

Following are translations of several articles from the *Nezavisne Novine* series on war crimes that led to the assassination attempt on Zeljko Kopanja on October 22, 1999.

Tracking Down The Crimes At Koricani Near Knezevo In August 1992

Seven years ago Lt. Colonel Bosko Peulic, Commander of 122nd Infantry Brigade, 1st Krajina Corps, sent an official letter to the relevant security forces of the Army of Republic Srpska (VRS) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) to inform them about a horrible crime that took place at the Koricani cliffs on the old road from Knezevo to Travnik. But the authorities did nothing to condemn the perpetrators and vindicate the VRS and the units of the RS MUP. *Nezavisne Novine* publishes testimonies of the survivors.

A GROUP OF REBEL POLICEMEN FROM PRIJEDOR MASSACRED OVER 200 BOSNIANS: THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA ARMY HELPED THE SURVIVORS, BUT THE KILLERS HAVE ESCAPED ACCOUNTABILITY.

By the Executive Team of Nezavisne Novine

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, August 25, 1999.

“At the Koricani cliffs, on the old road from Skernder Vakuf to Travnik, a group of policemen from the reserve Prijedor’s unit committed a terrible crime against civilians!”

This was the content of a message sent to the related security forces of the VRS and MUP of the Republika Srpska of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Lt. Colonel Bosko Peulic, the commander of the 122nd Infantry unit of 1st Krajina Corps at the time.

The perpetrators are not held responsible for this crime, neither in 1992 nor today. This is a lost opportunity for vindicating the VRS and MUP units of RS.

The atrocity took place a few days before the release of “Omarska” camp when the evacuation of Bosniaks from Prijedor to Travnik by convoys took place. Prior to the evacuation most of those people were at the Trnopolje transit center, a sort of temporary accommodation. All of those who left Prijedor were going through Knezevo (formerly Skender Vakuf) to Travnik and had proper travel papers, including notices of departure issued by the Prijedor police and municipal authorities. If one doesn’t take into

consideration the traumatic experience of leaving their cities and their own houses, their journey to Travnik was well under way without any incidents or security problems.

Escaping to Travnik from the flames of war in Potkozarje worked well for those who had papers issued by Prijedor authorities until August 21st, 1992, when the massacre of over 200 Bosnians took place. It sounds impossible that anyone even survived that horrible event, if one takes into consideration what happened there. Nevertheless, seven Bosnians survived their fall into a 100 meter abyss. The soldiers of the regular army of Republika Srpska found the wounded ... and transported them for additional treatment in Banja Luka.

“In the early hours of August 21, 1992, a convoy of people left Trnopolje in four buses. Some of them would lose their lives at the Koricani cliffs. At Kozarac we were joined by another convoy from Prijedor consisting of three buses and several tractor-trailers.

“On the way to Skender Vakuf one of the buses had a temporary breakdown at the place called Kemina creek,” Medo Sivac, a survivor who was 18 at the time, told authorities in Banja Luka. “Another bus broke down in Skender Vakuf and its occupants were jammed into the other overcrowded buses, making it almost impossible to breathe. We continued our journey to Travnik on an old macadam road. Some time later the convoy halted near, I believe, the Ilomska creek. We assumed it was time for a break. However, they separated out all of the men, I think about 200 in all, and loaded us into two buses. The explanation was that we were to be taken for an exchange. While the rest of the convoy left for Travnik, they took everything valuable from us, jewelry, money, watches... The crowding was unbearable since there were too many of us for two buses heading towards the Koricani cliffs.”

According to the statements of survivors, people from the first bus were to be executed first. People were taken in groups of three who would be killed on the spot to prevent the possibility of their surviving.

“We, from the second bus, were unloaded at once and lined up on the left side of the road, opposite the cliff. We were ordered to line up along the cliffs and kneel there. Then the horrible shooting started. I was falling into the abyss. I didn’t lose consciousness, but suddenly I felt that the fall was over, because of the bushes attached to the cliff. I took refuge there, going as far as possible into the bush during the night. In the morning I stepped down somehow to find refuge in the nearby forest. I heard when some people came to burn the corpses.”

“I spent Saturday and Sunday there, and then was found by regular Serbian army forces. After a painful first-aid treatment they took me to Banja Luka for medical treatment,” said Sivac, who was driven from the village of Kevljanai on May 24, 1992, to the “Omarska” detention center. From there he was taken to “Keraterm,” and just a day later returned to the “Omarska” camp. When people from “Omarska” were released he was transported at “Trnopolje.”

Admir Karasic, who lost his right leg below the knee, has an identical story about ... Koricani. His brother and father were separated from the convoy along with him.

“I was in the second row behind my father when we were lined up,” Karasic said in his statement. “On my right side was Samir, my brother. As soon as I realized what was going to happen, from a squatting position, I took my father’s hand to fall down the cliff. Luckily I was on the left side where the cliffs were not so steep. I survived the fall with many wounds. My father didn’t. My brother was killed. I hid in the water mill for two days and two nights, unconscious part of the time because of a knee injury. The Serbian army found me and provided first aid in a field hospital. Later I was taken to Dr. Kulenovic of the Banja Luka hospital. He amputated my right leg at the knee. The Banja Luka branch of Merhamet [a Muslim non-governmental organization that provides humanitarian assistance] helped to transport me to Karlovac and then to Germany.”

In collaboration with local police, the Banja Luka Merhamet played a crucial role in assisting the survivors. Upon completing medical treatment at the Banja Luka hospital and making statements to the authorities, the survivors were accommodated at the Gazanferija mosque on Mirka Kovacevica Street, as well as the Kasim Hadzic elementary school.

“That day when I came home, my folks told me that police were after me and that I had to contact them immediately,” said Adil Medic, who was executive director of the Banja Luka Merhamet at that time. “So I did. I went and introduced myself. They took me to the inspector, I think Dragan Markovic was his name. Though we had already heard of the crimes at Koricani cliffs, he told me that a great evil had happened. He didn’t want to say how many were murdered, he just said that there was a significant number of dead. ... ‘What do you expect from me?’ I asked. He said that there were survivors, that they were in the hospital and that I had to find a place for them. Then he gravely instructed me that not a single hair should be missing from their scalps.”

“He told me that I was responsible to him, with the fate of my own head, for their very lives. I knew that the Prijedor murderers might try to kill the survivors to eliminate witnesses. I warned the inspector that we at Merhamet could offer food, shelter and clothes to the survivors, but as far as security, we had no means to protect them. He agreed and promised police protection of our premises during their stay. I’d be wronging my soul by saying anything else, but [he kept that promise until] all seven survivors of the massacre were transferred to Croatia by the International Committee for the Red Cross.”

Despite *Nezavisne Novine*’s best efforts to obtain the names of the policemen who perpetrated the Koricani massacre, we haven’t succeeded. Time will show that this lack of success was due to someone’s desire to protect them, or to the fear in certain circles that they could be held accountable for their inaction and their attempts to sweep the case under the carpet. But no authorities dispute that the crime actually happened. It is known that the killers were six policemen from Trnopolje with red berets. They were known to

have close relations with Simo Drljaca, who was then Prijedor's chief of police. He was killed by SFOR soldiers during their attempt to arrest him on war crime charges filed at the Hague Tribunal. Investigative judge Jefto Jankovic remembers the entire case very well:

"I agree that all who committed the crime should answer for it. I think here we are dealing with one isolated case," Jankovic said. "Sure, I was the investigating judge and I conducted the investigation. I took the testimonies of survivors after their wounds were dressed in the Banja Luka hospital. I forwarded all that to the prosecutor's office in the jurisdiction, expecting they would open an inquiry. As far as I know that never happened. If I was a prosecutor, I would start one," said Jankovic, asserting that there was enough evidence in the paperwork that he forwarded to the prosecutor's office for them to start an inquiry.

Jankovic perhaps wanted to justify the fact that as the judge investigating the case, he did not inspect the crime scene, and to assert that the testimonies of survivors were enough to launch an inquiry. Of course, there are several questions we should ask the police, too. Why didn't they secure the crime scene? Instead, on the next day (August 22) the Civil Protection team was already permitted to clean up the evidence of the crime. Who gave the order for that? And on Sunday (August 23) the Civil Protection men were joined by Simo Drljaca himself along with his crew. The question that senior officers at the Banja Luka police department cannot run away from is why was no one ever issued a summons?

THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE DID NOT RECEIVE A SUMMONS

Nezavisne Novine interview with State Public Prosecutor Vojislav Dimitrijevic.

NN: As a citizen, are you familiar with the Koricani crime?

Dimitrijevic: Yes, as a citizen I am. Very generally I should say. What I've heard in the news. But as the State Public Prosecutor [the equivalent of Republika Srpska's Attorney General] I have no concrete knowledge. Before this interview I did some quick research with my office staff. We file all our cases by the person's names. To my knowledge there was no case on that issue. I add reserve to that since I need to check all other prosecutor's offices in the areas of jurisdiction.

NN: The investigating judge, Mr. Jefto Jankovic, claims that he forwarded the file to the office of the public prosecutor and that the office did not act upon that file.

Dimitrijevic: I can neither confirm nor deny that. But if we are talking about witnesses and not indicted persons, then, provided that the case exists, it probably still rests with the ... Interior Ministry. You should look there for answers.

NN: We asked the investigating judge whether he would start an inquiry, if he was a prosecutor, based on the existing evidence. He said that he would.

Dimitrijevic: The investigating judge should know that inquiries are opened by him. True, after a request by the public prosecutor. But, for a public prosecutor in the jurisdiction to submit such a request, the suspect should be known, and certain pieces of evidence should be collected. In this particular case I am completely sure we have not received the summons. We have not one single unsolved summons from that period. Summonses, I stress again, are issued by the police. So, to conclude: the office of the public prosecutor did not receive a summons. If it did, it would submit a request for an inquiry.

NN: Are you, as the State Public Prosecutor, interested in this case?

Dimitrijevic: Absolutely. I will commit myself to do everything that is prescribed by the law in our jurisdiction.

I already ordered the office of district attorney to ask from the Ministry of Interior for the report about the crimes committed on the Koricani cliffs:

In the interest of Republika Srpska is that this crime is solved as soon as possible and that those responsible are punished in accordance with law.

NN: At the time of your statement for our article "On the trail of the crime on Koricani cliffs near Knezevo in August 1992" you promised that you would do a more detailed examination of the public prosecution. Do you have any news?

Dimitrijevic: First, I want to repeat my earlier statement that no charges have been filed against anybody in particular ever in connection with that crime. At the time of the crime the office of public prosecutor (district attorney) in Banja Luka got an information from the Ministry of Interior's Center for the Security Service [i.e., CSB] in Banja Luka, that the Ministry was informed in the evening hours of August 21, 1992 by the Service for Public Security [i.e., SJB, the police] from Knezevo that within their jurisdiction there is a large number of corpses in one canyon near the village of Donji Koricani [Lower Koricani].

Following that lead, an investigation was initiated, which concluded that in the area of the Koricani cliffs, that approximately 800 meters away from the village of Lower Koricani, 100 meters deep at the bottom of Ilomska canyon, there were more than 100 corpses of unidentified persons visible from the road. This place is 27 kilometers away from Knezevo on the road to Travnik. This information was filed in the form of a criminal complaint against an unknown perpetrator. At the bottom of that document there was this note: "The workers of this CSB conducted all of the necessary acts and measures to identify the unknown bodies and unknown perpetrators and to determine the flow of events. They will keep you inform of all useful findings as they become known."

NN: Did survivors testify in court and were public prosecutor involved in that hearing?

Dimitrijevic: On Sep. 16, 1992, the investigative judge of District Court Banja Luka interrogated, at the request of the public prosecutor, a certain number of the individual survivors. Given that this case is far from being concluded, I can't at this time provide you with the details about the number of individuals or their names. Assistant district attorney was present at all of the interrogations. Following the interrogations, investigative judge forwarded the transcripts of the witness testimonies to the public prosecutor's office.

NN: Was it possible, based on these testimonies, to ask for a formal court investigation?

Dimitrijevic: Absolutely not. It is notorious that, based solely on the testimonies of those who were wronged, one often can't get a court hearing for more trivial criminal acts, much less in the case where the crime led to the death of such an enormous number of individuals. Those materials [i.e., testimonies] are just one of the proofs necessary to start the court investigation. This is subjective evidence – the statements of the witnesses. This could only serve as a starting point for the further investigation by Banja Luka CSB. This is why the district attorney on September 30, 1992, requested that institution to investigate and search for the perpetrators of that crime.

This request asked CSB Banja Luka to work with CSB Prijedor and CSB Sanski Most in that investigation. And it also asked that following the identification of the perpetrators, that they should be arrested. Following my inspection of that document, I am even more astonished with a strange and incorrect statement by the investigative judge Jefta Jankovic given in that abovementioned article. Because I was not employed in any capacity in the public prosecutor's office at that time, I have no need to justify my actions at the time, I believe that in this case the acting public prosecutor acted fully in accordance with law and rules of the profession. The statements of the investigative judge are either due to his non-professionalism or malicious intent, and in any case either won't help solving this case.

NN: Did the public prosecutor's office get a response to that request?

Dimitrijevic: No.

NN: What do you intend to do?

Dimitrijevic: I ordered the public prosecutor's office in charge, and that is due to the change of jurisdiction the district attorney's office in Banja Luka, to request the updated report from the Ministry of Interior of the RS about their progress on this case, and to request certain further investigative operations. I believe that this is not only in the interest of the families of the victimized, but also in the interest of Republika Srpska as a whole, to solve this case as soon as possible, to find who is responsible for that crime, to indict them and to punish them in accordance with law.

War crimes happen in all wars. There are no black-white pictures. But war crimes are committed by individuals, and since that is the case in this particular event, the prosecution is committed by the state. There are individuals who commit crimes, sometimes they are horrible crimes, in each and any state. And you won't hear that a state is not ruled by a rule of law because of such individuals. But if the state fails to prosecute the perpetrators of the crimes, then you have a state of crime in which certain individuals are above and beyond the law. Our interest is that Republika Srpska is ruled by law. And not only declaratively, but in real, concrete situations, and it is time to show that we are so [i.e., ruled by law] by the way we act.

NN: Well, seven years passed since that happened. Who is responsible that this crime which has not yet been solved?

Dimitrijevic: Many people are responsible. Although this is not an excuse, one must take into consideration the circumstances in which the event happened. War has never been a good environment for investigative institutions and the judiciary. Surely, investigators, prosecutors and judges that can be sent [as soldiers] to the front-line with one mark of a pen, they cannot be the best examples of independence. Under such circumstance, direct pressure is often un-necessary. Instead there is self-censorship, an extremely dangerous habit even today. Of course, I cannot say that there was no pressure. I don't know that.

The other reason is the compartmentalization of the fight against crime, as there is always a situation where one branch blames the other for its lack of success. This is a consequence of the unchanged judicial system, which is ill adapted to the concrete manifestations of criminality. Unfortunately, this is still the case. After the war not a single thing was done to reform the judiciary, which is an absolute must if there is any political will to fight the crime (i.e. if this is not only political rhetoric).

On my end, once I get the report from the Ministry of Interior I will once again inspect the legality and professionalism of the work done by the public prosecutor's office and, as needed, implement the necessary measures. Also, then I will be able to better examine the work of other institutions in this chain: like the work of investigative judge and the work of Ministry of Interior. I won't keep the conclusions to myself - instead I am going to forward them to the institutions in charge. I think that it is still pre-mature and counter-productive to talk about personal responsibility with such little evidence.

To conclude, I maintain that the main reason for the lack of action in such cases is the lack of political will, and that's not present only in Republika Srpska, but in all of former Yugoslavia. This was the principal reason behind the UN Security Council establishing The Hague Tribunal.

NN: Will there be a competition between The Hague Tribunal and the Republika Srpska judiciary on this case?

Dimitrijevic: [Since I am] acquainted with the workings of The Hague Tribunal, [I suspect] this competition most likely already exists. I doubt that the attorney's office of the Hague Tribunal has not already opened an investigation into this case. With the Dayton peace agreement, Republika Srpska accepted the Statute of the Hague Tribunal. With this acceptance RS acknowledged the Hague Tribunal's primacy in such cases. However, there is also a possibility for domestic courts to hear cases on war crimes that have been committed.

Of course, one of the conditions is that the case is treated in an unbiased and professional way, as in the case of a violation of international law (in the jurisdiction of the Hague Tribunal) and not as the case of an ordinary crime. And that proceedings are not tilted towards mitigating the situation of those indicted. Our interest is to fulfill all of those conditions and to show through this case that we are able to face the unpleasant cases. We can only gain strength with that.

Translated by Ivo Skoric

THUNDER FROM THE BRIGHT SKIES

Nezavisne Novine interview with Milan Sutilovic, Chief of the Banja Luka Center for Public Security [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

Chief of the Center for Public Security of Banja Luka, Milan Sutilovic, told us that he heard about the Koricani case for the first time from *Nezavisne Novine*. But he said that “he would check that and possibly give a statement in ten days.”

Sutilovic has headed the Center for Public Security in Banja Luka since August 19, 1997. Before that he was a detective in the Srbobran (Donji Vakuf), Kupres and Jajce regions, and for some time he also commanded a police precinct in Banja Luka. Regarding the Koricani question, he said that it is like thunder on a bright day for him because “he never heard of that happening.” In August 1992, Sutilovic said, he was recovering from wounds.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

At the time of the crime at the Koricani cliffs, the State Public Prosecutor was Miroslav Gladanac, the District Public Prosecutor was Milan Puvaca, and the County Public Prosecutor was Nebojsa Panic. The Minister of Interior was Miso Stanicic, the Chief of the Center for Public Security [Police] of Banja Luka was Stojan Zupljanin, the Chief of the State Security Service was Nedo Kesic, and the chief homicide detective on the Banja Luka police force was Zivko Bojic.

THE ROLE OF GENERAL SUBOTIC

When Banja Luka police started investigating the crime at the Koricani cliffs, according to *Nezavisne Novine* sources, there was pressure within the Center for Public Security - Banja Luka to forget about everything. According to our sources, the primary role in this effort was played by General Bogdan Subotic. Besides that, the Chief Detective of the Homicide Department of the Banja Luka Center for Public Security, Zivko Bojic, insisted that if there was any investigation, it should be fair and by the book. Bojic was supported in his request, our sources told us, by State Security Service chief Nedo Kesic.

SURVIVORS

Bahrija Jakupovic, Midhet Mujkanovic, Admir Karabasic, Emsud Galibovic, Medo Sivac, Sanimir Kljujic, Zilhad Jusovic.

PARTIAL LIST OF PEOPLE KILLED AT THE KORICANI CLIFFS

Jakupovic (Rasima) Bajro from Srednjih Jakupovaca, Karabasic Adem i Karabasic (Adema) Samir from Keljana, Pidic (Rame) Fehret of Srednjih Jakupovaca, Mujkanovic (Smaila) Fikret of Srednjih Jakupovaca, Trnjanin (Bejde) Sakib, owner of "Lovac" restaurant, Garibovic (Emina)Zuhdija from Gariba, Pervanic (Omera) Mesud of Kevljana, Fazli Jasin from Kozarca, Kahrmanovic (Sulejmana) Mehmed from Kozarca, Muratcehajic (Hase) Idriz from Kozarca, Kahrmanovic (Ede) Ermin from Kozarca, Hegic (Avde) Mesud from Kozarca, Hirkic (Huseina) Braco, Hirkic (Huseina) Secko, Hirkic (Huseina) Fikret - tree brothers from Kozarca, Blazevic (Sulje) Serif, Muranovic Salih, Muranovic (Saliha) Samir, Kahrmanovic (Hare) Uzeir, Muratcehajic (Dervisa) Meho, Muratcehajic (Dervisa) Fudo - brothers, Pidic Samir - store owner Kozarcu, Sivic (Sefika) Kasim from Kevljana, Pervanic (Zaima) Mustafa from Keljvana, Velic (Rame) Fadil from Kevljana, Sahbaz Nijaz from Kmecana, Hodzic Rasim from Kevljana, Besic (Safeta) Sead from Kozarca, Pervanic Mesud from Kevljana, and two sons of Hamdije Turkovica from Trnopolja.

Translated by Indira Kajosevic

Instead of being taken up by the judicial institutions of Republika Srpska, the Koricani case was taken up by the Hague Tribunal. The Koricani dossier is fully completed and, according to our sources, new sealed indictments have already been issued.

**There are two questions for the authorities:
Who perpetrated the crimes at the Koricani cliffs and why
wasn't this case solved back in 1992?**

By the Investigative Team of Nezavisne Novine

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 1, 1999.

Following the article in *Nezavisne Novine* about the crime committed by a group of Prijedor policemen – killing 190 Bosniaks on Koricani cliffs along the road from Knezevo to Travnik – pieces of this puzzling case started falling into place, shedding more light on the massacre that inflicted immeasurable harm on Republika Srpska (RS). Two questions were still left unanswered. The first question posed to the relevant RS authorities is, who committed the crime at Koricani?

The second question, but no less important, is why the case was not solved in 1992, and why the perpetrators were not caught and tried. Instead of being taken up by the judicial organs of RS, the Koricani case was taken up by the Hague Tribunal. The Koricani dossier is fully completed and, according to our sources, new sealed indictments have already been issued. True, the day before this issue went to press, the RS Attorney General ordered the District Attorney to get the paperwork on the Koricani crimes from the RS Interior Ministry and to start the legal process against those responsible for those crimes. However, this does not absolve those who should have acted in 1992 from their responsibility.

Although we published several statements in our issue testifying that the crime scene was never investigated, after coming across more details, we concluded that the crime was indeed investigated. Our journalists were given a pathology report written by experts from the Department of Pathology of Banja Luka, Aleksandar Vodovnik, MD, and Slavisa Djuric, MD. The report was based on evidence provided by the police investigation of the crime scene. Besides that, from the request to conduct an investigation which was signed on Sep. 14, 1992, by the assistant district attorney Marinko Kovacevic, it is obvious that the police investigated the crime scene on several occasions, and that the investigation was led by Jefto Jankovic, the investigating judge of the Banja Luka district court.

... From the district attorney's office request it is clear that the identity documents of the murdered persons were found at the crime scene and that, indeed, the entire file about the crime was completed. But, so far, nobody wants to talk about that ...

Judging by the request of Assistant District Attorney Marinkovic, and by the later request of District Attorney Nebojsa Patnic asking the Interior Ministry to conduct an investigation and find the perpetrators of the massacre, it is not difficult to infer that the Interior Ministry, and particularly the Banja Luka Center for State Security, have been unwilling to pursue the investigation. This implies that the perpetrators are enjoying police protection rather than prosecution. We tried on many occasions to speak with Interior Minister Sredoje Novic about this matter, without success. We were always told that the minister was either busy or traveling.

PROTEST IN KNEZEVO

The events of August 21, 1992, at the Koricani cliffs provoked a revolt amongst the citizens of Knezevo. Milan Komljenovic, the president of the municipal council at the time, and Vladimir Glamocic, the president of the municipal executive board, both filed their protest with the RS authorities. They asked for explanations from as far as the Republic leadership in Pale. The Knezevo police, according to our sources, tried to prevent the massacre. But the outlaw policemen from Prijedor threatened to open fire on the Knezevo police if they would come any closer to the location where the outlaws later committed the horrible crime.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF *NEZAVISNE NOVINE* FROM JUDGE JEFTO JANKOVIC

In accordance with the Information Law, I ask you to publish this statement in your paper.

You did not quote me correctly when I spoke about the office of the public prosecutor and about the public prosecutor. You asked me whether would I prosecute the crime if I were a public prosecutor and had valid proof ... I answered that crimes should be prosecuted, and that I would prosecute them, regardless of who committed the crimes and regardless of their ethnicity. And I said that this is a prime interest of the Serbian people to which I belong. There is orderly documentation about whatever you are asking, so please, in the future conduct yourself professionally and write the truth.

--Investigative Judge Jefto Jankovic

WHERE IS THE GRAVE?

According to the information obtained by *Nezavisne Novine*, the perpetrators of the Koricani cliffs massacre mostly used acid to destroy the bodies of the dead Bosniaks. Nevertheless, it is certain that 12 corpses were buried. Therefore, those who participated in cleaning the crime scene should know where the graves are.

THE LIST OF BOSNIAKS MURDERED ON THE KORICANI CLIFFS:

Zijad (Ibrahim) Trnjanin (1955); Rasim (Mehmeda) Basic (1945); Suad (Hamdije) Turkanovic (1959); Senad (Hamdije) Turkanovic (1961); Zijad (Muharema) Huskanovic

(1965); Sabana (Serifa) Elezovic (1947); Falnudin (Kasima) Elezovic (1947); Edin (Muharema) Elezovic (1968); Emri (Muharema) Elezovic (1970); Hajrudin (Salke) Elezovic (1948); Jasmin (Hajrduina) Elezovic (1970); Mirsad (Hilmije) Hodzic (1957); Sakib (Bejde) Trnjanin (1947); Mirsad (Mine) Zulic (?); Mesud (Mine) Zulic (?); Zuhdija (Emina) Garibovic (?); Velid (Rame) Maraslic (1972); Himzo (Redze) Maraslic (1945); Fikret (Himze) Maraslic (1971); Fadil (Ibrahima) Blazevic (1951); Eso (Seifije) Blazevic (?); Elvir (Avde) Blazevic (1971); Jusuf (Selima) Balic (1951); Osman (Hasana) Hasanagic (1957); Sead (Rifeta) Alic (1963); Serif (Sulje) Blazevic (1945); Fuad (Dervisa) Muratcehajic (1952); Meho (Sulje) Karimanovic (1961); Fikret (Himze) Blazevic (1962); Meho (Dervisa) Muratcehajic (1961); Idriz (Hase) Mratcehajic (1956); Jasim (Ismeta) Fazlic (1948); Mirsad (Ismeta) Fazlic (1963); Husein (Hamdije) Mujkanovic (1966); Almir (Refika) Fazlic (1960); Senad (Esada) Mujkainovic (1971); Nihad (Mehe) Besic (1971); Ismet (Huseina) Hirbic (1950); Rifet (Huseina) Hirbic (?); Sefik (Huseina) Hirbic (?); Dursun (Fehima) Kahrmanovic (1964); Muhamed (Abaza) Grabic (1971); Mustafa (Mehe) Grabic (1971); Vejso (Mehe) Grabic (1970); Suad (Mustafe) Beslagic Fifi (1965); Muamer (Mehe) Kusuran (1969); Huzeir (Muharema) Kahrmanovic (?); Senad (Latifa) Jusufagic (1965); Fikret (Edhema) Mujkanovic (1961); Edim (Juse) Muratcehajic (1965); Mustafa (Edhema) Blazevic (1965); Abaz (Omera) Kulasic Josak (1950); Asmir (Mehe) Memic (1966); Husein (Saliha) Hankic Banda (1947); Sead (Smaila) Besic (1970); Nedzib (Smaje) Besic Nalo (1955); Mustafa Besic (1947); Ahmet (Hamdije) Blazevic (1969); Seid (Miralema) Vehabovic (1966); Mesud (Avde) Hegan (1955); Enver (Avde) Arifagic (1940); Muhamed (Ekrema) Arifagic (1940); Ale (Bece) Muhamedagic (1955); Osman (Huseina) Mehmedagic (1958); Ahemd (Huseina) Hodzic (1968); Ekrem (Edhema) Softic (1965); Zijad (Ibrahima) Tadic (1953); Osman (Bajre) Halbadzic (1960); Korozovic (Alije) Mensur (1958); Ejub (Abaza) Medic (1955); Refik (Idriza) Zeric (1955); Sakib (Idriza) Zeric (1960); Husein (Mustafe) Kulacic (1971); Emin (Hasana) Joralic (1950); Beco Besic (1927); Besim (Smajila) Causevic (1954); Ferid (Karanfila) Zeric Bibi (1954); Ferid (Reke) Mujkanovic (1963); Fadil Kulasic (1969); Ismet (Dede) Fazlic (1955); Zihad (Uske) Selimovic (1965); Rifet (Abida) Kahrmanovic (1959); Emir (Muharema) Fazlic (1970); Edin (Hilmije) Fazlic (1963); Merzuk (Ibrahima) Sivac (1962); Edin (Muniba) Sivac (1971); Nedzad (Muniba) Sivac (1971); Safet (Dzemala) Sivac (1971); Alija (Ibrahima) Talic (1952); Vasif (Mahmuta) Mujkanovic (1958); Refik (Rasima) Mujaknovic (1972); Zijad (Sulejmana) Paratusic (1954); Emir (Kemala) onulagic (1974); Emin (Hanifre) Colic (1950); Dedo (Hasana) Karabasic (1950); Sejdo (Mehmeda) Karabasic (1971); Esad (Mehmeda) Karabasic (1970); Hamdija (Muhe) Colic (1963); Mahmut (Sefera) Hrustic (1970); Esada (Adema) Hrustic (1970); Kasim (Sefika) Sivac (1972); Osman (Hanife) Karabasic (1942); Dedo (Osmana) Karabasic (1973); Miralem (Mure) Ibrahimovic (1965); Ahmet (Sefereov) Hodzic (1952); Sefik (Huseina) Hirkić; Rifet (Huseina) Hirkić; Ismet (Huseina) Hirskic; Idriz (Hase) Muratcehajic; Fudo (Dervisa) Muratcehajic; Mehmed (Sulejmana) Kahrmanovic; Dursum (Fehima) Karhimanovic; Senad (Atifa) Jusufagic; Fikret (Edhema) Mujaknovic; Mesud (Avde) Hegan; Serif (Sulje) Blazevic; Elvir (Avde) Blazevic; Eso (Sefije) Blazevic; Mustafa (Hamde) Blazevic; Dzemal (Sejde) Blazevic; Bajazit (Hamze) Suldumovic; Elvir (Mehmeda) Kaukovic; Mihad (Sulejmana) Memic; Almir (Hebe) Kahrmanovic; Samir (Saliha) Muranovic; Jasim (Ismeta) Fazlic; Mica (Ismeta) Fazlic; Sejad (Safeta) Besic; Huso (Mustafe) Kulasic; Saban (Serifa) Elezovic;

Hajro (Dzemala) Sedic; Sefik (Osme) Garibovic; Iso (Ahmeta) Kararic; Himzo (?) Maraslic; Fikret (Himze) Maraslic; Edin (Muniba) Sivac; Mujo (Salke) Sivac; Merkuž (Ibre) Sivac; Zebir (Emina) Kararic; Tajib (Atifa) Garibovic; Omer (Halila) Sljivar; Enver (Avde) Harfagic; Mehmed (Ekrema) Arifagic; Ahmet (Hamze) Blazevic; Mirsad (Hasana) Gutic; Edin (Osmana) Mujaknovic; Ferid (Reke) Mujkanovic; Ejub (Abaza) Medic; Ferid (Karanfila) Zeric; Jusuf (Rame) Zeric; Refik (Idriza) Zeric; Sakib (Idriza) Zeric; Mustafa (Mehe) Grabic; Vejsil (Nehe) Grabic; Sakib (Ahmeta) Kljujic; Suad (Mehe) Kljajic; Mirsad (Hilme) Hodzic; Jasmin (Hajre) Elezovic; Mahmut (Sefera) Hrustic; Emir Garibovic; Almir Garibovic; Adem Garibovic; Kadir (Huseina) Kararic; Nihad (Hane) Besic; Mirsad (Ale) Zulic; Esad (Ale) Zulic; Nesud (Huzeira) Zulic; Enes (Dzemala) Sivac; Vasif (Mahumta) Mujkanovic 180. Nijaz (Mehe) Hodzic, Dervis (Ibre) Garibovic; Vasif Garibovic; Kemal (Hamdije) Garibovic; Mesud Garibovic; Mustafa (Mustafe) Garibovic; Tajib (Arifa) Garibovic; Midhat Elezovic; Jasmin (Muharema) Elezovic; Edis (Fahre) Elezovic; Velid (Rame) Maraslic.

A SURVIVOR'S STORY

The war started for us on May 24, 1992, with the attack of Serbian army and police on Kozarac. We surrendered after two days of fighting and being shelled. Following the surrender, I ended up in the Trnopolje concentration camp, where I was held from May 26 until August 21, 1992. During that time many convoys left for Travnik. Generally, women, children and the elderly left, while able-bodied men stayed in the camp. However, many men managed to squeeze in amongst the women and children in order to gain their freedom. After great uncertainty in the camp regarding what would happen to us, I also decided to catch one of those convoys. I did so on August 21, 1992. By that date all the villages around Kozarac had been cleansed and banished.

The hamlet Djonalgici was the only one left. That morning its inhabitants were brought to the camp as well. At around 9 a.m., four buses arrived at the camp. A great commotion arose, since everybody wanted to get into the convoy, not really knowing what to expect. Women and children filled one bus, and the other three were boarded by men. I managed to get in the first bus. We left. At the Kozarac station we were joined by another convoy from Prijedor. That convoy consisted mostly of trailers. We went further, passing through Banja Luka and Skender Vakuf. Then we stopped to rest. Woods were all around us, and a creek was flowing nearby. We got off the buses. We drank some water from the creek. We stayed there for 15-20 minutes. They told us to go back into the buses. Policemen Igor Curguz came into the bus and said: "Those whom I say to go out, should go out!" He went from person to person and poked his finger: "You, you, you!" He picked me, too. He was after men in their prime, 18 and older. I went out. They lined us up immediately. Then they moved women and children from the third and fourth bus to the first two buses, and they ordered us into the third and fourth buses.

When we got in, the convoy started moving ahead with our two buses at the end of it. I was in the fourth bus, the second of the two filled with men. The crowded conditions were unbearable since there was too many of us for two buses. We rode for about 15-20 minutes and then stopped. They told us to get off the buses. As we got out we were lined up. The road was cut through the cliffs. On the right side there was an abyss. On the left

side there were cliffs. They lined us up along the cliffs. We were lined up in two rows. They were issuing orders: "Attention! Look to your right and line yourself up correctly." Then the order came: "Forward, march!" We marched forward and crossed the road.

We came to the edge of abyss and stopped instinctively, without an order. Then they ordered us to squat on our knees. We all squatted on our knees. And then one of them said: "You'll stay here until further orders." Not two seconds passed, though, and the horrible shooting started. Since that was an unpaved road, huge dust came up. I heard cries and screams. Since I was in the second row, I pushed the guy in front of me, and fell in the abyss after him.

Immediately after the fall, I jumped to my feet and started running to a nearby forest. When I reached the forest I turned around and saw another man running my way. I waited for him and then we ran together to a nearby water mill. From there I looked down the road. People were still falling. Farther in the distance I saw that the first bus had stopped, but it was very far away and I couldn't tell what was going on. Later, a survivor told me that they were taking men off the bus one by one and killing them. When they killed about half the men on the bus, they got bored with doing them one by one, so they killed the rest of the passengers three at a time.

My bus was emptied at once and all of us were shot en masse. To my knowledge there were two survivors from the other bus and six from mine, making a total of eight. *[According to Nezavisne Novine's information there were only seven survivors; see list of names above.]* There were about 250 people on both buses.

After the execution was complete, the Serbs left with the buses. Since the cries could still be heard, I went back to the corpses. I came to about ten meters from the corpses, when I heard buses again. I hid behind the rock. The buses stopped. Then they started shooting the corpses from above. They threw a few hand-grenades before they left, too.

When they left, I ran away and did not come back. That night we slept under a tree. The whole night we were listening to the wails of the wounded who were not dead yet. In the morning I went farther with another survivor. We were in that area for the first time and didn't know the terrain well. The only landmark we recognized was the TV tower on Mt. Vlasic. I knew that the tower was above Travnik.

After two days of wandering we fell in Serbian hands again. It was near some mountain chalet on Vlasic. From there they transported us to a prison in Skender Vakuf. There we found another three men who had survived the massacre. That evening a lieutenant colonel came to our cell and told me: "Since you are in the best shape, come with me!" I followed him. He took me to an office. There was another officer there, who I think was a colonel. He told me to sit down. They started to interrogate me. They told me that they knew everything that had happened to us, so that it was better if I spoke the truth. I told them everything. After the interrogation they returned me to the cell.

We spent that night in the prison. The next day at around 10 a.m. they took us to another room. There was a man there who introduced himself as chief detective of the Banja Luka criminal police. He made me repeat what I had told the officers. The other four survivors also had to give statements to him.

At around noon that day (August 24, 1992), we were taken by medical van to the Central Hospital in Banja Luka. We stayed there until August 27 and then we were transferred to the Hospital for Eye Diseases in Paprikovac, where we stayed until mid-September. We went through hell there. Muslims and Croats were in separate rooms. There were guards stationed outside all the rooms. Those guards beat us around the clock. All night long drunken soldiers and policemen came by to beat us, and the guards let them into our rooms.

They beat us with cables, clubs, boots, etc. On the second day of my stay in that hospital, they broke my jaw. They tended to hit us on our chins. My gums bled for a year after my release from that hospital.

When we were released from the hospital, we were taken to the court, where we had to give statements again. Then we were handed over to Merhamet [a Muslim humanitarian organization] in Banja Luka. We stayed there for about 15 days. Then we left Banja Luka with the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross. That was on October 1, 40 days after the horrible massacre at the Koricani cliffs on Vlasic mountain.

FROM THE HAGUE DOSSIERS

The Reign of Terror in Teslic Started with the Execution of 38 Bosniaks and Croats

*By Vasko Popovic, Lidija van der Haiden, and the Nezavisna Novine Research Team
Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 15, 1999.*

The terror to which the citizens of Teslic were exposed in June 1992, they claim, had not been recorded previously in the wars in this region. A group of about 20 armed people, led by "Red Beret" paramilitaries, broke into a Crisis Staff meeting held at the City Hall and announced what was to happen in the following days. During that time it did not matter who was a Serb and who wasn't: those who met "Mice" could not avoid a beating.

Last month a mass grave was exhumed at the spot known as Klupe near Teslic. The remains of 28 people were found in the grave. According to unofficial sources, the victims had been tortured and then shot at point-blank range. The State Commission for Identification has refused to provide data about the victims until the autopsies and the identification process are completed. The Hague Tribunal files claim that the victims were Bosniaks and Croats, inhabitants of Teslic and the settlements of Rankovic and Stenjak, who were executed by the Dobojski paramilitary formation known as "Mice" in June 1992.

Many inhabitants of Teslic still vividly recall the arrival of the "Mice" in their town. They claim that the terror to which they were exposed had not been recorded previously in the wars in this region. A group of about 20 armed people, led by "Red Berets" ... broke into a Crisis Staff meeting held at the City Hall and announced what was to happen in the following days. After checking the documents of the municipal officials, the "Mice" proceeded to beat up a few of them and forced some of them to do push ups. After the City Hall, "Mice" moved to the police station. On that day it did not matter who was and who was not a Serb: those who met "Mice" were beaten up.

Immediately a curfew ... was introduced and arrests of respected Bosniaks and Croats followed. A cellar in the former Social and Political Organizations building was converted into a prison, which soon turned out to be too small to accommodate all the prisoners. The prisoners were subjected to physical mistreatment, threats and blackmail. A life could be bought with foreign currency, gold, cars...

For example, a well known carpenter from Teslic, Jozo Martinovic, ended up in jail because he offered only DM 10,000 to "buy his head". After his arm was broken in the jail, he found another DM 20,000. Rudi Tibitanc had to give up his new Volkswagen Passat, and DEM 7,000. Trader Rajko Jetric, besides cigarettes and coffee from his store, had to contribute his Seiko watch.

Those prisoners who happened to be in the prisons in Teslic and Pribinic on June 8 met with a tragic end. That day, "Mice" members completed the "cleansing" of the Bosniak settlement Rankovic, several kilometers away from Teslic. A reserve policeman died in the action, while one "Mice" member was wounded. After the action several individuals broke into the jail in Teslic and in revenge started beating prisoners with wooden clubs. The few witnesses claim that one prisoner had to wash puddles of blood in the prison courtyard and that Teslic policemen were running away in order not to watch the spectacle. That evening, eight prisoners died as the consequence of the beating.

The epilogue of the bloody orgy in the police station was the order to execute 18 surviving prisoners lest they testify about the crime. A forest on Borje mountain in Klupe, near the Teslic-Banja Luka road, was chosen for the execution. That night, ten prisoners from the prison in Pribinic were also shot.

The Hague Tribunal claims to know who issued the order for the liquidation of the prisoners, as well as who organized the execution. Also there is a list of the people who were in the shooting squad that night on Borje mountain.

In the documentation that was gathered about this case during the war in Tesanj [a Muslim-controlled town near Teslic] it is claimed that the Crisis Staff of the Teslic municipality demanded that "Mice" be sent from Doboje. The municipal Crisis Staff in Teslic had daily meetings and planned the actions. It is claimed that the arrests were made according to the police list.

Among the arrested and missing respected citizens of Teslic are Rasim Galijasevic, Boro Pastuhovic and Viktor Glancer. Galijasevic was a mayor of Teslic before the war and the director of the local administration before the war, Boro Pastuhovic was a public official before the war, and Glancer, a Jew, was a respected craftsman and instructor.

There are claims that besides the exhumed mass grave on Klupe there is another one in the village of Vljajci where another ten prisoners from the police prison in Teslic are buried. In the Hague they claim that there is evidence about the time and place of execution of this group of prisoners.

After these executions, the "Mice" stayed in Teslic for another 20 days. When they ran out of Bosniaks and Croats suitable for "treatment", they switched to Serbs. Rumors about rapes of Serb women whose husbands were at the front and beatings and plundering of Serbs began to spread through the town. At that point, someone made the decision to arrest the "Mice."

The arrests were carried out by a combined force drawn from the Banja Luka Police Center, the First Krajina Corps military police, and one battalion of the Teslic Brigade. Predrag Radulovic Pile, then the State Security Service inspector in Banja Luka and originally from Teslic, was in charge of the action. Those who recall that day in early July claim that the police and the army cut off the town and that a cannon was used in the attack on the Kardijal hotel, where the "Mice" had their headquarters. A military policeman from Doboj, a member of the "Mice" reinforcements, died in the action.

The public prosecutor in Teslic then issued an indictment against the "Mice," submitted a request for an investigation to the court, and recommended that the arrested "Mice" members be held in custody. Investigative magistrate and then president of the [District] Court Nenad Kovacevic accepted the request for an investigation. The process continued according to the law until the day when the "Mice" were transferred from the prison in Banja Luka to the prison in Doboj. This happened after a fax was received from the president of the Higher Court in Doboj, Even Jovo Ristic, the president of the Higher Court in Banja Luka, normally in charge of the District Prison in Banja Luka, could not explain to Investigating Magistrate Kovacevic how and why this transfer took place.

Because of his involvement in the investigation against the "Mice," Branko Peric was dismissed from the post of public prosecutor in Teslic, while court president Nenad Kovacevic was forced to resign. Peric claims that this was the only court case in which relevant evidence about a war crime was collected and suggested that we take a look at the file in the Teslic Court. President of the Court Zdravko Popovic says that the "Mice" case file was sent to the Ministry of Justice in Pale and still has not been returned. Minister Milan Trbojevic claims that he has no idea where the file is and that the Commission for War Crimes in Belgrade may have it.

The "Mice" case file disappeared after Peric's dismissal from the prosecutor's office and the resignation of Kovacevic, who claims that he gave the file to his successor, Judge Zdravko Popovic, and that the investigation had not been completed since the

Government of Republika Srpska failed to release funds requested by the prosecutor to cover exhumation and autopsy expenses.

It is assumed that the "Mice" case file arrived at the Hague Tribunal via Pale and that it will soon be activated.

Besides all the horrors that took place in Teslic during the war, the question of how the original documentation from the case against the "Mice" made it into the hands of the Hague investigators is also interesting. Does it not indicate that some investigators from the Hague have managed to infiltrate judicial institutions in Republika Srpska?

Indicted members of "Mice"

The following members of the group "Mice" were indicted by the Teslic public prosecutor: Miroslav Pijunovic, a.k.a. Piko, Slobodan Tekic, Dobrivoje Culibrk, Slavko Spasojevic, Zoran Tadic, Slobodan Karagic, Radoljub Sljivic, Ranko Sljuka, Dario Slavuljic, Ranko Momic, Sasa Gavranovic, Dragomir Kezunovic, Predrag Subotic, and Vitomir Devic. They are accused of murder, extortion, serious robbery and theft, use of false identity and fake documents, and illegal arrests.

500 Individuals Arrested

"Mice" arrested and kept in jail without an arrest warrant about 500 individuals. Among the arrested were: Stipo Cosic, Hrvoje Vrdoljak, Stefan Metc, Senad Rahic, Zehra Vilasevic, Milan Stojanovic, Vinko Brkic, Sejfidin Topcagic, Marko Gusak, Ramiz Skopljak, Ismet Sabovic, Meho Hrkovic, Stefo Tomic, Drago Vukelja, Jozo Martinovic, Slavko Vidic, Zef Ivezik, Rudi Tibitanc, Ramo Jeteric, Hajrudin Dikadzic, Tedo Kusljic, and Milorad Bugarinovic.

Translated by Marko Kocic

Interview with Predrag Radic, wartime mayor of Banja Luka **Ask Novic About the "Red Van"**

by Biljana Gagula

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia Herzegovina, September 15, 1999.

A people's representative in the Parliament of Republika Srpska and the war time mayor of Banja Luka talks for *Nezavisne Novine* about his role in the war, about the alleged secret list of the Hague Tribunal, about assistance to non-Serbs in Banja Luka, about the Serb Defense Forces, a conflict with the leadership of Krajina Autonomous Region in Republika Srpska, his meeting with Clinton, "Red Berets", demolition of mosques, "September '93" and much more

Nezavisne Novine (NN): Mr. Radic, a list of persons allegedly indicted for war crimes by the Hague Tribunal has appeared in public. Your name is also on that list. However, it seems that you were not perturbed by that (semi)information?

RADIC: If that is the impression I give, the reasons should be sought in your question. Namely, I as well as you and the majority of those who know me believe that the whole affair with "alleged indictments" for war crimes is basically a "(semi)information". However, it is true that secret lists with the names of, besides yours truly, Madam Plavsic, General Milovanovic, Dr. Rajko Kuzmanovic, Jovo Rosic, Milan Puvacic, and Dr. Dragoljub Mirjanic, did not leave anyone indifferent. However, it is also certain that this (semi)information from "a diplomatic source close to the Hague Tribunal" has become a very pliable material in the hands of certain publications that are prepared to try and condemn people before a finished investigation and publication of arguments for an indictment.

The very same source, close to the Hague Tribunal, allegedly told Dragana Vujovic, a journalist of *Ekstra Magazin*, that "... two former Serb officials have implicated themselves in their contacts with the Tribunal office in Banja Luka. One of them is Predrag Radic..." I don't know whether the other unnamed official has incriminated himself but I know for sure that I haven't done so. I am not even sure whether the Hague Tribunal does have an office in Banja Luka. I leave that for you to check. It is true that, irritated by the manner and place of General Talic's arrest, as well as (planned) psychological pressure on the Serb population in Republika Srpska, I stated that my conscience is clear and that I am prepared to travel to the Hague and appear in front of the Tribunal if necessary.

NN: The indictment against Radoslav Brdjanin, among other, states the following: "The chief members of the Crisis Staff of the Autonomous District of Krajina were leaders of the Banja Luka municipality, leaders of the local organization of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS), and the SDS commander of the Regional Security Center adjunct to the First Krajina Corps. These key members planned, incited, issued orders, abetted and urged all actions in connection with orders for the destruction of

Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims and other non-Serb population in AD Krajina. Every member held certain responsibility..." Your comment?

Radic: The first thought after such a long question is whether, during the copying of article 14 in the indictment against Radoslav Brdjanin, which is obviously the basis for your question, you (un)intentionally modified the original text in order to be able to ask "your comment?" For example, why didn't you copy the part of the indictment which says "members then individually carried out those obligations for which they were placed in charge, according to the plan, each one in accordance with his own function," rather than saying "every member held certain responsibility" as you stated in your question?

You must admit that there are essential differences between these two formulations: individual responsibility is one thing, while the responsibility of all members implies collective responsibility of all members of the Crisis Staff. Since the number of names on secret lists is growing, I would not be surprised if, based on article 24 of the indictment, you journalists, who according to that article "... spread propaganda which portrayed Bosnian Muslims and Croats as fanatics who intend to commit a genocide against Serb people..." also appear on secret lists.

Of course, I won't be malicious and ask you for "your comment". Instead, I would like to draw attention to the appearance of "ketmanism" ["henchmanism"] in journalism, as defined by Czeslaw Milosz and Borislav Pekic. Every individual who has committed a crime should be held responsible for that crime. However, when a whole nation is accused of that crime, and apparently that is the goal, then that is the end of Republika Srpska. If you intend to seriously investigate and write about what happened in those murky times, read Senad Pecanin's article published in [Dani](#) on May 28 1999 under the headline "[Requiem for Bosnia](#)". You shall see that Serbs were behind the Muslims in everything.

NN: Many are prepared to testify that during the war you assisted non-Serbs in Banja Luka. For example, that you sent a car for Anton Ruzic, a vice president of the municipal authorities, who had been taken away to some forced labor unit.

Radic: If I indebted someone, I leave it to him and his consciousness whether he shall testify to that effect. Regarding this question, I would like to recall late Nikola Koljevic, as another person whose name has also cropped up on all sorts of secret lists. As a vice president of Republika Srpska, he asked and begged me to, using all means at my disposal, bring back Anton Ruzic and Alojz Curic (a painter) from Grahovo to Banja Luka. He did the same for his colleague Vesna Sefic-Hadzovic when, because of "improved efficiency", she was almost fired. On the one hand that speaks about Nikola as a man and on the other hand about his impotence to issue an executive order as a vice president of Republika Srpska (RS). This is above all my, and perhaps Anton's, Alojz's and Vesna's debt to his soul. The fact that his name had appeared on secret lists speaks more about the people who put together those lists than about Nikola Koljevic. Unfortunately, it also speaks volumes, so help me God, about us.

NN: You intervened to keep your predecessor Zekija Haznadar in her apartment...

Radic: The case of Zekija Haznadar and the Zvirac family has forced me to contemplate our nature. Both of these families received Serb refugees to their family houses and were then threatened by these people. Of course I intervened. They also wanted to confiscate Zekija's one bedroom apartment in which she moved her mother and sister after they had been thrown out of their house. In this case, Zekija was protected by the Lazarevic family, her next door neighbors, while the Zvirac family was protected by the then Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, General Panic. The Zvirac family took in General Panic's relatives during the war.

I could list many more similar examples, not because I am seeking someone's gratitude, but because I would like to defend the honor of the city of Banja Luka and its citizens. During the war, as they are now, the city and its Serb inhabitants were deliberately assailed. The importance of the citizens of Banja Luka in those murky times is illustrated by the following case as well. Late one night I received a phone call from late Slobodan Kustrinovic. He said that someone was trying to evict prof. Dzemal Kolonic from his apartment. I intervened with the Police and Kolonic stayed in his apartment. Such cases are numerous so that I can accept that I failed but that the citizens defended their honor, which cannot be said for many other towns and cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

NN: Those knowledgeable about the situation in the former AD Krajina claim that you had numerous conflicts with the members of this body.

Radic: You know, Banja Luka is the city of my youth. Its citizens entrusted me with a very responsible function at a very difficult time. Because of that, for two months after the elections I refused to enter mayor's office, so that Zekija Haznadar had to stay as the acting mayor until January 1 1991. They called me a secessionist while I fought for local interests. Whenever someone from outside, including the leadership of RS, tried to hurt the interests of the city, I reacted. They even imposed an administrator (!) in order to control me, but when he saw what and how I was doing in Banja Luka, he refused the appointment.

I think that that episode was a joint product of some people from AD Krajina and Banja Luka. They certainly had an issue with my questions about hemorrhaging of funds from Banja Luka as well as commandeering of local assets by various republican, regional and even political party structures. I waged a real war against the assumption of state control over television, radio and "Glas Srpski". Documentation about that exists, as well as about who placed all these media under state control.

Even today, I am convinced that Banja Luka (as a state capital), thanks to new and also old regulations is still subject to an unregulated outflow of funds. The finance minister promised last year to let the public know to what extent each municipality participates in the finances of RS and how much is returned to each municipality from the state budget. However, we are still waiting. Today, as well as in the past, I am convinced that the abolishment of the local police in Banja Luka, which would, as well as those in Celinac,

Laktasi, Knezevo etc., be a part of the regional Police, is inexcusable. Does that make it clear why I was in conflict with both the state and regional authorities?

NN: There were several attempts to replace you. On one occasion, I seem to recall, it was alleged that your son avoided mobilization?

Radic: You said it well, "I seem to recall". However, that was not the real reason. There are documents which clearly show that after the first mobilization, to which he responded, in June 1991 my son started studies in Santa Barbara in California. He graduated and continued his studies without using a cent of public, or my for that matter, funds which cannot be told for those who used this lie in the pre-election campaign in 1996. This lie was published in the state-controlled daily "Glas Srpski". I sued the daily in July 1996. However, the trial hasn't been concluded until today. As far as I know, at the time you worked for *Glas Srpski* and should know about this matter.

The real truth is that after a few months I tendered a resignation because the parties in the local council could not agree about the composition of the local government. I wrote that I refused to be held responsible for a situation that was out of my control. And, surprisingly, with overwhelming majority of votes by SDA [The Party for Democratic Action, leading Muslim-Bosniak political party], HDZ [The Croatian Democratic Union, the leading Croat party in both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina], leftist parties and SDS [The Serb Democratic Party, during the war the leading Serb party in Bosnia-Herzegovina], my resignation was rejected.

Half way through 1996 I wanted to resign my seat in the local council and thus the mayoral office, but I withdrew that resignation as well after the insistence of the councilors. After that, on two occasions local councilors from SDS demanded my resignation but the majority of the councilors, in a secret vote, rejected that demand. Demands for my dismissal were coming from certain circles in Pale [former capital of Republika Srpska, a mountain resort just outside Sarajevo]. They managed to replace me after the general elections in 1996, when I was the presidential candidate of DPB RS and was expelled from SDS. However, they needed a public, rather than secret, vote to pull that off. That is the whole truth about my dismissal.

NN: At the time, Karadzic formed a commission to establish to what extent and why you were deviating from the official SDS policy.

Radic: That is not true. He issued a decree and formed a commission whose purpose was to establish the truthfulness of my statements in the public media. Namely, once I realized that none of my initiatives at the Chief Council of SDS was likely to succeed I publicized my platform through interviews to newspapers, news magazines and Serb TV. I think that Karadzic was under influence of his collaborators who were irritated by my insistence on the opening of "cesspools" that blighted RS (affairs: cars, aluminum, printing of money and oil). I came to this conclusion from the fact that Karadzic reacted to Brdjanin's decision to refuse to take part in the work of that Commission because according to him I was an honorable man with a telegram that stated that he agreed.

The Commission completed its investigation and the Presidency of SDS decided to strike Commission's conclusions from the agenda of a meeting of the Chief SDS Council. However, the affairs have also not been resolved to this day. The consequences of all that were felt by *Ekstra Magazin* (it was banned for a year after publishing an interview with me in their 10th issue) and journalist Branko Peric who published an interview with me in *NIN*. Ceca Pezer also got in trouble because of me and the editor-in-chief of SRTV issued instructions that I was under no circumstances to appear on TV screens, even if I was chairing meetings of the Banja Luka city council. It seems to me that that document is still in force at SRTV because the sharp eye of a censor sometimes misses my likeness, but never my words, so that announcers always have to explain what I was trying to say.

NN: There was quite a lot of controversy about your meeting with Clinton in Tuzla as well?

Radic: That was an integral part of the already mentioned pre-election scenario from 1996. If you recall, at the time at electoral rallies in Banja Luka they would say: "It is unthinkable to vote for Radic - his son is a deserter and he has meetings with Clinton and [Secretary of State] Christopher(!)". And we have all seen what happened after the elections in 1996 and has been happening until today. It is enough for Mr. Clinton or Ms. Albright to as much as snap their fingers and they rush head over heels to meet them, journalists prominently announce those meetings, and later the meetings are hailed as yet another contribution to the building of better relations with the rest of the world. That is the situation today.

However, a few years ago, my brief meeting with Clinton, organized under instructions of the presidency of Republika Srpska, was a huge sin and a black spot in my resume. As Mr. Miodrag Zivanovic knows, I have never met Christopher but that did not prevent one of your colleagues from *Glas Srpski* from writing an article about the alleged meetings backed up by copious "documentation" provided by Republika Srpska Police. *Glas Srpski* and all other publications in Srpska refused to print my denial. The American embassy in Sarajevo also refused to issue a denial. All that had to do with the general elections in 1996.

NN: What is actually SOS and who is behind the formation of this organization?

Radic: When in one of the previous answers I said that Serbs in Bosnia were in many ways behind SDA and especially HDZ I was referring, among other, to the Serb Defense Forces (SOS, Srpske Odbrambene Snage). This question, by the way, reveals another characteristic of journalists that I haven't been aware of. Namely, it is well known that journalists are "universally ignorant", but I was not aware that you also suffer from amnesia.

Before saying what, or better said who, was SOS, I will again refer to the mentioned article from *Dani*, "[Requiem for Bosnia](#)", in which Sefer Halilovic claims the following: "On February 7 or 8 1992 there was a meeting on military strategy in the village of

Mehurici near Travnik... commanders of regional staffs of the Patriotic league of Bosnia-Herzegovina participated in this meeting. The preparations for this meeting started in 1991". The Patriotic League emanates from SDA as "...the exclusive founder of all Bosnian resistance movements". I quoted this because SOS was a Serb counterpart of the Patriotic League. It was established long after the establishment of the Patriotic League and definitely long after the establishment of the Croatian Defense Forces (HOS). Similarly, this formation existed very briefly and, as far as I know, its members were quickly absorbed by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS). I really do not know who initiated the founding of SOS but if that was SDS then it only copied its then coalition partners in Bosnia-Herzegovina (SDA and HDZ) and with a long delay.

NN: I seem to recall that in April 1992 SOS forces blocked Banja Luka. You negotiated with them as with a legal formation.

Radic: If that is what you seem to recall, I'll go along with your recollections. However, I would like to remind you that Banja Luka was not an island in a wide ocean, but a city connected by roads with Prijedor, Jajce, Kotor Varos, Derventa and, via Gradiska, Slavonija - all regions where fighting had already started. One does not have to be a marvelous strategist to realize that it was necessary to block the spreading of these flames to Banja Luka.

As far as the legality of various military formations is concerned I must draw your attention to the fact (and a documentation about this exists) that at the very beginning of the war the authorities in Banja Luka decided that all those who want to fight must be under a single command. I would also like to remind you that at the time you are referring to military units from Banja Luka were fighting in Slavonija and that immediately after their return VRS mobilized people from SOS so that they also participated in fighting to open the [Posavina] corridor.

As far as "negotiations" with people from SOS are concerned I do not see anything strange in that. They had a specific task: to protect peace in Banja Luka and had to be pulled back into the proper framework whenever they exceeded their original orders. The difference between SOS and similar forces in Sarajevo, Travnik, Bugojno etc. can be discerned from conversations with Serbs who had the fortune to escape from these cities during the war, and quite a few of them are currently living in Banja Luka.

NN: Later "Red Berets" showed up. Under whose orders?

Radic: That is exactly how that happened. "Red Berets" showed up, which means that they were not established by Karadzic, nor anyone from Banja Luka. I am saying this because you will find in the already mentioned article by Senad Pecanin that "Green Berets" were founded by Ermin Svrakic at the Police Hall [in Sarajevo] and that most of their members were recruited among the bodyguards of the president of SDA, Alija Izetbegovic. Most of them were recruited in Sarajevo, while "Green Berets" had branches in Jajce, Travnik and Herzegovina. Therefore, "Red Berets" were nothing new in this

region and appeared with a significant delay. I am afraid that I cannot help you with the second part of your question: I do not know who ordered them to come to Banja Luka.

NN: Although there was no fighting in Banja Luka, one cannot say that there was no violence, unsolved murders and intimidation?

Radic: It is correct that there was no fighting in Banja Luka but not because we were lucky, as some have maliciously implied, but because the best sons of our city sacrificed their lives far away from here in order to preserve that tenuous peace. Peaceful Banja Luka was a haven for Serb refugees from Slavonija, Bihac, Travnik, Bugojno, Zenica, Knin Krajina, Bosnian Krajina and many other places. All of them were exposed to violence and intimidation. Did not similar cases occur in Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and other cities where, also, there was no fighting?

However, there are no mass graves in Banja Luka nor were there mass executions. There were unsolved murders, then as well as today, but the motive in most of these was financial gain. Also, one needs to keep in mind that there are appropriate institutions, here as well as among our neighbors, whose duty is to find perpetrators of such crimes. Of course, it is not my intention to try to justify such things, but everyone today understands that they were not unique for Banja Luka during the war.

NN: During the war, all mosques in Banja Luka were demolished. Among them were Ferhadija and Arnaudija, both of which were landmarks of the city.

Radic: I went on record condemning these barbarous acts at the time when others were silent or made personal anonymous attacks because of my condemnation. Can you imagine our moral prestige if that did not take place? It does not make it any better that Banja Luka is the last settlement [in Republika Srpska] where mosques were destroyed. It is true that almost all Serb Orthodox churches in Croatia, as well as Saborna Church in Mostar and the Zitomisljic monastery, which is older than the Ferhadija mosque, were destroyed, but that was not done by Muslims. An investigation was conducted immediately after the demolition but, what will happen in the future, keeping in mind that religious objects were destroyed on all three warring sides, depends on the agreement of religious leaders and the realization of the return of refugees. The preserved church in Donji Vakuf is pointless if there are no Serb Orthodox faithful who would pray in it.

NN: Numerous companies in Banja Luka were ethnically cleansed and Muslims and Croats were fired. Was that also the case with the Banja Luka local authorities while you were the mayor?

Radic: Even in that we were behind Muslims and Croats in Sarajevo, Mostar, Zenica, Travnik, Bugojno and other towns and cities in the Federation and even in peaceful Zagreb. Since I cannot interpret this question as anything but a provocation, as I doubt that you can be that ignorant, I would like to respond to this question with a counter question: do you know how many Serbs, as you say, were "ethnically cleansed" from companies and local authorities in the Federation or, to make it easier, how many are

currently employed by the private and state-owned companies and local authorities in the other entity? I doubt that you are aware that in Drvar, where Serbs won in the most recent local elections, a legally-elected mayor does not dare enter the City Hall. If no one else, your journalistic colleagues who were thrown out headfirst from all the media in the Federation only because they were Serbs should be able to answer that question. I seem to recall that one of them found employment with your newspaper. Would you like to guess how and based on whose orders these people were "ethnically cleansed" from companies, local authorities, the Police and the Army in the Federation?

NN: In 1992 the infamous "red van" was driving through Banja Luka. This vehicle was used to pick up Muslims and Croats who were not mobilized by VRS and to drive them to the Police station. Who controlled that van?

Radic: Since you've already mentioned that the van drove people to the police station which was then and has been since then under the control of the Internal Affairs [Police] Ministry of Republika Srpska, you should perhaps put that question to Minister Sredoje Novic. I am sure that he would answer your question. While at that, you may perhaps consider the Minister of Defense as well. However, having in mind journalistic ketmanism, I very much doubt that you will do so.

NN: How do you today interpret the rebellion of September 1993"? What was its goal, who organized the rebellion and what were its consequences?

Radic: That was quite a spectacle! 250 soldiers armed for combat, with tanks and armored troop carriers blocked the city and demanded from the local authorities to fulfill demands that could have only been fulfilled by the Government of Republika Srpska and VRS Chiefs of Staff. I went to talk to them and they sort of arrested me and kept me in custody between 8 a.m. and 11 p.m. without bothering to tell me what they wanted from me. The next day, at a meeting where General Talic was also present, they talked about demands that I would characterize as absolutely justified but definitely sent to the wrong address. I asked them why they hadn't made a left turn and continued to Pale instead of driving to Banja Luka.

Once all of that was over, suddenly people's representatives who had previously for three days in Prnjavor worked on a list of the District Board of SDS showed up. From the old list they tailored a new one which included their names, but also the names of some people who were not even the members of SDS at the time. At its next session the Parliament of Republika Srpska formed a commission whose task was to find answers to the questions you've just mentioned. Of course, the commission never did anything of the kind. One night Brana Crncevic and Momo Kapor [Bosnian Serb nationalist intellectuals, currently living in Belgrade] tried to convince me that the League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia was behind the whole business. I very much doubt that Mico Carevic was behind that. I know him. He was never into oil, which continued to flow through the corridor although the participants in the rebellion were especially ticked off by the enrichment of the oil smugglers. At the same time, that rebellion was the

beginning of the end of SDS and that would be its main consequence. I don't know whether oil was the goal of the rebellion. Maybe I am naive.

NN: Minister [of Justice] Milan Trbojevic has stated that there is a list of potential witnesses from Republika Srpska who could testify against Slobodan Milosevic in the Hague. What if you are invited to testify?

Radic: That can under no circumstances happen to me. First, according to the information "from diplomatic sources close to the Hague Tribunal" I am already on the list of war criminals. Secondly, there are many "super-achievers" who were in Milosevic's office almost non-stop. It would make sense that they now testify as his close collaborators against him. Even a sparrow wants to jump a dead mare but they should be careful and recall that even a dead mare can let loose a fart: they could find themselves in deep shit together with those who are calling on them to testify.

NN: You mentioned several times [the existence of] “ketmanism” [“henchmanism”] among journalists. What were you referring to?

Radic: The late Borislav Pekic gave a very simple and intelligible example for this phenomenon. Consider a missionary who wants to take cannibals off a human flesh diet. In order to win their trust, he has to join them and eat human flesh, pretend that he likes it and even ask for more. When his time comes and he finally recalls his humane mission and manages to convince cannibals to turn to vegetarianism, his stomach has already definitely digested a number of people whom he had to eat for higher goals known only to him. Do you understand what I am talking about? A ketman [henchman] is not innocent because he shared a place next to the cauldron with the cannibals, although he would continue to claim that he was right then and continues to be now and blame everything on the condition of the society which until recently he adored and which plentifully rewarded his efforts.

Take a look at the articles of some of your colleagues and you will be surprised by how many of them used to circle the cauldron of the previous authorities and eulogize them. Such people should not be allowed to teach anyone how to be a vegetarian since their breath still stinks of human flesh. Pekic identified ketmanism among writers which means that such examples can be found in all fields, especially those that have close ties with the rich cauldron of the people in power.

Translated by Marko Kocic (<http://www.ex-yupress.org>)

A former Chief Inspector of the State Security Center in Banja Luka says:

Ask Milovan Stankovic and Dusko Zivkovic who mobilized and sent the "Mice" [a Bosnian Serb paramilitary group responsible for ethnic cleansing in the Doboj-Teslic region]

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 29, 1999

The present chief of the Department for the Documentation of War Crimes within the Administration of the Intelligence-Security Service of Republika Srpska, Predrag Radulovic Pile, who was during the war a chief inspector of the State Security Center (SDB) in Banja Luka and a leader of the group for fighting against terrorism, as a true professional replied to our request to talk about the arrest of the "Mice", the action which he personally led, only after obtaining clearance from his superiors. In an open conversation, in which he did not refrain from mentioning names, Mr. Radulovic confirmed but also provided more details regarding the previous information obtained by the *Nezavisne Novine* research team, led by our correspondents from the Hague.

Nezavisne Novine (NN): Do you know who organized the "Mice" and sent them to Teslic?

Radulovic: I can respond to this question in two ways. The first one implies that I should direct you to Milovan Sokolovic, a former Minister for Internal Affairs of Republika Srpska, who is one of the founders of this group. In that context, you should also ask for clarification from Mr. Dusko Zivkovic, the then and current chief of the State Security Service in Doboj. He would have to know why the "Mice" members included many active and reserve members of SDB.

But, since I do not want to leave you without a detailed answer, I can tell you that the "Mice" were an armed formation (I deliberately refrain from qualifying it as military or paramilitary), and were known in Doboj even before their arrival in Teslic. Some of the members of the group were ordinary criminals, well known to the police even before the war. The others were active and reserve members of the State Security Service. Most of them crossed the line between honor and dishonor, humanity and inhumanity, not thinking that one day they would be on the receiving end and that people would point at them and place attributes such as ghoulish and scary in front of their names.

For the sake of the truth I must say that a certain number of youngsters were among the members of "Mice". They probably believed that they were joining an elite Serb military unit, not realizing that they were actually becoming members of a criminal and shameful formation. The "Mice" and similar formations will remain as the darkest blights in the history of the Serb people. They disfigured, Satanized and soiled that which Serbs had built for centuries and which differentiated them from other nations.

Could "Mice" have arrived in Teslic without knowledge of the political and police leadership of Srpska?

Radulovic: I would rather not speculate about that. You must ask the above-mentioned gentlemen about that. I only know that the leadership of the State Security Service in Banja Luka was quickly informed about the crime in Teslic, which provided impetus for the State Security Center in Banja Luka to join the collection and checking of the information, in order to plan further actions.

Essentially, you were the leader of the group that arrested the members of the paramilitary formation "Mice" in Teslic. Can you tell us how and why it was decided to arrest them?

Radulovic: A group of operatives led by me collected information about the events in Teslic, which unfortunately went on for almost thirty days. Teslic was under the jurisdiction of the State Security Center in Doboj, which also influenced the belated participation of the State Security Center in Banja Luka in that action. When we collected enough information I informed Nedeljko Kesic, then chief of the State Security Center in Banja Luka, and Stojan Zupljanin, then chief of the Center for Security Services in Banja Luka. I presented the information together with State Security Service inspectors Goran Sainovic and Miladin Stjepanovic. As workers and honorable individuals, they argued forcefully that the crimes in Teslic and elsewhere should be stopped.

In the meantime, I contacted Nikola Perisic, then head of the Teslic municipality. He begged me, as a colleague and fellow inhabitant of Teslic, to help liberate Teslic from devils, tutors, monsters and thieves from Doboj. Most of our work was done in secrecy, in order to protect, as much as possible, those who opposed the "Mice". I personally set up one of the meetings Perisic had with Stojan Zupljanin and Nedeljko Kesic. That meeting was followed by another one, attended by Stojan Zupljanin, Bedeljko Kesic, Dr. Vito Popovic, Colonel Milan Stevilovic, Branko Peric, then prosecutor in Teslic, Nenad Kovacevic, then head of the municipal court in Teslic, Stevan Markovic, then chief of the Security Service Center Police in Banja Luka, and yours truly.

At that meeting we urgently made the decision to stop the crimes in Teslic and arrest the "Mice" members. Since I was originally from Teslic and had some experience in fighting against terrorist organizations, it was decided that I should lead the action, in order to reduce the likelihood of casualties on both sides. I remember that the late Colonel Stevilovic, who knew me very well, insisted that I take charge of the whole operation. He provided manpower and technical means in order to make sure that the action was implemented as well as possible. I decided to recruit members of one platoon of the Military Police, several State Security agents, Milenko Savic, the current chief of the Public Security Service in Prnjavor, and naturally agents of the State Security Service, Sainovic and Stjepanovic. I had absolute trust in all of them, and I have maintained my trust in them until today. The very same day, Stojan Zupljanin appointed me as a temporary chief of the Public Security Service for Teslic.

How did the action go?

Radulovic: It is impossible to describe all the details. I'll give you a brief description, sticking only to the bare facts. Before the group set out on its way I had sent out the so-called scout group. Their task was to inform me about the state of the road to Teslic and establish contact with our collaborators in Teslic, who were supposed to receive our group and assist us in the arrests. The scouts reported that the "Mice" had received that day a reinforcement of ten men from Doboje, and additional number of followers and supporters in Teslic. The reinforcements from Doboje were led by Slobodan Karaga, whose mother is a Muslim and whose father is supposedly a Serb.

Scouts reported that the "Mice" were expecting us and had already taken positions on the road to Banja Luka, at the place named Pribinic, as well as on the Ceca-Teslic road. The only passable road was through Rastusa. Without too much trouble we reached our destination, the Demos factory in Teslic, where we quickly agreed about details in connection with the action. I am sorry that I cannot name all those who responded to our call to join us, but I cannot omit Lieutenant Dragan Jovic, Captain Veselin Medojevic, Captain Novo Skrebic, my friend from high school, Miodrag Jovicic, a.k.a. Micko, Ranko Djukaric and, why not, my brother Nenad, all of whom should be credited for the swift and successful end of the arrests.

At about 5 a.m. we started the action from several directions towards the localities where "Mice" were quartered. The action was well synchronized and organized but, in spite of everything, unfortunately, there were two casualties, one on each side. I cannot forget the death of soldier Aleksandar Kljecanin, who was hit by a bullet just a few meters away from me. He probably never dreamed that he would be killed by a Serb. If it can serve as a consolation for his family, he died courageously and honorably saving the lives of his fellow citizens. Most of the "Mice" members were arrested at the Kardial hotel. They offered fierce resistance from the hotel. Others were arrested in the apartments of their mistresses.

What did you find on the premises used by the "Mice"?

Radulovic: It is difficult to list everything we found there. Just as an illustration, we found DM 50,000, about 1.5kg of gold jewelry, 1.8kg of silver jewelry, about 100 new TV sets, the same number of video recorders, ten coffee machines, and a large number of washing machines, bicycles and other house appliances. Besides that, we found about 300 new leather jackets, 58,640 crystal glasses, many pieces of clothing, and several weapons. We also established that before our arrival they had stolen and driven away 150 luxury cars and many more valuable items. The value of all the looted property was estimated at several million German marks.

We found a much more horrendous scene in the rooms they used to torture their victims. Believe me, such scenes can not be described nor depicted. They make your blood simply freeze in the veins. Such things cannot be forgotten. That should be a warning to all those who sometimes put something else before humanity.

Did you have problems after that action? Was there political pressure to have you dismissed?

Radulovic: I had a lot of problems in the service where I still work. I was fired in 1994 and there were several attempts at my life and numerous threats, which haven't stopped until today. I have been a plaintiff in a trial in Belgrade for three and a half years, in order to prove that I was a citizen of Yugoslavia. All that is a consequence of everything I did while saving lives. Can there be anything sadder than the fact that two criminal cases have been filed against me? One of the cases states that I "undermined the fighting morale of the Serb Army by spreading brotherhood and unity on the territory of Republika Srpska, specifically by releasing Muslims and Croats from camps and prisons."

As an aggravating circumstance they state that during these releases I would kiss these Muslims and Croats and say goodbye to them. One cannot but wonder about the limits of hatred and vindictiveness. Is it possible that as a nation we allowed ourselves to become the victims of a relatively small number of individuals, who gave themselves the right to call themselves Serb warriors, knights, heroes, volunteers, while in fact they were and remain criminals and outlaws? I hope that my name will eventually be cleared.

Who ordered that arrested members of "Mice" be transferred from the Tunjice prison to the prison in Doboje, and then released?

Radulovic: Branko Peric and Nenad Kovacevic can give you a definite answer to that question, and I would rather not speculate. I only know that Public and State Security Services in Banja Luka were not involved in their release.

Is it true that the "Mice" planned to execute another 148 citizens from Teslic?

Radulovic: Yes, we found that out during our investigation. It is true that the names of 148 persons from Teslic of various ethnic and political backgrounds were on the list of "undesirable" individuals. Your paper claimed that this had been known before the arrest action, but that is not correct. I even think that that claim was malicious and tendentious, since it appears as if the action was initiated only because the "Mice" intended to execute a large number of Serbs. We knew well who was held in improvised prisons in Teslic. We engaged in the action in order to save innocent prisoners and prevent new crimes.

You have the reputation of a man who during the war opposed persecution of people based on their ethnicity. Why did you and those like you fail to prevent a pogrom against the non-Serb population?

Radulovic: That is an interesting and difficult question. First, I must stress that I consider crime to be a universal evil, which as such affects all people irrespective of their nationality or political views. There is no higher interest that can justify any crime. It is the duty of every nation whose co-nationals have committed a crime to investigate and punish those crimes. Without such catharsis there can be no progress. That is a

precondition for living in peace next to each other and with each other. If a man has even a shred of pride, dignity, honesty and courage, he must not remain silent in front of the facts he disapproves of. All of this has been already said and I fully agree with it. I am one of those, and there were a lot of us, who drew a clear line between patriotism and nationalism and an even clearer line between patriotism and fascism.

It is true that there were attempts at organized resistance against all sorts of crimes. The late Colonel Stevilovic worked to establish a strong force to fight against outlaws and members of paramilitary units within Republika Srpska. We from the State Security Service actively supported the establishment of such a unit. Unfortunately, the deaths of Colonel Stevilovic and Stevan Markovic left a huge void in that sense. Although we failed to set up a wider defense block for struggle against internal tumors in Republika Srpska, the department of State Security which I led, all through the war opposed the mistreatment of citizens of other ethnicities.

We saved people from Brod, Doboj, Modrica, Teslic, Prnjavor, Kozarac, all the way to Sanski Most. We saved even more people in Banja Luka, Mrkonjic Grad and other towns in Republika Srpska. We were also very active in attempts to save Serbs escaping from Croatia. We did all this with the approval of Nedeljko Kesic and Stojan Zupljanin. It would not be fair to omit the contribution that we received for such activities from Mirko Lazovic, then chief of the State Security Department of Serbia.

One of the reasons we partly failed to achieve our goals was that our persecutors had their counterparts on opposing sides, so that it was impossible for one side to play a saint while on the other sides they were flashing knives [and killing both] those who could have escaped and those who could not. It was a difficult situation and the basic goal was to save as many individuals as possible. You must admit that there are greater evils than exile and persecution. We must not forget that members of the Serb people, in spite of the horrible plight in which we found ourselves, organized the largest number of actions to save individuals of other ethnicities.

I know that you expect me to say there was not enough support for such actions in the highest political circles in Republika Srpska. That is true to a certain extent, but local irresponsibility, which was difficult to control, was a much more important contributing factor. I personally believe that mediocre individuals and blinded lunatics floated to the political surface in many places during that period. It was unlikely that such individuals would turn into visionaries and sages. Jesters, criminals, maniacs, and swindlers of all sorts became prosecutors, judges and executors, who literally decided about life and death. That was the most terrifying side of the Serb story.

Did you inform your superiors about everything you encountered in service, especially about crimes? If you did, do you know whether your information reached the political and military leadership of Republika Srpska?

Radulovic: Definitely. That was my professional and humane obligation. Thanks to that we received approvals to get involved in rescue operations in those cases where we were likely to succeed.

Regarding the second part of the question, whether my information reached the political and military leadership of Republika Srpska, I do not know for sure. I assume that most of it did reach them, since some of this information definitely backfired, so that I had a lot of problems. I wouldn't wish my fate on anyone else, at least as far as persecution, devaluation and minimization is concerned. I forgave everything to everyone. It is human to forgive, as it is human to repent.

Please, since we are talking about this issue, I would like it if you published that our efforts to rescue non-Serbs had the support of the then-president of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic. I met him thrice. He knew who I was, what I did and that I was a Communist. He always emphasized that everything must be done in order to protect civilians of all ethnicities. He even personally intervened to help certain individuals. I remember that on several occasions he intervened on behalf of Professor Dr. Hamzo Mujagic and others, whose names I cannot recall at the moment.

He was upset with me because of other things. I was slandered in 1994 as a supporter of the Serbian Police and Slobodan Milosevic, which contributed to my falling into disfavor. Imagine, malicious individuals alleged that I was a member of a secret group set up by the Serbian Police with the goal of overthrowing President Karadzic. In spite of tragic consequences for many people because of that episode, that stupid theory makes me laugh even today. Had President Karadzic been dissatisfied with my involvement in the rescue of Muslims and Croats, he would have pulled the rug under my feet in 1992. Let us at least be sensible now. Problems came from other high officials. I do not bear a grudge against Karadzic. I believe that he heard more constant complaints against me than I did. It is true that after that, for a while I had the status of an ordinary stateless person. Fortunately, I managed to prove that I was a citizen of FR Yugoslavia. Had I worked for anyone in Serbia, would I have needed three-and-a-half years in the courts to settle my status?

What role did the leaders of the Doboj and Teslic municipalities play in the events in Teslic?

Radulovic: I believe that the Teslic municipal leadership intended to bring to Teslic people from outside to introduce order in an already rather chaotic situation. Unfortunately, they had no idea that they were bringing in unrestrained beasts without any human or moral scruples. Some officials from Teslic soon realized their mistake in approaching Doboj for help. Nikola Perisic was among them. That is the truth and no one has the right to hide it. Some say that he laughed, and I don't know why and at whom he may have laughed, but in my presence he begged and pleaded for help. As far as the Doboj municipal leadership is concerned I do not know what their relationship with "Mice" was before their arrival to Teslic, but I know that they celebrated their release from prison. At the time I received threats from many members of the Doboj municipal

leadership. The worst threats came from Milovan Stankovic and Mirko Slavujica, the current chief of the Security Service Center in Doboj. I know why they did that. Mirko's son was a "Mice" member and the indictment gives a detailed description of what he did in Teslic. Stankovic threatened to pulverize Teslic unless we released jailed "Mice" from custody. I replied that while he might be a legend in Doboj, he was no different than "Mice" to me.

As far as I'm concerned the "Mice" were a criminal gang, organized exclusively to steal for others and for themselves. Those others were their superiors. Finally, ask Colonel Dejan Bilanovic why he did not confront the "Mice". He commanded the Teslic Brigade of the Army of Srpska at the time. The brigade had 6,000 soldiers. Had he wanted he could have easily stopped crimes committed by the "Mice". I keep insisting that he bears primary responsibility for everything that happened in Teslic. He had to find strength and courage to confront them. He refused even to join us when we arrested them. Isn't there something suspicious about that?

Who are the Red Berets? What kind of formation was that and who controlled it? You should know that as one of the officials in the then State Security Service...

Radulovic: A person does not have to be original in order to be wise, or appear wise. My answer to this question is identical to that offered by Predrag Radic in the interview published in one of your recent issues. He gave an excellent summary of the reasons that led to the founding of the Serbian Defense Forces and, I would add, the Red Berets. Those units completed some very honorable tasks. Wherever they were controlled by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) there were no problems. In some places they got out of control and turned into rabid packs.

I know that these units were established with the best possible intentions, but those who founded and commanded them should be held responsible for their actions. It is unfair to condemn a whole nation because of, relatively speaking, a small percentage of responsible and guilty individuals. I emphasize that I do not approve their alleged crimes, but I also want to emphasize that in certain localities such units had a positive role at the beginning of the war. There were cases that many informal groups would present themselves as Red Berets. They did so because they had heard that the Red Berets had the best-trained soldiers.

Honestly, I believe that most of those self-proclaimed Red Berets were not aware of the real sense and goal of the existence of such formations. Unfortunately, the real Red Berets were and still are held responsible for everything that these other, so-called Red Berets did, even though the real Red Berets units proved themselves at the front, rather than behind the lines where there was no real fighting. Various bums used the impotence of local authorities to impose their will and terror[ize the population]. This problem deserves a deeper analysis, which is to a certain extent superfluous as far as the events in Teslic are concerned.

You are reputed to have had good relations with Marko Lazovic, then the assistant of Jovica Stanisic, the chief of the Serbian State Security Service. If that is true, why were you dismissed from the Service?

Radulovic: It is true that I had close relations with Marko Lazovic, to whom I owe human and professional gratitude for his support. Unfortunately, he left the Service in 1994, when my problems in Republika Srpska reached their crisis. After the departure of Marko Lazovic I found no support in the Serbian State Security Service, which pushed me into a sort of a limbo. In Serbia I was considered to be an agent of Republika Srpska, an extremist Communist and an even more extremist pacifist. Because of all of that they kept me far away from the Service.

In Republika Srpska, I was portrayed as a pro-Serbian cadre, a sympathizer of Milosevic, an acquaintance of Mira Markovic, a Serbian agent and whatnot. And in all that time I always knew who I was and what I was doing. I was no less a patriot in 1991 than today. It is true that I will never consider FR Yugoslavia a foreign state and that I will always fight against crime, regardless of the ethnicity of the culprits. I regret that we do not have time to recapitulate all the crimes committed by the USA in the last 50 years. We would quickly come to the conclusion that in spite of horrendous crimes this region is a kindergarten in comparison with what Americans and many others who now lecture us about democracy have done. When all that is known, does my destiny matter at all?

Do you know what happened to the former members of "Mice"? Do you know where they are and what they are doing?

Radulovic: I finished with the "Mice" in 1992. Since then I've received threats from them and I take those threats seriously. I know that most of them are wealthy, some are even in positions of authority, while others are private businessmen. Some have been active in smuggling goods to the Muslim side since they came out of prison. They sold everything, from cigarettes to weapons, to Muslims. There is evidence for that. The most recent articles in your newspaper have disturbed them quite a lot and they are not aware that you said very little in comparison with the material available to the Tribunal in the Hague. It is another matter who sent the file of that case to the Hague. But the material in the file has been collected professionally, with a lot of detail and for that time enviable professional perfection. I still believe that the "Mice" should be tried in Republika Srpska, since they are scum whose main motivation was theft rather than anything having to do with the war.

I am aware that you are interested in the events in Teslic. However, I would have preferred to begin this conversation by informing the public about the horrendous events that took place in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991. I think that the public in Republika Srpska does not know enough about the crimes committed against the Serbs and members of the Yugoslav People's Army. It should be known, for the sake of the truth, that in 1991 Slovenian Guard members impaled a living Serb on a wooden pole and that the first cruel murders were committed by paramilitary Slovenian forces.

In Croatia, the process of criminal preparation became even before 1991, when training centers like the one in Kerestinec were formed. In those centers "the finest members of the Croatian people" were taught skills for the systematic and industrial murder of members of other ethnic groups. It is sad that the media in Republika Srpska and FRY write very little or nothing about that, while entire studies are written about the crimes committed by Serbs, which creates the impression that members of other ethnic groups were innocent victims of Serb hegemony and Serb aspirations for the creation of Greater Serbia. The truth is completely different.

We need to say once and for all that Serbs tried to avoid war at all costs and they lost the most in the war. Historically, one gets the impression that Serb politicians made the biggest mistake by trying to save the already-shaky former Yugoslavia, which was being undermined from within and without. During that time, other ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia were working on national homogenization so that, objectively speaking, they started the war much better organized and prepared, with clearly defined national and other interests. Unfortunately, the Serb people, or rather Serb leaders, until this day haven't defined these interests. Thousands of other factors contributed to transform the events in the former Yugoslavia into one of the bloodiest dramas in the history of human civilization or barbarism. I hope that these topics will also find a place on the pages of your magazine, in order to give an objective picture of the events that have been characterized as unbelievable, surprising, cruel, monstrous, bloody, dirty, thieving and what not.

Radulovic: An apology to my Sister Nada

Apart from answering your questions I must publicly apologize to my sister Nada Radulovic, whom I advised in 1992 to accept a job at Radio Teslic. I did that in order to be able to follow the events in connection with the "Mice" in Teslic. Nada broadcast texts written by extremists and has earned an undeservedly bad reputation because of that. Today, after seven years of watching her suffer without being able to explain why she agreed to do what she did, I am explaining on her behalf, in order to reduce a burden that she does not deserve to bear.

Along with many others, Nada helped ensure that the operation to capture the "Mice" succeeded with very few casualties, which should be her satisfaction for all the insults she has received since then. Her love for her brother won over self-interest. This time I would like to tell her that there can be no success without personal sacrifice. I hope that she will forgive me for this statement, because I did consult her before this interview and she told me that she did not need anyone's apology, least of all mine.

Translated by Marko Kocic (<http://www.ex-yupress.org>)

From Court Files

"Mice" Men and the Police Chief Ordered us to Drive Away Eight Corpses

By the Nezavisne Novine Research Team

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 29, 1999

They told us to go towards Borje, where they showed us where to dig. I thought we were building an underground shelter. I came back and, following their orders, I borrowed personnel from Captain Jotanovic's working platoon. When the digging was finished, I realized that we might have been digging a grave...

Continuing a series of articles about the infamous "Mice" formation, which at the beginning of the war terrorized the inhabitants of Teslic, our research team has found new information about the crimes of this group. Besides statements by witnesses and victims, "dug out" by our correspondents in the Netherlands, we obtained the testimony of Serbs from Teslic, who are aware that only by denouncing criminals and making sure that they are tried can the Serb nation be cleared of a shameful stain caused by irresponsible individuals and misguided policies of the former regime.

Witness N: Two men in uniform (I later found out that their names were Raka and Bata) came to see me. They confiscated my car, a one-year-old Volkswagen Passat CL. They did not give me any sort of a receipt. After thirty minutes the two of them came back and took away my second car, a Volkswagen Golf, along with 60 liters of gasoline and 50 liters of oil. After that, they kept coming and taking away all sorts of stuff. They took from my restaurants 250 liters of strong liquor, including 40 bottles of whiskey.

Dobrivoje Culibrk was driving my Passat around Doboje, while the Golf was driven by Deputy Police Chief Milan Savic. Later I heard that the Golf was stolen, but I don't know where it is now.

Witness M: I remember that on June 3 at around 6 p.m., about ten uniformed policemen from Teslic showed up in front of my house. They said they had a search warrant. They were looking for weapons. When they finished with the search, they said I had to go with them to the police station to give a statement. There, they took me to a room with more people. Then a man named Piko came in and hit me several times with a baton. Ten minutes later Piko took me to another office and told me that if I gave DM 10,000 for the Serb Army, I would be set free. We went together to my house and he told my wife to bring DM 10,000 the next morning in exchange for my release. When my wife brought the money, he showed it to me and said that the money had saved my life.

However, he did not release me. Instead the next day a policeman on duty called me and told me to write a letter to my wife to bring another DM 10,000 and that I would be released. My wife brought that too, but they did not let me go. They transferred me to the prison in the Territorial Defense building. There I was beaten with a wooden club and my

arm was broken. Piko came and took me to the hospital, and told me that I could buy my freedom for another DM 20,000. I told my wife to find that money any way she could. When I returned from the hospital, Piko drove me home and my wife gave him DM 14,500, 3,000 Swiss Franks, and 16,000 Austrian Schilings. Then, he left me at home and told me I had bought my life back.

Witness R: When they brought me they put me in a waiting room. There, Piko slapped me around, and then others arrived and beat me with arms and legs. I couldn't see their faces because while they were hitting me, I had to turn towards a wall and lean against it with three fingers... Later, Piko came and said I should offer assistance for the Serb Army. I offered DM 5,000, but he said that that was not enough. Then I offered DM 7,000 and said that was all I had. He accepted that and let me go saying to bring the money at 9 a.m. the following day. The next day, I handed over to him DM 7,000. He didn't give me a receipt. Instead, he told me not to talk to anyone about the incident.

Witness T: They brought me to a room where about 60 people were held at the time. That evening, they immediately started with orders. A person would show up at the door and shout "get up". Then all of us had to lean against the wall with only three fingers on each hand and sing Serb patriotic songs. He would tell us which songs to sing.

Witness S: The police chief and one of the "Mice," a small, swarthy man with curly hair, told me that there were dead people in that room and that they should be buried. I did that with another three policemen. I'd rather not mention names. We used a yellow truck. We drove away eight corpses. I did not recognize them. That happened at about 2 a.m.. The corpses were buried at the spot where sand was dredged in Vlajici.

Accused P: Our immediate superior was Sljuka, but I considered Captain Petricevic to be our true superior. One morning, outside a local bar in Pribinic, Lieutenant-Colonel Bilanovic and Police Sergeant Ranko told us to go towards Borje, where they showed us where to dig. I thought we were building an underground shelter. I came back and, following their orders, I borrowed personnel from Captain Jotanovic's working platoon. When the digging was finished, I realized that we might have been digging a grave.

We were told to stick around that evening until around midnight. Captain Petricevic told me to take a truck and drive to the police station in Teslic. I went there escorted by military police officers. At the police station we picked up several prisoners. I don't know how many because I was sitting in the cabin while the policemen were loading them into the truck. We drove to the place where we had dug the hole. Following the orders of a soldier who was with us, we unloaded the truck and made the prisoners lie down on the ground. After that, an execution was performed. I fired several bullets from a handgun, but I don't know if I killed anyone ... Later, I went for another group in Pribinic. A smaller group was taken from that prison and the procedure was identical as with the previous group.

Accused K: I went with a group to Teslic as an escort in order to pick up 18 prisoners. We put the prisoners in the truck and drove towards Borje where an execution was

performed. The commander of this action was Sergeant Dragan Marjanovic, since our Sergeant Sljuka was absent and Marijanovic was replacing him. After that we took a group of 10 prisoners from the prison in Pribinic. Everyone present fired shots, and it is unclear who shot at whom ... I am an ordinary soldier and cannot say whether a written order existed or not. I acted as a soldier and I do not understand why I am guilty, since I had to follow orders.

Accused Z: On one occasion Sergeant Ranko Sljuka told us that detainees would be executed on the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Bilanovic. This was done the same day at around 11 p.m., and the action was led by Sergeant Dragan Marjanovic... We put beaten and half-dead people in a truck. I do not recall exactly how many ... After they were taken off a truck and laid on the ground, Marjanovic ordered us to shoot. We shot from handguns ... I do not feel responsible because I am an ordinary soldier and I had to follow orders ...

Vera Galijasevic: They told me that the Army had taken Rasim to Gradiska

My husband Rasim was taken from our house on June 4 at around 10 p.m. A policeman in uniform came to get him. Later I found out that the policeman's name was Miroslav Tomic and that he was from Snjegotina. He behaved correctly and gave Rasim enough time to get dressed. He said he was taking Rasim for questioning at the police station. The same evening, our house was searched and nothing that would compromise my husband was found.

From that day forward I was unable to learn anything about his fate. I searched daily and all I managed to find out was that he was first held at the police station and later transferred to the prison in the Territorial Defense building. When I heard that he could have been killed after the attack on the village of Rankovic, I went to look for him in the Health Center and the Civilian Protection [office]. They sent me to Police Chief Dragan Kuzmanovic. When I managed to see him, he seemed annoyed and told me that I should stop looking for Rasim in Teslic because the Army had taken him to Gradiska. After that, I had no news about him.

I attended the identification of remains exhumed from the common grave in Borje, but he was not there. I heard that some of the killed were buried somewhere in the village of Vlajici.

Translated by Marko Kocic

Damir Glancer, a criminal police technician at the Police Station in Teslic, whose father Viktor was arrested, tortured, and then murdered by "Mice" in the police prison, relates his memories for *Nezavisne Novine* from Israel, where he lives in exile

They Slapped me and Put me in Prison: They Thought I was a Croat

Nezavisne Novine, Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 6, 1999.

I was born in Teslic in a family which treated this town as its home town. None of the family members ever paid any attention to ethnic origin. My wife is a Serb, from Ruzevac, my brother's wife a Croat, my parents come from mixed marriages ... Ethnic origin was never discussed in our house.

When it was requested in the Police that employees sign a loyalty oath to the newly proclaimed Republic of Srpska, I signed since I felt that I belonged in this town and with its people. I think that only three of us, non-Serbs, signed this oath ... Of course, I never thought there could be a war. I first heard "Mice" when the fighting started in Doboj. I remember that Predo Markocevic and Marinko Djukic talked about what the "Mice" were doing in Doboj. They said the "Mice" should come to Teslic to "introduce order".

I remember the day when the "Mice" arrived in Teslic very well. I was returning from an investigation in Banja Vrucica. Passing through the town I realized that something unusual was going on. When we arrived in front of the police station, I saw that all the employees had been chased out of the building and forced to line up in front of it. Police chief Dusan Kuzmanovic, police commander Predo Markocevic and Serious Crime Department head Marinko Djukic were standing to one side. I was stopped by a stranger in uniform. He carried a gun and demanded to see my official identification papers and my weapons. When he saw my name, he said "a Croat" and asked "What are you doing here?" Then he started to hit me. Finally he handcuffed me and ordered that I be taken to the prison.

This was the most humiliating experience in my life. I cannot describe it ... I was the first prisoner in the cellar of the police station, which was later converted into a prison. After a while, a colleague came down and asked me what I was doing there. When I told him what had happened, he went to beg Predo and Marinko to intervene. They did not do anything, so my colleague went to talk to Chief Kuzmanovic. I found out that Kuzmanovic then went to see one of the "Mice" and told them that I wasn't a Croat but a Jew. I was then released after about three hours in captivity.

I went home that day and did not say anything to anyone. I thought the whole affair was an accident and a passing phase. The following night at about 3 a.m., Predo called me to go on an investigation in Ruzevic. We finished our work without trouble and in the morning I reported for duty. At about 10 a.m. a group of Dobojlje burst into the station together with my former colleague Milan Savic and Inspector Dragan Gagovic. Savic approached me and said, fairly politely. "Damir, you should go home." I turned over my official weapon, obtained a receipt, and went home.

On June 7, my mother told me that the father had been arrested. I asked who had taken him away. When she said that our policemen had taken him away, I thought "that's good, they know me, they know Dad ...". I tried to get in touch with my colleagues, to see what was going on. I couldn't find anyone, no one could tell me anything.

In those days, life in Teslic was horrible. Because of the curfew, I couldn't go anywhere. I could hear swearing through the window, and no one came to visit ... I prepared a propane bottle so that I could kill myself if they came to arrest me again.

When the "Mice" were arrested, a colleague of mine came and said that Pile wanted to talk to us. I went and he asked me whether I would be willing to return to work. Since we had already heard that some prisoners had been killed, I asked him for my father and he said that he would check. I talked to my mother and my uncle about the job offer and then agreed to rejoin the police. I did not even think that my father was murdered by Serbs, but by criminals.

I worked until the police station in Teslic came again under the jurisdiction of Doboj. When the people who had collaborated with the "Mice" returned to the station, I realized what could happen to me and started to weigh my options. I knew that they knew what I knew. When they told me "you are going to Vozuca" [a Serb majority town south from Doboj, the site of a Bosniak-Muslim offensive in 1995] I decided to leave Teslic. After I returned alive from Vozuca, I picked up my papers and went to Belgrade and then to Israel.

Some people had told my father to leave before the "Mice" arrived in Teslic. I remember that he responded by saying: "Why should we run away when we haven't wronged anyone, everyone knows me, they were all my pupils..." Once my uncle told Dad: "Viktor, you, I, and Boro Pastuhovic are all on the list..." Father did not believe him.

I heard that someone tried to hide Father in an office when they were taking them from the prison to Borje and that police officer Aleksa Petrovic said that one prisoner was missing... That man took many people to death. He took my father and Boro Pastuhovic to prison. I've been told that he was one of the main collaborators of the "Mice".

Some of my colleagues swore that they did not know my father was in prison. I know that Vlado Trifunovic and Milan Nedic assisted some people. I know that reserve policeman Aleksa Jovic was the only one who helped the prisoners as much as he could. I do not understand how and why no one was able to save my father.

I found my father after seven years and now at least I know where his grave is. I had a hard time dealing with the fact that he had been horribly tortured. The autopsy revealed that he was missing half of his skull and that all of his ribs were broken. He was really bestially tortured.

Translated by Marko Kocic