

cars in the town had "The Wolves of Vukovar" written on them. In mid-May 1992, a number of Serbian trucks were observed in Kozarac. The head of a bull had been placed on the first truck. Attached to this truck was an inscription reading, "These are the Wolves of Vukovar" - the area of Vukovar in Croatia had by then been heavily ravaged. Locals interpreted this as intended to frighten them. As the weapons locally available were being collected by the Serbian army at the same time, the overall situation rendered the non-Serbian people with the feeling that they could do nothing. On occasion, Serbian aeroplanes were flying low over the roofs of private houses, scaring the dwellers and the local population at large even more.

245. The telephone lines were disconnected by the Serbs and so was the electricity supply. The area was surrounded by the Serbian army. No buses were in operation, and on 24 May 1992, the Serbs closed the main road traffic. Traffic between Prijedor and Banja Luka was then redirected via Tomašica and Omarska. On 24 May 1992, the air-raid alarm sounded.

246. Major Radmilo Zeljaja from the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor allegedly gave a delegation from the Kozarac civilian defence council an ultimatum either to sign a loyalty pledge to the Serbian self-appointed leaders (and hand over their weapons) or Kozarac would be attacked. The delegation asked for two days to consult with the population. The Serbian military attack followed.

247. Before the attack on the Kozarac area started on 24 May 1992, an announcement was made over Radio Prijedor that military forces with tanks were on their way from Banja Luka to Prijedor, and that if these were stopped, fire would be opened. Radio Prijedor insinuated that a barricade might exist near the village Jacupovići along the road - this, however, does not seem to have been the case. Simo Drljača later claimed that there had been both barricades (in the plural) and mines on the road, and that the Serbian army went to the Kozarac area to clear the road and remove the barricades.

248. Colonel Vladimir Arsić is said to have been the superior in charge of the Serbian military operation in the Kozarac area. Commander for the Serbian military in the field was allegedly Major Radmilo Zeljaja. Over the communication system, he allegedly instructed destruction of all Muslim property such as houses and mosques. The commander of the Serbian military police is identified, but his name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. Also, a Serbian police commander from Prijedor, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, was one of the leaders of the attack. Major Slobodan Kuruzović was allegedly involved as a military leader and especially as coordinator of the subsequent deportation of the population.

249. Initially, the Kozarac area was subjected to heavy bombardment by artillery, coming possibly from eleven different places (like Benkovac on the Kozara Mountain, Topica Brdo - another mountain, and nearby Serbian-dominated villages such as Babići and Gornji Orlovci), and from tanks and smaller firearms. On 25 May 1992, after 24 hours of shelling and after approximately 5,600 grenades had fallen on the area, Serbian tanks and Serbian infantry moved in all at once with an estimated 3,600 people. Prior to this, civilians had, inter alia, observed that one of the villages outside of Kozarac was completely on fire. Panic had spread. The local population did not organize any real resistance; it was considered futile anyway. The Serbian military men came into the area like ants from all sides, as described by one female non-Serbian survivor.

250. In came regular soldiers, paramilitaries, Serbian TOs, and armed local Serbs, all of whom acted in a coordinated manner in the operation, to the

extent that people believed that all these Serbian armed entities were under one unified command. Some Serbian soldiers were wearing the five-pointed red star of the JNA on their caps and no other insignia. Other fighters carried various insignia of the "White Eagles of Knin", the like-sided cross with the four Cs above an eagle, or just an eagle on their camouflage uniforms. There were also armed Serbs from Banja Luka and Arkanovci.

251. Another paramilitary unit was the so-called "Gypsy Brigade" from Omarska. The leader of the group was Momčilo Radanović nicknamed "Cigo" (i.e. Gypsy). He was a taxi driver who fought in the war in Croatia. He is now said to be the Vice President of Opština Prijedor. During the attack by infantry and paramilitary units on the Kozarac area, the "Gypsy Brigade" apparently was one of the most cruel, committing massacres in the villages Alići, Softići, Brđani, and Jakupovići. He and his group are also ill-reputed for other alleged heinous acts against non-Serbs, for example, in the concentration camps Omarska and Keraterm.

252. Infantry and paramilitary troops went searching for people in every building. In some areas, like in Kozarac town, the incoming soldiers first went from house to house to ask the men to come out and assemble in front of the mosque. There the Serbs told their gathered congregation that in half an hour all women and children would have to gather as well; if not, the Serbian military would go from house to house and burn and pillage the entire area. In other areas - villages and hamlets - the latter was the first strategy.

253. When the first Serbian soldiers entered Kozarac town, they brought with them lists of names of people who were called forward and killed. These people were the politicians, influential people, police officers, and reserve police officers. Other intellectuals and prominent people from the Kozarac area were incarcerated in Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm. Dušan Tadić, who was a local of Kozarac, was among those who allegedly had produced such death lists.

254. The police, approximately 35 people, from the Kozarac police station all gave themselves up after the shelling had stopped. They were reportedly executed en masse by gun fire in front of the primary school in Kozarac.

255. Information was sent over Radio Prijedor that everyone had to surrender voluntarily and with white flags. People followed the instruction and moved out, for example from Brđani, in a very long column of women and children. The Serbs fired more grenades as the column moved ahead, killing some women. The column passed by a number of Serbian TOs, who also killed some women and children at the roadside. As another column from another village walked along, a Serbian man from Serbia arrived and spoke to one of the local Serbian leaders saying that "This way we want to show you our gratefulness for what you did for us in Croatia!" Civilians were, moreover, allegedly taken out of the columns at random and killed on the roadside. Mock executions were also performed.

256. Extremists put civilians - women and children - in front of them and wanted to leave the area, that is why the civilians suffered casualties as the Serbs "never really killed women and children", as Simo Drljača explained afterwards.

257. Non-Serbs, who were enrolled in the TO but unarmed and without uniforms, were arrested if recognized and taken to police stations or military barracks for interrogation before they were incarcerated in concentration camps.

258. In contradistinction to what happened after the first attack on Hambarine (see Chapter VII.A. supra), the entire non-Serbian population from

the Kozarac area was herded out in the course of and after the Serbian military attack. Men were detained in Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm, while children, women and the elderly were first taken to Logor Trnopolje and then deported out of Opština Prijedor. Due to the large numbers involved, some of the children, women and elderly men were at first temporarily housed in Prijedor town, and villages just outside of the attacked area. They were, however, soon gathered by the Serbs for deportation. People who at first had tried to seek shelter on the Kozara Mountain were sought out there or surrendered either to be killed or to follow in the footsteps of the rest of the civilian population to the concentration camps. Grenade bombardment had also been aimed at fleeing civilians. En route to the main concentration camps, some of the captives were detained over night in the Rade Kondic school in the Serbian-dominated village Radvjice.

259. A number of young Muslim women were reportedly sexually abused after being shepherded to Serbian military positions - such as the barracks on Benkovac, on the top of Mrakovica, in Hotel Mrakovica, in Bijeće Vode on Mrakovica, and in Tito's Villa. The latter location was allegedly frequented especially by military superiors.

260. According to surviving witnesses, Serbian military subjected significant numbers of local non-Serbs to the most outrageous torture and extermination under extreme pain when clearing the Kozarac area of its non-Serbian population.

261. Just one example of summary executions: on 27 May 1992, eight elderly people, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, were shepherded into a cellar and massacred.

262. When asked later about how many civilians had died in the military operation in the Kozarac area, Serbian leaders related that it probably was many, but that they had no records.

263. Some claim that a total of 5,000 people were killed in the Kozarac area. One informant was taken back to Kozarac from one of the concentration camps in the area together with 39 other men to collect dead bodies. He himself counted 610 dead people, he stated.

264. The Serbian military attack on the area south of the Kozara Mountain afflicted, inter alia, the following Muslim and Croatian habitations: Alići, Brđani, Dera, Forići - Donji and Gornji, Hrnići, Jakupovići, Kamičani, Kevljani, Kenjari, Kozarac, Kozaruša, Mahmudjini, Mujanovići, Rajkovići, Rustići, Saleši, Softići, and Suhi Brod.

265. After the population had been ousted from the Kozarac area, all buildings were pillaged and everything else of value, such as vehicles and heavy equipment, were stolen by Serbs. A large number of homes, which had not been destroyed by artillery shells or set ablaze in the military attack, were blown up by the Serbs - one at the time from inside - destroying especially the inside and the roof.

266. Captain Milovan Milutinović, spokesperson of the Army SRBiH in Banja Luka, later explained to visitors that:

"In Kozarac, there was a really big group of extremists. They were refusing any kind of negotiations about organizing community life. They resisted all attempts to find a peaceful solution or to disarm. So we answered energetically. Power does not pray to God. The majority of people were outsiders, from Kosovo, Sandzak and foreign mercenaries. There were some black people too. The

majority were financed by the Muslim organization in Zagreb, through financial and material means."

267. Simo Drljača ascertained that the reason why Kozarac subsequently did not look like it had been hit by war, but rather by systematic destruction, was that every house had a bunker and thus was destroyed (separately). He claimed that before this was done all Serbian houses had been burned, but provided no information to sustain that claim.

268. Later another school of thought seems to have developed and the Serbian administration both in Opština Prijedor and Opština Banja Luka started to inform visiting journalists that the Muslim population of Kozarac had left the town voluntarily - for economic reasons to better themselves elsewhere in Europe. At that time, Kozarac was deserted, except for a few Serb policemen and soldiers who had occupied the municipal building.

269. When a prisoner later was transported by Serbs through Kozarac, he was told by his Serbian guards that this was no more Kozarac, but "Radmilovo" after the commander Major Radmilo Zeljaja. Allegedly, the name "Radmilovo" was for some time written on a sign on the roadside replacing the sign announcing Kozarac. It is also reported that the area was referred to as "Radmirovac" after the conquest.

C. The attack on Prijedor town

270. One day after the people in Hambarine had been given an ultimatum (see Chapter VII.A. supra), an ultimatum was also issued to the non-Serbs in Prijedor town that every policeman and TO member in possession of weapons had to hand these over to the Serbs in the military barracks at Urije. Afraid that non-Serbian quarters could be bombarded like Hambarine had been, the weapons were handed over. This transfer of weapons was filmed by Television Banja Luka.

271. On about 20 May 1992, an identified Muslim, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, attacked a drunken Serbian soldier in the latter's car and stole his arms. "The Muslim" was about 40-years old, he was a drug-addict, and having a criminal record, he had spent some 20 years in prisons. He was arrested for the attack-cum-theft and brought to Banja Luka, but turned up again, surprisingly enough, in Prijedor only two days later.

272. Since about 10 May 1992, there had been a group of non-Serbs hiding on the Kurevo Mountain on the left bank of the Sana River. The group gathered more members by the day. The group had organized itself and was without linkage to any party or any military unit. Although the leader (whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons) was a Croat, he had been fighting together with the Serbs and against the Croats in the war in Croatia. Some non-Serbs believe that "the Muslim" during his brief detention in Banja Luka had agreed to collaborate with the Serbs. In any event, "the Muslim" approached the leader in the forest and convinced the latter that they ought to stage an attack on Prijedor town. "The Muslim" claimed that there were many well-armed Muslims, especially in Stari Grad (the Old Town) and the suburb Puharska who wanted an insurrection, but that they needed support from outside - the claim was ill-founded.

273. In the early morning of 30 May 1992, before 4:30 a.m., the "troops" of the leader and "the Muslim", probably not more than 150 men, attacked Prijedor town. These attackers were reportedly badly armed, having only guns and perhaps ten hand grenades. Twenty of the attackers had no weapons at all, but

joined in the hope that they might be able to obtain arms during the attack.

274. One Serbian version, as related by Simo Drljača, is that the attack on Prijedor town was organized by the Muslim political party, the SDA, under the leadership of Mirza Mujadžić, Hilmia Hopovac and Hasan Tulundžić. The attackers numbered 2,000 non-Serbs. They killed 11 Serbian policemen. There was fighting all around before the attackers withdrew to the mountains, where Drljača claimed that the Serbs were looking for them even months later. This account is not corroborated by any other available information.

275. As almost all Serbs deserted Stari Grad the night before the attack started on 30 May 1992, it seems likely that they had been alerted. This does not correspond with the proposition that the attack was a Muslim and Croatian attack on Serbs.

276. Special police units from Niš (in Serbia proper), which at the time were stationed in Banja Luka, Martičevci from Knin (in Croatia), and a unit with some 50 tanks and canons from Banja Luka participated on the Serbian side in the fighting. The mentioned groups came in addition to approximately 5,000 military men stationed in Prijedor after the destruction of the Kozarac area. Numerous Serbs from Prijedor town, moreover, participated in the fighting.

277. The "troops" of the leader and "the Muslim" apparently divided themselves into four smaller groups for their attack on the centre of Prijedor town from across the Sana River. All groups seem to have made their way through Stari Grad (the old part of Prijedor town) which is located on an island surrounded by the Sana River and a canal, two groups seeking to enter the town via the one bridge to the west and the two other groups fighting their way across one of the two eastern bridges each. The building used by the Serbian reserve officers is located just across one of the latter bridges, and nearby is also Hotel Prijedor. There was fighting on the eastern bridges and near the mentioned buildings and at the police headquarters which some from the leader's group entered.

278. As the attacking group received no support from people in Prijedor town, it was soon defeated by the Serbs. By 9:00 a.m. the same morning, the Serbs had regained total control. Some of the attackers were killed, some 40 were captured alive and brought to the concentration camps, the rest probably managed to flee across the river and back in the direction of the Kurevo Mountain. "The Muslim" seriously injured a Serbian military leader (whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons) who subsequently died from his injuries. A Serbian military unit later was named after him. "The Muslim" himself was killed after wounding the Serbian military leader. The leader of the non-Serb mountain group was captured alive and brought to Logor Omarska, where it is said that he later was killed.

279. People living in Prijedor town may have believed that any rebellion on their part would only have resulted in the town having suffered the same total devastation as Vukovar in Croatia previously had.

280. According to a different version, the attackers did not come from across the river but emerged from a butchery. It is believed that this is misinformation spread by the Serbs, as they killed particularly many civilian non-Serbs living in the quarter around the slaughterhouse.

281. In the early morning the same day, Radio Prijedor announced that "Green Berets", meaning Muslims, and Croatian "HOS troops" (Hrvatske Odbrambene Snage or the Croatian Defence Force, which is the military wing of the Croatian Party of Rights) had attacked the town. The town population was called upon to behave loyally to the Serbs - to stay at home and listen to the radio - the

Serbian army would very soon have solved the problem. The "announcement to the citizens" read over the radio also stated that the attack affected Stari Grad, the centre of the town and the quarters of Skela, Gomjenica, Puharska and Raškovac, for which reason the population there was endangered and would be evacuated by the Serbs. These people were to leave their houses to be brought to safe territory by Serbian buses.

282. As related by a non-Serbian woman who lived in Stari Grad, the Banja Luka Corps attacked Stari Grad with tanks starting at about 10:00 or 11:00 a.m., shelling the Muslim houses and the mosque. At 1:00 p.m., Četniks from Prijedor came to gather all the people in the area saying that they were to protect them from the "Green Berets" meaning the Muslim forces. The gathered people, who were all civilians, were transported to Logor Trnopolje (see Chapter VIII.C. infra). Arriving in this concentration camp on 30 May 1992, all the new arrivals were registered. Most of the women and children were released after some three days if they had relatives or others with whom they could stay elsewhere in Prijedor town - namely in the suburb Puharska. The civilians were not provided with food these first days in Logor Trnopolje. The men remained detained when the women and children were freed.

283. When the attack by the non-Serb mountain group was still on, the Serbs had started artillery bombardment of some quarters in Prijedor - Stari Grad, the suburb Skela and the vicinity of Muharem Suljanović Street. The bombardment of Stari Grad continued throughout the day and the next two days. After the fighting with the intruding non-Serbs had stopped as the latter had been defeated, the Serbs attacked one quarter after the other in Prijedor town and systematically forced out most of the non-Serbian inhabitants. On 31 May 1992, it was especially the parts of town known as Puharska and Čejreci/Raškovac which were targeted.

284. A non-Serbian man recounts:

"On 30 May 1992 at 04.30 hours, it was raining and one could hear machine gun fire from Stari Grad and from up along the river in an easterly direction. It lasted for about an hour and a half. At about 07.00 hours he heard two tanks passing to the street of the JNA (which was a prominent street) from an area near the Sana River. He heard shots from rifles and tanks. The sirens had signalled that people were to seek shelter at about 06.00 hours. Radio Prijedor announced that an attack on Prijedor was imminent.

There was a mortar attack on Stari Grad and the New Hotel, possibly from the direction of the airport at Urije. Infantry fire ceased to be heard, but mortar fire lasted until about 13.00 hours. Someone who lived on the ninth floor nearby Radio Prijedor said that tanks and soldiers attacked the radio building. Radio Prijedor was reporting that Ustašas and 'Green Berets' (i.e. Muslims) were the attackers, and the Serbs were called upon to take up arms to fight these enemies of the Serbian people. At 08.00 hours Radio Prijedor announced that the Army and the Serbian police were in full control but moving on to wipe out all the snipers in the town. He saw many soldiers on a main street nearby his house. Radio Prijedor also instructed all Croats and Muslims to hang a white piece of cloth outside their dwellings, and not to leave their homes.

At approximately 13.00 hours detonations were getting closer to his home. People - men, women and children - some barefoot, mainly Muslims, came running from the neighbouring street. Then he escorted his wife and children over to a Serbian neighbour walking through his garden. His mother and two brothers lived on

the ground floor. One minute later Serbian soldiers (JNA) came into the street. He watched this from the Serbian neighbour's house. Six or seven soldiers entered his garden and fired some shots. His brothers and mother came out of the house. His brothers were beaten with rifle butts, they were commanded to kneel down and hold their hands up behind their necks, the same fate befell also two other Muslims and one Croat plus three more men. All the men who had fled into the street where he lived, were also ordered to take up the same kneeling position, women and children were lined up in a row. A military car arrived. Four identified Serbs [whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons] came out of their houses and joined the Serbian fighting forces. In passing the kneeling non-Serbian males the Serbs kicked them so that they fell over. Later the 'captives' were ordered to stand up and move towards the radio building, one among them was an identified man almost 90-years old [whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons]. In the Ilije Bursaća Street an identified man [whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons] was shot dead in his garden when the Serbs asked him where his children were and he answered that one of them was married in Zagreb. From the area of Radio Prijedor the subdued men were loaded on buses and taken to Logor Omarska. Approximately ten people who had been killed by the Serbs were left outside of the radio station, among them were seven identified men [whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons]. Women and children were transported from the area of the radio station to Logor Trnopolje."

285. On the other side of the Sana River, in the suburb Tukovi where all three ethnic groups lived together, people woke up to see armed men in the intersection where the roads take off to Ljubija and Sanski Most. Since World War II, the Serbs have counted for the majority of the population in Tukovi (i.e. they have at least been the largest of the ethnic groups). The armed men were Serbs. All were in uniforms, some in the uniform of the army, others in camouflage uniforms, some having the Red Star emblem some the Četnik insignia - some were known locally, others were new faces. The people living in Tukovi were surrounded by the Serbian military and they could not leave the area or even their houses. People learned, moreover, from Radio Prijedor the order for the non-Serbs to hang out a white flag. When the non-Serbs had done what they had been instructed to do, their houses were ransacked - people knew who lived where anyhow.

286. All over the town, Serbian military claimed that they were looking for weapons among the non-Serbs. They looted many houses at the same time. They went on like this for about one week. During this time, they hit some people. In general, they attacked people both physically and psychologically. Some of the pre-World War II Serbian inhabitants in Tukovi assisted non-Serbs in the area so that these people were spared from the "ethnic cleansing" - it was an exception that an area was spared like this.

287. At the intersection of Partizanska Street and JNA Street, there was a bakery. All Croatian and Muslim men living in that area were gathered outside the bakery. Women and children were shepherded into a house vis-à-vis and were not allowed to look at the area where the men were. This was at about 8:00 a.m. At about 10:00 a.m., the women and children were transported to Logor Trnopolje, as they left there were allegedly some 30-35 dead non-Serbian men laying in a heap outside of the bakery.

288. On the outskirts of the city, at Pečani near the stadium, there was

reportedly another heap with some 20 dead non-Serbian men.

289. In all the targeted areas, the same happened - everyone had to get out of their houses and men and women were separated. The adult males were brought to concentration camps to be detained there. The women, children, and elderly men were transported to Logor Trnopolje - some to be deported out of Opština Prijedor more or less immediately, others to be temporarily released after some days. In Prijedor town, Stari Grad and adjacent areas were "ethnically cleansed" first, that is already on 30 May 1992. Other parts of the town were "cleansed" in raids or in connection with ransacking the following days. As Serbs spotted non-Serbs, they could report on them to have them arrested.

290. The fate befalling non-Serbs when apprehended was often violent. Just one example: one survivor from the area relates that an identified Serb commander of a so-called intervention unit (see Chapter XII.A. infra) (his name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons), in June 1992, had come together with three or four other Serbian soldiers to arrest four brothers in their home in the suburb Tukovi. When their mother started to weep because she did not want her sons to be arrested, the Serb commander of the so-called intervention unit shot dead both the mother and her four sons (the names of the five victims are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons).

291. On 20 July 1992, a commission was established in Prijedor town by the executive committee of the Opština. Allegedly, it was the task of the commission to provide expert opinions concerning the restoration or the demolition of buildings in different quarters of the town. The buildings in question were especially to be found in Stari Grad, and the streets most heavily damaged during the attack on Prijedor town. Ostensibly, the commission was to revive a town planning project dating back to 1987, according to which a number of buildings had to be demolished. The experts were to advise on whether renovation of a building was still possible, or whether it was inevitable that the building be razed. The real purpose of the commission seems to have been to give a justification to the public why entire quarters of the town - Stari Grad in particular - were to be flattened after these quarters had been captured following their Muslim and Croatian inhabitants having been killed, deported or expelled. One indication of this being the purpose was the fact that the whole of Stari Grad (save for three houses used for military purposes) was levelled when the commission was still working on its recommendations concerning the houses there. The expert commission by then had completed its work concerning about 100 buildings, recommending that 20-30 buildings be renovated. The latter buildings were, however, demolished as well. Some 20 new buildings in Stari Grad - which had been built in a traditional Muslim style - were also torn down. If a building belonging to a Serb was flattened, the owner was granted compensation. No compensation was offered to Muslims or Croats.

292. Attractive housing facilities, which had belonged to purged non-Serbs and which were not demolished, were taken over by Serbs.

D. The attack on villages on the left bank of the Sana River

293. Starting on 20 July 1992, a larger area of predominantly non-Serbian villages on the left bank of the Sana River (the larger Hambarine/Ljubija area) was attacked in a similar manner as the Kozarac area (see Chapter VII.B. supra). Here, however, it was predominantly Serbian infantry - paramilitary groups included - who performed the destruction. Artillery was not used to the same extent as in the Kozarac area. At the time of the attack, the areas

had a population of close to 20,000 non-Serbian people, including people who had come for shelter after their villages to the west of Opština Prijedor had been assailed.

294. On 19 July 1992, the Serbs rounded up non-Serbs in Ljubija filling four buses. The passengers in one bus were adult males, some of whom were brought to the police station in Prijedor town and the others to Logor Keraterm. The three other buses held children, women, and elderly men. These buses passed Logor Trnopolje and continued straight to the Travnik area deporting the passengers (see Chapter X.C. infra).

295. In the beginning of July 1992, after the inhabitants in the neighbouring villages of Bišćani and Rizvanovići had handed over their weapons, but before the village was attacked, a number of Serbian soldiers from the JNA came to Rizvanovići and plundered the area. The soldiers, inter alia, demanded that the villagers hand over calves and lambs. On 19 July at about 3:00 p.m., a quarrel erupted between some Serbian soldiers and/or policemen. There was a truck parked in Rizvanovići which belonged to someone in Hambarine (see Chapter VII.A. supra). The Serbs asked the local administration to get the key to the truck. Thence, the Serbs started to argue about who was to have the loot. One Serb was shot dead, it is said, by another Serb in the argument. The dead was an identified Serb from the district, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. The other Serbs brought the dead over to the checkpoint at Bišćani and accused the "Green Berets", i.e. Muslim fundamentalists, of having killed the Serb. The Serbs then abducted ten old men from Rizvanovići as hostages to a camp in Ljubija. The villagers were given an ultimatum to name the non-Serbian perpetrator who the Serbs claimed had killed the Serb, and to hand over their arms. Neither alternative was possible as there was no such perpetrator and no more arms to be relinquished.

296. Subsequently, the area was bombarded with grenades from the surrounding heights. The villages there are situated in a kind of depression and were bombarded from positions at Karan, Spalanciste, Volar or Topica Brdo. On 20 July 1992, at about 6:00 a.m. the bombardment stopped. On the radio, it was announced that none in the area were to leave their houses as imminent searches were to be expected.

297. At about the same time, the army - one personnel carrier and several lorries - came to the intersection next to the gas station in Tukovi. An identified army commander, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, read out some kind of a command to the soldiers and they split up - some going to Sredice and Bišćani, others to Hambarine. Another group of soldiers went to Hegić. Other groups of Serbian military were apparently coming in from other directions simultaneously.

298. When the Serbian forces arrived at Sredice, all the villagers were ordered to leave their houses. Women and men were separated. Children and elderly men were incorporated in the women's group. Men were gathered in the intersections of the roads in the area, where most of the men killed were reportedly executed. Women, children, and elderly men from 10-12 houses were herded into one house. In the wake of the Serbian military assault, buses came to bring the men who had not been killed to Logor Keraterm and Logor Omarska. Hall No. 3 in Keraterm had been emptied to receive them (see Chapter VIII.B. infra). The women and children were kept overnight in the houses where they first had been gathered before they were taken to the new athletic field in Tukovi.

299. A small village further to the west, Hadžići, was not attacked that same day and some men from the village were gathered by the Serbs to collect dead

bodies. Allegedly, they picked up about 30 dead people in Hegić, and from the intersection between Bišćani and Rizvanovići some 40 dead. They were ordered not to move far away from the roads. In Kadirici, they found 12 dead bodies partly covered by soil. In Durtović, there was a larger group of dead people but their number is unknown. They used three or four days to collect dead people. Altogether, including the above-mentioned corpses, it was eight truck-loads of dead people. The women and children were brought to the stadium on 21 and 22 July 1992. In passing, they could see many of the corpses.

300. Every non-Serbian village and hamlet on the western bank of the Sana River was now visited and house by house destroyed by the Serbs, including regular army personnel, paramilitary fighters, police, and armed local Serbs. Almost all non-Serbian males were beaten before being killed or thrown into buses. One bus with male prisoners, for whom no room could be found in Logor Keraterm or Logor Omarska, was parked in an open field. Some 20 Serbian soldiers reportedly surrounded the bus and the prisoners were ordered to get out and leave the place. As they were leaving, almost all of them were shot dead (see Chapter VIII.E. infra). Some people could observe some of this from nearby houses; for others, the firing was within earshot, and some of these listeners later went to see what had happened. There were some holes in the sandy ground in the area, but the executed prisoners were left behind in the open.

301. In July 1992, some 40 prisoners from Bišćani were killed in Logor Omarska, according to other camp inmates. It was gruesome. The prisoners from Bišćani cried out in agony as they were pulled out of the bus and thrown head first against a brick wall. Their heads were allegedly smashed into the wall for each of them to "dig" out a five centimetres deep hole, the Serbian perpetrators announced.

302. After the attack on the Hambarine area in July 1992, women and children were detained at the stadium near Tukovi before being deported. Others were held captive - often for several days - in the athletic field in Ljubija before internment in camps and deportation.

303. Very hard hit in this major Serbian military attack on villages on the left bank of the Sana River were, among others, the villages Bišćani, Čarakovo, Rizvanovići, Sredice, and Zekovi. A total of more than 1,500 people were allegedly killed on 20 July 1992 alone. The mass killings in Čarakovo first started on 23 July.

304. In Sredice and Rizvanovići, for example, the Serbian infantry, paramilitary soldiers, and other Serbs with them reportedly went from house to house mutilating, killing, and deporting the inhabitants and other civilians having sought shelter there (refugees from Opština Bosanski Novi and fugitives from the previous attack on Hambarine, see Chapter VII.A. supra). Within a few days, no living beings were left in the villages, but in numerous places there were piles of dead men - often fathers and sons together. Many of the dead bodies are said to have been terribly mutilated, 15 dead persons had been chained together, many smaller piles contained approximately 10 dead bodies each. Smaller piles were found even on the doorsteps of private homes, larger ones were in more central locations. In front of one particular house, in a sand pit, there was a relatively larger pile. From here, the Serbs had intended to take numerous captive non-Serbs by bus for detention. But, as the bus was totally overcrowded, it is claimed that the Serbs forced almost half of the passengers to leave the bus and executed them on the spot.

305. Čarakovo was encircled on 23 July 1992 at about 3:00 a.m. by Serbs coming in from all directions, not only from the main road along the Sana

River. The majority of the Serbs were wearing the uniform of the Serbian army. Some were dressed in the light-blue uniform of the reserve police. Some of those in the army uniform in addition wore red ribbons and red berets.

It was believed that the latter belonged to the Martičevci - among them were Serbs from neighbouring villages. Some soldiers were wearing white ribbons on their shoulders - they may have been White Eagles. All around were the sounds of bombs and grenades exploding and machine gun fire. Some of the Serbs gave commands such as "Burn down!" and "Kill!". It was like a hunt, as one survivor recounts, in which also the nearby forest was searched for non-Serbs.

Hundreds of people were killed - shot, burnt alive, beaten or tortured to death in other ways.

306. The Serbs were also looking for some civilians such as the leader of the Muslim political party, the SDA, in Prijedor (see Chapters VI.A. and VII.C. *supra*), and the party's secretary (see Chapter VII.C. *supra*). In Čarakovo, there was a very large family with a name similar to that of the SDA leader. The Serbs mixed up this name with the family name of the SDA leader and for this reason allegedly killed every member of that family which they could find. Two elderly non-Serbs from the area registered 268 people whom they knew by name, killed in Čarakovo on 23 and 24 July 1992. On their list are 31 identified persons with the surname of the family mistaken for that of the SDA leader (their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons). Reportedly, a total of approximately 100 members of this family were exterminated during the attack. There is also a hamlet named Hopovci in the area, where people had the same family name as the SDA secretary. The elderly men have 19 identified persons with this name on their list (their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons). The SDA secretary is not on the list. On the list there are, however, other large family groups included, such as 29 people sharing a common family name. Altogether there are only 30 surnames on the list, save for an identified murdered imam (whose first name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons) whose surname was unknown to the two elderly men.

307. In the settlement Donja Mahala, some 50 women were gathered and allegedly raped.

308. There is information to indicate that altogether more than 760 people were killed in the onslaught on Čarakovo. According to the 1981 census, Čarakovo then had 2,263 inhabitants. A number of non-Serbs who had managed to run away when their villages in the area were attacked the previous days may have been caught in Čarakovo.

309. It is claimed that young women from, inter alia, the villages Gornja Ravska, Gornji Volar, Stara Rijeka and Šurkovac together with young women from other districts were detained and sexually abused by Serbian military in Korčanica Motel. It is claimed that they were abused to "give birth to better and more beautiful Serbs". Among the high ranking Serbian military named as rapists and/or organizers of these sexual orgies are two identified members of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor, whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

310. Other registered killings committed allegedly by Serbs of named non-Serbs in their place of residence and non-Serbian residents from the same areas killed in (a few missing from) Logor Keraterm and Logor Omarska are, to give but a few examples, from villages not mentioned specifically above:

(a) Briševo: 34 persons killed on 24 July 1992; 16 persons killed on 25 July 1992; two other persons killed in July 1992; one person killed on 14 September 1992; in Logor Keraterm - one person killed in June/July 1992; in Logor Omarska - five persons killed in June-August 1992;

(b) Donja Ljubija: six persons killed on 26 May 1992; one person killed in June 1992; in Logor Keraterm - one person killed in June 1992; in Logor Omarska - three persons killed in June-August 1992;

(c) Gornja Ljubija: five persons killed in June 1992; in Logor Keraterm - one person killed in June 1992; in Logor Omarska - one person killed in July 1992, two persons killed on 5 August 1992, ten other persons killed in June-August 1992, three persons missing (probably killed) since June-August 1992;

(d) Gornja Ravska: two persons killed July 1992; two persons killed on 7-8 September (or November) 1992 (one being a Catholic parish priest); in Logor Omarska - two persons killed in June/July 1992;

(e) Gornji Volar: four persons killed on 12-13 September 1992; one person killed on 31 December 1992; two other persons killed in 1992; two persons killed on 22-23 April 1993; in Logor Omarska - one person missing (probably killed) since 21 August 1992;

(f) Ljeskare: one person killed on 16 June 1992; one other person killed in 1992;

(g) Raljaš: two persons killed in July 1992; in Logor Omarska - one person killed on 5 August 1992, one other person killed in June-August 1992;

(h) Stara Rijeka: 12 persons killed on 24 July 1992; one other person killed in July 1992; two persons killed in August 1992; one other person killed in 1992; one person killed on 8 March 1993; in Logor Omarska - one person killed in June-August 1992; in Logor Krings (a concentration camp established on the premises of what had previously been a cement block factory in the city of Sanski Most, Opština Sanski Most) - two persons killed in June-August 1992;

(i) Šurkovac: in Logor Omarska - one person killed on 15 July 1992;

(j) Žune: two persons killed in August 1992; three persons killed in September 1992; in Logor Keraterm - one person killed in June 1992; in Logor Omarska - three persons killed in June-August 1992.

Names of victims are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

311. There are also allegations of, inter alia, the following executions:

312. In Redak (strip mines, part of the Ljubija iron ore mines, but south of Ljubija) on approximately 1 August 1992, more than 200 Muslim civilians were killed. The Muslim civilians had been arrested in the village of Miska Glava where they had sought refuge from the Serbian attacks on the villages Biščani, Rizvanovići, Hambarine, and Čarakovo.

313. In Lisina (a part of the Kurevo forest, approximately two kilometres south-east of Ljubija), between 20 and 25 July 1992, between 70 and 100 Muslim civilians were killed.

314. Near the hamlet of Volarić (in the village of Šurkovac, approximately two kilometres north of Ljubija) nine civilian Gypsies were killed.

315. At the Prijedor-Donji Volar and Jugovci-Cikote crossroad, called Trzna (approximately eight kilometres north-east of Ljubija) at the end of July 1992, between 100 and 120 Muslim civilians from the village of Jugovci were

killed.

316. In the area of Prijedorско Polje, next to the left bank of the Sana River (close to the villages of Bišćani and Rizvanovići) at a place known as Bajeri (gravel pits, approximately 8 kilometres north-east of Ljubija) in the period from May to August 1992, more than 100 non-Serbian civilians from the Prijedor area were killed.

317. Like the attack on the Kozarac area (see Chapter VII.B. supra), the Serbian attack on the villages on the left bank of the Sana River was aimed at the total subjugation of the non-Serbs. They were no longer (like in the first attack on Hambarine, see Chapter VII.A. supra) given a possibility de facto to seek shelter in nearby villages (which in any event would have been difficult at this time when all non-Serbian villages and hamlets in the area were targeted).

318. When this larger Hambarine/Ljubija area was targeted, the pressure on both detention facilities and means of deportation reached a peak, as it had two months earlier, in late May 1992, when first the Kozarac area and then, in part, Prijedor town had been "ethnically cleansed". Thus there were also improvised detention facilities made in the Ljubija iron ore mine. In the central mining area, it is claimed that the main separator was used temporarily to incarcerate prisoners. Also other areas which could relatively easily be guarded may have been used - possibly also some of the open pits. Logor Ciglane is mentioned in this context; it may have held at least up to 1,000 prisoners at the time. Limited numbers of captives from the southernmost parts of the Ljubija area were moved south for detention in Opština Sanski Most (from where a number of the Serbian armed forces participating in the attack had come).

319. After the non-Serbs had been ousted from the area, their property was pillaged and many buildings were destroyed.

E. General characteristics

320. The main target of all the Serbian military attacks has been the non-Serbian peoples in Opština Prijedor and not installations and positions of strategic importance.

321. Over Radio Prijedor, the Serbs also demanded that the Muslims and Croats living in areas with mixed ethnic populations of Serbs and non-Serbs should mark their housing by hanging out a white flag, and identify themselves by wearing white armbands when they moved outdoors as a sign of surrender. This applied for some time.

322. In early June 1992, all non-Serbs in Prijedor were ordered to wear white armbands when they went outdoors. During World War II, in comparison the Nazi regime in Belgrade legislated that all Jews were to wear yellow armbands.

323. The Serb taking over the position as editor-in-chief of Radio Prijedor was Zoran Baroš. In Prijedor town, women, children, and elderly men were detained for deportation in the sports hall at the high school after the attack on the Kozarac area. Zoran Baroš was removed from his position as editor-in-chief of Radio Prijedor after he had permitted Muslims to use the radio to trace missing family members after the Serbian attacks had started and the first non-Serbs had been taken into detention at the high school.

324. Notably all involvement by paramilitary and irregular units were fully synchronized with the efforts of the regular Serbian armed forces, and can

have been nothing but well-coordinated, the regular army being in charge. One reason for this conclusion is that all the major Serbian military operations started with heavy artillery barrages or the use of tanks as operated by the regular army, and were immediately followed by the onslaught of paramilitary and irregular units working in tandem with regular army infantry. There is, moreover, not one single report to the effect that there was ever a paramilitary or irregular unit working to obstruct or even slightly hinder the objectives of the regular army. The same reportedly has been the case when individual Serbs from the neighbourhood or elsewhere have participated in the attacks.

325. There were, of course, a number of non-Serbs who managed to run into hiding on the mountains, in the forests, and even in adjacent villages when their homes were attacked. However, given the overall situation in and isolation of Opština Prijedor, that was in the vast majority of cases only a temporary escape from the oppression. The forests and mountains were searched meticulously by the Serbian military and all their different Serbian collaborators - often with the understanding that any living being caught was to be killed. Non-Serbs in hiding tempered a difficult time in the forests and on the mountains - although it was summer and reasonable temperatures, on the average, for outdoor life - people were not accustomed to foraging for food. Some of the people in the forests and on the mountains tried more or less immediately to return to their home areas as the military attacks seemed to be over. Others preferred the relative security of the uninhabited areas until the scavenging for food became rather unbearable or medical problems called for assistance. When leaving the mountains and forests the non-Serbs tried to return to inhabited or former inhabited areas, sometimes with the hope of blending into a not too unfriendly environment, sometimes knowing that they would have to surrender immediately. In hamlets, villages, and towns, there were, every once in a while, round-ups of non-Serbs, or non-Serbian individuals being reported on by supporters of the new Serbian-dominated system.

326. It is extremely difficult to have any precise idea of the number of non-Serbs who perished in the Serbian military attacks and later when detained by the Serbs. There are, however, general characteristics of the overall situation that give some indications. After the military attacks, the Serbs had a consistent practice of singling out the surviving non-Serbian males from 16 to 60-years old (sometimes even younger boys and men up to the age of 65) and incarcerating them in the two concentration camps - Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm. Significant numbers (the exact figure is unknown) of these men were killed after they had been gathered and before the rest boarded buses. Others were killed literally en route to a concentration camp. Save for very limited numbers of men who were able to flee Opština Prijedor, for example, by bribing their way out - the vast majority of the non-Serbian male population suffered the above-mentioned fate.

327. Today, a total of some 9,000 non-Serbs remain in Opština Prijedor (see Chapter XIII.G. infra). One fourth of the population is in the age group 0 to 15-years old in most Western countries. In developing countries, the ratio is up to one to three of the total. According to the 1991 census, the total population in Opština Prijedor was 112,470 - the Serbs counted for 47,745 and the non-Serbs were 64,725. Considering that approximately half of the latter group (some 32,000 people) probably were males, a breakdown in age groups will give a rough idea about how many men between 16 and 60 years there were in the first place, even without including those who had fled into the area after Opština Bosanski Novi was purged. It is recalled that the surrounding districts - Opština Bosanski Novi, Opština Bosanska Dubica, and Opština Banja Luka - had Serbian majority populations already prior to the difficulties started in Opština Prijedor. Opština Sanski Most saw the non-Serbs

"ethnically cleansed" at about the same time as it happened in the district of Prijedor. There was, in other words, no safe haven nearby to which the non-Serbs in Opština Prijedor could have recourse. Comparing the total group of non-Serbian men in the age groups taken to the concentration camps Omarska and Keraterm, and the number of male prisoners released from there (see Chapter XIII. infra), a high fatality rate is indicated and the overall picture of males in these age groups exterminated is at best bleak.

328. Questioned by a foreign visitor about how many people had been killed in the Serbian military operations in the region, Mićo Kovačević from the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor reportedly replied that:

"It is in the thousands. If you want this [exactly] you have to make it up yourself."

F. The disposal of the dead

329. In the village Sivci (south of Kozarac), at least 45 non-Serbian people, possibly as many as 120, were killed by uniformed Serbian soldiers wearing caps with the Četnik insignia. The dead were buried at the village cemetery, four or five in each grave. A cemetery in the nearby village of Hrnići was probably also used. Some corpses were interred in the meadows as people came across them. After the Serbian military attacks, it seems that a number of the dead were buried by survivors almost wherever it was feasible under the circumstances: at graveyards, in gardens, along roads, in fields and meadows, in the woods and on the mountains.

330. On 5 November 1992, it is claimed that in the immediate vicinity of Ljeskare village, in an area known as Dubočaj, at the foot of the Ljubijica Mountain, Serbs were burning the remains of people killed between 20 and 25 July 1992 in the part of the Kurevo forest located east of Ljubija. Serbian police sealed off the area of Dubočaj at the time, among them was one identified police officer from Ljubija whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. The odour was carried by the wind and could be smelled kilometres away.

331. In the Borik forest north of Čarakovo, a survivor claims that he, his father and his uncle buried 370 people in small graves with five to 10 dead people in each. When the Serbs launched their military attack on the villages on the left bank of the Sana River, many villagers from neighbouring villages sought shelter in both Čarakovo and the Borik forest. When the Serbian soldiers attacked Čarakovo, it is claimed that they killed a minimum of 760 and probably an even higher number of non-Serbs. The Serbian forces also searched the forest for fugitives, allegedly killing all human beings they came across.

332. Serbian soldiers have reportedly said that after the destruction of the villages on the left bank of the Sana River, non-Serbian survivors were transported by buses and trucks to locations which belonged to the iron ore mine, where they were executed by shooting, and thence buried with the use of construction machinery from the mine. Non-Serbs, first shepherded into mine pits, may have been among those thus exterminated and interred. According to the Serbian soldiers, some kind of powdery substance was put on top of the bodies to accelerate the decomposition process.

333. Some dead bodies may have been discarded in abandoned mine shafts.

334. Some days after the attack on the villages on the left bank of the Sana River started, there was an announcement on Radio Prijedor that people in

Prijedor town should stay away from the area behind the Soše Mažar Street for a certain time. People did, however, observe five (there may have been more) trucks with dead bodies coming across the Sana River (from its left bank) and turning down the Partizanska Street towards the mine in Tomašica. Blood stained the passage route for days. The dead bodies were supposedly disposed of or destroyed in Tomašica.

335. From 1 to 12 July 1993, Serbian police blocked the Svoznica Road which connects Ljubija to villages to the south (such as Stara Rijeka) and which in part passes through the Ljubija iron ore strip mines. In this period, underground explosions (making houses quake kilometres away) and the motors of heavy mining equipment could be heard around the clock. As the road was reopened to traffic, passers by noticed that areas where mass graves were known to have been located, were dug up and filled in with fresh soil and gravel. It is claimed that the Serbs had removed the remains of people who had been buried here during the months of July and August 1992, and taken the remains in the direction of Prijedor possibly to the Tomašica iron ore mine where there are machines, inter alia, for grinding iron ore.

336. As illustrated by the above examples, the dead non-Serbs may have been disposed of in many different areas - varying from the odd locations almost anywhere to the regular graveyards to large-scale burials on the estates of Rudnika Ljubija (see Chapter II.D. supra; see also Annex X, Mass Graves).

VIII. THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

337. After the Serbs took power on 30 April 1992, they opened three concentration camps in Opština Prijedor. No concentration camps had existed in Opština Prijedor at the time of the Serbian takeover, or for that matter, in the region since World War II. Two of the concentration camps were de facto death camps - Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm. The third - Logor Trnopolje - had another purpose as it functioned as a staging area for massive deportations of primarily women, children, and elderly men (see Chapter X.A. infra). Whereas the death camps were under the authority of the Serbian military and the Serbian police, Logor Trnopolje had more of a civilian image, notably with the local Serbian Red Cross having a pivotal function.

338. Throughout this analysis the word logor, which in translation means just camp, is used. The reason is that the word "camp" in the English language is associated with everything and anything from leisure to rigour. Using the term "logor" is intended to link these institutions to their inhumane characteristics, as described below.

339. Special mention ought to be made of the fact that the United Nations Commission of Experts, as represented by Chairman M. Cherif Bassiouni, prepared a separate report on camps and detention facilities with analysis of, inter alia, Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje (see Annex VIII, Prison Camps).

A. Logor Omarska

340. A Serbian guard in Logor Omarska told (before 29 June 1992) a friend outside the camp that:

"Interned here are reportedly Prijedor elite from before the Serbian take-over of government control: The President of the Council (Mayor), Members of the Executive Council, The President of the Court, two judges, doctors, presidents and directors of firms, owners of private factories and businesses."

341. The informant asked the Serbian guard, his friend, if the Serbs were going to kill the people.

"Oh no, we will not waste our bullets on them. They have no roof, there is sun and rain, cold nights, beatings twice a day, we give them no food and water. They will starve like animals."

342. Numerous leading Muslim and Croatian citizens had notably been immediately targeted for extermination when still in their homes, towns or villages.

343. Among the prominent citizens of Prijedor who had survived the initial phase of the devastation and were detained in Omarska, are long lists of identified persons whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. Among them were (to mention but some): the mayor; politicians from the SDA and the HDZ in Prijedor; an imam; judges and lawyers; employees from the military and civilian sectors; a veterinarian, a physiotherapist, a dentist, and a number of medical doctors; an engineer and some economists; headmasters and teachers from schools at different levels; journalists and an editor of Radio Prijedor and of Kozarski Vjesnik; an author and an actor; directors and members of the Rudnika Ljubija management board; directors and managers of Bosnamontaža, Kozaraturist, Celpak, and the biscuit factory Mira Cikota; the director and the secretary of the Prijedor Red Cross, the president of Merhamet (the Muslim charity organization) in Prijedor; restaurant owners, business men and entrepreneurs; leaders of sports clubs and football players.

344. In Logor Omarska (and in part for reasons of space in Logor Keraterm), the Serbs detained almost the entire non-Serbian elite - including political and administrative leaders, religious leaders, academics and intellectuals, business leaders, and others. In addition to the judges and lawyers, all other segments of the non-Serbian law-enforcement personnel, policemen in particular, were incarcerated. Media people, artists and sports men - all the groups of people who in their different fields led and influenced the non-Serbian populace, were incarcerated. The leaders of the voluntary agencies - such as the local Red Cross and Merhamet - endured the same fate.

345. Thirty-seven women were among the captured brought to Logor Omarska. There were 36 non-Serbian women in leading positions and/or politically active. One of the first women arriving at the camp recounts that:

"After she was first arrested and interrogated she was moved on to a prison cell in Prijedor where she was together with one other woman [whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons]. The latter was a teacher and politically active, she was later most probably killed in Logor Omarska. The next day the two women together with three men were taken in a car (from which they could not look out) via Tomašica to Omarska, where they arrived at approximately 17.00 hours. In Logor Omarska they were commanded to stand up along a wall, facing the wall, with their hands up with three fingers lifted (in the originally Serbian religious way to signify the Holy Trinity) and thoroughly bodily searched, then the chief of the guards arrived. He started to swear as there were two women, and said he had no room for women. He asked what he should do with them. The women were subsequently taken to a prison in Omarska village. The women were detained in a small cell with no air and no electricity, the only thing they were provided with was a bucket. They remained in this cell over night. Thence they were taken back to Logor Omarska. In Logor Omarska a Croatian woman arrived, she worked in the

postal service. This woman threatened with hunger strike and thus was temporarily released, but was returned again to the camp later."

346. One Serbian woman, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, was arrested reportedly because her late husband was Croatian. She was, however, released from the camp.

347. Simo Drljača, chief of the Serbian secret police in Prijedor and member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor, later told a foreign visitor to Prijedor that Logor Omarska opened on 27 May 1992 when 700 prisoners were detained there. At this time, Logor Keraterm was already operational, and there is information to indicate that a number of individual prisoners or smaller groups of prisoners may have arrived at the camp from at least 25 May 1992. Several survivors report that the camp leadership was not fully on top of the situation the very first days when there were prisoners in the camp. There may even have been some initial confusion among the Serbs concerning, for example, how to treat female detainees and concerning who was who (one early detainee may, as described infra, have just walked out of the camp and back into freedom, passing as a Serb).

348. It is very difficult to estimate the exact number of prisoners who were detained in Logor Omarska, both in total and at any given time. The number varied over time as new prisoners were moved in, especially in the wake of the major Serbian military operations, but more or less continuously due to individual arrests and smaller round-ups. On 15 June 1992, there were reportedly 2,736 plates used by camp inmates, each detainee having utilized one plate. In late July 1992, before the emptying of the camp into other camps started, there may have been approximately 3,000 camp inmates. The estimated total number of inmates to have been in the camp also varies considerably. Some estimate that there may have been a total of 5,000 prisoners, others believe that it may have been closer to 7,000. Under these circumstances, it is even more difficult to make any approximation concerning prisoners directly or indirectly killed in the camp - according to Serbian leaders there were only two prisoners in the camp who died from natural causes.

349. It is, however, possible to establish with a relatively high degree of certainty the total number of males in the relevant age groups in Opština Prijedor (see Chapter VII.E. supra). The fate of this group was, save for the limited numbers still remaining in the district (see Chapter XIII.G. infra), death outside of camps or detention in Logor Omarska or Logor Keraterm - a very limited number may have been taken into other camps primarily, at least initially, in the district of Sanski Most. The exact number of people included in each group, thus, is less relevant to appreciate the true character of the catastrophe which the Serbs brought about for the non-Serbs in Opština Prijedor.

350. Serbian leaders have made some statements relevant to the questions of numbers. Simo Drljača, chief of the Serbian secret police and member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor, was asked about the numbers of prisoners, their crimes, and fate by journalist Roy Gutman who reports from that encounter that:

"Drljača, . . . , said 3,334 people were arrested on suspicion of resisting or plotting against the new Serb authorities and were taken to Omarska. Drljača insisted that no one had been killed at Omarska and that only two prisoners died between May 25 and mid-August, both of 'natural causes'. Another 49 'disappeared', including the former lord mayor of Prijedor . . . and were

presumed dead, Drljača said.

In the official version, detainees were interrogated for four days and shipped out. Drljača said 800 detainees who were alleged to have 'organized the whole thing,' among them rich Muslims who financed the Muslim SDA political party, were taken to Manjača, which was operated by the Bosnian Serb army as a prisoner-of-war camp, to await criminal trial. Taken with them were 600 people who reputedly commanded units of the Muslim and Croat resistance.

The remaining 1,900 were found innocent and taken immediately to Trnopolje, which officials said was a transit camp, Drljača said."²⁷

351. Željko Meakić, the chief of security in Logor Omarska, reportedly told a journalist from the New York tabloid Newsday that:

"There was a power cut at 11:47 P.M. on July 26, and it lasted until 4:30 A.M. the next morning. [Čehajić] disappeared among seven who left at that time."²⁸

352. According to an interview with Simo Drljača:

"In the collection centres 'Omarska', 'Keraterm' and 'Trnopolje' more than 6,000 informative talks were held. Of this number 1,503 Muslims and Croats were sent to the camp 'Manjača', on the basis of solid documentation on active participation in the fighting against the Army of Republika Srpska, and also participation in genocide against the Serbian people."²⁹

353. Interrogation - or informative talks - were conducted in Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm, but not in Logor Trnopolje. The number of prisoners in Keraterm may have been about half of the number in Omarska.

354. The number of people, who were killed or who died in Logor Omarska, has yet to be established by outsiders. Confronted with the statement, "People say that 1,200 to 2,000 people were killed at Omarska", Mićo Kovačević (member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor and deputy mayor in Prijedor in the Serbian regime) reportedly replied that:

"It's your choice. The police chief has definitive information. All the rest is Hitchcock."

355. Logor Omarska was hastily opened in the administrative centre of the Omarska iron ore mine - one of the three main extensions of Rudnika Ljubija - located to the south-east of the Kozarac area. The Omarska mine is situated just south of the railway from Prijedor town to Banja Luka. Omarska village, which was and remains predominantly Serbian populated, is positioned next to the railroad on the northern side of it. The mine is primarily an open pit mine, and there are numerous open pits in the vicinity of where the camp was established.

356. There was almost no reconstruction of the mining company's facilities before they were converted into a concentration camp. There were none the less rumours in the surrounding area before the concentration camp was opened that something special would be arranged at the place. The premises were not used by the mining company after the main change of usage - there are not known to be any mining related activities there, even at present.

357. The compound had four buildings which all definitely were used as part of the concentration camp. These buildings were the canteen building, the

larger building, the White House, and the Red House. The canteen building had a canteen and a kitchen on the ground floor, where there also were toilets, showers and a wardrobe for the miners. There was also a small garage. On the first floor in the canteen building, there were one main office and several smaller ones, or altogether eight rooms used for interrogation of camp inmates. The larger building was in part a huge garage for dumpers, etc. On the ground floor, in addition to the garage, there was one relatively large room. The first floor - which covered only parts of the ground floor - had several rooms (one, ill-famed, was known as No. 26) and an electrical workshop. The White House was a tiny construction totally out of proportion to the horrors reportedly taking place there. It had four rooms all allegedly constantly used for torture and killings. One of these rooms was known as "the room of death". The Red House, which was small as well, also had an ignoble function - this reportedly was where prisoners were taken for more or less immediate execution. For the latter reason, all reports about this building are from prisoners who have not been inside it themselves. There are limited numbers of survivors of the White House.

358. There are also reports to indicate that prisoners have been detained in a separator belonging to the mining company - this may, however, have been in another extension of Rudnika Ljubija, namely in Ljubija.

359. Around the canteen building and over to (and on three sides of) the larger building, the ground had a cement layer on top. This cement area was known as the "Pista". Outside of that, the ground was grass-covered.

360. Concerning the general conditions in the camp, a marked difference existed between the main period when the camp was open and after it, for all practical purposes, was closed on 6 August 1992. Thenceforth, the camp was more of a showcase for foreign journalists and the ICRC to visit. By then, most of the prisoners had been moved from the camp, the camp had been cleaned up and to some extent renovated (bullet holes had been covered and walls painted, etc.), beds had been brought into the camp, and more food and better hygiene were provided for the detainees. More importantly, the extreme violence and in-camp killings prevailed no more (see Chapter XII.A. infra). This chapter is focused on the main period when the concentration camp was open.

361. Logor Omarska was not surrounded by barbed wire or otherwise directly fenced. The camp was however, in the iron grip of three groups of guards - each comprised of 30 men. There was one group of guards in the camp itself, then one group of soldiers some 50 meters outside and another group some 100 metres away from the camp. The last group would reportedly shoot anything that moved. It is said that the two first groups primarily were to prevent prisoners from trying to leave the camp, whereas the third group was to protect the camp from attacks from outside. Former prisoners state that there were only two detainees who ever managed to flee from the camp. Both of them were later captured and returned to the camp, where one of them was allegedly immediately killed. The fate of the other appears to be unknown.

362. In addition, there is the non-Serb who claims that he was arrested and brought to the camp at the time of its opening. As the camp was not yet well-organized, and the people involved on the Serbian side were not yet fully familiar with one another, he pretended to be a Serb and walked out of the main entrance. He was not searched for as a fugitive, but was eventually persecuted as a non-Serb.

363. The Serbian leaders (as quoted supra) claim that 49 "disappeared" from the camp, seven of whom they say fled during a power outage during the night of 27 July 1992. Simo Drljača later told a foreign visitor that, "In legal

terminology we use that term [disappeared]. Maybe some who disappeared died in disappearing."

364. Starting, at the latest, on 27 May 1992, the conditions in Logor Omarska were more than crowded. One former detainee arriving at the camp on that day, recounts that he was squeezed into the room adjacent to the huge garage together with an estimated 400 other prisoners (the group was to prepare lists with the names of those present, with 30 names on each list). He states that the prisoners were packed so close together that their situation resembled that of sardines in a tin. After the doors to the storeroom had been closed, the prisoners had to remain there and in that position for four days, with neither food nor water or any toilet facilities. Everyone had to stand in an upright position all along as there was no space for anyone to lie down. Others estimate that this room may have contained up to 500 detainees at the time. The huge garage may have taken up to 1,000 men at the time. There were also several hundred men cramped in on the first floor of the same building. In addition, hundreds were ordered to stay on the cement floor outdoors - there are said to have been some 700 in early June 1992.

365. In the canteen building, there was only the garage which held any sizable number of prisoners. It is with reference to this garage that a former prisoner is reported to have informed that he, on 30 May 1992, was "stuffed with 130 others [prisoners] into a one-car garage".³⁰ Others claim there were times when there were as many as 160 prisoners squeezed into this garage. In the canteen building, the women had their quarters on the first floor in the offices where prisoners were interrogated in the daytime. Concerning the number of prisoners kept at any one time in the White House, this may have varied considerably. There may have been up to some 70 people in one room at the same time, but often far less - for example, only 20 people in each room or even less. As prisoners were killed/died in the White House, their place was not necessarily immediately filled with new prisoners - although there reportedly were always some prisoners in each room. The detainees taken to the White House had reportedly normally been detained elsewhere in the camp at first, but this was not always the case.

366. Not only was the camp crowded, but the detainees were not to move around freely in the camp either. Whether detained indoors or in the open area outside, they were only to move when specifically permitted to do so - regularly only to receive food and to go to the toilets/the open fields. Under these circumstances, which were aggravated by several other factors as well, sanitation more or less immediately became a problem for the prisoners.

367. There was far too little water provided for the detainees to drink, and personal hygiene thus naturally came second in the competition for water in the camp. This was mid-summer when the days often were hot. Also, indoors it was hot due to the generally cramped conditions there. The prisoners' clothing was never properly washed, and it became more and more dirtied and ragged by the day. Since most prisoners had only one pair of summer clothes on them when coming to the camp, the clothing also had to serve as bedding such as pillows and blankets. There were no beds or bedding provided for the prisoners in the camp, with the exception that the women were provided with some kind of mattresses, two women sleeping on each. One female prisoner relates that she made good use of two sets of underwear that she stuffed into her pocket before she had to leave her house during one of the Serbian military attacks. No clothing was provided for the detainees. Soon pieces of cloth were also needed to tie around wounds and other inflicted injuries.

368. Rainy weather would bring temporary relief concerning water, but there was not much chance of collecting the rainwater, and the rain had other sanitary disadvantages. In the emaciated condition of the prisoners, being

soaking wet was far from ideal. The mud that followed the rain also made life in detention more difficult.

369. Twice before the camp for all practical purposes was closed on 6 August 1992, male prisoners had a "shower". In groups of 50, the guards had them disrobe and aimed fire hoses at 10 of them at a time. The high pressure of the water on the prisoners' weakened bodies was painful and not a relief, particularly so as the guards reportedly amused themselves with aiming at the prisoners' wounds and genitals.

370. There were no sanitary provisions for the prisoners in the camp; some rooms had plastic barrels at times. Reportedly, the Serbian guards frequently beat the prisoners on their way to meals as well as on their way to the toilet - a reason why there were occasions when the prisoners preferred rather to urinate or defecate in their trousers or shoes.

371. The women in the camp had much better general conditions for personal hygiene, engaged as they were also in cleaning both in the kitchen and the offices (the rooms used for interrogation), etc. But, the relative cleanliness of the female prisoners was possibly more for the advantage of the Serbs abusing them than to themselves under the circumstances.

372. As there were no sanitary provisions for the prisoners, the women had to manage as best they could during menstruation. The women improvised sanitary napkins from newspapers. They also stole toilet paper from the toilets of the Serbian inspectors (which they had to clean) if the inspectors had forgotten any paper there. At a late time in the history of the camp, the women received one kilo of cotton to share between them.

373. As the prisoners hygiene deteriorated, so did the hygiene in the detention locations. This soon became a vicious circle exacerbated as prisoners were maltreated and wounds and illnesses entered the scene. In the White House, it is said, blood, hair, teeth and small pieces of human flesh and bones made the rooms look like a primitive slaughterhouse. Bullet holes and damage to the construction reportedly also affected the prisoners' mental soundness.

374. Hair and beards grew long. Soon lice were a problem. Diarrhoea and dysentery quickly became unwelcome frequent, and then later permanent, visitors. Under these circumstances, even minor wounds could represent serious - sometimes lethal - problems because they were easily infected and there were no proper remedies for disinfection available. Like the lice found their breeding ground in open wounds, so did reportedly worms. A variety of illnesses found suitable general conditions to break out, but this does not seem to have plagued the camp inmates to the extent that one could have feared, or which could have become the case, if the camp had been open for a longer period of time.

375. The combination of unsanitary and depressing conditions, fatigue due also to malnutrition and nutritional deficiencies, physical and mental stress, and maltreatment rapidly weakened the prison population.

376. The Serbs had, as already mentioned, detained a number of medical doctors in Logor Omarska (names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons). All of these doctors were prisoners themselves, and their high social status due to their profession seems a main reason for their detention. Whether they died in the detention or survived varied, as did the length of time before they were unable to assist anyone.

377. It can be expected that all of them tried to assist their fellow inmates

to the extent possible. One doctor, for example, was an ear, nose and throat specialist who to the extent possible provided all kinds of medical assistance in the camp until he was taken out of it in early August 1992 (for exchange supposedly, but he was probably executed possibly on the next day, see Chapter XII.B. infra). His medical and other assistance to fellow inmates is remembered with much affection and appreciation.

378. The medical doctors were called upon also to assist Serbian guards and officials in the camp, primarily when they were in need of first aid and concerning minor ailments. Though this was assistance to their actual tormentors, it probably benefitted the prisoners, both because medical doctors could live on and as there were no repercussions for disobedience.

379. The medical doctors had no medical equipment to assist their fellow camp inmates. Albeit inventive skills were stretched to a maximum, there is just so much that can be achieved with wooden pieces, bits of cardboard, and pieces of cloth.

380. There are reports that one small room on the camp premises was used as a sick ward - for some time at least - where prisoners could be kept for some days. But there was neither medical assistance nor food to be received there. Camp guards came by at times and allegedly mistreated the people in the room for no special reason.

381. When the prisoners first arrived at Logor Omarska, most of them, it is said, did not receive food or water the first four days or so. Later, they were permitted to come out from the buildings and rooms where they normally stayed to obtain daily food rations.

382. The routine in Logor Omarska allegedly was that when the prisoners were to receive food in the canteen (on the ground floor in the canteen building), they had to run through an L-shaped corridor. The camp guards frequently tossed wax on the floor to make it slippery. There were metallic wardrobe cabinets along the corridor and prisoners fell and hit the cabinets and were beaten by the guards. There were four Serbs in particular who allegedly beat the prisoners. The names of the alleged perpetrators are known but not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

383. To receive their daily food rations, the prisoners normally arrived in groups of 30. They received a piece of bread and a ladle of some soup-like fluid. The groups had to eat their food within two to three minutes. Each peice of bread weighed approximately 800 grams, one piece was normally divided between eight people, sometimes between four. The last prisoners sometimes received no bread at all. The female prisoners (who were charged with distributing the food) sometimes tried to give prisoners in special need a little extra, mainly from their own rations.

384. Some prisoners were so afraid of being beaten that they disregarded some of their daily rations. The daily food rations were handed out between 9:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. Thus, it was often more that 24 hours between times when each person received his rations. Once, a prisoner received some crumbs of bread in a newspaper. He remembers how he tore up the newspaper to get hold of every single of the crumbs.

385. One of the women relates that she had some sugar which she mixed with water for prisoners who fell unconscious. After serving the prisoners food, she had to prepare coffee for the guards, and that was the occasion on which she could steal some sugar. She also stole some coffee to be able to provide it for prisoners with dysentery. During one period, the women were permitted to go outside to the area where the kitchen garbage was thrown away. Here

these prisoners harvested some plants that would help prisoners suffering from diarrhoea.

386. Diarrhoea, as mentioned, was one problem for prisoners, and so was its counterpart, constipation. Several prisoners reportedly did not defecate for more than a month, some for up to two months - a highly painful experience. Regardless of physical ailments, all the prisoners soon lost considerable weight. During one and a half months, one prisoner says he lost 25 kilograms of weight. Other prisoners lost as much as 39 to 45 or even 50 kilograms during their stay in Logor Omarska.

387. When the prisoners arrived at the camp, they were normally searched. Either then or later Serbian guards demanded to have the prisoners' money, watches, and shoes - the latter only when they were in a good condition. All of a sudden, a guard would demand DEM 50 or 100 from a group of prisoners. If the guard did not receive what he had asked for, guards would often take out one of the prisoners and mistreat him. The guards, moreover, made money from selling cigarettes - not food or water - to the prisoners.

388. For the prisoners, camp life was at best an endless period of waiting - waiting for the present to pass, never sure if there was going to be any future, or more concrete, a new day tomorrow. A constant worry for self and not the least for those next of kin. Many fathers and sons, brothers and other close relatives were interned together, but could do next to nothing to assist one another. Similar pains related to friendships.

389. The prisoners spent their waiting periods standing, sitting or laying down when there was space enough for that. The prisoners laying on the cement floor outside often had to lay face down in the daytime so that they would not be able to observe in full what was happening around them.

390. The male detainees were not given any ordinary work to do, but were called upon to carry maltreated and dead fellow inmates in and out. It was more often than not that the prisoners themselves had to lift corpses up on trucks that would remove the dead, and on occasions when the number of dead was reportedly relatively high, the live workers out of the camps as well. The prisoners who had to follow such transports have allegedly not been heard of again.

391. After some two months in the camp, the youngest of the adolescents and the men over 65-years old were transferred in two buses to Logor Trnopolje. This was not long before Logor Omarska was to be practically closed on 6 August 1992 (see Chapter XII.A. infra). There possibly may have been a few people released from the camp. The Serbian leaders later interviewed about the camp have, however, made no mention of any prisoners released, and camp inmates say that they are not aware that any non-Serbian prisoners were ever released. It is only known that one of the female prisoners was out of the camp for a while before she was brought back in again. It is possible that some of the prisoners who disappeared from the camp were not executed as feared, but actually were helped or bribed into safety somewhere. There were, moreover, a few so-called exchanges of prisoners arranged, but there is concern that the term "exchange" may have been but an euphemism for execution (see Chapter XII.B. infra). The vast majority of detainees thus stayed in the camp until it was closed, if by then they were not yet dead.

392. Concentration camp inmates were called for interrogation in the offices on the first floor of the canteen building. Interrogations were normally conducted from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. The interrogators are generally referred to with the more civilized title of "inspectors". The inspectors arrived at the camp in the morning in a small bus together with clerks

assisting with typewriting. Thence, camp guards went around in the camp and collected the unfortunate ones to be interrogated. Camp guards participated in interrogation sessions as well. Sometimes the guards seemed to have started the interrogation sessions elsewhere in the camp before they brought the prisoners to the inspectors. All the time, it is claimed, beating screaming and moaning could be heard from the interrogation offices. Survivors relate that they were badly maltreated and tortured when interrogated. Beatings with a variety of implements were probably most common, but there are long lists of other methods used as well. The number of prisoners who died during interrogation is not known to anyone other than the Serbs in charge; the number is allegedly not very small. Time and again other prisoners claim that they observed dead bodies taken out from interrogation and left on the ground outside for others to see. Fellow prisoners also noted that a number of prisoners taken for interrogation never returned to their detention room and were later not seen elsewhere either.

393. During interrogation, some were asked about political activities, a majority perhaps about their access to weapons. In general, the inspectors seemed to have asked all kinds of questions - sometimes they questioned the prisoners of things that seemed of no relevance to their case whatsoever. If a prisoner denied any charges made against him or her, the person allegedly was likely to be or continued to be maltreated. Many a time prisoners reportedly agreed to anything held against them just to avoid or reduce the mistreatment, but then the guards and interrogators would find just another excuse to proceed with the mistreatment it seems. In a number of reported cases, there appears to be limited, if any, correlation between what the prisoners explained when interrogated and the records made from the interrogation sessions. One detainee, for example, was questioned about participation in the Serbian plebiscite and the referendum held in BiH, and about political activity in general. This person was convicted on the basis of the interrogation session, but for armed revolt, stealing weapons, and for planning genocide against the Serbs - which were issues not at all addressed during the interrogation. It was a death sentence. There were not many prisoners officially sentenced to death. Of those who were sentenced, some were executed immediately, others were just to remain in the camp until death one day caught up with them. The person just mentioned was in the second category and survived.

394. Allegedly, the inspectors had long lists prepared ahead of time according to which the prisoners were called for interrogation - it was not done at random or at the whim of some individual Serbs. The precise character of the lists used is not yet known to outsiders, meaning non-Serbs. Since they were lists with thousands of names, they were not prepared readily although camp facilities to some extent seemed improvised in practical terms. One possibility could have been that the lists were taken straight from the 1991 census. This possibility, however, does not seem to correspond with the actual lists which prisoners themselves claim to have seen on occasion.

395. All the women reportedly experienced bad interrogation sessions.

396. In general, when prisoners were called for interrogation, other prisoners tried to provide them with some clothing which was not all in tatters so that they would have a little protection for the skin. It is stated that it even happened that prisoners - before potential interrogation sessions - smeared themselves with blood from fellow prisoners maltreated already, with the hope that it could give them an easier time. Blood stained clothing served a similar purpose.

397. Mistreatment and torture were not confined to interrogation sessions. Extreme abuses were reportedly carried out by camp guards at any time, but

especially at night. Sometimes the guards seemed to select their victims at random. Sometimes they probably had personal grudges to settle with someone. Sometimes they seemed to act in a kind of follow-up after the day's interrogations, coming back for victims from then.

398. At night, the guards were often more or less drunk. Sometimes they were joined by unruly elements from outside the camp, but that could happen in the daytime as well. Dušan Tadić is one example. Also, the Red Berets from Banja Luka (see Chapter V.C. supra) came to assist their Serbian comrades in the camp. Normally, the guards lit a bonfire at night and played loud music to overpower screams and moaning from prisoners.

399. When prisoners were called out at night - it could, for example, be five to 10 people from the large garage plus some from other rooms - they reportedly more often than not did not come back to their rooms ever.

400. Every night the prisoners were seized with fear that this could be their night - the night when they would be subjected to maltreatment and possibly, or rather probably, death. The guards allegedly organized sheer orgies in brute force and destruction. Some prisoners were victimized next to or in the bonfire, others in the White House, and some were walked towards the Red House. Some experienced two of these options. It seems that the same prisoners were not taken both to the White House and the Red House.

One former prisoner relates:

"Arriving to Logor Omarska they were ordered up against the wall facing it and with their hands up - they were beaten. All the eight of them were taken to the White House, the second room to the right. The room was approximately 25 square metres and there were some 60 to 70 barely alive prisoners there. It was mainly young people who had surrendered themselves on the Kozara Mountain. Himself he was allowed to settle down next to a person [whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons], who later was killed in the camp. Of all the other people who were there, it was only one deaf and dumb man and himself who were not killed in the camp. There was one window in the room, and guards outside it. The door was half wood and half glass. Maybe 30 minutes later, it was dead silent in the room, a guard came in screaming that the one who was intended to flee had to come outside. He was ordered outside, where a bonfire was lit. All the guards were drunk. They asked him where he was hiding his weapon. He did not know how Logor Omarska was operated. He said that he had no weapon. They asked him for his name. He was then allowed to return inside. The guards outside the window were poking around like pigs, swearing at him, calling him names. They told him to come to the window and to lean his head out - he could see very little, it was dark. He saw only a knife gleaming in the dark. They asked him if he wanted to buy cigarettes, he answered in the affirmative and was given two packets. He shared one packet and was ordered to shut the window. The next day he saw a horrible - unimaginable and overwhelming - sight outside, they were all his fellow men who had been tormented. [Five men were named by the witness, who stated that two of them were killed in Omarska]."

401. Starting from the very beginning of the camp, female prisoners were allegedly raped by the Serbian camp guards, Serbian camp officials, and other Serbs. Rapes were reportedly often combined with beatings and other abuses. Often rapes were committed by several perpetrators one after the other.

Sometimes the rapist had an audience, sometimes it was merely fellow perpetrators waiting to take turns. Like the rest of the prison population the women were not as such protected against either ill-treatment or torture.

402. Two of the youngest women spent most of the time in the White House where they were raped and tortured. Almost all the women were badly tortured when in the camp. Most women were subjected to sexual assault - they were humiliated by being promised privileges and threatened that if they did not obey, they would not survive.

403. The guards reportedly tried to force one prisoner (whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons) to rape his fellow prisoner (whose name is also not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons), a young woman. He did not want to. He had angina pectoris. The guards stripped both. The male prisoner begged and screamed, "I cannot, I cannot, she could have been my daughter". The guards beat him, his heart could probably not take it. In any event, he was carried outside where it was raining heavily. The next morning other prisoners saw the male prisoner's dead body laying outside of the White House.

404. Men were also reportedly sexually abused in the camp. Prisoners were, inter alia, forced to have homosexual intercourse with one another, close relatives - like fathers and sons - among them. Worst of all were numbers of reported castrations carried out by a variety of primitive means. On one occasion, Dušan Tadić allegedly forced one prisoner to bite off the testicles of other prisoners who all died subsequently. In most cases, the guards are said to have performed the castrations themselves. Probably all the victims of castrations died due to severe losses of blood. On one occasion, the guards aimed a fire hose on the victim's wound afterwards. (For more information regarding rape and sexual assault, see Annex IX, Rape and Sexual Assault.)

405. According to the Gregorian calendar, Saint Peter's Day is on 29 June, but according to the Julian calendar, which is followed by the Serbian Orthodox church, all religious feasts are celebrated 13 days later. Christmas, just to mention one other example, is celebrated on 6 January. On 12 July 1992, Petrovdan (Saint Peter's Day), the Serbian guards reportedly took care to beat every single prisoner on their way to receive the daily food rations. There were 30 prisoners eating at a time. The guards beat them both on their way in and on their way out. The guards reportedly also celebrated this religious feast with other more severe acts of violence, killing more prisoners than they did on an average day and night.

406. Due to the violence in the camp, all the inmates felt a strong urge to blend into the background and be as invisible as possible. It was a matter of life or death never to do anything that possibly could provoke a Serb - but it was unpredictable what could inflame someone. Whatever a prisoner did, it could be wrong. In general, it was not advisable for a prisoner to look a Serb camp official in the eye. The subservient prisoner's position was head bent low and eyes looking to the ground, with the hands at the back. One prisoner eating a piece of bread from his meal was addressed by a guard and offered the latter to have some. The prisoner used a Turkish word used in Bosnia, saying "Bujrum!" - meaning "Please have some!" The guard was infuriated and allegedly killed the prisoner (whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons). Those who successfully avoided drawing attention experienced relief. But at the same time, they also had an irrational feeling of guilt of having some personal responsibility for those prisoners who under these circumstances remained visible and thus were targeted by the Serbs.

407. When new prisoners arrived at Logor Omarska, they were normally received with beatings from the very moment they disembarked from the vehicles in which they arrived. Some newcomers died, as they immediately had their heads smashed into a brick wall. Killed upon arrival - they were murdered, but not actually detained in Logor Omarska. How these captured non-Serbs were recorded in the camp files is unknown.

408. Survivors suggest that of five deaths, four were due to torture and one resulted from shooting.

409. In general, the suffering of each individual prisoner became a burden for all the prisoners. There was so little they could do to assist one another under the circumstances. There were obviously some small practical things that one could do to be of some help. But, when it really counted in matters of life and death and personal integrity and dignity, they were all powerless victims. It did none the less make a difference that they shared in the horrors and that they to some extent could console one another. It was probably also important for those dying and being abused that there were witnesses to their suffering or at least to the general situation.

410. The terror of never knowing when something would happen and what that would be not only incapacitated the prisoners, but it also affected their mental health. The latter was also the effect of the overall suffering in the camp. It did not ease this situation that the dead prisoners normally were thrown out on the grass where the other prisoners would see them. Some prisoners estimate that on an average there may have been 10 to 15 bodies displayed on the grass each morning, when the first prisoners went to receive their daily food rations. But there were also other dead bodies observed in other places at other times. Some prisoners died from their wounds or other causes in the rooms where they were detained. Constantly being exposed to the death and suffering of fellow prisoners made it impossible for anyone over any period of time to forget in what setting he or she was.

411. There are reports to indicate that a few dead prisoners were soaked with gasoline and set on fire next to the garbage container in the camp. But most of the time, the dead bodies were removed from the camp in a small yellow pickup truck. Five Serbs, who were in charge of the actual removal of the dead bodies, are known by name. However, their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

412. Given the length of time Logor Omarska was used, the numbers of prisoners detained in the open, and the allegations that dead bodies were exhibited there almost every morning, it will be surprising if there are no satellite photographs of the camp facilities when still in use, which may shed some light on the issues addressed in this chapter.

413. Simo Drljača, chief of police, when asked by a visitor (in 1992) if Omarska did come under the civilian government of Prijedor, replied that Logor Omarska "was run together with the [Serbian] army and the [Serbian] police". Being told that an army spokesperson had said the camp was run under the local police, Drljača just said "Maybe". Questioned again under whose authority the camp was run, he responded that, "Military was doing the investigation: they had 40 inspectors".

414. Concerning the Serbs who were directly operating Logor Omarska, their names are all known to the United Nations Commission of Experts and the ICTFY. That is, the names of the camp leadership and the different shifts of guards inside the camp, the inspectors, and the clerks are available. In addition, the names of individuals who visited the camp and allegedly committed serious crimes there, such as Dušan Tadić, have been registered. Here it suffices to

mention but some of the central people involved.

415. The names of the camp leadership and the commanders of shifts of guards are known, but not disclosed here for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. One of the identified camp leaders was suspended on 27 June 1992, because he attempted to help his Muslim brothers-in-law and some other Muslims and Croats.

416. Four of the members of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor are known to have visited Logor Omarska. Their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

417. Also, one identified journalist, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, reportedly did visit the camp. Whether he was a member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor is not quite clear.

418. Two members of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor have themselves allegedly on occasions performed brutal interrogations and torture in Logor Omarska. Their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

419. Some high-ranking Serbian officers from Banja Luka once visited Logor Omarska, arriving by a large transport helicopter. In leaving, they brought with them from the mine and ore processing plant a huge quantity of rubber conveyer belts. (It is known that this kind of rubber belts are used in the wars in the former Yugoslavia to protect tanks.)

420. As concerns the local Serbian leadership - military as well as civilian - there is nothing to indicate that Logor Omarska was ever considered a secret. Conversely, all available information indicates that the existence of the concentration camp as such was common knowledge when it still was used as a camp. Ed Vulliamy reported that:

"[T]he local Red Cross had indeed visited Omarska, and given it a clean bill of health. Dr. Duško Ivić said later: 'Oh yes, I have certainly visited Omarska, and my professional assessment of the health of the people there is very good, apart from some diarrhoea.'"³¹

421. Before 6 August 1992, when the camp was virtually closed, no humanitarian organization (neither the ICRC nor anyone else) had visited Logor Omarska. In actual fact, it was the focus of the international media on the camp that prompted the camp closure (see Chapter XII.A. infra). Both when journalists were eventually permitted limited Serbian guided tours in the camp and the ICRC visited, the five women still detained in the camp were always hidden. Sometimes in such cases, the women were squeezed into the back seat of a Mercedes and driven to Omarska village, where they were guarded. After 6 August 1992, the ICRC thus registered only the male prisoners remaining in Logor Omarska, not the women as they were hidden. From this time on, the ICRC visited the camp once or twice a week. Now, the male detainees received food twice a day.

422. When the camp for most practical purposes had been closed and cleaned with only a limited number of prisoners left to be paraded for international media and aid agencies, journalist Ed Vulliamy described those deemed in good enough condition to be paraded for him as follows:

"Nothing could have prepared us for what we see when we come through the back gates of what was the Omarska iron mine and ore

processing works, and are ushered into the canteen area. Across a yard, a group of prisoners who have just emerged from a door in the side of a large rust-coloured metal shed are adjusting their eyes to the sunlight and being ordered into a straight line by the barked commands of a uniformed armed guard. Then, as part of some rigid, well-worn camp drill, they run in single file across the courtyard and into the canteen. Above them in an observation post is the watchful eye, hidden behind reflective sunglasses, of a beefy guard who follows their weary canter with the barrel of his heavy machine gun.

There are thirty of them running; their heads newly shaven, their clothes baggy over their skeletal bodies. Some are barely able to move. In the canteen, there are no more barked orders, the men know the drill all right. They line up in obedient and submissive silence and collect their ration: a meager, watery portion of beans augmented with bread crumbs, and stale roll, which they collect as they file along the metal railings. The men are at various stages of human decay and affliction; the bones of their elbows and wrists protrude like pieces of jagged stone from the pencil-thin stalks to which their arms have been reduced. Their skin is putrefied, the complexions of their faces have been corroded. These humans are alive but decomposed, debased, degraded, and utterly subservient, and yet they fix their huge, hollow eyes on us with looks like the blades of knives. There is nothing quite like the sight of the prisoner desperate to talk and to convey some terrible truth that is so near yet so far, but who dares not. Their stares burn, they speak only with their terrified silence, and eyes inflamed with the articulation of stark, undiluted, desolate fear-without-hope.

They sit down at sparse metal tables, and wolf down their meal. It is very obviously the only one of the day; if they ate even twice as much, they would not be so gaunt and withered. The meal takes precisely one minute; the guards signal that time is up, and the men make up another queue by the exit."³²

423. Furthermore, according to Ed Vulliamy:

"In between more waffle about the jihad and genocide against Serbs, we learn that Omarska is an 'investigation centre' for men suspected of being members of the Government Army. The men are rounded up, then 'screened' to determine whether they are 'fighters' or 'civilians'. Those found guilty of 'preparing the rebellion' go into 'Category A', explains Mrs. Balban [who translated for the Serb regime in Logor Omarska when Vulliamy visited the camp]. There is no information on their next destination. Those found to have been territorial defence soldiers (but not 'preparing the rebellion') go into 'Category B' and are sent to Manjača, and the rest go to another camp, Trnopolje, down the road. [A fourth category was hostages, meaning people for exchange, see Chapter XII.B. infra.]"³³

424. In short, all information available about Logor Omarska seems to indicate that it was more than anything else a death camp. The detainees were not there to work or serve a specific purpose. There is no information to sustain a claim that the detainees were in transit to somewhere else. As far as the prisoners were concerned, the interrogations led nowhere out of the camp, and the camp conditions were such that very few, if any, prisoners would have survived long-term detention.

B. Logor Keraterm

425. In most respects, Logor Keraterm resembled Logor Omarska. The two camps had much the same status and organization. In a sense, it is probably correct to consider Keraterm almost like a smaller, but basically not better, extension of Omarska.

426. Also, Logor Keraterm received non-Serbian male adults. To this camp came leaders from the villages and those further down on the social ladder. It seems, however, to some extent, to have been a question of space where a specific group of prisoners were to be detained. At least on one occasion, it is known that a bus with captive non-Serbs was driven between the camps in order to unload the prisoners in any one of the detention facilities. As there was considered to be no room available in any of these camps, all but two of the prisoners were reportedly executed (see Chapters VII.D. supra and VIII.E. infra). Logor Trnopolje was, it seems, not viewed as an alternative for these prisoners. Trnopolje had, as will be related in the next chapter, a different character from that of Keraterm and Omarska.

427. Also when describing Keraterm, one could start with a list of prisoners incarcerated, but in an analysis like this that seems unnecessary. The point is already made that the entire non-Serbian leadership who survived the military attacks was brought for detention in Omarska or alternatively, in Keraterm. In the following, the focus will be on the respects in which Logor Keraterm differed considerably from Logor Omarska.

428. No women were apparently detained in Logor Keraterm for any length of time or killed there. After the Serbian military attack on the Kozarac area (see Chapter VII.B. supra), a mixed group of captured civilians were reportedly taken through Keraterm. Subsequently, a number of males and at least one, though possibly a few, women were taken to Omarska. Some other women and elderly men passed the camp probably on their way to Trnopolje. Later there were reportedly transfers to Omarska once or twice a week. Between 10 and 20 women may have passed through the camp with a more or less immediate onward transfer.

429. The exact number of detainees in Logor Keraterm varied over time. The average was reportedly between 1,000 and 1,050 captives. But on occasion, the number of prisoners may have been considerably higher, up to 1,500 men.

430. Keraterm was built as a ceramic tile factory in 1987. The industrial production reportedly first started in 1990. The factory premises are located in the Čirkin Polje district of Prijedor town, next to the main road Prijedor - Banja Luka, and not far from the railway linking the same towns.

431. There is one main building at the industrial plant - the factory building - in which the prisoners were detained. The factory building is possibly a combination of two structures. The entire complex was not far from rectangular, rather long and narrow, with one part (a little less than half the length of the building), narrower than the rest. At the back of the building was the production area of the ceramic factory. The narrower part of the entire structure was two stories tall. On the first floor, there were two halls (No. 1 and No. 2) where prisoners were detained. At the short wall of the factory structure, there was an entrance to the production area and to interrogation rooms on the second floor. Where the overall structure widens out and connects with the second part, or the rest of the building complex, there is a storage room which apparently was not normally used to detain prisoners. In the previous in-between storage room or next to it, there was a room with toilet facilities. Next to this again were Hall No. 3 and Hall No. 4 which both were used to detain prisoners. At the far end of the structure,

adjacent to Hall No. 4, there was a room to which prisoners, at least on occasion, were taken to be beaten or otherwise tortured.

432. The camp was surrounded by a wire fence (approximately two and a half metres high), and had one guard house at the entrance to the camp and another one next to a cargo scale for trucks - also close to the camp entrance. All the main doors to the detention halls faced the camp entrance.

433. There are allegations that the military police of the Army SRBiH had a base on the first floor in the area where the interrogation rooms were. There was no first floor above the toilet, Hall No. 3, Hall No. 4 and the adjoining chamber of maltreatment.

434. Across the main street, there was a separate office building for the Kozaraputevi, a separate road repair entity. Reportedly, there were two military units occupying this office building, one is referred to as merely a military unit, the other one as a communication unit which also had at its disposal three vehicles - TAM 150 - with sizable antennas. In the period when Keraterm was used as a concentration camp, the Kozaraputevi office was, however, used as a facility related to the camp and used also by Serbian camp officials for different purposes. Some prisoners, who were never detained in Logor Keraterm, were taken there for interrogation.

435. Like in Omarska, the prisoners in Logor Keraterm were squeezed into detention in a sardines-in-a-tin-like fashion. In Hall No. 1 and Hall No. 4, there may have been an average of up to 200 prisoners detained in each at any time. Hall No. 3 may normally have had a population of 200 to 250 detainees. Hall No. 2, however, being the biggest one - possibly 120 square metres - may have given room for between 500 and 700 inmates.

436. The cramped conditions in Keraterm and a similar lack of sanitary provisions and hygiene as in Logor Omarska gave the same ensuing problems of hygiene as in that camp (see Chapter VIII.A. supra). The toilet room had four urinals which the prisoners could use if and when the guards agreed. As maltreatment was part of the camp routine in Keraterm also, the picture of everything from blood stained walls to lethally injured prisoners with infected wounds were part of the overall camp scenery. It is not known if there were any medical doctors who stayed for any length of time in Keraterm, but at least one medical doctor passed through the camp on his way to Omarska. There is no information to suggest that ill or wounded prisoners in the camp were ever provided with any medical aid by the Serbs, and there is no information about any sick-ward. Conversely, reports suggest that some seriously ill or severely wounded prisoners were deposited together with dead camp inmates (see Chapter VIII.F. infra).

437. The food provided to the detainees in Keraterm was similar to that provided for the Logor Omarska inmates. Generally speaking, the prisoners would be provided with their daily food rations from the time when they arrived at the camp. Two cooks came every day to the camp to arrange for the prisoners' daily food rations. The food is said normally to have consisted of a piece of bread and a spoonful of boiled cabbage or beans. The cooks took up their position next to the toilet facilities. The prisoners had normally less than 30 seconds to finish their daily rations, some say. Others think that it was arranged so that 10 prisoners had a total of two minutes to get hold of their daily rations. As many as one third of the prisoners would face the risk that there would be no more food available for them in one particular day. Sometimes the detainees were instructed to crawl to receive their rations. Sometimes the guards reportedly amused themselves by shooting above the heads of those coming up for their meals or eating. The prisoners were reportedly beaten on the way to their meals.

438. Inside the camp, the dead prisoners would normally be collected in a refuse dump or in a garbage container. Sometimes an identified psychiatrist, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, reportedly came to the camp and issued death certificates for such prisoners.

When there were transports of corpses out of the camp, fellow prisoners would, it is said, normally be the ones to pile them on transport vehicles. These prisoners were, in most cases, allegedly ordered to follow the transports out of the camp. Later, it is said, these prisoners were not heard from again. About one month after the Serbian military attack on the Kozarac area, a number of detainees were taken out to collect and bury dead bodies in that area. At least one of them survived later to tell about the undertaking.

439. As mentioned, some prisoners just entered Keraterm to be transferred to Logor Omarska or to Logor Trnopolje (women and elderly males). Allegedly, a few prisoners were released from Logor Keraterm up to 5 June 1992 - after interrogation - but there are said to be no known cases of releases after this time. The rest of the inmates either succumbed in the concentration camp or were transferred out of the camp as it was closed in early August 1992 (see Chapter XII.A. infra). There is no information to suggest that anyone successfully fled the camp - possibly there may have been some such cases from among those taken out of the camp with such working obligations as described above - to inter corpses from the camp and people killed during Serbian military-cum-"ethnic cleansing" campaigns.

440. Reportedly, Serbian military police, civilian police, ordinary military and paramilitary fighters almost every day came with new groups of non-Serbian captives to the camp. The prisoners were ordered out of the vehicles just inside the camp entrance, normally next to the scale. Here they were lined up and were asked for identity papers and valuables. More often than not, a guard would approach the prisoner or prisoners first in line and ask them what they were doing in the camp. Without waiting for an answer, the guard would beat the one or those questioned, or have them beat one another, all according to the whim of the guards. As the prisoners were pushed and hurled into one of the detention halls, most of them were beaten.

441. Sometimes the maltreatment upon arrival was even worse. On 14 June 1992, it is claimed that two bus-loads of captives from the hamlet Sivci (in the Kozarac area) were brought into Logor Keraterm. These prisoners were ordered to leave the buses ten at a time and lay down on the ground where allegedly guards (the name of their identified shift commander is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons) beat the newcomers with rifle butts, before the same prisoners were ordered up against the wall where another group of alleged perpetrators (from outside the camp) came to cut the prisoners' armpits and pierce their arms and legs with bayonets. Afterwards these prisoners were taken into Hall No. 3 and a majority was probably later moved on to Logor Omarska.

442. At night time, the guards - not on one of the commander's shift, it is stated, but under the two other shift commanders, and allegedly with the approval of the camp commander - called prisoners out from the detention halls and beat and otherwise tortured them. (The names of the four identified commanders are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.)

The guards would, for example, call out every prisoner with a certain surname. Participating in these orgies were reportedly people from outside the camp - locals like an identified taxi driver whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons (the taxi driver is said to have been a frequent and particularly brutal participant), soldiers back from the front for some days, and a gang of villains dressed entirely in black (long black leather coats, large wide-rimmed black hats, black boots, etc.) and with shaved heads. The men in the latter group were about 30-years old; they

reportedly also came to Logor Omarska and carried out torture and killings. Sometimes camp guards and/or people from outside the camp came into detention halls and fired shots above the heads of the prisoners. As the walls were of metal some bullets allegedly ricocheted and wounded prisoners. One day in mid-July 1992, to give but one example of the brutality, an unknown Serb came to the camp and pointed out some five or six prisoners from the village Gornji Orlovi, who thence were severely tortured. One from the latter group of prisoners - his name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons - reportedly died during this torture.

443. Reportedly, there was almost no day with less than two or three prisoners killed in Logor Keraterm.

444. One Serb is known to have been detained in the camp - allegedly for having participated in the referendum in BiH (see Chapter III.F. supra) and having voted in favour of a unified and sovereign BiH. His name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. He came from the village Ljeskare (in the Ljubija area).

445. One former inmate in Keraterm relates the following about the by far largest alleged massacre taking place in the camp:

"On 20 July 1992, Hall No. 3 was emptied for prisoners. These detainees were dispersed into the three other detention halls. Later in the day, new bus-loads of captives arrived to the camp. At this time detainees in Logor Keraterm could observe that it was burning in the Hambarine area [see Chapter VII.D. supra]. The newcomers were detained in Hall No. 3. Starting at the same time the prisoners in the three other halls were ordered to urinate in plastic barrels only.

In Hall No. 3 the doors were firmly closed and there was no fresh air for the prisoners squeezed in there. No food and no water was provided for the newly arrived detainees as long as they stayed in Hall No. 3. A door from the toilet area to the hall was firmly blocked by Serbian camp officials. Thenceforth the barrels with urine were emptied next to this blocked door to flow into Hall No. 3.

In the night of 24 July 1992, one camp commander's shift [in the following referred to as shift A] came to the camp possibly at about 19.00 hours, later also another commander's shift of camp guards [in the following referred to as shift B] appeared. [The names of the two identified commanders are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.] Earlier in the day some 15 people in military uniforms had come to the camp. There were four machine gun posts outside the front of the factory building, now the weapons were all aimed at Hall No. 3. In the evening the guards on shift B took out in front of the factory building some ten prisoners, had them kneel in a circle with their hands behind their heads. The guards then ran around the circle screaming as they beat the prisoners severely. One of the people thus maltreated was subsequently thrown next to Hall No. 2 by the guards, and died there some 15 minutes later. Others may have encountered similar consequences.

At about mid-night it could be heard that windows high up on the front wall to Hall No. 3 were broken. Someone cried out, 'Do not shoot unless the commander of shift A instructs that.' (Shift A was on duty that night.) Then someone else cried out, 'They [the detainees] are fleeing.' Then heavy machine gun fire started. The commander of shift A yelled that the shooting should stop. His instruction was ignored, and someone mocked him saying

that, 'A Serbian mother has given birth to an Ustaša son.' At first, prisoners like himself detained outside Hall No. 3 thought that the long-lasting shooting was merely to terrorize the prisoners. At dawn he was told by fellow prisoners that it seemed that the prisoners in Hall No. 3 had been killed. A little later he himself saw a huge pile of dead bodies outside of Hall No. 3. At about 05.00 hours a large lorry - FAD 1620, 24 tons - driven by an identified man [whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons] arrived to the camp. Some prisoners probably from Hall No. 1 and Hall No. 4 (he was detained in Hall No. 2 himself) and a few who appeared to be survivors from Hall No. 3, were ordered to heap the dead bodies on the lorry. First they had to take out dead prisoners from Hall No. 3, thereafter to remove the pile of corpses laying outside this hall. One prisoner participating in loading the dead - and with the corpses also wounded prisoners - on the lorry, afterwards told him that he had counted 98 dead and 62 or 63 wounded prisoners. Others claimed the total of dead was 150, and that the wounded numbered between 30 and 40. Later in the day, two fire trucks came and hosed down Hall No. 3 and the area outside it to remove all the blood there.

The night of the mass-killing and the next day the main road (from Prijedor to Banja Luka) passing the camp was closed for traffic."

446. All available information supports by and large this account. As for the fate of the corpses from the massacre and wounded prisoners removed from the camp with the dead, see Chapters VII.F. supra and VIII.F. infra.

447. On the morning of 26 July 1992, it is reported that a total of 21 dead prisoners were placed in front of the factory building. Before being removed, the corpses were photographed laying face up.

448. At daytime, prisoners were taken for interrogation, like in Omarska. The prisoners were interrogated in the camp itself in the interrogation rooms on the first floor. Also in Logor Keraterm, the interrogators were inspectors coming into the camp for this specific purpose - again like in Omarska. The inspectors were assisted by camp guards in mistreating their victims. Among the inspectors were policemen in active service, retired policemen, and lawyers.

449. It is said that approximately one half of the camp guards were in police uniforms, and the other half in military outfits.

450. The camp location next to the main road Prijedor - Banja Luka, made even the dead prisoners visible, at least on occasion, to bypassers. Normally, the dead would be laying outside of the factory building in the morning, before they were removed to the refuse dump/garbage container or out of the camp.

451. Concerning the Serbs who were directly operating Logor Keraterm, their names are all known to the United Nations Commission of Experts and the ICTFY. That is, the names of the camp leadership and the different shifts of guards inside the camp and the inspectors are available. In addition, the names of individuals who visited the camp and allegedly committed serious crimes there, have been registered. Here it suffices to mention but some of the central people involved.

452. The names of the camp leadership and the commanders of shifts of guards are known but not disclosed here for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

Reportedly, there was a change of camp commander and general chief of security from 28 or 29 July 1992.

453. Former inmates in the camp allege that some named members of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor visited Logor Keraterm. The names of the "visitors" are not disclosed here for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

454. Logor Keraterm has for several reasons been given less attention than Logor Omarska. The latter was the camp where the very elite of the non-Serbian community - the upper echelons in all fields - were primarily incarcerated. Logor Omarska was furthermore more than double the size of Logor Keraterm, and Logor Omarska became the main focus of the media - both television and newspapers. Several books - chronicles in part - about Logor Omarska have also been published.

455. None the less, Logor Keraterm has the same character as Logor Omarska in terms of being a death camp. For the individual prisoners, the traumas of having been detained in Logor Keraterm and Logor Omarska respectively may have been much the same. Both concentration camps presented the inmates with utterly gruesome experiences.

C. Logor Trnopolje

456. Prior to Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm being closed, essentially only children, women, and elderly men were taken to Trnopolje. The adult and not too old men (normally those between 16 and 60 or 65-years old) were taken to Omarska and Keraterm camps. It was, in other words, the non-Serbian people in the categories later deported (see Chapters X.A., X.B. and X.C. infra) who were detained in Logor Trnopolje. Some non-Serbs rounded up for deportations were reportedly brought to the camp even from the Sanski Most and Ključ districts.

457. The total number of camp inmates reportedly varied on an average from between 4,000 to 7,000 people. In the wake of the major Serbian military attack on the non-Serbian villages on the left bank of the Sana River (see Chapter VII.D. supra), there may have been altogether some 7,000 detainees in Logor Trnopolje. This period - together with the one just after the military campaigns in late May and early June (see Chapters VII.A., VII.B. and VII.C. supra) - may have been the single most crowded time in the camp's history.

458. Some people stayed in the camp for a very limited period of time, such as for a few days (some reportedly even stayed for one night only), others remained there for months as they were not deported. Some arrived at least twice to the camp - first rounded up and detained, then released for lack of space, and then rearrested.

459. Non-Serbs were, after the Serbian military attack on Prijedor town (see Chapter VII.C. supra), first gathered in different locations inside and just outside of Prijedor town and then taken to Trnopolje. A number of women and children from houses in Prijedor town, which had not been destroyed, were at least temporarily released after some three or four days. In late June 1992, non-Serbs who had sought refuge in the Puharska suburb of Prijedor town together with long-term inhabitants from this suburb (which had a predominantly Muslim population) were rounded up and brought to Trnopolje.

460. There are reports of non-Serbs having approached the local Serbian Red Cross in Prijedor to ask for the whereabouts of relatives who had "disappeared", were detained or deported, and who then were forcibly taken by Serbian Red Cross personnel into one of their buses and transported to Logor Trnopolje to be incarcerated without any reason given.

461. The camp was located very near the first station, Stanica Kozarac, on the railway from Prijedor to Banja Luka. The area is said to have been predominantly Muslim. The local school had, however, been occupied by Serbs who made it a stronghold before they converted it into a concentration camp.

462. The camp was opened in a area of and adjacent to a primary school. The entire area used has the shape of an irregular triangle. There were three main building complexes in the camp compound: the school with its sports hall, a cinema hall with some smaller rooms next to it, and a storage building. A number of tents were put up in the camp yard as well.

463. Some of the detainees were instructed as to where in the camp they were to stay. Others were simply told to find themselves a place where they could sleep.

464. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire, and a number of camp guards watched the detainees. The inmates had limited possibilities to move or to find anything to eat. A permission could be obtained to leave the camp for some hours - but that gave no inalienable rights for those going out neither vis-à-vis those guards who had given them permission to go out nor those guards who happened to be around when they came back. These detainees were left at the mercy, behest, or whim of the guards. At best, those going out had no problems when outside or upon return to the camp, in other cases they were lucky if they could pay in cash or kind to return. Outgoing prisoners often had family members in the camp so that they were likely to return - if for nothing else than for the safety of their relatives. Outside the camp, they were outlaws, and de facto they had normally nowhere to run. It was bad in the camp and so it was outside as well (see Chapter IX.C. infra).

465. Furthermore, as the camp was a staging area for deportations, those going out of the camp ran the risk that they would be separated from family members in case they were not all in the camp when detainees were deported. The separation of relatives together in the camp could, however, happen at any time during the deportations. The deportees were to move at the behest of their Serbian captors. Bribes could bring about some flexibility, it is said, but not necessarily.

466. It was summer and early autumn, meaning harvest time. Some prisoners - especially farmers from nearby areas - were ordered by the camp guards to leave the camp to harvest especially vegetables in their own or other local fields. These workers had, however, no protection outside the camp either. One even claims that the majority of the detainees from Trnopolje killed in August 1992 were people on this kind of work assignment, whom the camp guards killed outside the camp. The one man who makes this allegation reports that he himself was commanded together with others to bury eight people killed in vegetable fields.

467. Basically, there was far too little space for all the camp inmates in Logor Trnopolje, but the detainees were not cramped in like in Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm. The sanitation in the camp was far, far better than in the two other camps. There were better toilet facilities and more water available for the detainees who also had more private belongings such as the odd cooking pots, buckets, some additional clothes, etc. Still the sanitation and hygiene as such was bad in the camp. But due to the deportations, the turn-over rate of the majority of the prisoners was high and eased the sanitary situation. There were no proper provisions for camp inmates in terms of food and water, clothing, bedding, or medical care.

468. Sometimes the prisoners received no food for the first three days in the camp. For the short-term detainees, there could even be no food made

available at all. Thus, many were rather exhausted before being deported - during deportations there would again often be no food at all made available for days (see Chapters X.B. and X.C. infra). There was at least one medical doctor detained in the camp for some period of time. The doctor provided fellow detainees with assistance to the extent possible, but did not have proper medical equipment on hand.

469. The detainees were, in general, not working in the camp. Five boys 13 or 14-years old were once ordered to load or remove some timber. When the job was done, they were reportedly all shot dead by an identified camp guard, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

470. The detainees in Trnopolje were more or less systematically deprived of their valuables and frequently also of their identification papers and other documents on hand. There are numerous reports of embezzlement and pilfering by camp guards and other camp officials. In addition to the actions of camp officials, there are reports suggesting that a number of Serbian soldiers back from the war for the weekend or a few days functioned as camp guards to enrich themselves and take out aggression in terms of committing rapes and otherwise seriously abusing detainees. These occasional guards are even said to have killed or participated in killing camp inmates.

471. There were no formalized interrogation sessions in Logor Trnopolje. There were in other words no inspectors arriving to question the camp inmates. The incoming captives only had their names and whereabouts recorded.

472. Killings were not rare in the camp, nor was the infliction of torture. Harassment in general is claimed to have been the rule and not the exception. Rapes were reportedly the most common of the serious crimes to which camp inmates were subjected. The nights were when most of the injustice was performed. The nightly terror of possibly being called out for rape or other abuses was reportedly a severe mental constraint even for short-term detainees in the camp. Many detainees reportedly never returned after venturing with or without explicit permission outside of the camp. Other former detainees report that there were times when they were ordered to bury non-Serbs, who had been killed, in fields and meadows near the camp.

473. The allegation is that on one occasion some camp inmates had their hands and feet chained and were forced to lay down on the ground in the camp enclosure. Then, tractors were driven over their legs. Those who did not perish from their injuries relatively quickly, were later shot dead. Guards had taken up positions to prevent fellow prisoners from assisting those in agony. Reportedly, mainly wealthy people were shackled and killed. It is said that in the camp this kind of execution took place at least on four different occasions.

474. The first period was allegedly the worst in Trnopolje, with the highest numbers of inmates killed, raped, and otherwise mistreated and tortured.

475. At night, the detainees could hear the noises of drunk soldiers and other visitors to the camp, and the screaming of fellow inmates abused or taken out of the camp. It was expected that inmates taken out of the camp would be abused. A number of those taken out at night allegedly never returned to the camp and have not been heard from again. For this reason, fellow inmates believe that they were killed after departure from the camp, possibly after being abused or raped.

476. On 6 June 1992, to give just one example of what is reported, Serbian tank drivers came into the camp and seized some 30-40 young female camp inmates. Arriving between 10:00 p.m. and midnight, the soldiers - one

identified name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons - were more or less drunk. They forced the girls and women out with them. When the female prisoners were returned to the camp, they had been raped and mistreated, and their clothing was in tatters.

477. The people killed in the camp were usually removed soon after by some camp inmates who were ordered by the Serbs to take them away and bury them. These workers would normally come back to the camp.

478. Concerning the Serbs who were directly operating Logor Trnopolje, their names are known to the United Nations Commission of Experts and the ICTFY. That is, the names of the camp leadership and the guards inside the camp are known. In addition, the names of individuals who visited the camp and allegedly committed serious crimes there were registered, but are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons. There are also long lists with names of Serbian soldiers who served as occasional guards in the camp, or who arrived in the camp to take out detainees to abuse them.

479. The name of the camp director in Logor Trnopolje, who was also a member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor, is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.

480. The local Serbian Red Cross was abused by the Serbs then running it, to play a central role in the management of and the abuses related to Logor Trnopolje - in clear violation of the Red Cross mandate as such.

481. A staff member of the Red Cross in Prijedor, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, worked at the secretariat in Trnopolje where he was responsible for food supplies coming to the camp. Allegedly keeping food away from the internees, he caused terror and hunger, which was one of the reasons why prisoners in the camp succumbed.

482. Also, Logor Trnopolje changed much - meaning that the general situation in the camp was considerably ameliorated - after Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm were closed (see Chapter XII.A. infra). Most important was that the violence against camp inmates decreased, especially killings. All of the food provided by the ICRC did not reach detainees, but nutrition-wise the conditions are said to have improved.

483. None the less, it was when trying to describe the conditions in Logor Trnopolje at this later time (after it had become an "open reception centre", see Chapter XII.A. infra) that United Nations Human Rights envoy Mazowiecki said that "words fail me". One other representative of the international community relates (after a visit to the camp in the same period) that the road in front of the camp was strewn with empty cartridges when international observers first were admitted to the camp. According to camp inmates, random shooting by Serbs into the camp was just one of the various methods used to terrorize the detainees.

484. In late August 1992, most detainees from Prijedor town who had a house to return to, had been released from Trnopolje. People from the Kozarac area (and other destroyed areas) were registered by the ICRC. Former detainees from the camp (among them people transferred to Trnopolje as Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm were closed) then returned to the camp to be registered by the ICRC as well. Registration was considered the "passport" needed to flee the Serbian persecution. Many released prisoners had not dared to leave their houses upon return to Prijedor town, as they reportedly were afraid of being killed. Later, there were non-Serbs paying camp guards to enter the camp to seek a safe transport out of Opština Prijedor. This the Serbs used to illustrate what an agreeable place Trnopolje was.

485. Albeit Logor Trnopolje was not a death camp like Logor Omarska or Logor Keraterm, the label "concentration camp" is none the less justified for Logor Trnopolje due to the regime prevailing in the camp.

D. Other places of detention

486. Several other places of detention were used at the same time as the above-mentioned camps. These detention facilities were mainly used for two purposes, one was initial interrogations and the other staging areas for deportations. A number of people were held in these areas for a relatively short period of time prior to being taken to one of the above-mentioned concentration camps.

487. Some of the male inhabitants of Prijedor town were, after being forced out of their homes there in late May and early June 1992, detained temporarily in a school in Svodna (a village outside Opština Prijedor, located along the road to Bosanski Novi). Another camp was established in a school building in the small village of Čela, about six kilometres south of Prijedor town.

488. Women, small children (sometimes only those below 12 years of age, sometimes also adolescents up to the age of 15), and elderly men (those from 60 or 65 years old and older) were gathered for deportation in stadiums (such as in the suburb Tukovi in Prijedor town, and in the town of Ljubija) or in sports halls at different schools. For a night or so, they might initially have been detained even in private houses in attacked areas.

489. After the attack on the Kozarac area (see Chapter VII.B. supra), the high school in Prijedor town - its courtyard and sports hall - was used to detain several thousand children, women, and elderly men. Initially, for the first hours that is, people from outside - such as relatives and friends - could enter the high school to speak with people, bring them some food, and even release the internees.

490. Men and other prisoners of special interest were occasionally detained at police stations and in military barracks or in other more or less randomly selected areas of convenience. Normally, such detention facilities were used for the individual prisoner for relatively short periods ranging from some hours to a few days. From these detention facilities, the prisoners were either released after having been given the message that they were no more wanted in the Srpske Opštine Prijedor, or transferred to one of the above-mentioned camps. Some were killed when in detention - like non-Serbs could be killed anywhere: in their homes or gardens, on the streets, in the woods, on the mountains or in the hills, or actually wherever they were captured or merely attacked.

491. A number of women may have been short-term detainees in places, such as military barracks, where they allegedly were abused (see Chapters VII.B. and VII.D. supra).

492. As for the civilian non-Serbs rounded up in the attack on the villages on the left bank of the Sana River, many - especially from the southernmost areas - were taken to detention centres in Opština Sanski Most, inter alia, to Logor Krings. For some, at present unknown, period of time, there was also a detention facility in the Ljubija area referred to as Logor Ciglane. Whether the latter is identical with the detention facility used in a central area of the iron ore mine - possibly the separator - is not clear either. Allegations are, however, that there may have been as many as 1,000 people detained in the place at the same time. The detainees were reportedly a mixture of both sexes and different age groups - a breakdown of which is not available for the time

being.

E. General characteristics

493. On 23 May 1992, Serbian spokesmen officially announced the establishment of the first detention centre near Prijedor in northern BiH.

494. Soon after the Serbs took power, in late May 1992, Muslim and Croatian leaders in Prijedor started to "disappear", only later it became known that they had been taken to Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm. Political leaders, officials from the courts and the administration (inclusive the police), academics and other intellectuals, religious leaders, leaders from enterprises and businesses - the backbone of the Muslim and Croatian communities that is - were no more tolerated at liberty, or rather they were taken away apparently with the intent of their removal being permanent. Left behind without guidance and the strength of leadership were the much bewildered ordinary Muslim and Croatian people. This way Logor Omarska and in a similar way, but not to the same extent, Logor Keraterm became instruments of the overall destructive policy. Forcibly transferring children from one group to another group (not to say killing the same children) may be intended to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group - i.e. depriving the actual group of its future. Taking away the leaders of such a group deprives it of its present vitality, its ability to determine its political status and pursue its economic, social and cultural goals. Taking away the leaders means disarming the group intellectually and spiritually - it is a tactical, but lethal move facilitating further destruction of the group by rendering it open to almost any kind of abuse and destruction. Moreover, revival of a group requires leaders.

495. Among those detained in the camps were former non-Serbian policemen and other law and order people such as judges and jurists in general. Moreover, former military personnel, such as people enrolled in the TO, were particularly targeted. This left the non-Serbs also without any legal or armed protection.

496. As the camps of Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje were opened, only a few cases from there were opened for investigation although the criminal sector of the legal system was functioning in its own exclusive Serbian way.

497. In running the concentration camps, the Serbian police and the Serbian military cooperated. As in the military campaign against the non-Serbian habitations, the police and the military took advantage of the assistance of quasi-military elements and locally gathered manpower (for example, from the villages nearby Logor Omarska) also in the concentration camps. A number of the camp guards may have been recruited into the police or the military from the reserve, others were possibly new recruits. Whether to have assistance in exterminating detainees, or to give an outlet for general aggression and to legitimize aggression against non-Serbs, or a combination of these purposes, the Serbian leaders furthermore opened up the camps to the most brutal people around - belonging to paramilitary forces or just anybody. Especially in Logor Trnopolje, but also in the other camps, Serbian soldiers on leave from their ordinary service seem to have gratified both their greed and whatever sadistic inclinations they had.

498. Almost all the people in offices after the power change reportedly had knowledge of the death camps. These camps were spoken of in the SDS party, in broadcasts from Radio Prijedor and Television Banja Luka. The media mentioned names of some of the detainees and charged that the mentioned people were accused of having undermined society and of having prepared genocide against

the Serbs.

499. According to an interview of Simo Drljača (chief of the Serbian secret police and member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor):

Drljača: "In the collection centres 'Omarska', 'Keraterm' and 'Trnopolje' more than 6,000 informative talks were held. Of this number 1,503 Muslims and Croats were sent to the camp 'Manjača', on the basis of solid documentation on active participation in the fighting against the Army of Republika Srpska, and also participation in genocide against the Serbian people. Instead of letting them get their deserved punishment, the powerful men of the world expressing disdain forced us to release them all from Manjača."³⁴

500. The concentration camp premises were sometimes so packed with people that no more inmates could be crammed in. At least on one occasion, this allegedly resulted in an entire bus-load of newly captured non-Serbs being executed en masse. The bus, which was packed with captives from villages on the left bank of the Sana River, first tried to leave passengers at Logor Keraterm, then in Logor Omarska, and finally at Keraterm again - but in none of these places was there any room for the prisoners. Then, the bus was driven back across the Sana River. The bus passed the athletic field in Tukovi and continued towards the Rizvanovići area stopping at the gravel pit in "Suhi Prijedor" in front of a private house. All the captives but two were shot dead (see Chapter VII.D. supra). Another bus with fewer passengers - 27 all together - was on its way to the same gravel pit, but the bus-load of non-Serb workers primarily from Autotransport Prijedor were killed. It is believed that the dead bodies may have been left in the area to be washed away by a later inundation by the Sana River.

F. The disposal of the dead

501. The dead bodies from the massacre in Hall No. 3 in Keraterm (see Chapter VIII.B. supra) on 24 July 1992 were possibly later driven to the Kozarac area.

At least it is reported that a truck with many dead bodies, from which blood was dripping on the road, was observed on the road from Kozarac towards Mrakovica (possibly some three kilometres from Mrakovica). The non-Serb who observed and reported this belonged to a group of concentration camp inmates who had been taken out of the camp to bury dead bodies in the Kozarac area. This man, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, also states that Serbian soldiers claimed that the dead were the "soldiers of Alija Izetbegović". One of the Serbian soldiers reportedly stated that the truck had come from Logor Keraterm and that it contained approximately 200 dead bodies. The truck was green with a yellow car cover over the truck body. At the time, there were allegedly also many other dead bodies in the Kozarac area. Non-Serbs took part in digging graves along the road, the bodies were covered with a thin layer of soil between every layer of bodies.

502. The dead camp inmates from Logor Keraterm were usually removed by truck. There is said to be a mass grave near the location called "Bajr", the former brickyard, in the immediate vicinity of Logor Keraterm. A non-Serb reports that according to camp guards, seriously wounded prisoners from the camp were also buried there without anyone having bothered to kill them first. The mass grave may be covered by construction material from Stari Grad which by then had been completely destroyed.

503. Prisoners from Logor Omarska were sometimes said to be exchanged at

Gradiška, but may have been executed in the village of Gradina (nearby Omarska) instead. The bodies of the latter groups may have been disposed of in that same area.

504. There are numerous reports of individual graves and graves for small groups of prisoners outside both Omarska and Trnopolje concentration camps - not the least in nearby fields and meadows. Logor Keraterm was in the urban area where that kind of dumping of the dead may both have been less feasible and also less desirable from a Serbian point of view. Logor Omarska had more of an isolated location. Logor Trnopolje was in a predominantly Muslim area. Both these latter camps had open land in their vicinity. Sometimes the graves were dug by camp inmates, sometimes small excavators were used. Some dead bodies may have been discarded in abandoned mine shafts, both in the Omarska and the Ljubija areas. Even larger numbers of dead bodies may have been dumped in open pits, especially in the Tomašica and Ljubija area, but possibly also in the environs of Omarska. Rudnika Ljubija is primarily an open pit mine with huge excavated areas. The dead bodies may have been covered with some kind of acid solution previously used by and available from the mining company - for the bodies to decompose more quickly and to reduce the stench. There are no reports of the use of chloride lime. Each pit used was reportedly filled with soil. Rumours will have it that bodies from Logor Omarska on occasion were thrown into two lakes not very far from the camp, where a certain specie of fresh water fish was feeding on the corpses; these allegations remain unconfirmed.

505. Information also suggests that pre-existing burial grounds, such as the Orthodox cemetery in Omarska, were used to inter dead camp inmates. The same is said to have been the case for a relatively new graveyard on a height in or near Prijedor town. (For more information regarding disposal of the dead, see Annex X, Mass Graves.)

IX. THE GENERAL SITUATION FOR THE NON-SERBIAN POPULATION

506. The following report was made by a rapporteur mission from the CSCE. On 31 August 1992, the mission met with Dr. Milomir Stakić, the SDS mayor of Prijedor and member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor, and visited the "Open Reception Centre at Trnopolje". The mission reports:

Dr. Stakić: "In the first free elections since the Second World War the Muslim party won the election and were in power for one and a half years, and they took the opportunity it gave them to arm the most extreme parts of the Muslim population.

This preparation had reached a culminating point at the end of April, beginning of May, when these armed groups put up barricades, and when they started shameful murders of the army of Bosanska Krajina and the police.

As a result the army and police cleared the barricades when they left Prijedor on the road to Banja Luka. And as soon as they left the city the army and police were attacked and three police and soldiers were killed.

In spite of our invitation to their representatives, religious leaders and well known citizens they did not come to talk to us.

And why have I mentioned the religious leaders? When we went to search the homes of the religious leaders we found US made shotguns which in the US are forbidden for hunting.

There were fighting and destruction, especially Karasec [Kozarac], a suburb to Prijedor, and several people were captured. We have called them to free the women and children and let them

go. They put the women and the children in the front lines and followed with their weapons. The police and army accepted these women and children and put them in buses and took them to safe havens.

In the course of the next few days army and police captured several thousand people and put them in Trnopolje to protect them from the fighting with the extremists. That is how it was started as a collective centre.

With the help of the ICRC we have transported some of the inmates to ? but there are still some left and we have evacuated those who want to leave this part of the country.

But we have also Muslims and Croatians in the camp who want to remain, around 10,000. They have normal identification papers for our police. They are not accused of anything and most of them are living in their homes but some are in the camp. A minority wants to go to Croatia and a majority wants to go to Western Europe.

We have had more than ten contacts with UNHCR where they have offices and tomorrow there is a delegation of UNHCR coming here and will discuss the future of those who want to go to Europe. Most of them have families in Western Europe and wish to leave this part of the country for fear of war.

We have certainly heard about Omarska where the people were caught with weapons, where 45 investigators interrogated the prison people and as a result 1,300 were transferred to the camp at Manjača and others either freed or transferred to the open camp here exclusively because their homes have been destroyed so they have to go somewhere.

With the help of local Red Cross and local economy and thanks to international help from ICRC we are trying to give them the minimum food and medicine. Those who are more ill go to the hospital here.

I welcome the arrivals of delegations who have come before you and you and hope there will be more help from outside. And we appeal to you to help us evacuate those who wish to go to these foreign countries to ensure safe passage to their destinations.

We are very grateful to you that you have sent the other mission to the Croatian side because we have Serbs who have been there for a year. And we would like to make it possible with help of you, UNPROFOR and ICRC to get them back."

COMMENT: Dr. Stakić was asked what specific help he wanted, with food and medicine.

Dr. Stakić: "Medicines first, food second."

COMMENT: Dr. Stakić was asked what he thought about the long term future.

[Dr. Stakić:] "I would like to say that we agree with the results of the London Conference. We see in these documents that have been accepted in London the possibility of ending the war . . . That makes us all suffer, and because I am the mayor of all citizens of Prijedor.

Neither Croats nor Muslims left this territory nor do we have the intention of kicking them out. There are some who hold appointments in the town and some are in the forces.

But the future is not clear because there is no electricity and the war is on. The communal government which just met had on the agenda food and heating for the winter, and Mr. Kovacic is

president for the regional government [Dr. Mičo Kovačević,
President of the Executive Board of the Assembly in Prijedor]."

Mr. Kovacic: "Usually we have the problem of feeding and healing all the population. If we do not have electricity, fuel and food, not only will we continue fighting but we will all become cannibals. We are trying to solve our problems as we can but trying to solve them for all the nationalities.

The situation with electricity is complicated because some parts have the generating power and others have the distribution.

We are on 10% of power and industry is on 20% of normal production. I am appealing to propose that the energy blockade should stop.

The main problem is that the Muslims wage their war with electricity. The result is that no one has electricity and the CSCE can do something about it. It is much more important to have electricity than butter.

There are theories about food corridors. No fool will shoot at food aid. Another thing is to ask the Croats and Muslims to deblock Banja Luka airport because the airport works but we cannot use the airspace."

COMMENT: He was asked if the airport was used by the military.

[Dr. Kovačević:] "This airport is a civilian airport, however in wartime it is used for military flights. The only explanation we have for not opening it is that it is on the territory of Bosanska Krajina, Serbian territory. Very many commercial businesses we had cannot be run because of this."

Dr. Stakić: "There is equal treatment for all, some Muslim areas have not been touched by war. We support your ideas about negotiations and our representative Mr. Karadžić is ready to negotiate."

Mr. ? Member of the Regional Government: "You said that you could not imagine these three peoples not living together, was that in Bosnia and Hercegovina or Yugoslavia?"

COMMENT: "Bosnia and Hercegovina."

Mr. ? Member of the Regional Government: "In that case there is a lack of information. Bosnia and Hercegovina is the same as Yugoslavia. Europe accepted Slovenia, but does not look at 1.5 million Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Europe has recognized Bosnia and Hercegovina at the request of its president, who only represents 43% of the population.

Europe should know that dealings with Bosnia and Hercegovina, that part of Bosnia and Hercegovina is only a small part and what happened in Yugoslavia happens here.

The Serbs very probably accepted the cohabitation of three communities if it had not been for the declaration. The Islamic declaration made on the formation of an Islamic state in 1986 and which was incorporated into the political programme.

And the demographers have made projections that in less than 22 years the Muslims will be a majority of over 50%. And the Serbs, who are the oldest people, have no wish to find themselves in the situation of a minority."

COMMENT: Although the Muslims already had a majority in the

elections.

Mr. Kovacic: "We have a problem with the exchange of prisoners. We appeal to you that in talks with Mr. Izetbegović you raise problems of exchange because the Muslim side will not accept exchange of prisoners."

Dr. Stakić: "When we proposed the exchange of prisoners of war we were told that these people were not Muslims and to get Serbs back they ask flour and guns, following the law of Jihad."

COMMENT: At this point we were shown what was claimed to be Muslim currency. We were unable to take a photocopy because there was no electricity, however I asked for one.

The point was made that prisoners of war exchanges were important, and they were asked if people who were exchanged would be allowed back to their original villages.

Mr. ? Member of the Regional Government: "We have released a certain number of prisoners from the camp who were from here and who still are around but in proposing an exchange we take a risk because we know as soon as they go back they will be mobilized and fight against us. We have already had experience of this."

Dr. Stakić: "Kozarac is still not a safe place because the extremists still come back and shoot and yesterday we had two casualties and they were killed and set on fire. These groups have withdrawn to the Kozara Mountain and they come into town and do things and although we have soldiers and patrols they cannot solve it. Experts in this sort of thing have come and they say it could last 6 to 12 months. Hitler had 10,000 troops and in four years he did not get rid of the fighters there.

When we insist on not calling it [Trnopolje] a camp it is because the Serbs from here know very well what a concentration camp is, particularly on the other side."

Mr. ? Member of the Regional Government: "Insisting on the idea of an exchange of prisoners of war because quite a few of them when released try to go to other countries. There would be less people leaving Bosnia and Hercegovina if there was an orderly exchange of prisoners of war."

General impressions: The version of the events that led to the opening of Trnopolje that we were given by the Mayor was in stark contrast to that given by the people we spoke to in the camp.

Conclusions: The authorities insist that they are acting in the best interest of all the people in their area, and that they have no desire to get rid of the Muslim population, however this just does not match what they are actually doing. Against this background it is very hard to draw conclusions based on what is said.

The conclusions to be drawn from what we have seen is that the Muslim population is not wanted, and is being systematically kicked out by whatever method is available.

507. According to an interview of Simo Drljača (chief of the Serbian secret police in Prijedor and member of the Krizni Štab Srpske Opštine Prijedor):

Vujakovic: "What conditions should be met and what would have to

happen for the Opština police to do its job as it should be?"

Drljača: "What would have to be done in order that the SJB [the Public Security Service, see Chapter V.A. supra] should work as it should? As long as there is a war, one should know who is a soldier and who is not. The common phrase that we are all soldiers is very dangerous, and it happens that a uniform is worn by sick people, criminals and others, and the same goes for the police. Besides the SJB also other state institutions have to function: the Inspection, the Prosecutor's office and the Primary court. It is very difficult to explain to the citizens that the majority of murderers in Prijedor have been taken and examined, but that they now defend themselves in liberty."

Vujakovic: "At one occasion you stated to Radio Prijedor that you should be replaced because due to peace in the house you had not told all that you know. What is it that you have not told?"

Drljača: "I know that many Serbs had their Muslim or Croatian [personal enemy] and that many succeed, through different channels, to get notorious Ustašas out from Omarska, later to boast of having killed them. And now these people send messages from abroad. I know that many have, legally or illegally, transferred their firms to Germany, and now they beat their breasts claiming to be great Serbs. I know that no war in history has passed without robbery (also this one), that the myth about the Serbs has been destroyed. I know that some of my policemen transported for money Muslims and Croats to the border, and the only thing I did was to kick them out of the police. I know that we did not succeed efficiently to prevent robbery of property (as was the case in every town in Republika Srpska), because this is common practice. I know and have evidence of all stolen goods. When the war is over, if the authorities demand it, we will take it back. I know that we need not take it now, for if we take it and give it back, these other people will just disperse it and take it away.

I know that a bloody war is right in front of us and that is why I still only know this."

Vujakovic: "Will you now, as a vice minister and with your good knowledge of local affairs, 'open your cards' and go to the end in revealing the illegal things that you have evidence about?"

Drljača: "The moment we have built a society with civil rights, we will reveal much (at present) unknown things. It will be enough for our state to proclaim all kinds of war profiteering illegal, and that the state instruments (police, prosecutor, court) will be well paid for their job."³⁵

508. During the two months of the Serbian military campaign - from late May to late July 1992 - all the main clusters of non-Serbian habitations were visited (see Chapter VII. supra). Targeted in the military operation were the non-Serbs as such - their persons and their bonds to the district. The military crusade was the single most dramatic component of the "ethnic cleansing" process after the Serbs took power. But, the "ethnic cleansing" was not finished with the major military operations. On the contrary, there were also other modi operandi aimed at achieving the "ethnic cleansing" - these were methods applied both in tandem with and after the military operations, involving in part new Serbian cohorts. To understand the rigour of the new Serbian order, as perceived by the non-Serbs, it is necessary to

recognize the interrelation between the different means of the "ethnic cleansing" and the interaction between the Serbs involved on the different levels and in the different operations.

A. Evictions

509. Given the way the Serbs focused on weapons prior to taking power and immediately after that, many non-Serbs believed that after their homes and habitations had been ransacked for arms the situation would be normalized. Thenceforth, they would be permitted to move around freely again, and their homes would be respected, they thought. Little did they foresee the Pandora's box of disasters which the "ethnic cleansing" would actually become.

510. To remove the non-Serbs from the district, the Serbs targeted both the non-Serbs themselves and all that made them feel at home in the area. The general social accord that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his or her privacy, family and home was no longer applied by Serbs vis-à-vis non-Serbs.

511. Homes of non-Serbs were searched, pillaged and/or more or less destroyed. It seemed as if the non-Serbs could be evicted at the behest of almost any Serb. Initially, the perpetrators were military or paramilitary personnel and/or police or people seen to cooperate directly with them. Later, attacks on non-Serbs seemed to become a free-for-all - for the common purpose of "ethnic cleansing".

512. The evictions had several implications. The practical consequences were immediate as the evicted persons thereby became homeless. For a majority, this meant that they had to seek shelter with people they knew as there were not many other alternatives. Unless the evicted were deported at the same time, they could not just leave the district for somewhere else later. Sooner or later, most of the evicted people were probably simultaneously deported. In the meantime, many of them found temporary shelter with relatives or friends.

513. To be evicted did not have only practical implications related to basic material needs, it also had other tangible and emotional consequences. For most people who find certain aspects of the society at large difficult to relate to, street violence being one example, their homes are where these persons may retreat. When both one's person and home is targeted, the threat to person may be perceived as ubiquitous and even more so when one is also prevented from leaving the area temporarily or even permanently on one's own initiative.

514. Evictions, sometimes repeated evictions for the same people, became a harsh and influential messenger between the Serbs and the non-Serbs conveying the central idea that the non-Serbs were no longer to consider themselves at home in the district. For many people, the physical existence of a home per se, next to family relations and social networks, ties them strongly to the geographical location of the home.

515. For many, the actual eviction did not merely result in them having to seek alternative housing, but they were actually at the same time evicted from their immediate community, such was the case when the Kozarac area, the non-Serbian villages on the left bank of the Sana River, and entire suburbs of Prijedor town were purged. These evicted people were simultaneously exiled from their social networks and social settings as such, even their outer cultural frame of reference was disrupted.

B. Persecution of individuals

516. Already prior to the military attacks on the different non-Serbian habitations, prominent members of the non-Serbian groups were seized and "disappeared" into detention. Soon the existence of the newly opened concentration camps, Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm, became common knowledge, but most people still knew little more about the camps. Also during the military attacks, specific individuals of high social rank or otherwise regarded as leaders were singled out for execution or, at least at first, incarceration in the concentration camps. Other non-Serbs in high positions were arrested later, in their homes or wherever they were caught sight of, to have the same destination not to say destiny as the other non-Serbian leaders.

517. A renowned Muslim recounts:

"In early June 1992, he was walking on a street in Prijedor town as a private car stopped and three or four military men jumped out and took him with them in the car to the military barracks near the airport. There he was left in the car for about ten minutes before he was taken to Keraterm. In Keraterm - or actually in an office just across the street from the camp, an office used in relation to road repairs - he was kept an eye on by a guard as he was waiting. A Muslim colleague of his was also brought in. A Serbian inspector together with a judge, and another man questioned them. [The three Serbs are identified, but their names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons.] The Serbs then let the Muslims go without having mistreated them.

In the building where he lived there were 74 flats in addition to his, the residents were from all the three different ethnic groups. At this time all Serbian males were in uniform and carrying weapons. A watch routine was arranged so that the residents had to take turn to sit in front of the building and note down who was coming and who was going.

On 24 June 1992, he was on duty in front of the building, a Mercedes with his neighbour [an identified Serb political leader whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons] stopped in front of him, and he was taken to the police station in Cele. There he was detained with seven other men [whose names are not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons] - one of the seven, a cafe owner from Prijedor town, was later killed in Logor Omarska. At 22.40 hours that same evening they were beaten with batons, and the people maltreating them were swearing at them calling them Ustaša devils. Thence they were transported to Logor Omarska, stopping several times on the way."

518. As long as Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm were still open, one or more buses of new captives arrived to these camps almost daily, also on days when there were no major military operations.

519. Family members of the "disappeared" or arrested leaders were vulnerable without their heads of family around, and as the "stigma" given to the head of the family by the Serbs also reflected on the rest of the family. Moreover, many were desperately unwilling to leave the district whatever other difficulties they faced, as they were afraid to give up whatever chance which could possibly arise to safeguard the well-being or at least the life of the head of the family.

520. Later, when Logor Omarska and Logor Keraterm had been closed, some former detainees, who eventually were released, were searched by, inter alia, the intervention unit of an identified commander, whose name is not disclosed for confidentiality or prosecutorial reasons, and killed (see Chapter XII.A. infra).

C. The non-Serbs as de facto outlaws

521. The core of the "ethnic cleansing" policy was a general climate in which all non-Serbs as such, not merely individuals in their personal capacity, were targeted. Everyone who was not a Serb was as such ostracized, and could at any time be subjected to persecution. Never knowing when severe difficulties would arise and their character was in itself an ordeal for many non-Serbs.

522. After the Serbs took power on 30 April 1992, the non-Serbs lost their general legal protection. The existing court system with judges and lawyers stopped functioning. Tentatively the court system was rebuilt with Serbs, but obviously only with people who were prepared to compromise, to say the least, and tolerate a reign of no justice for more than half of the population of Opština Prijedor - the non-Serbs. The entire police structure was immediately replaced by a pre-organized fully Serbian police organization. Non-Serbs could be harassed or subjected to just any kind of persecution for the sole reason that they were not Serbs. The situation was aggravated already when the first disappearances and arrests of leading non-Serbs started, and became extreme when the main Serbian military operations commenced.

523. As prominent non-Serbian citizens were targeted first and the majority of them were men, the lawlessness for those left at liberty, more or less temporarily, plagued the more unprotected segments of the non-Serbian society in particular: the young, the old, and not the least women of all ages. There was no longer any respect for non-Serbian property rights, and worse, there was not even any respect for the personal integrity and dignity of the non-Serbs, not even for their lives. Not only military or police, but other civil servants and any private individual or group of such - be it neighbours or former competitors of any kind - could do as they pleased knowing that they would de facto have impunity. For thefts, harassment, threats, sexual and other abuses, even killings, there was no prospect of any punishment for the perpetrators. Rapes under these circumstances were probably as frequent as the nights, but happened also often in broad daylight. Bodily and mental harm to the immediate victims and their next of kin became elements of the "ethnic cleansing" policy. The more or less overt message was always the same: There was to be no decent living and no room at all for non-Serbs in the district.

524. On occasion, the persecution even took the shape of small-scale military attacks on non-Serbian homes and massacres of many, if not all, their inhabitants.

D. A climate conducive to the departure of non-Serbs

525. After the major Serbian military operations in late May and early June 1992, non-Serbs started to depart or rather flee Opština Prijedor on "their own initiative". For some it was the consequence of having had to seek temporary shelter elsewhere as their habitations and homes were attacked. Other groups had been targets of other kinds of persecutions. Some only left after they (or one or more family members) were released from a concentration camp. As the mene tekel was crystal clear, some left as a preventive measure.

526. Those leaving on "their own initiative" normally departed by road,