information on the number of missing and killed, nor the number of perpetrators or their motives, and that “this case can be linked to the massacre of Serbs committed on the same day in Milići”. The statement also dismissed the accusations against the MUP RS Special Unit.¹⁸² A meeting of the Expert Collegium of the Ministry of the Interior was held on 3 October 1992, during which Assistant Minister Tomislav Kovač informed the meeting about “the security situation in the Bijeljina region”.¹⁸³ However, when making a statement as part of the investigation by the District Prosecution in Bijeljina in 2005, Kovač stated that he had not taken any steps aimed at identifying the perpetrators of that crime, because he had not received any request or information based on which he could launch an investigation.¹⁸⁴

A team of police operatives was formed on 16 November 1992, at the orders of Tomislav Kovač, in order to investigate the circumstances of the arrest of head of the Bosanski Šamac SJB, Stevan Todorović, which had been carried out several days earlier by members of the Military Security of the VRS Eastern Bosnia Corps.¹⁸⁵ The report states that the arrest occurred owing to looting and the theft of service vehicles and weapons with Todorović’s tacit consent, and because this official had

179 MUP RS dispatch (31 August 1992), Exhibit D01881, *Karadžić*; CJB Banja Luka dispatch (11 September 1992), Exhibit P00812, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

180 SJB Prijedor dispatch to CJB Banja Luka (14 September 1992), Exhibit P00682, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

181 On the night of 24–25 September 1992, members of the MUP RS Special Platoon, the SJB Bijeljina intervention platoon and other police units, headed by Duško Malović, conducted an operation in the Bukreš neighbourhood, in the course of which they removed members of the Sarajlić, Sejmenović and Malagić families from their homes, under the pretence of an exchange. The police officers then shot 22 civilians, including six children and nine women, near the River Drina, in the Balatun neighbourhood, and dumped the bodies into the river. The mortal remains of most victims were discovered years later in mass and individual graves in Serbia, with the mortal remains of three persons still missing.

182 Tomislav Kovač’s statement came as a reaction to the statement by the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) of Northeastern Bosnia, issued two days earlier on Radio SIM, accusing members of the MUP RS Special Police Unit of the murders of the families in the Bukreš neighbourhood. In the statement Kovač condemned the SRS act for damaging the reputation of “the Serbian state and Serbian policy”. Jusuf Trbić, *Majstori mraka, I deo*, Kujundžić, Lukavac, 2007, pp. 240–241; Criminal file of the District Prosecution in Bijeljina pertaining to the murder of members of the Sarajlić, Sejmenović and Malagić families (4 November 2004), Exhibit P01543, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 9–10, 38, 59.

183 Minutes from the expanded sitting of the Expert Collegium of the Republika Srpska Ministry of the Interior (3 October 1992), Exhibit 1D00510, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 2–4.

184 Record on the statement collected from Tomislav Kovač by SJB Zvornik (13 April 2005), Exhibit P02460, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 3.

185 MUP RS Bijeljina, report on the situation at SJB Bosanski Šamac, the arrest of the SJB chief by military authorities and the shutting down of the Krajina–FRY corridor (19 November 1992), Exhibit P00406, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 1, 4; Decision on detaining Stevan Todorović (13 November 1992), Exhibit 1D00514, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.



“neglected the operation” since the foundation of the station and prevented its functioning.¹⁸⁶ On 25 November 1992, Andrija Bjelošević, the head of CJB Doboj, asked the Minister of the Interior to dismiss Stevan Todorović as the chief of Bosanski Šamac SJB on account of his “frequent and blatant violations of duty”.¹⁸⁷

Two days later, a MUP RS workgroup consisting of Police Administration Inspector Goran Sarić, Crime Administration Inspector Ostoja Minić, and CJB Doboj Police Department Chief Mirko Blaženović took over coordination of the operation of the Bosanski Šamac SJB, on the orders of Tomislav Kovač.¹⁸⁸ This group was tasked with “steering the SJB Bosanski Samac to function in line with operations,” and with establishing the criminal responsibility of SJB employees. Less than ten days later, they concluded that there were no elements for launching criminal proceedings against the employees of the Bosanski Šamac SJB, but that the operation of the station had been neglected.¹⁸⁹ Despite this, Stevan Todorović remained head of Bosanski Samac SJB at least until the end of 1993, and also remaining with the MUP RS until May 1996, when his employment was consensually terminated.¹⁹⁰ In 2001, Todorović pleaded guilty before the ICTY to crimes committed in the Bosanski Šamac municipality, and was sentenced to ten years in prison for crimes against humanity.

In November 1993, by decree of the President of the Republic, high commendations were presented to MUP RS employees, including Tomislav Kovač, who was the acting Minister of the Interior, as well as to Simo Drljača, who was the acting advisor to the minister, Malko Koroman, Stojan Župljanin, Stevan Todorović, and others.¹⁹¹ In October 1995, Kovač extraordinarily promoted Simo Drljača, the head of Prijedor SJB, to the rank of colonel.¹⁹² The ICTY Prosecution filed an indictment against Simo Drljača in 1997, for crimes committed against Bosniaks and Croats in Prijedor.¹⁹³

186 MUP RS Bijeljina, report on the state of SJB Bosanski Šamac, the arrest of the SJB chief by military authorities and the shutting down of the Krajina–FRY corridor (19 November 1992), Exhibit P00406, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 7–8.

187 CJB Doboj dispatch to MUP RS (25 November 1992), Exhibit 1D00518, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

188 MUP RS dispatch to CJB Doboj (27 November 1992), Exhibit P00407, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

189 MUP RS Crime Prevention Administration, report on the work of SJB Šamac, following the situation stated in the report dated 19 November 1992 (9 December 1992), Exhibit P00408, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 1–3.

190 ICTY final judgement in *Todorović* Case (31 July 2001), para. 60; Testimony of protected witness ST-121 before the ICTY in *Stanišić & Župljanin* (24 November 2009), pp. 3725–3728; MUP RS Decision on retroactive temporary appointment of Stevan Todorović as head of SJB Bosanski Šamac (3 June 1993), Exhibit P02438, *Stanišić & Župljanin*; MUP RS decision on the consensual termination of employment of Stevan Todorović (10 December 1996), Exhibit P02443, *Stanišić & Župljanin*.

191 Decree of the President of Republika Srpska on awarding decorations, Exhibit P00732, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, pp. 1–2, 8.

192 Excerpt from Simo Drljača’s personnel file with the MUP RS, Exhibit P02462, *Stanišić & Župljanin*, p. 13.

193 ICTY Prosecution indictment in *Drljača & Kovačević*, available at https://www.icty.org/x/Cases/milan_kovacevic/ind/bcs/kovacevic_970313_indictment_bcs.pdf; Simo Drljača was killed during an arrest attempt in July 1997, see: Sense, *Drljača – “Gospodar Života I Smrti”* [Drljača – “Master of Life and Death”], 2 March 2000, available at <https://arhiva.sensecentar.org/vijesti.php?aid=6349>.



Participation of MUP RS units in commission of genocide in Srebrenica

In April 1993, after several thousand Bosnian Muslims, fleeing the military actions of Serb army and police forces, had gathered in Srebrenica and found refuge there, the United Nations Security Council, through Resolution 819, declared the enclave of Srebrenica a safe area.¹⁹⁴ By early 1995, more than 40,000 Bosnian Muslims, predominantly civilians, had sought refuge in the Srebrenica enclave.¹⁹⁵

On 2 July 1995, Major-General Milenko Živanović, commanding the VRS Drina Corps, sent his subordinate units several orders presenting the plan of Operation Krivaja 95, which entailed “eliminating enclaves”.¹⁹⁶

The Army of Republika Srpska launched a mortar attack on Srebrenica early in the morning of 6 July 1995, and the enclave was captured on 11 July 1995.¹⁹⁷ In fear for their lives, the refugees in the Srebrenica enclave – predominantly women, children and the elderly – headed to the UNPROFOR base at Potočari, where between 25,000 and 30,000 civilians had gathered by 12 July 1995.¹⁹⁸

During Operation Krivaja 95, the MUP RS units and VRS command had established cooperation and coordination; however, “there was no tight, absolute and exclusive control by the VRS over the MUP units”.¹⁹⁹

Relocation of MUP RS Units to the Srebrenica Area

On 6 July 1995, Tomislav Kovač, commanding the Police Forces Command Staff, notified Sarajevo CJB and the Vogošća Police Forces Staff that the offensive on the Srebrenica enclave was under way.²⁰⁰

Two days later, on 8 July 1995, Major-General Milenko Živanović, commanding the VRS Drina Corps, requested of the VRS Main Staff, via the MUP RS, “the engagement of MUP forces from Zvornik [its 1st Company] which would be the reserve for the 1st Bpbr and on standby to react in the threatened direction.”²⁰¹ Tomislav Kovač met with Karadžić on 9 July 1995, when Karadžić asked him to send police forces to Srebrenica.²⁰²

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194 UN Security Council Resolution 819 (16 April 1993), Exhibit P00021, *Mladić*.

195 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 4987.

196 The Warning Order Op. No. 1, Command of the Drina Corps (2 July 1995), Exhibit 5DP00106, *Popović et al.*; Active Combat Order Op. No. 1, Command of the Drina Corps (2 July 1995), Exhibit P00107, *Popović et al.*, p. 2.

197 Pale Police Force Headquarters report (6 July 1995), Exhibit P06421, *Karadžić*; UNMO report (6 July 1995), Exhibit P04143, *Karadžić*, pp. 1, 3; Drina Corps Command interim combat report (10 July 1995), Exhibit P00591, *Tolimir*; Drina Corps Command interim combat report (11 July 1995), Exhibit D01044, *Mladić*.

198 MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*; Drina Corps Command report (12 July 1995), Exhibit P04388, *Karadžić*.

199 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), paras. 220–222.

200 Pale Police Forces Headquarters report, MUP RS 56/96 (6 July 1995), Exhibit P06421, *Karadžić*.

201 VRS Drina Corps regular combat report (8 July 1995), Exhibit P04930, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

202 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, paras. 110–112; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (31 October 2013), pp. 42720–42722.



As commander of the Pale Police Forces Command Staff²⁰³ and Deputy Minister of the Interior,²⁰⁴ on 10 July 1995 Tomislav Kovač ordered that part of the MUP RS forces that had previously taken part in the Sarajevo front should be detached and sent as an independent unit to the Srebrenica area, specifically to the Bratunac municipality. The newly formed independent MUP unit consisted of the 2nd Detachment SBP from Šekovići, the 1st Company PJP from the Zvornik CJB, the Mixed Company Joint Forces of the MUP RSK, Serbia and RS, and the First Company from the Jahorina Training Centre. Kovač appointed Ljubomir Borovčanin commander of this unit.²⁰⁵ In the following days Borovčanin reported on the activities in the field solely to the Police Forces Command Staff HQ and the Ministry of the Interior, i.e. directly to Tomislav Kovač.²⁰⁶

Carrying out Kovač's order, members of the 2nd Detachment of the SBP from Šekovići, commanded by Rade Čturić, members of the 1st Company PJP from the Zvornik CJB, commanded by Radomir Pantić, and the 1st Company from the Jahorina Training Centre, headed by Mendeljev Đurić, arrived in Bratunac, starting late in the afternoon on July 11 and during the night of 12 July 1995.²⁰⁷ Upon arriving in Bratunac, these MUP RS units were stationed at the primary school in Bjelovac.²⁰⁸

Members of the 2nd Detachment SBP from Šekovići wore green camouflaged fatigues with the SBP emblem on their upper left arm. The unit had at its disposal two tanks, a triple-barrel anti-aircraft gun, mortars, and a Praga vehicle.²⁰⁹

Members of the Jahorina Training Centre wore camouflaged uniforms and light-blue flak jackets, and did not wear the emblems or marking of the special police brigade or MUP RS. They were armed with automatic rifles and live ammunition, and some also carried hand grenades.²¹⁰

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203 The Pale Police Forces Headquarters, which was commanded by Tomislav Kovač, was established on 19 June 1995, headquartered at the Tron facility in Pale. See: MUP notification K/P-1-307/95 (19 June 1995), Exhibit 4D00140, *Popović et al.*

204 In July 1995, the MUP RS did not have a sitting minister, with Tomislav Kovač having held the position of deputy minister since July 1994. Minister of the Interior Živko Rakić, who had held that office since October 1994, was relieved of his duties at his request on 24 May 1994, so that he could retire. See: Audio recording of the 3rd extraordinary sitting of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska (23–24 May 1996), available at: <https://srebrenicamemorial.org/app/tg/transkripti-genocida.html>; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 5; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (31 October 2013), p. 42715.

205 MUP RS Minister's cabinet order (10 July 1995), Exhibit P03535, *Stanišić & Simatović*; Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, p. 1.

206 See, e.g. MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*; ICTY Prosecution interview with Ljubomir Borovčanin (11–12 March 2002), Exhibit P02235.B, *Tolimir*, pp. 62–65.

207 Revised transcript of the ICTY Prosecution interview with Ljubomir Borovčanin (11–12 March 2002), Exhibit P02235.B, *Tolimir*, p. 5; Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8575–8576.

208 Testimony of Predrag Čelić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 June 2007), p. 13464.

209 Testimony of Predrag Čelić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 June 2007), pp. 13461–13462; Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13541–13542.

210 Testimony of protected witness S-126 before the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* (21 October 2010).



Upon arriving in Bratunac, on the evening of 11 July 1995 several members of the Special Police Brigade, with the assistance of local police officers, carried out reconnaissance of the approaches to Srebrenica, the UNPROFOR base and Potočari area, where they saw that a large number of civilians had gathered, and they reported this to their superior, Borovčanin.²¹¹ On that same evening, Borovčanin ordered the police units to head to Potočari first thing in the morning.²¹²

At around 05:00h on 12 July 1995, police units (1st Company PJP from the Zvornik CJB, the mixed company from MUP Janja and the company from the Jahorina Training Centre, headed by Duško Jević and company commander Mendeljev Đurić), together with members of the VRS, captured the UN observation post at Žuti Most.²¹³ They seized helmets, equipment, weapons and an armoured personnel carrier from the members of the Dutch battalion they encountered at the bridge, and detained several UN soldiers until the late evening.²¹⁴ At the same time, members of the 2nd Detachment of the Šekovići SBP searched the terrain from Žuti Most to the base at Potočari.²¹⁵ Some members of the 1st Company from the Jahorina Training Centre also took part in the search of the terrain, which included searching Muslim houses in the area of the village of Budak and behind the UN base, along the Bratunac–Srebrenica road.²¹⁶ During the search, Nedeljko Milidragović, member of the Jahorina Training Centre, killed an unidentified old man by tossing a grenade through the window of the house where he had found him.²¹⁷

According to the Special Police Brigade report, the MUP RS units took control of the UNPROFOR base at Potočari around 13:00h on 12 July 1995.²¹⁸ Vujadin Popović, chief of security of the Drina Corps, also reported on the police forces entering Potočari “without a fight”.²¹⁹

In the meantime, based on the order of the President of Republika Srpska, on July 12 Tomislav Kovač ordered the head of Zvornik CJB, Dragomir Vasić, to establish a public security station in

211 Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8579–8580.

212 Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), p. 8580; Testimony of Mendeljev Đurić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (2 May 2007), p. 10804.

213 Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, p. 2; MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*, p. 1; Statement by witness Roger Patelski to the ICTY (30 November 2011), Exhibit P04173, *Karadžić*, paras. 13–17.

214 Statement by witness Roger Patelski to the ICTY (30 November 2011), Exhibit P04173, *Karadžić*, para. 14.

215 Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13545–13549.

216 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), para. 326.

217 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), paras. 343–346.

218 MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*, p. 1; VRS Drina Corps report (12 July 1995), Exhibit P01510, *Mladić*, p. 1.

219 Report by the Drina Corps Bratunac forward command post to the VRS General Staff and Drina Corps Security Department (12 July 1995), Exhibit P01510, *Mladić*, p. 1.



the Srebrenica enclave, immediately following its seizure.²²⁰ On the same day, the 2nd Company PJP Zbornik was sent to Srebrenica to establish control of the city and perform basic police duties.²²¹

On orders from Tomislav Kovač, all available dog-handlers and dogs from the MUP RS Centre for Breeding and Training Service Dogs arrived in Srebrenica early in the morning on 12 July 1995.²²² This unit was engaged in loading the civilians onto buses during deportation from the base at Potočari, and then securing the roads between Konjević Polje and Bratunac.

A day later, on 13 July 1995, Kovač sent a company from PJP Bijeljina, the 1st Company of the Doboј PJP, and a part of the forces of the Zvornik Special Police Detachment to the Zvornik area, because, according to Dragomir Vasić's report, the MUP units had blocked off more than a thousand Bosnian Muslims in the forests around Konjević Polje.²²³

Forcible transfer of the population

Between 25,000 and 30,000 Bosnian Muslims, of whom around 5 per cent were men fit for military service, had gathered at Potočari by 12 July 1995.²²⁴ Members of several MUP RS units took part in separating and detaining the men from the base at Potočari, as well as the forcible transfer of civilians.²²⁵

On 12 July, Dragomir Vasić, the head of the Zvornik CJB, attended the third meeting with the head of the VRS General Staff, General Ratko Mladic, and other representatives of the VRS and MUP RS, the Bosnian Muslims gathered in Potočari, and UNPROFOR representatives, at the Fontana Hotel, when under pressure from the Serbian side, a statement was signed on the "agreed evacuation of civilians," i.e. the deportation of the Muslim population.²²⁶ Vasić reported the matter in detail to the MUP RS Minister's cabinet on the same day.²²⁷

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220 MUP RS Minister's cabinet order (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02995, *Karadžić*, p. 2; Order of the President of RS No. 01-1341/95 (11 July 1995), Exhibit P07216, *Mladić*.

221 Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, pp. 2–3; CJB Zvornik report (15 July 1995), Exhibit P00316, *Karadžić*; CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 277/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02996, *Karadžić*.

222 MUP RS Police Forces Headquarters order (12 July 1995), Exhibit P04934, *Karadžić*.

223 CJB Zvornik report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P04942, *Karadžić*; MUP RS Minister's cabinet order No. 413/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit P05146, *Karadžić*; MUP RS Minister's cabinet order No. 414/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit 4D00393, *Popović et al.*

224 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), para. 2453.

225 SBP MUP RS report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02117, *Mladić*, p. 1; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 341–342.

226 CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 278/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02111, *Mladić*, p. 2; CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 277/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02996, *Karadžić*, item 5; Statement by representatives of the civilian authorities in the Srebrenica enclave regarding the implementation of the agreement on the evacuation of the civilian population from the enclave (17 July 1995), Exhibit P00453, *Popović et al.*, p. 1.

227 CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 278/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02111, *Mladić*, pp. 1–2.



The forcible transfer of civilians from the UNPROFOR base at Potočari was carried out by members of the MUP RS and VRS on 12 and 13 July 1995. Members of the 1st Company from the Jahorina Training Centre, under Mendeljev Đurić and Duško Jević, the 2nd Detachment of the Šekovići SBP, the Bratunac SJB, the MUP RS canine company, as well as several VRS units commanded by Momir Nikolić.²²⁸

Members of the MUP and VRS put the women, children and elderly on buses, while the men – including minors aged 12 – were separated from their families and imprisoned in facilities near the UNPROFOR base at Potočari, including the facility known as the White House.²²⁹ Mendeljev Đurić, commanding the 1st Company of recruits from the Jahorina Training Centre, assured the UN military observers in Potočari that the Serbian forces were registering the men and checking whether they had committed war crimes. However, when asked by the UN soldiers – who had found discarded passports in front of the house – how the men would prove their identities if their documents had been taken away, Đurić responded they would not need those passports anymore.²³⁰ According to estimates by the UN Dutch battalion, on 12–13 July 1995 at least 300–400 men were detained at the White House, who were then put on 10 to 15 buses by the police and military and taken to the Vuk Karadžić School in Bratunac, which was used as a temporary detention facility.²³¹

The UN soldiers recorded killings and rapes during the alleged evacuation of the population from Potočari.²³²

In accordance with the agreement with General Mladić, on the morning of 13 July the transportation of the remaining 15,000 civilians from Potočari was handed over to members of the police.²³³

After seizing Srebrenica, members of the VRS launched an attack on the Žepa enclave in mid-July 1995, which resulted in the forcible transfer of more than 4,000 residents.²³⁴ On orders from Tomislav Kovač, dated 25 July 1995, members of police from the Zvornik CJB, Sarajevo CJB, Rogatica SJB,

228 Testimony of Mendeljev Đurić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (2 May 2007), pp. 10805–10810; Statement of facts and guilty plea by Momir Nikolić before the ICTY (6 May 2003), Exhibit C00001.B, *Popović et al.*, para. 6; VRS Drina Corps report (12 July 1995), Exhibit P01510, *Mladić*, p. 1.

229 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Krstić* Case (2 August 2001), paras. 53–59; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 325–331; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), paras. 5109–5112.

230 Testimony of Leendert van Duijn before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (27 September 2006), pp. 2300–2306.

231 Testimony of Johannes Rutten before the ICTY in *Krstić* (5 April 2000), pp. 2149–2150; Testimony of Paul Groenewegen before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (25 October 2006), p. 2973; Testimony of Mile Janjić before the ICTY in *Blagojević & Jokić* (24 May 2004), pp. 9748–9787; Testimony of Miladin Mladenović before the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* (31 May 2010).

232 Statement by witness Eelco Koster to the ICTY (25–26 September 1995), Exhibit P00057.B, *Mladić*, p. 12; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* (10 June 2010), paras. 359, 361; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), paras. 461–465.

233 CJB Zvornik report No. 283/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit P04942, *Karadžić*; Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8607–8608.

234 Order for the attack on the Žepa enclave (13 July 1995), Exhibit P01225, *Tolimir*, pp. 1–3.



Sokolac SJB, Han Pljesak SJB, and Pale SJB took part, alongside the military, in the relocation of the civilian population from Žepa, and in securing the route.²³⁵

Attack on the column

On the evening of 11 July 1995, around 15,000 men formed a column in the vicinity of Srebrenica, in the villages of Šušnjari and Jagličići, and headed towards the territory under the control of the Army of BiH. The column consisted of soldiers, civilians, and some women and children.²³⁶

Starting on 12 July 1995, the MUP RS and VRS followed the column of Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica and reported on its movement.²³⁷

On the afternoon of 12 July 1995, Ljubomir Borovčanin dispatched the police units under his command to the area of Konjević Polje and Sandići, with the task of securing parts of the Bratunac–Konjević Polje road, in order to regulate the transport of civilians from Potočari and prevent the column from Srebrenica from reaching Tuzla. Commander Rade Čuturić sent all three platoons from the 2nd Detachment of the SBP from Šekovići to Sandići.²³⁸ In addition to them, also deployed on this section of road were members of the 1st Company PJP from the CJB Zvornik, and the 1st Company of recruits from the Jahorina Training Centre, who were accompanied by a Praga vehicle, two tanks and an armoured personnel carrier.²³⁹ On the following day, 13 July 1995, members of the 5th Company PJP Zvornik and 2nd Company from the Jahorina Training Centre, commanded by Neđo Ikonić, were deployed to the same line.²⁴⁰

During 12–13 July 1995, units of the MUP RS and VRS set up ambushes along the route of the column of Bosnian Muslims, from the Bratunac–Konjević Polje road, opening fire, firing mortars and throwing hand grenades.²⁴¹ Several Bosnian Muslims were killed in the attacks, and some committed suicide

235 MUP RS order No. 76/95 (25 July 1995), Exhibit P05142, *Karadžić*.

236 Testimony of protected witness P before the ICTY in *Krstić* (14 April 2000), pp. 2943–2945; Testimony of Mevludin Orić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 August 2006), pp. 871–873; Testimony of protected witness PW-106 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (15 November 2006), pp. 3950–3951, 3954–3955.

237 CJB Zvornik report No. 281/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P0060, *Popović et al.*; Military report by Ljubomir Borovčanin for 10–20 July 1995, Exhibit P04960, *Karadžić*, p. 2; Drina Corps Intelligence Department report (12 July 1995), Exhibit P05103, *Karadžić*, pp. 1–2; RDB III Administration Sarajevo report (13 July 1995) P04943, *Karadžić*, p. 1.

238 Testimony of Milenko Pečić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13549–13552; Testimony of Predrag Čelić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 June 2007), pp. 13467–13471.

239 Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, p. 2; Testimony of protected witness PW-160 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 March 2007), pp. 8602–8603; Testimony of Dobrisav Stanojević before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (19 June 2007), pp. 12880–12884; Testimony of Žarko Zarić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 October 2008), pp. 26930–26931.

240 Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, p. 2; Testimony of protected witness PW-100 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (5 September 2007), pp. 14821–14825; Testimony of Mendeljev Đurić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (2 May 2007), pp. 10813–10814, 10819, 10822–10825.

241 Testimony of protected witness P-134 before the ICTY in *Blagojević & Jokić* 23 January 2004), pp. 6517–6518; CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 12-6/08-508/95 (14 July 1995), Exhibit P04949, *Karadžić*.



in order to avoid capture.²⁴² In addition to direct attacks, the MUP RS and VRS used megaphones to call on the people in the column to surrender, with the promise that the Geneva Conventions would apply to them and that they would later be exchanged.²⁴³ The members of the Serbian forces also used UNPROFOR equipment that they had seized, in order to get the Bosnian Muslims to come out of the forest and surrender.²⁴⁴

Through this deception, members of these units captured hundreds of the Bosnian Muslims who surrendered to them on the road.²⁴⁵

Around 16:00h on 12 July 1995, members of the MUP RS and VRS captured four Bosnian Muslims in Konjević Polje, from whom they gained intelligence on the column's movement.²⁴⁶

Via a CJB Zvornik dispatch, on 13 July 1995, chief Dragomir Vasić notified the MUP leadership of the meeting with General Ratko Mladić, when the police units were given the task of blocking and liquidating around "8,000 Muslim soldiers" who were located in the vicinity of Konjević Polje.²⁴⁷

Tomislav Kovač and the MUP RS Minister's cabinet were also informed of the column's movements through dispatches from the Drina Corps and RDB Sarajevo, which Kovač further passed on to the head of the Zvornik CJB and the Police Forces Headquarters in Bijeljina.²⁴⁸

On 13 July 1995, Ljubomir Borovčanin reported to the Police Forces Headquarters in Pale that, at the time of his reporting, more than 1,500 Bosnian Muslims had surrendered to the units under his command that were blocking the Kravica–Konjević Polje road, with around 200 killed in combat.²⁴⁹ In an intercepted conversation between unidentified members of the Serbian forces at 17:30h on 13 July 1995, it was reported that a total of around 6,000 Bosnian Muslims had been captured at three locations.²⁵⁰ These locations, where the MUP RS and VRS units were holding the captured men, were a meadow in Sandići, the intersection in Konjević Polje, and the football field in Nova Kasaba.²⁵¹ In the meadow in Sandići, the company of recruits from the Jahorina Training Centre, the 2nd Detachment of the SBP Šekovići, and the 1st Company of PJP from the CJB Zvornik secured around 1,000 captured

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242 Testimony of Mevludin Orić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 August 2006), pp. 876.

243 Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13553–13554.

244 Testimony of Enver Husić before the ICTY in *Krstić* (11 April 2000), pp. 2606–2612.

245 Richard Butler, *Srebrenica Military Narrative (Revised) – Operation Krivaja 95* (1 November 2002), Exhibit P358b, *Blagojević & Jokić*, para. 6.24.

246 CJB Zvornik report No. 281/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P00060, *Popović et al.*; MUP RS RDB Sarajevo report 05-1998/95 (12 July 1995), Exhibit P04939, *Karadžić*, p. 1.

247 CJB Zvornik report No. 283/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit P04942, *Karadžić*.

248 MUP RS dispatch No. K/P-416/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit P05098, *Karadžić*.

249 MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*.

250 Intercepted conversation (13 July 1995), P06704, *Karadžić*, pp. 1, 4.

251 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5166.



men, while also searching them and seizing money and other valuables.²⁵² On the same day, members of the police and military transferred the prisoners from all three locations by bus to nearby facilities in Bratunac, whilst also taking several hundred of them to a warehouse in Kravica, where they executed them.²⁵³

Starting on 14 July 1995, members of the military police and civilian police from Zvornik took part in the relocation of the captured Bosnian Muslims from the Bratunac municipality to facilities in Zvornik, including primary schools in Grbavci, Petkovci, Ročević, Kula, as well as the Cultural Centre in Pilica.²⁵⁴ In the following days, members of the military and military police took and killed most of the captured men from these facilities.²⁵⁵

During 15–16 July 1995, several PJP and SBP units were engaged in the vicinity of Zvornik in blocking the terrain and further preventing the column of Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica from reaching Nežuk - i.e. from continuing on towards Tuzla.²⁵⁶

On orders from SBP commander Goran Sarić, on 17 July 1995 two combat groups were formed, one consisting of members of the 5th Dobož Special Police Detachment, both companies of the Jahorina Training Centre and two PJP companies, in order to search the terrain with the aim of detecting and destroying the remaining Muslim groups along the Milići–Drinjača road, and then around Cerska. The second combat group, also consisting of police units, was responsible for the Caparde–Zvornik line.²⁵⁷

From 17 July until at least 2 August 1995, Serbian police and military forces conducted a detailed search of the Bratunac and Zvornik areas in order to stop the remaining parts of the column of Bosnian Muslims.²⁵⁸

252 Testimony of Enver Husić before the ICTY in *Krstić* (11 April 2000), pp. 2618–2619; CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 282/95 (13 July 1995), Exhibit P00062, *Popović et al.*; CJB Zvornik dispatch (14 July 1995), Exhibit P03112, *Popović et al.*; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* (25 May 2012), paras. 571–578.

253 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5292; Statement of facts and guilty plea by Momir Nikolić before the ICTY (6 May 2003), Exhibit C00001.B, *Popović et al.*, paras. 9–10.

254 Testimony of protected witness PW-142 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (29 January 2007), pp. 6446, 6449, 6475–6476; ICTY Prosecution interview with Dragomir Vasić (10–11 June 2003), Exhibit D16/3b, *Blagojević & Jokić*, pp. 37–38.

255 See: ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 475–550.

256 CJB Zvornik report (15 July 1995), Exhibit P00316, *Karadžić*; Military report by Ljubomir Borovčanin for 10–20 July 1995, Exhibit P04960, *Karadžić*, p. 3;

257 Special Police Brigade order (17 July 1995), Exhibit P01582, *Mladić*; VRS General Staff order (17 July 1995), Exhibit P01579, *Mladić*; CJB Zvornik dispatch (17 July 1995), Exhibit 4DP00064, *Popović et al.*

258 CJB Zvornik dispatch (19 July 1995), Exhibit P04965, *Karadžić*; Report on the combat engagement of SBP forces and other police forces in Operation Srebrenica 95, for 11–21 July 1995 (5 September 1995), Exhibit 4D00510, *Popović et al.*, p. 4; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5475.



Participation of MUP RS member in shootings

The mass shootings of Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica, which started on 13 July 1995 and which saw more than 8,000 men and boys killed, also involved members of the MUP RS.

On the morning of 13 July 1995, four members of the MUP RS or VRS military police, at least one of whom was a member of the Bratunac SJB, shot 15 Bosnian Muslims, one of whom was a 14-year-old boy, on the banks of the River Jadar. One man survived the shooting by jumping into the river after being wounded, floating away from the site of the shooting and thus escaping.²⁵⁹ The victims had previously been captured near the intersection in Konjević Polje, and had been taken by members of the Serbian forces by bus to the location where they were executed. At the time, members of the PJP Zvornik 6th Company and Bratunac SJB, as well as the Zvornik Brigade of the VRS, were stationed in Konjević Polje.²⁶⁰

Late in the afternoon of 13 July 1995, after most of the prisoners had been transported to Kravica or Bratunac, several members of the Jahorina Training Centre, on the oral orders of the deputy commander of one company platoon, by the name of Aleksa, shot the remaining 10–15 Bosnian Muslims in a meadow in Sandići.²⁶¹

Some time around 17 July 1995, members of the special police detachments and special police units of the MUP RS, among others, killed around 150 Bosnian Muslims, including minors, in the area along the road leading from Nova Kasaba to Konjević Polje, near Cerska.²⁶² The mortal remains of all the killed men were exhumed in mid-1996 from a mass grave at the site of the shooting.²⁶³

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Kravica 13–14 July

According to the testimony of Milenko Pepić, a member of the 2nd Detachment SBP Šekovići, on 13 July 1995, all three platoons of the 2nd Detachment SBP Šekovići were deployed in the vicinity of the warehouse of the agricultural cooperative in Kravica.²⁶⁴ Rade Čturić, commanding the 2nd Detachment SBP Šekovići, notified Pepić that a large group of prisoners would be escorted along the Bratunac–Konjević Polje road, from the meadow in Sandići to the warehouse in Kravica. On the

259 Testimony of protected witness RM-315 before the ICTY in *Mladić* (8 May 2013), pp. 10854–10864.

260 Testimony of protected witness P-134 before the ICTY in *Blagojević & Jokić* 23 January 2004), pp. 6517–6518, 6528; Statement by witness Mirko Perić to the ICTY (1 July 2013), Exhibit D03852, *Karadžić*, paras. 13–15; CJB Zvornik dispatch No. 12-6/08-508/95 (14 July 1995), Exhibit P04949, *Karadžić*.

261 This was probably Aleksa Golijanin, whom two witnesses identified as the deputy platoon commander; see: First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), paras. 677–678; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 421–423.

262 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), para. 2684.

263 William Haglund, *Forensic Investigation of the Cerska Grave Site Bosnia and Herzegovina* (15 June 1998), Exhibit P01831.B, *Mladić*, pp. 9, 40.

264 The warehouse is located on the Bratunac–Konjević Polje road; see: First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* (25 May 2012), para. 609; Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13549–13550.



commander's orders, Pepić stopped the convoy of vehicles used by Serbian forces to transport women and children from Potočari to the territory controlled by the BH Army, so that the column of captured men, escorted by members of the police, could pass unimpeded.²⁶⁵ Borovčanin had previously ordered Čuturić to suspend traffic on the Bratunac–Konjević Polje road, having been notified that the column of prisoners from the meadow in Sandići was on the move.²⁶⁶

Members of the MUP RS and VRS transported several hundred Bosnian Muslims to the warehouse in Kravica, first in two buses, then on foot in a column, and then detained them in two separate rooms.²⁶⁷

The guards at Kravica were mostly members of the 2nd Detachment SBP Šekovići, even though there were several soldiers from the Bratunac Brigade military police. They were in camouflage, all were armed with automatic weapons, and one of the guards wore a helmet with a UN symbol.²⁶⁸

Members of the police started the killings inside the warehouse, using light machine guns and automatic rifles, as well as grenades that they tossed among the detainees through the entrance to the warehouse and the windows. The shooting lasted throughout the night of 13 July 1995, with pauses.²⁶⁹ One of the surviving witnesses described the shooting: "While I was in the warehouse, they opened fire with every possible weapon. First they fired from infantry weapons, automatic rifles. Then they would stop. They would shoot for about half an hour, then they would have a rest, and then a new round of shooting would start. They threw hand grenades through the windows, which fell two to three metres from me. I could only feel the explosion, the detonation, from which I was wounded by a small piece of shrapnel. People started to scream... It was horrific. It is difficult for me to describe. I had never seen anything like it, even in any of the horror movies I'd watched. It lasted all night...with short pauses..."²⁷⁰

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On the evening of 13 July 1995, members of the 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre arrived at the warehouse in Kravica and took part in the killings, under the supervision of their superiors Duško Jević and Mendeljev Đurić.²⁷¹

The police officers subsequently killed the detainees who had survived the shooting and attempted to escape, as well as those who were wounded and pleading for help.²⁷²

265 Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13555–13557.

266 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), para. 1454.

267 Testimony of protected witness PW-111 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (7 February 2007), pp. 6989–6990; Testimony of protected witness PW-156 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (8 February 2007), pp. 7094–7095; Testimony of Predrag Čelić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (28 June 2007), pp. 13477–13478.

268 Testimony of protected witness PW-111 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (7 February 2007), p. 6992.

269 Testimony of protected witness PW-111 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (7 February 2007), pp. 6995–7001.

270 Testimony of protected witness K before the ICTY in *Krstić* (10 April 2000), p. 2524.

271 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), para. 687.

272 Testimony of protected witness PW-156 before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (8 February 2007), pp. 7095–7097;



On 13 July Rade Čuturić notified Ljubomir Borovčanin by two-way radio that a “hairpin had happened”, i.e. that someone had been wounded or killed.²⁷³ Borovčanin, according to his own testimony, informed his superiors Tomislav Kovač and Goran Sarić that an incident had occurred “on the road between Sandići and Kravica”, in which a large number of captured Muslims had been killed.²⁷⁴

Tomislav Krstović, member of the 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, testified that at the moment when the killings were still ongoing, he saw Tomislav Kovač in front of the agricultural cooperative in Kravica, but that he did not stay – he just said hello and continued on by car.²⁷⁵

On 13–14 July 1995, members of the 2nd Detachment of the SBP Šekovići, the 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, and other military and police units, killed approximately 1,000 Bosnian Muslims, including underage boys and old men, at the warehouse in Kravica.²⁷⁶

From the morning of 14 July to 16 July 1995, employees of the utility companies and members of the Bratunac and Zvornik brigades of the VRS buried the bodies of the killed men in mass graves in the villages of Glogova and Ravnice, in the vicinity of the warehouse in Kravica.²⁷⁷ Several months later, in September or October 1995, members of the police, military and civilian structures relocated the mortal remains to secondary graves in Zeleni Jadar, Budak, Zalazje and Blječeva secondary graves.²⁷⁸

Trnovo – 17–19 July

In preparation for Operation Srebrenica, in order to reduce the presence of the BH Army in the area in the vicinity of Srebrenica and Žepa, the VRS activated the front in the zone of responsibility of the Sarajevo–Romanija Corps, between Sarajevo and Trnovo. Starting on June 24, police units from Serbia, Kajman and Plavi, and the Škorpioni (“Scorpions”) unit, were stationed in Trnovo, carrying out combat activities under the control of Goran Sarić, commander of the MUP RS Special Police Brigade.²⁷⁹ The Scorpions unit was headed by Slobodan Medić. Part of the unit was involved in combat

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273 Testimony of Milenko Pepić before the ICTY in *Popović et al.* (9 July 2007), pp. 13560–13561.

274 ICTY Prosecution interview with Ljubomir Borovčanin (11–12 March 2002), Exhibit P02235.B, *Tolimir*, pp. 62–65.

275 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), paras. 657, 661.

276 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5286; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), para. 2707; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), para. 613.

277 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5248–5249; ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Mladić* Case (22 November 2017), para. 2700.

278 Update to the summary of Forensic Evidence – Exhumation of the Graves and Surface Remains Recoveries related to Srebrenica, report by Dušan Janc (28 June 2013), Exhibit P01987.B, *Mladić*, pp. 14–16, 33–36, 44, 54–55; Testimony of Dean Manning before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (6 March 2012), pp. 25830–25831.

279 The arrival and engagement of these and similar units to the theatre of war was approved by the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Republika Srpska and the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior, which was headed by Tomislav Kovač at the time. See: SJB Bratunac dispatch to CJB Zvornik (24 June 1995), Exhibit P02982, *Karadžić*; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the Higher Court in Belgrade – Department of War Crimes, in *Škorpioni* (3 July 2006), p. 12; Testimony of Christian Nielsen before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (7 July 2011), pp. 16315–16316.



activities, and part was on standby, billeted in abandoned Muslim summer houses in the vicinity of Trnovo.²⁸⁰

According to the conclusion of the ICTY Trial Chamber in *Karadžić*, during the operations in Trnovo, between July 17 and 19, Medić commanded two members of the Scorpions to take a bus and a TAM truck, and go to Srebrenica to assist in the transport of the detained Bosnian Muslim men. The Scorpions transported several groups of men, Bosnian Muslims captured in Srebrenica. At a certain moment, “the last group” of six men was brought to the Scorpions command post. Medić ordered that the men should be killed, and ordered Scorpions member Slobodan Stojković to record the execution.²⁸¹

The six men were then taken by truck to a remote location, four or five kilometres from the command post. While they were in the truck, a member of the Scorpions kicked one of the men in the head. The men, who had their hands bound, were taken out of the truck and forced to lie down by the road, while some among the eight Scorpions members, who were standing near the road, insulted them. The Bosnian Muslim men were then taken to the clearing in the forest where two abandoned summer houses were located.

Four of the men were ordered to walk straight ahead, in single file, and two members of the Scorpions fired multiple rounds from automatic rifles. The remaining two men were untied and ordered to carry the dead into the forest. Then the two men were forced to lie on the floor of one of the abandoned houses, and the same persons who shot the first four men fired multiple rounds from automatic rifles into them.²⁸²

The members of the Scorpions were convicted by the Higher Court in Belgrade and the County Court in Osijek for the murder of minors Dino Salihović (1979), Safet Fejzić (1978), and Azmir Alispahić (1978), and of Sidik Salkić (1959), Smail Ibrahimović (1960), and Jusa Delić (1970), whose mortal remains were exhumed in 1999 from a grave near the site of the shooting.²⁸³

The mortal remains of six men were exhumed in 1999 from the Godinjske Bare grave, near Trnovo, and identified using DNA analysis. All six men had been listed as missing or dead following the fall of Srebrenica.²⁸⁴

The Trial Chamber concluded that after the fall of Srebrenica, members of the Scorpions killed six men, Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica, near Trnovo.

280 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5494.

281 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5494.

282 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5495.

283 Photographs of the exhumation conducted in Godinjske Bare, MUP BiH Criminal Police Sector (18 May 1999), Exhibit P02571, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

284 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5497.



Covering up the crime

The mortal remains of the victims who the members of the MUP RS and VRS executed at the warehouse in Kravica, Orahovac, the dam at Petkovci, Kozluk, Branjevo Military Farm, and the Cultural Centre in Pilica, and then buried in mass graves in Bratunac and Zvornik no later than September or October 1995, were exhumed and reburied in remote graves (secondary graves) with the aim of suppressing evidence of the crimes.²⁸⁵

Starting in September 1995, police, military and civilian structures, including multiple companies and trucking companies, dug up the mass grave in Glogova in the municipality of Bratunac, and by the end of October they had transferred the mortal remains to (secondary) graves in Zeleni Jadar, Budak, Blječeva, and Zalazje.²⁸⁶ Members of Bratunac SJB secured the roads between Bratunac and Konjević Polje, and between Bratunac and Ljubovija, together with the Bratunac Brigade military police, redirecting traffic so that the trucks with the corpses could pass.²⁸⁷ The operation was earmarked as “clearing up the terrain”, and owing to the scope of the engaged personnel and necessary mechanisation, it quickly ceased being a secret.²⁸⁸

The Role of Tomislav Kovač in the execution of genocide in Srebrenica

On 10 July 1995, Tomislav Kovač ordered that part of the MUP RS forces be detached and sent to the Srebrenica area as an independent unit, where Operation Krivaja 95 was under way.²⁸⁹ Starting on 12 July 1995, the MUP RS members, together with members of the VRS, took part, with Kovač’s knowledge, in the forcible relocation of the civilian population from the UN base at Potočari, separating the men from their families, and subsequently detaining the men from the column.²⁹⁰

At the cabinet of the President of Republika Srpska, Kovač met with Karadžić on several occasions, including on 13, 14 and 15 July 1995, while members of the VRS and MUP RS were carrying out mass shootings of the Bosnian Muslims from the Srebrenica enclave.²⁹¹ Late on the afternoon of 13 July 1995, Kovač also met with General Mladić in Vlasenica.²⁹² After the meeting with Mladić, on the way

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285 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić Case* (24 March 2016), paras. 5513–5514.

286 Testimony of Momir Nikolić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (14 February 2012), pp. 24688–24689; Statement of facts and guilty plea by Momir Nikolić before the ICTY (6 May 2003), Exhibit C00001.B, *Popović et al.*, para. 13; Update to the summary of Forensic Evidence – Exhumation of the Graves and Surface Remains Recoveries related to Srebrenica, report by Dušan Janc (28 June 2013), Exhibit P01987.B, *Mladić*, pp. 14–16, 33–36, 44, 54–55.

287 Testimony of Momir Nikolić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (14 February 2012), p. 24689.

288 Testimony of Momir Nikolić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (14 February 2012), pp. 24688–24690; Book of meetings of the VRS Bratunac Brigade, record for 16 October 1995, Exhibit P04391, *Karadžić*, p. 2.

289 MUP RS Minister’s cabinet order (10 July 1995), Exhibit P03535, *Stanišić & Simatović*.

290 CJB Zvornik dispatch (12 July 1995), Exhibit P02111, *Mladić*, p. 2; CJB Zvornik report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P04942, *Karadžić*; MUP RS Special Police Brigade report (13 July 1995), Exhibit P02987, *Karadžić*.

291 Radovan Karadžić’s meeting schedule for 2 January–25 December 1995, Exhibit P02242.E, *Karadžić*, pp. 96–98; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, paras. 117, 130; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (1 November 2013), pp. 42764–42767.

292 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (1 November 2013), pp. 42767–42770; Testimony of Zvonko Bajagić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (10 July 2013), pp. 41161–41163.



to the Vidikovac Hotel in Zvornik, which the MUP RS was using as a headquarters at the time, Kovač saw in Konjević Polje groups of prisoners, and the buses that were being used to relocate the prisoners from Srebrenica.²⁹³ Members of the MUP RS and VRS escorted some of the prisoners detained at Konjević Polje to the warehouse in Kravica, where they were executed that same night, whilst others were taken to detention facilities in the Zvornik municipality, whence they were taken to execution places over the following days.

Around noon the next day, 14 July 1995, Kovač headed from Zvornik to Bratunac, passing by the agricultural cooperative in the village of Kravica, where the mass shooting of Bosnian Muslims had taken place the previous night, and the burial of their mortal remains in the vicinity of the warehouse was under way. Testifying before the Higher Court in Belgrade, Kovač admitted that at around 13:00h on that day he had stopped by the warehouse, where he spoke with Nedeljko Milidragović, a platoon commander from the 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, but that he did not see any bodies or burial operation.²⁹⁴ After that, Kovač met with Ljubomir Borovčanin and Dragomir Vasić in Bratunac, to discuss the events at the Kravica warehouse and the participation of the police. Kovač, together with Borovčanin and Vasić, visited the Zeleni Jadar area and the newly-founded police station in Srebrenica.²⁹⁵ According to Radovan Karadžić's meeting schedule, Kovač met with Karadžić later that evening and again the following day.²⁹⁶

On the night of 14 July 1995, Mane Đurić, deputy chief of CJB Zvornik, contacted Kovač from the Vidikovac Hotel in Zvornik in order to inform him about the convoy of trucks and buses coming from the direction of Bratunac, in which members of the MUP RS and VRS were transporting detainees to the detention centres.²⁹⁷ According to Kovač's own testimony, during his stay in Zvornik on 15 July 1995, he saw the buses that were used to transport prisoners from Srebrenica.²⁹⁸

During September 1995, Tomislav Kovač conducted an investigation into the events in Srebrenica, on orders from Jovica Stanišić, head of the State Security Service of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Serbia. Kovač's task was to determine whether units from Serbia had taken part in the operation in Srebrenica, whether they had committed crimes, who had ordered the attack on Srebrenica, and who had ordered the killing of the prisoners. Testifying before the ICTY, Kovač stated

293 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* (1 November 2013), pp. 42772–42777; Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić*, para. 119.

294 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the Department for War Crimes of the Higher Court in Belgrade in *Srebrenica (Nedeljko Milidragović et al.)* (11 June 2019), pp. 8–9, 86–88.

295 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* Case, (1 November 2013), pp. 42790–42792; ICTY Prosecution interview with Dragomir Vasić (10 June 2003), Exhibit D16/3b, *Blagojević & Jokić* Case, pp. 38–41.

296 Radovan Karadžić's meeting schedule for 2 January–25 December 1995, Exhibit P02242, *Karadžić* Case, pp. 91–92;

297 Testimony of Mane Đurić before the ICTY in *Karadžić* Case, (7 March 2013), pp. 35041–35046.

298 Statement of witness Tomislav Kovač to the ICTY (28 October 2013), Exhibit D03960, *Karadžić* Case, para. 126.



that at the time he knew the locations of all the mass executions of Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica, even though that had not been the subject of the investigation that he had conducted.²⁹⁹

In October 1995, as Minister of the Interior, Kovač extraordinarily promoted Ljubomir Borovčanin to the rank of colonel, for the control and command of police units and special wartime services.³⁰⁰

299 Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* Case (1 November 2013), pp. 42806–42811; Testimony of Tomislav Kovač before the ICTY in *Karadžić* Case (4 November 2013), pp. 42871–42873.

300 MUP RS decision on the promotion of Ljubomir Borovčanin (20 October 1995), Exhibit 4D00361, *Popović et al.* Case.



ICTY and local courts judgements

Sixteen members of the MUP RS have been convicted before the ICTY for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including former Minister of the Interior of Republika Srpska Mićo Stanišić.³⁰¹ The head of the Banja Luka regional Public Security Centre, Stojan Župljanin, the head of police in Bosanski Šamac Stevan Todorović, the deputy commander of the Special Police Brigade Ljubomir Borovčanin, as well as several police officers and members of the MUP RS reserve, have also been convicted.³⁰²

In June 2010 the ICTY Trial Chamber sentenced Ljubomir Borovčanin, deputy commander of the MUP RS Special Police Brigade, whom Tomislav Kovač had appointed commander of the independent police unit that was sent to Srebrenica on 10 July 1995 and took part in Operation Krivaja 95, and consequently in the capture and killing of Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica, to 17 years in prison for crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war.³⁰³

Several dozen members of the Republika Srpska police forces have been convicted by or are standing trial for war crimes before the courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.³⁰⁴

Duško Jević, former head of the Jahorina Training Centre, and Mendeljev Đurić, commanding the 1st Recruit Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, have been finally sentenced by the Court of BiH to 20 years in prison each, because by taking part in the forcible relocation of the Bosniak population from Srebrenica and the killing of around 1,000 men at the agricultural cooperative in the village of Kravica, they had committed the crime of genocide, according to Article 141 of the Criminal Code of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.³⁰⁵

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Radomir Vuković, member of the 2nd Detachment of the Šekovići Special Police Brigade, has been found guilty of taking part, with other members of the unit, in the capture and then mass shooting of Bosnian Muslims at Kravica. Vuković was finally sentenced to the maximum sentence of 20 years, while Zoran Tomić, the second defendant in the same case, was acquitted.³⁰⁶

The Court of BiH also finally sentenced Milenko Trifunović aka “Čop”, Commander of the 3rd Skelani platoon of the 2nd Detachment of the Šekovići Special Police Brigade, as well as platoon members

301 ICTY Appeals Chamber Judgement in *Stanišić & Župljanin* Case (30 June 2016), para. 1193.

302 Miroslav Kvočka, Dragoljub Prcać, Milojica Kos, Mlado Radić, Zoran Žigić, Duško Sikirica, Damir Došen, Dragan Kolundžija, Predrag Banović, and Darko Mrđa were convicted of crimes committed in the Prijedor municipality, while Dragan Nikolić was convicted of crimes committed at the Sušica camp in Vlasenica. See: ICTY Judgement List, available at <https://www.icty.org/en/Cases/judgement-list>.

303 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Popović et al.* Case (10 June 2010), paras. 828–829.

304 All the judgements for war crimes committed during the wars in the former Yugoslavia are available in the War Crimes Trials Database, available at <https://warcrimesdatabase.net/>.

305 Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH Appeals Chamber in *Duško Jević & Mendeljev Đurić* Case (3 March 2017), pp. 3–4; First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Duško Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012).

306 Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH Appeals Chamber in *Radomir Vuković* Case (21 December 2015), pp. 1–2.



Aleksandar Radovanović, Slobodan Jakovljević, Branislav Medan and Brano Džinić. They were all convicted of genocide and sentenced to the maximum sentence of 20 years in prison.³⁰⁷ Petar Mitrović and Željko Ivanović, members of the 3rd Skelani Platoon of the 2nd Detachment of the Special Police Brigade Šekovići, were convicted of the same crime and to the same sentences in separate trials, along with Božidar Kuvelja, member of the 2nd Platoon 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre.³⁰⁸

Platoon commander Nedeljko Milidragović and members Aleksa Golijanin, Milivoje Batinica, Aleksandar Dačević, Boro Miletić, Jovan Petrović and Vidoslav Vasić³⁰⁹ of the 2nd Platoon 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, MUP RS Special Police Brigade, have been on trial since December 2016 before the Higher Court in Belgrade Department for War Crimes, for their involvement in the shooting of prisoners at the agricultural cooperative in the village of Kravica. The same indictment named Dragomir Parović, who was found to be unfit to stand trial, although at the time of the writing of this dossier it is expected that the case against him will proceed.³¹⁰

Based on a plea agreement before the Court of BiH, Dragan Crnogorac, a member of the 3rd Platoon 1st Company of the Jahorina Training Centre, was sentenced to 13 years in prison, because on 13 July 1995, together with other members of the platoon, he had shot and killed ten Bosnian Muslim prisoners, six of whom had previously been wounded, in Sandići. Zoran Kušić and Milivoje Ćirković, members of the Jahorina Training Centre, were convicted before the Court of BiH, on the basis of a plea agreement, to five years in prison.³¹¹

Slobodan Medić, as Commander of the Scorpions, was found guilty by the War Crimes Chamber in the Republic of Serbia for the shooting of six prisoners from Srebrenica, near Godinjske Bare in Trnovo, and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Scorpions members Pero Petrašević, Branislav Medić, and Aleksandar Medić were sentenced to 13, 15 and 5 years in prison, respectively, whilst Aleksandar Vukov was acquitted. Slobodan Davidović and Milorad Momić, also members of the Scorpions, were each sentenced to 15 years in prison in separate trials before county courts in Croatia.³¹²

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307 Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH Appeals Chamber in *Milenko Trifunović et al.* Case (23 January 2014).

308 Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Željko Ivanović* Case (18 June 2014); Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH Appeals Chamber in *Petar Mitrović* Case (22 January 2014); Second instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Božidar Kuvelja* Case (16 September 2013).

309 All the accused, with the exception of Nedeljko Milidragović and Aleksa Golijanin, were forcibly mobilised in the territory of the FRY. See FHP, *Dossier: Forcible Mobilisation of Refugees*, Belgrade, November 2019, p. 49.

310 Republic of Serbia War Crimes Prosecution indictment No. KTO 2/15 against *Nedeljko Milidragović et al.* (21 January 2016).

311 Court of BiH judgement in *Dragan Crnogorac* Case (12 May 2011); Court of BiH judgement in *Zoran Kušić* Case (11 March 2011); Court of BiH judgement in *Milivoje Ćirković* Case (28 September 2010).

312 First instance judgement of the District Court in Belgrade – War Crimes Chamber in *Škorpioni* Case (*Slobodan Medić et al.*) (10 April 2007), pp. 3–5, 77; First instance judgement of the District Court in Belgrade – War Crimes Chamber in retrial of *Aleksandar Medić* (28 January 2009), pp. 2–3; Judgement of the County Court in Zagreb in *Slobodan Davidović* Case (28 December 2005); Judgement of the County Court in Osijek in *Milorad Momić* Case (10 July 2015).



Tomislav Kovač testified before the ICTY in two cases: against Radovan Karadžić, as a witness for the defence, and in the case against Mićo Stanišić and Stojan Župljanin, as a witness for the court. The ICTY Trial Chamber in *Karadžić* concluded that Kovač was not a credible witness, because “the inconsistencies, as well the evasiveness and even intermittent combativeness displayed by Kovač throughout his testimony, arise from Kovač’s efforts to minimise his own involvement in the events in Srebrenica in July 1995”.³¹³

Kovač has also testified in domestic war crimes trials in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia, as a witness for the defence and the prosecution, in cases against defendants accused of war crimes in Srebrenica in July 1995 or in cases related to Srebrenica.³¹⁴ In the conviction in the case against Duško Jević et al., the chamber of first instance of the Court of BiH concluded that Kovač “obviously tries to avoid the establishment of any responsibility for the activities of the police force in July 1995,” as well as that “the role of this witness at that time was not insignificant at all, and the MUP units never lost their chain-of-command with respect to the issuing of orders and the reporting to MUP organs about the activities undertaken”.³¹⁵

Since 2006, the Humanitarian Law Centre has been requesting that the Public Prosecutor’s Office for War Crimes of the Republic of Serbia initiate an investigation into Tomislav Kovač, because he “ordered on 10 July 1995, the day prior to the beginning of the operation in Srebrenica, that the Republic of Srpska Special Brigade (SBP) should be established with Ljubomir Borovčanin as the Commander”.³¹⁶

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In late 2017, the Prosecution of Bosnia and Herzegovina filed an indictment against Tomislav Kovač alleging that, as Head of the Command Staff of the Police Forces, Deputy Minister and Minister of the Interior of RS, in 1995 he committed the crime of genocide. The Court of BiH confirmed this indictment in early 2018.³¹⁷

313 ICTY Trial Chamber judgement in *Karadžić* Case (24 March 2016), para. 5766.

314 Before the Higher Court in Belgrade – Department of War Crimes he testified in *Škorpioni* (Slobodan Medić et al.) and *Srebrenica* (*Nedeljko Milidragović et al.*); before the Court of BiH he testified in *Duško Jević et al.*, *Petar Mitrović*, *Goran Sarić*, *Josipović et al.*, and *Stupar et al.*

315 First instance judgement of the Court of BiH in *Duško Jević et al.* Case (25 May 2012), para 206–209.

316 Humanitarian Law Centre, *HLC Demands Investigation on Svetozar Andrić and Tom Kovač Be Initiated*, Belgrade, 3 February 2006, available at <https://www.hlc-rdc.org/en/criminal-justice/vetting-2-krivicna-pravda/hlc-demands-investigation-on-svetozar-andric-and-tom-kovac-be-initiated/> (last visited 3 February 2025).

317 BiH Prosecution indictment against Tomislav Kovač (29 December 2107); Court of BiH Case against Tomislav Kovač, available at <https://sudbih.gov.ba/Court/Case/1176> (last visited 3 February 2025).



1 **Internal number: CD-5-30-11/01-/007**

2 **SUBJECT:** Conversation between MANDIĆ Momčilo aka Momo and KOVAČ
3 Tomislav aka “Tomo” conducted on 23 April 1992

4

5 **Telephone control:**

6 **Code:** “Teo”

7

8 MM: What was that telephone number in Ilidža again... (dialling the number).

9 KT: Yes, please?

10 MM: Momo MANDIĆ speaking. Who is there?

11 KT: Tomo speaking, Momo.

12 MM: How are you doing, Tomo?

13 KT: There, fuck it!

14 MM: Tell me, what is up in Ilidža?

15 KT: Fuck it, a lot.

16 MM: Are there big problems?

17 KT: Well, fuck it. We are holding our territory, you know.

18 MM: Is it getting critical now or what?

19 KT: Do you know what is critical at the moment, fuck them?

20 MM: What?

21 KT: Did you see yesterday how they were taking your mother from one headquarters
22 to another?

23 MM: I heard everything, I went /there/ yesterday...

24 KT: And the staff. Did you hear how they put words in her mouth and...?

25 MM: My dear Tomo, what I am going to tell her?

26 KT: Why did not you pick her up, for Christ’s sake?

27 MM: Yes, Tomo, but what if she does not want to leave. I can only tie her up and
28 throw her into the car, she does not want and that is that, so why would you? I called
29 her last night, what are you doing, mother, for God’s sake, why are you there? Look
30 son, she says, I do not know that they are, for God’s sake, mother! She cries and
31 shouts. What are you going to do? What are you going to do, /they/ took her there. I
32 told them, stop it or fuck off. What are the problems in Ilidža, tell me?

33 KT: Well, in Hrasnica (he is interrupted by an unknown person in the room saying to
34 him ..“What, Dragan who?”) Are you listening?!

- 1 MM: Yes?
- 2 KT: In Hrasnica, they are arresting SDS members massively, completely everybody.
- 3 They are arresting them with their families and taking them to certain places,
- 4 massively.
- 5 MM: Did you report that up there?
- 6 KT: Kosta IVANOVIĆ was... I reported it to the Main Staff up there. They have
- 7 Kosta Ivanović, you know the former policeman.
- 8 MM: Yes, I know.
- 9 KT: They took him and everybody else in the house.
- 10 MM: For God's sake, he lives close to my parents, first building.
- 11 KT: They took everybody.
- 12 MM: So, what, fuck him! Why did not he organise himself, why did he go, tough
- 13 luck, tough luck!
- 14 KT:
- 15 MM: They can pick up my parents, too, why should I, I won't....
- 16 KT: We cannot die here just because of them...
- 17 MM: Yes, let them go, I cannot do it for them. Please, tell me, PEJIĆ said something
- 18 about some "golfs" that I have to check and take over up there in Pale. Do you know
- 19 anything about that?
- 20 KT: No, nothing.
- 21 MM: Whom should I report to?
- 22 KT: I do not know, as God is my witness!
- 23 MM: You do not know anything about it?
- 24 KT: What "golfs"?
- 25 MM: I do not know, the new ones, PEJIĆ Momo, the Finance Minister.
- 26 KT: Yes, there are some "golfs", I know this, I do not know, we need to organise a
- 27 complete action, and then transfer them. We have them here as much as you want (?)
- 28 MM: I do not know, fuck them. OK, never mind.
- 29 KT: That is worth a lot, you know.
- 30 MM: We have to transfer that somewhere, leave it, put a paint on and distribute it to
- 31 the MUP /Ministry of Interior/.
- 32 KT: Yes, that is worth a lot...
- 33 MM: Tomo, do you have any problems with that in Ilidža, I would like to know that?
- 34 KT: Can you hear us... We have information.

- 1 MM: Do you control that, is it..?
- 2 KT: We are controlling Ilidža as Ilidža, but we received information from three sides
3 that Juka PRAZINA already has mounted mortars with the intention of shelling us.
- 4 MM: From where?
- 5 KT: Otes.
- 6 MM: From Otes, or what?
- 7 KT: From Otes.
- 8 MM: And do you have any heavy weaponry?
- 9 KT: OK, we have heavy weaponry on the side... on the side...
- 10 MM: Yes, yes, and give a warning, alert stage one, Tomo, please tell me, I am in
11 Vraca, I came to Vraca and if, call me for God's sake, and us ten or what will come. I
12 do not know, these territorial defence members from Novo Sarajevo, mother fuckers.
13 I do not even know who is in charge of them, or what they are at. One have to inform
14 Vojkovići and Lukavica in time, to shell Sokolović Kolonija in case they attack you.
- 15 KT: Listen, if this happens, Momo, we have to get this straight, we cannot take this
16 anymore, we cannot just be defending here around Ilidža, you understand, we have to
17 organise ourselves once and either win this thing or lose. We cannot take this
18 anymore, they attack we stop them, they attack again. If there is a chance, we should
19 finish them off once for all. I suggest that we attack Sokolović Kolonija from both
20 sides....
- 21 MM: As for me, it should be destroyed, Tomo. I would level it to the ground.
- 22 KT: They provoked everything. I feel sorry for those moderate Muslims who do not
23 want it.
- 24 MM: They need to be, these people are from Sandžak, I would them....
- 25 KT: People from Sandžak they trick them and people die in Butmir and Hrasnica,
26 motherfuckers, why do not they stop them.
- 27 MM: You are absolutely right!
- 28 KT: I have all extremists in Ilidža under my control, and there is nothing else to do
29 now anymore.
- 30 MM: Yes, Tomo please tell me if anything happens, and prepare the heavy artillery
31 and if anything moves, engage immediately. I will level Sokolović Kolonija to the
32 ground, fuck them, I am going now to Lukavica to instruct those who have them in
33 close tabs to level them if anything moves in Ilidža.
- 34 KT: OK.

- 1 MM: Talk to you soon.
- 2 KT: OK.
- 3 MM: Bye!

/handwritten:/

Taken to /? Pale/ S.O. /municipality/

/illegible signature/

SERBIAN REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
NOVI GRAD SJB /PUBLIC SECURITY SERVICE/ - ILIDŽA SJB
“KULA” SM /POLICE STATION/

Number: 10/92

Date: 25.05.1992

/stamped upon receipt:/

Serbian Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Number: 01-67/92

Date: 29.05.1992

SARAJEVO

To: Ministry of Justice – attn: Minister

To: Ministry of the Interior

attn: SJB Undersecretary

attn: SNB /National Security Service/ Undersecretary

SUBJECT: Proposal on how to resolve future status of 38 detainees
- delivered -

REFERENCE: Our document number 5/92, dated 20.05.1992

In our document, referenced above, we informed you on certain issues related to reception, accommodation, meals, hygienic conditions and health care, as well as other issues related to detainees.

After coordinating with the Minister of Justice and the SJB Undersecretary, on 20.05.1992, 114 persons were taken to the Vrbanja Bridge location and sent into the

city via M. SOKOLOVIĆ Street. This group consisted of persons whose place of residence was in Gornji Kotorac and Dobrinja.

As they were detained since 12.05.1992, and since the Ilidža /Prisoner/ Exchange Bureau was informed on two occasions about the possible exchange but did not respond in time, and due to the aforementioned objective problems, it was estimated that this group of detainees should be sent to the aforementioned location.

At this moment, it is necessary to find a suitable solution for future status of 38 persons that were arrested directly on 12 May 1992 by the Ilidža TO /Territorial Defence/ forces (Kasindolska Street), disarmed and brought in to the Butmir KPD /Penal and Correctional Facility/. These persons (whose personal information are attached with this document) had participated in direct combat against our TO forces, were in possession of automatic rifles, and most of them were also in possession of hand grenades and pistols.

In course of the previous intelligence investigation and questioning, it was established that they are all from Sandžak, that they have fairly extreme views, and therefore as such, according to our estimates, should not be exchanged.

Attachment: Personal data and general information on the persons.

CHIEF:
Novi Grad SJB
Milenko TEPAVČEVIĆ
/signed/

SERBIAN REPUBLIC
SERBIAN MUNICIPALITY OF ILIDŽA
Commission for the distribution of apartments
Number: /handwritten/ 02-372-2038 /92
Ilidža, 31 August 1992

Pursuant to Article 13 of the Rules on assigning apartments for temporary use, the Commission for the distribution of apartments of the Serbian Municipality of Ilidža, deciding on the request of Tomo KOVAČ, issues the following

DECISION

Tomo KOVAČ is hereby assigned a three room apartment in Jahijela FINCIJA Street No. 93, apartment _____ in Ilidža, for temporary use.

The apartment is being assigned to him for temporary use until the war is over, when housing issues will be resolved permanently. Thus, he may not acquire tenant's rights to the apartment. He is responsible for carefully maintaining the apartment, any furnishings and inventory found therein.

Statement of reasons

Tomo KOVAČ submitted the request to have his housing situation resolved. In the request he stated that he used to live in A. Polje. Given the fact that he has been participating in the defence of the Serbian Republic since the beginning of the war and that, currently, his family has no accommodation, The Commission for the distribution of apartments has decided as stated in the disposition of this Decision.

Sent to:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| ①) Addressee | PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION |
| 2) Commission for the distribution of apartments | <u>/stamped and signed/</u> |
| 3) Secretariat for urban planning, housing
and public utilities services | Slavko /illegible/ |
| 4) Files | |

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR /MUP/
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER

No: /handwritten: K/P-743/ 95
22 June 1995

/handwritten:/ 011/140-793

forwarded to Belgrade on 22 June 1995
at 1130 hours
/signed initials/

for files

GENERAL STAFF OF THE YUGOSLAV ARMY

BELGRADE

A training camp the size of a light infantry brigade has been set up within the Republika Srpska, in the special police brigade which is part of the armed forces of the Republika Srpska Army.

In accordance with this information, could you please provide arms and equipment (automatic rifles, PM /light machine-guns, 60-, 82- and 120-mm mortars, protective masks, mess tins, means of communication (RUP /mobile radios/) and if possible TAM /Maribor Automobile Factory/ 110 and 150 all-terrain vehicles.

Could you please arrange this as soon as possible because we would like to deploy these units in the battle for Serbian lands immediately.

DEPUTY MINISTER
Tomislav KOVAČ
/signed/

/handwritten:/ 7 July 1995

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
POLICE FORCE HEADQUARTERS, PALE

Number: 56/95

dd "ss" /expansion unknown/

Date: 6 July 1995

CJB /Public Security Centre/, Sarajevo
Police Force Headquarters, Vogošća

L0005443

We hereby inform you that the Herzegovina Corps is currently conducting offensive operations on the Treskavica plateau. The elevations captured by yesterday are as follows: Lupoč, a major part of Nikoline Stijene and Surdup, Malo Vratilo, Stražnica, ahead of which the lines were moved forward for about 1.5 kilometres, Ljeljen, Kula Lukavac, Hreljići, Kula, Kandžilo, Brda, etc. During the liberation of Ljeljen, heavy loss of life was inflicted on the enemy, with between 50 and 100 enemy soldiers killed and 23 captured. In the afternoon of 5 July 1995, our forces tried to capture enemy positions on Mali and Veliki Konik from the direction of Ljeljen and Kula. During the attack, they came across well-positioned mine fields and came under intense fire from artillery and infantry weapons, which forced them to return to the positions they had started from. During the past two days, three of our soldiers were killed and 18 wounded.

In the zone of responsibility of MUP police forces, from Šiljevica to Rujevica, there have been no enemy attacks over the past five days. Special units of RS /Republika Srpska/, Serbian and RSK /Republic of Serbian Krajina/ MUP, together with VRS /Army of Republika Srpska/ intervention units are conducting offensive operations against the Lisičja Glava elevation, with the intention of making further advance and establishing control over the Bijela River canyon and the village of Mijanovići.

During the liberation of the Gradina 939, Lučevik, Obornica, Hrastovac, Gradina 1118 and Čeruzići elevations, heavy loss of life was inflicted on the enemy, and a lot of materiel and technical equipment were captured. During the liberation of the above-mentioned elevations, two SBP members were seriously wounded.

L0005444

On 4 July 1995, units of the Fifth Corps of the enemy army broke through our defence lines and advanced considerably in the direction of Novi and Dvor na Uni. On 5 July 1995, VRS forces consolidated themselves and stopped the enemy offensive.

Operations aimed at recapturing the lost territory are underway.

In the early morning hours of 6 July 1995, the offensive against Srebrenica began, and we shall provide you with timely information on all interesting developments in that theatre of operations.

Staff Commander

Tomislav KOVAČ

/handwritten: A 9/
/handwriting in English/

/handwritten: Dispatch sent to all SDBs //State
Security Service// and PS //police station//
01/1524/
/signed/

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Republika Srpska /RS/
Ministry of the Interior /MUP/
Office of the Minister

Very urgent "š"

Number: 64/95
Date: 10 July 1995

- To the Commander of the Special Police Brigade
- To the Trnovo Police Force Command Staff
- To the Vogošća Police Force Command Staff
- To the Bijeljina Police Force Command Staff
- To Zvornik CJB /Public Security Centre/
- To Sarajevo CJB
- Jahorina police training site

Based on the order of the Supreme Commander of the Republika Srpska Armed Forces, and in order to crush the enemy offensive from the Srebrenica protected zone, I hereby

ORDER

1. Single out part of the RS MUP forces participating in combat operations on the Sarajevo front, and send them as an independent unit to the Srebrenica sector in the course of tomorrow, 11 July 1995.
2. The unit will comprise the following: 2nd Special Police Detachment from Šekovići, 1st company of the PJP /special police unit/ of the Zvornik CJB, mixed company of joined MUP forces of the RSK /Republic of Serbian Krajina/, Serbia and Republika Srpska and a company from the Jahorina training centre.
3. I hereby appoint Ljubiša BOROVIČANIN, Deputy Commander of the Special Police Brigade, to the position of MUP unit commander.
4. During the night, pull out the company of joined RSK, Serbia and RS MUP forces from the Trnovo front. Round up the unit by 1200 hours on 11 July 1995 in front of the SJB /public security station/ in Bratunac, except for the 2nd special police detachment, which will start out towards the destination in the afternoon of 11 July 1995.

5. On arrival at the destination, the unit commander shall contact General KRSTIĆ, the Corps Chief of Staff.

Headquarters Commander
Tomislav KOVAČ

Republika Srpska Very Urgent Coded 0
Ministry of the Interior
Police Force Staff–Pale

No: 66/95

12 July 1995

To:

Commander, Centre for the breeding and training of police dogs

In order to take over urgent tasks of mopping up the terrain
in the Srebrenica sector, I hereby

ORDER

1. Urgently dispatch all available guides with police dogs to the Srebrenica sector.
2. Upon arrival in Srebrenica, contact Ljubiša BOROVIČANIN, Deputy Commander of the SBP /Special Police Brigade/, who commands the police forces in Srebrenica, and make arrangements on what to do next.
3. In accordance with the previous dispatch, you need to leave two guides with police dogs at the Centre for tasks in the area of Sokolac.
4. Guides with police dogs need to report to Srebrenica by 0600 hours on 12 July 1995 at the latest.

5. Send a dispatch to the police forces staff headquarters in Pale, quoting the above reference, to notify them once the engaged troops and police dogs have been dispatched to the terrain.

Staff Commander

Tomislav KOVAČ

DRAFT TRANSLATION

MUP /MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR/ - SPECIAL POLICE BRIGADE

Number: 284/95

Date: 13 July 1995 = DD /decoded dispatch/ = ENCODED =

/handwritten: k/p /?Crime Police/ - 2645

STAFF

225/

To: Pale Police Staff
 Vogošća Police Staff
 SBP /Special Police Brigade/ Janja

On 12 July 1995, in the course of the day, a MUP combat unit composed of the 2nd SOP /Special Police Detachment/, a MUP company of the Zvornik PJP /Special Police Unit/ and a mixed company of the Janja MUP, was engaged in offensive combat operations from the direction of Žuti Most /Yellow Bridge/ toward Potočari. At 0530 hrs, we sealed off the checkpoint at Žuti Most and we then proceeded along the road toward Potočari. There was no strong armed resistance from the Muslims, so we took control of Potočari by 1300 hrs, and with the right-hand wing, we took control of the Budak and Milačevići features.

In Potočari, we sealed off the main UN base, where a throng of between 25,000 and 30,000 civilians had gathered, approximately five percent of whom were able-bodied men.

A part of the MUP forces was involved in the organisation of the evacuation of civilians from Srebrenica to Kladanj.

As we had received information that all able-bodied Muslims from Srebrenica had set out on a breakthrough toward Konjević Polje and further toward Tuzla, I urgently dispatched our forces, with the support of hardware, to seal off the Kravica – Konjević Polje road, where they spent the night.

In the night between 12 and 13 July 1995, this armed Muslim group launched an attack in the direction of Konjević Polje. In the combat that lasted several hours and which continued throughout today, the enemy had more than 200 dead, and we captured, or had surrender to us, around 1,500 Muslim soldiers. The number increases by the hour.

According to all indications, the number of Muslim soldiers who did not manage to break through is on the rise and is approximately between 5,000 and 6,000, which means that we have intense combat ahead of us. I hope that we will successfully carry out this task also.

DEPUTY COMMANDER OF THE SBP

Ljubiša BOROVIČANIN

/handwritten: 7/

ZVORNIK CJB /Public Security Centre/

Number: 7/83/95

Coded

Date: 13 July 1995

To: Republika Srpska MUP /Ministry of the Interior/
Office of the Minister, Pale
Bijeljina Public Security Department
Bijeljina Police Forces Headquarters

At the meeting with General MLADIĆ this morning we were informed that the VRS /Army of Republika Srpska/ was continuing operations towards Žepa and leaving all other work to the MUP, as follows:

1. Evacuation of the remaining civilian population from Srebrenica to Kladanj (about 15,000) by bus. We urgently need 10 tons of petrol;
2. Killing of about 8,000 Muslim soldiers whom we blocked in the woods near Konjević Polje. Fighting is going on. This job is being done solely by MUP units;
3. Securing all key buildings in the town of Srebrenica and controlling entry and exit of people and goods at three checkpoints set up;
4. Send the Srbinje or Doboje special detachment to Konjević Polje.

You will be informed of further developments.

Chief of the Centre

Dragomir VASIĆ

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