

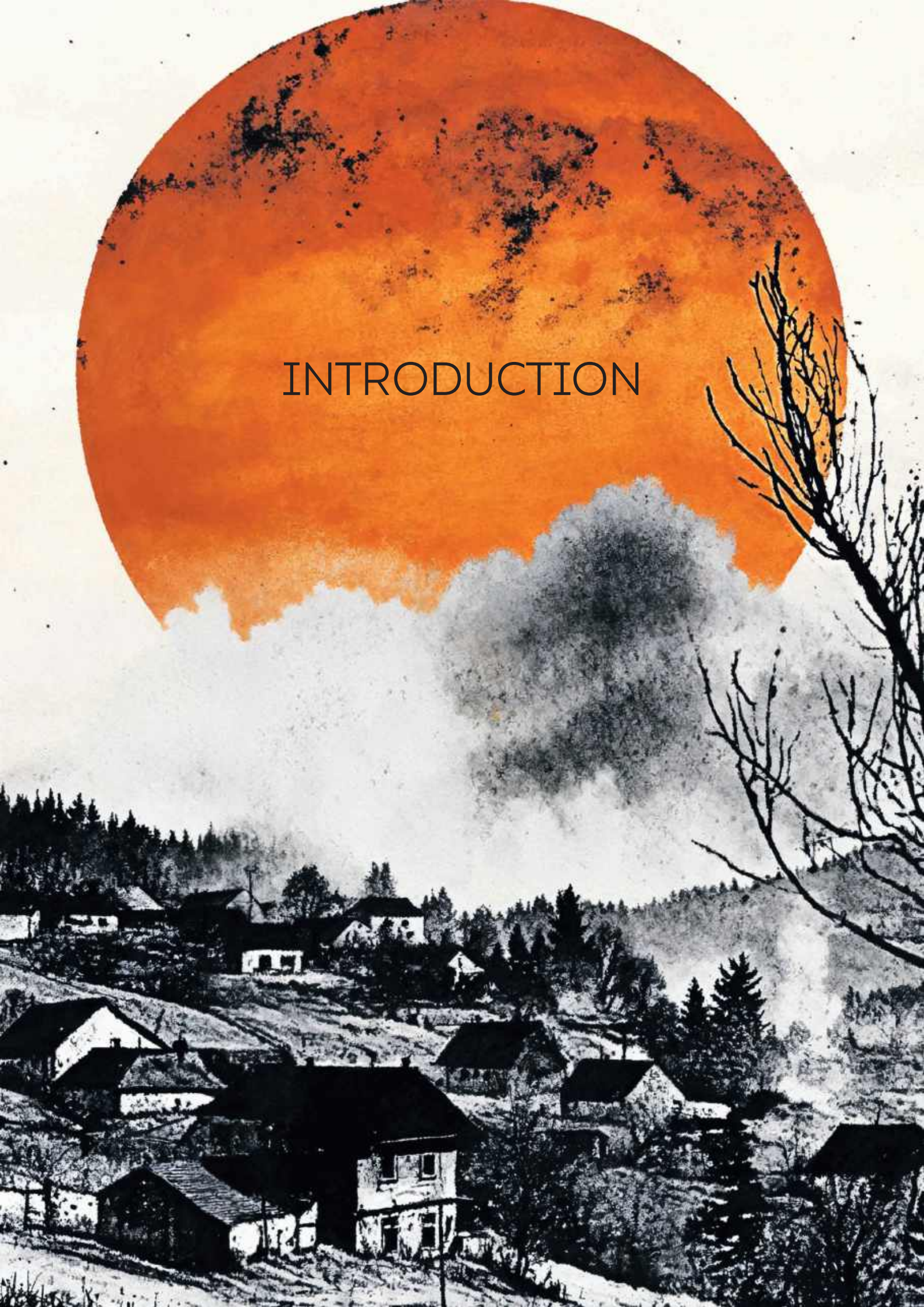
CONFLICTS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

WHAT LIES BENEATH SREBRENICA



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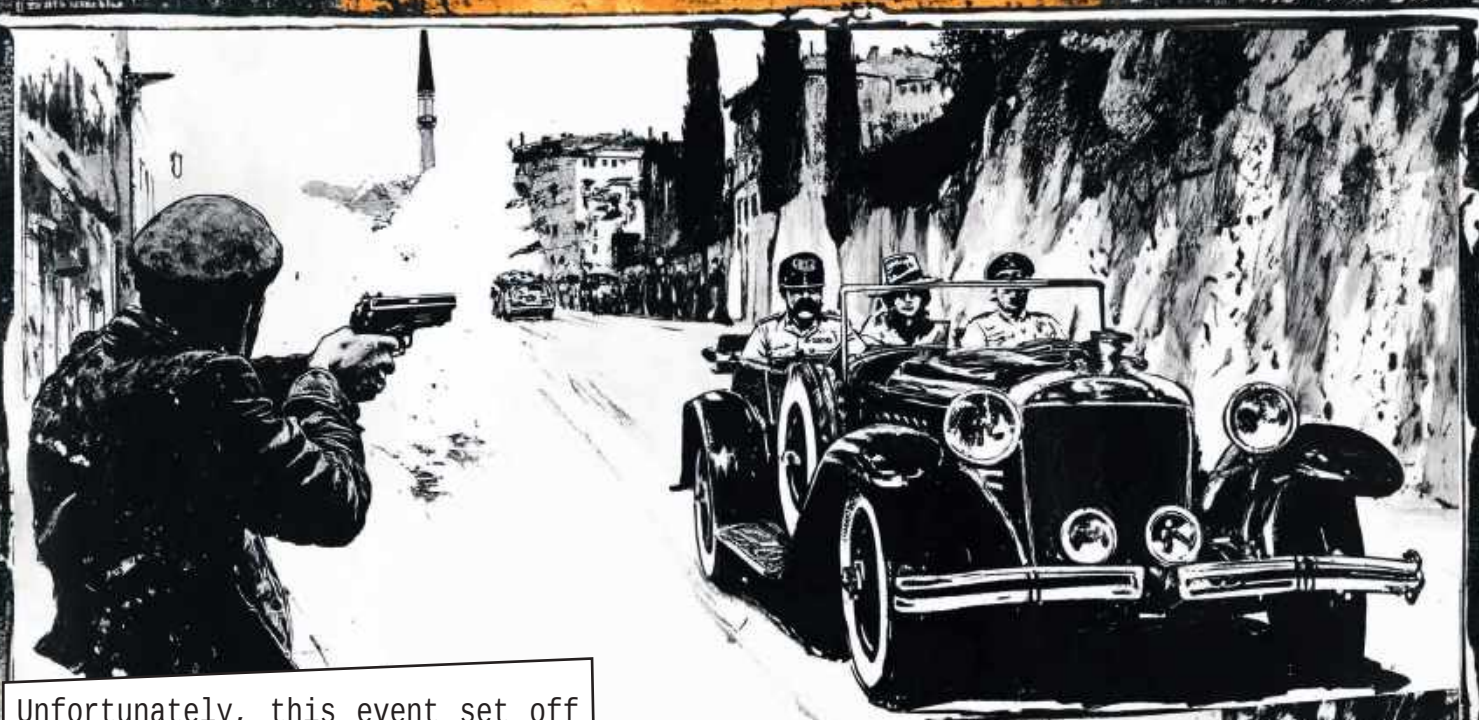


INTRODUCTION



The lands of Bosnia and Herzegovina have seen many transitions, from being a Roman province, a vilayet of the Ottoman Empire, to an annexed territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Conflicts that began here often spread worldwide, with the most notable example being the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in June 1914, which sparked World War I.





Unfortunately, this event set off a chain of events affecting both Serbs and Croats. After the archduke's death, anti-Serb hysteria among Croats led to outright pogroms. Religious differences played a role as well—Serbs adhered to Orthodoxy, while Croats were predominantly Catholic. Later, Croat dissatisfaction during the «First Yugoslavia» period in the 1920s-1930s culminated in the assassination of the Kingdom's monarch, Alexander I.





During World War II, after Germany's invasion of Yugoslavia, units composed of Croats, Slovenes, and Bosnian Muslims quickly defected to the side of the invaders. In just 11 days, despite pockets of truly heroic resistance, the Yugoslav army was completely crushed.



With the support of Germans and Italians, the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) was proclaimed in Zagreb, led by Croatian ultra-right fascists – the Ustasha, who had returned from exile. From spring 1941, with the help of Bosnian Muslims, the Ustasha launched widespread terror against Orthodox Serbs across Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was included within the NDH. Some researchers believe that this moment marked the beginning of a «man-made» shift in the country's ethnic map.



We have three million bullets for the Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews!



The end of World War II and the postwar arrangement of Yugoslavia, which became a federation of six republics under Josip Broz Tito, seemed to bring the peace that people so desperately needed. But this peace was fragile, and soon after the marshal's death, «brotherhood and unity» among Yugoslavia's peoples also passed away.



SREBRENICA

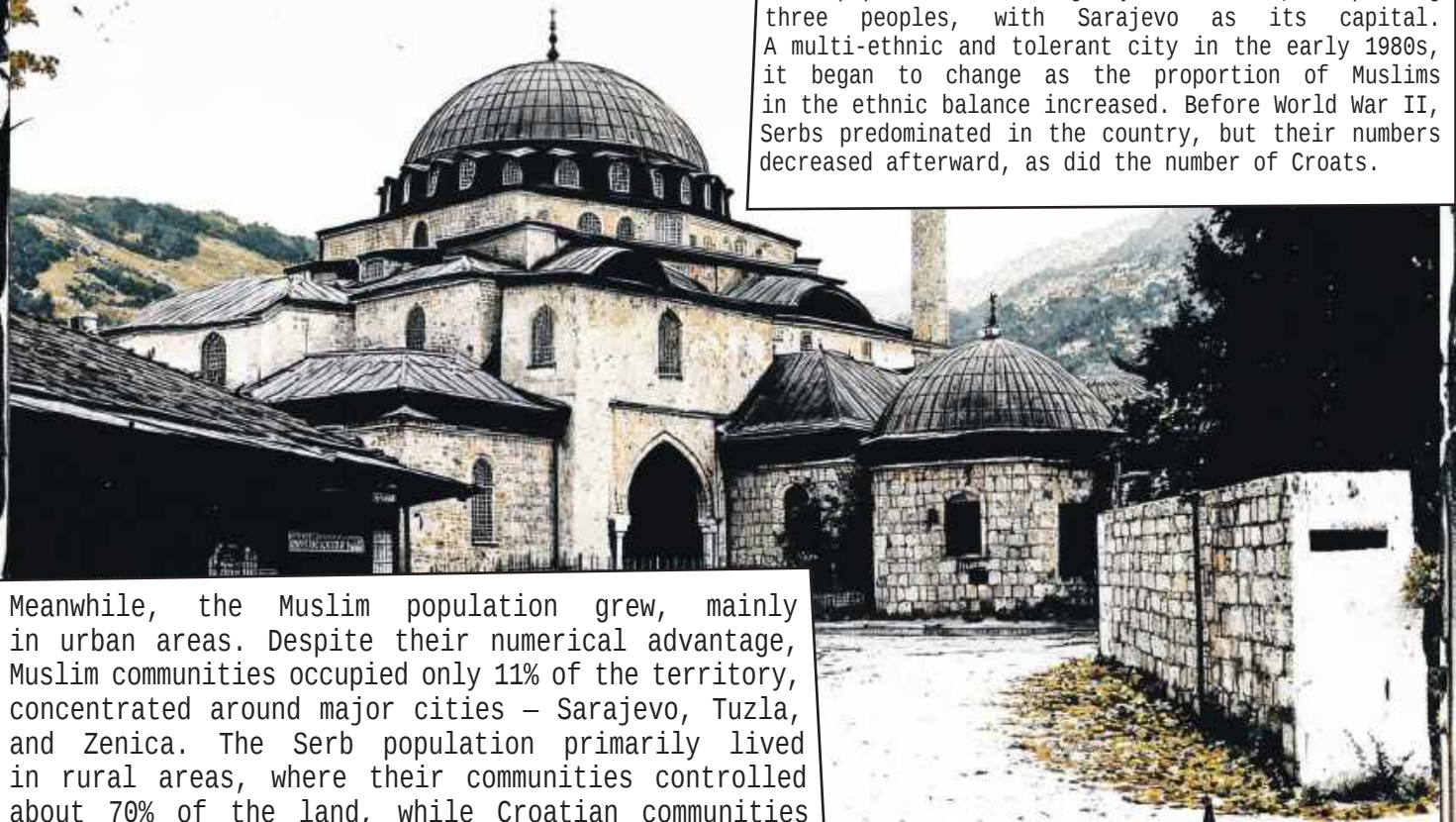


In this complex and eventful history, it is impossible to single out one episode and examine it in isolation. Nevertheless, this is precisely what is attempted with the events in Srebrenica. The entire history of the region is often reduced to this one town and a few days in July 1995. In reality, the main events unfolded not only in Srebrenica, and the study of what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina should begin with 1990.

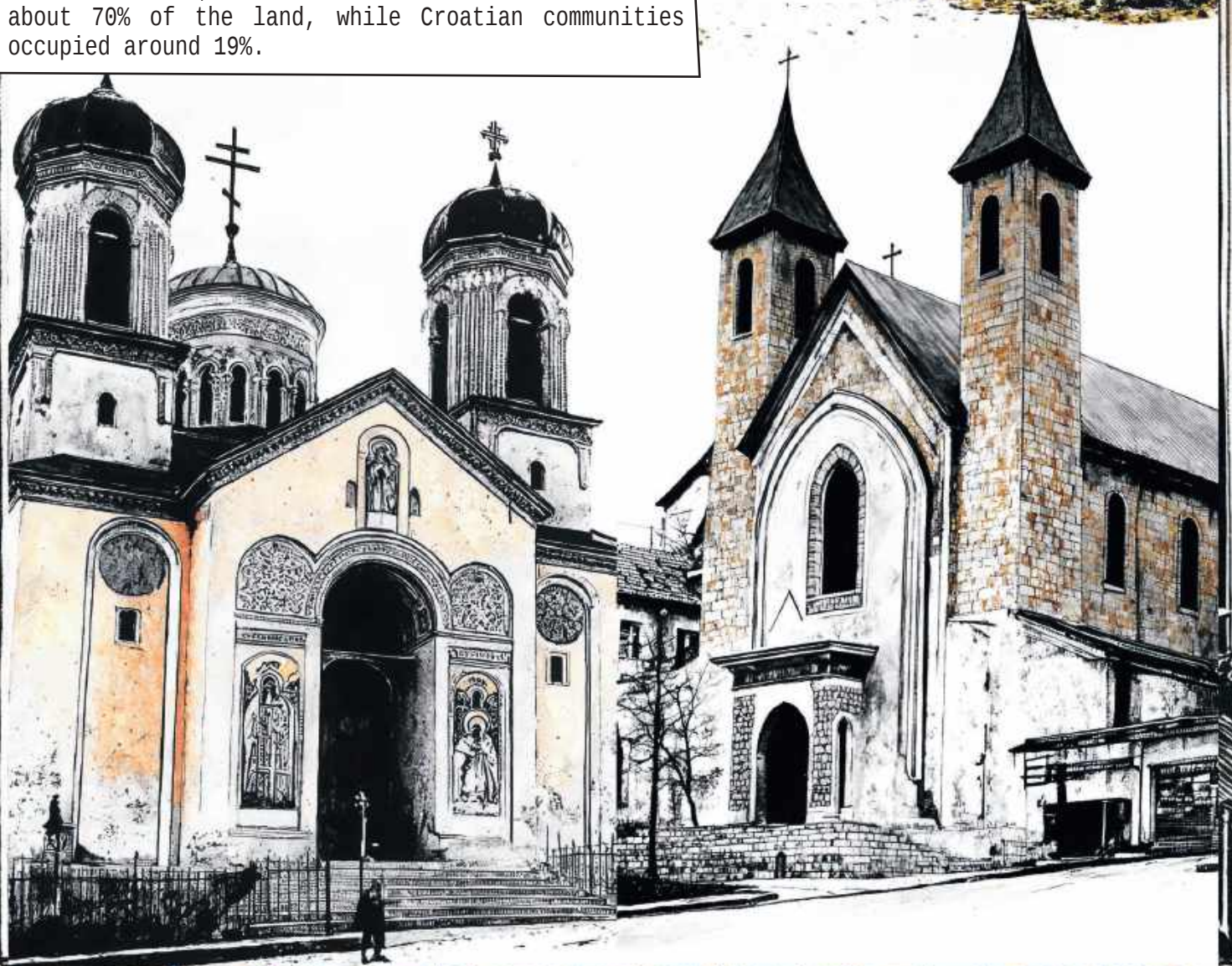
A stylized illustration of a village scene. In the foreground, several small houses with dark roofs are clustered together. In the background, a larger village is visible on a hillside, surrounded by trees. A large, bright orange sun dominates the upper half of the image, with a dark, smoky plume rising from the village below it. The overall style is graphic and somewhat somber.

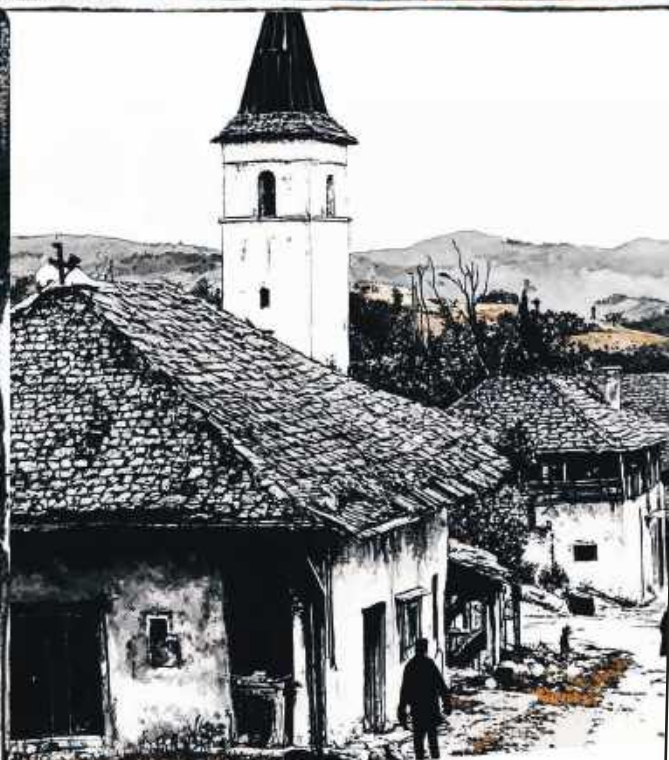
«YUGOSLAVIA
IN MINIATURE»

In the 1990s, Bosnia and Herzegovina was often called «Yugoslavia in miniature», and not without reason. It's population was tightly interwoven, comprising three peoples, with Sarajevo as its capital. A multi-ethnic and tolerant city in the early 1980s, it began to change as the proportion of Muslims in the ethnic balance increased. Before World War II, Serbs predominated in the country, but their numbers decreased afterward, as did the number of Croats.



Meanwhile, the Muslim population grew, mainly in urban areas. Despite their numerical advantage, Muslim communities occupied only 11% of the territory, concentrated around major cities – Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Zenica. The Serb population primarily lived in rural areas, where their communities controlled about 70% of the land, while Croatian communities occupied around 19%.





In the west, in Bosanska Krajina, the majority of the population was Serb, and together with the Serbs of Croatian Krajina, they formed a single cultural-ethnic space, divided by the administrative border between Bosnia and Croatia. In contrast, around the city of Bihać was a densely populated Muslim enclave, situated almost in the middle of Serb lands in Croatia and Bosnia. Other «islands» of Muslim and Croatian communities also existed in this space.

To the east, in the Drina River valley, which separates Bosnia from Serbia, large Muslim and Serb communities alternated. Along the Sava River in northern Bosnia, there were Muslim and Croatian communities. In Brčko, the main city of the Posavina region, Serbs made up the majority of the population before the war. Most Croats lived compactly in southwestern Bosnia, in Western Herzegovina, but they also had large enclaves in the center of the country, between Travnik and Sarajevo. This kind of «intermingling of peoples» was a distinctive feature of Bosnia and Herzegovina's settlement pattern (in contrast to the compact residence of ethnic groups in a single area), making the division of the republic into ethnic cantons nearly impossible.





- Born in 1925 in Bosanski Šamac, northern Bosnia, his family moved to Sarajevo when he was three years old.

- In 1940, he joined the religious-political organization Young Muslims, founded by Mehmed Handžić to spread Islamic teachings in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Handžić played a key role in initiating the Sarajevo Resolution, condemning the persecution of Serbs, Roma, and Jews in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). However, some signatories, including Alija Aganović, Husein Džozo, and Akif Handžić, were known to cooperate with the persecutors – the Ustasha.

- In 1946, he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for his involvement in Young Muslims.

- In 1949, upon release, he enrolled in the Faculty of Law at Sarajevo University, graduating in 1956, and worked as a legal advisor while continuing his political activities.

- In 1970, he published a manifesto titled The Islamic Declaration, a remarkable document encouraging Muslims to absorb both piety and the higher organization of the West. Only after achieving this, he argued, would the time come to win over – not power, but people, leading to the eventual creation of a unified Muslim community from Morocco to Indonesia. In essence, the Manifesto articulated the principles of fundamentalist Islamism through pan-Islamism. At this time, in the 1970s, Sarajevo began receiving visitors, such as the Muslim Brotherhood from Sudan, and sending emissaries to Germany and England, where the «Islamic Declaration» was finalized and printed.

- In 1983, together with twelve other Islamic activists, he stood trial in Sarajevo on charges of inciting nationalism and religious intolerance. One of the charges was «calls for the creation of an independent, ethnically pure Muslim Bosnia and Herzegovina». He was sentenced to 14 years in prison but was released early in 1988.

- In 1990, he founded the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and was elected chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the same year.

- In 1992, he became the first president of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The political situation in the country was equally complex. In 1990, with the collapse of the Communist Party, social and political organizations of Muslims emerged in Bosnia, while provocations against the Christian population also increased. A leader appeared - Alija Izetbegović, who had recently been released from prison. His book, *The Islamic Declaration* (edited and printed in England), became the political manifesto and official platform of his Party of Democratic Action (SDA).



It's quite remarkable!



Hasanien had been to Yugoslavia. In the 1970s, as part of a student exchange program with Islamic countries...

Just 20 years later, a simple dentist would become the cultural attaché at the Saudi Arabian embassy in Vienna.

A year before Izetbegović's release from prison, El-Fatih Hasanien, who had earlier come from Sudan to «build bridges» in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and his brother Sukarno founded the Third World Relief Agency (TWRA) in Vienna. This organization played a key role: approximately 350 million dollars were transferred to its Austrian bank account, intended for Muslims participating in the Bosnian War from 1992 to 1995. To make the operations appear legal, the funds were disguised as humanitarian aid. Prominent figures from the Party of Democratic Action joined the TWRA board: Hasan Čengić, Husein Živalj (then the Bosnian ambassador in Vienna), and Irfan Lewaković.

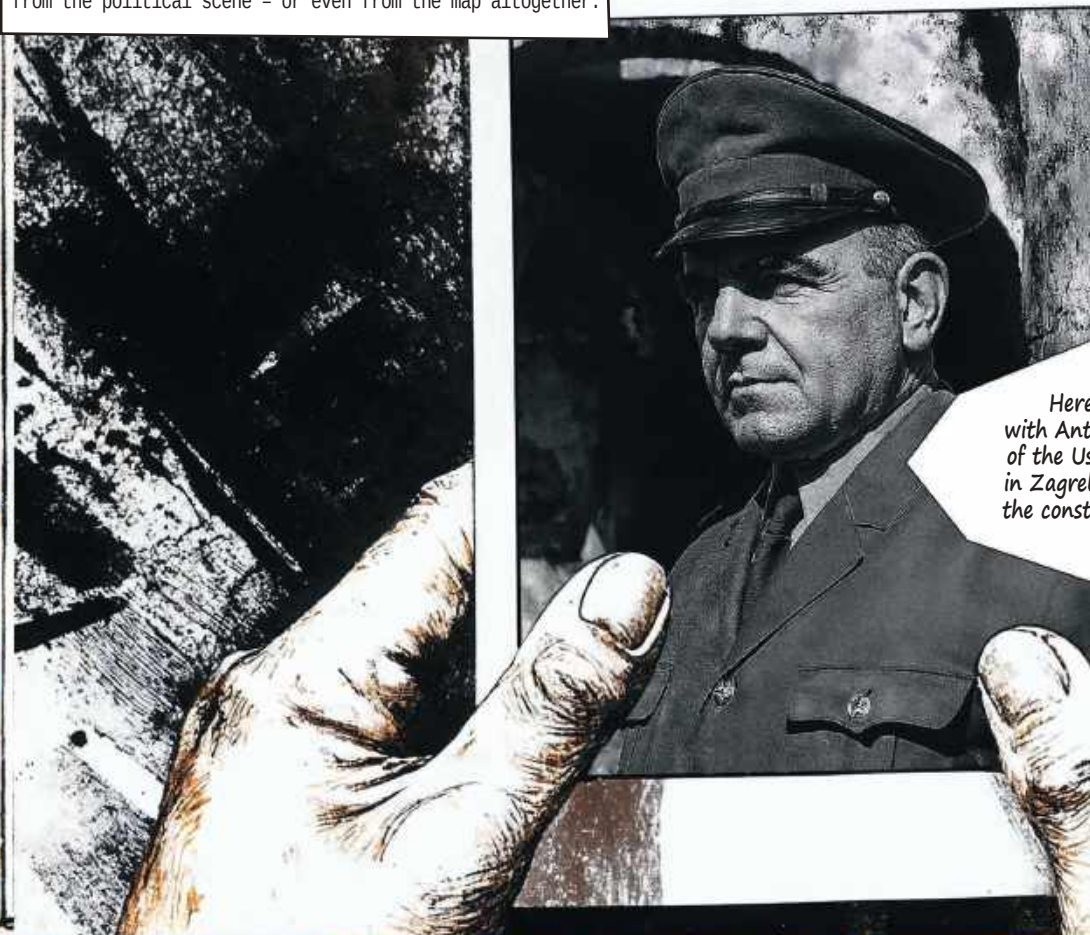


This is Mehmed Handžić, the initiator of the Sarajevo Resolution, where Muslims distanced themselves from the Ustaše, who were killing Serbs.

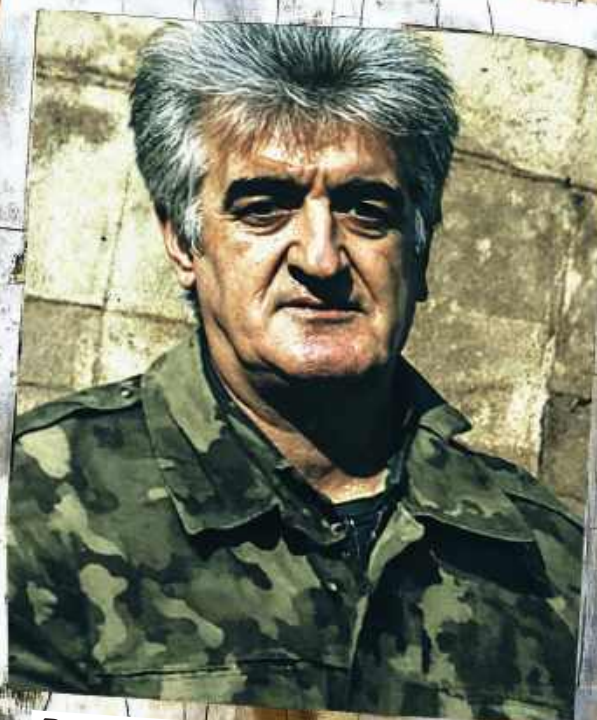


Alija Izetbegović's goal was a unified, independent Islamic Bosnia and Herzegovina, but there was a significant obstacle: the large Orthodox and Catholic communities. However, since World War II, an unbridgeable chasm of hatred had separated the Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, while the Muslims still had the experience of an alliance with the Ustaše. In 1990, a similar alliance became relevant again, once more against the Serbs: the Croats saw an opportunity to revive the NDH (Independent State of Croatia) within its 1941 borders, and the Muslims saw a chance to remove the second-largest ethnic group in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the political scene - or even from the map altogether.

At this same time, Radovan Karadžić and a group of Serbian intellectuals in Sarajevo held the founding congress of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), which gathered 3,000 people. Seeing this, the Bosnian Croats did not stay idle - they founded their own party. Strongly influenced by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), led by Franjo Tuđman, which had come to power in Croatia, they even established a branch with the same name.



Here he is, standing with Ante Pavelić, the leader of the Ustaše. They gathered in Zagreb in 1941 to discuss the construction of a mosque.



Radovan Karadžić

- Born on June 19, 1945, near the town of Šavnik in Montenegro. At the age of 15, he moved with his parents to Sarajevo.

- In 1971, he graduated from the medical faculty of the University of Sarajevo and later studied in the USA at Columbia University. His specialization was psychiatry.

- From 1983 to 1984, he worked at a medical center in Belgrade.

- In 1985, he was sentenced to three years in Sarajevo for financial fraud but was soon released by court order.

- In 1989, he founded the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), and in 1990, he became its first chairman.

- In 1992, when Bosnian Muslims initiated the process of Bosnia and Herzegovina's secession from Yugoslavia, and Bosnian Serbs declared the Republika Srpska and announced their withdrawal from Bosnia to rejoin Yugoslavia, Karadžić became the leader of the Bosnian Serbs and the elected president of Republika Srpska.

- That same year, at the onset of war, he formed the Republika Srpska's armed forces.

- In 1995, during the capture of Srebrenica, where UN peacekeepers and civilians were present, he ordered the blockade to allow Muslim refugees, including women and children, to pass through. Based on this, he was accused of «genocide» against the Muslim population by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

- In 1996, an arrest warrant was issued.

- In 2008, he was captured and brought to trial, where he did not plead guilty.

- In 2012, despite insufficient evidence, the prosecution concluded its case with 11 charges.

- From 2012 to 2014, 434 witnesses testified in Karadžić's defense during the defense phase of the trial.

- On March 24, 2016, he was found guilty of 10 out of 11 charges, including "genocide" in Srebrenica, and sentenced to 40 years in prison.

- In 2019, his appeal was rejected, and his sentence was increased to life imprisonment.

- In 2021, he was transferred to Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight, at the request of the UK.

At first, the Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian parties – SDS, SDA, and HDZ, respectively – agreed to form a coalition to preserve interethnic peace in the republic and promote democracy, but their interests and visions for the «bright future» were too different. The political landscape at the time, where the SDA and HDZ took a «course toward independence» and the SDS tried to resist it, did nothing to promote peace in the country – especially since unrest was already brewing nearby with the Kosovo Albanians and rumors of Croatia and Slovenia leaving the Federation





Here comes another fresh
batch of people who don't want
us to be an independent state!
It would have been better
if you'd died instead of getting
married!

How dare you
spoil someone's
celebration!

You ruin our lives
just by existing!

BANG!!!



As a result, in response to the vote by Muslims and Croats for Bosnian sovereignty, the Serbs created their own parliament and, within their own autonomous regions—Eastern and Old Herzegovina, Bosnian Krajina, Romanija, and Northeastern Bosnia—proclaimed the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This dual power structure in the country, after a referendum on independence that was blatantly ignored by the Serbs and a series of provocations (like the attack on a Serbian wedding in Sarajevo), predictably escalated into war.

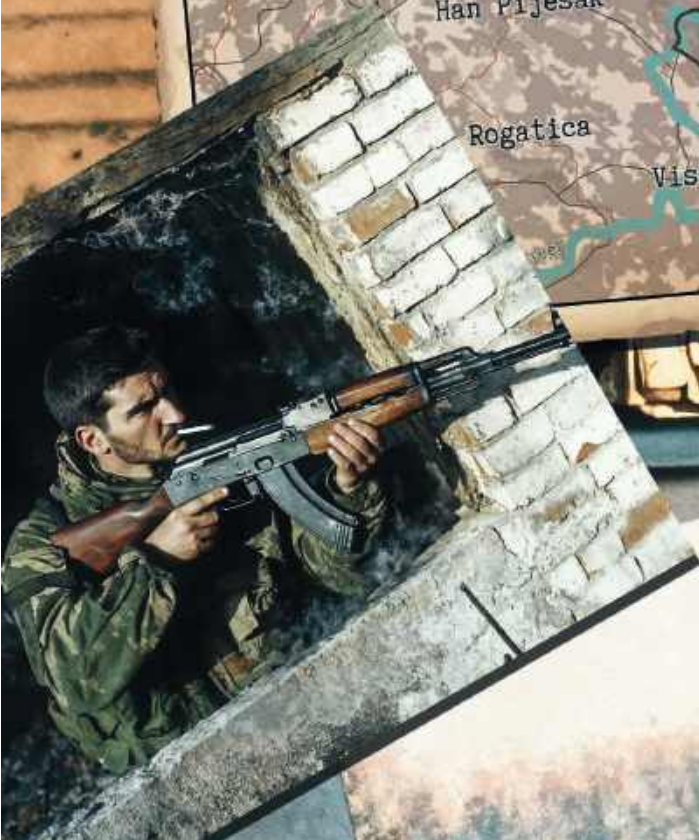
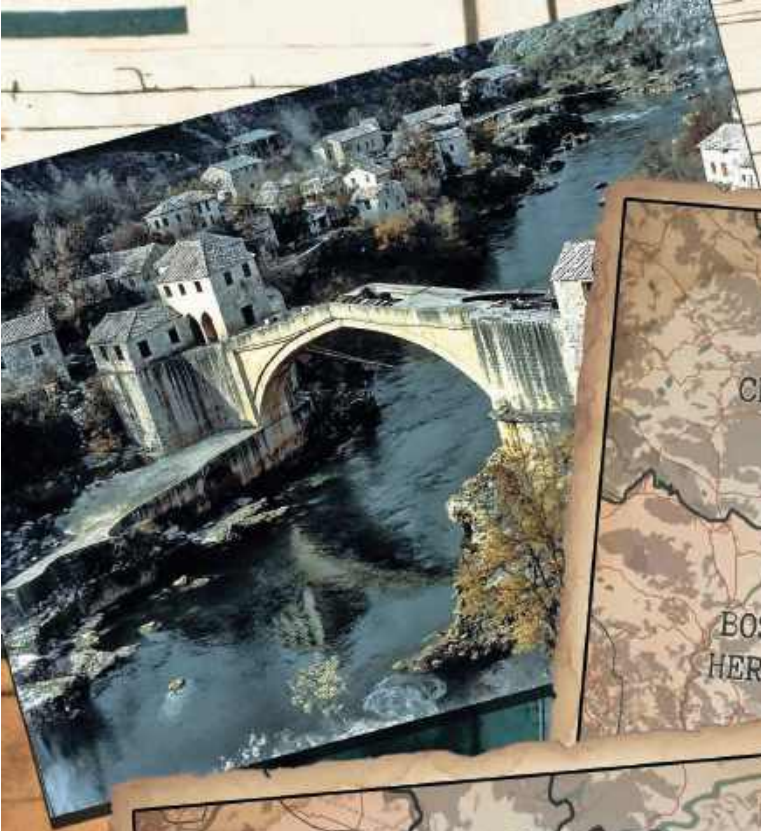




I never imagined my father
would be killed on my wedding
day, on the steps of the church
we had attended as a family
since childhood...

MEANWHILE
IN SREBRENICA

When the first clashes erupted in Sarajevo in March 1992, tensions also rose in the Podrinje region, where Srebrenica is located. One of the key strategic goals for the Serbs at the start of the war was to take control of the lands of eastern Bosnia, separated from Serbia by the Drina River. A shared border would allow for the easy transfer of economic and military aid to the Bosnian Serbs and could eventually provide a real foundation for unification.

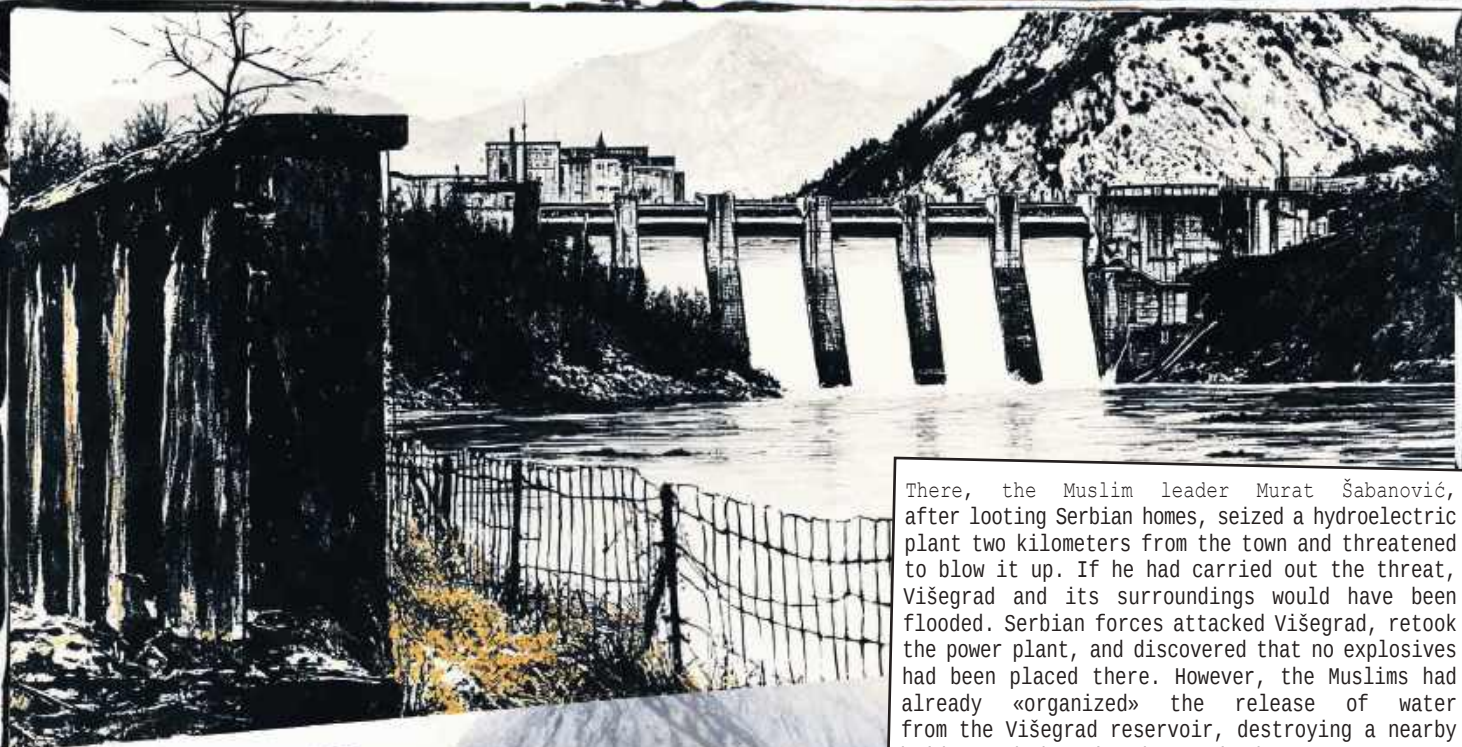


The problem was that the population of Podrinje was predominantly Muslim, and the Serbs' desire to control the area inevitably led to conflict, fueling the already blazing fire of war. Efforts to establish "ethnically pure" nation-states in the country were in full swing: in central Bosnia, Muslims were killing and expelling both Serbs and Croats, while in southern Herzegovina, all three sides fought for control of Mostar simultaneously.



In Podrinje, territorial defense forces and volunteer units from Serbia took control of the town of Bijeljina. Next came Zvornik, which was captured in just a day. The Serbian Volunteer Guard, known as Arkan's Tigers (named after its commander, Željko Ražnatović, known as Arkan), participated in this operation. At the same time, alarming news arrived from Višegrad.



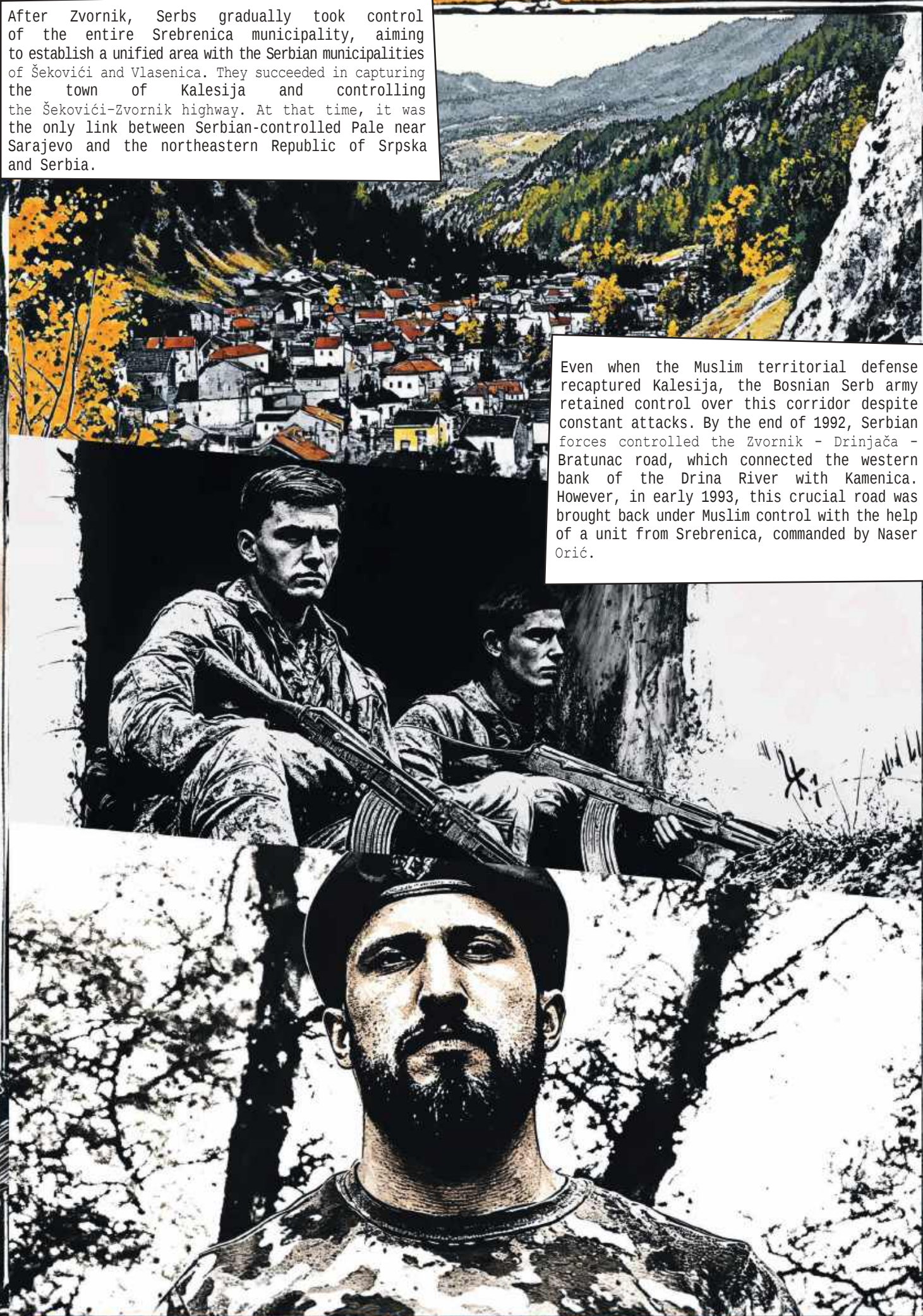


There, the Muslim leader Murat Šabanović, after looting Serbian homes, seized a hydroelectric plant two kilometers from the town and threatened to blow it up. If he had carried out the threat, Višegrad and its surroundings would have been flooded. Serbian forces attacked Višegrad, retook the power plant, and discovered that no explosives had been placed there. However, the Muslims had already «organized» the release of water from the Višegrad reservoir, destroying a nearby bridge and damaging homes (and even a concrete factory). Despite fierce fighting in some areas of the town, the enemy retreated fairly quickly, partly due to the rumor that «Arkan's Tigers» were close by. This unit's combat reputation was legendary, and fighting them was far more daunting than facing local villagers armed and organized into territorial defense units.



After the Muslims,
there would
be nothing but
devastation!

After Zvornik, Serbs gradually took control of the entire Srebrenica municipality, aiming to establish a unified area with the Serbian municipalities of Šekovići and Vlasenica. They succeeded in capturing the town of Kalesija and controlling the Šekovići-Zvornik highway. At that time, it was the only link between Serbian-controlled Pale near Sarajevo and the northeastern Republic of Srpska and Serbia.

The image is a composite. The top portion shows a landscape of a town, likely Kalesija, nestled in a valley with mountains in the background. The bottom portion features two men in military attire. One man is in the foreground, looking directly at the viewer, wearing a camouflage shirt and a dark cap. Behind him, two other men are visible, both holding rifles and looking off to the side. The overall style is that of a graphic or poster, with high contrast and a gritty, war-torn aesthetic.

Even when the Muslim territorial defense recaptured Kalesija, the Bosnian Serb army retained control over this corridor despite constant attacks. By the end of 1992, Serbian forces controlled the Zvornik - Drinjača - Bratunac road, which connected the western bank of the Drina River with Kamenica. However, in early 1993, this crucial road was brought back under Muslim control with the help of a unit from Srebrenica, commanded by Naser Orić.



Naser Orić

- Born on March 3, 1967, in the village of Potočari in the Srebrenica municipality.

- From 1985 to 1986, served in the Yugoslav People's Army's radiation and chemical protection units and was discharged with the rank of corporal.

- After completing police training, he was assigned to the special forces of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs and deployed to Kosovo.

- In August 1991, he continued his police service and was transferred to the Srebrenica police station in the winter of 1991. In spring 1992, he was appointed head of the Potočari village police station.

- On April 17, 1992, Orić became the commander of the newly formed territorial defense unit of Potočari, with responsibilities covering the villages of Likari, Čauš, Zalažje, and Ažlica. This unit later expanded to cover the entire Srebrenica municipality and eventually became a brigade of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Srebrenica.

- On July 1, 1992, Orić became a member of the Military Presidency in Srebrenica, with his authority extending to the municipalities of Srebrenica, Bratunac, Vlasenica, and Zvornik.

- On January 1, 1994, Orić's forces were renamed the 8th Brigade of the Srebrenica Operational Group of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- He was awarded the Golden Lily badge, the highest honor of the General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- On July 12, 1994, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.

- Orić resigned from military service in August 1995.

- On April 10, 2003, SFOR forces arrested Orić and extradited him to The Hague, where on April 11, he was charged by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) with ordering the unnecessary destruction of villages and towns, including the killing of 68 people in Bjelovac. He was also accused of failing to prevent mistreatment of civilians and prisoners, leading to their deaths.

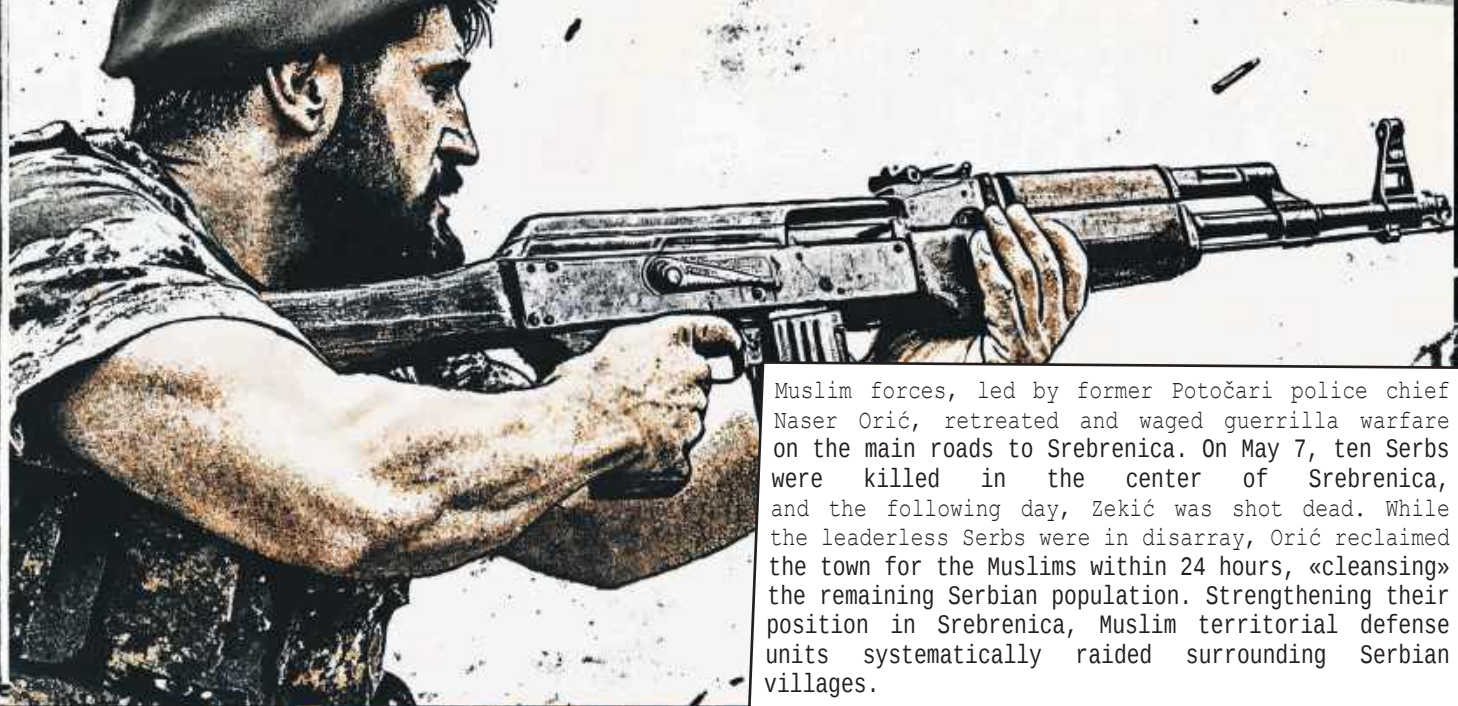
- In April 2006, Orić was acquitted of most charges but sentenced to two years in prison for failing to prevent the killings of several Serbian prisoners between December 1992 and March 1993.

- On July 3, 2008, after a retrial, Orić was fully acquitted.

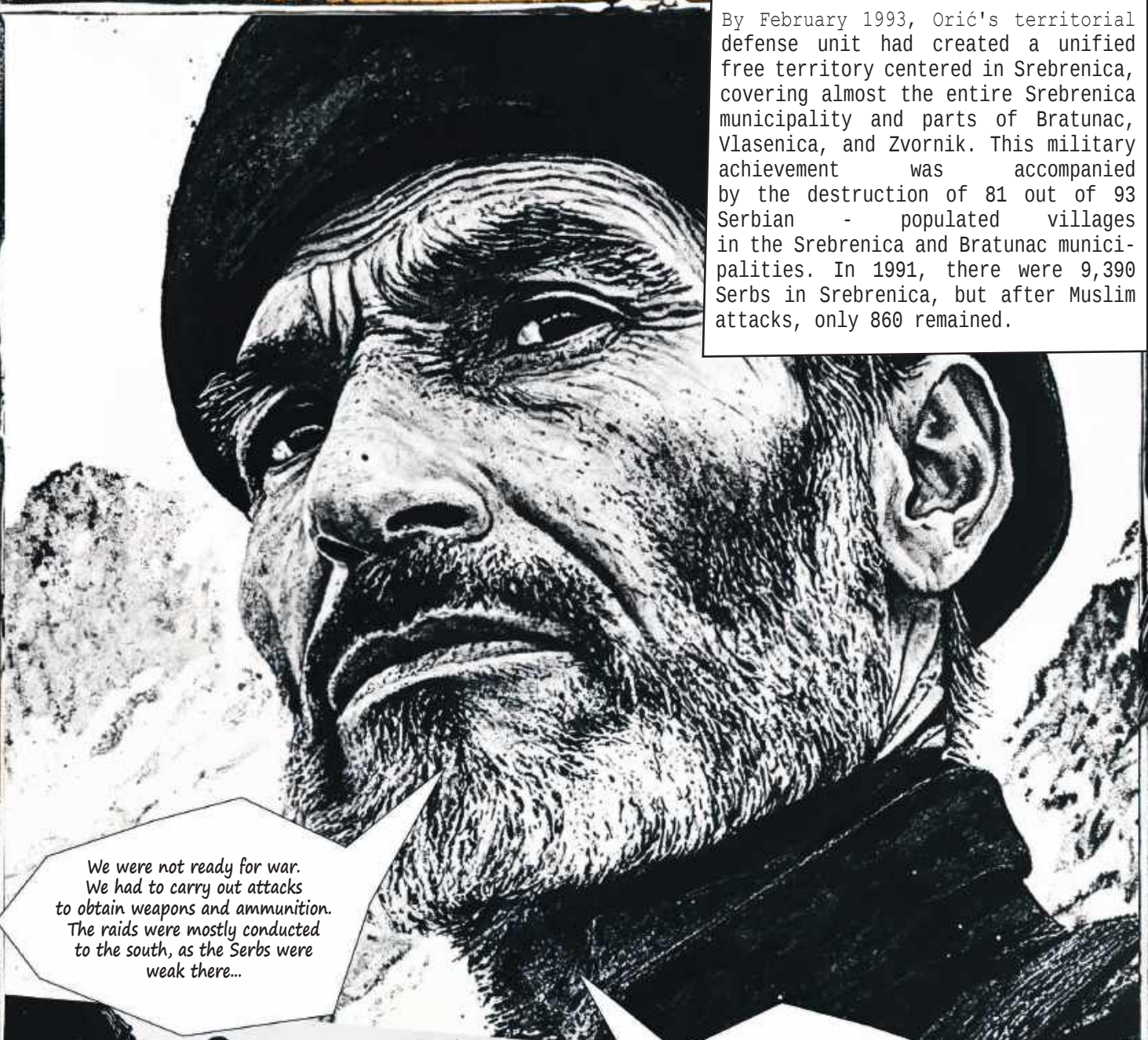
- He was arrested again in October 2008 and sentenced to two years in prison on June 24, 2009, for illegal possession of weapons and explosives.

- On June 10, 2015, Orić was detained by Swiss border guards on an Interpol warrant, extradited to Bosnia (but not to Serbia), and acquitted in 2018 by the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina on charges of murdering three Serbian prisoners in 1992.

Initially, Srebrenica – a small town historically known for silver mining – saw cooperation between its Serbian and Muslim populations. However, as tensions escalated, radicalized emissaries of the SDA and the local Muslim Patriotic League formed an armed unit to maintain control over Srebrenica by force. In response, Serbian territorial defense units and volunteers, led by the local SDS president, Judge Goran Žekić, took control of the town.



Muslim forces, led by former Potočari police chief Naser Orić, retreated and waged guerrilla warfare on the main roads to Srebrenica. On May 7, ten Serbs were killed in the center of Srebrenica, and the following day, Žekić was shot dead. While the leaderless Serbs were in disarray, Orić reclaimed the town for the Muslims within 24 hours, «cleansing» the remaining Serbian population. Strengthening their position in Srebrenica, Muslim territorial defense units systematically raided surrounding Serbian villages.



By February 1993, Orić's territorial defense unit had created a unified free territory centered in Srebrenica, covering almost the entire Srebrenica municipality and parts of Bratunac, Vlasenica, and Zvornik. This military achievement was accompanied by the destruction of 81 out of 93 Serbian - populated villages in the Srebrenica and Bratunac municipalities. In 1991, there were 9,390 Serbs in Srebrenica, but after Muslim attacks, only 860 remained.



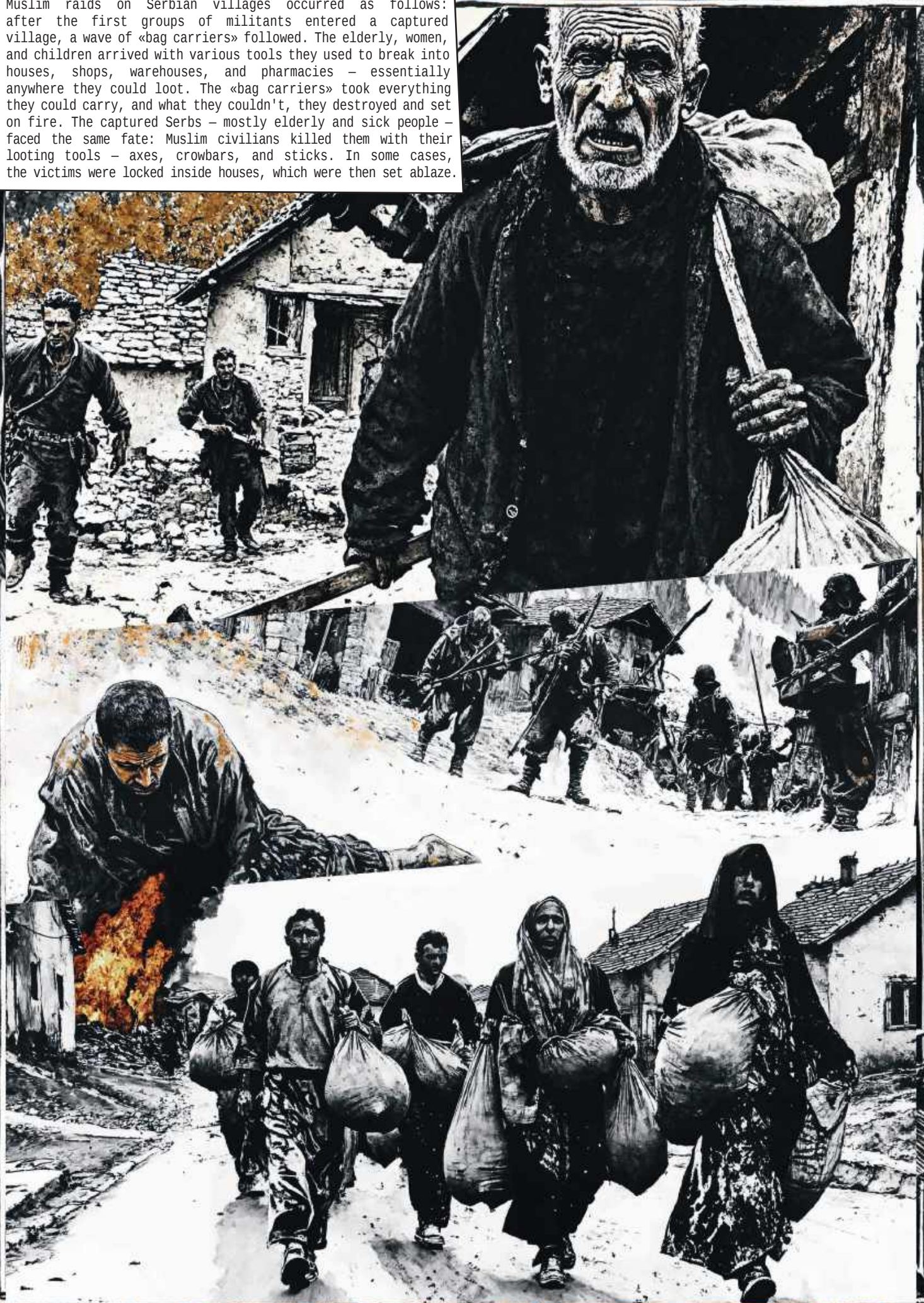
We were not ready for war.
We had to carry out attacks
to obtain weapons and ammunition.
The raids were mostly conducted
to the south, as the Serbs were
weak there...



Another important factor was food.
We needed to secure provisions,
as we had many refugees
with us from Zvornik, Bratunac,
Rogatica, and Han Pijesak...



Muslim raids on Serbian villages occurred as follows: after the first groups of militants entered a captured village, a wave of «bag carriers» followed. The elderly, women, and children arrived with various tools they used to break into houses, shops, warehouses, and pharmacies – essentially anywhere they could loot. The «bag carriers» took everything they could carry, and what they couldn't, they destroyed and set on fire. The captured Serbs – mostly elderly and sick people – faced the same fate: Muslim civilians killed them with their looting tools – axes, crowbars, and sticks. In some cases, the victims were locked inside houses, which were then set ablaze.

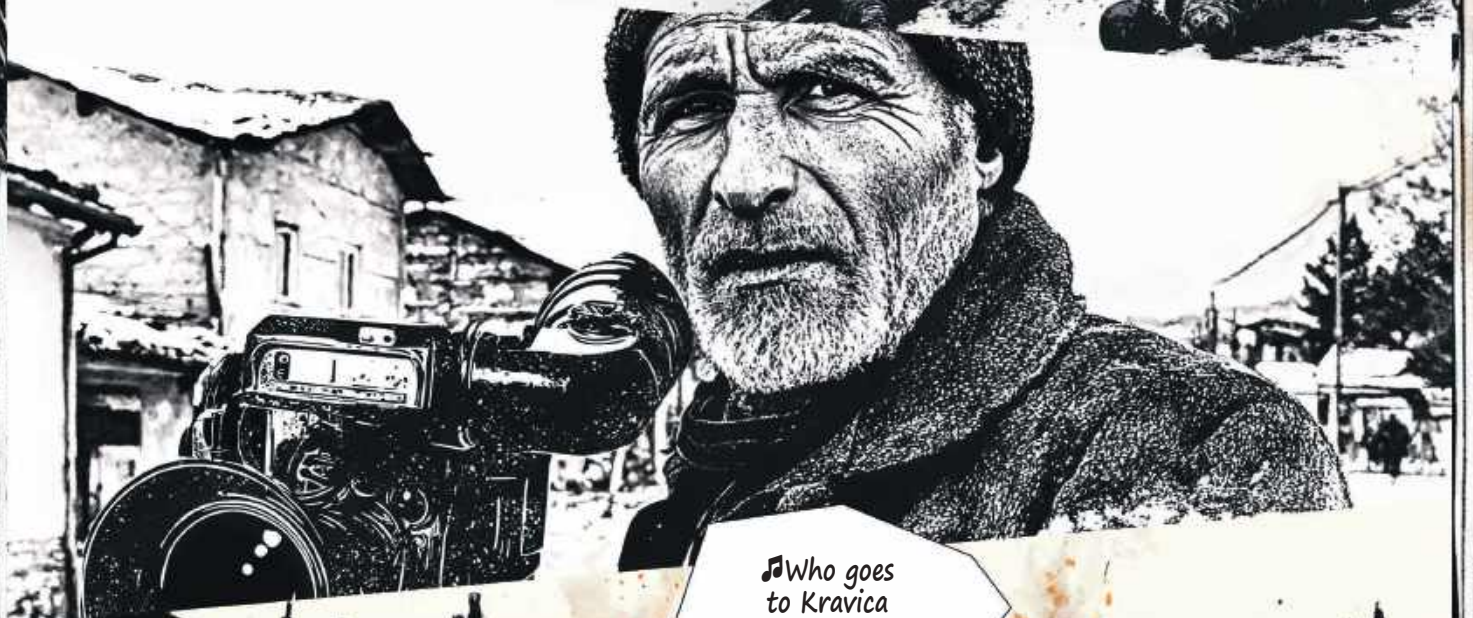
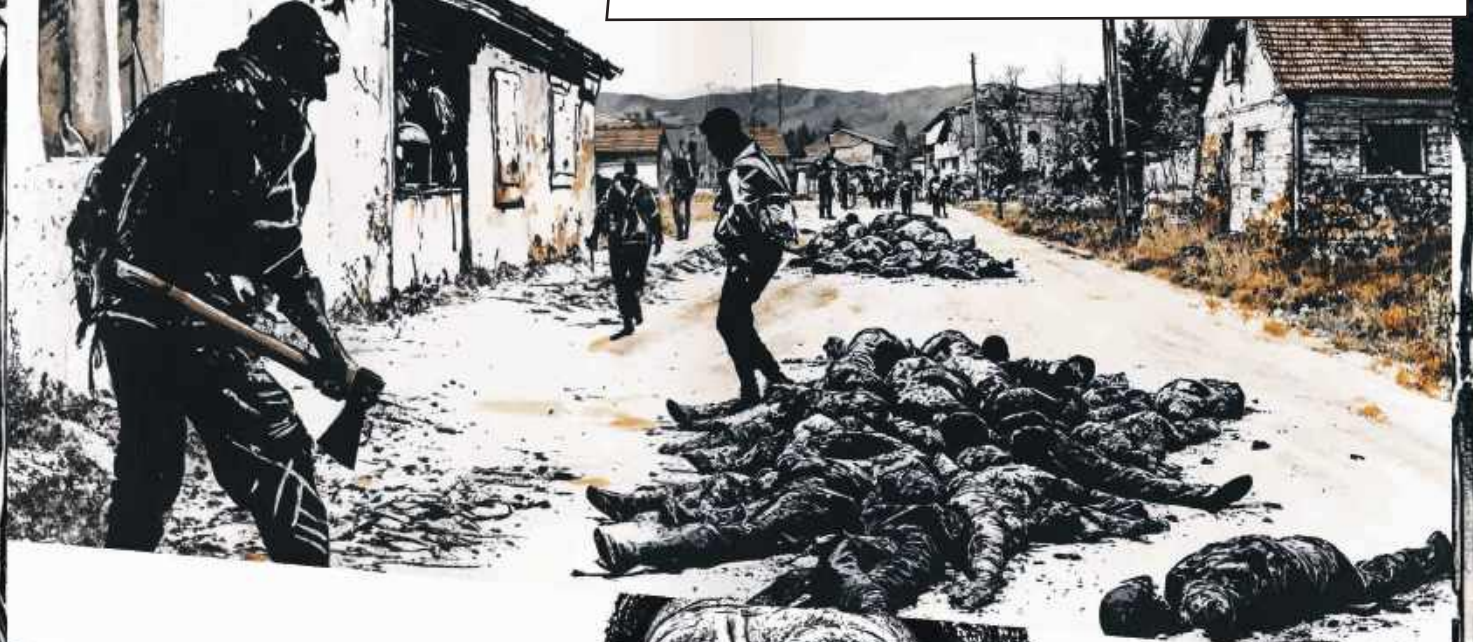




On January 7, 1993, Muslims attacked the large Serbian village of Kravica: in the middle of the holiday feast, they burst into homes and slaughtered entire families. That day, known as Bloody Božić (Bloody Christmas), 49 people were killed, 82 wounded, and seven more went missing and remain unaccounted for to this day. The Muslims took everything they could carry (according to local testimonies, even the roasted pork – a traditional Serbian Christmas dish) and burned the village.



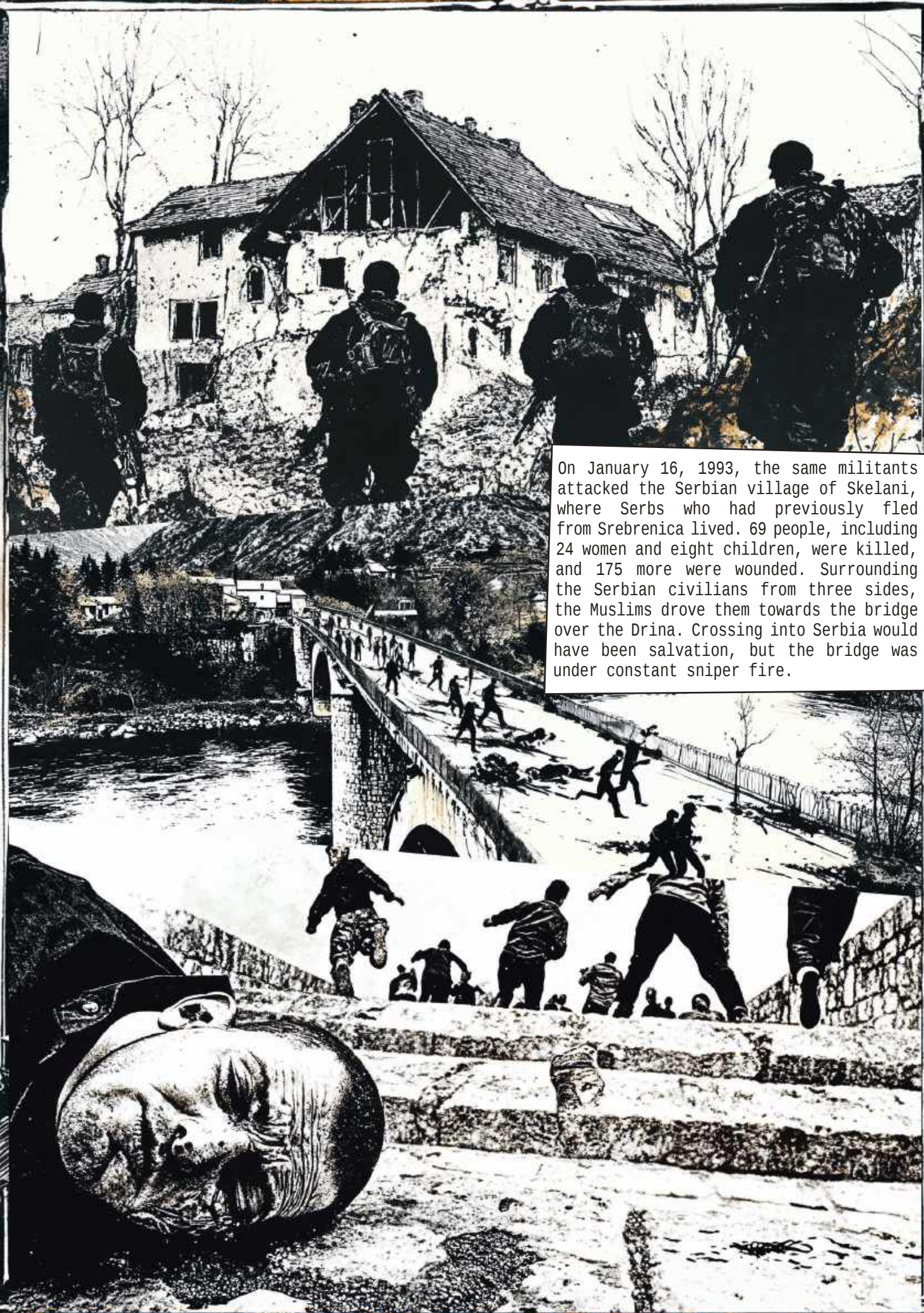
This attack, like many of their «exploits», was recorded by Naser Orić's unit on video, as documented by journalists from The Washington Post, to whom the commander boasted about his «home video» collection. In 2022, a member of «Mothers of Srebrenica», Fadila Mujić, admitted on television that she had personally participated in Bloody Božić, where civilians were slaughtered (the youngest victim was four years old).



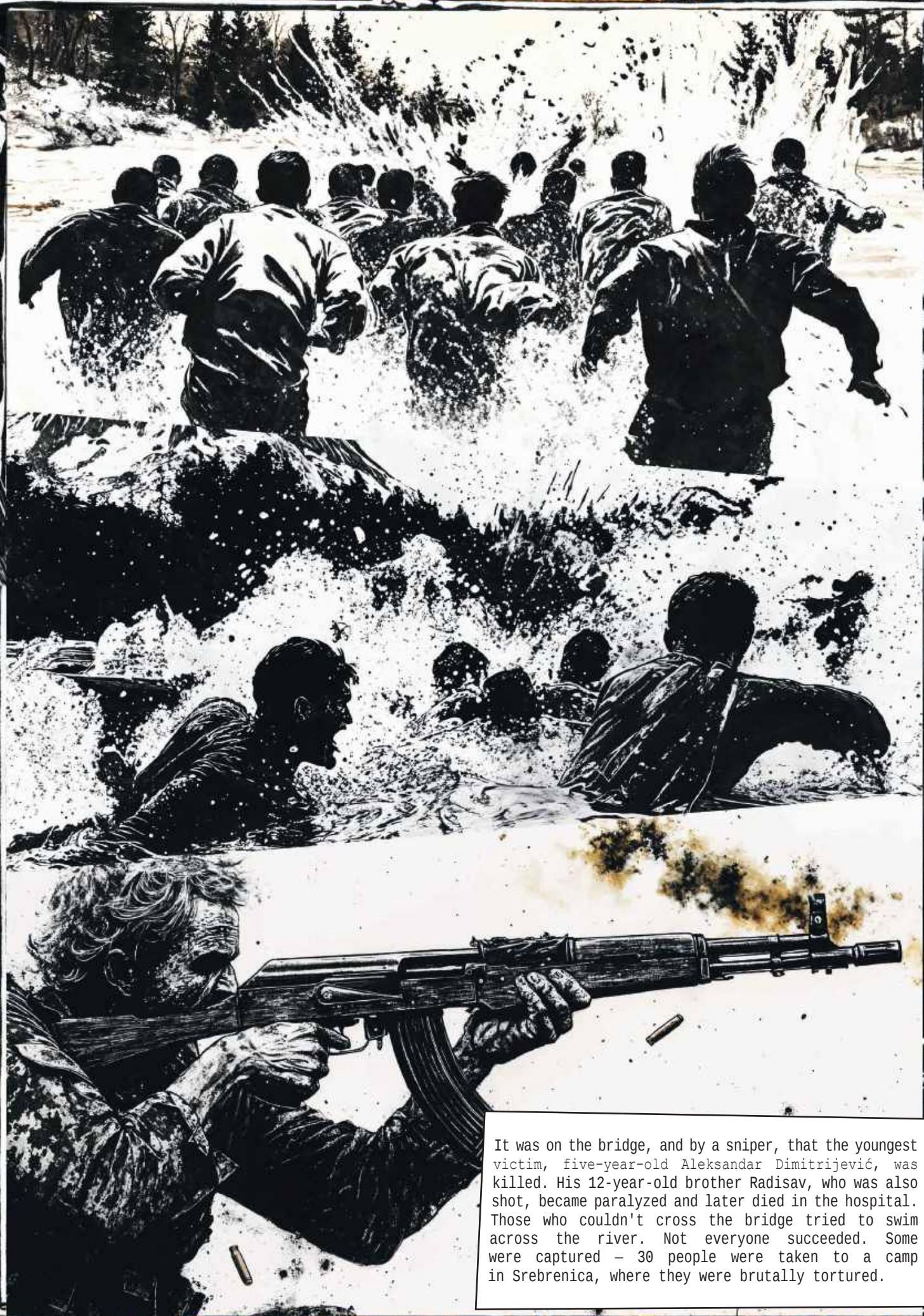
♪Who goes
to Kravica
on Christmas...♪



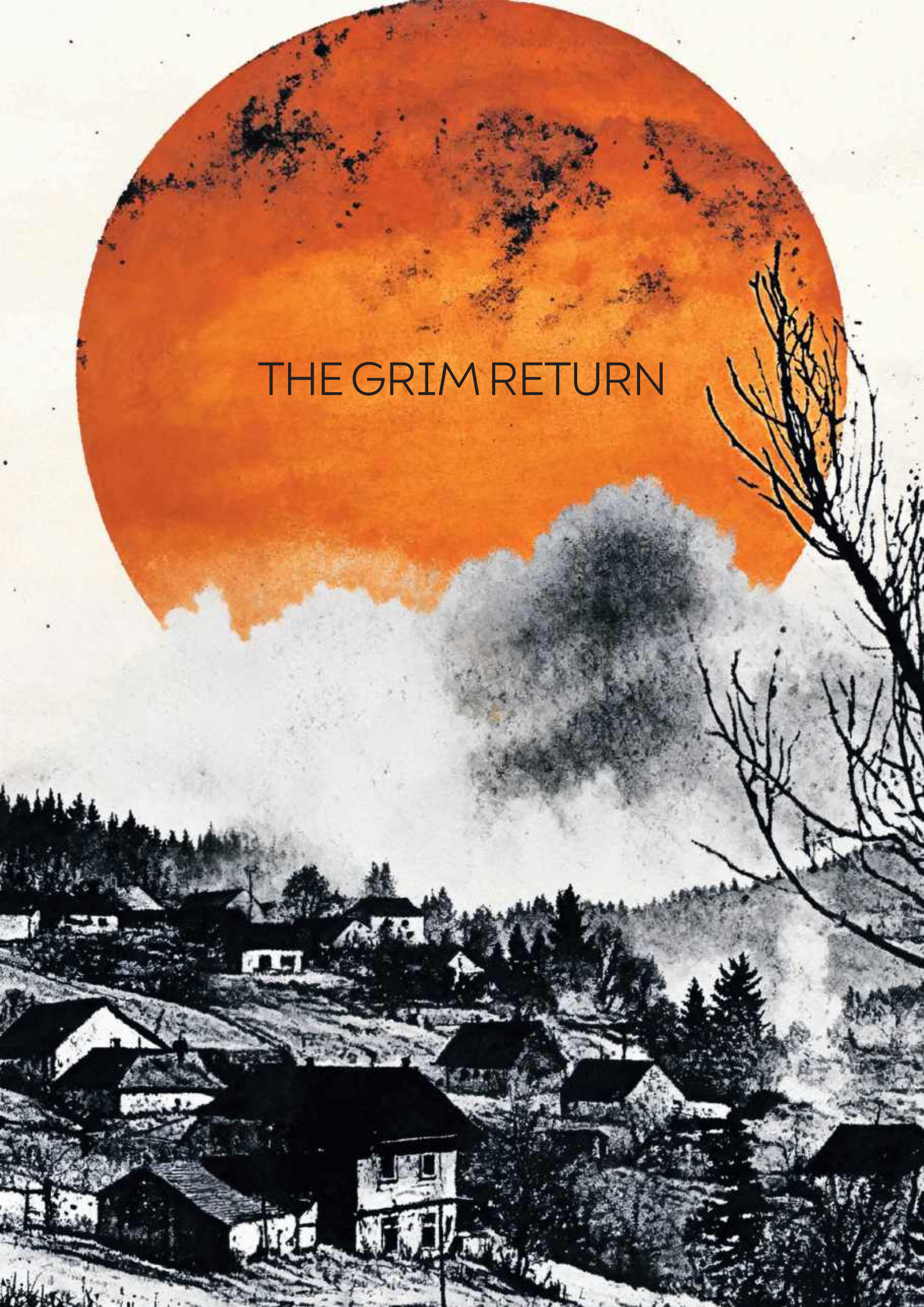
What do these two stories have in common? No one has been held accountable for the crimes against civilians: Orić himself was only tried for failing to prevent the killings of several Serbian prisoners (and later acquitted) and for the illegal possession of weapons and explosives.



On January 16, 1993, the same militants attacked the Serbian village of Skelani, where Serbs who had previously fled from Srebrenica lived. 69 people, including 24 women and eight children, were killed, and 175 more were wounded. Surrounding the Serbian civilians from three sides, the Muslims drove them towards the bridge over the Drina. Crossing into Serbia would have been salvation, but the bridge was under constant sniper fire.



It was on the bridge, and by a sniper, that the youngest victim, five-year-old Aleksandar Dimitrijević, was killed. His 12-year-old brother Radisav, who was also shot, became paralyzed and later died in the hospital. Those who couldn't cross the bridge tried to swim across the river. Not everyone succeeded. Some were captured – 30 people were taken to a camp in Srebrenica, where they were brutally tortured.



THE GRIM RETURN

The attacks on Kravica, Skelani, and the surrounding Serbian villages in January 1993 were the last successful Muslim offensives in the Srebrenica area. At that same time, the first operations of the newly formed units of the Army of the Republic of Srpska were being prepared, and by the early months of 1993, a strong counteroffensive was launched by parts of the Drina Corps, reinforced by reserves from the Main Staff of the Army of the Republic of Srpska. This led to the unexpected expulsion of Muslims from the largest territory they had managed to capture. When the Serbs returned to their villages in early spring, they were met with scenes of widespread destruction. Homes, farm buildings, and livestock pens were looted and/or burned.



Between April 1992 and April 1993, over a thousand Serbs were killed, with more than 300 murdered with cold weapons or burned alive.

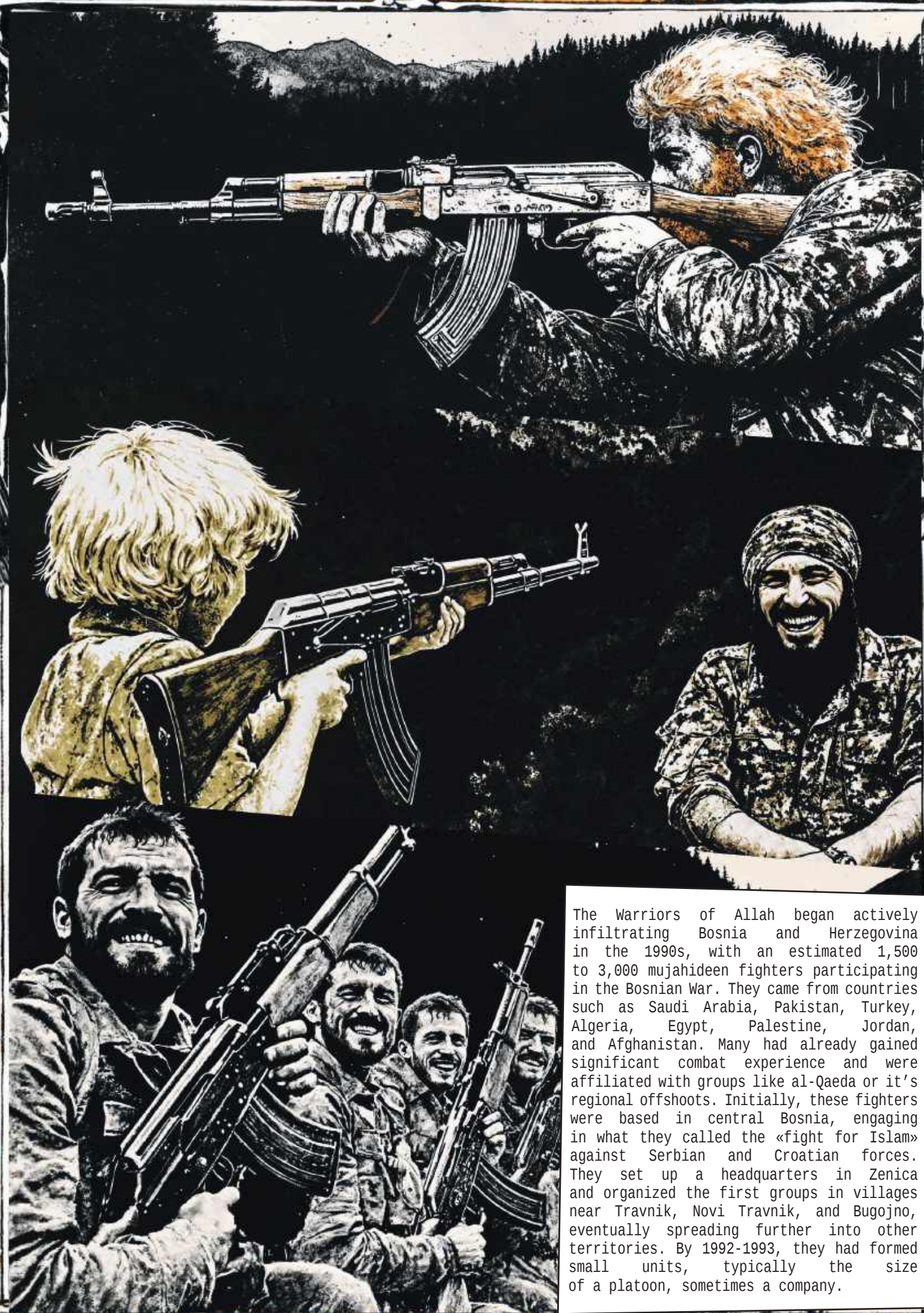


But the most horrific sight was the charred remains of residents found in the ruins of burned homes. This was the case in Gnjon, Babuljica, Oštrelak, Rupovo Brdo, Ratkovići, Magašići, Štedra, Podravanje, and Gunjaći. In Brežani, seven people, including an elderly couple (the husband couldn't leave his blind wife), were burned alive in their home. In the village of Kušići, a family was brutally killed: the father was dragged into the yard and burned alive, the women – mother and daughter – were murdered in the basement, and one of the two sons was taken prisoner and never seen again. The only survivor was the son who wasn't home during the attack. He hid with several villagers by the lake for three days before crossing the Drina into Serbia.

Mitro's mother and sister were shot in the basement of their house, his father was burned alive in the yard, and his brother Mičo was taken away and is still considered missing. I am sure he was killed too. How did I survive? I wasn't home.



In February and March, seven mass graves of Serbs, organized by Muslims after attacks on villages, were discovered. Three were found in Glodansko Brdo, and four more in Kozjak, Trešnjica, Masalić Potok, and Široki Pute in the Zvornik region. Not all bodies could be identified. Many were found headless, and male bodies were often found with severed genitals, while some remains were in pieces. Among these remains were skulls with nails or metal spikes driven into them. Some bodies had chains on their arms and legs, and others were charred. Only three victims were killed by firearms; the rest likely died more slowly and painfully. This brutality, especially against civilians, may have been influenced in part by foreign mujahideen volunteers among Orić's militants.



The Warriors of Allah began actively infiltrating Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, with an estimated 1,500 to 3,000 mujahideen fighters participating in the Bosnian War. They came from countries such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey, Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, and Afghanistan. Many had already gained significant combat experience and were affiliated with groups like al-Qaeda or its regional offshoots. Initially, these fighters were based in central Bosnia, engaging in what they called the «fight for Islam» against Serbian and Croatian forces. They set up a headquarters in Zenica and organized the first groups in villages near Travnik, Novi Travnik, and Bugojno, eventually spreading further into other territories. By 1992-1993, they had formed small units, typically the size of a platoon, sometimes a company.

The mujahideen soon instilled fear among the local population, as their victims included both military personnel and civilians.



Their presence and methods gained notoriety in 1992. Twenty-five mujahideen from Saudi Arabia, veterans of the Afghan War, fought against Serbian forces for control of Mount Crni Vrh. In late October, they initially managed to drive a Serbian company from its positions but were soon encircled by Serbian forces, losing six fighters. Several of their bodies were left behind.

On these bodies, Serbian soldiers found photos of three Serbian servicemen captured during the battle. Blagoje Blagojević (born 1948), Nenad Petković (born 1971), and Branislav Đurić (born 1952) from Teslić had been beheaded by the mujahideen, who not only decapitated them but also desecrated their bodies, posing for photos with their feet on the corpses. Such atrocities were committed not only against combatants but also against civilians, both men and women. Unfortunately, these acts were not always carried out solely by the mujahideen, but they certainly set a grim tone.





The mother begged for the return of her son, alive or dead... By that point, everyone already understood that the boy had most likely died. But no one could have imagined that he died in such a way...

One tragic incident involved the disappearance of 11-year-old Slobodan Stojanović. In July 1992, during a Muslim raid on the village of Donja Kamenica in the embattled Zvornik municipality, Slobodan's family, along with many others, fled to Serbian-controlled territory. However, the family soon realized that they had forgotten to untie their dog, Lassie, in the rush. Without telling anyone, Slobodan snuck back to the village to retrieve the dog but disappeared. Despite year-long search efforts, including negotiations with Muslims and requests for help from UN convoys, the boy's mutilated body was found in the summer of 1993. He had been brutally tortured before being shot in the head at close range: his body bore slash wounds, an ear and toes were cut off, six upper teeth were knocked out, his hands were broken, and his stomach was slashed with incisions in the shape of an Orthodox cross.

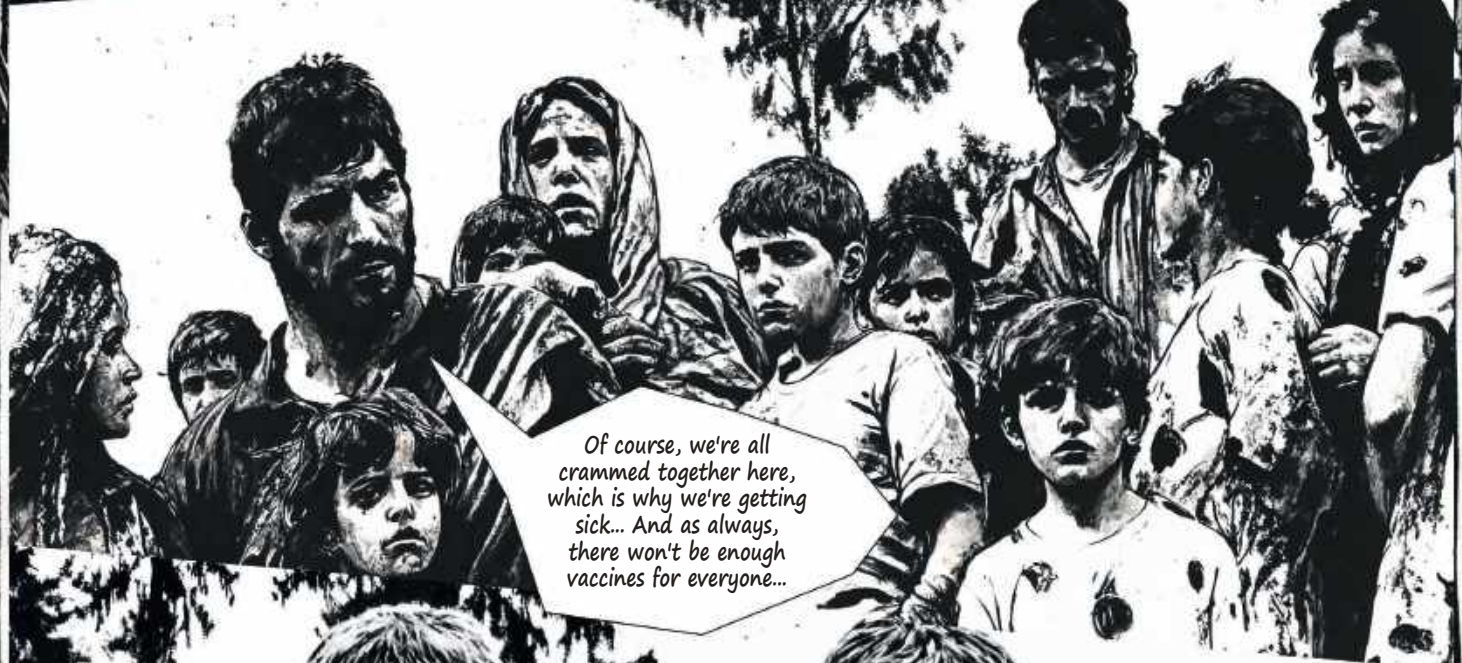
The perpetrators were soon identified: a local Albanian woman, Elfeta Veseli, and the commander of a diversionary detachment of the United Forces of Liplye, Sakib Halilović. However, it took 25 years before anyone was held accountable. In 2017, Bosnia and Herzegovina finally initiated a criminal case, and Veseli, who had been living freely in Switzerland, was extradited. After a lengthy trial, Veseli was sentenced in 2019 to 10 years in prison, with time served since 2017. Halilović, on the other hand, was acquitted due to insufficient evidence connecting him to the boy's death or proving that he had knowledge of it.





WHAT DID
THEY BRING?

Food and vaccines...



Of course, we're all
crammed together here,
which is why we're getting
sick... And as always,
there won't be enough
vaccines for everyone...



She testified that the Serbs killed civilians — elderly people, women, children. She even went further, specifying that it was usually the Serbs who slaughtered Muslims... The excavation of mass graves revealed the opposite. But the truth wasn't needed then, just as it isn't now...



So what was needed?

A reason for military intervention. To do this, one side had to be portrayed as the victim and the other as the aggressor. The military successes of the Serbs in 1993 turned against them and forever framed those battles as a «genocide of the civilian population». This is how it was depicted to the world.



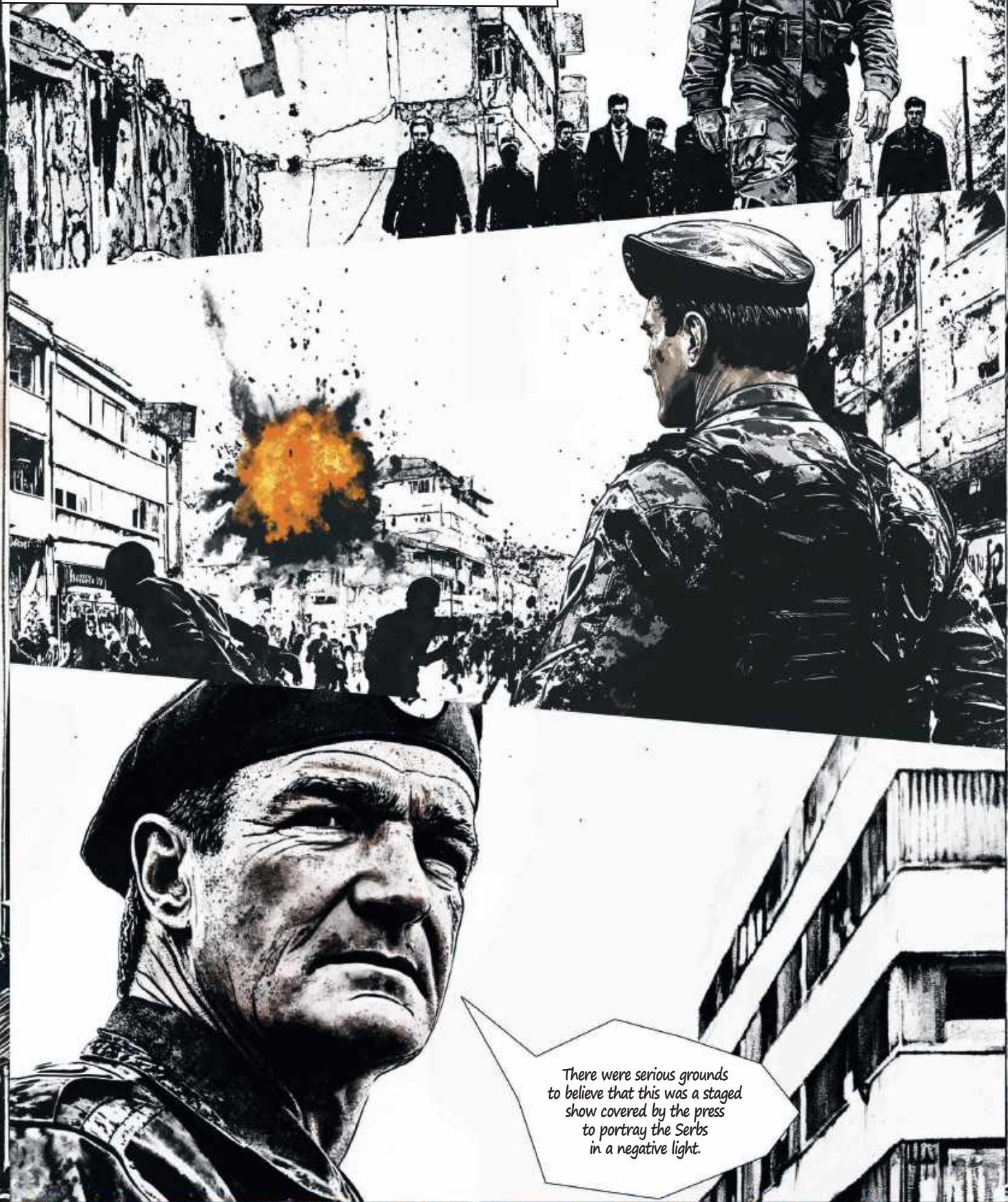
The Serbian offensive in early February 1993 sowed panic among the Muslims of Podrinja, among both militants and civilians. This fear was justified, given all that had been done in the Serbian villages. It was at this time that the Muslims found a defender in the form of the United Nations. As soon as the Serbs completely defeated and pushed the Muslim forces into the center of the city of Srebrenica, simultaneously isolating a part of the militants in the enclave of Žepa, the UN began operations to save the Muslim formations from total destruction. It was then that the campaign to present Muslims to the world not as full participants in the conflict, but solely as victims of Serbian terror began.

A powerful media campaign by the NATO member states' media spread heart-wrenching images of innocent, abandoned, and starving people deprived of shelter, food, and medicine, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, expressed her views on the atrocities committed by the Serbs against the Muslim population in Time magazine. The story was taken up and supplemented by well-known international humanitarian organizations (such as Doctors Without Borders). This led to an increase in humanitarian aid supplies to Muslims.



However, the issue was not so much about humanitarian aid (though it was needed by Muslims who were deprived of the means to sustain themselves by pillaging Serbian villages) as it was about weapons and ammunition. After several instances of such cargo being discovered, a plan emerged that allowed for the contents of UN shipments to evade control by Serbian military and civilian authorities. In addition to delivering humanitarian aid by truck under convoy protection, military airlifts were also organized from the end of February 1993, known as Parachute. The formal reason given was the snowdrifts and impassable roads, but this transport continued even after the snow had melted.

At the same time, the head of the UN peacekeeping forces (UNPROFOR), Canadian General Lewis MacKenzie, was dismissed. MacKenzie, who had opened Sarajevo's Butmir airport to alleviate the city's humanitarian crisis, was well aware of the motives of Bosnian Muslim leaders like Alija Izetbegović, who sought to provoke a major international intervention. MacKenzie opposed such interventions and lobbied Western leaders against lifting the arms embargo in Bosnia. After his removal, the role of UN peacekeepers in the region shifted significantly. By May 1993, UNPROFOR established «safe zones» in Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Žepa, Goražde, and Bihać.

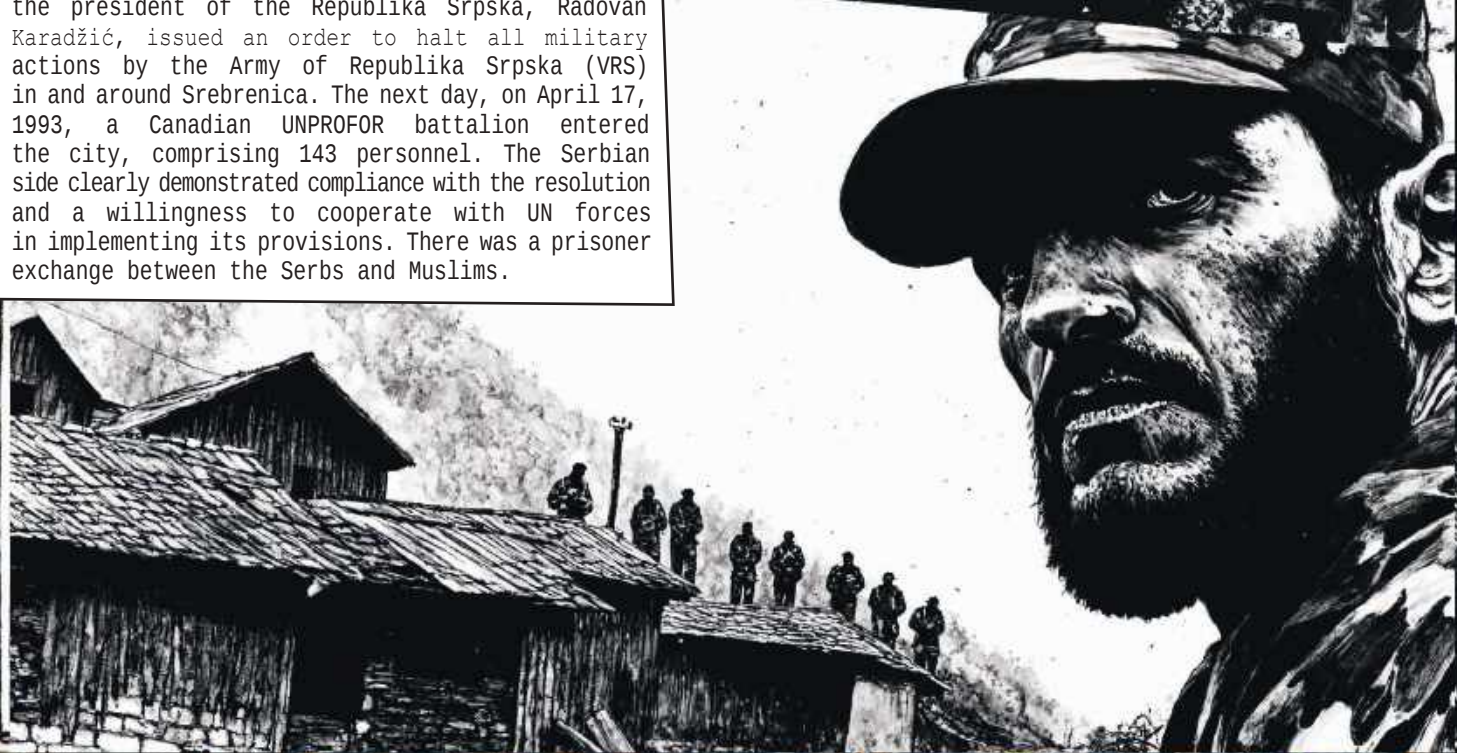


There were serious grounds to believe that this was a staged show covered by the press to portray the Serbs in a negative light.

«DEMILITARIZATION»
BY UN STANDARDS



On the day the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 819, declaring Srebrenica a protected zone, the president of the Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić, issued an order to halt all military actions by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) in and around Srebrenica. The next day, on April 17, 1993, a Canadian UNPROFOR battalion entered the city, comprising 143 personnel. The Serbian side clearly demonstrated compliance with the resolution and a willingness to cooperate with UN forces in implementing its provisions. There was a prisoner exchange between the Serbs and Muslims.





Furthermore, as a gesture of goodwill, the Serbs allowed the Muslims to evacuate about 500 individuals by helicopter for medical treatment. The Muslims reciprocated: at two locations – near the village of Močivici and Mount Quartz – they ambushed and killed six Serbian soldiers, wounding several others. Even after this, the commander of the VRS Main Staff, General Ratko Mladić, did not change his earlier decision, and Muslims in the Srebrenica area continued to evacuate their wounded and sick – both soldiers and civilians – freely.





I see no need for UNPROFOR to search for weapons from house to house.
You will undoubtedly be informed by the delegation of the Security
Council that is visiting you about the prevailing opinion among
several member states that UNPROFOR cannot be overly active
in disarming the victims.

An interesting detail: Muslim militants in Srebrenica were not disarmed because this decision was communicated to the commander of UNPROFOR, Lieutenant General Lars-Erik Walgren, through UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. By the decision of «several member states», previous resolutions of the Organization were directly violated, and Muslim armed formations in Srebrenica remained intact. The militants, of course, were not interested in establishing a commission to control the disarmament process and had no desire to ban the carrying and use of weapons in the UN-protected city.

Moreover, under the prevailing conditions, no one impeded the incursions by Muslims from the protected zone or new attacks on the surrounding Serbian villages. This practice of unilateral demilitarization was later applied in other UN-protected zones—Žepa, Sarajevo, Goražde, Bihać. But let's return to Srebrenica. Moreover, the territory of the city's protected zone began to expand and encompassed 150 square kilometers. Remarkably, it included more than 20 Serbian villages. Throughout this territory, the Serbs were prohibited from using weapons, while the Muslims, conversely, were allowed to use them at their discretion.

Čičevci, Gosti, Mala Dalgošta, Medje, Moživici, Osredak, Obadi, Postole, Podravanje, Pribidoli, Pušmulići, Radoševići, Ratkovići, Viogor, Radovčići, Sase, Pirići, Jaglići, Blečeva, Zagoni, Zapole — these are all Serbian villages, yet for some reason, they were declared part of the Muslim zone.



The UN did nothing to protect the civilians, and the Serbs themselves were constrained by the resolution and could not protect their own. This situation could not continue for long. It is now clear that this was a provocation...



The Canadian peacekeepers present in Srebrenica did not impede the Muslim incursions but left curious testimonies in their mission reports. For example, they noted that «meeting the demands of the Muslims will be the main obstacle to any peace negotiations», and peace would not be achievable «if outside parties continue to encourage the Muslims to be demanding and uncompromising in negotiations». In February 1994, a Dutch UNPROFOR unit arrived in Srebrenica. This change did not alter the situation for the Muslims – the mission noted but did not impede attacks on Serbian soldiers by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABiH). Regarding the latter, they observed: «Operations by the VRS were aimed at maintaining the status quo and protecting the Bosnian Serbian population in the enclave from attacks by the ABiH, which were carried out from the enclave».





The failure of the UN humanitarian mission was evident: by the end of 1993, the effectiveness of deliveries had significantly decreased, and 80% of the population simply lacked humanitarian aid. UN units in «demilitarized» zones often found themselves under siege: in addition to armed militants, they could also be blocked by civilians, who considered the presence of peacekeepers a guarantee of their safety. Against this backdrop of crisis and the growing influence of the US in the Organization, intervention in Bosnia's internal affairs became increasingly active. The UN Security Council secretariat began to withhold reports on Serbian casualties, while any suffering of the Muslims was accompanied by inflated numbers of victims. This falsification led to the same consequences: at the initiative of Western countries (primarily the US, as well as France and the UK), the UN adopted new resolutions with punitive measures against the «bloodthirsty» Serbs.



*But what about
disarmament?*

*Just try proposing they hand
over their weapons! You know,
sometimes I felt like a prisoner here.
There were many more of them,
and they were armed almost better
than we were.*



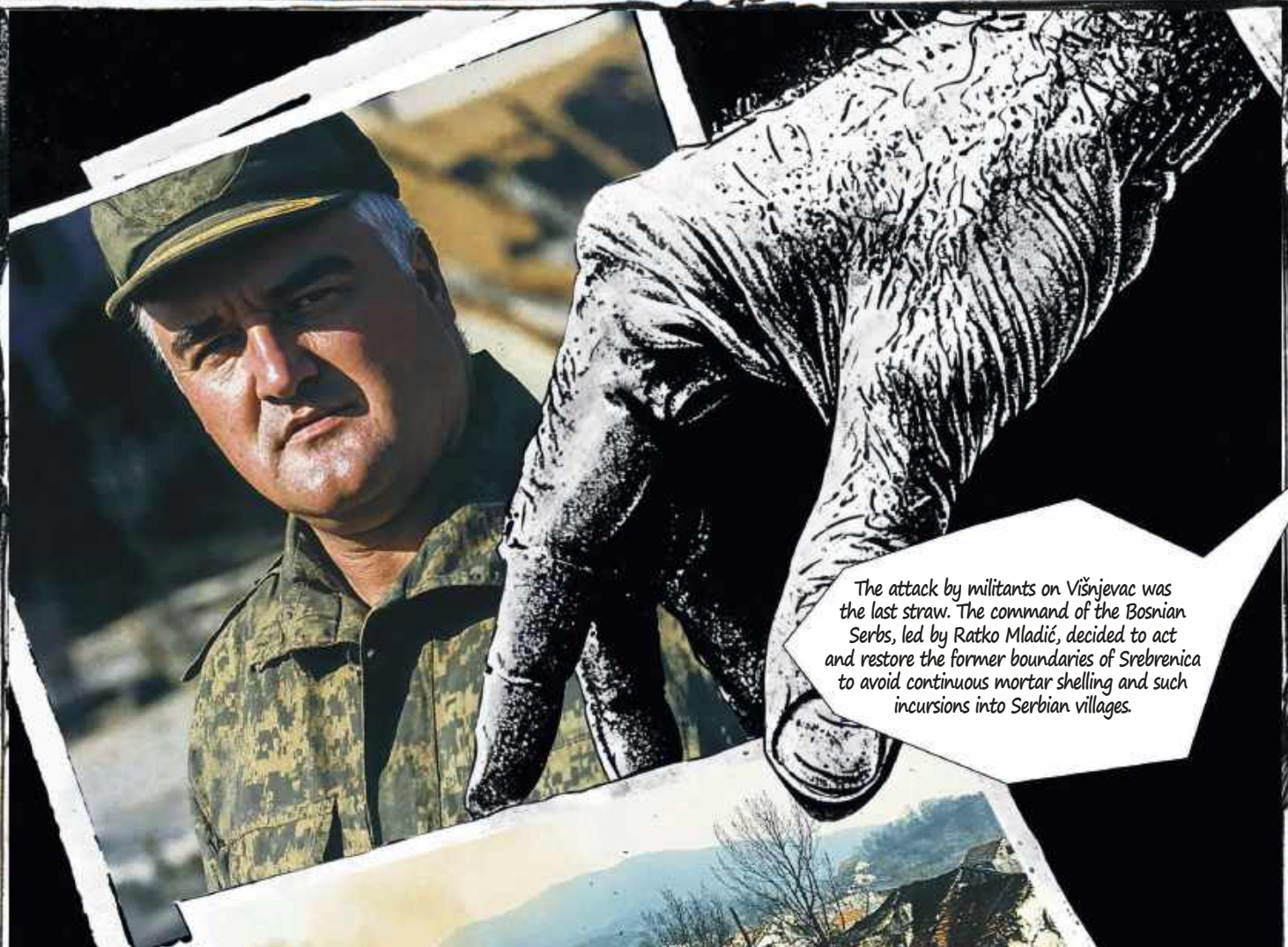
There are very few
vehicles carrying food
in the convoy...

Have they already
distributed
the medicines?

I heard that the Chetniks
are robbing the convoys
and keeping most of the vehicles
for themselves...

And I heard they bring
more to other zones while
we get the leftovers...

While the whole world
is watching Sarajevo, no one
cares about us! Reporters
never came here...



The attack by militants on Višnjevac was the last straw. The command of the Bosnian Serbs, led by Ratko Mladić, decided to act and restore the former boundaries of Srebrenica to avoid continuous mortar shelling and such incursions into Serbian villages.



Under the protective guard of the UN, more than ten thousand Muslims had accumulated in Srebrenica, of whom only 2,000 were indigenous residents. Many lacked food and medicine due to the collapse of the UN humanitarian mission, and old methods of acquiring necessities were not forgotten. Moreover, retaining the city had immense geopolitical significance — Srebrenica, Žepa, and Goražde remained the only Muslim-controlled «islands» in the Drina Valley of eastern Bosnia.



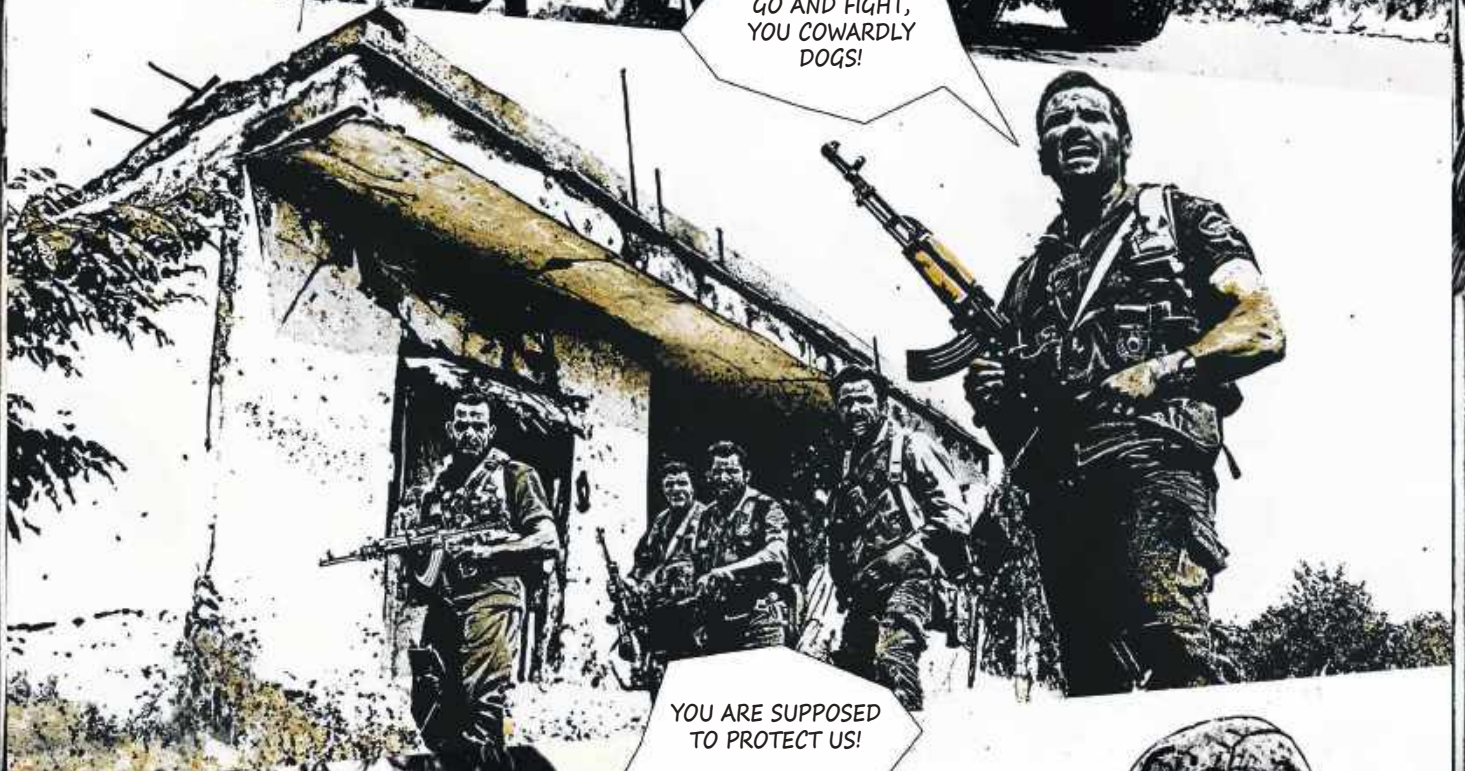
The Muslims did not defend Srebrenica. The most capable units broke through to Tuzla, where they were greeted with a ceremonial review by Orić and Izetbegović upon arrival. And the Serbs did what any other army would have done in this situation: they entered the abandoned city.



Regular incursions by militants from Srebrenica forced the Serbian command to attempt to displace Muslim forces from the broad rural area and shrink the enclave to the size established in April 1993 when the city was declared a «protected zone». If successful, this would allow them to control the movement of militants and protect the Serbian population. There was no talk of capturing the city or fully expelling the Muslim residents; moreover, in none of the versions of the VRS plan called «Krivaja-95» was the withdrawal of the 28th Division of the ABiH from Srebrenica and the entry of the troops of the Republika Srpska into the city provided for.



GO AND FIGHT,
YOU COWARDLY
DOGS!



YOU ARE SUPPOSED
TO PROTECT US!



We are here to protect
the civilian population,
and what can we do
from an observation post
against a tank?

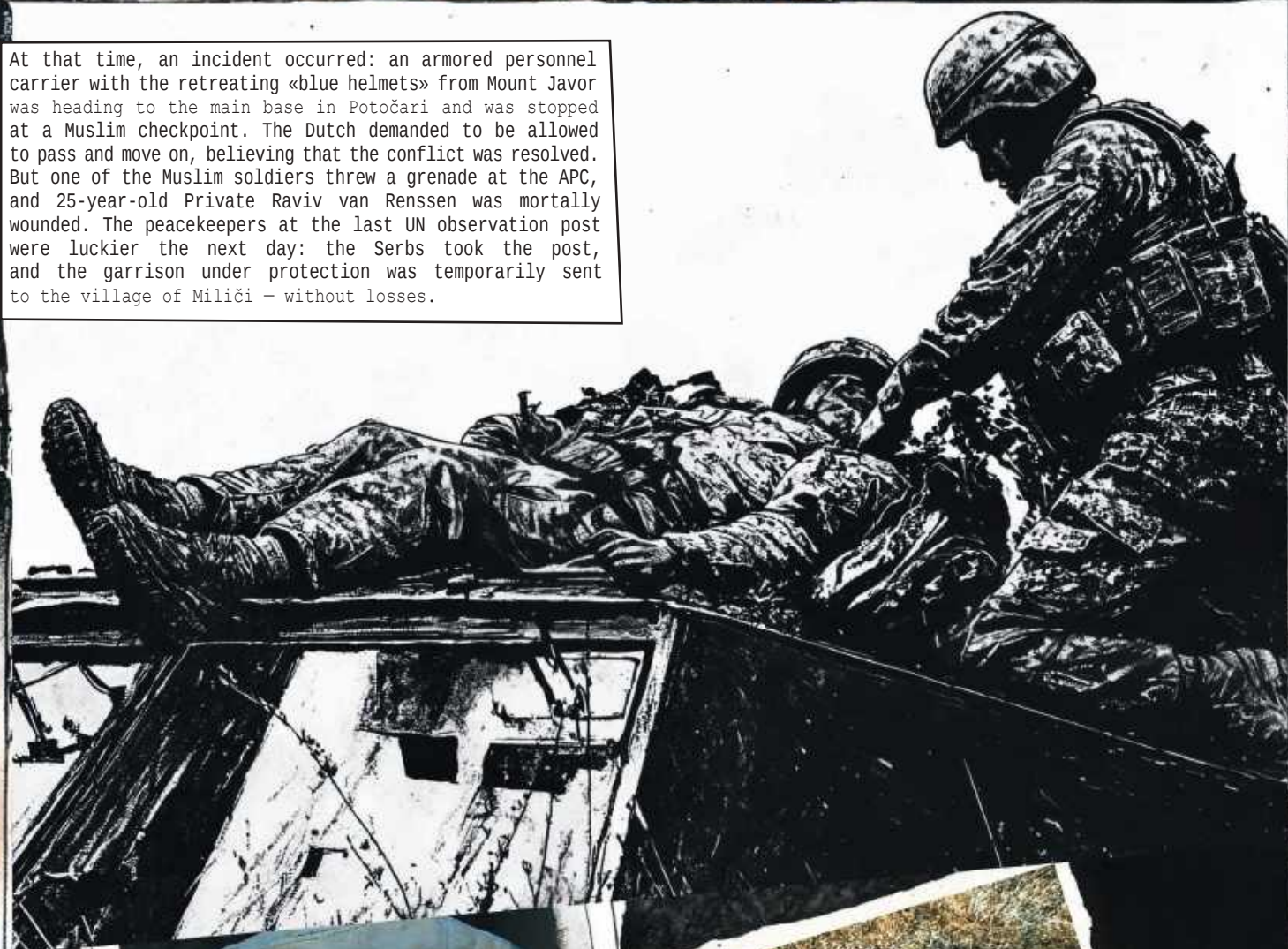


LET US PASS
IMMEDIATELY!

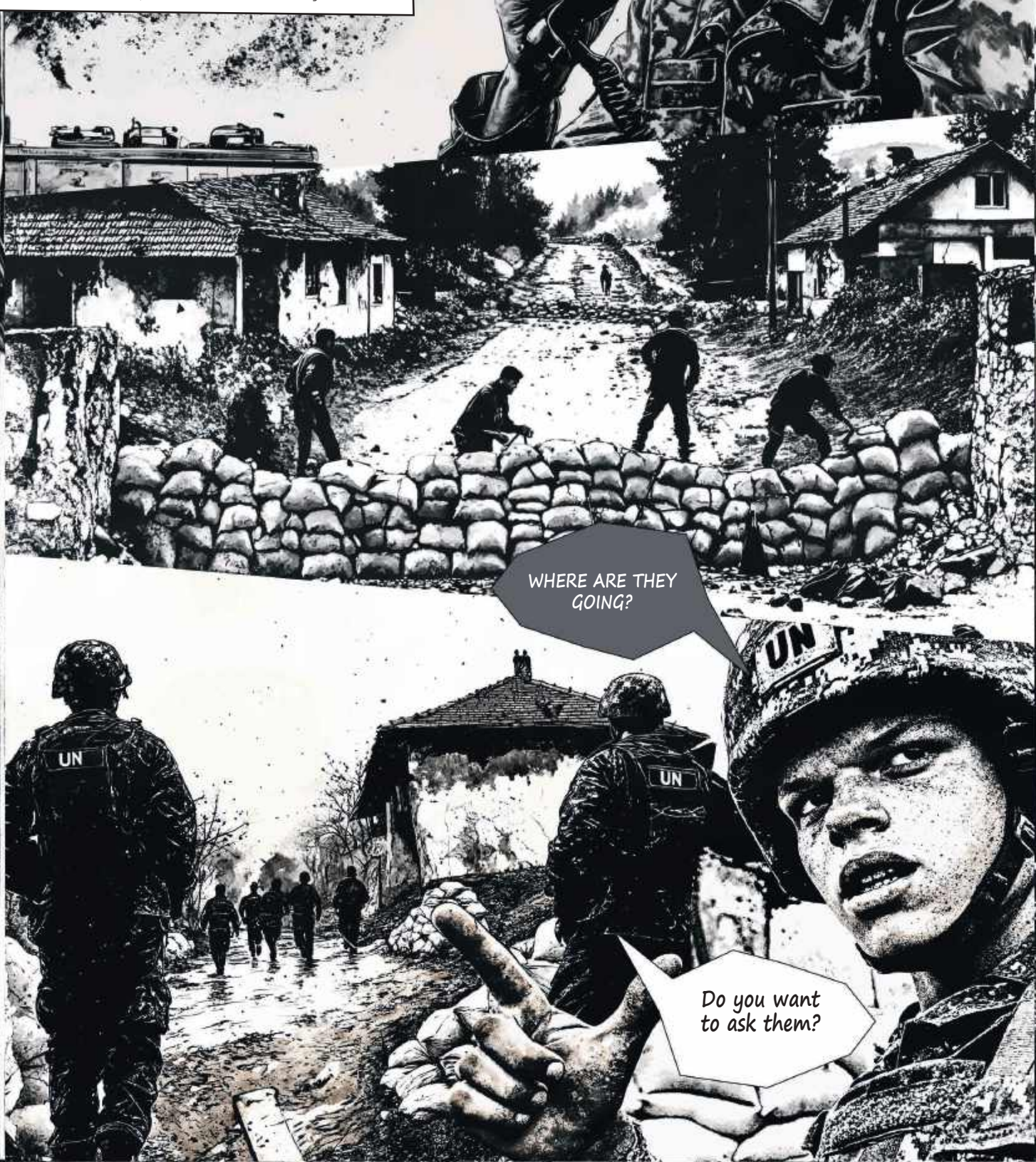
The defending units of the 28th Division had a numerical advantage over the Serbian forces, but they lacked heavy equipment and had very few ammunition. However, everything they had could be used for defense and urban combat, along with 30 armored personnel carriers, as well as anti-tank missiles and mortars from the Dutch peacekeepers. The latter, by the way, were the first to raise the alarm on July 6, 1995, when the Serbs began shelling the positions of the 28th Division on Mount Javor in the southeastern part of the enclave. By July 8, peacekeepers at the nearest observation posts, seeing the deployment of the VRS offensive and receiving no support from the UNPROFOR command in Sarajevo, began to retreat from their positions.



At that time, an incident occurred: an armored personnel carrier with the retreating «blue helmets» from Mount Javor was heading to the main base in Potočari and was stopped at a Muslim checkpoint. The Dutch demanded to be allowed to pass and move on, believing that the conflict was resolved. But one of the Muslim soldiers threw a grenade at the APC, and 25-year-old Private Raviv van Renssen was mortally wounded. The peacekeepers at the last UN observation post were luckier the next day: the Serbs took the post, and the garrison under protection was temporarily sent to the village of Milići – without losses.



The commander of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion, Colonel Thomas Karremans, waited in vain for NATO airstrikes after his reports on the situation: none occurred on July 9 or 10. Muslim forces began to fortify defensive positions at the southern outskirts of Srebrenica, while the Serbs cautiously advanced north. On the night of July 11, Muslim troops unexpectedly began abandoning their positions, not waiting for combat. By the morning of July 11, the Army of Republika Srpska (ARS) was already within a kilometer of the city center, while the most combat-ready units of the 28th division quickly retreated to the northern part of the enclave. Following them, hoping to find refuge at the Dutch battalion base in Potočari, were crowds of refugees.





During the retreat, several skirmishes broke out among groups of Muslim servicemen of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the afternoon of the same day, Serb forces entered the deserted city and occupied it. There were practically no ARBiH forces left there: 9 were killed and 30 were wounded in the fighting. Over the next few days, the situation with refugees and peacekeepers in Potočari was resolved: the government of Republika Srpska found 50 buses for evacuating civilians. The evacuation was carried out under the escort of peacekeepers. Colonel Karremans continues to insist that he never witnessed Serbs taking men from Srebrenica. On the first day, 4,000 people were transported to Kladanj. In the following days, the evacuation continued. On July 14, the UN delivered 30,000 liters of scarce fuel to Srebrenica, compensating the Serbs for costs incurred during the evacuation, and on July 15, the ARS released all captured peacekeepers – 55 individuals.

POTOČARI



SREBRENICA VICTIMS:
WHO ARE THEY?

UN observers who arrived in the enclave at the start of the evacuation carefully monitored the verification of men for involvement in war crimes.



So where did the figure of 8,000 dead come from? Surely, they could not have been secretly shot in such numbers around the corner.

The most capable units of the 28th division, along with some refugees, set off on July 11, not to Potočari, but to the village of Šušnjari. This way, they «disappeared from the radar» of both the peacekeepers and the Serbs. Once gathered, a decision was made to move and break through to Tuzla. The 284th Light Brigade led the way, followed by the units of the 283rd Brigade, intermingled with refugees and civilian representatives of the Muslims of Srebrenica. Bringing up the rear was the 282nd Brigade, stretching out over a distance of ten kilometers. The path was long, but its beginning passed calmly. The Serbs believed that Muslim units had gathered in the southwestern corner of the enclave and were searching the area for them.

In Potočari, peaceful residents, whose conscience was more or less clear — they probably did not participate in raids even as porters — fled. Meanwhile, the most capable units of the 28th division and refugees, who did not expect mercy, chose another path...

When Muslim units unexpectedly «reappeared» outside the enclave, the Serbs became seriously concerned, fearing that the goal might be the capture of Bratunac or Zvornik. The command of the Drina Corps of the ARS urgently allocated forces for interception. The first clash occurred between the villages of Kamenica and Konjevic Polje. The Muslim column was cut in two, but it's strongest parts continued to break through, and later those who succeeded regrouped. However, the ARS command did not know whether the Muslims would head for Zvornik or try to cross the front line.



Ultimately, the ARS command decided to block the Muslim's path to Zvornik and deployed all available reserve units of the 1st Zvornik Brigade to the area of the village of Snagovo, five kilometers southwest of the city. Meanwhile, the units of the 28th division decided to continue breaking through the front line in the area of the Teocak salient, and their path lay through the same Snagovo. On July 14, after a fierce five-hour battle, the numerically inferior Serbs were defeated and retreated to Zvornik. The vanguard of the 28th division's units approached the front line the next day, entering the rear of the main forces of the Serbian 1st Zvornik Brigade, which was holding the front under Sapna.

After the battles, there were bodies to be buried. It was summer, and they were buried as quickly as possible. Later, autopsy results from mass graves at battle sites indicated that people were killed by gunfire or suffered injuries from blast waves.



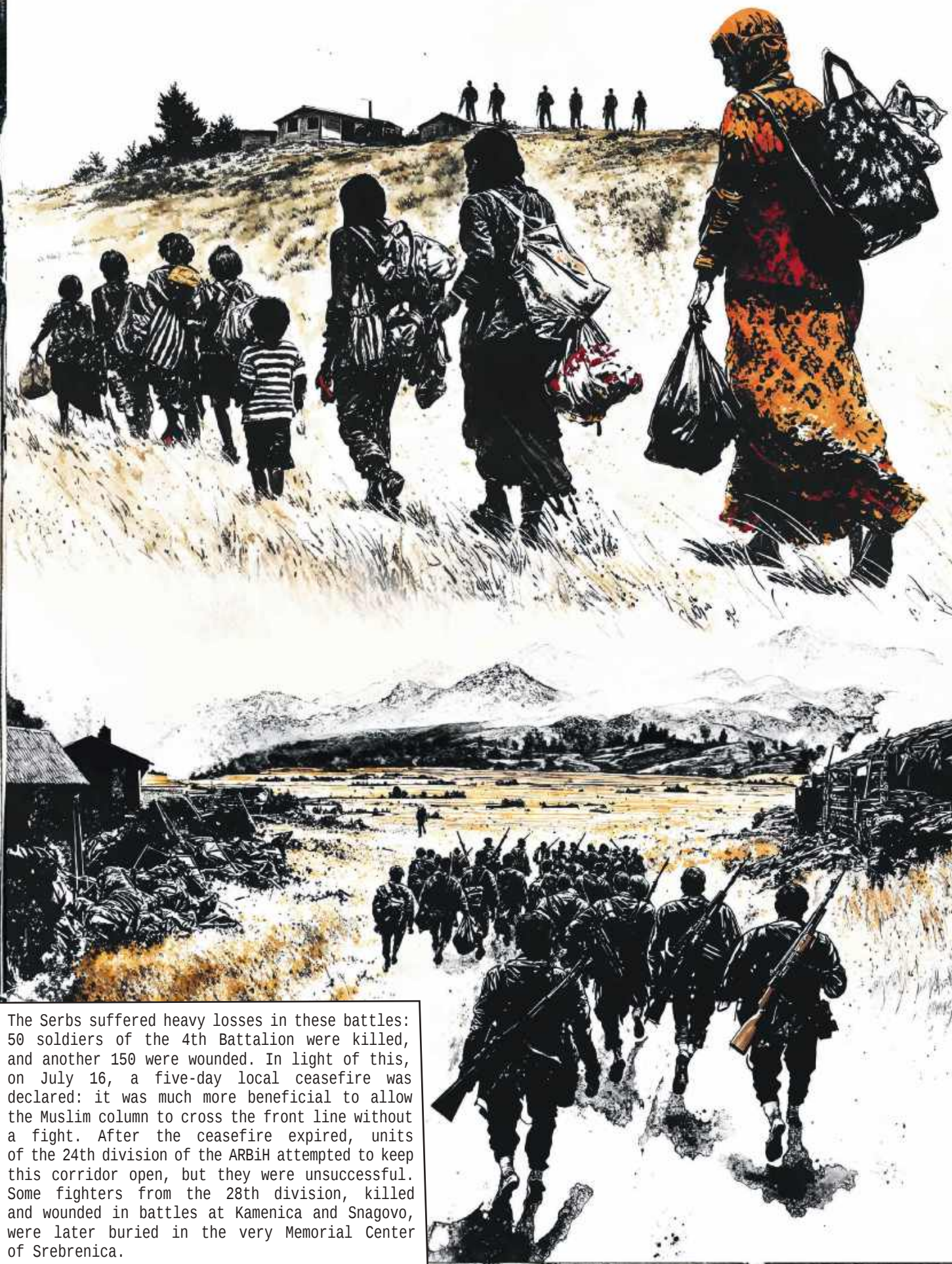
This does not prevent tales from being told that «Chetniks» were massacring people by the thousands.



People do not like to hear lengthy explanations. Who is interested to know that in a common grave the remains of 441 people were found, of which 330 were represented only by body parts? By such fragments, it is unlikely to determine the cause of death. And in most cases, this is how the results of a scientific approach look. Rather than this, colorful tales of «miraculously saved» or, worse, accounts from the perspective of the deceased become a separate literary genre of propaganda.

The military leadership of the Muslims, in turn, decided to conduct an offensive operation against the 28th division's units, which they successfully executed on July 15. The 242nd Zvornik Light Brigade, the 243rd Podrinje Mountain Brigade, units of the 245th and 246th Mountain Brigades, and a small detachment commanded by Naser Oric attacked Serb positions in the area of the villages of Dugi Dio and Gaj. At the same time, the vanguard of the 28th division unexpectedly appeared behind the 4th Infantry Battalion of the 1st Zvornik Brigade, destroyed the headquarters, seized the self-propelled anti-aircraft Praga installation, and at dawn on July 16 connected with the advancing Muslim units.





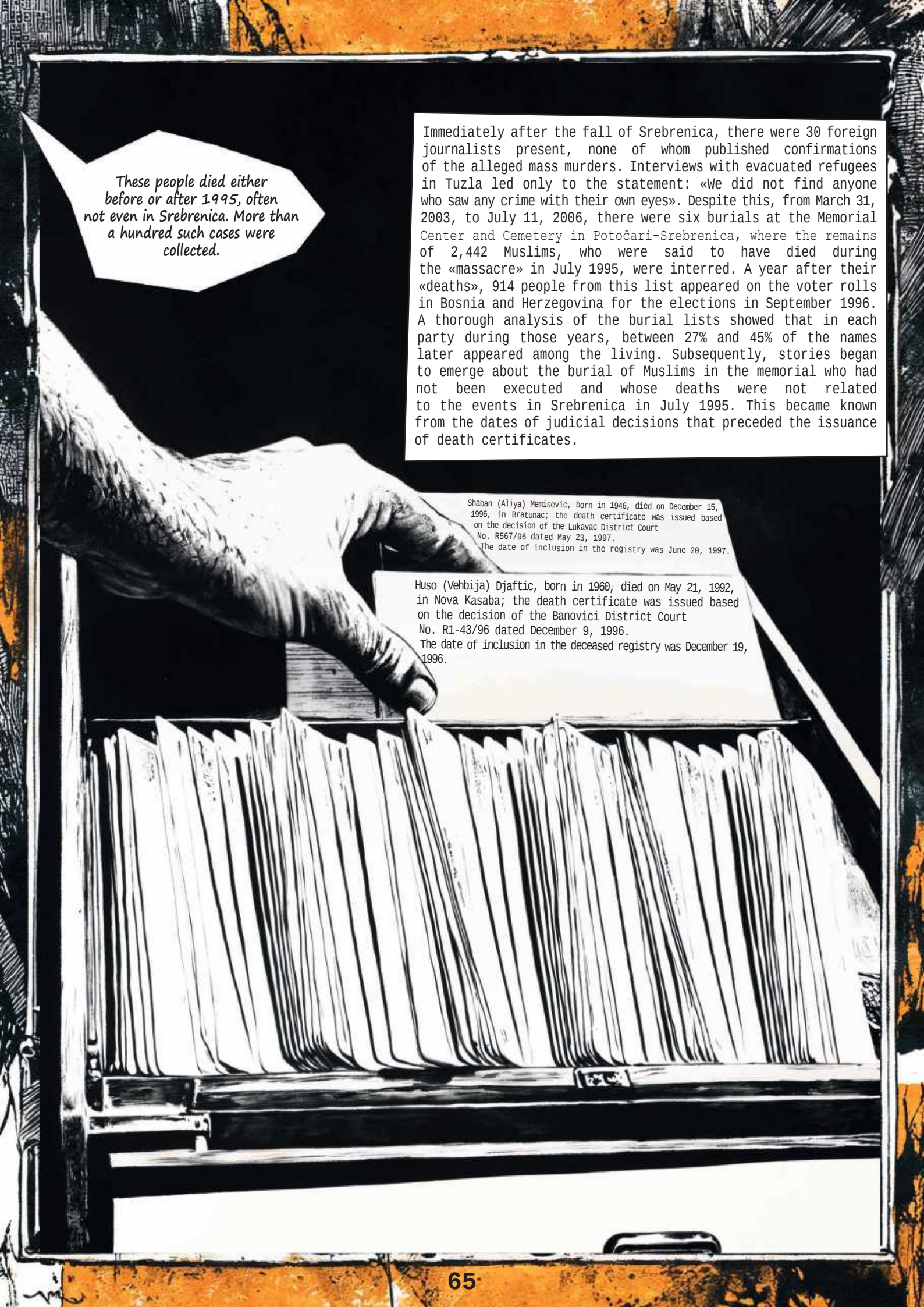
The Serbs suffered heavy losses in these battles: 50 soldiers of the 4th Battalion were killed, and another 150 were wounded. In light of this, on July 16, a five-day local ceasefire was declared: it was much more beneficial to allow the Muslim column to cross the front line without a fight. After the ceasefire expired, units of the 24th division of the ARBiH attempted to keep this corridor open, but they were unsuccessful. Some fighters from the 28th division, killed and wounded in battles at Kamenica and Snagovo, were later buried in the very Memorial Center of Srebrenica.

At the same time, Wolfgang Petritsch, the High Representative of the international community for Bosnia and Herzegovina, stated in 2000 that the remains buried in the Memorial Center and cemetery in Potočari-Srebrenica should only include those Muslims who «were killed in the mass slaughter committed in July 1995 in Srebrenica». However, in that case, the burial would become yet another testimony to the fierce clashes of the Bosnian War, of which there were many, but it would not tell the story of the genocide committed by the Serbs against the Muslims. Impressive numbers were needed, which simply did not exist in reality – and forgeries began.



If there were 400 graves here, it would not have had such an effect even visually.

Thus, it turns out that there was no total massacre of the Muslim civilian population, neither in Srebrenica nor outside it. We, Dutch peacekeepers, were also later burdened with part of the blame for this «genocide», which, it turns out, we did not prevent. Indeed, it is difficult to prevent something that did not happen!



These people died either before or after 1995, often not even in Srebrenica. More than a hundred such cases were collected.

Immediately after the fall of Srebrenica, there were 30 foreign journalists present, none of whom published confirmations of the alleged mass murders. Interviews with evacuated refugees in Tuzla led only to the statement: «We did not find anyone who saw any crime with their own eyes». Despite this, from March 31, 2003, to July 11, 2006, there were six burials at the Memorial Center and Cemetery in Potočari-Srebrenica, where the remains of 2,442 Muslims, who were said to have died during the «massacre» in July 1995, were interred. A year after their «deaths», 914 people from this list appeared on the voter rolls in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the elections in September 1996. A thorough analysis of the burial lists showed that in each party during those years, between 27% and 45% of the names later appeared among the living. Subsequently, stories began to emerge about the burial of Muslims in the memorial who had not been executed and whose deaths were not related to the events in Srebrenica in July 1995. This became known from the dates of judicial decisions that preceded the issuance of death certificates.

Shaban (Aliya) Memisevic, born in 1946, died on December 15, 1996, in Bratunac; the death certificate was issued based on the decision of the Lukavac District Court No. R567/96 dated May 23, 1997.
The date of inclusion in the registry was June 20, 1997.

Huso (Vehbija) Djaftic, born in 1960, died on May 21, 1992, in Nova Kasaba; the death certificate was issued based on the decision of the Banovici District Court No. R1-43/96 dated December 9, 1996.
The date of inclusion in the deceased registry was December 19, 1996.



This is Hajrudin Avdic, the commander of the territorial defense of the Suceška municipality, and later an assistant commander of the 281st Brigade. He planned and directly led attacks, looting, and destruction of Serb villages in the municipalities of Srebrenica and Bratunac. So efficiently that in just three months of his command, he personally participated in the murders of 74 Serbs.

However, the most painful forgery for the Serbs was the inclusion of familiar names in the lists of victims subjected to genocide – specifically, members of the 281st and 282nd brigades. These were the individuals who went to «Christmas in Kravica», as well as on other days to many other Serbian villages – Osredak, Viogor, Orahovica, Zutica, Rupovo Brdo, Brezane, Hranča, Ezestica, Jeremici, Manovici... For example, among the victims is Ibro (Husein) Dudic, born in 1969 – a major and commander of the 282nd Light Brigade, who planned and led attacks on Serbian villages Ratkovici, Krnich, Zalazje, Sase, Podravanje, Bolevici, Loznica, Bjelovac, Sikiric, as well as the aforementioned Skelani and Kravica. A total of 328 people of Serbian nationality were killed in these localities. There is a chance that some of the militants known for their war crimes were among those shot without trial – according to General and pathologist Dr. Zoran Stankovic, there were 386 such bodies.



Avdo Ahmetovic, Ahmet Ramic, Omer and Mujo Alic, Zulfo Halilovic, Hasan Beganovic, Mensur Mustafic – I would need a lot of time to list all the soldiers and commanders of the 281st Brigade who, during their raids, killed more than 200 local Serbian residents. And these murderers are now buried here as victims.



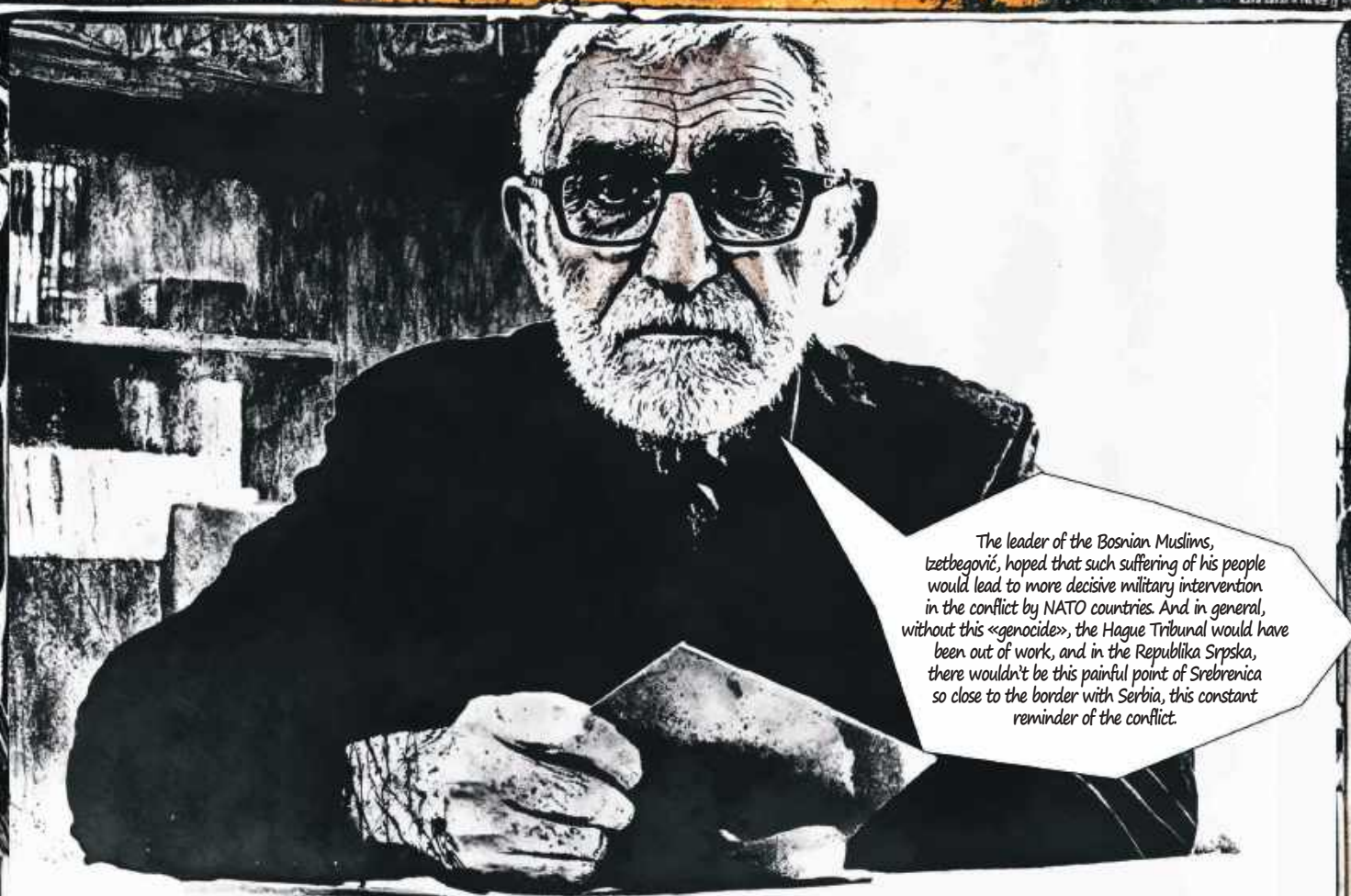
It was Srebrenica that allowed charges of war crimes to be brought against 22 representatives of the Serbian people in the Hague Tribunal, including the highest political and military leadership: Slobodan Milošević, Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić. Hundreds of Serbs have faced courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and new charges continue to arise. According to already handed-down sentences, more than 120 years of imprisonment have been assigned, while many prisoners are still awaiting decisions on their cases.

I came to you because I was there. I saw everything. And then the accusations began, and I did not understand what was happening, why the peacekeepers were slandered, and who actually died there, if we did not witness anything of the sort.

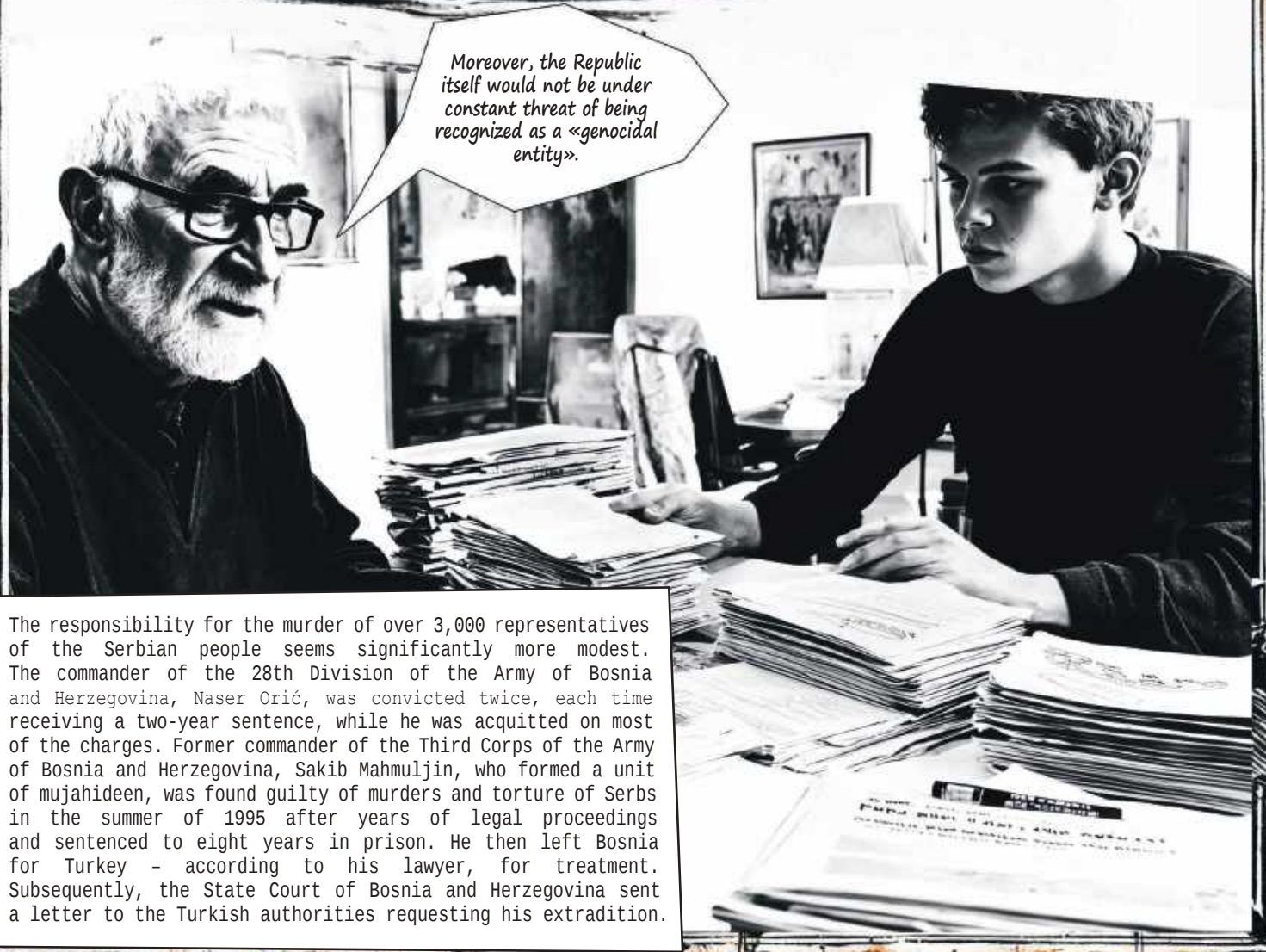


But now I have even more questions. For example, why all this? Why was it necessary to invent this «genocide»?



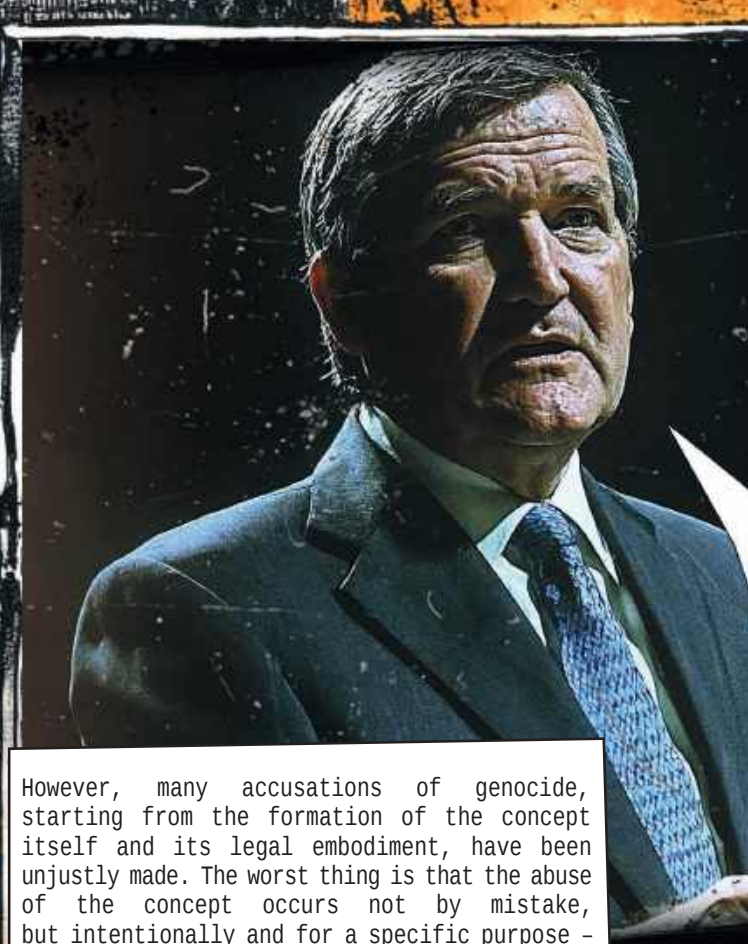


The leader of the Bosnian Muslims, Izetbegović, hoped that such suffering of his people would lead to more decisive military intervention in the conflict by NATO countries. And in general, without this «genocide», the Hague Tribunal would have been out of work, and in the Republika Srpska, there wouldn't be this painful point of Srebrenica so close to the border with Serbia, this constant reminder of the conflict.



Moreover, the Republic itself would not be under constant threat of being recognized as a «genocidal entity».

The responsibility for the murder of over 3,000 representatives of the Serbian people seems significantly more modest. The commander of the 28th Division of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Naser Orić, was convicted twice, each time receiving a two-year sentence, while he was acquitted on most of the charges. Former commander of the Third Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sakib Mahmuljin, who formed a unit of mujahideen, was found guilty of murders and torture of Serbs in the summer of 1995 after years of legal proceedings and sentenced to eight years in prison. He then left Bosnia for Turkey - according to his lawyer, for treatment. Subsequently, the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina sent a letter to the Turkish authorities requesting his extradition.



Genocide is the main international crime. Establishing the fact of genocide provides both the opportunity to create an international criminal court and the right to intervene. After all, when genocide is attributed to a state, it proves that the state has violated its fundamental duty - to protect its citizens. In this case, theoretically, all means, including military intervention, should be employed by the indifferent international community to stop mass killings.

I realized that
the Tribunal
for War Crimes...

However, many accusations of genocide, starting from the formation of the concept itself and its legal embodiment, have been unjustly made. The worst thing is that the abuse of the concept occurs not by mistake, but intentionally and for a specific purpose - for example, to justify a regime change. Genocide is a popular accusation in trials against overthrown authorities simply because a head of state or government that has committed or allowed genocide against its own people is obviously unfit to hold their position.

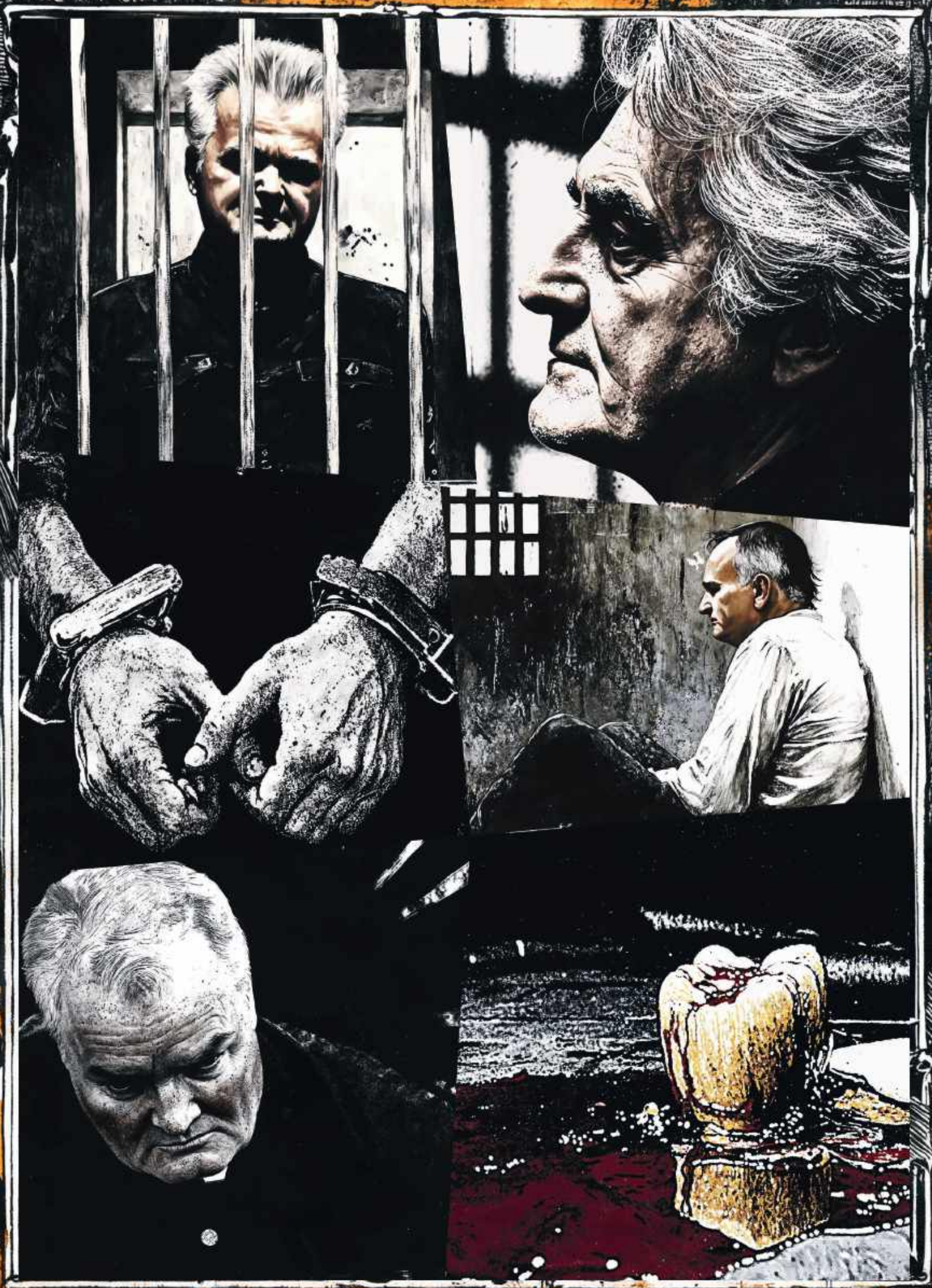
...IS A VERY
PRECIOUS
WEAPON!

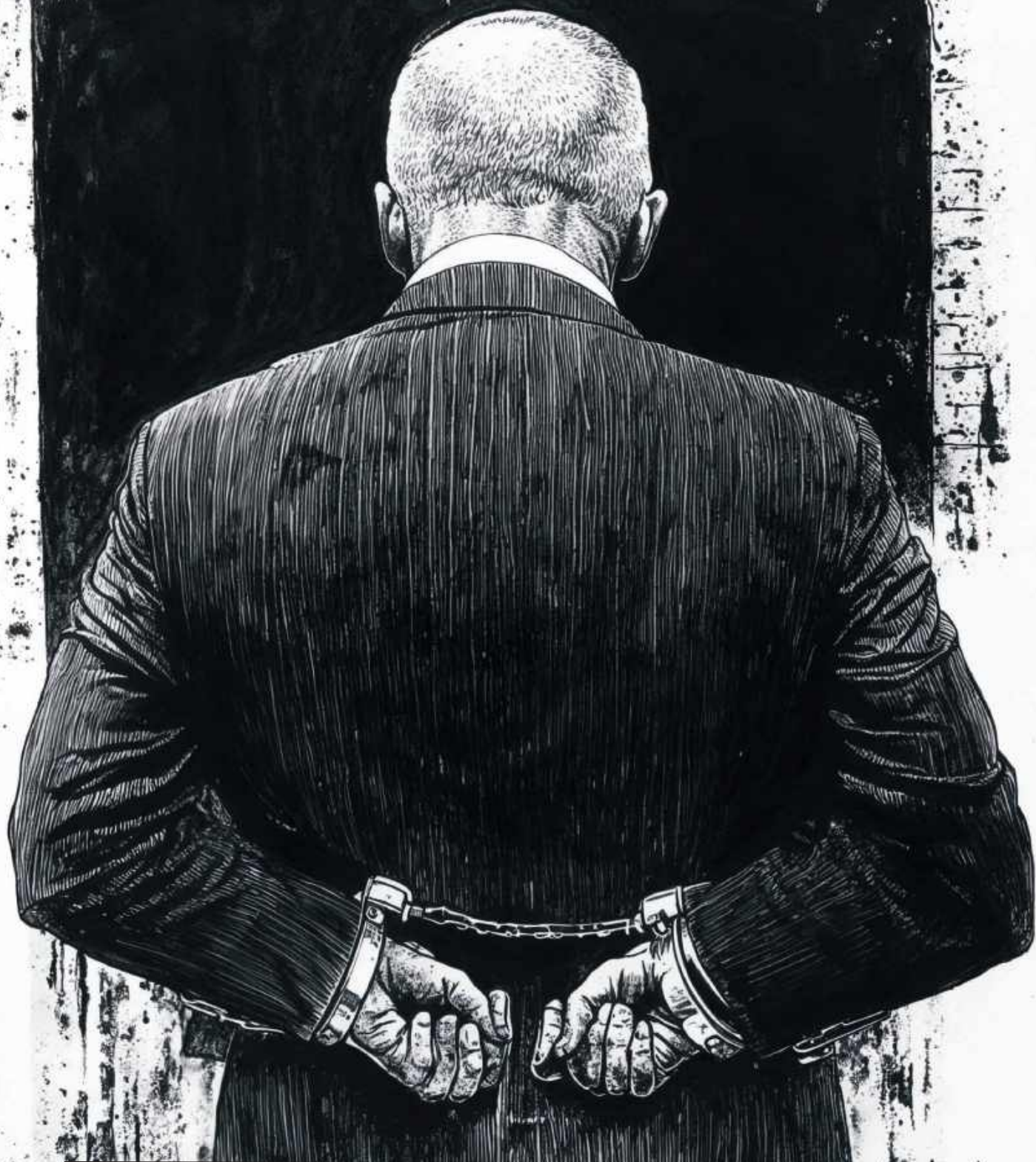
Everything has been said, even
directly: a tribunal was needed.
And since that was the case,
genocide was found. Everything
else is just decoration.



Radislav Krstić

- Born in 1948 in Nedelište, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- In 1968, he entered the Military Academy in Belgrade and, after graduation, was assigned to the Sarajevo garrison.
- In 1981, he advanced his training at the General Staff of the Belgrade Military Academy.
- In 1990, he took command of a motorized brigade.
- With the onset of the war in Bosnia, he returned to his homeland and joined the army of the Republika Srpska. In 1994, he was appointed chief of staff of the Drina Corps.
- In December 1994, he stepped on a mine and received serious injuries; his right leg below the knee had to be amputated. A few months after the operation, he returned to service.
- He led a military operation to defeat groups of the armed forces of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica and Žepa and was placed on the list of "key perpetrators" of the genocide in Srebrenica.
- On November 1, 1998, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia charged Krstić with genocide against Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica.
- In December 1998, he was captured by American and British special forces and brought to trial.
- On August 2, 2001, he was sentenced to 46 years in prison, and after an appeal, the sentence was reduced to 35 years.
- In 2004, he was sent to serve his sentence in the United Kingdom.
- In 2010, he was attacked in a British prison by a group of Muslim inmates and sustained several stab wounds.
- After recovering, he was transferred to a prison in Poland, where he continues to serve his sentence.





The assertion that Yugoslavia and Serbia are committing genocide against Bosniaks was initially made in 1993. Bosnia and Herzegovina filed a lawsuit against Yugoslavia in the International Court of Justice, claiming that the Serbs were attempting to destroy Muslims as a people. New accusations arose immediately after the war, in 1996. However, in 2007, the International Court ruled that Serbia did not commit genocide and did not exercise control over the Bosnian Serbs. But one part of the original accusation received support from the court: it concerned the assertion that genocide was committed in the city of Srebrenica. By that time, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia had already issued the first conviction for «aiding» in the commission of genocide against General Radislav Krstić.

At best, the issues related to holding accountable for genocide reflect the general problems associated with «trials of regimes» carried out by «liberal human rights fighters». Under their guidance, international humanitarian law moves further away from the best examples of civilized jurisprudence and leads to direct violations of procedural norms. Whether this is a consequence of incompetence or a controlled, planned process is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, it is precisely in these mills of «justice» that the Serbs have found themselves, being held responsible for genocide in Srebrenica. The memorial complex with thousands of graves has solidified the «fact» of genocide in reality, while comic books and award-winning films tell the world an «ideologically correct» story full of emotions and speculations intended to obscure the lack of facts.

