

# CAMPS, GENOCIDE AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CLEANSING

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**Fig. 1** The Kosovo battle of 1389 between Serb and Ottoman army represents the largest Serb nationalist myth of Serb victimhood.

**Fig. 2** Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević giving his infamous speech in Gazimestan, Kosovo, on the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1989.





**Fig. 3** Bosniak women and children were expelled and deported from their homes by Bosnian Serb forces throughout the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Fig. 4** The Bosnian Serb established semi-autonomous regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991. Several months before the outbreak of war.



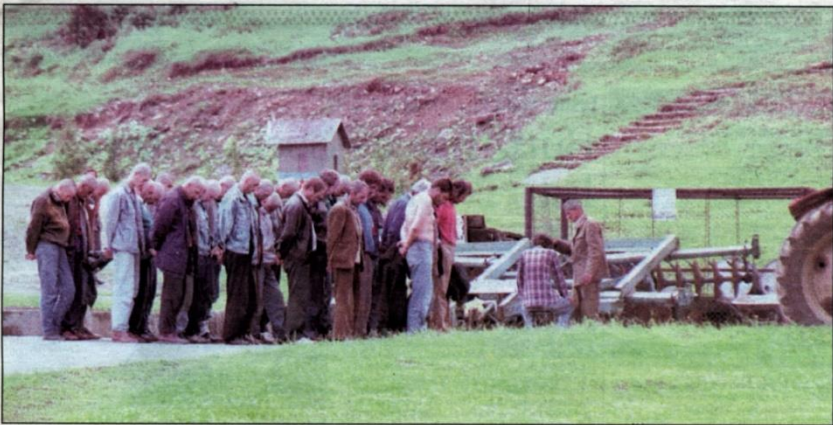


**Fig. 5** Towns in Eastern Bosnia, in the Drina Valley which were first to be attacked by Yugoslav People's Army from Serbia in April 1992.



**Fig. 6** The Vijećnica – The National Library of University of Sarajevo was intentionally bombed and set ablaze by Bosnian Serb forces in August 1992 which resulted in the destruction of 2 million rare and irreplaceable books.





The forbidden photo, taken with a long lens outside Manjaca camp's restricted area, shows a Muslim having his head shaved as others wait their turn. Photo by Andrew Kraiser

## Prisoners of Serbia's War

*Tales of hunger, torture at camp in north Bosnia*

While the world's attention has been focused on the siege of Sarajevo, the Serb-led conquest of Muslim towns and villages and the mass deportations of Muslims and Croats have proceeded at blinding pace in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Newsday* reporter Roy Gutman and freelance photographer Andrew Kraiser visited the area last week, the first western journalists there since the war began in April. This is the first of several reports on the systematic effort by the Serbs and the Serbian army to eliminate any trace of other ethnic groups.

By Roy Gutman

EUROPE CORRESPONDENT

**H**Manjaca, Bosnia-Herzegovina  
HEADS BOWED and hands clasped behind their backs, the Muslim prisoners lined up before their Serb captors. One by one, they sat on the metal stool and then knelt to have their heads shaved.

An order was given that could not be heard from 200 yards away, and each group of 20 then returned on the double to the sheds in which they live in near-darkness. Guards at the entry swung their rubber truncheons, as if in anticipation of beatings to come.

The scene was a harrowing, if unintended, demonstration to a visiting reporter of the indignities that the all-powerful Serbian army in Bosnia metes out daily to Muslims and Croats in the "ethnic cleansing" of all other nationalities in territories it conquers.

The army calls Manjaca a "prisoner of war" camp. But inside the vast sheds, where this reporter was forbidden to go, beatings and torture are an integral part of the daily regime, according to just-released Muslim prisoners. At least three prisoners died in the past month, they said.

The prisoners sleep on stone floors, with only ferns as mattresses, and one blanket for four men or youths. Eight share a space equivalent to a horse stall. They have a shower every two weeks, and most are still wearing the clothes they arrived in six weeks ago.

The occasion for the Tuesday visit to Manjaca, the first by any western reporter, was that the International Red Cross was performing its first inspection of the camp that same day.

"We are concealing nothing," Col. Milutin Vukotic, the deputy commander of the army's Krajina corps, told *Newsday* at his nearby headquarters as he kept the Red Cross staff waiting. But the army turned down *Newsday's* request for a tour, offering instead interviews with eight hand-picked prisoners and a camp doctor. Armed guards monitored each conversation, army interviewers asked most of the questions, and an army television team recorded the scene. None of the prisoners interviewed under those conditions criticized the camp regime, but former prisoners interviewed away from the camp described a regime where beatings were routine.

The eight interviewees were marched in formation into a small plaza near the camp entrance. Their hands were bowed and their hands clasped behind their backs as they entered. They had been given prison uniforms but wore the shoes they came with, mostly without laces. All looked pale, weary and under duress.

"Everything here is good, considering the conditions," said V., one of the prisoners, as guards monitored his words. "There is food and accommodation. Everything is fine."

Manjaca (pronounced MAHN-yah-tah) is one of a string of new detention facilities, which an American embassy

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Inmates walk to interview with reporter as ordered; with heads down

## 'There Is No Food, There Is No Air'

By Roy Gutman

EUROPE CORRESPONDENT

**T**Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina  
THE CAMP IS an open pit, where only a third of the prisoners have shelter from the elements and most have to stand in mud, according to a witness. Six to 10 people die daily.

"The corpses pile up. There is no food. There is no air to breathe. No medical care. Even the grass around the pit has been completely clawed away," said an official of Merhamet, the Muslim relief agency, who received the account last week. "Our hair stood up when we heard the report."

Unlike Manjaca, a camp that has been known to international relief agencies since it was used by the Yugoslav army to house prisoners during its

Omarska, a town near this capital of Serb-conquered north Bosnia, houses a death camp where Serb authorities, with the backing of the army, have taken thousands of Muslims. Hepatitis is reportedly epidemic, and other diseases are spreading rapidly. The witness quoted the camp commander as warning the inmates that they will never leave it alive. The reports could not be independently confirmed.

There are mounting indications that

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Fig. 7, 8 Western journalists were the first to discover the Serb-run camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These articles caused international outrage and helped save thousands of lives of concentration camp detainees but failed to stop the genocide.

**DAILY Mirror**

Friday, August 7, 1992

NEWSPAPER FOR THE NINETIES

Last month's daily sale: 3,096,044

27p

**THE PICTURE THAT SHAMES THE WORLD**



STARVING AND DESPAIRING: Bosnian prisoners at the Omarska concentration camp run by Serbs dedicated to their barbaric policy of "ethnic cleansing"

Picture: ITN

# BELSEN 92

**HOLLOW-EYED** and haggard, row upon row of men without hope stare out from a barbed wire cage. The haunting picture of these skeletal captives evokes the ghosts of the Nazis' Belsen concentration camp during the Second World War. But this is European barbarism in 1992, filmed at one of the Serbian "detention" centres in northern Bosnia. The picture was part of a harrowing ITN report by newsgirl Penny Marshall, screened last night. Many prisoners at the Omarska camp are thought to have lacerations no brighter than an executioner's bullet. Others face the agony of slow death by starvation. And as the men die, world leaders dither about what - if anything - they will do to halt the unspeakable atrocities which shame humanity.

**HORROR OF THE NEW HOLOCAUST PAGE 2 AND CENTRE PAGES**





**Fig. 9** The Six Strategic Objectives of the Serb people was a document adopted by Bosnian Serb Assembly on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1992. This represented the blueprint for the destruction of Bosniak Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.





**Fig. 10** A Bosnian  
Serb policeman  
beating a young  
Bosniak Muslim  
man in the  
Višegrad police  
station in 1992.



**Fig. 11** The Keraterm concentration camp in Prijedor used to incarcerate Bosniak Muslims and Bosnian Croats in 1992.



**“BY PLANNED AND  
WELL-THOUGHT OUT  
COMBAT OPERATIONS  
CREATE AN UNBEARABLE  
SITUATION OF TOTAL  
INSECURITY WITH NO  
HOPE OF FURTHER  
SURVIVAL OR LIFE FOR  
THE INHABITANTS  
OF SREBRENICA AND  
ZEPA”**

Directive 7/ 8.03.1995

**Fig. 12, 13**  
Citations from  
Bosnian Serb  
Army general  
Ratko Mladić's  
orders from 1992.



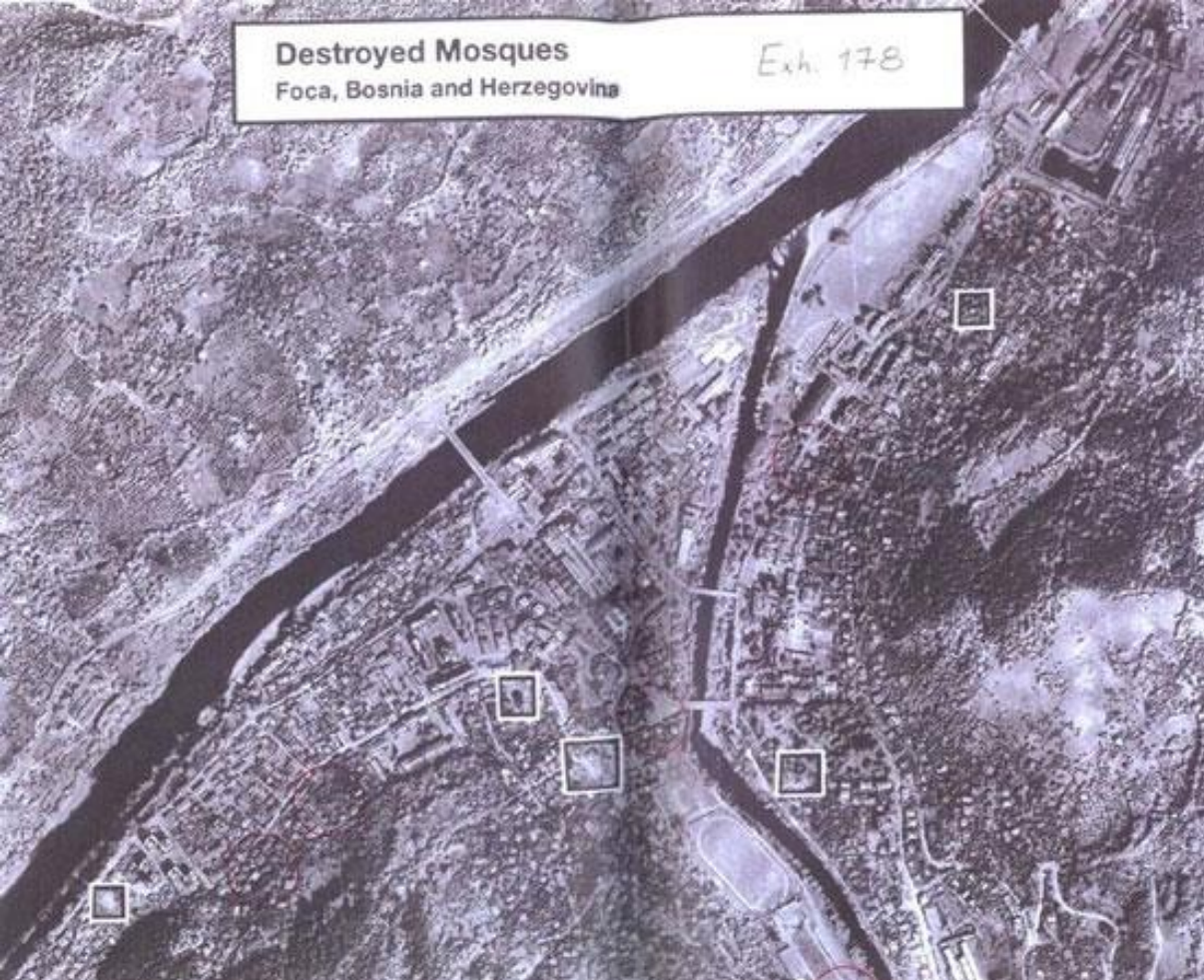
**“First offer the able-bodied  
and armed men to surrender,  
and if they refuse, destroy  
them.”**

Bosnian Serb Army / Directive 4 / 19.11.92



**Fig. 14** The before and after photograph of the Ferhadija mosque in Banjaluka, destroyed by Bosnian Serb authorities in 1993.





**Fig. 15, 16** Ariel photos by U.S. Spy planes showing extent of genocidal violence perpetrated by the Serb forces.



**Fig. 17** The entrance to the Manjača concentration camp where Bosniak Muslims and Bosniak Croats were incarcerated in 1992. The cyrillic sign reads: CAMP – ENTRANCE FORBIDDEN







**Fig. 18** The Tomašica mass grave in Prijedor, north-western Bosnia, is the largest mass grave discovered in Bosnia. The victims are Bosniak Muslims and Bosniak Croats, victims of the Prijedor genocide in 1992.





**Fig. 19** A screenshot of a news report by Belgrade TV showing bodies piled up in front of the Kravica warehouse in the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> of July 1995

**Fig. 20** The Kravica warehouse was the site of the 13<sup>th</sup> July 1995 massacre of at least 1300 Bosniak man and boys after the fall of Srebrenica.



"I was not even able to touch the floor, the concrete floor of the warehouse... After the shooting, I felt a strange kind of heat, warmth, which was actually coming from the blood that covered the concrete floor, and I was stepping on the dead people who were lying around."



## Bosnian Serbs welcome freed war criminal

*Momcilo Krajsnik given a hero's welcome after returning from British jail where he served most of 20-year sentence.*

## Bosnian Serb assembly 'appreciates' war criminals

Ex-Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, convicted war criminal, awarded certificate of appreciation by Republika Srpska parliament

## Serb president bans teaching about Sarajevo siege, Srebrenica genocide

## Student dorm named after war crimes suspect Radovan Karadžić

Plaque unveiled in Bosnian Serb stronghold as UN tribunal prepares to release its verdict on the former Serbian leader's role in the 1990s conflict

## Srebrenica elects as mayor Serb who denies massacre was genocide

## Srebrenica tense as Bosnian Serb poised to become mayor

*Divided Bosnia fears fresh crisis as genocide-denier claims to have won mayoral race in Srebrenica election.*

## Srebrenica survivors still struggling against Serb genocide denial

Bosnian Serb mayor of 1995 massacre town not invited to commemoration events

### CRIME

## Ratko Mladić guilty verdict is welcome, but Bosnia is still 'full of butchers' like him

■ Bosnian refugees in the UK welcomed verdict, but say more has to be done to protect victims.

## Denying Genocide in the Face of Science

The largest DNA-identification project ever conducted provides unprecedented proof of the slaughter at Srebrenica. But 20 years later, too many people claim it never happened.

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Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo\\_Maiden](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_Maiden)

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Source: [https://howlingpixel.com/i-sh/Istorija\\_Kosova](https://howlingpixel.com/i-sh/Istorija_Kosova)

**Fig. 3** Dispossessed Bosnians make their way to refugee centres in 1992, fleeing persecution and abuse

Source: (AFP/Getty)

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Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SAO\\_BIH\\_1991\\_1992.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SAO_BIH_1991_1992.png)

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Source: <http://worldwindtours.com/maps/bosnia-map>

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Source: <https://www.dw.com/en/europe-failed-to-defend-its-values-in-sarajevo/a-38309545>

**Fig. 7,8** “Prisoners of Serbian war”, *Newsday*, July 1992 (Fig. 7 – Private archive)The picture was taken more than 25 years ago as he languished in Trnopolje camp, which was a Serb-controlled prison. (Fig. 8)

Source: <https://iconicphotos.wordpress.com/2009/05/26/trnopolje-bosnia-1992/>

**Fig. 9** The six strategic objectives of the Serb people was a document adopted by Bosnian Serb Assembly on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1992.

Source: ICTY Records



**Fig. 10** A Serbian soldier beats a captured Muslim militiaman during an interrogation in the Bosnian town of Visegrad, 125 miles southwest of Belgrade, on June 8, 1992.

Source: AP Photo/Milan Timotic

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Source: <https://www.prijedor-never-more.fr/presentation/keraterm/>

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Source: <http://www.heritage.sense-agency.com/>

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Source: ICTY records

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Source: ICTY records

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Source: Twitter/Voice of Bosnia

**Fig. 19** The footage made in front of the Kravica warehouse shows about twenty bodies piled up

Source: <http://www.sense-agency.com>

**Fig. 20** The Kravica warehouse was the site of the 13<sup>th</sup> July 1995 massacre of at least 1300 Bosniak man and boys after the fall of Srebrenica.

Source: ICTY records

**Fig. 21** Hikmet Karčić , *Srebrenica Genocide: 11 Lessons for the Future Exhibition*, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2018.

Source: Private archive

## **Bio/** Hikmet Karčić

Hikmet Karčić is a researcher at the Institute for Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks. He has a PhD in Political Science and Sociology from the International University of Sarajevo. He obtained his BA and LLM from the Law Faculty University of Sarajevo. Previously, he worked at the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Center for Advanced Studies and was the project coordinator for "Mapping of Detention Camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995" at the Association TPOS. He is the author of "An Appeal for Truth" (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2013) and editor of "Remembering the Bosnian Genocide: Justice, Memory and Denial" (Institute for Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks, 2016). He is the author of several research articles related to war crimes and memorialization, and has produced two documentaries related to the former.