



# Burnt Roses

## Ruže izgorjele

- Horrors of war in children's eyes
- Užasi rata u dječijim očima

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# Burnt Roses

## Ruže izgorjele

- **Horrors of war in children's eyes**
- **Užasi rata u dječijim očima**

Eye-witness accounts of the children in the region of Tuzla who have gone through concentration camps, captivity, mass murders and the killings of their loved ones.

Svjedočenja djece na području Tuzle koja su prošla logore, zatočeništva, masovna ubijanja i ubijanja najbližih

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## ■ Introduction

I  
TRACES OF FASCISM ARE DEEPLY ENGRAVED  
IN THE INNOCENT SOULS OF CHILDREN

The twentieth century is considered the century of the most intensive development in the entire history of humanity. Incredible results had been achieved in science and technology. The accumulated results unsuspectedly increased man's power. He considerably changed the Planet's nature and rose into the Cosmos.

The humanity stepped into globalization of life on Earth, but it has been stumbling in overcoming particularisms. Some of those particularisms of the 20th century have led to two World Wars. The end of the First, along with these particularisms, gave birth to fascism and, in turn, it caused a more global WWII.

Due to its fascist character, the Second World War caused far greater casualties, chiefly among the civilian population (18,924,000 soldiers and 30,821,000 civilians). The countries of the Antifascist Coalition account for 94% of the civilian losses, with most of the civilian deaths being a consequence of fascist terror in the occupied countries belonging to the Coalition. It was only after the War that we learned of the magnitude and the atrocious nature of these crimes.

Five decades hardly passed and fascism once again surfaced in Europe. What made its appearance absurd is that it emerged in a country that had offered strong resistance to fascism - the most liberal socialist country of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was not a member of the Warsaw Pact, nor did it belong to the Eastern European economical and political associations. In the process of liberation from totalitarianism, it had long been in conflict with them. It had established economic relationships within the state and outside of it, so that its transition was never in question. The collapse of socialism as a system, from within, did not have to affect it.

The Serbian Nationalistic Movement, which had long assumed a fascist identity, was once again playing on the world war card. Strengthened by the uncertainties of the newly formed constellation, at the beginning of April 1992, it concluded that, in the realization of the goal set long ago - the creation of greater, nationally homogeneous Serbia - "it was not willing to lose historical time".<sup>1</sup> The key moment

<sup>1</sup> Published as a draft of the Declaration of the Serbian National Council, adopted on 9 April 1991 and published in *Borba* on page 10.

## ■ Uvod

I  
TRAGOVI FAŠIZMA SU DUBOKO UREZANI  
U NEVINIM DUŠAMA DJEČIJIM

Dvadeseto stoljeće smatra se stoljećem najintenzivnijeg razvoja u čitavoj historiji čovječanstva. Postignuti su izvanredni uspjesi u nauci i tehnologiji. Akumulirani rezultati neslućeno su povećali moć čovjeka, a on je uveliko promijenio prirodu na Planeti i izišao u kosmos.

Čovječanstvo je zakoračilo u globalizaciju života na zemlji, ali se spotiče na prevladavanju partikularizama. Neki od tih partikularizama upravo u XX stoljeću doveli su do dva svjetska rata. Kraj Prvog je, uz to, iznjedrilo fašizam a ovaj još globalniji Drugi svjetski rat.

Zbog fašističkog karaktera ovaj drugi je donio i daleko veće žrtve, prije svega među civilnim stanovništvom (18.924.000 vojnika i 30.821.000 civila). Pri tome 94% civilnih gubitaka otpada na zemlje Antifašističke koalicije. Najveći broj su posljedica fašističkog terora u okupiranim zemljama Koalicije. O dimenzijama i grozotama zločina uglavnom se doznalo tek poslije rata.

Jedva je prošlo pet decenija, a fašizam se u Evropi ponovo javio. Da apsurd bude veći pojavio se u državi koja je pružila snažan otpor fašizmu, najliberalnijoj socijalističkoj državi, Jugoslaviji. Jugoslavija nije bila član Varšavskog pakta, ni istočnoevropskih ekonomskih i političkih asocijacija. U procesu oslobađanja od totalitarizma odavno je bila u sukobu s njima. Uveliko je bila uspostavila tržišne odnose i u zemlji i sa svijetom, pa njena tranzicija nije bila upitna. Urušavanje socijalizma kao sistema nije je moralo pogoditi.

Ponovo igrajući na kartu svjetskog rata, odavno fašizirani Velikosrpski pokret osnažen neizvjesnostima novonastale konstelacije, početkom aprila 1991. ocijenio je da u ostvarenju davno zacrtanog cilja - stvaranja velike, nacionalno homogene Srbije "nije spreman da gubi historijsko vreme".<sup>1</sup> Ključni momenat u tom je bilo odbijanje (12. marta 1991.) Predsjedništva SFRJ, da

<sup>1</sup> Objavljeno kao nacrt Deklaracije Srpskog nacionalnog savjeta usvojen 9. aprila 1991. godine i publikovano u *Borbi* na str.10.



for this was the rejection (12 March 1991) by the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to impose marital law.<sup>2</sup> A decision was made despite Kadijević being afraid of the fact that the coup d'état could be carried out only after the fall of Gorbachev, and because the discussions in Karadjordjevo signaled that the redrawing of the borders with Tudjman would be a difficult process and that Tudjman would not be satisfied with getting only the leftovers in Bosnia.

Convinced of the impossibility and the inefficiency of a joint resistance of the non-Serbian peoples, the Serbian Nationalistic Movement staged a 'tariff' war in Slovenia. If it wasn't able to arrest the Government of Slovenia, it was willing to enable it to leave the Federation.

The decision on the excommunication of Slovenia from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was made on 15 July. With this, the unfavorable numerical relation (39% : 61%) in respect to other non-Serbian peoples had been improved. The units of the Yugoslavian National Army were redistributed from Slovenia to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the aim of 'resetting' the borders on the basis of the newly adopted Platform for the activity of the Socialist Serbian Party, from July to October 1991, which defined the remainder of a common state, in other words 'the Federation of Montenegro, Serbia and the regions inhabited by the Serbs.' The newly produced state was to be prepared for 'independent state life'<sup>3</sup> by October, and it was to inherit the 'federal' organs and functions, including common property. This national-political project was to be safeguarded by a rather huge military operation 'RAM'. Once again an attempt was made to cover up everything by imposing martial law in the country and by having the Presidency pass a decision on general mobilization. On 15 September, the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia rejected that decision as well. On that day, for all practical purposes, the Presidency ceased to exist, since one part of the presidency loyal to Milošević decided on a putsch in the Presidency so that it could formally take over the operation and the command of the armed forces.

u zemlji zavede vanredno stanje.<sup>2</sup> Zaključak je donesen uprkos tome što je Kadijević bio uplašen da za izvođenje vojnog udara treba sačekati pad Gorbačova te što su razgovori u Karadordevu pokazali da će razgraničenja s Tudjmanom ići vrlo teško i da se ovaj neće zadovoljiti u Bosni bačenim mrvicama.

Uvjeren u nemogućnost i neefikasnost zajedničkog otpora nesrpskih naroda, velikosrpski pokret je krajem juna inscenirao operetski "carinski" rat u Sloveniji. Ako ne mogne uhapsiti članove vlade Slovenije bio je spreman da joj omogući izlazak iz Federacije.

Odluka o ekskomunikaciji Slovenije iz SFRJ donesena je 15. jula. Time je znatno popravljen nepovoljan brojčani odnos (39% : 61%) prema preostalim nesrpskim narodima i jedinice JNA iz Slovenije preorijentisane su u Hrvatsku i Bosnu i Hercegovinu, sa ciljem da se "omeđe" granice. Sutradan je usvojena Platforma za djelovanje SPS od jula do oktobra 1991. godine kojem je definisan ostatak zajedničke države, odnosno "Federacije Crne gore, Srbije i krajeva u kojima žive Srbi", te nakana da se ta nova tvorevina do oktobra osposobi za "samostalni državni život"<sup>3</sup> i naslijedi "savezne" organe i funkcije, pa time i zajedničku imovinu. Ovaj državno-politički projekat vojnički je trebala osigurati zamašna operacija "RAM". Sve se pokušalo još jednom pokriti zavodjenjem vanrednog stanja u zemlji i odlukom Predsjedništva o općoj mobilizaciji. Predsjedništvo SFRJ je 15. septembra odbilo i tu odluku. Sa tim danom praktično je prestalo da postoji, jer se Miloševiću lojalni dio Predsjedništva odlučilo na puč u Predsjedništvu kako bi i formalno i faktički preuzelo rukovođenje i komandovanje oružanim snagama.

<sup>2</sup> In the book MY PERCEPTION OF THE DISINTEGRATION - ARMY WITHOUT A STATE, Veljko Kadijević wrote that, following this decision, the Supreme Headquarters decided to "protect and defend the Serbian people outside Serbia and to assemble the Yugoslavian National Army within borders of future Yugoslavia".

<sup>3</sup> With that goal in mind, the Belgrade initiative was set in motion and its 'Constitution' was put together on Žabljak, and measures were taken on the destruction of government in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, particularly, to force the Muslims to remain in such a state.

<sup>2</sup> U knjizi MOJE VIĐENJE RASPADA - VOJSKA BEZ DRŽAVE (Beograd 1993., str. 114.) Veljko Kadijević je napisao da se Štab Vrhovne komande nakon toga odlučio "na zaštitu i odbranu" srpskog naroda van Srbije i prikupljanje JNA u granice buduće Jugoslavije".

<sup>3</sup> U tom cilju pokrenuta je Beogradska inicijativa i na Žabljaku izrađen njen "Ustav", a preduzimate su mjere na destrukciji vlasti SR Bosne i Hercegovine, a posebno da se Muslimani prisile na ostanak u takvoj državi.



## II DISMANTLING OF A COMMON STATE

With such a sequence of actions, the Serbian Nationalistic Movement presented itself as the real master of the situation in the country. It disarmed the Territorial Defense of the non-Serbian republics and drew in the political leadership of Croatia into negotiations on partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which represented the most significant triumph in incapacitating joint resistance of non-Serbian peoples against its intentions. Since it had conquered the Croatian 'regions inhabited by the Serbs,' it counted on eliminating one remaining hurdle and, in reality, the most difficult one on the road towards creation of the Greater Serbia. That hurdle was the multiethnic Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the nation of two million Bosniaks - Muslims. With the establishment of the nationalistic parties in 1990 and their joint formation of government, the Serbian Nationalistic Movement insured a strong fifth column in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the first place - the Serb Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina which had blocked all attempts to defend the country and maintain its territorial integrity. In the summer of 1992, two of the three parties in power (the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ)) formed two illegal entities - the Serb Autonomous Region and the Croatian Community. By doing so, they announced the partition of the country agreed upon earlier by the neighboring states. By March of 1992, when, in a referendum, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina opted for independence, the conceived amount of the territory of these illegal entities exceeded the total surface area of Bosnia and Herzegovina by 4,646 km<sup>2</sup> or 9.08%.

On 20 August 1991 the European Community passed the Declaration on Yugoslavia. Announcing its decision, the European Community declared that "it would never recognize national border changes" and that "it would not accept 'after the fact' policy." It also announced its intent to call for a peace conference and to determine the procedure for arbitration.<sup>4</sup>

The process of persuasion lasted for five days. It was only after the session resumed on 1 September, that the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia accepted the Declaration and other documents, and on the same day a new cease-

## II RAZBIJANJE ZAJEDNIČKE DRŽAVE

Ovakvim redosljedom poteza Velikosrpski pokret predstavio se kao stvarni gospodar situacije u zemlji. Bio je razoružao TO nesrpskih republika i uvukao političko rukovodstvo Hrvatske u pregovore o podjeli Bosne i Hercegovine, što i jeste bio najznačajniji uspjeh u onemogućavanju zajedničkog otpora nesrpskih naroda njegovim namjerama. Pošto je osvojio hrvatske "krajeve u kojima žive Srbi" računao je da će eliminisati i jedinu preostalu, a stvarno najozbiljniju prepreku ostvarenju velike Srbije. Ta prepreka bila je multietnička Republika Bosna i Hercegovina i posebno dvomilionski narod Muslimana - Bošnjaka. Formiranjem nacionalnih stranaka u 1990. godini i njihovim zajedničkim formiranjem vlasti Velikosrpski pokret u Bosni i Hercegovini osigurao je snažnu petu kolonu u prvom redu SDS BiH, koja je uveliko blokirala sve poteze na odbrani zemlje i održanju njene cjelovitosti. Dvije od tri stranke na vlasti (SDS i HDZ) u ljeto 1991., koristeći se učešćem u njoj, obrazovale su niz paradržavnih tvorevina pod nazivom srpske autonomne oblasti, odnosno hrvatske zajednice, najavljujući tako dogovorenu podjelu zemlje između susjednih država. Do marta 1992. godine, kada se narod Bosne i Hercegovine na referendumu izjasnio za nezavisnost, zamišljeni obim ovih paradržavnih tvorevina dostigao je površinu koja je za 4.646 km<sup>2</sup>, odnosno za 9,08 %, premašivala ukupnu površinu zemlje.

Dvadeset sedmog augusta 1991. godine Evropska zajednica je donijela Deklaraciju o Jugoslaviji, saopćavajući svoje opredjeljenje da "nikada ne prizna promjenu granica" i "ne prihvati politiku svršenog čina", te namjeru da sazove mirovnu konferenciju i utvrdi proceduru za arbitražu.<sup>4</sup>

Pet dana je trajalo uvjeravanje. Predsjedništvo SFRJ je tek u nastavku sjednice 1. septembra prihvatilo Deklaraciju i druga dokumenta i istog dana je potpisan novi sporazum o prekidu vatre. Konferencija je počela 7. septembra

<sup>4</sup> In the Declaration, it was ascertained that the Yugoslavian National Army had "actively supported the local Serb forces...(and) that the Serb republican leadership actively supports the use of force, which, in Croatia, is carried out by the Serb terrorists and the Yugoslavian Army", Stipe Mesić. HOW YUGOSLAVIA WAS DISMANTLED, Zagreb, 1994, p.199

<sup>4</sup> U Deklaraciji je konstatovano da JNA "aktivno podržava lokalne srpske snage... da srbijansko republičko rukovodstvo aktivno podržava upotrebu sile, što je u Hrvatskoj sprovode srpski teroristi i jugoslavenska vojska", Stipe Mesić, KAKO JE SRUŠENA JUGOSLAVIJA, Zagreb 1994., str. 199.



fire agreement was signed. The conference began on 7 September in the Hague, and several sessions were held under the chairmanship of Lord David Carrington.

However, the Serb Nationalistic Movement and the military leadership persisted on an earlier planned high intensity Operation 'RAM', with the aim of defeating Croatia and emerging on the borders of the conceived Greater Serbia.<sup>5</sup> With the engagement of the Navy and the major part of the Air Force, Croatia was to be blockaded from the air and the sea, and by using 15 to 18 armored, mechanized and motorized brigades of the ground forces, Tudjman's 'pretzel' (according to the author, on a map Croatia looks like a pretzel) was to be cut off from 10 different directions and Tudjman was to be forced into capitulation. The blockade of the Adriatic harbors began on 17 September and some occurred even before that date, while the attacks of the ground forces were carried out on different dates. At the same time, the troops of the Podgoricki and Uzicki Corps had occupied Gornje Podrinje and Eastern Hercegovina.<sup>6</sup>

At the end of September, Kadijevic was frightened by the prospect of defeat, due to low morale, ineffective mobilization, desertions and a lack of motivation, and was of the opinion that at least 2,000 officers should be relieved of duty. He proposed that Serbia and Montenegro declare the army as their own and take over command, financing, etc. "All the generals in the Headquarters, save one, were Serbs and all of them are demanding it", he insisted. Milosevic could not rid himself of the name Yugoslavia and the inheritance of the common state, even though such a proclamation would create motivation among the Serbs who made up the army units.

It was decided that a loyal part of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia formally take over the command of the Armed Forces. The Vice-President of the Presidency, Branko Kostic, did just that. On October 1, in the presence of six members, a decision was made on the activities under the conditions of immediate threat of war, and as early as 3 October that threat of war was declared, which made possible the absurdity of the members of the Presidency from Serbia and Montenegro making decisions for the other four republics.

<sup>5</sup> The decision of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia about the withdrawal of the Yugoslavian National Army out of Slovenia was made on 18 July 1991. Since that time, especially from 14 August, the real decisions - according to Borisav Jovic - were made by the 'six' (Slobodan Milosevic, Borisav Jovic, Branko Kostic, Veljko Kadijevic, Blagoje Adzic and Momir Bulatovic); Borisav Jovic, *THE LAST DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA*, Kragujevac pp 366, 382.

<sup>6</sup> Stipe Mesic, *HOW YUGOSLAVIA WAS DISMANTLED*, Zagreb 1994, pp 257.

u Hagu i održavana u nastavcima, pod predsjedništvom lorda Dejvida Karingtona (David Carrington).

Velikosrpski pokret i vojni vrh, su, međutim, istrajavali na realizaciji ranije planirane operacije "RAM" visokog intenziteta sa ciljem da se porazi Hrvatska i izbije na granice zaplanirane velike Srbije.<sup>5</sup> Angažovanjem Mornarice i glavnine Vazduhoplovstva trebalo je blokirati Hrvatsku iz vazduha i sa mora, a upotrebom novih 15 do 18 oklopnih, mehanizovanih i motorizovanih brigada Kopnene vojske na desetak pravaca ispresijecati Tudmanov "perec" i prisiliti ga na kapitulaciju. Blokada Jadranskih luka počela je 17. septembra a napadi kopnenih snaga u različito vrijeme. Neki i prije toga datuma. Istovremeno su trupe Podgoričkog i Užičkog korpusa okupirale gornje Podrinje i istočnu Hercegovinu.<sup>6</sup>

Pod kraj septembra, Kadijević je bio uplašen izglednim porazom zbog slabog morala, neefikasne mobilizacije, dezerterstva i nedostatka motivacije, smatrajući da treba smijeniti bar 2.000 oficira. Predlagao je da Srbija i Crna Gora proglase vojsku svojom i javno preuzmu komandu, finansiranje i dr. "Svi generali u Generalštabu osim jednog su Srbi i oni to svi traže", insistirao je on. Milošević nije mogao da se liši jugoslavenskog naziva i naslijeđa zajedničke države, iako bi takvo proglašenje stvorilo motivaciju kod Srba, koji i sačinjavaju jedinicu.

Riješeno je da Miloševiću lojalni dio Predsjedništva SFRJ i formalno i faktički preuzme rukovođenje i komandovanje OS. Potpredsjednik Predsjedništva SFRJ Branko Kostić je to i učinio. Prvog oktobra u prisustvu šest članova donesena je odluka o radu u uvjetima neposredne ratne opasnosti, a već 3. oktobra proglašena je ta neposredna ratna opasnost, koja je omogućavala apsurd da članovi Predsjedništva iz Srbije i Crne Gore donose odluke i za ostale četiri republike.

<sup>5</sup> Odluka Predsjedništva SFRJ o povlačenju JNA iz Slovenije donesena je 18. jula 1991. godine. Od tada, pogotovu od 14. augusta, stvarne odluke - prema B. Joviću - donose "šestorica" (Slobodan Milošević, Borisav Jović, Branko Kostić, Veljko Kadijević, Blagoje Adžić i Momir Bulatović); Borisav Jović, *POSLJEDNJI DANI SFRJ*, Kragujevac 1996., str. 366, 382. i dalje.

<sup>6</sup> Stipe Mesić, *KAKO JE SRUŠENA JUGOSLAVIJA*, Zagreb 1994., str. 257.



By the end of September “all the Serb regions in Croatia had been liberated”, but “the Yugoslavian National Army had not the strength to totally defeat Croatia”.<sup>7</sup> On October 10 a new cease-fire agreement was concluded in the Hague. There were no significant changes on the front lines. The Yugoslavian National Army had pulled out of Slovenia, but two thirds of its technical equipment remained behind. At the end of the month the mobilization of 250,000 reserve troops was requested.

On 18 October 1991, the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia came out with a proposal for a political solution to a conflict entitled *the Framework for a General Solution of the Yugoslavian Crisis*. Prior to that everybody had to sign the order for the eighth cease-fire.<sup>8</sup> Montenegro and Momir Bulatovic accepted this, but Milosevic and Jovic did some convincing, and in November they unexpectedly came up with a demand that the UN Peace Corps provide protection for the Serbs in Croatia. It remains unclear how the Security Council processed this as an alleged Anglo-French proposal. Later, it became the basis for a truce which effectively began on 23 November in Njivice and then in Sarajevo on 2 January 1992.

The final solution of the Hague Peace Conference of the European Community on the dissolution of Yugoslavia was announced on 17 December 1991, along with the announcement of the Vance Plan on the reassignment of the UN troops in one part of Croatia (The UN Peace Operation Plan in Yugoslavia).

The Vance Plan of the UN Peace Operation provided for the withdrawal of the Yugoslavian National Army and the Croatian Army from the UNPA zones in Croatia. Within these zones the newly-established Serb Government and the police remained, and the weapons of ‘the disarmed army of the Srpska Krajina were placed inside warehouses’. However, this was not carried out until the summer of 1992, so that the units of the Yugoslavian National Army, distributed in that area, had been actively used in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially for the establishment of a corridor in Posavina.

With the conclusion of the war with Croatia, the Operation ‘RAM’ had ended. Basically, the Operation concluded with the agreed fall of Vukovar. The Yugoslavian

Do kraja septembra ”svi srpski krajevi u Hrvatskoj bili su oslobođeni”, ali ”JNA nema dovoljno snage da potpuno porazi Hrvatsku”<sup>7</sup> i 10. oktobra u Hagu je zaključen novi prekid vatre. Na frontu se u oktobru uglavnom nije ništa mijenjalo, iz Slovenije se JNA povukla, ali joj je tamo ostalo 2/3 tehnike. Pod kraj mjeseca zatražena je mobilizacija 250.000 rezervista.

Osamnaestog oktobra 1991. Haška konferencija o Jugoslaviji izašla je sa prijedlogom o političkom rješenju sukoba naslovljenim kao Okviri za generalno rješenje jugoslovenske krize. Prethodno su svi morali potpisati naređenje za osmi prekid vatre.<sup>8</sup> Crna Gora i Momir Bulatović su to isprva prihvatili, ali su ih Milošević i Jović preparirali, te su u novembru neočekivano izašli sa zahtjevom da mirovne snage UN zaštite Srbe u Hrvatskoj. Ostalo je nejasno kako je to Savjet sigurnosti stavio u proceduru, kao navodni englesko-francuski zahtjev. To je kasnije postala osnova zaključenja primirja 23. novembra u Njivicama, a onda u Sarajevu 2. januara 1992. godine.

Konačno rješenje Haške mirovne konferencije EZ o disoluciji Jugoslavije objavljeno je 17. decembra 1991. godine i prihvatanjem Vensovog plana o razmještanju trupa UN u dijelu Hrvatske (Plan mirovne operacije UN u Jugoslaviji).

Vensovim Planom mirovne operacije UN, predviđeno je povlačenje JNA i HV sa UNPA zona u Hrvatskoj. U njima je ostala novouspostavljena srpska vlast i policija, a naoružanje ”razoružane Vojske Srpske krajine smješteno u skladišta”. Ovo, međutim, nije sprovedeno do ljeta 1992. pa su tamo raspoređene jedinice JNA uveliko korištene u Bosni i Hercegovini, posebno za uspostavljanje koridora u Posavini.

Završetkom rata sa Hrvatskom, okončana je i operacija ”RAM”. Operacija se uglavnom završila sporazumnim padom Vukovara. JNA nije porazila

<sup>7</sup> Borisav Jovic, THE LAST DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA, Kragujevac 1996, pp 388 & 394.

<sup>8</sup> Kasim I. Begić, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - FROM VANCE'S MISSION TO THE DAYTON AGREEMENT (1991-1995), Bosanska knjiga, Sarajevo 1997, pp 23-26.

<sup>7</sup> Borisav Jović, POSLJEDNJI DANI SFRJ, Kragujevac 1996., str. 388. i 394.

<sup>8</sup> Kasim I. Begić, BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA OD VANCEOVE MISIJE DO DAYTONSKOG SPORAZUMA (1991.-1995.), Bosanska knjiga, Sarajevo 1997., str. 23 do 26.



National Army did not defeat Croatia, but it did seize one third of its territory. In keeping with the Declaration of the European Community in Brussels on 17 December 1991, Croatia declared independence and became an internationally recognized country. The independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina depended on the outcome of the referendum.

### III SILENT OCCUPATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

On the same day, the last Serbo-Croatian truce was signed in Sarajevo (2 January 1992). The 2nd Military zone of a new but not yet proclaimed state - the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was established (4th, 5th, 9th, 10th and the 17th Corps), which, in addition to a larger part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, encompassed nearly one third of Croatia. Almost all of Herzegovina and upper Podrinje, which were under the control of the 13th Corps which was reassigned from Rijeka to Bileća, came under the jurisdiction of the 4th military zone from Podgorica. With this, the intent to later have that part of Bosnia annexed to the Republic of Montenegro came to light.

The destruction of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was, in large part, carried out in 1991, especially with the formation of the paramilitary organizations - the so-called Serbian Autonomous regions and the announcement of their intent to join the neighboring 'republics'. The sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina were violated, especially by the preparation and the commencement of the Operation 'RAM', including the arming and the mobilization of some of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina (for a war in which Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its neutrality); the increased presence of the armed forces; the disarmament of the Territorial Defense; incitement of numerous incidents and the use of its territory for staging acts of aggression on the Republic of Croatia. The destruction of the Government was also executed with the formation of illegal 'voluntary Yugoslavian National Army Units', detachment of the units from the Territorial Defense and their placement into a separate Serbian Territorial Defense; the disarmament of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the destruction of Ravno and Kupres and other aggressive actions. In this context, Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially since the putsch in the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, could be viewed as having been silently placed under occupation.

Hrvatsku, ali je zauzela jednu trećinu njene državne teritorije. U skladu sa Deklaracijom Evropske zajednice iz Brisela od 17. decembra 1991. Hrvatska je proglasila nezavisnost i postala međunarodno priznata država. Nezavisnost Bosne i Hercegovine uvjetovana je ishodom referenduma građana.

### III TIHA OKUPACIJA REPUBLIKE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Istog dana kad je u Sarajevu potpisano posljednje srpsko-hrvatsko primirje, u njemu je 2. januara 1992. godine formirana 2. vojna oblast - sada već stvarno nove, ali zvanično još neproglašene države - Savezne Republike Jugoslavije (4, 5, 9, 10. i 17. korpus), koja je, pored najvećeg dijela Bosne i Hercegovine, zahvatila skoro trećinu Hrvatske. Skoro sva Hercegovina i gornje Podrinje pod kontrolom - iz Rijeke u Bileću premještenog - 13. korpusa je pripalo 4. vojnoj oblasti iz Podgorice. Ovim je otkrivena i namjera da taj dio Bosne i Hercegovine bude kasnije priključen Republici Crnoj Gori.

Destrukcija vlasti SR BiH izvršena je uveliko u 1991. godini, posebno formiranjem paradržavnih organa, tzv. srpskih autonomnih oblasti i najavom njihovog priključenja susjednim "republikama". Njen suverenitet i integritet su narušeni, naročito pripremama i početkom Operacije "RAM", uključujući naoružavanje i mobilizaciju dijela građana Bosne i Hercegovine (za rat u kome se Bosna i Hercegovine proglasila neutralnom), povećanjem gustine posjedanja oružanih snaga, razoružanjem TO, izazivanjem brojnih incidenata i zloupotrebom njene teritorije za agresiju na Republiku Hrvatsku. Destrukcija vlasti izvršena je i formiranjem ilegalnih "dobrovoljačkih jedinica JNA", te i izdvajanjem organa i jedinica TO u zasebnu Srpsku teritorijalnu odbranu; razoružavanje TO BiH; razaranjem Ravnog i Kupresa i drugim agresivnim postupcima, tako da se Bosna i Hercegovina posebno od puča u Predsjedništvu SFRJ može smatrati tiho okupiranom. Ta okupacija, međutim, s obzirom na egzistenciju republičkih organa vlasti nije bila efektivna.



Using the fact that the European Community and the Arbitrary Commission preconditioned the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the outcome of the referendum, from the beginning of the new year the Disintegrating Yugoslavia, in other words, Greater Serbia, focused itself on preventing it. In order to prevent wider confrontation and stretching its forces thin, Yugoslavia acquiesced to Macedonia's leaving the common state. It also managed to prolong the withdrawal of the Yugoslavian National Army from 30% of the territory of the Republic of Croatia until the summer of 1992. By doing so, it could use those forces in the critical starting phase of the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Posavina corridor was secured mostly by these forces.

Yugoslavia counted on its overwhelming military superiority over the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which apart from scores of mobilized policemen and those on active duty had no armed forces. The total resources of the aggressor and his collaborators in the country, its readiness and planned actions and its unified system of administration and command had enabled a full and effective occupation of an already internationally recognized country within a few days. The operation would be executed by taking Sarajevo, eliminating the Presidency and the Government, and by the pacification of the ineffectively occupied territories which would be cut off from each other, thus becoming further isolated. Consequently, any serious organized resistance would not be possible, and any small pockets of resistance would easily be crushed, thus making any kind of intervention by the international community senseless.

Even during the month of April, the liquidation of the legal government agencies of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with lesser or greater resistance of the citizens and the police, was executed in about thirty nationally mixed municipalities (at least 15 municipalities had the absolute Bosniak-Croatian majority). All kinds of terrorizing, killing, and plundering set off columns of refugees in the direction of the still unoccupied parts of the country, or into other countries.

In an attempt to establish a border on the Neretva River, eastern part of Mostar was devastated. The control of the urban center of the capital city of Sarajevo was combined with an attempt at coup d'état, but neither was successful. During the month of April the headquarters of the territorial defense of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina united all the elements of resistance and gradually consolidated its defenses. Around ten municipalities with Croatian majority on the south of the country weren't even attacked, and about thirty municipalities of the central Bosnian and Tuzla basin held off the Serb occupiers and became the central free territory. In the west part of Bosnia, they managed to do the same in Bihacka krajina.

Koristeći činjenicu da je Evropska zajednica i Arbitražna komisija nezavisnost Bosne i Hercegovine uvjetovala referendumom i njegovim ishodom, od početka nove godine kruna Jugoslavija, odnosno velika Srbija se pripremala da to spriječi. Da bi izbjegla šire konfrontacije i rasipanje snaga, saglasila se i sa izlaskom Makedonije iz zajedničke države. Povlačenje JNA sa oko 30% teritorije Republike Hrvatske uspjela je da razvlači do ljeta 1992. godine, i tako u kritičnoj početnoj etapi agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, tamo rasporedene jedinice koristila u Bosni i Hercegovini. Posavski koridor je uglavnom tim snagama bio i uspostavljen.

Računalo se na izuzetnu vojnu nadmoć nad Republikom, koja (osim nekoliko desetina hiljada aktivnih i mobilisanih policajaca) praktično nije imala oružanih snaga. Ukupni resursi agresora i njegovih saradnika u zemlji, izvršena pripremljenost i isplaniranost postupaka, te jedinstveni sistem rukovođenja i komandovanja omogućavali su da se puna - efektivna okupacija - sada već međunarodno priznate - države uspostavi za samo nekoliko dana. Operacija bi bila izvršena zauzimanjem Sarajeva, eliminisanjem Predsjedništva i Vlade, te pacifikacijom još neefektivno okupiranih teritorija, koje bi se ispresijecale i više međusobno izolovale. Jači organizovani otpor time bi bio onemogućen, a eventualne manje oaze otpora lahko savladane i međunarodna zajednica stavljena pred svršen čin.

Već u toku aprila, likvidacija organa legalne vlasti Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, uz manji ili veći otpor građana i policije izvršena je u još tridesetak nacionalno jače izmiješanih općina (bar 15 tih općina imalo je apsolutnu bošnjačko - hrvatsku većinu). Zavedeno svakovrsno zastrašivanje, ubijanje i pljačka pokrenulo je i kolone prognanika prema još slobodnim dijelovima zemlje ili u svijet.

U pokušaju da se prema Hrvatskoj uspostavi granica na Neretvi devastiran je istočni dio Mostara. Ovladavanje urbanim centrom glavnog grada Sarajeva bilo je kombinovano sa pokušajem držvanog udara, ali ni jedno ni drugo nije uspjelo. U toku aprila Štab Teritorijalne odbrane Republike Bosne i Hercegovine objedinio je skoro sve elemente otpora i postepeno konsolidovao odbranu. Desetak općina na jugu zemlje sa hrvatskom većinom nisu ni bile predmet napada, a tridesetak općina srednjobosanskog i tuzlanskog bazena održalo se i postalo centralna slobodna teritorija, a to je na zapadu uspjelo i Bihackoj krajini.



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## THE RESISTANCE OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINIA TO AGGRESSION AND GENOCIDE

The resistance to the Serbian nationalistic aggression was, above all, offered by the Bosniak people who were threatened by genocide, but also by a significant part of the Croatian, Serbian and other peoples. The first assault had been repelled by the police force which remained loyal and, based on the Decision of the Presidency, mobilized a significant number of its reserve forces on 4 April 1992. Only in the defense of the besieged Sarajevo aside from approximately 3000 Bosniaks casualties, 100 Serbs and 90 Croatians had been killed. On 26 June 1992, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted a Platform for Activities Under Conditions of War.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) (who had major influence in the Government), the opposition parties (the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Reformers, Democratic Socialist Union, Liberal Party...), the Republican Committee of SUBNOR, the former surviving mayors of Sarajevo, retired generals, ambassadors and many other groups of citizens also stood up in the defense of the Republic.

Bosanski Brod, in Posavina, and Semberija, in the lower Podrinje, bore the brunt of the first attacks. As early as March there had been numerous provocations and incidents of nationalistic character, which reached their climax in the first days of April of 1992. With the help of the suspicious 'intervention' by the members of Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Biljana Plavisić (who was kissing the culprit of the just committed crime, Zeljko Raznjatović Arkan<sup>10</sup> in Bijeljina, in front of the TV cameras) and Fikret Abdić, three municipalities - having barely over 50% Serb population - were declared Serb Autonomous Region of Semberija, so that this region came into the hands of the aggressor even before the onset of aggression. On 8 April, began an organized attack on Zvornik, and by that time, greater part of Posavina (Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Modrica, parts of Doboje and Odžak) also fell into the aggressor's hands.

<sup>9</sup> Signed by: Alija Izetbegović, president Fikret Abdić, Mirko Pejanović, Nenad Kecmanović, Ejup Ganić, Franjo Boras and Stjepan Kljuić.

<sup>10</sup> According to the Directive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia (dated 3 April 1992) Arkan was suppose to, as part of ethnic cleansing of Bijeljina, transfer some of the captives into Erdut and some of them, for the sake of intimidation, he was to execute by a firing squad.

## BOSANSKOHERCEGOVAČKI OTPOR AGRESIJI I GENOCIDU

Otpor velikosrpskoj agresiji pružio je, prije svega, genocidom ugroženi - bošnjački narod, ali i značajan dio hrvatskog, srpskog i ostalih naroda. Prve udare odbila je policija, koja je ostala lojalna i na osnovu Odluke Predsjedništva od 4. aprila 1992. mobilisala značajni dio svojih rezervnih sastava. Samo za odbranu opsjednutog Sarajeva pored približno 3000 Bošnjaka, poginulo je oko 100 Srba i 90 Hrvata. Predsjedništvo Republike Bosne i Hercegovine usvojilo je 26. juna 1992. godine Platformu za djelovanje u ratnim uvjetima,<sup>9</sup> a pored SDA i HDZ (koje su imale odlučujući utjecaj u vlasti) u odbranu Republike stale su i opozicione partije (SDP, Reformisti, Demokratski socijalistički savez, Liberalna stranka...), Republički odbor SUBNOR-a, živi raniji gradonačelnici Sarajeva, penzionisani generali, ambasadori te mnoge grupe građana.

Bosanski Brod u Posavini i Semberija u donjem Podrinju bili su prvi na udaru. Provokacije i incidenti međunacionalnog karaktera ovdje su bili brojni još u martu, a kulminaciju su doživjeli prvih dana aprila 1992. Zahvaljujući sumnjivoj "intervenciji" članova Predsjedništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Biljane Plavšić (koja je pred TV kamerama u Bijeljini ljubila vinovnika upravo počinjenog zločina Željka Ražnjatovića Arkana)<sup>10</sup> i Fikreta Abdića, tri općine sa jedva natpolovičnom srpskom većinom proglasile su SAO Semberiju, te je ovo područje zapravo prije početka "agresije" došlo u ruke agresora. Osmog aprila počeo je organizovan napad na Zvornik, a do tada je u ruke agresora pao i veći dio Posavine (Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Modriča te dio Doboja i Odžaka).

<sup>9</sup> Potpisali su: Alija Izetbegović, predsjednik, Fikret Abdić, Mirko Pejanović, Nenad Kecmanović, Ejup Ganić, Franjo Boras i Stjepan Kljuić.

<sup>10</sup> Prema Direktivi MUP-a Srbije (od 3. aprila 1992.) Arkan je u cilju "etničkog čišćenja" Bijeljine dio pohapšenih trebao prebaciti u Erdut, a dio - radi zastrašivanja - strijeljati.



At that time Zvornik did not have a Yugoslavian National Army garrison, but in its vicinity, as early as February, one armored division was stationed. The attack was heralded by the flight of the alerted citizens, especially of Serb nationality, who made up only 29% of the city population. Since the Serb policemen left the Zvornik police force and most of the Serb minority had crossed over into Serbia, an organized attack on Zvornik began on 8 April 1992. The main attack force was composed from the Serb paramilitary formations ('Arkanovci', 'Šešeljevci', 'Beli Orlovi'...) and the Serb Territorial Defense, along with the effective support of the armored, anti-aircraft and artillery units of the Yugoslavian National Army. Especially effective was the artillery and infantry fire from Mali Zvornik, from the Serb side.

Almost the entire city had been taken by 10/11 April, except Kulagrad which held out for another 20 days. 'The Serbian Municipality of Zvornik' resorted to cunning and invited the Bosniaks who fled the city to come back, under the threat of confiscation of their property. The citizens who came back had been subjected to forceful registration and relinquishment of their rights to their property. During the months of May and June half of the Bosniak population was deported in what was an organized exile. The other half, intimidated by the killings and every kind of torture, left the city on its own and fled in the direction of the unoccupied parts of the country, which, in effect, became standard behavior for the population of the occupied territories.

In the meantime, almost without resistance, the Serbian nationalistic aggressor established control in the other municipalities of lower Podrinje (Bratunac, Vlasenica and Srebrenica), even though these municipalities had nearly two-thirds Bosniak majority. The imposed terror induced resistance to the aggressor who could not cover all the occupied territories with its armed forces. During the summer, a free enclave, with a surface area of 900 km<sup>2</sup>, was established with its center in Srebrenica and with a significant grouping of villages on the junction of three borders of the municipalities of Zvornik, Vlasenica and Bratunac (Cerska, Kamenica, Konjević-Polje). Therefore, the first wave of refugees that flooded Tuzla was made up mostly of the citizens of Zvornik, Brdsko and Bijeljina.

Even with the assistance of a coup d'état Sarajevo had not been taken, but it had been encircled and besieged for over 1,000 days, until the end of the war. With the counterattack of the HVO and the Mostar Battalion (whose size, during the month of June, increased to 3,000 fighters and thus developed into a brigade), Perišec's units were driven out of Mostar and pushed back far away in the direction of Nevesinje. The legal government in the cities of the upper river basin of Bosna and Vrbasa and those lying upstream, from Doboje and Jajce, held out. The cities furthest West - Bihać, Cazin, Bosanska Krupa and Velika Kladusa - had been successfully defended, but until the

Zvornik do tada nije imao garnizon JNA, ali je u njegovu neposrednu blizinu još u februaru razmještena jedna oklopna jedinica. Napad je nagovještavao bijeg obaviještenih građana, naročito srpske nacionalnosti, kojih je u gradu bilo svega 29%. Pošto su policajci Srbi raspustili zvorničku policiju, a srpska manjina većinom prešla u Srbiju, organizovani napad na Zvornik počeo je 8. aprila 1992. godine. Glavne snage u napadu sačinjavale su srbijanske paravojne formacije (arkanovci, šešeljevci, "Beli orlovi"... ) i srpska teritorijalna odbrana, naoružanjem oklopnih, protivavionskih i artiljerijskih jedinica JNA iz okolnih garnizona efikasnu podršku. Naročito je bila efikasna artiljerijska i pješađijska vatra iz Malog Zvornika, sa srbijanske strane.

Grad je skoro čitav bio zauzet 10/11. aprila, osim naselja Kula-Grada koje se održalo još 20 dana. "Srpska opština Zvornik" je potom pribjegli triku i pozvala izbjegle Bošnjake da se vrate u grad, pod prijetnjom konfiskacije imovine. Građani koji su se vratili bili su podvrgnuti prisilnoj registraciji i odricanju od vlasništva. U toku maja i juna pola bošnjačkog stanovništva je bilo deportovano u organizovanom progonu. Zastrašena ubistvima i svakovrsnom torturom druga polovina je sama izbjegla prema još uvijek slobodnim dijelovima zemlje, što je skoro postalo matrica ponašanja stanovništva okupiranih teritorija.

U međuvremenu, skoro bez otpora, velikosrpski agresor uspostavio je vlast i u drugim općinama donjeg Podrinja (Bratuncu, Vlasenici i Srebrenici), iako su te općine imale skoro dvotrećinsku bošnjačku većinu. Zavedeni teror podstakao je otpor agresoru, koji nije mogao sve okupirane teritorije pokriti svojim oružanim snagama. U toku ljeta stvorena je slobodna enklava veličine 900 km<sup>2</sup>, sa centrom u Srebrenici i značajnom grupacijom na tromeđi općina Zvornik, Vlasenica, Bratunac (Cerska, Kamenica, Konjević-Polje). Tako su prvi prognanički talas koji je zahvatio Tuzlu sačinjavali uglavnom građani Zvornika, Brčkog i Bijeljine.

Ni uz pomoć državnog udara Sarajevo nije zauzeto, ali je opkoljeno i u opsadi držano više od 1.000 dana, do samog kraja rata. Protivudarom HVO-a i Mostarskog bataljona (koji je u toku juna narastao na 3.000 boraca i prerastao u brigadu) Perišićeve jedinice su izbačene iz Mostara i potisnute daleko prema Nevesinju. Legalne vlasti i u gradovima gornjeg sliva Bosne i Vrbasa, uzvodno od Doboja i Jajca su se održale. Na krajnjem zapadu odbranili su se Bihać, Cazin, B. Krupa i V. Kladuša, ali su ostali do pred sam kraj rata izolovani od ostalih slobodnih teritorija. Teže nego donje prošlo je gornje Podrinje, u kome



very end of the war they remained isolated from the rest of the free territories. The upper Podrinje fared worse than the lower Podrinje in which the Bosniaks (except Rudo and Cajnice) made up more than 50% of the population. The legal government managed to defend Gorazde and some parts of the neighboring municipalities.

As early as the end of May, the Territorial Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina, assembled under the municipal and district headquarters, had 10 brigades and 27 detachments. Based on the decision of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from 4 July 1992 to 30 September 1992, the Supreme Headquarters of the Armed Forces reorganized the regional headquarters of the Territorial Defense into the Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1st Corps - Sarajevo, 2nd Corps - Tuzla, 3rd Corps - Zenica, 4th Corps - Mostar and 5th Corps - Bihać). The training of the Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina marked the consolidation of the defense of the remaining part of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, since the fall of Jajce (29. 10. 1992) there had been no conquering of cities. The front lines had considerably stabilized and in many places they did not change until 1995. The territorial losses of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were minimal, even though the Serb aggressor had greatly taken advantage of the collaboration with the Croatian Republic of 'Herceg-Bosna', proclaimed in 1992.

In fact, Jajce fell due to the HVO leaving its defense positions and the evacuation of the civil population in the direction of Travnik. This was surely part of the realization of the agreement reached between Milosevic and Tudjman, since other incidents provoked by the HVO flared up in other parts of the country (Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Vitez and Vares) as well.

The aggressor used the forces, made available with the fall of Jajce, Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Vitez and Vares, to begin offensive operations in the direction of the enclaves in Eastern Bosnia. Battles, lasting several months, resulted in a shrinkage of the free territories and mutual isolation of the enclaves of Podrinje. In February of 1993, the focus of aggression shifted to the most northern parts of Bosnia, with most of the destruction aimed at Cerska. Even the arrival of French general Morrion did not help stop the attacks and the enclave of Cerska, with heavy losses on both sides, was ran over in March of 1993, with the remaining population retreating into an already overcrowded Srebrenica.

Several thousand of them, mostly women and children, arrived in Tuzla that month as a second wave of refugees from Podrinje. They were also placed into the temporary refugee centers. From this wave of refugees, a significant number of children had been placed into 'refugee schools', so that some of their written observations and drawings appeared in this publication.

su Bošnjaci (osim Rudog i Čajniča) imali natpolovičnu većinu. Legalnim vlastima uspjelo je održati samo Gorazde sa dijelovima susjednih općina.

Teritorijalna odbrana Republike Bosne i Hercegovine okupljena pod općinskim i okružnim štabovima već pred kraj mjeseca maja imala je 10 brigada i 27 odreda TO. Na osnovu Odluke Predsjedništva R BiH od 4. jula 1992. do 30. septembra Štab Vrhovne komande OS reorganizovao je regionalne štabove TO u korpuse Armije RBiH (Prvi - Sarajevo, 2. - Tuzla, 3. - Zenica, 4. - Mostar i 5. - Bihać). Obrazovanjem korpusa Armije RBiH bila je označena konsolidacija odbrane preostalog dijela Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. Zapravo od pada Jajca (29.10.1992.) uglavnom nije više bilo osvajanja gradova. Linije fronta su se prilično stabilizovale i na mnogim mjestima se nisu pomjerile do 1995. godine. Teritorijalni gubici Armije RBiH su bili minimalni, iako je srpski agresor obilno koristio saradnju HR "Herceg-Bosne", proglašene 1992.

Jajce je zapravo i palo zbog napuštanja odbrane od strane HVO i pokretanja civilnog stanovništva u evakuaciju prema Travniku. Bio je to dio ostvarivanja postignutih dogovora, jer su se istovremeno javili incidenti i u drugim dijelovima zemlje izazvani od strana HVO-a (Prozor, G. Vakuf, Vitez, Vareš).

Oslobođenim snagama agresor pokreće ofanzivne operacije prema istočnobosanskim enklavama. Višemjesečne borbe su rezultirale stanovitim sužavanjem slobodnih teritorija i međusobnom izolacijom podrinjskih enklava. U februaru 1993. godine težište agresije pomjereno je na uništenje najsjevernije od njih sa centrom u Cerskoj. Zaustavljanju napada nije pomogao ni dolazak francuskog generala Moriona i ova enklava je uz mnogo obostranih gubitaka pregažena u martu 1993. a preostalo stanovništvo se povuklo u ionako pretrpanu Srebrenicu.

Nekoliko hiljada njih, uglavnom žena i djece tog mjeseca je stiglo u Tuzlu, kao drugi talas prognanika iz Podrinja. Naravno da su se i oni našli u kolektivnim smještajima. Otuda se značajan broj djece iz ovog talasa našao i u "izbjegličkim malim školama" pa su se tako i neki njihovi sastavi, odnosno crteži, našli u ovoj publikaciji.



The Posavina corridor, mostly in the region of Brčko, had been reduced to only 5 or 6 kilometers and during the entire war had been the scene of many battles, but stable lines insured that those displaced from their homes could remain not too far from the front lines on the territories of their municipalities of Brdsko and Gradacas, so that the temporary refugee centers in Tuzla had a reduced inflow of refugees.

In the summer of 1993 the siege of Sarajevo entered a very intensive stage when the so-called Army of the Republic of Srpska attempted to, by capturing Treskavica, Bjelasnica and Igman, completely isolate it, but it was forced to retreat and afterwards pull its heavy weaponry 20 km from the city center.

On 27 September 1993, the aggressor decisively engaged its third collaborationist illegal formation. Up to that point, the army had overcome some of the initial difficulties and managed to halt territorial losses and stabilize the lines of defense. Now, there was even Muslim collaboration with the occupier who carried out genocide against the Muslims – Bosniaks. Self-proclaimed 'Autonomous Region of Western Bosnia' practically held out until the summer of 1995, when its territory of Velika Kladusa was liberated by the 5th Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The aggression by the Republic of Croatia and a significant involvement of the collaborationist HVO units had not affected the Tuzla region and the 2nd Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, within whose composition existed a great number of HVO units loyal to the government.

Negative consequences could not be avoided and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Army were isolated, including the city of Tuzla where this Book was prepared for publication during 1993. Not even a physical breaking out of the blockade and the appearance of the manuscript in the free world did not help its publication at that time.

The strongest blockade, it seems, was in the heads of the people within the international community who were most directly responsible for assisting these helpless children. One hundred and fifty publishing houses in the US, which under the given conditions would have made a profit, turned down the book, as did UNICEF which counted that by equating the victim and the perpetrators of crimes it would achieve peace - something these children have dreamt of, however no one asked them for their opinion.

The initiative by the Croatian People's Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina led to the Split Agreement on 12 March 1994 and on 18 March of that same year, the Washington Agreement. The first marked the beginning of a cease fire and the second, in addition to the confirmation of the constitutional-legal continuity and territorial

Posavski koridor, mjestimično, uglavnom u rejonu Brčkog, sužen na svega 5 do 6 kilometara, čitavo vrijeme je bio poprište borbi, ali su stabilne linije osiguravale da se prognani i izbjegli sa ovog područja zadržavaju nedaleko od fronta, na teritoriji svojih općina Brčkog i Gradačca, pa je i u tuzlanskim kolektivnim smještajima sa te strane bilo manje prinova.

U ljeto 1993. godine opsada Sarajeva ušla je u vrlo intenzivnu etapu, pokušajem takozvane Vojske Republike srpske da ga - zauzimanjem Treskavice, Bjelašnice i Igmana - potpuno izoluje, ali je prisiljena na povlačenje a zatim i povlačenje teškog naoružanja na 20 km od centra Grada.

Dvadeset sedmog septembra 1993. godine agresor na Republiku Bosnu i Hercegovinu odlučno je uključio i treću kolaboracionističku paradržavnu formaciju. Armija je do tada bila prebrodila početne teškoće, bila zaustavila osipanje teritorija i stabilizovala linije odbrane. Sada se čak radilo o muslimanskom kolaboracionizmu sa okupatorom, iako je ovaj očigledno provodio genocid nad Muslimanima - Bošnjacima. Samozvana "Autonomna Pokrajina Zapadna Bosna" praktično se održala do ljeta 1995. godine, kada je njena teritorija - V. Kladuša oslobođena od strane 5. korpusa ARBiH.

Agresija Republike Hrvatske i značajno učešće kolaboracionističkih jedinica HVO nije se u tom smislu potpuno odrazila i na tuzlansku regiju i 2. korpus Armije RBiH u čijem sastavu se nalazio veliki broj legalnim vlastima lojalnih jedinica HVO.

Negativne posljedice se nisu mogle izbjeći i to je, posebno u 93/94. godini, od svijeta izolovalo i Republiku BiH i njenu Armiju, pa tako i Tuzlu, u kojoj je Knjiga pripremljena za izdavanje u toku 1993. godine. Ni fizički proboj blokade i pojava rukopisa u slobodnom svijetu nisu pomogli da u to vrijeme bude štampana.

Najsnažnija blokada je izgleda bila u glavama ljudi u međunarodnoj zajednici najdirektnije zaduženih da pomognu ovoj bespomoćnoj djeci. Pored čak 150 izdavačkih kuća u SAD, koje bi u datim uvjetima svakako ostvarile profit radi koga postoje, zakazao je i UNICEF, koji je računao da će izjednačavanjem žrtve i počinioca zločina ostvariti mir, koji su i ova djeca žarko sanjala, ali djecu niko ništa nije pitao.

Inicijativa Hrvatskog narodnog vijeća Bosne i Hercegovine dovela je 12. marta 1994. do Splitskog i 18. marta do Vašingtonskog sporazuma. Prvi je označio prekid vatre, a drugi pored potvrde ustavno-pravnog kontinuiteta i teritorijalnog integriteta R BiH, donio i nove pristupe razrješju sukoba.



integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, brought about new approaches to the resolution of the conflict.

For the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina this represented significant relief. First of all, one front disappeared and with it the total logistic and every other kind of blockade. Within a year, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina strengthened its ranks, obtained significant amount of arms and ammunition, and with systematic training it consolidated its units and lines of defense, gradually beginning to take the tactical and sometimes the operational initiative.

In 1995 the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a more equal opponent, even though it was still more inferior in artillery arms. In this respect, military operation 'Vlasic' conducted in the period between April 24 and April 10, 1995, represented the turning point.

A shift in the operations of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the West, and the tendencies of a continuous "peace process" prompted the aggressor (who was encouraged by the fact that its crimes would not be sanctioned) to, even at the very end of the war, once again attempt to destroy the enclaves of Eastern Bosnia that had been declared 'UN safe areas'.

On 11 July 1995, before the eyes of the world and with the consent of the significant factors of the international community, the UN safe area of Srebrenica was liquidated and in just 10 days, almost 10,000 people, mostly those fit for military service and boys, were killed. Tens of thousands of new refugees flooded Tuzla (most of them were children). The Book was completed. The person responsible for putting it together continued to raise funds for it. This is why few more stories and drawings by the children who had spent the entire war in the isolated enclave of Srebrenica appeared in the Book. Nick Cameron, a witness to multiple crimes and the betrayal by the international community and a member of the British intelligence, stated in Sunday Times that the children "shocked him, not because of their malnutrition (this was common for Bosnia and Herzegovina), but because their features had been those of grown up people."<sup>11</sup>

Za Armiju R BiH to je bilo značajno rasterećenje. Prije svega nestao je jedan front, a time i potpuna logistička i svaka druga blokada. Za godinu dana ojačala je svoje redove, pribavila značajnije količine naoružanja i municije, sistematskom obukom konsolidovala jedinice i linije odbrane, pa postepeno počela i preuzimati taktičku, a ponegdje i operativnu inicijativu.

U 1995. godini bila je već znatno ravnopravniji protivnik, iako je još uvijek bila inferiorna u artiljerijskom naoružanju. Prekretnicu u tom pogledu predstavlja operacija "Vlašić" izvedena u vremenu 24. februara do 10. aprila 1995. godine.

Pomjereno težište operacija Armije RBiH na zapad, i tendencije neprekidnog "mirovnog procesa" navele su agresora (sigurno ohrabrenog da zločin neće biti sankcionisan) da i na samom kraju rata ponovo pokuša uništiti istočnobosanske enklave, koje su još 1993. godine bile proglašene "sigurnim zonama UN" (UN safe areas).

Jedanaestog jula 1995. pred očima svijeta i uz saglasnost značajnih faktora međunarodne zajednice likvidirana je sigurna zona Srebrenice i u genocidnim radnjama za svega desetak dana pobijeno je skoro 10.000, uglavnom vojno-sposobnih civila i dječaka. Desetine hiljada novih prognanika zapljusnule su Tuzlu (sada su djeca bila najbrojnija). Knjiga je bila gotova. Priređivač je ipak nastavio sa prikupljanjem priloga za nju. Tako se ovdje našlo još nekoliko priloga djece koja su čitav rat provela u izolovanoj srebreničkoj enklavi, za koju je svjedok višestrukog zločina i izdaje međunarodne zajednice pripadnik britanske obavještajne službe Nik Kameron (Nick Cameron) u Sandej Tajmsu (Sunday Times) objavio da su ga "šokirala, ne zbog njihove neuhranjenosti (u Bosni je to bila opća pojava), nego zbog njihovih lica sa crtama odraslih ljudi."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Translated and published in Slobodna Bosna, 10 July 2002, pp 10-20.

<sup>11</sup> Prevedeno i objavljeno u Slobodnoj Bosni od 10. jula 2002. godine na str. 10 do 20.



INCREASINGLY CERTAIN FATE OF THOSE WHO COMMITTED  
THE CRIMES AND GROWNIGLY UNCERTAIN FATE OF THE VICTIMS

The findings of the UN Expert Board for the Investigation and Collection of Evidence of Grave Violations of the Geneva Convention and other Violations of the International Humanitarian Law in the Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, and then those of an ECOSOC Special reporter for Human Rights, as well as the passage of temporary measures of the International Court of Justice in the proceedings in a case: Bosnia and Herzegovina vs. Serbia, on the grounds of prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide, from 8 April and 13 September 1993, as well as the judgment of the International Crimes Tribunal for the Prosecution of the Persons Responsible for the Grave Crimes Against International Humanitarian Law Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia, decisively confirmed mass and war crimes, genocidal activities and every other kind of violations of human rights by the occupier, pointing out that fascism was once again at work.<sup>12</sup>

Irresolute, late, inadequate and gradually escalating international intervention, along with the simultaneous pressure exerted upon the victims to at least partially accept the results of occupation and 'ethnic cleansing', led to the Dayton Accord in which the aggressors (Milosevic and Tudjman) were declared guarantors of its implementation. The escalation of genocide on Kosovo led to a more serious yet measured intervention by the NATO Pact, and later it brought the initiators and those who were the driving force behind the entire Balkan cataclysm to court - whose judgment would certainly significantly change the earlier inadequate attitude and conduct of the United Nations. The beginning of the functioning (July 2002) of the Permanent International Crimes Tribunal and the indication that the Hague would take over the filed crimes from the Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina must produce significant preventative results. This development will determine whether the unwanted consequences of the state and organized terrorist activities will repeat themselves, and whether the victims who have been affected by mass victimization will be compensated. Are the hopes of the innocent children - victims of the war

<sup>12</sup> Francis Anthony Boyle, BOSNIAN PEOPLE CHARGE GENOCIDE - PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE IN THE CASE - BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA VS SERBIA, ON THE GROUNDS OF PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIMES OF GENOCIDE, Sarajevo 2000.

SVE IZVJESNIJA SUDBINA POČINILACA I  
NEIZVJESNIJA SUDBINA ŽRTAVA

Nalazi Ekspertne komisije UN za istraživanje i sakupljanje dokaza o teškim kršenjima Ženevskih konvencija i drugih kršenja međunarodnog humanitarnog prava u sukobu u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, a onda i Specijalnog izvjestioca za ljudska prava pri ECOSOC-u te donošenje prvih privremenih mjera Međunarodnog suda pravde u postupku po predmetu: Bosna i Hercegovina protiv Srbije radi sprječavanja i kažnjavanja zločina genocida, od 8. aprila i 13. septembra 1993. godine, kao i presude Međunarodnog krivičnog tribunala za gonjenje lica odgovornih za teške zločine protiv međunarodnog humanitarnog prava počinjenih na tlu bivše Jugoslavije, odlučno su potvrdili masovne i pojedinačne ratne zločine, genocidne radnje i svakovrsna kršenja ljudskih prava od strane okupatora, ukazujući da je fašizam ponovo na djelu.<sup>12</sup>

Mlaka, zakašnjela, neadekvatna i postepeno eskalirajuća međunarodna intervencija uz istovremeni pritisak na žrtve da bar djelimično prihvate rezultate osvajanja i "etničkog čišćenja" dovela je do Dejtonskog sporazuma u kome su agresori (Milošević i Tuđman) proglašeni garantima njegovog sprovođenja. Eskalacija genocida na Kosovu dovela je do ozbiljnije, ali ipak dozirane intervencije NATO-pakta, a onda i do izvođenja inicijatora i pokretača ukupne balkanske kataklizme na sud, čija će presuda svakako bitno izmijeniti i prethodne neadekvatne stavove i postupke Ujedinjenih nacija. Početak djelovanja (jula 2002. godine) Stalnog međunarodnog krivičnog suda i nagovještaj preuzimanja u Hagu evidentiranih zločina od strane Vrhovnog suda Bosne i Hercegovine, u tom pravcu moraju uroditi značajnijim preventivnim rezultatima. Od takvog razvoja uveliko zavisi hoće li nam se neželjene posljedice državnih i organizovanih terorističkih djelovanja ponavljati, i hoće li masovnom viktimizacijom pogođene žrtve biti obeštećene. Hoće li se nadanja nevine djece - žrtava ratnog vihora ostvariti i kako? Da li će žrtve biti obeštećene, nije suština ove publikacije. Njena suština su objektivni

<sup>12</sup> Frensis Entoni Bojl, BOSANSKI NAROD OPTUŽUJE GENOCID - POSTUPAK PRED MEĐUNARODNIM SUDOM PRAVDE U PREDMETU BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA PROTIV SRBIJE RADI SPREČAVANJA I KAŽNJAVANJA ZLOČINA GENOCIDA, Sarajevo 2000.



that has swept across Bosnia - going to materialize, and how? Whether or not the victims are going to be compensated is not what this publication is about. Its essence are its objective judgments of the relevant international institutions on the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have taken place in the last decade of the 20th century.

The main instrument for the prevention of such conduct, on the international level, is the organization of the United Nations, which has, during the entire last decade of the 20th century, behaved contrary to its adopted position, in other words, it has proved unfit for the purpose of its existence. The League of Nations behaved in the same manner - in the fourth decade of the same century - on the eve of WWII, and the consequences are well known to all.

The findings of these investigative experts and the judgments of the Courts in the proceedings that have, up to this point, been concluded, have precisely reconstructed numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide, and have proved, by trial, the veracity of the stories of these boys and girls. In that regard, especially illustrative are the starting series of proceedings, before the Hague Tribunal, against Goran Jelisic and Ranko Cesic, for the crimes in Brcko<sup>13</sup>, and partakers in the massacre in Srebrenica in July of 1995, Drazen Erdemovic<sup>14</sup> and Radislav Krstic.<sup>15</sup> The Supreme Commander Slobodan Milosevic is in Sheveningen, but Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic<sup>16</sup> are still at large. This

<sup>13</sup> Jusuf Kadric, BRDSKO – GENOCIDE AND TESTEMONIES, Sarajevo, 1998; Indictment for the genocide committed against Bosniaks against Goran Jelisic and Ranko Cesic, pp.327-360. English edition: pp.285 - 298.

<sup>14</sup> The Indictment, Judgment and an Independent opinion on the judgment for Drazen Erdemovic, published in the edition: SREBRENICA 1995, Book 2, Documents and Testimonies I, Sarajevo, 1999, pp.567 - 634.

<sup>15</sup> The Indictment against Radislav Krstic, published in the edition: SREBRENICA 1995, Book 2, Documents and Testimonies I, Sarajevo, 1999, pp.545-565. Sentenced to 46 years in prison with the verdict passed on 02.08.2001. In its preparatory stage are the cases against the commanders of the Brigades of the Drina Corps of the Army of the Republic of Srpska and others.

<sup>16</sup> An ndictment published in the edition: SREBRENICA 1995, Book 1, pp. 436-458.

sudovi, relevantnih međunarodnopravnih institucija o zbivanjima u Bosni i Hercegovini posljednje decenije XX stoljeća.

Osnovni instrument za sprječavanje ovakvih postupaka na međunarodnom planu - Organizacija ujedinjenih nacija u toku čitave posljednje decenije XX stoljeća ponašala se suprotno tim stavovima, zapravo pokazala se nedoraslom zadatku svog postojanja. Skoro na isti način - u četvrtoj deceniji istog stoljeća - uoči Drugog svjetskog rata ponijela se Liga naroda a posljedice su svima dobro poznate.

Nalazi ovih istražnih eksperata i presude sudskih vijeća u dosad okončanim procesima precizno su rekonstruisali brojne ratne zločine, zločine protiv čovječnosti, uključujući i genocid i sudski dokazali istinitost priča ovih dječaka i djevojčica. U tome je posebno ilustrativna početna serija procesa pred Haškim tribunalom: Goranu Jelisiću i Ranku Češiću za zločine u Brčkom<sup>13</sup>, - učesnicima masakra u Srebrenici jula 1995. godine, Draženu Erdemoviću<sup>14</sup> i Radislavu Krstiću.<sup>15</sup> U Ševeningenu se već nalazi vrhovni naredbodavac Slobodan Milošević, ali su još na slobodi Radovan Karadžić i Ratko Mladić.<sup>16</sup> To je bez sumnje posljedica konstelacije odnosa velikih sila i njihovih interesa na Balkanu,

<sup>13</sup> Jusuf Kadrić, BRČKO - GENOCID I SVJEDOČENJA, Sarajevo, 1998; Optužnica za genocid nad Bošnjacima protiv Gorana Jelisića i Ranka Češića na str. 327. do 360, engl. izd. str. 285 do 298.

<sup>14</sup> Optužnica, Presuda i Izdvojeno mišljenje na presudu Draženu Erdemoviću, objavljene u Ediciji: SREBRENICA 1995., knjiga 2, Dokumenti i svjedočenja I, Sarajevo, 1999., str. 567. do 634.

<sup>15</sup> Optužnica protiv Radislava Krstića, objavljena u Ediciji SREBRENICA 1995., knjiga 2, Dokumenti i svjedočenja I, Sarajevo, 1999., str. 545 do 565. Osuđen na 46 godina zatvora Presudom od 2.8. 2001. U pripremi su suđenja komandantima brigada Drinskog korpusa Vojske Republike srpske i drugim.

<sup>16</sup> Optužnica objavljena u Ediciji SREBRENICA 1995., knjiga I, str. 436. - 458.



is, without a doubt, a consequence of the constellation of relations of the Great Powers and their interests in the Balkans, although their guilt has been proven long ago. Much evidence has been delivered to the Hague Crimes Tribunal and relevant charges have been brought up.<sup>17</sup>

The movement for the protection of victims has reached planetary proportions in the 19th century. Following Solferin (1859), when the humanists and the philanthropists began bandaging and removing the wounded from the battlefield in an organized manner, the Red Cross was founded. Despite the fact that all those responsible for the committed crimes during the war had been punished, following WWII, the science of victimology, whose activists still maintain the World Movement for the protection of victims and work towards its unification, had been developed. Owing to the influence and the full commitment of the World Victimology Association, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a Declaration on the Basic Principles of Justice for the Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power on 29 November 1985.<sup>18</sup> It was an epochal progress in an organized undertaking of measures for the eradication of victimization in general. In May of 1996, near the end of the Bosnian tragedy (1992-1995), UN Commission for Criminal Law and Prevention of Crimes set in motion the preparation of the International Handbook on Justice for Victims, publishing it in 1999. In effect, this was a handbook on the use and the application of the UN declaration from 1985.

Unfortunately, this Declaration is still not used in our country, even though the Victimization Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina has published the translation of the Handbook,<sup>19</sup> and has set in motion an all encompassing social campaign whose aim was to develop compassion for the victims, insure minimal victimological education in the country, and attempt to form and train the governmental agencies for a more effective functioning in this field.

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<sup>17</sup> On this point, in addition to the evidence provided by the domestic press, much evidence was offered in foreign literature: Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, A PRIMA FACIE CASE FOR THE INDICMENT, London, 1996; Roy Gutman, A WITNESS TO GENOCIDE, New York, 1993; Tilman Zülch, 'ETNISCHE SAUBERUNG' - VOLKERMORD FÜR 'GROSSERBIEN', Hamburg-Zürich, 1993; Francis A. Boyle, BOSNIAN PEOPLE CHARGE GENOCIDE, Amherst, 1993; Ilija Radakovic, SENSELESS WAGING OF WAR, Belgrade 1997, etc.

<sup>18</sup> G.A. 40/43 Annex 40 UNGOAR Supp. (No 53) at 214, U.N. Doc. A/40/53 (1985).

<sup>19</sup> HANDBOOK ON JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS, Victimology Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo 2001.

premda je njihova krivica odavno dokazana i Haškom krivičnom tribunalu dostavljeni mnogi dokazi, a podignute su i relevantne optužnice.<sup>17</sup>

Pokret za zaštitu žrtava dostigao je svjetske razmjere u XIX stoljeću. Poslije Solferina (1859.), kada su humanisti i filantropi organizovano počeli previjati i uklanjati ranjenike sa bojnog polja uspostavljen je Crveni krst. Poslije Drugog svjetskog rata, pored kažnjavanja odgovornih lica za počinjene zločine u ratu, razvijena je nauka o žrtvama - viktimologija, čiji aktivisti uglavnom još nose i objedinjavaju Svjetski pokret za zaštitu žrtava. Pod utjecajem i uz puno angažovanje svjetskog viktimološkog društva, 29. novembra 1985. godine Generalna skupština Ujedinjenih nacija donijela je Deklaraciju o osnovnim principima pravde za žrtve zločina i zloupotrebe moći.<sup>18</sup> Bio je to epohalan napredak u organizovanom preduzimanju mjera za suzbijanje viktimizacije uopšte. Po završetku bosanske tragedije (1992. do 1995.) u maju 1996. Komisija Ujedinjenih nacija za prevenciju zločina i krivično pravo pokrenula je pripremu i 1999. objavila Međunarodni priručnik o pravdi za žrtve (HANDBOOK ON JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS), odnosno o korištenju i primjeni deklaracije UN iz 1985. godine.

Nažalost, ta deklaracija se u našoj zemlji još ne primjenjuje, iako je Viktimološko društvo Bosne i Hercegovine objavilo prijevod Priručnika<sup>19</sup> i pokrenulo sveobuhvatnu društvenu kampanju u okviru koje bi se trebala razviti saosjećajnost za žrtve, osiguralo bar minimalno viktimološko obrazovanje u zemlji, te pokušalo formirati i osposobiti za efikasno funkcionisanje državne organe u ovoj oblasti.

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<sup>17</sup> O tome, pored domaće, svjedoči i brojna strana literatura: Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, A PRIMA FACIE CASE FOR THE INDICMENT, London, 1996; Roy Gutman, A WITNESS TO GENOCIDE, New York 1993; Tilman Zülch, "ETNISCHE SAUBERUNG" - VÖLKERMORD FÜR "GROSSERBIEN", Hamburg-Zürich, 1993; Francis A. Boyle, THE BOSNIAN PEOPLE CHARGE GENOCIDE, Amherst, 1993; Ilija Radaković, BESMISLENA RATOVANJA, Beograd 1997. itd.

<sup>18</sup> G.A. 40/43. Annex 40 UNGOAR Supp. (No 53) at 214, U.N. Doc. A/40/53 (1985.).

<sup>19</sup> MEĐUNARODNI PRIRUČNIK O PRAVDI ZA ŽRTVE, Viktimološko društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo 2001.



## TUZLA - A REFUGE FOR THE DISPLACED BOSNIAKS

In a defensive war of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Tuzla had played a significant role in the defense of the country, and in the northern part of eastern Bosnia it represented a stable center and a pillar of that defense. Tuzla remained multiethnic - in the full sense of that word. In addition, it accepted large numbers of refugees from the temporarily occupied neighboring municipalities. Most of them had arrived from the cities and villages in northeastern Bosnia, mainly from lower Podrinje and Posavina, which bore the brunt of the first attacks of the Serb nationalistic aggressor.

Many schools, dormitories, sporting and other types of institutions soon became refugee centers for these wretched people. Among them were many children. Something had to be done for them in this city.

Within the framework of the UNICEF's "Week of Peace of the Children of Bosnia and Herzegovina - 1992", a group of students at the University of Tuzla set in motion the idea on organizing a school for all the displaced children in Tuzla. Most of them were in the makeshift refugee centers.

At the beginning, the school had 1,200 pupils. Classes were held at several locations. The assembled children were grouped in elementary school classes. An adequate number of educators responded, especially elementary school teachers, high school teachers and pedagogues. Even some psychologist got involved. They had some experience with the treatment of the post-traumatic stress disorder - PTSP, and many of the children had brought that problem into Tuzla and into the refugee schools.

The material for this moving documentary book had evolved from the attempts by the enthusiasts and experts to cope with the problem of children population - ages 5-15. Even during the cataclysm of war it had been collected by Amira Delic.

She had taken the title from a series of drawings of an eleven-year old girl Zineta, from the village of Liplja, not far from Zvornik. Zineta drew her 'destroyed' village, her house, barn, trees, roof and roses, and in every caption she added - 'burnt'.

The book should be followed by an 'animated film', based on the Book content.

As far as eastern Bosnia was concerned, the Serb nationalistic aggressor had two strategic tasks of top priority. The first was 'crossing the Drina' with the aim of making that river the 'Serbian national river', and the second was to insure at least one corridor as a link with the 'western Serbian land', which was to be created by the unification of the two Krajinas, with their centers in Banja Luka and Knin. For the realization of

## TUZLA - UTOČIŠTE PROTJERANIH BOŠNJAKA

U odbrambenom ratu Republike Bosne i Hercegovine 1992.-1995. Tuzla je odigrala značajnu ulogu u odbrani zemlje, i u sjevernom dijelu istočne Bosne predstavljala stabilan centar i oslonac te odbrane. Tuzla je uz to, u punom značenju riječi, ostala multietnička, a uz to masovno prihvatila prognanike iz privremeno okupiranih susjednih općina. Najviše ih je stiglo iz gradova i sela iz sjeveroistočne Bosne, uglavnom iz donjeg Podrinja i Posavine, koji su se prvi našli na udaru velikosrpskog agresora.

Mnoge škole, studentski domovi, sportske i druge ustanove uskoro su postali kolektivni smještaji ovih nesretnika. Među njima je bilo mnogo djece. Za njih se u ovom gradu nešto moralo poduzeti.

U okviru UNICEF-ove Sedmice mira za djecu BiH 1992. godine grupa studenata Univerziteta u Tuzli pokrenula je ideju o organizovanju škole za svu prognanu djecu u Tuzli. Većina ih se nalazila u kolektivnim smještajima.

Škola je u startu imala 1.200 učenika. Nastava se održavala na više punktova. Okupljena djeca su prije svega grupisana u razrede osnovnih škola. Odazvalo se i dovoljno prosvjetnog kadra, posebno učitelja, nastavnika i pedagoga. U rad su se uključili i neki psiholozi. Oni su imali nešto iskustva i sa liječenjem posttraumatskog stresnog poremećaja - PTSP, a mnogo prognane djece donijelo je u Tuzlu i izbjegličke škole taj problem.

U pokušajima entuzijasta i stručnjaka da izađu na kraj sa tim problemom dječije populacije od 5 do 15 godina nastao je i materijal za ovu potresnu dokumentarnu knjigu. Još u toku ratne kataklizme prikupila ga je Amira Delić.

Naslov je uzela iz serije crteža jedanaestogodišnje djevojčice Zinete iz sela Liplja nedaleko od Zvornika. Zineta je nacrtala svoje "srušeno" selo, svoju kuću, štalu, drveće, krov i ruže, a u svakoj legendi dodala - "izgorilo".

Knjigu je trebao pratiti i animirani film, zasnovan na sadržaju Knjige.

Velikosrpski agresor u odnosu na istočnu Bosnu imao je dva prioriteta strateška zadatka. Prvi je "prelazak preko Drine" sa ciljem da se ta rijeka učini "srpskom nacionalnom rijekom", a drugi da se osigura bar jedan koridor kao veza sa "zapadnom srpskom zemljom", koja se trebala stvoriti objedinjavanjem Krajina sa centrima u Banjoj Luci i Kninu. Za ostvarenje tih zadataka trebalo je



these tasks, around ten municipalities were to be taken in both Podrinje and Posavina – both of these regions having absolute Bosniak and Croatian majority population.

With the separation of five such municipalities in the upper and the lower Podrinje, the latter had been isolated. Unprepared for defense, the poorly armed population became an easy prey for the aggressor even before the people had realized what was going on. The police, regular and paramilitary formation of the aggressor, with the use of various terrorist methods and most loathsome genocidal activities, began with the so-called 'ethnic cleansing' of the occupied villages and cities, which, in turn, resulted in the first flow of the displaced and the refugees, who poured into Tuzla and also inundated Western Europe. At the same time, began the organization of resistance to the occupier. By the end of the year free enclaves had been established with centers in Srebrenica, Cerska, Kamenica and Konjevic Polje. The majority of the first wave of refugees, in the summer of 1992 (with a great number of children whose education had been disrupted), had to be placed in the makeshift refugee centers – elementary and high school buildings, dormitories, nursery schools and into sections of various factories and plants.

The aggressor had used significantly more powerful armored and mechanized units for the establishment and securing of the Posavina Corridor-as its most important and strategic task, so that for this route (Bijeljina - Brdsko - Pelagicevo - Modrica - Derventa) the aggressor brought the forces from the so-called Serb Krajina in Croatia, which, as a pacified UN zone, was formally under the protection of the United Nations. This led to the cutting off of Posavina exactly along this route, so that the columns of refugees were, for the most part, directed over the Sava River. Of all the Posavina refugees in Tuzla, a large number of refugees were from the main city population of Brcko and the peripheral parts of Gradacac.

Lower Podrinje and Posavina naturally gravitated towards Tuzla. So it's natural that the refugees of Podrinje, Semberija and Posavina sought refuge in it, unless their columns were not directed by the Serb nationalistic aggressor over the Hungarian border and into foreign countries. The countries which accepted these refugees had to promise that they would not return them to Bosnia, especially to its free territories. Such a move enabled the aggressor to have an easier time handling the reduced number of the Bosnian population.

During the war, almost at its very beginning, aside from a large number of refugees from Podrinje and Posavina, a train of refugees from Kozarac appeared in Tuzla. Prijedor and Potkozarje were known for a peaceful co-existence of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, and for their joint participation in the People's Liberation Movement. That is why the first strategic move in this partisan region was to smash this co-

prvenstveno zauzeti po desetak općina u Podrinju i Posavini koje su zajedno, ali i pojedinačno, imale apsolutnu bošnjačku i hrvatsku većinu.

Razdvajanjem po pet takvih općina u gornjem i donjem Podrinju, ovo drugo je bilo izolovano. Nepripremljeno za odbranu, slabo naoružano stanovništvo postalo je plijen agresora i prije nego su ljudi shvatili o čemu se radi. Policija, regularne i paravojne formacije agresora primjenom raznovrsnih terorističkih akata i najgnusnijih genocidnih radnji otpočele su takozvano "etničko čišćenje" okupiranih sela i gradova, što je opet rezultiralo prvim prognaničkim i izbjegličkim kolonama koje su se do samog kraja rata slivale u Tuzlu, a preplavile su i zapadnu Evropu. Istovremeno je počela organizacija otpora okupatoru. Do kraja godine ovdje su se uspostavile slobodne enklave sa centrima u Srebrenici te Cerskoj, Kamenici i Konjević-Polju. Glavnina već onog prvog talasa iz ljeta 1992. godine (sa velikim brojem djece, čije je školovanje bilo poremećeno) morala se smjestiti u kolektivne smještaje, prije svega u zgrade osnovnih i srednjih škola, studentskih domova, dječijih obdaništa i pogone nekih proizvodnih preduzeća.

Znatno jače, prije svega, oklopne i mehanizovane jedinice agresor je angažovao za uspostavljanje i osiguranje Posavskog koridora, kao za njega najznačajnijeg strateškog zadatka, pa je na ovaj pravac (Bijeljina-Brčko-Pelagicevo-Modriča-Derventa) privukao i snage iz takozvane Srpske krajine u Hrvatskoj, koja je (kao pacifizirana zona UN) formalno bila pod zaštitom Ujedinjenih nacija. To je dovelo do presijecanja Posavine upravo ovim pravcem, pa su kolone prognanika većim dijelom usmjerene preko Save. Od Posavskih prognanika u Tuzli su se našli u većem broju prognanici iz užeg gradskog područja Brčkog i perifernih dijelova Gradačca.

I donje Podrinje i Posavina prirodno su gravitirali prema Tuzli. Otuda je prirodno da su svoj spas u njoj potražili prognanici Podrinja, Semberije, Posavine, ukoliko njihove kolone velikosrpski agresor nije, preko mađarske granice, usmjerio u takozvane "treće zemlje". Zemlje prihvata morale su se obavezati da bosanskohercegovačke prognanike ne mogu vratiti u zemlju, pogotovo ne na njenu slobodnu teritoriju. Takvim potezom se okupatoru omogućavalo da sa smanjenim preostalim nesrpskim stanovništvom zemlje lakše izade na kraj.

U ratnom vihoru, pored velikog broja Drinjaka i Posavaca, skoro na samom početku, u Tuzli se našao jedan željeznički transport Kozarčana. Prijedor i Potkozarje bili su poznati zbog ostvarenog suživota Bošnjaka, Srba i Hrvata i zajedničkog učesća u NOP-u, pa je prvi strategijski potez u ovom



existence and mutual toleration. At the end of May and the beginning of June of 1992, the Municipality of Prijedor (population 112,477), where the Serbs had 42.5% population, was the scene of large scale crimes - even though there was no military activity in these parts. Tens of thousand of men, women and children were killed, and additional tens of thousands of people were placed into concentration camps (Keraterm, Omarska, Trnopolje...). Among the 3,000 missing from this municipality, there were 255 women and 86 children. Tens of thousands of non-Serbs were either driven across the Sava River or were transported by freight cars to Doboje and then - via railway - in the direction of Gracanica, towards the free territory. Some of them ended up in the refugee centers in Tuzla, and five or six testimonies that appear in this book come from their children.

Tuzla and the neighboring municipalities of the central free territory (Gracanica, Zivinice, Lukavac, Srebrenik) accepted some of the refugees from the other occupied regions. They had arrived individually and in smaller groups, and most of them had been put up with their relatives and friends, so that a smaller number of them ended up in the makeshift refugee centers. However, Tuzla wasn't the only private center for the numerous refugees who poured from the occupied territories and in the direction of the isolated centers of the remaining free territories (Sarajevo, Zenica, Bihać, Tešanj, Travnik, Mostar, Visoko, Orasje, Gorazde). A large number of them the aggressor directed to foreign countries. With such a massive wave of refugees, the summer of 1992 found Europe panic stricken. At the London Conference on Yugoslavia (26 & 27 August) the president of the International Red Cross Committee, Cornelio Sommaruga) insisted that the 'forceful displacement, maltreatment, arrests and killings must cease immediately' and he suggested that the safe areas under international protection be established, and the UN High Commissioner for refugees, Sadako Ogata - 17 December) demanded that a solution for the endangered population be sought immediately.

From all this, after months of deliberations, a compromise on the UN safe areas emerged, in which the isolated Bosniak population, exposed to inhuman conditions, siege, hunger, thirst, cold, grenades and sniper fire, would gradually diminish and seek refuge outside the country.<sup>20</sup>

The London Conference concluded with a series of documents and tenets on

partizanskom kraju bilo razbijanje tog suživota i međusobne tolerancije. Krajem maja i početkom juna 1992. godine općina Prijedor (112.477 stanovnika), gdje su Srbi imali samo 42,5% stanovništva, bila je poprište masovnih zločina iako borbenih akcija na ovom prostoru uopće nije bilo. Ubijene su desetine hiljada ljudi, žena i djece, druge desetine hiljada zatočene su u koncentracione logore (Keraterm, Omarska, Trnopolje...). Među 3.000 nestalih iz ove općine vodi se 255 žena i 86-toro djece. Desetine hiljada nesrba protjerane su preko Save ili u željezničkim vagonima transportovane do Doboja, a onda na otvorenoj pruzi prema Gračanici upućeni na slobodnu teritoriju. Dio njih se našao u tuzlanskim kolektivnim smještajima, pa otuda i pet-šest svjedočenja njihove djece u ovoj knjizi.

Tuzla i susjedne općine (Gracanica, Zivinice, Lukavac, Srebrenik) centralne slobodne teritorije prihvatile su i jedan broj prognanika iz drugih okupiranih krajeva. Ovi su dolazili u manjim grupama i pojedinačno, pa su mahom smješteni kod rodbine i prijatelja te ih je manje bilo u kolektivnim smještajima. Tuzla, međutim, nije bila jedini prihvatni centar za brojne prognanike, koji su se sa okupiranih teritorija slijevali prema izolovanim centrima preostalih slobodnih teritorija (Sarajevo, Zenica, Bihać, Tešanj, Travnik, Mostar, Visoko, Orašje, Gorazde). Najveći broj, međutim, agresor je usmjerio u tzv. treće zemlje. Pred tako masovnim talasom prognanika Evropu je u ljeto 1992. godine zahvatila panika. Na Londonskoj konferenciji o Jugoslaviji (26. i 27. augusta), predsjednik Međunarodnog komiteta Crvenog krsta Kornelio Sommaruga (Cornelio Sommaruga) insistirao je da "prisilna preseljenja, maltretiranja, hapšenja i ubijanja moraju odmah prestati" i predložio obrazovanje sigurnih zona pod međunarodnom zaštitom, a visoki komesar UN za izbjeglice Sadako Ogata (Sadako Ogata 17. decembra) tražila je da se za ugroženu populaciju rješenje mora tražiti na licu mjesta (in situ).

Iz toga se u Vijeću sigurnosti, poslije višemjesečnih natezanja izrodio kompromis o "sigurnim zonama UN" (UN safe areas), u kojima će se izolovana, bošnjačka populacija, izložena nečovječnim uvjetima opstanka, opsadi, gladi, žeđi, hladnoći, granatama i snajperskoj vatri, postepeno istopiti i utočište potražiti van zemlje.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See: Omer Ibrahimagić, POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL - LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE ILLEGAL CREATION OF THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF WESTERN BOSNIA, a report presented at an international conference in Bihać from 22 to 24 September 2000.

<sup>20</sup> Vidi: Omer Ibrahimagić, POLITIČKI I USTAVNO-PRAVNI ASPEKTI PARADRŽAVNE TVOREVINE AP ZAPADNA BOSNA, referat podnesen na Međunarodnoj naučnoj konferenciji, održanoj u Bihaću 22. do 24. septembra 2000. godine.



the conduct of the newly formed countries, and it also adopted a Declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina - as a newly formed internationally recognized country - and guaranteed its territorial integrity. On the border with Serbia and Montenegro, it stationed international observers. The newly named Conference co-chairmen transferred their headquarters to Geneva; they deviated from the positions of the Conference, and with their leadership of the peace process they practically covered up the aggression and the destruction of the country.<sup>21</sup>

## VII

### THEY KILLED CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS

It is not possible to even approximately fixate the total number of victims of victimization in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last decade of the 20th century. Serious and all encompassing records and research projects by the authorized agencies and institutions have not been conducted, and the partial and specialized ones have never produced real results.

On 31 March 1991, 4,377,033 people lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to academician Filipovic, nearly half the population was composed of Muslims-Bosniaks, which was approximately equal to the total number of Serbs and Croats together.<sup>22</sup>

An independent bureau for humanitarian inquiries (IBHI), for the year 1997, estimated the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina at 3,599,736. An eminent demographer Dr. Ilijas Bosnjovic estimated that number for the year 2001 at 3,365,000, and the 10-year growth increase at 144,000. In relation to the year 1991, the demographic deficit, according to IBHI, would be at 1,179,000, and according to Bosnjovic the figure would be 1,156,000. In addition to this the IBHI estimates that 712,555 of them are permanently settled abroad, so that by the year 2002 one can hardly count on any returns. In fact, emigration of 100,000 people has been recorded in the post-Dayton period, most of them belonging to the younger population.

<sup>21</sup> Kasim I. Begić, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - FROM THE VANCE MISSION TO THE DAYTON ACCORD, Bosanska knjiga, Sarajevo 1997, pp up to 108,

<sup>22</sup> Muhamed Filipovic, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - THE MOST IMPORTANT GEOGRAPHICAL, DEMOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FACTS, Compact, Sarajevo 1997, pp 1-45

Londonska konferencija je završila nizom dokumenata i 13 principa ponašanja novoformiranih država, a usvojila je i Deklaraciju o Bosni i Hercegovini, kao novoformiranoj međunarodno priznatoj državi i garantovala njen integritet i granice, te na granicama prema Srbiji i Cnoj Gori ustrojila je međunarodne posmatrače. Novoimenovani kopredsjedavajući Konferencije su njeno sjedište premjestili u Ženevu, odstupili od stavova Konferencije i daljnjim vođenjem mirovnog procesa faktički prikrivali agresiju i destrukciju zemlje.<sup>21</sup>

## VII

### UBIJALI SU I DJECU I NJIHOVE RODITELJE

Ukupne žrtve viktimizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini u posljednjoj deceniji XX stoljeća još nije moguće ni približno fiksirati. Ozbiljne i sveobuhvatne evidencije i ispitivanja nadležnih organa i institucija potpuno su izostale, a parcijalne i usmjerene nikad nisu davale prave rezultate.

Trideset prvog marta 1991. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini je živjelo 4.377.033 stanovnika. Prema akademiku Filipoviću približno polovinu stanovništva činili su Muslimani-Bošnjaci, koliko je približno iznosio i ukupan udio Srba i Hrvata zajedno.<sup>22</sup>

Nezavisni biro za humanitarna pitanja (IBHI) za 1997. godinu procijenio je stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine na 3,599.736. Istaknuti demograf dr. Ilijas Bošnjović, za 2001. godinu, taj broj je procijenio na 3.365.000, a desetogodišnji prirast na 144.000. U odnosu na 1991. godinu demografski manjak po IBHI-ju bio bi 1.179.000, a po Bošnjoviću 1,156.000. Uz to IBHI računa da je 712.555 njih u inozemstvu našlo trajno rješenje, pa se od 2002. godine jedva može računati na dalje povratke. Naprotiv u postdejtonskom periodu zabilježen je novi odliv od preko 100.000 uglavnom mladih ljudi.

<sup>21</sup> Kasim I. Begić, BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA OD VENCEOVE MISIJE DO DAYTONSKOG SPORAZUMA, Bosanska knjiga, Sarajevo 1997., str. do 108. i dalje.

<sup>22</sup> Muhamed Filipović, BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA - NAJVAŽNIJE GEOGRAFSKE, DEMOGRAFSKE, HISTORIJSKE, KULTURNE I POLITIČKE ČINJENICE, Compact, Sarajevo 1997., str.1 do 45.



The more realistic estimates of those killed is around 200,000, of which two thirds have been killed as a result of a pogrom, through concentration camps and prisons. In the last decade of the 20th century, the children of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been greatly affected by victimization. The most numerous among them are the displaced and the refugees. Now, there are 400,000 of them in our country and 600,000 in the rest of the world. A significant number of them has gone through concentration camps and other places of torture. Of those that are still in the country and awaiting return, more than 120,000 are children, and a prolonged victimization is causing an exodus of tens of thousands belonging to the younger population.

With so much different and partial information, it is difficult to come by precise information on the killed and wounded children. Different numbers are mentioned, among them 17,000 killed and 34,000 wounded children, and 1,335 still counted as missing. The number of war orphans is quite large. It is estimated that 20,000 children have lost one parent, while 1,500 have lost both. Many of the displaced, wounded and orphaned children have been left with psychological scars, which will have its negative consequences, especially with the raped girls and children who have become invalids.<sup>23</sup>

The children losses and their degree of victimization in the capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina is specific due to siege warfare. For more than 1000 days they were exposed to bombardment and sniper fire, hunger, thirst and cold. One thousand five hundred and seventy-two children died and 14,845 had been wounded or hurt. The children of all the enclaves of Podrinje found themselves in a similar and sometimes even graver situation.

Realnije procjene žrtava sa smrtnim ishodom kreću se oko 200.000, od čega dvije trećine u pogromima i koncentracionim logorima i zatvorima. Djeca Bosne i Hercegovine bila su u posljednjoj deceniji XX stoljeća masovno zahvaćena viktimizacijom. Među njima su najbrojniji prognanci i izbjeglice. Sada ih je 400.000 u zemlji i 600.000 u drugim zemljama. Značajan broj od njih uz to je prošao kroz koncentracione logore i druga mučilišta. Od onih koji još uvijek u zemlji čekaju povratak na svoja ognjišta, više od 120.000 su djeca, a produžena viktimizacija uzrokuje odliv novih desetina hiljada mladih.

U masi različitih parcijalnih podataka teško se dolazi do ukupnih, zbirnih podataka o ubijenoj i ranjenoj djeci. Koriste se sa različitim ciframa, između ostalih i sa 17.000 ubijene i 34.000 ranjene djece. Njih 1.335 se još vodi kao nestalo. Golem je broj i ratne siročadi. Računa se da je 20.000 djece ostalo bez jednog, a 1.500 bez oba roditelja. Brojna prognana, ranjena i osirotljela djeca uz to su pretrpjela mentalne povrede, što neće ostati bez posljedica, naročito kod silovanih djevojčica i invalidizirane djece.<sup>23</sup>

Dječiji gubici i njihov stepen viktimizacije u glavnom gradu Bosne i Hercegovine, specifični su po opsadnom načinu ratovanja. Više od 1000 dana bili su izloženi granatiranju i snajperskoj vatri, gladi, žeđi i hladnoći. Od toga je 1.572 djece umrlo, a 14.845 ranjeno ili povrijeđeno. U sličnoj, često i gorjoj situaciji, nalazila su se djeca u svim enklavama Podrinja.

<sup>23</sup> See the bilingual publication: THE PLUCKED BUDS, A collection of works from the International Conference CHILDREN: VICTIMS OF WAR AND PEACE, held in Sarajevo 10 & 11 September 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Vidi dvojezičnu publikaciju: POKIDANI PUPOLJCI, Zbornik radova sa Međunarodne konferencije DJECA ŽRTVE RATA I MIRA, održane u Sarajevu 10. i 11. septembra 2001. godine.



## CHILDREN - EYEWITNESSES OF HELL AND HORROR

The book 'BURNT ROSES', like the UNICEF's book I DREAM OF PEACE<sup>24</sup>, was not intended for children. It is a moving document of authentic and impartial eyewitnesses of hell and horror - of children who are still incapable of lying and who have personally and directly lived through the Serb nationalistic war of conquest. It is through genocide that the aggressor intended to wipe out the Bosniak people in those parts and, in keeping with Nazi habits, usurp the ethnically cleansed areas for the expansion of its 'Lebensraum'.

Not even now, a decade later, has the Book lost any of its significance, and its authenticity has been absolutely preserved. It remains a moving and authentic collection of testimonies of impartial witnesses who have, with their children's eyes, simply and visually reproduced the terrible events from the personal and family tragedy, which the Hague judges would later describe as the "scenes of unthinkable savagery...real scenes of hell described on the darkest pages of history".<sup>25</sup> As an authentic document, the Book is intended for the world scientific and political community. A voluminous chapter WHAT ARE THE CHILDREN HOPING FOR AFTER THE WAR categorically refutes the claim about its 'depressing nature'. Facsimiles of children's drawings and stories insure full authenticity. The identity of children - victims - witnesses is fully protected. After all, nearly a decade following their testimonies, the boys and girls from this book are mostly adult citizens. For most part, they are scattered throughout the Diaspora. The chances of their return to their Homeland - to their still burned down villages - are remote.

This bilingual edition makes the Book more accessible to a wider world public, but the needed publicity could only be arranged by the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund - UNICEF who were obligated to do that, due to (what is possibly

<sup>24</sup> I DREAM OF PEACE: IMAGES OF WAR BY CHILDREN OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, UNICEF, sine locco, 1944.

<sup>25</sup> A report by the UN General Secretary - dated 15 November 1999 - delivered to the UN General Assembly, as requested by Article 18 of the Resolution no.35/53, dated 30 November 1998, Paragraph 1. Also published in the edition 'SREBRENICA 1995', Book 3, pp.11-274.

## DJECA - OČEVICI PAKLA I UŽASA

Knjiga "IZGORJELE RUŽE" nije, kao ni UNICEF-ova "JA SANJAM MIR"<sup>24</sup> bila namijenjena djeci. To je potresan dokumenat autentičnih, nepristrasnih, za laž još nesposobnih svjedoka očevidaca pakla i užasa koji su lično i neposredno preživjeli u osvajačkom ratu velikosrpskog agresora. Upravo genocidom on je namjeravao da na tom prostoru zatre bošnjački narod i, po nacističkoj navici, prazan prostor, prisvoji za proširenje svog "Lebensrauma".

Ni sada, prvu deceniju poslije, Knjiga nije ništa izgubila od svoga značaja, a apsolutno joj je sačuvana autentičnost. Ostala je potresno svjedočenje autentičnih, nepristrasnih svjedoka koji su svojim dječijim očima jednostavno i fotografski reprodukovali užasne događaje, iz lične i porodične tragedije, koje će Haške sudije kasnije označiti kao "scene nezamislivog divljaštva (...) kao istinske scene pakla opisane na najmračnijim stranicama historije".<sup>25</sup> Kao autentičan dokumenat knjiga je namijenjena svjetskoj naučnoj i političkoj javnosti. Obimno poglavlje ČEMU SE DJECA NADAJU POSLIJE RATA kategorički demantuje tvrdnju o njenoj "depresivnosti". Faksimili dječijih crteža i priča osiguravaju punu autentičnost. Identitet djece - žrtava - svjedoka je maksimalno zaštićen. Uostalom, sada skoro punu deceniju od njihovih svjedočenja dječaci i djevojčice iz ove knjige su uglavnom punoljetni građani. Velikim dijelom rasuti su u dijaspori. Mali su im izgledi na povratak u domovinu, u svoja još uvijek spaljena sela.

Dvojezičnost izdanja značajno otvara dostupnost knjige široj svjetskoj javnosti, ali bi stvarno potrebnu širinu jedino mogao popraviti svojim (možda samo) nesmotrenim postupkom obavezani Međunarodni fond za pomoć djeci (United Nations Childers Emergency Fund - UNICEF). Lična je to obaveza

<sup>24</sup> I DREAM OF PEACE : IMAGES OF WAR BY CHILDREN OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (JA SANJAM MIR - UTISCI O RATU DJECE U BIVŠOJ JUGOSLAVIJI), UNICEF, sine locco, 1994.

<sup>25</sup> Izvještaj generalnog sekretara UN od 15. novembra 1999. godine dostavljen Generalnoj skupštini OUN, na njen zahtjev tačkom 18. Rezolucije br. 35/53. od 30. novembra 1998. godine, paragraf 1. Objavljen i u Ediciji SREBRENICA 1995., knjiga 3, str. 11. do 274.



just) an incautious move on their part. It was the personal obligation of the former UNICEF director, James P. Grant, the director and editor of his publishing house and especially the author of the Preface - actress Vanessa Redgrave, whose popularity and readiness to help the children with this publication was perhaps taken advantage of.

Because the truth about the abuse of power, especially in such wars of conquest, and the realization to what extent any war very much affects the children population, of which the warring sides should be concerned about, this book can act as a preventive measure so that such things never happen again to children of any country or in any part of the Planet.

Unfortunately, the human race easily forgets. A few decades was enough for the World to forget the dreadful consequences of the Fascist terror of WWII. Immediately following WWII, nations and officials swore 'never again'. In that respect, the international community took the first important steps. Many trials were held for the committed war crimes and it was determined that the crimes cannot expire; the heads of states are not exempt from liability. It was also emphasized that an order does not free the perpetrator from responsibility. A Convention on the Prevention and the Punishment of Genocide had also been passed. It was the international codification of crimes against peace and security of humanity and the formation of the corresponding Permanent International Crimes Tribunal which represented the stumbling blocks.

Not even five decades had passed and fascism once again emerged in Europe, this time in the Balkans, and set in motion a series of wars of conquest and genocides, all with tested goals of realizing the national myths and the expansion of the living space of the chosen 'heavenly' nation. In the 90's of the last century, the International Community - as it did in its thirty years of existence - once again did not rise to the occasion. Even though the Charter obligates it to do so, the United Nations organization had not intervened for a long time, and with the so-called 'peace process' it was covering up a war of aggression and the crimes that once again had stricken the innocent peoples and unarmed civilians, especially the children.

A unique book of children testimonies about the suffering of the Bosniak population in the northeastern corner of the Bosnian triangle and the genocide against its most numerous peoples, during the Serb nationalistic aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, represents a special collage of honest and authentic testimonies of the youngest sufferers who have been deprived of the most precious part of their lives and who, in addition, had the rare luck to live through the traumas and to, in such a child-like manner, write at least something about their experience or to try and represented it with a drawing.

tadašnjeg direktora UNICEF-a Džejmisa Granta (James P. Grant), direktora i urednika njegove izdavačke kuće, a posebno pisca Predgovora glumice Vanese Rejdgrevj (Vanessa Redgrave), čija je popularnost i spremnost za pomoć djeci ovim izdanjem možda zloupotrijebljena.

To prije svega što istina o zloupotrebi moći, posebno u takvim osvajačkim ratovima, i saznanje o tome koliko - bilo koji - rat teško pogađa dječiju populaciju o kojoj bi se on trebao brinuti, može preventivno djelovati da se takve stvari više nikad ne dogode bilo kojoj djeci u bilo kojoj državi, u bilo kom dijelu Planete.

Na veliku žalost, čovječanstvo slabo pamti. Bilo je dovoljno da prođe samo nekoliko decenija da se zaborave stravične posljedice fašističkog terora u Drugom svjetskom ratu 1939. do 1945. godine. Neposredno poslije tog rata i narodi i državni su se zaklinjali "nikad više". U tom pravcu međunarodna zajednica učinila je prve značajne korake: održana su brojna suđenja za počinjene ratne zločine - utvrđeno je da oni ne zastarijevaju - od odgovornosti nisu izuzeti ni šefovi država - i naglašeno je da naređenje ne oslobađa izvršioca. Donesena je i Konvencija o sprječavanju i kažnjavanju genocida.

Zapelo je na međunarodnoj kodifikaciji zločina protiv mira i sigurnosti čovječanstva i formiranju odgovarajućeg Stalnog međunarodnog krivičnog suda.

Nije prošlo ni pet decenija, a u Evropi se, sada na Balkanu, opet pojavio fašizam i pokrenuo niz osvajačkih ratova i genocida, sve sa oprobanim ciljevima ostvarenja nacionalnih mitova i proširenja životnog prostora izabranog "nebeskog" naroda. Devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća Međunarodna zajednica - kao i njenih tridesetih godina - opet se pokazala nedoraslom situaciji. Organizacija ujedinjenih nacija nije za dugo intervenisala što joj nalaže Povelja, a takozvanim "mirovnim procesom" prikrivala je agresivni rat i zločine koji su ponovo pogodili nedužne narode i nenaoružane civile, posebno djecu.

Jedinstvena knjiga dječijih svjedočanstava o patnjama bošnjačke populacije u sjeveroistočnom uglu bosanskohercegovačkog trokuta, za vrijeme velikosrpske agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i genocida nad njenim najbrojnim narodom, predstavlja svojevrsan kolaž iskrenih i nepatvorenih iskaza najmlađih paćenika, kojima je oduzet najdragocjeniji dio života, koji su uz to imali rijetku sreću da traume prežive i da o tome na ovaj i onakav, dječiji način, bar nešto zapišu ili pokušaju crtežom predstaviti.



The book **BURNT ROSES – WAR HORRORS IN CHILDREN’S EYES**, apart from this PREFACE and the emotional words of the person who has put together this edition - **CHILDREN WRITE AND DRAW**, is composed of four thematic parts:

#### FIRST: SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF CHILDREN

This is the most voluminous part and has twenty-five handwritten children testimonies about the events too horrid to bear for a grown up person, let alone for any child. It contains the same number of drawings which mainly illustrate the described or some other similar event. Three of the children have chosen to present their event in a combined manner, that is, to, along with their small drawings, use a legend to describe what their drawing represents.

The reader will easily come to understand that the children are not journalists or any other kind of reporters; that, by chance or by the will of the perpetrators, they had been part of these events, and that they have witnessed each of them as an isolated occurrence. From their writings it is obvious that they are not aware of the causes of these events and that, for the most part, they do not concern themselves with that aspect. Simply said, their stories represent that which has been observed at a given moment.

The conditions under which these testimonies evolved are not those under which the drawings and stories of the publication by UNICEF **I DREAM OF PEACE** had developed. They were not done on comfortable school benches of warm class rooms, under the supervision and, perhaps, with the assistance of qualified teachers. They were done on the floors of the makeshift refugee centers. The children only had or were able to borrow a pencil, and they were happy if they got a sheet out of a notebook or, what was a rarity, an entire typing sheet of paper.

#### SECOND: TUZLA - A HARBOUR OF HOPE

Following the descriptions of the unpleasant events the children lived through, it was logical that the theme of hope would impose itself on the person collecting the testimonies. For the children, hope would be found in Tuzla. First of all, it offered them a roof over their heads and insured at least some kind of nourishment, and for the wounded and the hurt there was a city with a developed hospital infrastructure and a respectable Faculty of Medicine. Even though the city had been under an extremely heavy strain, it had to be a harbour of hope.

Knjiga **RUŽE IZGORJELE - UŽASI RATA U DJEČIJIM OČIMA**, pored ovog UVODA i priređivačeve emotivne riječi **DJECA PIŠU I CRTAJU**, ima četiri tematska dijela:

#### PRVO: VIĐENO OČIMA DJECE

Najobilniji je dio i sadrži 25 rukom pisanih dječijih iskaza o događajima koji bi svakako trebali biti daleko od svakog čovjeka, a kamoli od bilo kog djeteta. Isto toliko je dječijih crteža, koji mahom ilustruju opisani ili neki drugi sličan događaj. Troje djece je izabralo da događaj predstavi kombinovano, odnosno da uz svoje male crteže legendom objasne to što crtež predstavlja.

Čitalac će lahko shvatiti da djeca nisu novinski ni kakvi drugi izvještači, da su događaju prisustvovali stjecajem okolnosti ili voljom počinitelaca, a da događaje mahom posmatraju izolovano. Iz zapisa je očigledno da nisu svjesna uzroka događaja i da najčešće i ne ulaze u to. Priča je jednostavno ono što je u trenutku viđeno.

Uvjeti u kojima su nastajali ovi dječiji iskazi nisu bili oni u kojima su nastali crteži i zapisi UNICEF-ove publikacije **JA SANJAM MIR**. Nisu rađeni u udobnim školskim klupama zagrijanih ili provjetrenih razreda, uz nadzor i eventualnu pomoć stručnih nastavnika. Rađeni su na podu kolektivnih smještaja, samo su imali ili mogli posuditi olovku, a bili su sretni ako su dobili pristojno iz bloka iscijepljeni list, ili rijetko i čitav mašinski arak A-4.

#### DRUGO: TUZLA - LUKA SPASA

Poslije opisa preživljenih nemilih događaja logično se i skupljaču svjedočanstava nametnula tema spasa. Za njih je to Tuzla bila u svakom slučaju. Prije svega pružila im je krov nad glavom i osigurala kakvu-takvu prehranu, a za ranjene i povrijeđene grad sa razvijenom bolničkom infrastrukturom i uglednim Medicinskim fakultetom, bez obzira što je upravo tada bio izuzetno opterećen, morala je biti luka spasa u svakom slučaju.



Of the thirty contributions to this part, there is an equal number of written accounts and drawings, due to a simple fact that the segments of their experiences come from this harbour of hope, which they do not see as a whole or a city. They mostly view it through their inadequate refugee centers. One should not expect, under any circumstances, a complete representation of the efforts of this City to ease the survival of these unfortunates. We must satisfy ourselves with only the fragments (for example, the founding of a soccer team) and the way in which the burdened children experienced this event. At any rate, their gratitude to the City and its citizens they did not know, was obvious. Not even here were the children able to leave out that which cut their childhood short and thus destroyed it. Even here, there have been unpleasant events: operations, arm and leg amputations and the like. Not even death could be avoided, like that of Sakib or Avdo.

### THIRD: HOW WE SURVIVED

In the defensive war of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina people survived the best way they knew how. However, many of them did not make it. Neither did Sakib or Avdo. Alija Kotoric also did not survive - he was killed in Tuzla. The transported babies did not make it either - they suffocated in the trucks. Many of the kids did not survive.

Were it not for the Lilies, Asmir would not have made it either.

Those who survived mentioned in this book many of their brothers and sisters: some of them mentioned their friends and cousins.

They survived in different ways: some of them did it by active and passive resistance to the aggressor and some through corroboration. The children mostly fled. The mother carried the smaller children, sometimes two of them. The older children led their younger brothers or sisters by hand or carried them; some of them helped their mothers carry the bundles. It was possible to survive in the woods, but many have gone through the concentration camps. Some mothers gave birth there. Some of the children had been burned alive in the houses, together with their parents. Some of them had been burned alive in the kilns of Keraterm; some were carried by the Drina River, some by Sava; some of them met their end in Kafilerija in Brcko. Some of the child corpses have yet to be exhumed from the mass graves.

The children who survived - suffering from major traumas, with many of them having sustained physical injuries - have stoically endured the difficulties and uncertainties of refugee life. For those in the temporary refugee centers, especially those who have lost their parents, it was even more difficult. Due to the prolonging of the war there was no possibility of systematic medical treatment or the necessary rehabilitation. However,

Od tridesetak priloga ovog dijela, a po općem konceptu podjednako su zapisi i crteži, zbog proste činjenice da su segmenti doživljenoga u luci spasa, koju oni i ne vide kao cjelinu, kao grad, nego uglavnom i prije svega posmatraju kroz svoj neadekvatan kolektivni smještaj. Ne treba ni u kom slučaju očekivati bilo kakav cjelovit prikaz napora Grada da olakša preživljavanje ovih nesretnika. Moramo se zadovoljiti samo fragmentima (formiranje fudbalskog tima, naprimjer), kako su to onim prvim događajem opterećena djeca mogla doživjeti. U svakom slučaju njihova zahvalnost Gradu i nepoznatim građanima je očita. Djeca ni ovdje ne mogu izostaviti ono što im je presjeklo i uništilo djetinjstvo. Čak je i ovdje bilo novih nemilih događaja, operacija, ostajanja bez ruke, bez noge i sl. Nije se mogla izbjeći ni smrt, kao što je Sakibova ili Avdova.

### TREĆE: KAKO SMO PREŽIVJELI

U odbrambenom ratu Republike Bosne i Hercegovine preživljavalo se svakako. U tome, međutim, mnogi nisu uspjeli. Nisu uspjeli ni Sakib ni Avdo. Nije preživio ni Alija Kotorić - poginuo je u Tuzli. Nisu uspjele ni transportovane bebe, koje su se ugušile u kamionima. Nisu ni mnoga druga djeca.

Da nije bilo ljljana, ne bi preživio ni Asmir.

Oni koji su preživjeli i u ovoj knjizi su pomenuli veći broj svoje braće i sestara; neki su pominjali svoje drugove i rođake.

Preživljavalo se na razne načine: aktivnim i pasivnim otporom agresoru, a neki i saradnjom sa njim. Djeca su, mahom, bježala. Manju su majke nosile i po dvoje, a ona malo veća vodila su za ruku ili nosila mlađeg brata ili sestru; poneki su majkama pomagali nositi zavežljaje. Moglo se preživjeti i u šumi, ali ih je mnogo prošlo kroz koncentracione logore. Neki su se tamo i rodili. Neka djeca su spaljena u kućama, zajedno sa svojim roditeljima, neka su ispečena u pećima Keraterma, neke je odnijela Drina, neke Sava, neka su završila u Kafileriji Brčko a neka još nisu ekshumirana iz masovnih grobnica.

Preživjela djeca, opterećena teškim traumama - više njih i fizičkim povredama - stojički su podnosila pretežak i neizvjestan izbjeglički život. Onim u kolektivnim smještajima, pogotovu onim koja su ostala bez roditelja, bilo je još teže a produžena ratna situacija nije omogućavala ni sistematsko



they managed to carry on, and their hope for a return to their homes and a belief that the evil will stop, helped maintain their optimism.

#### FOURTH: WHAT ARE THE CHILDREN HOPING FOR

Children's wishes and hopes may sometimes appear too unrealistic and thus unfeasible. However, more often they are naive and humble - a wish for a ball or a doll, or a gentle smile. All the children who have made their contribution to the pages of this book - like the others - desired for the war to end as soon as possible; to go back home to their village; to once again play with their friends, attend their schools and to nurse their flowers - their 'burnt roses'. They hoped that they would be able to resume with their interrupted childhood - for some of them it was cut short forever - before their writings and drawings were published. They simply grew up. They are no longer children and their dream to go back to their homes has yet to materialize.

The fourth part of this publication contains the largest number of contributions, more than forty. After everything that has happened to them, these children were left with only their wishes and hopes. But in the turmoil of war, when, inside the temporary refugee centers in Tuzla, they were writing and drawing their contributions contained in this book, the realization of their wishes and hopes was not on the horizon. Eight years after the war, many of their wishes and hopes had not materialized, not even the most elementary one - the need to return to their homes.

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The children testimonies collected here do not make possible, on its own, the reconstruction of the events of the last decade of the 20th century, not even in the northeastern corner of the country, let alone the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, this collection of writings and drawings by children does not aim to do that. Chronologies, reconstruction of events, studies and then monographs and syntheses about massive victimization of a European country and a European nation will be based on other sources, more than anything - the so far unavailable archived holdings and especially the research of the police and the criminal proceedings before the international, national and local courts and the numerous expert commissions and reports for the establishment of facts on the crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The publication *Burnt Roses - War Horrors in Children's Eyes*, will certainly be one of those sources, so that this most horrible dimension of war is not left out from the monographs and syntheses.

liječenje, ni neophodnu rehabilitaciju. U njima se život ipak održao, a nada u povratak, u prestanak zla, održavale su njihov optimizam.

#### ČETVRTO: ČEMU SE DJECA NADAJU POSLIJE RATA

Dječije želje i nade ponekad izgledaju ogromne, neostvarive. Češće su, međutim, naivne, skromne, kao što su lopta i lutka, blag osmijeh. Sva djeca čiji su se prilozi našli u koricama ove knjige - kao i mnoga druga - žudila su za tim da rat što prije stane, da se vrate kući, u svoje selo, da nastave igre sa svojim drugovima, da idu u svoju školu, da njeguju svoje cvijeće, svoje "izgorjele ruže". Nadali su se da će moći nastaviti prekinuto djetinjstvo - a nekima je ono u međuvremenu isteklo - prije nego što su njihovi zapisi i crteži objavljeni. Jednostavno su porasli. Nisu više djeca, a ni povratak nije na vidiku.

U ovom IV dijelu publikacije ima najviše priloga, više od četrdeset. To je i prirodno. Poslije svega što im se dogodilo ovoj djeci su ostale samo želje i nade, ali u vihoru rata, kad su u tuzlanskim kolektivnim smještajima ispisivali i crtali priloge koji se nalaze u ovoj knjizi, tih želja i nada nije bilo mnogo, a ostvarenje im je bilo zamagljeno. Mnogima ni danas, osam godina po završetku rata, nisu ostvarene ni u najelementarnijem pogledu - u pogledu povratka.

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Ovdje sakupljena dječija svjedočanstva sama po sebi ne omogućavaju rekonstrukciju događaja posljednje decenije XX stoljeća ni u ovom njenom sjeveroistočnom uglu, a kamoli u čitavoj Bosni i Hercegovini. To ovoj kolekciji dječijom rukom zapisanih i nacrtanih iskaza, i nije cilj. Hronologije, rekonstrukcije, studije a onda i monografije i sinteze o masovnoj viktimizaciji jedne evropske zemlje i jednog evropskog naroda pišaće se na osnovu drugih izvora, prije svega za sada nedostupnih arhivskih fondova i u ovom slučaju posebno na osnovu istraživanja policijskih, tužilačkih i krivičnih postupaka pred međunarodnim, nacionalnim i lokalnim sudovima, ali i brojnih ekspertnih komisija i izvjestilaca za utvrđivanje činjenica o zločinima počinjenim na tlu bivše Jugoslavije. Publikacija *Ruže izgorjele - užasi rata u dječijim očima*, svakako će biti jedan od tih izvora, prije svega da se u monografijama i sintezama ne izostavi ova najužasnjia dimenzija rata.



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In the wars of civilized nations children are kept as far as possible from the scenes of armed conflict, and the modern international law gives them full protection from any kind of exposure to direct military activity. The exception to this is Fascism, which drastically demonstrated this point during WWII, and five decades later it has been more drastically repeated in the Balkans.

It is unlikely that even one of these children has read the DIARY OF ANNE FRANK<sup>26</sup>, or one hardly expects that they read the long-ago published booklet PENCIL WRITES WITH HEART<sup>27</sup>. It is possible that the bilingual publication THE PLUCKED BUDS or the collection of works from the International Conference held in Sarajevo on 10 & 11 September 2001, entitled 'CHILDREN - VICTIMS OF WAR AND PEACE', have not, to this day, reached these children. The children could not have had, as was probably the case with the person who prepared this edition, the long-ago published edition under totally different circumstances, entitled WHO IS ASKING THEM.<sup>29</sup> For most of these children, the 1994 publication by UNICEF I DREAM OF PEACE<sup>30</sup>, was available very late or not at all.

The content of this collection evolved, first of all, during the expert or amateur attempts by the enthusiasts to, with the tested method in psychology, remove the post-traumatic stress disorders or to at least reduce its consequences. In that sense, these writings by children are the experience and a confirmation of the efficiency of this method, but also a striking testimony of the witness - victim, who has visually registered that event. Thus, they can be not only a historical source for the reconstruction of events in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the aggression - in which an attempt was made to eradicate one nation, or to at least eliminate it from a certain desired area - but also a way to help the children to overcome some

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U ratovima civiliziranih naroda, uostalom, djeca se drže što dalje od poprišta oružanih sukoba, a savremeno međunarodno pravo ih maksimalno štiti od bilo kakvih izlaganja neposrednom ratnom djelovanju i postupcima. Izuzetak je upravo f a š i z a m, koji je to drastično demonstrirao u toku Drugog svjetskog rata, a evo pet decenija to još drastičnije ponovio na Balkanu.

Jedva da je i jedno od ove djece pročitao DNEVNIK ANE FRANK<sup>26</sup>, teško da je pročitao makar izdatu knjižicu OLOVKA PIŠE SRCEM<sup>27</sup>. Do njih možda nije ni do danas došla dvojezična publikacija POKIDANI POLJUPCI,<sup>28</sup> odnosno zbornik radova Međunarodne konferencije održane u Sarajevu 10. i 11. septembra 2001. godine, pod naslovom: DJECA ŽRTVE RATA I MIRA. Nisu mogli imati, a vjerovatno ni priređivač ove publikacije, ni davno izdatu publikaciju, pod drugačijim okolnostima nastalu publikaciju "KO NJIH PITA".<sup>29</sup> Za većinu djece i 1994. godine izdata UNICEF-ova publikacija JA SANJAM MIR,<sup>30</sup> vrlo kasno je bila dostupna ili nije nikako.

Materijali ove kolekcije nastali su prije svega u toku stručnih ili amaterskih pokušaja entuzijasta da se ovim u psihologiji isprobanim metodom otklone posttraumatski stresni poremećaji, ili bar ublaže njegove posljedice. U tom smislu ovi dječiji radovi su iskustvo i potvrda efikasnosti tog metoda, ali i upečatljivo svjedočanstvo svjedoka - žrtve, koja je taj određeni događaj fotografski registrovala. Otuda ona mogu biti ne samo historijski izvor za rekonstrukciju događaja u Bosni i Hercegovini u toku agresije na nju i pokušaja da se jedan narod istrijebi ili bar eliminiše sa određenog priželjkivanog prostora, nego i način da se djeci pomogne u prevladavanju nekih od posttraumatski stresnih poremećaja. Koliko su upotrebljivi za sudske postupke to će oni ocijeniti, ali

<sup>26</sup> The Diary of Anne Frank, Nolit, Belgrade, 1972 (fifth edition).

<sup>27</sup> Jovanka Rupnik and Budimir Nesic, PENCIL WRITES WITH HEART, BIGZ, Belgrade 1973.

<sup>28</sup> POKIDANI PUPOLJCI - THE PLUCKED BUDS, Committee for Collection of Information About on War Crimes, Sarajevo 2002.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Dragan Danelisen, WHO'S ASKING THEM, Glas Srpski, Banja Luka, 1995.

<sup>30</sup> I DREAM OF PEACE - IMAGES OF WAR BY CHILDREN OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, UNICEF, sine locco 1994.

<sup>26</sup> Ana Frank, DNEVNIK, (peto izdanje) Nolit, Beograd 1972.

<sup>27</sup> Jovanka Rupnik i Budimir Nešić, OLOVKA PIŠE SRCEM, BIGZ, Beograd 1973.

<sup>28</sup> POKIDANI PUPOLJCI - THE PLUCKED BUDS, Komisija za prikupljanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo 2002.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Dragan Danelišen, KO NJIH PITA, Glas srpski, Banja Luka 1995.

<sup>30</sup> I DREAM OF PEACE - IMAGES OF WAR BY CHILDREN OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, UNICEF, sine locco 1994.



of the post-traumatic stress disorders. How useful they might prove to be for court proceedings, the courts shall decide, but the horrors to which these children had been exposed to must be a warning to the people in the Balkans and to all Humanity, so that they may never occur again.

The first version of the manuscript was ready for print by the end of the year 1993. The person who prepared the manuscript for publication had significant support from colleagues and friends. For the emergence of the manuscript, among others, the following people are responsible: Jasminko Arnautovic, MA, Dr. Asim Halilovic, Dr. Nedžad Pasic, Nejra Nalic, artist-Ismet Hrvanovic and Dr. Mirha Sehovic. Problems with the publishers brought everything to a halt. At that time, there were no conditions for the printing of the Book in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of the many assurances, only came empty promises and false offers.

The collection of these works by children and the far more voluminous material whence it came from, in addition to everything else, follows the occurrences of war events in this region of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the whole, the events that occur in their village, in their street and especially in the entire city, municipality or a region, the children simply do not discuss, nor do they know anything about it. They had seen only one thing – suddenly a great misfortune fell upon them and that misfortune was not only their misfortune or that of their families. They had seen some specific crimes and perpetrators of those crimes. That is what they wrote about. That is what they drew and what they put into words the best they could.

Publishers

užas kome su djeca bila izložena mora biti opomena i narodima Balkana i čovječanstvu da se to više ne ponovi.

Prva verzija rukopisa pripremljena je za štampu pod kraj ratne 1993. godine. Priređivačica je u tome imala značajnu podršku radne okoline i prijatelja. Za njen nastanak, između ostalih su zaslužni magistar Jasminko Arnautović, dr. Asim Halilović, dr. Nedžad Pašić, Nejra Nalić, akademski slikar Ismet Hrvanović i dr. Mirha Šehović. Problemi sa izdavačima sve su zaustavili. U Bosni i Hercegovini u to vrijeme uglavnom nije bilo uvjeta. Brojna obećanja pokazala su se prazna, a ponude lažne.

Kolekcija ovih dječijih radova i daleko obimniji materijal iz koga je izabrana, pored ostalog odražavaju i tok ratnih zbivanja na ovom području Bosne i Hercegovine. O cjelini, o događajima koji se dešavaju u njihovom selu, u njihovom sokaku, a pogotovu o cjelini dešavanja u gradu, općini ili regionu djeca jednostavno ne govore i ne znaju ništa o tome. Vidjeli su jedino da ih je iznenada zadesila velika nesreća, da ta nesreća nije samo njihova i njihove rodbine. Vidjeli su neke, ali vrlo konkretne zločine i zločince. O tome oni pišu, to su oni nacrtali, napisali su onako kako su umjeli.

Izdavači



## ■ Burnt Roses

The book 'Burnt Roses' is of documentary type. It contains stories and drawings by the children of Northeastern Bosnia. It originated in the region of Tuzla during very difficult conditions of media and general blockade.

The book consists of 200 pages, about one hundred texts and drawings created on torn pieces of paper on the floors of collective shelters and the war hospital in Tuzla. They describe the events at the end of 1992, 1993 and Srebrenica in 1995. The children were ages 5 to 15. The texts were hand-written by the children driven out from the places in which ethnic cleansing was carried out: Zvornik, Bratunac, Vlasenica, Cerska, Brčko, Bijeljina, Derventa, Prijedor, Srebrenica... The road of death, they described on their own.

The road to realization:

When the great struggle for the publishing of the book, whose only aim was to help the children, began, I couldn't have dreamed that the empty promises and the offers of false hope would go on for years. Various people, those who exercised influence and those who had none, and publishing houses in Bosnia and Herzegovina and from abroad came up with various excuses. The book was supposed to be published at the end of 1993. It is my duty to mention that at the end of 1994, the book "I Dream of Peace", put together by UNICEF, was published. The action takes place on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The book contains stories of over twenty children from Croatia and Serbia, and eight from Bosnia and Herzegovina of which not a single one comes from a place where ethnic cleansing was carried out. Not a single child from Podrinje. The book was translated into 16 world languages. A retort or a reply to that book is the book 'Burnt Roses'. A publisher I met in a total blockade, who expressed interest, was from a large publishing house in Edinburgh, but quite small in comparison to UNICEF.

This is one of the experiences in the struggle for the publishing of the book 'Burnt Roses'. Afterwards, 150 publishing houses in the United States said: "NO. The book is depressing". And what is war like? What is the life of a child in a war like?

We are now at the end of the year 2003. The struggle for the publishing of the truth continues. Help, so that the truth may prevail.

The book "Burnt Roses" is a warning. A cry. If we forget who we are, it will happen again.

*The proceeds from the sale of this book will be directed into a special fund, intended for the scholarships for the children of Podrinje. A cartoon, based on the book, is also to be made from which the proceeds will go into the same fund.*

Amira Delić

## ■ Ruže izgorjele

Knjiga "Ruže izgorjele" dokumentarnog je karaktera. Sačinjena je od rukopisa i crteža djece sjeveroistočne Bosne. Nastajala je na području Tuzle u veoma teškim uvjetima informativne i opće blokade.

Materijal sadrži oko 200 strana. Oko stotinu tekstova i crteža, nastalih u Tuzli, na podu kolektivnih smještaja, u ratnoj bolnici, na istrgnutim komadima papira obrađuje događaje s kraja 92., 93., Srebrenicu 95., a djeca su starosti od 5 do 15 godina. Knjiga je pisana rukama djece prognane iz mjesta u kojima je izvršeno etničko čišćenje: Zvornik, Vlasenica, Cerska, Brčko, Bijeljina, Derventa, Prijedor, Srebrenica... Put smrti opisali su sami.

Put realizacije:

Kada je počela lavovska borba za objavljivanje Knjige čiji je jedini cilj da pomogne djeci, nisam ni sanjala da će prazna obećanja i davanje lažne nade potrajati godinama. Razni veliki i mali ljudi i izdavači u BiH i u inostranstvu pronalazili su razne izgovore. Knjiga je trebala izaći iz štampe krajem 1993. godine. Dužnost mi je spomenuti da je početkom 1994. godine objavljena knjiga u slobodnom prijevodu "Sanjam mir", koju je uradio UNICEF. Radnja knjige smještena je na području bivše Jugoslavije. U knjizi je preko dvadesetero djece iz Hrvatske, preko dvadesetero iz Srbije i osmoro djece iz BiH od kojih ni jedno iz mjesta u kome je izvršeno etničko čišćenje! Niti jedno dijete iz Podrinja. Ta knjiga je štampana na 16 svjetskih jezika. Replika ili odgovor na tu knjigu je knjiga "Ruže izgorjele". Zainteresirani izdavač, kojeg sam sreća u još uvijek potpunoj blokadi, bio je iz jedne velike (Edinburške) izdavačke kuće ali male za jedan UNICEF.

Ovo je jedno od iskustava u borbi za realizaciju knjige "Ruže izgorjele". Potom 150 izdavačkih kuća u Americi reklo je "NE. Knjiga je depresivna". A kakav je rat? Kakav je život djeteta u ratu?

Sada smo na kraju 2003. godine. Borba za objavljivanje istine još traje. Učinite da istina pobijedi.

Knjiga "Ruže izgorjele" je opomena. Vrisak. Zaboravimo li ko smo, desit će se ponovo.

*Prihod od prodaje knjige bio bi usmjeravan u poseban fond namijenjen stipendiranju djece Podrinja. Također, po knjizi će se raditi crtani film od kojeg će prihodi ići u isti fond.*

Amira Delić



*In Bosnia and Herzegovina the killing of a nation is at hand. The killing of Bosniaks. But what is most tragic is that the entire civilized world is simply watching.*

Dr. Ruth SEIFERT, assistant professor at the German Military Academy.\*

*U Bosni i Hercegovini je na djelu ubistvo jednog naroda. Ubistvo Bošnjaka. Što je najtragičnije, cijeli civilizirani svijet to jednostavno posmatra.*

Dr. Ruth SEIFERT, docent na Njemačkoj vojnoj akademiji\*

\*The interview with Dr. Ruth Seifert was published in the newspaper *Oslobodjenje*, 09.03.1995. Author: Haris Halilovic. See also *ZLOCIN* no. 2, Sarajevo, 1995. *ZLOCIN* – newspaper of the National Commission for the gathering of information on war crimes in the region of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

\*Intervju s Dr. Ruth Seifertom objavljen je u listu "Oslobodjenje" 09. 03. 1995. godine. Autor Haris Halilović;  
Vidi također "ZLOČIN" br. 2, Sarajevo 1995. / "ZLOČIN" - glasilo državne komisije za prikupljanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima na području R BiH



## ■ Children draw and write

Amira Delić

**T**his is the truth about hell which is to be found in Europe, and its name is Bosnia. This is the truth about a war in which children were the victims. The children are telling their story. The children are writing it and drawing it.

Thousands of grenades were taking lives away each day, destroying homes, villages and cities. Unlived childhoods.

Columns of exhausted women, children and the elderly were reaching Tuzla every day. They were running away from the Chetnik artillery and aviation, from hunger, from evil, from death. Tuzla became a city flooded with refugees. Tens of thousands of refugees. Without anything! Everything they had worked for was carried in one hand. Only an article of clothing or two, or nothing at all. Settled in schools, they slept on the floor, hundreds of them, next to each other. Terrible hygienic conditions. Exposed to infections, cold...

I met little Selmir. Following several encounters, the words: "In my twelve years of life the Chetniks have killed my mother and father. I only have a two-year old brother. I used to have a house, a school and fields and friends. Everything... Now, I have nothing! Nothing! I have to look after my brother. I don't know how, but I know that I have to..."

*This is the voice of the children who have survived.  
This is their CRY...to Me, to You, to us, to children, to everyone...*

***It could have been any country, including yours. Srebrenica, any town, including Yours.  
The surviving children are not silent. They are sending out a warning. To all of us...***

Mature words. Heavy words. And he is only a child. The taste of truth – bitter truth. The taste of death. War... This is the life of one boy, one out of a thousand, one out of a million... Selmir is the impetus for this work – the work whose sale will help these heroes, these children.

His road: native village of Lipije, the horror of Cerska and somewhat more peaceful Tuzla. A road filled with horror. Fear. Death... On that road he lost his parents, friends, his home. Everything. What is he to look forward to? Everything he loved has disappeared. The fear has benumbed the pain. The fear has benumbed the feelings... the unlived dreams of a child.

I walk along the street. Around me faces, exhausted by hunger. I don't know whether there is more sadness or fear in those faces. I approach a school yard. A multitude of children. Without clamor, without signs of happiness. Without hope for tomorrow. I attempt to get closer to them, to meet them. It is difficult. I see only fear. Just a word or two... and nothing more. Children with the scars of war. Children with a scar in their souls...

Dear Allah, I thought to myself, at least I was a child when I was a child. I had the opportunity to be a child. The dark eyes of a golden blond girl were observing me for a long time. I am Nermina, my father was... Then, a middle-aged woman approached. With

a frightened voice she asked me to leave.

'What are you doing here? What do you want from them?'

I told her that I wanted nothing and that I was a refugee myself.

'Whenever someone comes here, they immediately throw grenades. They were falling here, everywhere around us,' she uttered the words with a coarse and an agonized voice.

I brought pencils and paper for them. They asked me what they should write about in a time of war, when death is so near. After several of my visits, one of them took a piece of paper, and then the second, and the third. "I will write a letter to President Clinton... and all the presidents of the world. Surely they must have children. They will help us." It's as if that paper gave them hope. If the World finds out about their suffering, this killing and this evil will cease. There will be peace. Paper in hand. A look into the horrors of war. Sorrow. Horror. Pain. On paper, they placed images of the horror they lived through, difficult for a man, horrible for a child. They had lived through the thunder of cluster bombs, tanks, "missiles", grenades from the cannons of different calibers, chemical warfare... The children became old people – aged five, seven, nine or twelve. Children – old people! I was afraid of their words. It is the truth which torments the soul.



I leave them so that I may gather my strength, my soul weeping for them. Through my head, those little images of children whose lives have been destroyed. Why? And why are the children tormented...made to suffer? Does a grown man ever ask himself how far he can go. There are the children. Does anyone have the right to destroy their lives. Children's lives. This is the mirror of the world. Morality and ethics of the humanity. What about all the conventions? For whom have they been made up? They do not apply to the Chetniks. There are no rules or laws, only death.

The words of wounded Edis ring in my head: "Had the grenade struck me a little lower I would be dead. Now, I die slowly...Every day..." Military hospital is overcrowded. Tiny wounded bodies, immobile. Children without legs, arms...without hope, without future. Who will tell the little babies when they grow up, why they don't have arms or legs? How can they be told that the war had done it? At the threshold of life the war did it, with its cruelty. How can little Hata be told that her leg will never grow? How? How can she be told that her leg is lost forever? The war has taken its tribute. Can the world carry the burden of the innocent beings? The burden of Gradacac, Brcko, Cerska, Srebrenica, Gorazde, Prijedor, the burden of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

I return home. I try to forget all of this. In vain. The sleep doesn't come.

I am tormented by the lives of these children. Destroyed lives. These children have been raised by their mothers, fathers, "brothers, sisters." Torn away from everything. On one occasion they told me they were angry with me. For several days I did not go back. God, they are happy to see me? And I am trying to hide all the pain that is tearing me apart, breaking my heart. How can I tell them how many times I start walking to their school? Halfway there

I stop. I stop because I become discouraged. My strength leaves me. I have nothing to change their day with, to do something that would make those children forget the war, the horrors and the fear for even one day...I don't even have a chocolate.

For the next few days the snow was melting in the freezing Tuzla. The swollen creek of Jala carried an old ball. A 14-year old Sakib could not resist trying to get it. He walked down to the creek, so tiny was he. He had no strength. The water pulled him in. It took his life. And only two months ago he managed to get out of the hell of Cerska, in a column in which babies were freezing in the arms of their mothers, and the elderly, women and children, their journey forever cut short. Forest paths – sown with mines; cold and full of death. In search of a way out, they found death. Only the few continued the journey..

I grow more discouraged. My strength is leaving me. I am afraid the children will notice. In the corner of the gymnasium filled with children, a woman sat, huddled, in tears – Sakib's mother. The words: "Had I seen him I would have jumped after him. Why live like this, without him." In comparison to her great sorrow, insignificant were my words: "You must live because of his sisters and brothers." Maybe, for even a moment, I lessened her pain. Around us, the children were whispering: "There, Sakib won't draw anything for you. Never!" A heavy feeling came over me, it was suffocating me. My soul was tormented and the sorrow was tearing me apart.

After a few days I went back again. The school yard was empty again. Inside, dead silence. Tiny children lying on the floor of a school in Tuzla. All of them sick, shivering from fever. Little Ismeta notices that I am there and smiles. A painful smile, barely noticeable. "You know Amira, all of us got sick", she said. My strength is leaving me again. The image of

it all bears heavily on my mind. A horrible sight. I am watching them, I don't know how long. I think I might forever become discouraged. My soul is tormented. I cannot move. Ismeta's smile. God, they are happy to see me. And the chocolate may not be sweet any more.

Destroyed children's tiny wishes - their wish to play, to do anything...Children from the concentration camps. Children torn away from death. Inside trucks, suffocated babies, children, elderly, women – their journey to safety forever cut short. Their lifeless bodies fill us with suffering and wound our souls. Only PEACE would change everything and would give them back the strength to be, once again, happy and joyous.

On one occasion some Western journalist approached me. I noticed that they were very interested in this book. They asked me when it was going to be published. They recorded and translated some of the children's stories. They supported me wholeheartedly in my work.

These children's letters and these stories go out to all the children, people, nations and the entire world. They go out to the President of the United States, Mr. Clinton and the presidents of all the nations of the world. Gentlemen, children torn away from death believe in you! They are hoping you will help them bring happiness back into their lives.



## ■ Djeca crtaju i pišu

Amira Delić

**O**vo je istina o paklu koji se nalazi u Evropi, a zove se Bosna. Ovo je istina o ratu u kojem su stradali i djeca. Djeca vam je govore. Djeca vam je pišu i crtaju.

Hiljade granata svaki dan odnosile su živote. Uništavale kuće, sela, gradove. Neproživljena djetinjstva.

Kolone iscrpljenih žena, djece i staraca svakodnevno su pristizale u Tuzlu. Bježali su od četničke artiljerije, avijacije. Od gladi. Od zla. Od smrti. Tuzla je postala grad prepun izbjeglica. Više desetina hiljada prognanih. Bez igdje ičega! Rad cijelog života u ruku da stane. Tek koji komad odjeće. Ili ništa. Smješteni su po školama. Spavali na podu, stotine njih, jedno do drugog. Bez uslova za higijenu. Izloženi infekcijama, hladnoći...

Upoznala sam malog Selмира. Poslije nekoliko susreta, riječi: "U mojih dvanaest godina života četnici su mi ubili majku. I oca su mi ubili. Imam samo brata od dvije godine. A imao sam i kuću, i školu, i njive, i drugove svoje. I sve... Sada više ništa nemam! Ništa! Moram da se brinem o bratu. Ne znam kako. A znam da moram..."

*Ovo je glas djece koja su preživjela.  
Ovo je njihov **VRISAK**... Meni. Tebi. Vama. Nama. Djeci. Svima...*

**Mogla je biti bilo koja zemlja, pa i Tvoja. Srebrenica bilo koji grad, pa i Tvoj. Preživjela djeca ne šute. Oni opominju. Sve...**

Riječi zrele. Riječi teške. A još je samo dijete. Okus istine. Gorke istine. Okus smrti. Rata... Ovo je život jednog dječaka, jednog od hiljade, jednog od miliona... Selmir je podstrek ovog djela. Djela čija će prodaja pomoći ovim junacima, ovoj djeci.

Njegov put: rodno selo Liplje, užas Cerske i nešto mirnija Tuzla. Put prepun užasa. Straha. Smrti... Tim putem je izgubio roditelje, drugove, dom. Sve. Čemu da se raduje? Sve što voli, otišlo je u nepovrat. Strah je ubio bol. Strah je ubio osjećanja... Neprosanjane dječije snove.

Koračam ulicom. Oko mene lica, iscrpljena od gladi. Ne znam je li u njima više tuge ili straha. Prilazim dvorištu jedne škole. Mnoštvo djece. Bez graje, bez znakova radosti. Bez nade za sutrašnjicu. Pokušavam da im se približim, da ih upoznam. Teško. Vidim samo strah. Tek pokoja riječ... i ništa više. Djeca sa ožiljkom rata. Djeca sa ožiljkom u duši...

Allahu moj, pomislih, ja sam bar bila dijete, kad sam bila dijete. Ja sam imala priliku da budem dijete. Tamne oči zlatokose djevojčice dugo su me posmatrale, "Ja sam Nermina babo mi je...". Utom pride žena srednjih godina, uplašenim glasom reče mi da idem. "Šta ćeš ovdje? Šta hoćeš od njih?" Rekoh da neću ništa i da sam i sama izbjeglica. "Kad god neko ovdje pride, odmah bacaju granate, tu okolo, svuda su pada-

le", izusti grubim ispaćenim glasom i ode.

Donosila sam im papir i olovke. Pitali su zašto, čemu da pišu. Kad je rat. Kad je smrt tako blizu. Poslije nekoliko mojih dolazaka, jedno uze papir, a potom i drugo. "Napisaću pismo predsjedniku Klintonu... i svim predsjednicima svijeta. Sigurno i oni imaju djecu. Oni će nam pomoći." Kao da im je taj papir dao nadu. Ako Svijet sazna za njihove patnje, prestat će ovo ubijanje, ovo zlo. Bit će mir. Papir u ruci. Pogled u strahote rata. Tuga. Užas. Bol. Stavljali su na papir slike proživljenog užasa. Teškog za čovjeka, užasnog za dijete. Preživjeli su gmljavine avio-kasetnih bombi, tenkova, "luna-raketa", granata iz topova malih i velikih kalibara, bojnih otrova... I djeca su postala starci. Starci od pet, sedam, devet ili dvanaest godina. Djeca - starci! Bojala sam se njihovih riječi. To je istina koja razdire dušu.

Odlazim od njih da skupim snage, dok mi se duša raspada od bola. Kroz glavu mi prolaze ti mali likovi čiji su životi upropašteni. Zašto? I zašto baš djeca... da pate... da stradaju? Pita li se ikad odrastao čovjek dokle smije ići. Postoje djeca. Zar bilo ko ima pravo da uništava njihove živote?! Dječije živote. Ovo je ogledalo Svijeta. Moral, etika čovječanstva. A konvencije? Za koga su one rađene, za koga izmišljene? Za četnike ne važe. Nema zakona ni pravila, samo smrt.



Riječi ranjenog Edisa odzvanjaju mi u glavi: „Eto, da me je granata pogodila malo niže, bio bih umro. Ovako, umirem polahko... Svaki dan...” Ratna bolnica, prepuna. Ranjena sitna tijela. Leže, nepokretna. Djeca bez nogu, bez ruku... Bez nade. Bez budućnosti. Ko će malim bebama, kad odrastu, reći zašto nemaju ruku ili nogu? Kako da im se kaže - odnio ih rat? Na pragu života, uzeo ih rat svojom suvošču. Kako reći malehnoj petogodišnjoj Hati da joj nikada više neće narasti nožica? Kako? Kako joj kazati da joj je nožica izgubljena zauvijek? Rat je, eto, uzeo svoj danak. Zar svijet može nositi teret nedužnih bića? Teret Gradačca, Brčkog, Cerske, Srebrenice, Goražda, Prijedora, teret Bosne i Hercegovine?

Vraćam se kući. Pokušavam da sve ovo zaboravim. Uzalud. San ne dolazi.

Progone me životi te djece. Upropašteni životi. Ta djeca su dignuta od djetinjstva, od majki, očeva, braće, sestara. Otrgnuta od svega. Jednom prilikom rekli su mi da se ljute na mene. Nekoliko dana nisam dolazila. Bože, pa oni se meni raduju! A ja? Ja pokušavam da sakrijem sve boli koje me trgaju, srce mi cijepaju. Kako da im kažem koliko puta krenem do škole? Na pola puta stanem. Stanem, jer klonem. Snaga me napusti. Nemam čime da im promijenim dan, da učinim nešto što će doprinijeti da ta djeca makar na tren zaborave na rat, na užas, na strah... Nemam niti jednu običnu čokoladu.

Sljedećih dana snijeg se topio u ledenoj Tuzli. Nabujali potok Jala nosio je staru loptu. Četrnaestogodišnji Sakib nije mogao da odoli a da je ne dohvati. Sišao je, onako sitan. Nije imao snage. Voda ga je povukla, uzela je njegov život. A tek prije dva mjeseca uspio je da dođe iz pakla Cerske, u koloni u kojoj su se bebe smrzavale u naručju majki, a starci, žene, djeca prekidalu svoj put zauvijek. Šumske

staze - prepune mina, hladnoće, smrti. Tražeći spas, nalazili su smrt. Rijetki su nastavljali dalje...

Sva sam klonula. Snaga me izdaje. Bojim se da to djeca ne primijete. U uglu sportske dvorane, ispunjene djecom, sjedi žena, skupljena, sva u suzama - Sakibova majka. I riječi: “Da sam ga vidjela, i ja bih skočila za njim. Što da živim, ovako, bez njega...” Spram njene ogromne tuge, sitne su moje riječi: “Morate živjeti radi njegovih sestara i braće njegove.” Možda sam na tren ublažila njen majčinski plač. A okolo su djeca šaputala: „Eto, Sakib ti više ništa neće crtati. Nikada!” Nešto me steglo. Guši me. Duša mi se raspada. Razdire me tuga.

Poslije nekoliko dana, dolazim ponovo. Dvorište prazno. Unutra tišina razara. Leže sitna tijela po podu jedne tuzlanske škole. Sva bolesna. Tresu se od groznice. Mala Ismeta primijeti da sam tu i osmijehnu se. Osmijeh izvučen iz bola. Jedva primijetan. “Znaš, Amira, svi smo se razboljeli.” Ja opet gubim snagu. Teška slika svega. Užasan prizor. Posmatram ih, ne znam više koliko. Čini mi se da ću klonuti zauvijek. Duša mi se raspada. Ne mogu da se pomjerim. Isetin osmijeh. Bože, oni se meni raduju! A čokolada, možda - nije više ni slatka.

Silom ugušene dječije sitne želje, želje za igrom, za bilo čim. Djeca iz logora, djeca od smrti otrgnuta. U kamionima ugušene bebe, djeca, starci, žene - prekidalu su svoj put spasa zauvijek. Njihova nepomična tijela ispunjavaju nas patnjom, ranjavaju nam dušu. A samo MIR - promijenio bi sve. I, čini mi se, vratio im snagu da se opet raduju, da opet budu sretni.

Jednom prilikom našli su me novinari jedne zapadne agencije. Vidjela sam da su veoma zainteresovani za ovu knjigu. Pitali su me kada će izaći iz štampe. Snimili su i preveli nekoliko dječijih radova. Zdušno su me podržali u ovom mom radu.

Ova dječija pisma, ovi radovi upućeni su djeci, ljudima, narodima cijeloga svijeta. Upućeni su predsjedniku Sjedinjenih Američkih Država gospodinu Klintonu i predsjednicima, odnosno šefovima svih zemalja svijeta. Gospodo, djeca otrgnuta od smrti - vjeruju vama! Nadaju se da ćete im pomoći i vratiti radost u njihove živote.



## *Dear Friend...*

Going through these writings – paths, for a moment,  
you will enter a beautiful country in the south of Europe. Bosnia.

A country that has its people, its children,  
its art, books, its schools, universities,  
buildings, architecture, hospitals...

But in the dreadful year of 1992, darkness descended upon it.  
Mercilessly taking away its freedom, lives,  
unlived childhoods, homes, dreams,  
villages, cities. Everything.

## *Dragi prijatelju...*

Idući kroz ove zapise-staze ući ćeš na momenat  
u jednu predivnu zemlju na jugu Europe. Bosnu.

Zemlju koja ima svoj narod, svoju djecu,  
svoju umjetnost, knjige, svoje škole, univerzitete,  
gradevine, arhitekturu, bolnice...

Ali stravične '92. tama je pala na nju.  
Nemilosrdno uzimajući njenu slobodu. Živote.  
Neproživljena djetinjstva. Domove. Snove.  
Sela. Gradove. Sve.





Places of the mentioned events  
Mjesta pominjanih događaja



## The paths of suffering and salvation

(as narrated by children)

### Putevi stradanja i spasa ili kretanje naroda (prema kazivanjima djece)

- **Zvornik** > Kamenica (Baš Čelići) > Novo Selo > Liplje
- **Liplje** > Nezuk > Međeđa > Goduš > Bojkovica > Kalesija
- **Glumina** > Baljkovica > Križevići > Potočari > Međeđa > Nezuk > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Snagovo** > Crni Vrh > Baljkovica > Međeđa > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Konjević Polje** > Srebrenica
- **Gornja Kamenica** > Redžići > Velja Glava > Samari > Liplje > Snagovo > Perunika >
- **Caparde** > Batkovicica > Dubrave > Tuzla
- **Drinjača** > Zvornik > Karakaj > Crni Vrh > Caparde > Memići > Vukovije > Masle >
- **Milanovci** > Dubrave > Tuzla
- **Drinjača** > Sarači > Glumina > Karakaj > Caparde > Međaš > Vukovije > Tojšići >
- **Masle** > Dubrave > Živinice > Tuzla
- **Kamenica** > Jošanica > Liplje > Snagovo > Križevačne Njive > Novo Selo > Crni Vrh >
- **Bajkovicica** > Međeđa > Tojšići > Zolja > Međaš > Tojšići > Čaklovići > Tuzla
- **Baručići** > Alići > Redžići > Bećirovići > Snagovo > Maričići > Crni Vrh > Bajkovicica > Sapna > Međeđa > Tuzla
- **Baručići** > Alići > Redžići > Salkunići > Glode > Ravne
- **Zvornik** > Olovo > Vlasenica > Han-Pijesak > Zvornik > Crni Vrh > Zvornik > Crni Vrh > Zvornik > Tuzla
- **Kamenica** > Salihovići > Planinci > Perunika > Snagovo > Baljkovica > Bećirovići > Marčići > Bajrići > Hajvazi > Križevići > Potočani
- **Bratunac** > Luka > Žepa > Podravanje > Podkorijen > Osmače > Brezani > Tuzla
- **Glogova** > Voljavica > Hranča > Vlasenica
- **Brčko** > Brezovo Polje > Caparde > Majevecica > Lončari > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Vlasenica** > Nedeljište > Cerska > Konjević Polje > Lolići > Kravica > Breze > Potočari > Srebrenica > Bratunac > Caparde > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Srebrenica** > Skelani > Bajna Bašta > Regošići > Karakaj
- **Prijedor** > Trnopolje > Omarska > Banja Luka > Dobož

> Stjepan Polje > Gračanica > Tuzla

- **Ramići** > Bratunac > Glogova > Konjević Polje
- **Ramići** > Liplje
- **Ramići** > Kamenica > Snagovo > Crni Vrh > Perunika > Nezuk > Međeđa > Miljanovci > Tojšići > Međeđa > Simin Han > Tuzla
- **Vlasenica** > Srebrenica > Potočari > Bratunac > Karakaj > Caparde > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Vlasenica** > Nedeljište > Cerska > Konjević Polje > Bolići > Kravica > Breze > Potočari > Srebrenica
- **Bratunac** > Karakaj > Caparde > Kalesija > Tuzla
- **Cerska** > Kamenica > Liplje > Novo Selo > Perunika > Redžići > K. Bećirovići > Liplje > Bećirovići > Snagovo > Marčići > Crni Vrh > Šumani > Baljkovica > Sapna > Međeđa > Tuzla
- **Cerska** > Novo Selo > Jošanica > Liplje > Snagovo > Križevačne Njive > Crni Vrh > Muslimanska Baljkovica > Srpska Baljkovica > Međeđa > Tojšići > Zolja > Međaš > Tojšići > Čaklovići > Tuzla.







I

**SEEN THROUGH CHILDREN'S EYES**  
**OČIMA DJECE**

*In my thirteen years I have never experienced something like this.*  
(Elvir, age 13, from G. Kamenica)

*U svojih trinaest godina ovo nisam doživio*  
(Elvir, 13 godina, G. Kamenica)



ENES  
OBDA NIŠTE JELENKO



RIDIĆ I  
KAMENICA  
VELJO GLAVA

■ Enes - age 10, from Zvornik  
■ Enes, Zvornik, Velja Glava, 10 godina



■ Enes - age 10, from Velja Glava  
(February 93)

■ Enes, Zvornik, Velja Glava, 10 godina  
(februar '93.)

U M

E NES IMAM 10 C

OTIŠO SAM OD MOJE KUĆE OSMOG APRILA BILA  
SAM SARAJEVO OKO BILI SU MI U ŠUMI GONILI SU NAS  
DA JEDINE SELOŠE REKLI SU NAM DA PREDAMO ORUŽJE  
I DANAS PESTE TO ŠTO PRISTALI I OTKRALI SU JEDNU  
GRUPU ISPRED NAS TOŠE SUŠE POBILI I POPALILI ŽENE  
I MAJE DJECA OD PET MJESECI TRI GODINE ŽENE I DJECE  
NISIŠU SE VRATILI KUĆI I PREDALI ORUŽJE I ONDA SU  
DANI POGREBI PUCATI IZ SVLOG SELA I SVAKOJA I BACATI  
KLANOŠE NA NAS I TURKI SU KOGA PRIMITIŠTE DA  
NODA POSUŠE SU MI DOŠLI MOŽE KUĆI I VEFATILI  
SU MOJA OCA I JOŠ JEDNOGA KOMEŠUŠE U BIL SU JEDNO  
CUDO IZGANO VIŠE NIGDE HINIKAD NEŠTA P. BJEGLI  
ŠTO KAMENI BILŠTO U ŠUMI ŠTALI HAMA  
VIŠE SE PORODICA U ŠUMI NISMO ITALI KO DA BRINE  
U ŠUMI OTALE ŠTO KRENULI PREDI CERSKA KUĆI MI  
KAPAVIŠE ŠTOŠU OČERŠE OŠE HRANO I N.ŠAM  
VIŠE IMAO DA JEDNI DRUGI SU MI DALAKI PROHE  
ŠALI NISMO IMALI VARUŠIŠO SA BIVATAŠE BAZE  
ŠTO SE BACAŠE P.ŠALU TUŠE SE GRANATE I KUTRA  
WELI HAUBICA I BACAŠE TOPOVI TO VIŠE NISMO  
MOGLI TERITI VRATIO SAM SE U JANUARU  
IZ CERSKE DO VEŠE GLAVE TUSAN BIL  
NEKOLIKO DANA U IZGORELOŠ KUĆI BEZ  
VHATA I PROZORA RIŠE ŠI LI ŠHO DA  
KRENULO ZA TUZLU KRENULO NAS JE  
KUGANU IPO KAO SAM PROŠO KROZ SELA  
ŠHO SU IZGORELE KUĆE KIŠA ŠE PADALA  
ŠANIZEO BILŠO JE TAKO ŽIMA DA JE

Nije imao tri čiste, ali je imao brojeve telefona svih uticajnijih ljudi u gradu.

D A T U M

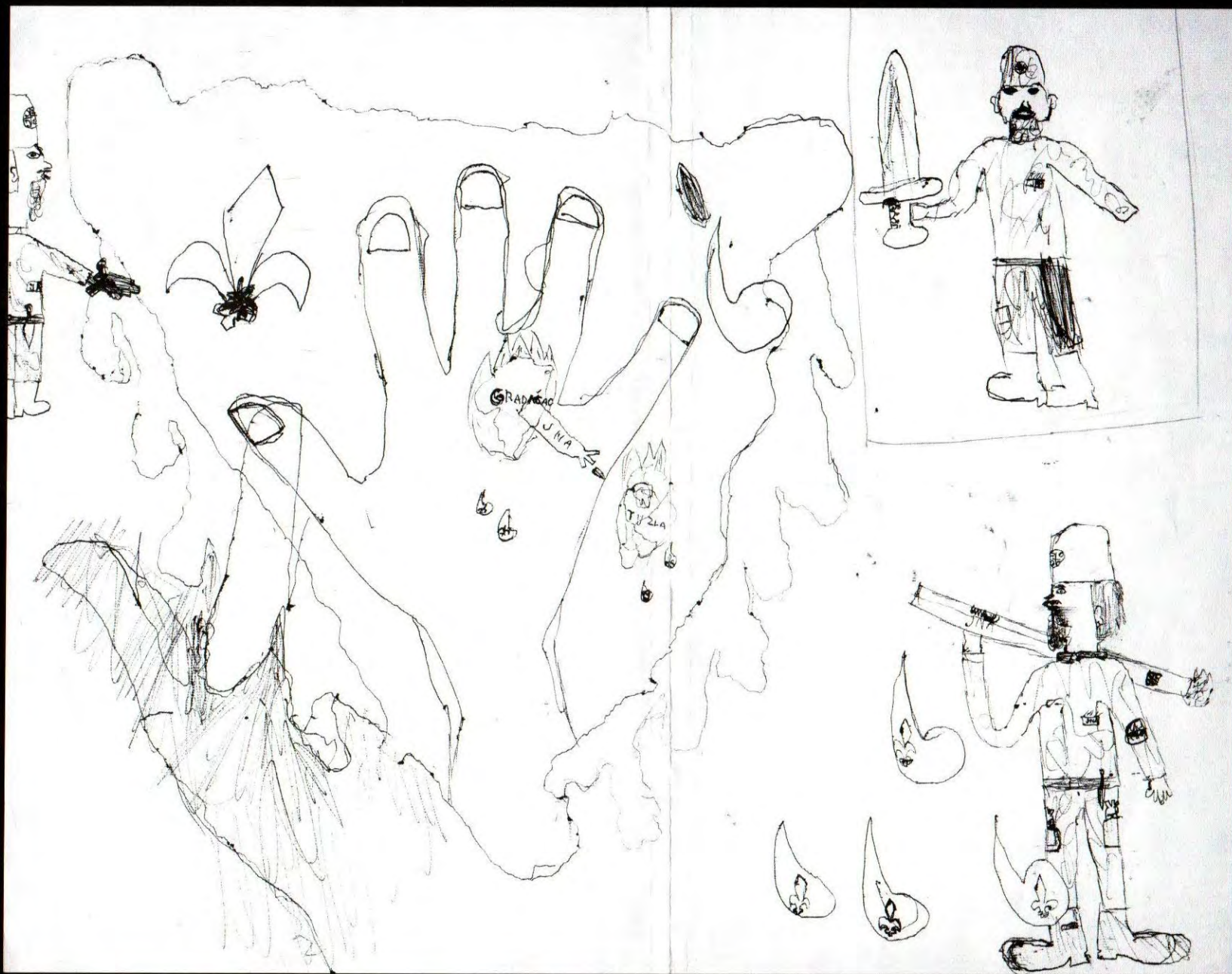
ŠARZLA OSAMNAJEST GLOI ŽENA OŠE  
U PO ŠAM U VODU ŠAMAL D.ŠAM SE ŠARZC  
BIL ŠAM P.ŠO ŠITALU NOŠ ŠHO IŠLI OD Š  
U VEŠE DA ŠES UŠTRO NA ŠLOBOŠNU  
IŠRIŠRIŠU BILŠO MIŠE MILO KAD ŠAM DOŠU  
KAMERŠACU I DANI SU MI KAKŠA MIŠEŠKA  
ŠOŠLOG HŠEŠA KAD ŠA VILŠO ŠAŠUŠO ŠAM  
ŠE MIŠUŠO ŠAM DA TO NEŠTA MIŠO KO MI  
TAMO ŠTO NISAM IMAO TAKO ŠHO RUŠALI  
I KRENULI ŠA KATLONITA ŠA TUZLU ŠLOŠE  
UŠOŠ MJEŠEC IŠO DEŠIVATTO OŠA OŠRKA  
ŠENAVIŠO I ROKŠO ŠOŠA NAŠ VIŠE NEŠTAM  
M.ŠARA DA KUŠIŠU NISHTA GLEDATI KAKO NEKO  
JEDNO ŠKATKO A ŠA NEŠTAM OŠA DANI KUP  
IMAM OŠE ŠESTRE HANE OD MIŠE JEDNOŠ JEDNIŠ  
ŠOŠIŠA ŠOŠOŠ ŠOŠAM MJEŠECI NISHTO NISHTA  
D.ŠALI KAKO ŠHO DOŠU

TUZLA

Njegovu školu završio je otac, a on se pobrinuo da je upropasti.

I left my home on 8 April. They captured us in the forest and led us towards a school. They told us to give up our weapons and they would let us go. We agreed. They forced one group ahead of us and killed all of them. They set women, men, pregnant women, kids, even 5-month old babies on fire. We went back home and surrendered our weapons. Once again, they started shooting at us and shelling us from their village. They shot at anyone who moved. Later, they came to my house, took my father and another neighbor prisoner. They killed a girl and a woman whose bodies were never found. We fled in the direction of Kamenica. We wandered in the forest and slept there. My mother gave birth in the forest and we didn't have anyone to look after us. From there, we set off towards Cerska. They set my house on fire and chased away the cattle and sheep. I had nothing to eat after that. Some people gave me corn bread. We had no salt so we ate the salt that was thrown on the asphalt to melt the snow. We were shelled and pounded with howitzers and artillery and fired at with machine guns. We could no longer bear it, so, in January, we went back from Cerska to my village of Velja Glava. We were there for several days, in a burned house without doors and windows. We decided to go to Tuzla. There were 1500 of us. As we were passing through different villages we could see houses that had been torched. It was raining and snowing, and it was so cold that eighteen men, women and children froze. I fell into some water and almost froze. We traveled towards the free territory the entire night, from 6 in the evening till 6 in the morning. I was glad when we reached Mededa. They gave me biscuits, milk and white bread. When I saw that, I was amazed because I thought that no one had that, since we didn't have it back in our village. So we ate lunch and set off for Tuzla in trucks. I have been in Tuzla for the last month and a half. We receive two meals a day, mostly sandwiches and soya. I have no money to buy anything. I watch others eat sweets and I have no father to buy me some. I have two younger sisters, one is almost seven and the other is seven months. We haven't received anything since our arrival.





■ Anel - age 7, from Gradačac (Winter 92/93)  
■ Anel, Gradačac, 7 godina (zima '92/93.)



■ **Mirnesa** - age 10, from Zvornik

(February 93)

■ **Mirnesa**, Zvornik, 10 godina

(februar '93.)

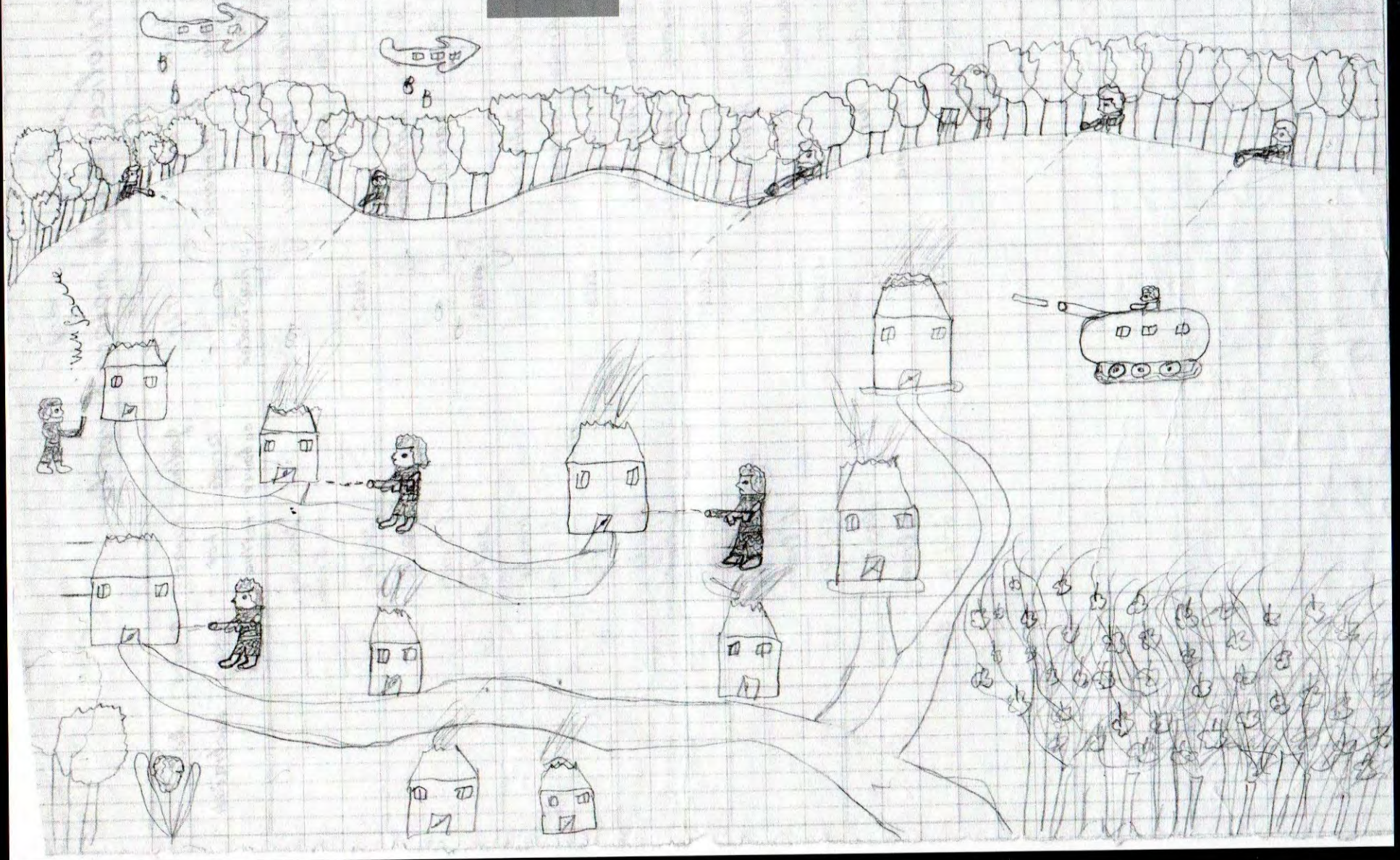
Mirnesa Imam 10g  
Kad smo bili zarobljena počeli  
su danas tuku ispitivajje desu  
pare i zlato i počeli su da kopaju  
rupaću danas kožu izdvaja li  
su žene i djecu ljude ljude su  
izvodili izubli ih i hlali oči vadile  
vrzili su žene plastikom žene  
matorce shidali gola i gonili ih  
po putu tukli su lancima rekla  
ma kojem stepali su nas u jedna  
sobe sve jedno ma drugo samo  
namo dase pogasimo spasto robitne  
pedeset rekli su nam dacemo svi  
biti zallani tukli su jedna ženu  
da da pare zlato ona nije dala  
rekla dace dati upitao kad je  
bilo ujutro u pet sati povika  
li su četnici izilazite narode  
izilazi narode iz sobe i  
predaj se svom narodu  
ohranite se prema školi

četnici si su počeli da tucaju  
iza leđa naši su povikali  
biže se narode u kuću mi smo  
bili jedno petnes minuta u kući  
naši su povikali biže narode  
izpoš kuća biže se uz grane vidjelo  
bos ja sam počela da plaćem  
i pitala sam demise može oni su  
mi rekli doje ide kad sam vidjela  
sreću bratara počela sam da plaćem  
kad sam vidjela brata izgubila  
sam se ~~ot~~ naši su me počeli  
hladeti tako smo došli u Josanica  
tamo su nas nastavili i odmorili  
majha mi je bila ranjena i umrla  
je jedanosti dan i tako smo bižali  
do cerske tukli su granetamo i sad  
ijem poslije smo riješili da idemo  
do turke i došli smo namo ispatili  
smo svega u putu došla sam  
sa tetkom namo

When we were captured, they started beating us and asking for money and gold. They started to dig a hole in which to bury us after they slaughtered us. They separated women and children from the men. They beat the men, slit their throats and gouged out their eyes. They burnt women with heated plastic, removed their clothing, beat them with chains, axes and stakes. They crammed us into one room and they pulled down the blinds so no one would see us. There were 450 of us and we thought we would suffocate. They said that everyone of us would be slaughtered. They beat one woman, demanding money and gold from her. She would not give it to them, telling them that she would give it to them in the morning. At five o'clock in the morning Chetniks started shouting: 'Come out people, come out of the room and surrender to your own people. Start walking towards the school! The Chetniks started shooting at us from behind, and the people started shouting: 'Run below the houses and alongside the bushes. They will see you.' I started to scream for my mother. They told me that she was around. When I saw my sister covered in blood, I started to cry. When I saw my brother I fainted and the people tried to bring me back to consciousness. We made our way to Josanica where we were given food and where we rested. My mother was wounded and on the eleventh day she died. We fled to Cerska. We were shelled and shot at from all kinds of weapons. Later, my aunt and I decided to go to Tuzla. We suffered a lot on our way here.



Fadila R 1.1. 1982 G. od Zvornika



- Fadila - age 10, from Zvornik (Winter- Spring 93)
- Fadila, Zvornik, 10 godina (zima-proljeće '93.)



■ Zaha - age 10, from Liplje (Zvornik)  
(February /March 93)

■ Zaha, Zvornik, Liplje, 10 godina  
(februar /mart '93.)

Zaha godište 1982

DATUM	STANCI • OBAVEZE	VRJEME
	JEDNOG DANA DOŠLI SU ČETNICI KOD MOJE KUĆE. MOJA BABA SE ISO NA KULU DO <del>DIJELI</del> KAD SE DOŠO PA KAZE IJE KUĆA ZNATE MI SMO OTISLI U ŠUMU ZA NAMA SO PULALI KUGLANA I GRANATIMA. KAD JE JEDNA GRANATA PUKLA JE U KUĆU. MI SMO BILI U ŠUMI MJESEC DANA TUDE NISMO IMALI ŠTA DA JEDEMO OTALE SMO OTISLI ZA CERSKU. KASNO ISLI ZA CERSKU TADA SU PADALE GRANATE BILU DE DOSTA POGINULO <del>RAJNO</del> KADA SMO SE VRATILI KUĆAMA TUDE NISMO SAZELI SPRAVAT. JEDNO ŽUTRO KUDA NAMA SE VRATILA KUĆI DA DOKNESE HRAHE PA SMO SVI SE VRATILI KUĆAMA TU SMO BILI DVA DANA KADA SU POŠLI DA FATAJU PRVO SU ZAHVALI OD MOJE KUĆE KOJI SU MOGU DO BJEŽE ANI SU POBJEGLI MI NISMO MOGLI DA PODEJEMO NAS SU ZAROKILI OTJERALI U ZKERIK TUDE SU NAS TUKLI <del>...</del> TUDE BILU BOSTA ROŽMO I RAČJENO. OTALE SU NAS POSLUKI DALJE TU SU NAS ZAHVALI ZA SVAJE. TU SU VOJCI MOŠU NEKU. NAJ GORE MI JE KAD SU MI MAMU IZVODILE DA TUKU NAŠ TEŽE HIA. TU MI JE BILU BABA IJEBA SU TUKLI MI SMO	JEDNOG DANA NISMO IMALI ŠTA DA JEDEMO OTALE SMO OTISLI ZA CERSKU KASNO ISLI ZA CERSKU TADA SU PADALE GRANATE BILU DE DOSTA POGINULO RAJNO KADA SMO SE VRATILI KUĆAMA TUDE NISMO SAZELI SPRAVAT JEDNO ŽUTRO KUDA NAMA SE VRATILA KUĆI DA DOKNESE HRAHE PA SMO SVI SE VRATILI KUĆAMA TU SMO BILI DVA DANA KADA SU POŠLI DA FATAJU PRVO SU ZAHVALI OD MOJE KUĆE KOJI SU MOGU DO BJEŽE ANI SU POBJEGLI MI NISMO MOGLI DA PODEJEMO NAS SU ZAROKILI OTJERALI U ZKERIK TUDE SU NAS TUKLI <del>...</del> TUDE BILU BOSTA ROŽMO I RAČJENO OTALE SU NAS POSLUKI DALJE TU SU NAS ZAHVALI ZA SVAJE TU SU VOJCI MOŠU NEKU NAJ GORE MI JE KAD SU MI MAMU IZVODILE DA TUKU NAŠ TEŽE HIA TU MI JE BILU BABA IJEBA SU TUKLI MI SMO

DATUM	DOGOVORI • SASTANCI • OBAVEZE	VRJEME
	PLAKALI ZA SE IMA NACI DEM JA SAM NAJTEŽ PLAKALA TU MI JE BILA STRINA TRUDNA ONI SU ŠEČLI DA IH POKOJU. SUTRE DAN SU ŠEČLI DA ZAKONJU ŽEDNO CURU SALIHović HASRETA. TA CURA JE POBJEGLA IZ KUPKILA KAD JE DOŠA KOD NAŠE VOJSKE I SVE ISPRICALA. TAD SU I MATER SOJ TUKLI. TADA NASI VOJNICI NYBALI TU SE PORICI SAHAT VREHONU KAD SU OSLOBADILI ONI SU IZASCI NA ASKALT BILI SU ČETNICI N JEDNOJ KUĆI TUDI SU IZBIVNU MNOGO. TADA SU KRENULI ZA CERSKU. KAD SMO SE DRATICI IZ	KADA SE VRATILA SUTRE DAN SU ŠEČLI DA IH POKOJU SUTRE DAN SU ŠEČLI DA ZAKONJU ŽEDNO CURU SALIHović HASRETA TA CURA JE POBJEGLA IZ KUPKILA KAD JE DOŠA KOD NAŠE VOJSKE I SVE ISPRICALA TAD SU I MATER SOJ TUKLI TADA NASI VOJNICI NYBALI TU SE PORICI SAHAT VREHONU KAD SU OSLOBADILI ONI SU IZASCI NA ASKALT BILI SU ČETNICI N JEDNOJ KUĆI TUDI SU IZBIVNU MNOGO TADA SU KRENULI ZA CERSKU KAD SMO SE DRATICI IZ

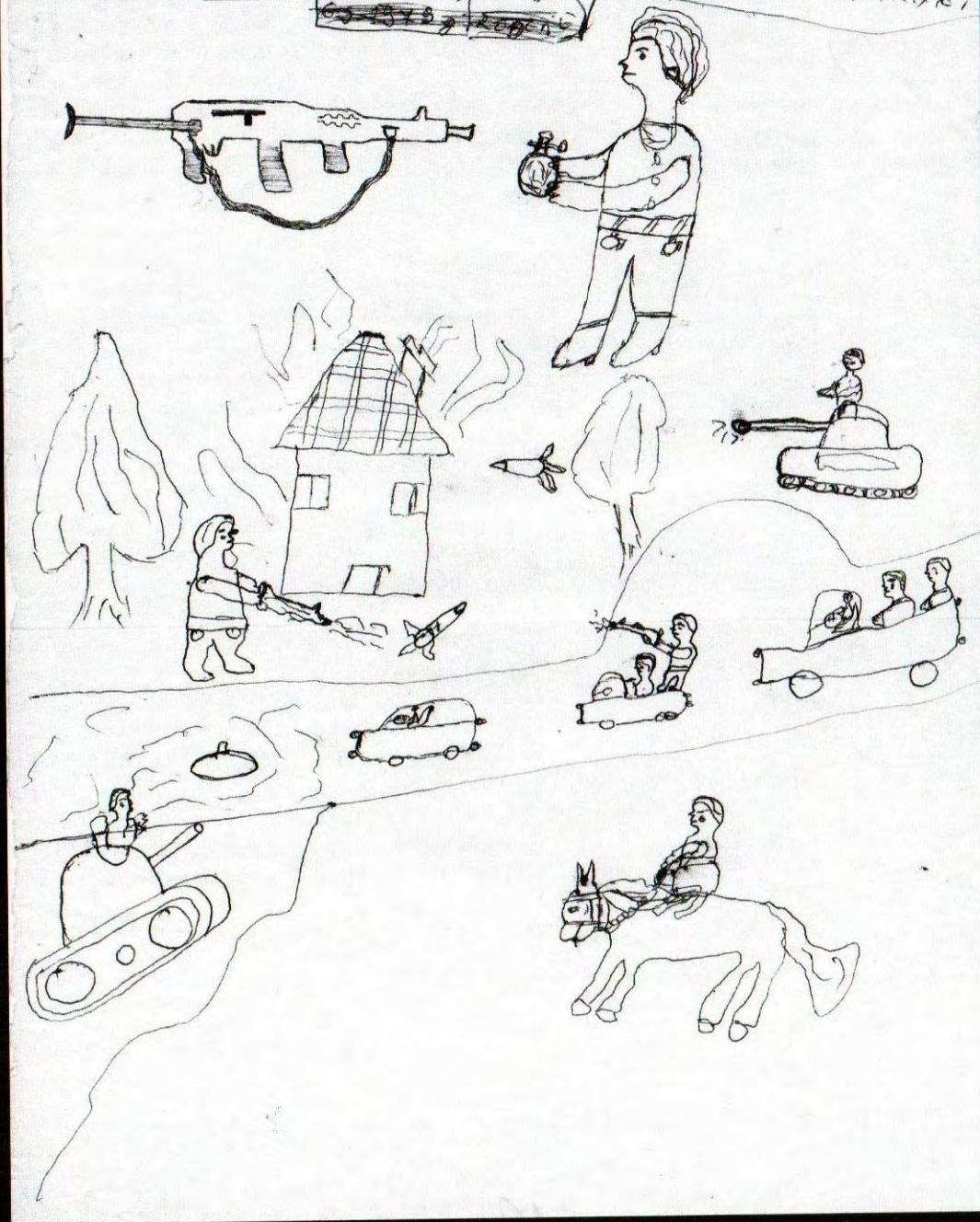
One day, the Chetniks came to our house. My father went to the tower for a lookout. When he got back he told us to run for our lives. We went to the forest while they shot after us and shelled us.

One grenade landed on our house. We were in the woods for a month. We had nothing to eat. From there we went to Cerska. On our way to Cerska a lot of grenades fell and there were many killed and wounded. When we got back to our homes, we were afraid to sleep there. One morning, my mother went back home to get some food. We all came back to our homes where we spent two days. When they started to round up people, they started with my house. Those who were able to flee, had fled. We did not manage to get away. They captured us and forced us to go to Zvornik. Once there, they beat us. There were many of those who were killed and wounded. The rest of us were made to go on further to a place where we were exchanged for their own people. That's where they killed my grandmother. The worst moment was when they singled out my mom to beat her. My father was also there and he was beaten as well. We were...(Excerpt)



RODEHE  
3. 6. 1993 g

Suada KAMENICA BAKRAČI



■ **Suada**, age 10, from Zvornik, Kamenica, village of Bakrač (Winter 92/93)

■ **Suada**, Zvornik, Kamenica, selo Bakrač, 10 godina (zima '92/93.)



■ **Edvin** - age 12, from Vlasenica  
(February/March 93)

■ **Edvin**, Vlasenica, 12 godina  
(februar/mart '93.)

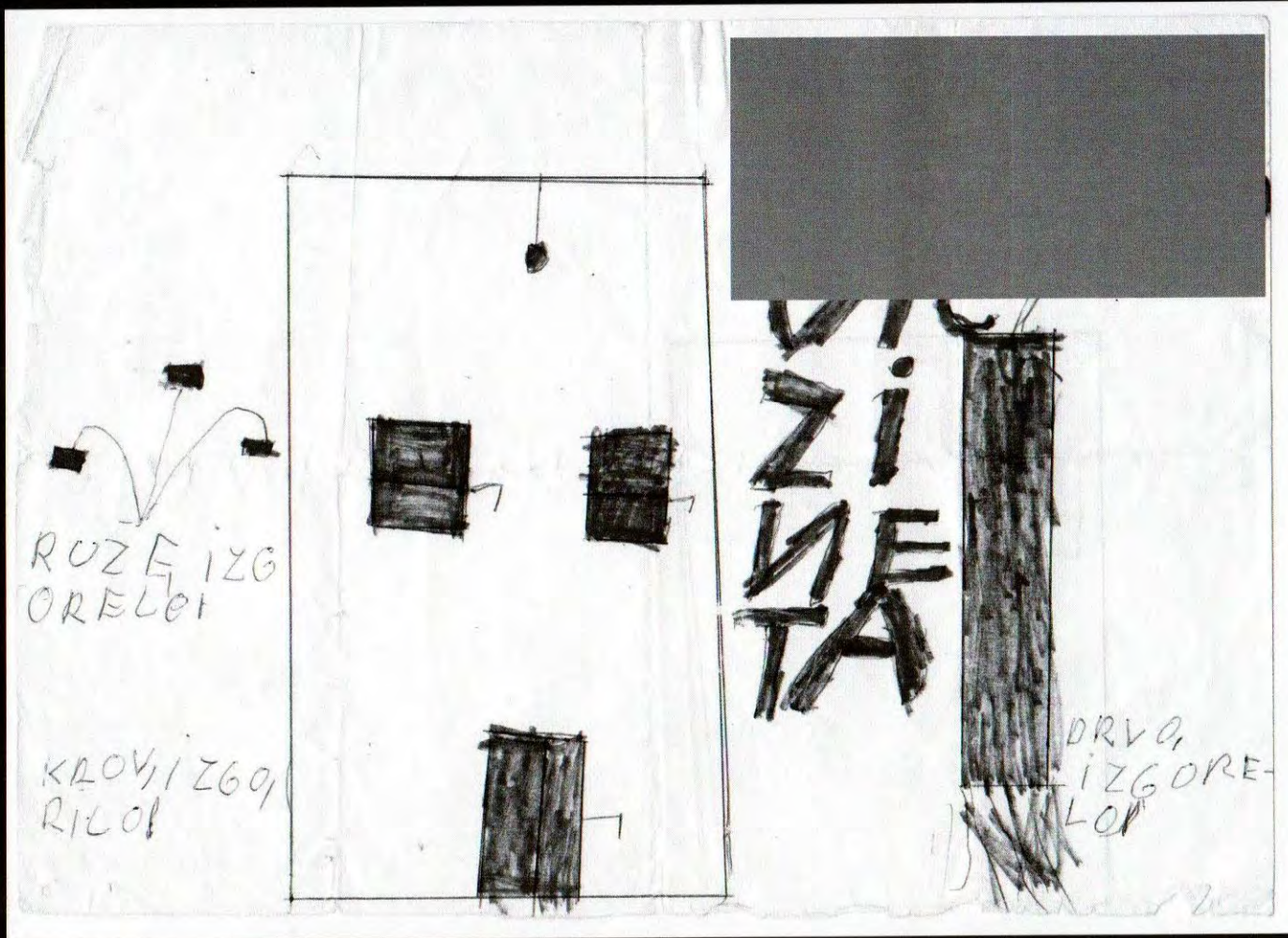
Isao sam u školu sa mojim  
drugovima sve do trećeg aprila. Taj dan kada sam  
se vratio iz škole primjetio sam neke čudne parole  
pisane po izlozima. Pisalo je smrt muslimanima, ovo je  
bija, arkanovci seseljenci, i tako još bezbroj neki parola.  
Sjećao sam da se u mom gradu nešto čudno dešava. Svakim  
danom osjećao se sve veći strah u gradu. U mom gradu  
osjećalo se sve veće prisustvo da tada neki nepoznate vojske  
svaki dan i noć su pucali i tako uljevali namu djeci strah  
u kosti. Počeli su odvoditi uložore ljude tako su ih tukli  
da su jedva živi ostali. Motketirali su ulazak po gradu bilo  
kome je zabranjeno kretanje po gradu i predavanja nisu  
moogli kupovati samo ako si musliman. Došao je i taj dan  
11 april kada sam ja i moji roditelji morali napustiti svoju  
roditelnu kuću, počeli smo svi raditi plakati.

I went to school with my friends all the way up to 3 April.  
That day, on my way home, I noticed some strange writings on  
shop windows: *Death to the Muslims; This is Serbia; Arkan's\*  
and Seselj's\* people*, and countless other messages. I felt that  
something strange was going on in my town. Each day I sensed  
more fear among the people. The presence of the army in my  
town, so far unknown to me, was more palpable. Every night  
and day, they fired from their weapons and frightened the  
children out of their wits. They started taking people away  
to the concentration camps and beat them so badly that they  
barely survived. They maltreated people in the town and we  
were not allowed to move about the town. You could not shop in  
the stores if you were Muslim. The day, when my parents and I  
were forced to leave our own house, had arrived. All of us cried.  
(Excerpt)

\*Arkan - Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, a Belgrade pastry maker with the reputation  
of an international criminal. He was appointed commander of a special unit of  
military police "Tigers", and then commander of the Serbian paramilitary forma-  
tion - Serbian Voluntary Guard, which had been active in Bijeljina and Zvornik, as  
well as Podrinje, where it committed a great number of crimes mentioned here. For  
this reason, the Hague War Crimes Tribunal indicted him, but despite the fact, the  
government of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia did not surrender him. He was  
killed on 15 January 2000 in Belgrade, most likely because he represented a danger-  
ous witness in the Hague War Crimes Tribunal.

\*Seselj - In the euphoria of Serbian nationalism, Dr. Vojislav Seselj's appointment  
to the position of assistant professor at the Faculty of Political Science in Sara-  
jevo was arranged. He is a Chetnik duke and the president of the Serbian Radical  
Party, and the commander of his party's paramilitary formation 'Chetniks', with  
which he personally took part in the crimes in Croatia and Bosnia and Herze-  
govina, including Podrinje.





BURNT ROSES  
 BURNT ROOFS  
 BURNT TREE  
 DESTROYED VILLAGES  
 BURNT HOUSE  
 BURNT STABLE



■ **Zineta**, age 10 from Liplje, (Zvornik)  
 (February/March 93)

■ **Zineta**, Zvornik, Liplje, 10 godina  
 (februar/mart '93.)



■ Zineta - age 10 from Liplje, (Zvornik)  
(February/March 93)

■ Zineta, Zvornik, Liplje, 10 godina  
(februar/mart '93.)

Za se zove m [REDACTED]  
Zineta a ima godina 11  
U mom selu je  
~~došlo~~ došlo deset tenkova  
pa su pućalu na nas mi  
mo bjećalu po šumama.  
Bjećali smo po šuma  
ma došli ~~u~~ smo do mirnog  
sela. U mene su  
mi ded i bika ~~u~~ ubili

My name is Zineta and I am 11 years old. Ten tanks came to my village and they fired at us. We fled into the forest. Wandering through the woods we came upon a peaceful village. They killed my grandfather and my grandmother... (Excerpt)





■ **Rahima** - age 13, from Bratunac (Winter 92/93)

■ **Rahima**, Bratunac, 13 godina (zima '92/93.)



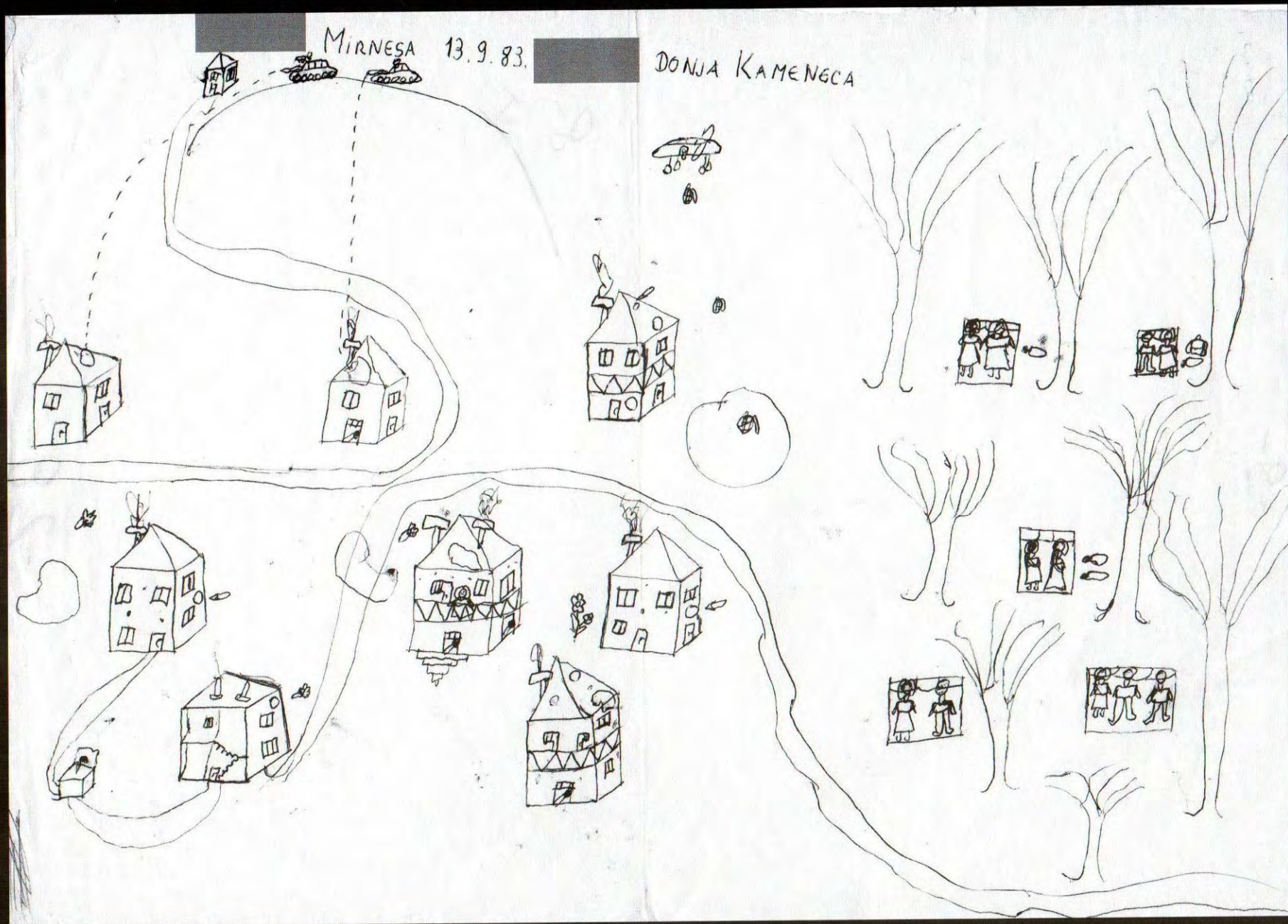
Bećir iz cerske ▽  
Ja sam Bijo svukad po potocima  
i ja sa svojim ~~poditeljima.~~  
Ja bi i propričo <sup>sobiteljima.</sup> da čio četmčić  
da se smiri. <sub>ma</sub>  
Ja sam jeo zob i žaru i  
še žir i jabuke divljale.  
Ja neznam šta da radim.  
Ja sam jeo žir i orahov list  
to sam jedva jeo.  
(to je moj doživljaj)

■ **Bećir** - age 10, from Vlasenica, Cerska  
(end of February 93)

■ **Bećir**, Vlasenica, Cerska, 10 godina  
(kraj februara '93.)

I wandered everywhere, along streams... I would advise the Chetniks to calm down. I ate oatmeal, nettles, wild apples and anything I could find. I didn't know what to do. I ate acorns and walnut leaves. I could barely eat those. (This is my experience.)





■ Mirnesa - age 10, from Donja Kamenica - village of Alići (February '93)

■ Mirnesa, Zvornik, D. Kamenica, selo Alići, 10 godina (februar '93.)



■ **Mirnesa** - age 10, from Donja Kamenica - village of Alići (February 93)

■ **Mirnesa**, Zvornik, D. Kamenica, selo Alići, 10 godina (februar '93.)

20. 2. 93.

MIRNESA

LASAM IZ KAMENICE DOŠLASAM PRICE MLESEC  
IPO. U KAMENICI SU RAĐALE MNOGO GRANATE, MI  
NISMO IMALI HRANE. MNOGI SU SKARALI OD GLADI  
BLEGALI SMO PO CERSKOL I DO KONJEVIĆ PONJU. MNOGO SU  
IZGINILI. BIL O NA LE MNOGO TEŠKO U KAMENIĆI. SPAVALI  
SMO PO VELIKIM ORDINAMA GDE SU SE NALAZILI MEDVJEDI  
TU SMO SPAVALI SEDAM DANA. POSLE TOGA SMO SE  
VRATILI KUĆAMA I PREDALI ORUŽJE. BILISMO MLESEC  
CDANA ONDA SMO POBEGLI U CERSKU, ČETNICI SU ZAUZ-  
GLI KAMENICU. U CERSKOJ SAM SPAVALA PO ŠTALAMA. U CERSK-  
OL JE NAROD BIO SKROZ LOŠE JER NISU DALI NIŠTA VEĆE.  
U CERSKOJ SU SE BEBE NAZLE OD HLADNOĆE. MOJ AMIDIĆ  
JE POGINO OD METKA ZOVE SE [REDACTED] DZEVAD. KADA JE ON  
POGINO JASAM PLAKALA. MOJ JE TATA OSTAO U KAMEN-  
ICI. ZANJEGA SE NIŠTA NEZNAJA ŽELIM ZLATNIM  
LJILJANIMA SVAKO DOBRO.

...We slept there for seven days. After that, we went back to our homes and gave up our weapons. We remained there for a month and then we fled to Cerska. The Chetniks captured Kamenica. In Cerska, I slept inside stables. In Cerska, people were in a really bad condition because they couldn't... The babies were freezing to death in Cerska. My first cousin died from a bullet wound. His name was Dzevad. When he got killed, I cried. My father stayed in Kamenica and nothing is known of his fate. I wish every good upon the Golden Lillies. (Excerpt).



# Azumir

1944 13 godina

Bio sam u kući ja i moja majka.  
Došla je moja strina radeta.  
Ona mi je rekla da idem da joj  
Završim zcerke. Mama mi je  
rekla da neidem ja je nisam  
poslušao i otisao sam. A od  
jednog mog komšije kuće naišli su  
četnici, ja sam uletio u moje  
strine kuću i rekao sam  
svojoj amističnijoj da idu četnici  
i da kucaju ona mi je rekla  
čekaj dok potkuham hleb.

Ja je nisam radio da čekam onda  
mama je rekla radečaj da operam  
makar puke ja sam rekao dobro.  
↓ Ja sam izišo iz kuće, Ono  
napdja četnici uperili u mene  
i moju amističnu Mikoljuz.  
Jedan od četnika me je uhvatio  
za ruku a drugi je pušao i  
u me za ruku moju amističnu.  
Ja sam gledao u svoju kuću.  
Kad jedan četnik arkan  
kaze avom koji je mene došlo  
da dođe. Ono je mene pušao i kaze  
moj prema mjestu ja sam no-  
ćeo da lijezim.



it jedan četnik mi je počeo  
da vice jebem ti maver da ja  
stanem. Ja sam samo ljeto.  
On je opalio jedan rafal viš glave.  
Ja sam mažao posle mame u  
mome podrumu i ja sam njoj  
rekao da bježimo kod njezine  
majke. Mi smo posle otirali i čuli  
zmo da je maja strimera i zamistične  
naradjine. Posle 4 ili 5 mjeseci poginuo  
mi je otac. A mi smo još je nego  
da je otac poginuo mi smo došli u Tuzlu  
da da jatom i njegovom ženom.  
I bjeđa je posle 30 dana marširamo otam  
u crvenim njivama.  
I davat dan pazim za oclm

I tako sam doživio doživljaj u ovom  
ratu. Samo ne jebite strah kada me  
me uhvatili i kada smo prešli u Tuzlu

■ Azmir, age 13, from Zvornik village of Salihovići  
(February/March 93)

■ Azmir, 13 godina, Zvornik selo Salihovići  
(februar/mart '93.)

My mother and I were in the house. My aunt Sadeta came over. She told me to go get her two daughters. My mother told me not to go, but I didn't listen and went anyway. The Chetniks appeared from our neighbor's house. I ran into my aunt's house and told my cousin that the Chetniks were coming and that they were taking prisoners. She told me to wait until she finished kneading the dough for bread. I didn't want to wait. She then told me to, at least, wait until she washed her hands, and I agreed. I walked out of the house. The Chetniks pointed a machine gun at me and my cousin. One of the Chetniks seized me by the arm and the other grabbed my cousin's arm.

I was watching my house. One Chetnik-Arkan told the one holding me to come to him. He let go of me and started walking towards him. I started to run. One of the Chetniks yelled after me, cursing my mother's name, telling me to stop. I kept on running. He fired a burst over my head. Later, I found my mother in our cellar and told her that we should run to her mother's. Afterwards we heard that my aunt and my two cousins had been captured. After about four or five months, my father was killed. We went to Tuzla with my uncle and his wife before my father was killed. Thirty days later, my uncle found an apartment in Crvene Njive. To this day I long for my father. And that is my experience in this war. I only felt fear when they caught me, and on our way to Tuzla.