

# Srebrenica: a 'safe' area

## Appendix X

### Archive Overview

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## Introduction

A large number of records and collections of documents were consulted for this enquiry. Private organizations and individuals also made documents available. It is a generally accepted rule that the curator, manager or owner of such archives or documents must give permission for third parties to consult them. This usually means, certainly in the case of all documents belonging to government agencies and international organizations, that applications have to be submitted to the bodies concerned in order to inspect the material. In several cases the institutions or individuals involved gave the NIOD permission to have third parties inspect the documents (originals or copies). In such cases the NIOD was obliged to check whether there were any restrictions on making the documents public by virtue of the Freedom of Information (Public Access) Act, the Personal Data Protection Act and the Public Records Act. It is possible that as a result of these Acts certain data and/or names of individuals must be made illegible. Below a detailed survey is provided of the records, collections and separate documents consulted, with mention of the abbreviations used in the report.

# Chapter 1

## Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives

### Introduction

Until 1988, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a central system of archive management. When decentralization of the central archive was introduced in 1989, each department was charged with managing its own archives. Until then the decimal system had been used for filing, which meant that files could be arranged according to the same principle at the ministry and at the missions abroad. Record group 9 stood for politics, record group 3 for legal matters and record group 6 for economic relations. Main categories and sub-categories were marked by the addition of figures. From 1989 onwards, this decimal system gradually fell into disuse because the transition to digital registration of files, whereby each file was given a number and a title, made it less necessary to classify documents by category and subject. The decimal system of making files persisted longer in the missions abroad.

The selection of documents from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was based on several key words such as peace operations, UNPROFOR, Srebrenica, Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Security Council from the files of the Documentary Information Service (Dutch DDI). On the basis of this list files considered relevant were selected. In the course of the enquiry this list was supplemented by other files, usually for one of two different reasons. The first reason was that they were referred to in files included in the first selection and the second was that they were found as a result of a search on specific topics. In general, due to decentralization of the archives, documents on particular subjects were spread throughout several files. The most important policy departments were Europe, Political UN Affairs and Atlantic Security. As a result of this broad formation of policy, files were compiled in large numbers, but unevenly distributed.

In addition to these archives, civil servants also created their own working files. These were generally no longer available for the enquiry, because when civil servants are transferred they usually clear them away. An important exception was the sizeable working archive of the Deputy Director of the Europe department, which included Yugoslavia cooperation.

At Foreign Affairs there is no tradition of making files for the political leaders. Documents are presented to the ministers via the directors-general and the secretary-general and after use are returned to the civil service to be implemented and filed. This does not mean that no records are made at all at the ministerial level. There are archives pertaining to Ministers Van den Broek, Kooijmans, Van Mierlo and Pronk which are not formally registered. These archives have usually been compiled by personal secretaries. They contain documents such as correspondence with other ministers, documents for the meeting of the Ministerial Council, correspondence with the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament and memos to the minister from his private secretary about his diary. Finally, in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there are information files which were compiled in preparation for a visit abroad. Similar files exist for meetings of the EU General Council and other international organizations. In some cases these files were consulted to check the information in the official files on specific subjects.

At the missions abroad the custom of using the decimal record group for filing records persisted longer than at the ministry in The Hague. Moreover, because they were small-scale organizations, documents were not spread over a large number of files; documents relevant to the Srebrenica enquiry were concentrated in one central file. In general, no systematic study was made of the archives of the missions abroad. There are two exceptions: the archives of the UN Permanent Representation in New York and those of the embassy in Washington.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs two categories of documents accounted for the greater part of the material: internal memoranda and coded messages. The first category plays an important role in internal decision-making; the second is crucial to communication with the missions abroad. In general,

these documents had been properly indexed and could be traced easily. This is less true of communications by fax and e-mail, which were filed in the official records only very rarely.

## 1. Survey of the records collected

DPV/ARA/02032, *SCR 770 humanitarian aid*. Discussion (1992–1993) as to whether aid convoys under military escort should fight their way through if they were obstructed. Subject of discussion in WEU; also consultations with USA, which does not want military action.

DDI-Kabinet/GS/ARA/00665, *Part III Yugoslavia political relations and parties 1990–1991*.

Correspondence about EC boycott (October 1991) and US warning against recognition of Slovenia and Croatia (December 1991).

DPV/ARA/01804, *ICFY follow-up September–November 1992*. Reports from London and internal memos.

DDI-Kabinet/GS/ARA/00666, *Yugoslavia political relations and parties*, May/October 1992.

DDI-Kabinet/GS/ARA/00664, *Yugoslavia political relations and parties*. Reports from various sources, including MID.

DPV/ARA/00999.0, *UNPROFOR (October–December 1992)*. Humanitarian relief, convoys to Muslim pockets (later enclaves) and setting up of safe havens near UNPF bases. Contains some indications of Dutch reactions to proposals within the CSCE, Austria and Mazowiecki. The Netherlands in favour provided on the basis of new UNPF mandate. In late 1992 the matter does not yet seem very acute, since convoys are on the move again.

DPV/ARA/00782, *Yugoslavia / humanitarian aid / human rights / policy 1993 (Part 2)* Widely varying subjects: UNHCR relief in Bosnia in general; HCA initiatives (Faber and others) with respect to Safe Areas; support for press in FRY via Press Now; Kalshoven Committee; Dutch part in identification of victims in mass graves.

DPV/ARA/0818, *Yugoslavia: main resolutions on human rights questions General Assembly 1992*, text of Bosnia resolution 1992 and correspondence about para. 7 (lifting of arms embargo) and EU voting behaviour.

DPV/ARA/01802, *Yugoslavia Civil War. SCR 757 (sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) Part 1: June–November 1992*) Consultations on implementation, monitoring and evasion or easing, particularly in EU context. Clear indications of Dutch position.

DPV/ARA/01809, *SCR 757 sanctions against Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Lesser Yugoslavia) June – November 1992*. Implementation of sanctions and support from EC/EU to non-member states in Central Europe to compensate for the effects of the implementation of sanctions.

DDI, *Resolution 771: Human rights abuse/ethnic cleansing*. Dutch support for activities of Mazowiecki.

DPV/ARA/02045, *Yugoslavia: military intervention 1992*. French view of more drastic military intervention in Yugoslavia (September 92); consultations in NATO and WEU aimed at greater effort, and relation to British-Dutch-French initiative in UN; memo MinDef (Dec. 1992) about expansion of military operations (including discussion on safe havens/areas).

DPV/ARA/01813, *ICFY 1992–1993*. Covers August 1992 (and a few documents from March 1993). Matters relating to progress of ICFY. Much attention paid to organization of conference August 1992.

DPV/ARA/01803, *Yugoslavia civil war / WEU / direct contacts with UNPROFOR and UNHCR 1992–1993*. Reports on WEU meetings relating to role in implementation SCR 770, 787, NFZ and implementation VOPP. Dilemma is always whether WEU might be able to play a role of its own in addition to UNPROFOR and NATO. Good description of Dutch position in reports.

DPV/ARA/02051, *SCR 780: war crimes (War Crimes Commission and foundation of Yugoslavia Tribunal) (no.508363)*. The documents give an outline of the steps needed to implement SCR 780. The Netherlands plays familiar role as promoter of international law. Many contacts with USA.

DVL/WO *Yugoslavia / human rights / mass graves / missing persons 1992–1997*. Commentary on Warburton report II and so-called Kleiverda report (sexual abuse of Bosnian women); UNO Committee led by Kalshoven / Bassiouni (violations of humanitarian law and laws of war in Yugoslavia) (May 1994); Srebrenica 1995 – 1997 missing persons.

DIE/ARA/01232, *the former Yugoslavia and UN/SC 1992–93*.

DEU/2000/00354, *background information Bosnia 1992–4*.

DPV/ARA/02051, *Special session of General Assembly on Bosnia*. File deals with two questions: 1. whether the Netherlands should sign letter to UNSG requesting special session and 2. whether the Netherlands can be one of the initiators of resolution in resumed GA. Positive in both cases.

DPV/ARA/00141/42/43, *establishment UNPROFOR and Dutch participation*. Widely selected file on setting up and deployment of UNPROFOR and Dutch participation. Also documents on financing, appointment of Dutch personnel to staff positions, setting up Safe Areas etc. Also internal memos.

DPV/ARA/00154, *Peace operations / UNPROFOR / Dutch participation / policy / coordination Part 2 (October – November 1992)*. Despatch of transport unit and consultations on the subject; Dutch UNMOs and assessment of several who worked in Croatia.

DPV/ARA/00155, *Peace operations / UNPROFOR / Dutch participation / policy / coordination Part 1 (February–September 1992)*. Dutch participation in UNPROFOR (in addition to UNTAC) (Signals unit); possible anti-Dutch attitude in Croatia because of EC presidency; participation in UNVICPOL. Many Foreign Affairs internal documents which give insight into decision-making process.

DMP/ARA/00071, *Yugoslavia: humanitarian crisis 1992–1993*. Documents about aid workers' consultations in UNHCR. Shows increasing urgency of situation in early 1993 and UNHCR's attempts to change it. Reports on Srebrenica from March 1993 onwards, UNHCR's views on Safe Area concept. Several documents show that as early as late 1992 the Netherlands was in favour of setting up protected zones for the safety of Displaced Persons.

DPV/ARA/01812, *Yugoslavia civil war humanitarian assistance / UNHCR / follow-up Ctee (October 1992 – July 1993)*. Delivery of relief by UNHCR; from end of 1992 onwards, attention for situation around Srebrenica; also WEU consultations on aid.

DDI-DAV/999.241/DAV/MS, *No Fly Zone Part 1: September–December 1992*. Documents about preparation of SCR on no-fly-zone over Bosnia and whether it should be enforced. Netherlands very interested. There is an investigation underway as to whether F-16s are suitable for the purpose. Part 2 and following are about preparation for implementation: many NATO documents on deployment of F-16 squadron as Dutch contribution and results, including reports on violations.

DDI-DAV/999.241/DAV/MS, *SCR 781 and 786 establishment No Fly Zone B-H. (Operation Deny Fly)*. International discussion on enforcement of no-fly-zone. The Netherlands is in favour provided it is based on SC resolution. Following files on implementation.

DDI-DAV/999.241/DAV/MS, *SCR 816: Enforcement No Fly Zone Part 3 (April 1993)*. Decision-making in NATO. Important question is whether Turkey can take part in action. The Netherlands advocate of Turkish participation.

DPV/ARA/01806, *Yugoslavia civil war SCR 781, 786 and 816 (prohibition military flights over Bosnia (NFZ)) (October 1992 – July 1993)*. Much attention paid to realization of SCR 816 and authorization of NATO (or WEU); also documents on NFZE and Safe Areas. Important file for Dutch position.

DPV/ARA/00209, *Peace operations / UNPROFOR / Dutch participation / policy / coordination Part 3 (1992 – 1993)*. Documents about decision-making on despatch Dutchbat. Important file.

DPV/ARA/01818, *Yugoslav civil war Part 3 (April – July 1993)*. Mainly EU consultations on VOPP and Joint Action Plan. Gives insight into Dutch position and contribution.

DDI-Kabinet/GS/ARA/00286, *Yugoslavia: political relations and parties Part VII (May 1993 – March 1994)*. BVD (Dutch National Security Service) report for CVIN+ (Committee of Unified Intelligence Services the Netherlands) for CVIN 11-5-93.

DVL/WO Yugoslavia / UNPROFOR 1993–1995. *Surveys of Dutch participation in UNPROFOR (1993–4)*; surrender of Gorazde; Malaysian newspaper on Dutchbat.

DEU/2000/00354, *Political relations and parties in Bosnia, 1993–1996*. US initiative towards more forceful action in Bosnia via NATO (July 1993); Voorhoeve-Sacirbey talk 15.9.94; Foreign Affairs reaction on debriefing report. NB. Many red codes from August – September 1995 and June – July 1996.

DEU/2000/00355, *US proposal for NATO air support in Sarajevo in connection with peace plan (preparation NATO council 2-8-1993)*

DEU/2000/00354, *Bosnia 1992–96*. US sitreps on Bosnian Serb compliance with NAC decision of 9-8-93; separate document on Owen and JAC plan July 1993 and missing list of Muslim men (21-8-95).

DPV/ARA/00144, *UNPROFOR September 1993–March 1994*. Task/mandate UNPROFOR, withdrawal/reinforcement, consultations among troop-contributing nations at UN in New York. Copy of memo of conversation between Vos and Gharekhan about Dutchbat and CAS.

DPV/ARA/02051, *Intsums Defensie 1993*. Copied to supplement incomplete series at Defence.

DPV/ARA/005814, *Deployment of Dutchbat I and affairs / peace operations / UNPROFOR / Dutch participation / policy / coordination part concerning Dutchbat II and III; staff positions at UNPROFOR, UNMOs and UNCIVPOL*. Important files for impression of attention paid to Dutchbat by Foreign Affairs.

DPV/ARA/02016, *1994 UNGA resolution on Bosnia*. Correspondence on voting behaviour with respect to resolution, on behalf of which Sacirbey is lobbying hard and has consulted with Washington. The Netherlands has two objectives: 1. EU must vote en bloc; 2. vote yes if clause on lifting of arms embargo is removed.

DPV/ARA/00797, *Yugoslavia / Bosnia-H / policy / instructions Part 2: 1994–1995*. Documents about possible state visit by Izetbegovic (October 1994), peace plan; lifting of arms embargo; fall of Srebrenica and UN action; Sacirbey's contacts with Dutch ministers.

DPV/ARA00210, *UNPROFOR Part 5* (March – September 1994), International talks on role of UNPF in implementation of peace plan and real need of reinforcement in connection with necessity of more robust action.

DPV/ARA/00580, *UNPROFOR Part 6* (October 1994 – April 1995) In this file there are documents relating to a discussion about withdrawal or reinforcement of UNPROFOR. The CHOD's meeting in The Hague 18/19 December was in this framework. A proposal by Voorhoeve for article in American newspaper. Delivery of supplies to enclaves by helicopter.

DPV/ARA/02110, *UNPROFOR Part 7* (May–September 1995). In general documents about establishment of RRF, delivery of supplies to Safe Areas in eastern Bosnia by air, and defence of Gorazde. Also documents about fall of Srebrenica. Dutch government is particularly worried about plan to recapture Srebrenica in connection with threat to Dutchbat.

DPV/ARA/02108, *UNPROFOR, Dutch participation Part 6: 1995–1996*. Information about publications on fall of Srebrenica. Several documents show that according to Foreign Affairs, Defence should be more concerned about press publications leading to discussions about Srebrenica flaring up.

DEU/ARA/03356, *UNPROFOR January–May 1995*. Discussion about reinforcement /withdrawal UNPROFOR. Discussions about this subject take place mainly within NATO. Other subjects: delivery of supplies by air, appointment of Dutch officers in UNPF, alteration of French policy with respect to UNPROFOR and hostage crisis May 1995. A few documents about independent search for a successor to Dutchbat for Srebrenica.

DPV/ARA/00141/00142/00143, *UNPROFOR Dutch participation Parts 5–7: June–October 1995*. Ukraine to relieve Dutchbat. Incidents around the fall; criticism from Paris and actions of Wijnaendts. Reactions of other countries and the UN. Smith-Mladic agreement. Parliamentary letters from the end of August onwards. The first part of the file is particularly interesting because of the direct reactions it contains. At the end of October 1995 the first evaluation was made of decision-making about the despatch in 1993.

DWH/ARA/03412, *Relieving of Dutchbat*. Attempts from May 1995 onwards to find a successor. Only a few documents. Not about the Ukraine.

DDI-DAV/999.241/DAV/MS, *NATO and B-H 1995*. Mostly about discussions of the situation in NAR. Withdrawal of UNPROFOR, RRF, Deny Fly, supplies by air, Safe Areas and CAS. Little specifically about the Netherlands. Remarkable: at Ministerial meeting of DPC Voorhoeve draws attention to the position of Dutchbat and speaks of possible delivery of supplies by air.

DPV/ARA/02090, *UNPROFOR/RRF (June–December 1995)*. Implementation of the plan and preparation of SCR about setting up, and lengthy consultations on US contribution to financing. Joint action of UK/France/Netherlands, also at NSC in Washington.

- DPV/ARA/01208, *UNPROFOR June–August 1995*. Correspondence about fall (previous history and winding up). Gives good insight into the steps taken, foreign reactions and the history of the drafting of SCR 1004. Gives insight into what was known at what point.
- DIO/ARA/00407, *Human rights/Srebrenica 1995*. Mainly about missing men. Few Foreign Affairs activities. Mainly collection of data. To a lesser extent attempts to steer external activities. Voorhoeve, who reacted quickly to reports he thought were incorrect, on missing men and actions carried out by Dutchbat.
- DDI/DAV/00036, *Dutch military effort in Yugoslavia (1995)*. Various documents, partly about consultations in June (reinforcement of UNPROFOR), party at Zagreb, Foreign Affairs analysis November 1995 and information to Parliament.
- Military situation in Gorazde, July 1995–August 1996*. Selected for comparison with Srebrenica.
- DDI/DVN/PZ, *Unprofor Dutch participation: Gorazde 1995*. Discussion August 1995 about relocation of C-Company Dutchbat IV from Simin Han to Gorazde (official memos from Defence and Foreign Affairs for minister for discussion).
- Military situation in Srebrenica: Dutch effort UNPF, aerial photographs, men taken away, Smith-Mladic agreement (July 1995–August 1996)*. File begins on 11 July 1995 and contains information on matters such as French recapture plan, Bildt-Milosevic agreements of 17 July 1995; American aerial photographs of mass graves; Foreign Affairs analyses of the fall of Srebrenica; air support and proposal for UN enquiry.
- DDI-DAV/999.241/DAV/MS, *Yugoslavia/Nato/coordination: military situation in Srebrenica (July 1995–August 1996)*. Many documents about what happened at the fall in July 1995 and discussions about it later.
- DMP/2000/01188, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: contingency planning Displaced Persons Srebrenica-Zepa 11–13 July 1995*.
- DDI/DAV/01101, *Military situation in Srebrenica: aerial photographs of men who had been taken away and Smith-Mladic agreement July–August 1995*.
- DEU/2000/00355, *Bosnia-H/Foreign politics/The Netherlands-Srebrenica 1995*. Documents about international aspects: TV broadcasts; Janvier-Mladic deal on Close Air Support after hostage crisis (information from Muratovic); conversation Van Mierlo-Akashi; Mazowiecki.
- DVL/WO, *Srebrenica in general 1995*. Correspondence between Van Walsum and Voorhoeve about German press and Srebrenica (in particular relation massacre – Mazowiecki – debriefing) and Voorhoeve's keeping back information about Mladic-Smith agreement (19-7-95). N.B. Voorhoeve's first letter to Van Walsum (in response to telegram from Bonn dated 31/10) is missing.
- DDI/DAV/01101, *List of 239 men and injured people (September–October 1995)*. Mainly information sent on from Defence to ICRC in Geneva and vice versa.
- DIO/ARA/00408, *Srebrenica 1996*. Various documents about matters arising in the aftermath of the fall.
- DAV/MS/999.241, *Dutchbat-debriefing-Parliamentary questions*. Many implementation documents, and correspondence with Parliament.
- DMP/2000/01192, *Srebrenica: Pilav, Helsinki Citizens Assembly, TK December 1995*.
- DVN/ARA/00374, *Government's reaction to recommendations of Advisory Council for Peace and Security (AVV) Verloren Onschuld (Lost Innocence), about peace operations and Srebrenica (1996)*.
- DCH/2020/00087, *DMP/NH Yugoslavia humanitarian aid 1995–1996*. Documents on applications from NGOs for aid for the survivors of Srebrenica.
- DPV/ARA/01654, *Yugoslavia/humanitarian aid/human rights, Part 3 (1995/6)*. Documents about human rights abuses in Srebrenica. Also Pronk report about his trip to Bosnia in July 1995.
- DWH/ARA/00844, *United States-Yugoslavia relations (1995)*. Contact group, talks with US diplomats; press publications autumn 1995.
- DEU/2002/00535, *Bosnia-H/NATO/IFOR 1996*. One document: conversation between Voorhoeve and Perry 13-6-96 on possible UN enquiry into Srebrenica. Voorhoeve lists a number of arguments

against it and expects little outcome. Perry is against it because of possible unfavourable consequences for NATO.

DCH/2020/00087, *DMP/NH Bosnia-H / humanitarian aid 1996 report on aid programme for relief of Displaced Persons from Srebrenica.*

DEU/2002/00001, *Bosnia-H/NATO/IFOR 1995.* Authority IFOR to apprehend war criminals (discussion within NATO, and Dutch position).

DMP/ARA/00071, *Dutch contribution September–October 1995.* Discussion about Dutch contribution to IFOR (Defence – Foreign Affairs) and reports on international consultations. Interesting for relations between Foreign Affairs and Defence with respect to peace operations and deployment of military resources for international affairs.

DDI/DVN/PZ, *Unprofor/ Dutch participation 1996.* Documents about UN enquiry into fall of Srebrenica.

DVL/WO, *Srebrenica / debriefing / Unprofor / Dutchbat 1995.* One coded cable: questions asked of TZ Sarajevo (presented in May 1996) from October 1995 in relation to debriefing.

DDI/DVN/2007/00256, *DVN/PZ / general / policy / Bosnia-H 1996.* Several documents about Sacirbey's views on Bosnia's international position.

Cabinet archives, strictly confidential codes, Red telegrams. N.B. *Only the request lists are still in the dossier. The telegrams themselves have been stored in binders, divided into two groups (incoming and outgoing) per embassy/permanent representation. Red fax messages are filed by date along with the coded telegrams. Internal memoranda are stored in a separate binder.*

DPV/ARA/01803, *Yugoslavia civil war UN / GA human rights resolutions (November–December 1992).* Bosnia resolution, Dutch position and contribution to drawing it up.

DPV/ARA/01820, *Bosnia Safe Areas for humanitarian purposes 1992–1993.* Documents about the establishment of Safe Areas in late 1992 (WEU, CSCE), April/June 1993 (UNO) and about Dutch contribution to implementation of SCR 836. *Important file. Still needs to be supplemented by information about WEU discussion October–December 1992, CSCE discussion November–December 1992 and UN discussion on Austrian resolution December 1992 (SCR 787 para.18?)*

DWH/ARA/00844, *United States and Yugoslav crisis 1991–1994.* Mainly codes from Washington about US policy. Mainly of importance for American attitude.

DEU/ARA/00405, *Yugoslavia / Domestic Politics / Croatia 1990–1991.* Documents about the war in Croatia, the ceasefires and other activities of the Netherlands in framework of EC presidency.

DEU/ARA/003293, *Yugoslavia / CFSP / Arms embargo July–December 1991.* Correspondence about EC policy on implementation of arms embargo of 5 July 1991 and call for other states to join in. Also documents about SCR 713. No copies were made.

DEU/ARA/003286, *EPS ministerial September–December 1991.* Dutch and EC reports of meetings. In every case speaking notes for the ministers.

DEU/ARA/003288, *Yugoslavia / EU / Council working groups / ad hoc Yugoslavia group. Preparation of Dutch contribution and report of meetings July–December 1991.* Dutch and EC reports from EPS ad hoc Yugoslavia group.

DEU/ARA/003287, *EU / CFSP / preparation and reports of visits of Troika to Yugoslavia July–August 1991.* Dutch and EC reports and Dutch memos.

DEU/ARA/001233, *EC / Yugoslavia, November 1991.* European consultations on mediation in Yugoslavia, in particular Dutch role as president and SCR resolutions relating to sanctions and peace force.

DEU/ARA/001232, *EC / Yugoslavia, September–October 1991.* Yugoslavia conference.

DIE/2002/00022, *DIE/EE third countries background information on Bosnia-Herzegovina March 1995 - August 1996.* Briefing Dutch Refugee Council on relief for refugees in EU countries after Srebrenica drama.

DIE/ARA/00018, *DIE/EE third countries background information Bosnia-Herzegovina April 1992–December 1994.* Lifting of arms embargo; report of UNSG on Safe Areas (1994) and CHODS meeting.

DMP/ARA/EG/000074, *Structural policy with respect to Yugoslavia: humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina (November–December 1993).* Attempts in EU to arrive at a joint plan for aid to B-H and financing it.

- DIE/EU, 000758, *coordination of ad hoc Yugoslavia group 1995-1996*. Document on meeting 12 May 1995: Dutch views on situation in B-H and CAS and blocking by Akashi and Janvier.
- DIE/EU/000659, *coordination B-H 1992-1996*. Documents on providing relief after fall of Srebrenica: EU-AR 17-7-95; report of Commissioner Bonino and intervention by Van Mierlo after Bildt's introduction.
- DEU/ARA/05274, *Bosnia-H / Defence / NATO / UN Exchange of information with respect to military affairs of UNPROFOR 1992-1993*. Documents about sharing costs for UNPROFOR II, discussion within WEU about safe havens and enforcement of sanctions; idem documents about lifting arms embargo and implementation of SCR 836.
- DDI/DAV/00041, *DAV Yugoslavia / EU / ICFY implementation of peace plans January-August 1995*. Various documents about plans of contact group, Bildt's mission, London conference 21 July 1995.
- DDI/DAV/00245, *DAV Yugoslavia / EU / ICFY peace initiatives and implementation conference 1995-96*. Previous history of Dayton; the Netherlands and Contact Group Plus (September-December 1995).
- DWH/ARA/00844, *United States and Yugoslavia crisis 1991-1994*. Documents on US policy on Bosnia under Clinton / Christopher; role of NATO / WEU; talks between Kooijmans and Christopher, March (Washington) and May (Bonn) 1993; safe havens / Safe Areas (US views between SCR 824 and SCR 836).
- DEU/ARA/00877, *Serbia and UNO 1992-1994*. Document of FRY trade union about sanctions and UN bias as illustrated by Srebrenica 1992-93.
- DEU/ARA/00404, *Yugoslavia / Croatia*. Documents on recognition of Croatia.
- DEU/ARA/00402, *Yugoslavia / Bosnia-H. Reports on domestic politics 1990-1991*. Documents on Bosnia-H from July 1991 to recognition in 1992. Mainly internal relations and appeals to 'international community' (Yugoslavia conference).
- DEU/ARA/00585, *special sessions of UN Commission on Human Rights in relation to Yugoslavia 1992-1994*. Documents on safe havens / Safe Areas; Mazowiecki as rapporteur.
- DDI/DAV/00547, *Yugoslavia reports 1995*. Several internal memoranda dating from December 1995 about the evaluation of decision-making in relation to the despatch of Dutchbat.
- DDI/DAV/00246, *Reports on Yugoslavia April-October 1995*. Documents about developments in RS, American peace initiatives (Frasure mission), French policy on Bosnia (RRF and Sarajevo), Bildt mission and Dutch Parliament after the fall of Srebrenica. Also includes diplomatic statement by Fietelaars dating from July 1995 on objectives of Serb policy.
- DDI/ARA (no file number), series of coded messages from December 1997-April 1998 in which, in response to position taken by the Netherlands at Peace Implementation Council with respect to Bosnia, Dutch policy on Bosnia in 1991-92 is discussed. Interesting discussion between Van Walsum, Wijnaendts, Biegan, Fietelaars, Sizoo, Van Mierlo and others.
- DDI/DAV/00041, *ICFY peace implementation in Bosnia 1995*. One document about Contact Group (January) and about conversation between Van Mierlo and Bildt.
- DDI/DAV/000246, *Reports on the former Yugoslavia 1995*. Documents on various subjects (Frasure mission before and after the fall).
- DEU/ARA/00408, *DEU Yugoslavia domestic politics: reports from missions abroad 1986-1991*.
- DIE/2001/00023, *EU / third countries / background information / former Yugoslavia / coordination consultations (March 1993-December 1995)*.
- DEU/ARA/00042, *Yugoslavia / EPS deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (November 1990-May 1991)*.
- DEU/ARA/00081, *Yugoslavia / EPS deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (June 1991-September 1991)*.
- DEU/ARA/00083, *Yugoslavia / EPS deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (January 1992-June 1992)*.
- DEU/ARA/00084, *Yugoslavia / EPS deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (July 1992-August 1992)*.

- DEU/ARA/00112, *Yugoslavia / EP / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (April 1993–June 1993)*.
- DEU/ARA/00411, *Yugoslavia / EPS/deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (October 1991–December 1993)*.
- DEU/ARA/00740, *Yugoslavia / EPS/deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia (July 1993–October 1993)*.
- DEU/ARA/00754, *Yugoslavia / EPS / ad hoc group*. Files relating to preparation and reporting of the meeting of the Yugoslavia ad hoc group in the context of European political co-operation / Brussels (Belgium) 1993, February 1993–November 1993.
- DEU/ARA/00755, *Yugoslavia / EPS / ad hoc group*. Files relating to preparation and reporting of the meeting of the Yugoslavia ad hoc group in the context of European political co-operation / Brussels (Belgium) 1992. Includes documents about the Netherlands and safe havens/ Safe Areas – war tribunal - NFZ (SCR 782), April 1992–December 1992.
- DEU/ARA/02078, *EU / CFSP / COPO / SPECIAL*. Suggestions for the Dutch contribution to the special consultations of the Political Committee of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) relating to Yugoslavia in Brussels (Belgium) on 28 July 1994, 26 July 1994–28 July 1994.
- DEU/ARA/02914, *Reports from the missions abroad concerning CFSP with respect to Yugoslavia 1993-1994* (NB: EU General Council and COPO), December 1993 - December 1994.
- DEU/ARA/02915, *Yugoslavia / CFSP / Ad hoc Group 1994*, January 1994–December 1994.
- DEU/ARA/03283, *EU / CFSP / extra COPO 1991/ Dutch contribution to extra COPOs in connection with Yugoslavia crisis 1991*, July 1991–November 1991.
- DIE/2001/00023, *EU / third countries / background information / former Yugoslavia / coordination consultations*, March 1993–December 1995.
- DEU/ARA/00042, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, November 1990–May 1991.
- DEU/ARA/00081, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, June 1991–September 1991.
- DEU/ARA/00083, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, January 1992–June 1992.
- DEU/ARA/00084, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, July 1992–August 1992.
- DEU/ARA/00112, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, April 1993–June 1993.
- DEU/ARA/00411, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, October 1991–December 1993.
- DEU/ARA/00740, *Yugoslavia / EPS / deu / reports by means of COREUS on the positions of the European political partners on Yugoslavia*, July 1993–October 1993.
- DEU/ARA/00754, *Yugoslavia / EPS / ad hoc group*. Files relating to preparation and reporting of the meeting of the Yugoslavia ad hoc group in the framework of European political co-operation / Brussels (Belgium) 1993, February 1993–November 1993.
- DEU/ARA/00755, *Yugoslavia / EPS / ad hoc group*. Files relating to preparation and reporting of the meeting of the Yugoslavia ad hoc group in the framework of European political co-operation / Brussels (Belgium) 1992. Includes documents on the Netherlands and safe havens/ SafeAreas / war tribunal / NFZ (SCR 782), April 1992–December 1992.
- DEU/ARA/02078, *EU / CFSP / COPO / SPECIAL*. Suggestions for the Dutch contribution to the special consultations of the Political Committee of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in relation to Yugoslavia at Brussels (Belgium) on 28 July 1994, 26 July 1994–28 July 1994.
- DEU/ARA/02914, *Reports from missions abroad concerning CFSP with respect to Yugoslavia 1993-1994* (NB: EU General Council and COPO), December 1993–December 1994.
- DEU/ARA/02915, *Yugoslavia / CFSP / ad hoc group 1994*, January 1994–December 1994.

DEU/ARA/03283, *EU / CFSP / extra COPO 1991*. Dutch contribution to extra COPOs in connection with Yugoslav crisis 1991, July 1991–November 1991.

## 2. Collection Hattinga van 't Sant

DEU/ARA/05274, *Bosnia / defence / NATO / UN*. UNPROFOR's situation in the field 1992–1993. Documents about the development of the Safe Area concept and of SCRs 824 and 836. Consultations on the subject within various bodies (WEU, NAVO, UNSC) and Dutch attitude 1992–1993. Also SCR 844 (use of air power for Safe Areas).

DEU/ARA/05293, *Bosnia-H, diplomatic relations between Bosnia and the Netherlands 1992–1996*. Documents on recognition, opening of embassy at Sarajevo and possible visit by Izetbegovic to the Netherlands in 1994/5.

DEU/ARA/05294, *Bosnia-H, setting up by USA of group Friends of the Bosnian Federation, 1994–1997*.

Documents on American plan, visit by ambassador Serwer and Dutch participation in Friends of the Federation.

DEU/ARA/05266, *Economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro (III)*. Implementation and lifting of sanctions 1995 (partly as a result of Dayton agreement).

DEU/ARA/05264, *Economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro I (1993)*. Implementation and evasion of sanctions.

DEU/ARA/05265, *Economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro II (1994)*. Implementation, suspension and evasion of sanctions.

DEU/ARA/05253, *Domestic politics in Croatia, 1994*. Documents on Dutch policy on Croatia and aid programmes.

DEU/ARA/05252, *Domestic politics in Croatia, 1993*. Documents on Dutch-Croatian relations and international position of Croatia.

DEU/ARA/05238, *B-H / Foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, November 1992–December 1993.

DDI/DAV/05311, *DEU Bosnia – H / UN / Tribunal / human rights trial of war criminals in connection with human rights abuse*. Documents on Srebrenica after the fall; Pronk's visit in March 1996; 276 survivors in Serb prisons (September 1996); Glaubitz's visit in May 1996; Defence questions October 1995 / answer July 1996.

DDI/DAV/05309, *DEU Bosnia / UN / Tribunal / human rights trial of war criminals 1995–1996*.

Documents on human rights abuses in Srebrenica and return of refugees after Dayton.

DDI/DAV/05288, *DEU FRY / FRY domestic politics 1995/6*. Documents on contacts with FRY authorities in Belgrade and Arkan in western Bosnia.

DDI/DAV/005317, *Bosnia / emergency aid / human rights July–October 1995*. Documents on Srebrenica: US briefing of SC on 10/8/95 and Society for Threatened Peoples congress at Bonn, August/September 1995.

DDI/DAV/005287, *FRY internal politics during war, and peace negotiations 1992–1994*. Documents on Dick Verkijk (visa application and deportation); contact with FRY authorities and visit by FRY opposition (Draskovic and others) to the Netherlands.

DEU/ARA/05239, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, January 1994–April 1994.

DEU/ARA/05240, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 1994–August 1994.

DEU/ARA/05241, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, September 1994–December 1994.

DEU/ARA/05242, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, January 1995–March 1995.

DEU/ARA/05244, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, January 1995–September 1995.

DEU/ARA/05243, *B-H / foreign politics / negotiation process*. Exchange of information concerning negotiations for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, April 1995–June 1995.

DEU/ARA/05275, *B-H / Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field in B-H with respect to military affairs such as the implementation force (IFOR), the UN police and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), August 1993–February 1994.

DEU/ARA/05276, *B-H/ Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field in B-H with respect to military affairs such as the implementation force (IFOR), the UN police and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), March 1994–October 1994.

DEU/ARA/05277, *B-H/ Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field in B-H with respect to military affairs such as the implementation force (IFOR), the UN police and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), November 1994–May 1995.

DEU/ARA/05278, *B-H/ Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field in B-H with respect to military affairs such as the implementation force (IFOR), the UN police and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), June 1995–August 1995.

DEU/ARA/05279, *B-H/ Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field in B-H with respect to military affairs such as the implementation force (IFOR), the UN police and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), September 1995–December 1995.

DEU/ARA/05278, *B-H Defence / NATO / UN*. Exchange of information concerning the situation in the field.

## Chapter 2

# The Ministry of Defence archives

### Introduction

The archives present at the Ministry of Defence on the subject of the Dutch mission in Srebrenica, its background and its consequences fill more than one hundred metres of shelf space. The study of the archives focused mainly on the period from 1993 to 1996, but in connection with the run-up to the Dutch military involvement in the former Yugoslavia and the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica, it also extended to 1992 and 1997.

There is no uniform system of archive management at the Ministry of Defence; widely divergent indexing systems are used. The different branches of the armed forces each have their own system. Within the Central Organization different electronic and manual systems are in use for the Directorates-General and for independent departments. As a result, a different approach was required in each case. In general, the possibilities of consulting electronic files were limited and often it was necessary to resort to old-fashioned, time-consuming manual work. The 'Key File' system used at the Defence Crisis Management Centre for the electronic storage of scanned documents turned out not to be suitable for retrieving all the documents relating to Srebrenica. It was only rarely that reports or documents were saved electronically. A few of these exceptions were: MID/CO documents dating from 1995, the Debriefing Archive and several files kept by Section 2 of the Staff of the Airmobile Brigade and a policy assistant at the Directorate for General Policy. In 1995 neither the Defence Crisis Management Centre nor the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff had as yet established a system of recording all incoming and outgoing telephone calls and saving the tapes.

It was not until after the fall of Srebrenica that more detailed directives and regulations for safeguarding the archives and collections of operational units abroad were drawn up, for both the Royal Netherlands Army and the Royal Netherlands Air Force. At that time there was no custom of transferring archives and collections of this sort to the Netherlands at regular intervals. The archives of Dutchbat I and II were left behind in the enclave and when the Dutch troops left Srebrenica they were completely destroyed by Dutchbat III. Copies of reports which were sent to the Netherlands were not always kept. This meant that there was a serious gap in the material available for the enquiry.

This problem was exacerbated by the Royal Netherlands Army's rigorous policy of destroying documents. For common documents, staff, organizational and materiel affairs and exercises, the Regulation for the destruction and handing in of Royal Netherlands Army archive documents<sup>1</sup> prescribes a term of only one year for keeping documents. The same period also applies to larger organizational units such as army corps and divisions, with a few exceptions. When this period has expired, documents may be destroyed. For the NIOD enquiry, this meant that the Airmobile Brigade and the brigade battalions no longer had any records available. The only Army Corps documents which had been preserved were those that had been sent to the Army Headquarters; at headquarters in The Hague documents are not destroyed. A search at the Defence Central Archives Depot (CAD), which also functions as a semi-static archive for the Royal Netherlands Army, also failed to unearth any documents.

Various Royal Netherlands Army archives and collections of documents were consulted. Most of the archives at the headquarters in The Hague covering the period concerned were opened by means of the 'Automated Letterbook System' (GBS). This system makes archives accessible by assigning key words to documents. The quality of the data management sometimes leaves something to be desired.

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<sup>1</sup> VS 2-1112 (4th impression) from 1989, drawn up on the basis of the order made jointly by the Minister of Defence, dated 21 November 1988, no. D87/028 and the Minister of Welfare, Health and Culture, dated 21 November 1988, no. CD/RAI/1988/317/MZ, and the Ministerial Order dated 27 December 1988 no. D87/028/35368.

For instance, there were three different spellings of 'srebrenica' as a key word. Consistent usage of a thesaurus and of abbreviations was still at a primitive stage. A printout was made of the files in each archive by key word. Then the GBS was used to examine these often long lists of key words to see if the documents to which the key words had been assigned were relevant to the enquiry and the period it covered. Then the relevant documents were extracted. In many cases no dossiers had been compiled; most of the documents were filed in numerical order. The reports of the Royal Netherlands Army Council were filed, along with relevant documents, per meeting. An index of these documents covered only half of the period relevant to the enquiry.

At the Royal Netherlands Army Operational Headquarters there are not only archives, but also a large collection of documents originally from units deployed in the former Yugoslavia. These documents are not indexed. While the enquiry was in progress, this collection was supplemented by more documents from the army organization. Up till May 1998 documents continued to turn up as a result of relocations and reorganizations. It should be pointed out that these documents were not records, but working files compiled by staff officers over the years. When such documents were found, archive managers informed the NIOD.

Reports of importance to the enquiry, such as Dutchbat situation reports to the headquarters of Sector North East under which Dutchbat came after 30 March 1994, proved to be incomplete. Situation reports for the period from January to July 1995 from Dutchbat III were missing; not all of Dutchbat's logistic reports had been preserved. Scarcely any reports from Dutchbat companies to the battalion headquarters were found. Only a few of the summaries containing military intelligence about the conflicting parties, which were sent as annexes to the situation reports, had been preserved. The same goes for the UNPROFOR reports sent to The Hague by Dutchbat and Dutch UN staff officers, for example from Sector North East to Bosnia-Herzegovina Command at Sarajevo and from there to the UNPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb. Some of the missing Dutchbat reports could be supplied from the collection of the Military History Section of the Royal Netherlands Army Headquarters, but unfortunately they were far from complete.

The battalions of the Airmobile Brigade, which were despatched as Dutchbat I, II and III, no longer had any documents at all about the mission. At the headquarters of the Airmobile Brigade at Schaarsbergen a few more or less accidentally saved documents and a few diskettes were found. This material did not offer much interesting information. The Dutchbat III company stationed at Simin Han and the 42nd Infantry Battalion Regiment Limburgse Jagers from Seedorf, which was supposed to relieve Dutchbat III and received situation reports to prepare itself for this task, also destroyed all situation reports.

The archives of the Royal Netherlands Navy relating to operations carried out in and around the former Yugoslavia by this branch of the armed forces were mostly to do with the deployment of frigates and maritime patrol aircraft for the NATO and WEU embargo operation in the Adriatic Sea. This operation was not taken into account in the enquiry. Although the deployment of a naval unit for the 'Rapid Reaction Force' was connected with UNPROFOR's role and possible use in the protection of the 'safe Areas', the realization of the Rapid Reaction Force was a matter concerning the Central Organization of the ministry. The despatch of the naval unit itself took place on the day Srebrenica fell. For these reasons naval archives were not examined any further.

The archives of the Royal Netherlands Air Force were examined in connection with the Dutch contribution of F-16 squadrons to the NATO operation 'Deny Flight' and the deployment of air power near Srebrenica. Furthermore, the Air Force was closely associated with the preparations for the despatch of Dutchbat because of the addition of a helicopter squad. Reports from this squad – which was in fact never allowed into Srebrenica – have been preserved. The Royal Netherlands Air Force was also involved in the enquiry into the relief offered to Displaced Persons at Tuzla after the fall of Srebrenica. After the government decision to commission an enquiry into the events surrounding the fall of Srebrenica, any documents still with the F-16 squadron at Villafranca and the Dutch staff officers with the 5th ATAF at Vicenza were transferred to The Hague. All of these collections were

consulted. At the Air Force History Section there were no documents which were not also stored in the archives of the Royal Netherlands Air Force.

At the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee, in addition to a limited number of archive documents mainly related to the period after the fall, there were also several working files on organizational matters with respect to the addition of a marechaussee contingent to Dutchbat, and a number of reports sent to The Hague by the Marechaussee Post at Srebrenica. Requests were submitted to the Public Prosecutor's Office in Arnhem for reports which had been drawn up in the enclave, and also for reports of the enquiries later carried out by the Ministry of Justice.

In April 2000 the archives collected for purposes of the Temporary Parliamentary Committee for Decision-Making on Deployment were searched for missing and supplementary material. These documents had been scanned at the Ministry of Defence and the Military Intelligence Service (MID) and could be searched and consulted by means of key words using the search system Hyperlink. The archives consulted are listed below, with a few remarks on their contents.

## 1. Ministry of Defence, Central Organization

### *Cabinet Archive of the minister of Defence.*

This was the personal archive of Minister Voorhoeve; it had not been indexed. It consisted of two files containing documents of various sorts, such as a number of personal letters, notebooks, speeches, several Cabinet and Parliament documents, several coded messages from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, press announcements and newspaper cuttings. In a working file there were some sketches relating to the progress of the attack on Srebrenica. This file contained no complete information. No documents from Minister Ter Beek's period in office were found in this archive. No minutes are kept of the weekly Political Consultation chaired by the minister.

### *Archive of the Department of the junior minister of Defence.*

This archive, which had not been indexed, consisted of two boxes of policy documents which had been sent to the junior minister.

### *Archive of the Secretary-General's Department.*

This archive contains all policy documents submitted to the ministers through the Secretary-General from the civil service and the branches of the armed forces. 382 policy documents relating to the former Yugoslavia had been indexed. This archive also contains correspondence between private individuals and organizations and the minister, and the minutes of consultations chaired by the Secretary-General, such as the Departmental Consultation and the Consultations of the Secretary-General with the Directors-General. This archive was examined in its entirety.

### *Archives of the Defence Staff.*

This sizeable archive consists of two sections: a national archive and a NATO archive. The two have been compiled in the same way, by means of dossiers. Almost all of the documents relating to the former Yugoslavia are to be found in two dossiers containing several thousand documents. Eleven other national and NATO dossiers containing about 1100 more documents were also consulted. All of the dossiers were in chronological order and indexed by means of 'Rapid File'. With the help of this filing system an initial selection was made, after which all the documents were extracted and inspected. In the national archive, many documents from 1993 and some from 1994 had already been destroyed. However, with the help of other archives in the ministry, most of the documents which had been destroyed could still be tracked down. At the end of the search, there were fifteen missing documents whose possible relevance to the Srebrenica enquiry could not be established.

*Collection of the Defence Crisis Management Centre (DCBC).*

This collection is not an archive in the literal sense and has not been systematically filed. It consists of a variety of documents collected and preserved at the Defence Crisis Management Centre over the years, and of collections of documents compiled by staff officers working at the Defence Staff's Department of Operational Affairs for personal use. Part of the collection was stored in the building where the Defence Crisis Management Centre was housed at the time. Another part, mainly concerned with the period after the fall of Srebrenica and its aftermath was brought together and put into a certain amount of order by an archives assistant at the Royal Netherlands Army's Military History Section at the beginning of the NIOD enquiry. There is no system of access to the collection, it cannot boast of being complete in any area and can be characterized as a hotchpotch. In several cases original documents had found their way into it. A collection of code telegrams from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs covering the entire period of the Dutch presence in the former Yugoslavia was also found at the Defence Crisis Management Centre. Similar telegrams were consulted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The twelve metres of boxes and files contain the following documents of relevance to the Srebrenica enquiry:

*Situation reports from the Defence Crisis Management Centre covering the period from April 1992 to August 1994.*

The reports for September–December 1992, January–March 1993 and 1995 and 1996 were missing, but could be supplied from the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the missing intelligence summaries periodically attached to these reports could be supplied from the archive of the Netherlands Military Intelligence Service.

- Two boxes and files containing situation reports from the Royal Netherlands Army and Royal Netherlands Air Force, from 10 February 1994 to 31 January 1996.
- Two files containing weekly situation reports from the Defence Crisis Management Centre and the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff, from 30 December 1993 to 28 March 1996.
- Fourteen files containing incoming messages from various peace operations during the period from 27 December 1993 to 5 May 1994. After this date incoming messages were processed by a computerized system; however, the possibilities offered by this system for searching and reproducing were not ideal.
- Fourteen files containing coded messages from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, filed by sender, from February 1992 to May 1994.
- A file containing diary notes of DCB duty officers. However, the diaries were not kept up every day and cover only 1992, 1993 and 1994. These notes were also saved in digital form.
- A box and a pack of documents originating from the Deputy Chief of Staff of Operations of the Defence Staff. The box contains mainly material relating to the aftermath of the fall; the pack contains documents about Srebrenica from 8 September 1993 to 14 September 1995.
- A box containing UN directives and briefings.
- A box containing reports of working visits by various officials to the former Yugoslavia and information packs.
- A box containing maps and transparencies; however, most of them are not dated.
- Twelve boxes, in chronological order, containing various documents dating from 1993 to 1996. These boxes contain the most valuable collection of documents; some of them are unique.
- Two boxes containing copies of documents from the archives of the Defence Staff, from 1993 to 1996.
- Two boxes of preparation packs for parliamentary debates in August and December 1995.
- Sixteen files containing outgoing faxes from the period 1993-1995. These faxes are mainly about minor administrative and personnel matters. *In some cases only the covers were filed and not the faxes themselves.*
- A file containing UNPROFOR Standing Operating Procedures.
- A file containing UNPF Fact Sheets, overviews of troop supplies and staffing.

- Various packets including reconnaissance reports from Dutchbat, first reports on Zepa and Srebrenica, intelligence reports on Srebrenica and Zepa, UNPROFOR Rules of Engagement, situation reports, departure regulations for Dutchbat, the use of satellite links, Commander in Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army Operational Command no. 22 and UNPROFOR Operational Plan no. 006.
- Two files containing reports from the Dutch military liaison officer stationed with the UNHCR.
- A file containing reports from the European Commission Monitor Mission (ECMM). All reports in which the word Srebrenica occurred were later supplied in digital form by the European Commission.
- Two files about the Vance-Owen peace plan and a file containing peace plans of the international Contact Group for Yugoslavia.
- Nine files containing NATO plans for the withdrawal of UNPROFOR.
- Eight files containing NATO plans for the Operation 'Deny Flight'.
- Four files about the meetings of the Chiefs of Defence Staff in December 1994 and May 1995.
- Various files about NATO decisions, relations with the UN, NATO troops and fleet movements, police monitors, Security Council resolutions, reports from the UN Secretary-General.
- Three files containing documents about WEU operations.
- A file containing documents about the Airmobile Brigade and Safe Areas.
- Two files about Peacekeeping.
- A file containing agendas and reports of the routine Defence Crisis Management Centre 'Bunker Consultations'. These reports offered little substantive information.
- Two files containing information packs for the Chief of Defence Staff and a briefing for the Dutch Defence College.
- A file about air defence and the air threat over Bosnia and a pack about Air Strikes dating from January, February and March 1994.
- Two packets about informal meetings of the NATO Defence ministers at Seville on 29 and 30 September 1994.

*Archive of the Directorate for General Policy.*

Documents about the former Yugoslavia which had been offered to the ministers by this directorate were selected with the help of a letterbook. This archive also includes draft versions of outgoing letters to Parliament, the Ministerial Council and private individuals. Other documents found were preparations for Parliamentary debates and meetings with foreign ministers, and reports of such meetings, both bilateral and in the context of NATO and WEU. Parts of the working files of officials in this department who dealt with the former Yugoslavia were also kept.

*Archive of the Directorate of General Information.*

In the archive of the Directorate of General Information scarcely any documents were found which were not in other archives or in the collection compiled over the years by the Deputy Director. This collection also contains 'informal documents'. The collection, which was compiled especially in connection with Srebrenica, contains 26 files relating to a variety of matters, such as information for the minister about all sorts of 'issues', documents in preparation of hearings and Parliamentary debates, many notes of talks with various people who played a role in Srebrenica, documents about the preparations for the despatch of Dutchbat and statements about it. The Directorate of General Information also possesses a collection of national and international newspaper articles. It was ascertained that the collection of newspaper articles cannot boast of being complete. The Directorate also has a collection of videotapes of television programmes, three tapes of Dutchbat and tapes of several telephone calls from the Defence Crisis Management Centre and the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff. It must be noted that incoming and outgoing calls at the Defence Crisis Management

Centre and the Army Crisis Staff were not taped systematically. The Deputy Director of General Information wrote up his personal notes for the purposes of the NIOD.

*Archive of the Directorate of Legal Affairs, Department of Administrative Law, Criminal Law and Disciplinary Rules.*

In this archive there were ten working files, ordered by subject: correspondence between the Director of Legal Affairs and the minister and the Royal Netherlands Army, memoranda and incoming documents from the UN Tribunal in The Hague, the UN rapporteur on human rights, the Red Cross, files on medical aid provided by Dutchbat to the population, misbehaviour by UN troops and statements by Dutchbat.

*Archive of the Directorate-General of Personnel.*

This archive contains 23 files, mainly about financial and legal provisions with respect to the despatch to the former Yugoslavia. These files were not consulted. What was relevant to the enquiry was correspondence about the availability of national servicemen for the despatch. The Archive of the Inspectorate of Military Health Care, which comes under this directorate-general, contained several documents about medical aid provided to the population and a complaints procedure which had been set up as a result. In the archive of an assistant at the Inspectorate of Military Health Care at 'Zwaluwenberg' another two files containing documents and notes were found.

*Archive of the Directorate-General for Equipment.*

This archive occupies 3.2 metres of shelf space and consists of a wide variety of correspondence and reports. A check of the inventory of these documents showed that the archive had been set up mainly to receive documents made elsewhere in the ministry. The archive was not consulted further. The directorate-general did not play any role in Dutchbat's equipment management.

*Archive of the Directorate-General for Economy and Finance.*

This archive consists of eight files containing financial documents. A few documents about loss of materiel by Dutchbat were selected. *Financial relations between the Dutch government and the United Nations did not fall within the scope of this enquiry.*

*Archive of the Military Intelligence Service (MID), Central Organization.*

All documents which had been registered in other archives as having been sent by the MID but had been removed from those archives were requested from this archive. The MID also supplied all the intelligence summaries which were missing at the Defence Crisis Management Centre. Material used to compile the intelligence summaries had not been saved. The archives of the First Air Force Signals Group (1LVG), the 898 Signals Battalion (898 Vdbat) of the Royal Netherlands Army in Eibergen, the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee's Technical Information Processing Centre (TIVC) in Amsterdam and the Department of Signals Information (AVI) in The Hague were consulted. For other MID documents, see under Royal Netherlands Army archives.

*Archive of the Armed Forces Hospital Organization.*

In this archive a few documents about blood supplies in Srebrenica were found.

*The archive of the Defence attaché in Ottawa.*

In this archive documents dating from 1993-1994 were inspected to see what contacts there had been between the Dutch and Canadian ministries of Defence about relieving the Canadian unit in Srebrenica.

## 2. Royal Netherlands Army Archives

### *Archive of the Army Council.*

The section of the Army Council's Archive which covers 1993-1995 consists of 12 boxes. This was the Royal Netherlands Army's most complete archive. Drafts of minutes and notes were also kept in it. In some cases a comparison provided more information than would have emerged on the basis of the minutes only. In 1993 the preparation for Dutchbat I was a regular information point for the Council. With the exception of a document about the formation of the third battalion of the 11th Airmobile Brigade (the later Dutchbat III), documents for the purpose of discussions on Dutchbat were not found. In later years Dutchbat was no longer a subject of consultations, with the exception of a few announcements after the fall of the enclave.

### *Archive of the Cabinet/ Staff Group of the Commander in Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army.*

This archive has a number of sub-archives:

#### *Cabinet of the Commander in Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army.*

This archive, 0.2 metres in length, seemed to have been cleared out at some stage. No personal documents of the commander were found in the archive. It consisted mainly of memoranda drawn up at the ministry and documents about follow-up care for Dutchbat personnel.

#### *Legal Affairs Section.*

In this sub-archive documents of various kinds were found.

#### *General Policy Section.*

This archive also contained documents of various kinds, including one document from the First Army Corps containing recommendations about the appointment of Dutchbat.

## 3. Archive of the Royal Netherlands Army Operational Staff.

The archive of the former Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff also includes the collections of Section G4 (8 metres), Section G3 Plans (0.5 metres) and Section G3 Operations (3 metres). There are also boxes containing documents dating from 1993 (1.0 metre), 1994 (2.0 metres), 1995 (3.0 metres) and 1996 (3.0 metres). In the 1996 boxes there were also documents with earlier dates. Some documents were missing from the 1993 boxes. Prior to the NIOD enquiry the collections had been put into more detailed order. The collections consist mainly of a variety of reports from units in the former Yugoslavia, military intelligence surveys and data on unit rotations. A small part of the collection contains UNPROFOR and UNHCR documents, including instructions and various reports. There are no inventories. All the boxes were checked to see if there were any documents which might be of use to the enquiry. The collections relating to Dutchbat are incomplete. Diaries of the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff Situation Centre had not been preserved.

At the Operational Staff's 'Lessons Learned' Section there were also documents relevant to the enquiry. Following is a list describing the archive of the Department of Operational Affairs.

*Archive of the Department of Operational Policy.*

Both of these archives contain documents of a general nature and were searched by means of the Automated Letterbook System and for the key words considered to be the most important manually as well. Both archives were of limited size.

*Archive of the Military Intelligence Service, Royal Netherlands Army (former Department of Intelligence & Security).*

In the archive of this service 62 documents, dossiers and files containing various intelligence reports and data on the former Yugoslavia were examined.

*Archives of the Central Personnel and Organization Service.*

In this archive attention was focused on:

*Archive of the Department of Personnel Care.*

Most documents about general personnel affairs and follow-up care for Dutchbat were to be found here.

*Archive of the Department of Behavioural Science.*

Several reports on follow-up care and exit studies from the despatch area were selected.

*Archive of the Task Area of the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Medical Service.*

This fairly extensive archive contained a number of well-ordered files offering information about both medical affairs and general operational affairs.

*Archive of the First Army Corps.*

This archive was destroyed. A search at the present location at Munster also failed to unearth any more documents from 1993, when the First Army Corps played a role in the preparations for the despatch of Dutchbat.

*Archive of the 11th Airmobile Brigade at Schaarsbergen.*

This archive was destroyed. It turned out that Staff Sections 1 (Personnel) and 2 (Information) still had a collection of assorted documents, videotapes and a few diskettes. The material found at Section 2 consisted mainly of information about the conflicting parties in the former Yugoslavia and their equipment, several situation assessments, weather and terrain studies and a few videotapes of the post in Srebrenica. There was little unique material. Some of the other documents and diskettes were related to the preparations for the despatch of Dutchbat I and exercise drills. A box of photographs turned out to include some photographs of the compound at Potocari. At Section 1 there was a file containing data on compensation for equipment and personal property belonging to Dutchbat III which had been lost on departure from Srebrenica. At the Communications Section there was an extensive collection of videotapes. One part of the collection contained all television broadcasts which were in any way related to the Airmobile Brigade and its battalions, another part contained tapes of the exercises carried out by Dutchbat III in preparation for despatch. Copies of the weekly information bulletin 'Tell-Yoe', which was compiled each week by Section S2 of the Staff of the 11th Airmobile Brigade had been saved.

*Collection of the Military History Section.*

This collection, which had excellent access facilities, consists of about 6 metres of documents of a wide variety, mostly relating to Srebrenica; it consists partly of unique material and partly of copies of archive documents which are also kept elsewhere. The unique material includes situation reports from Dutchbat III and the B-company, which was stationed in the city of Srebrenica, military intelligence reports, reports from military observers and messages from Section 5 of Dutchbat III. There are also some UN, UNPROFOR and UNHCR documents and some letters from Lieutenant Colonel T.J.P. Karremans. However, the reports are far from complete. Many of the unrelated documents focus on the period just before the fall and are remnants of a study of the operational functioning of Dutchbat carried out in Zagreb by the Military History Section at the request of Lieutenant General H.A. Couzy; however, this study was never completed because it was overtaken by the 'Debriefing Enquiry'.

In August 1998 another 56 documents were added to the Collection of the Military History Section. These documents came from the then head of the Legal Affairs Section of the Commander in Chief of The Royal Netherlands Army.

*Commander in Chief of the Royal Netherlands Army Archive of Srebrenica Debriefing.*

The 'debriefing archive' is a collection of documents compiled at the time of and for the purposes of the debriefing. There is a special access regime. The collection, which is stored at the Institute of Military History, contains the debriefing reports of 490 Dutchbat soldiers, a description of the administrative organization involved in the debriefing, a factual account, and photographs and pictures. The collection is 9.6 metres long. Documents which had not been found elsewhere were selected from the non-confidential section of the debriefing archive. In view of the confidentiality promised to those taking part in the debriefing, the NIOD asked the participants for a declaration giving their permission for their statements to be inspected. 212 individuals responded to this request.

*Archive of the 101st MI platoon at Ede.*

In this archive there were a number of Dutchbat patrol reports, intelligence data on BSA and ABiH formations, several interview reports about the actions of the Bosnian and the Bosnian Serb armies and a sheaf of operational 'debriefing reports' of Dutchbat II as they were carried out by the then 101st MID Company on 1 and 2 February at Schaarsbergen.

*Archive of the 'Lessons Learned' Section.*

This archive, 5.5 metres in length, contained a wide variety of documents including several from the earliest period of Dutchbat. However, the archive contained no material which could be classified as 'lessons learned' by the various Dutchbats.

*Archive of the School of Peace Missions in Amersfoort.*

This school still has learning materials about Bosnia and the conflicting parties, dating from 1993. They were used in the second half of that year at the former Peace Operations Centre (CVV). At that time the CVV was responsible for passing on knowledge in the area of peacekeeping techniques and basic military skills to the 11th Airmobile Brigade, which then took charge of training Dutchbat.

*Archive of the Department of Individual Counselling, Royal Netherlands Army Health Service, in Amersfoort.*

There was a certain amount of material here connected with the run-up to the debriefing of Dutchbat in Assen.

#### 4. Archives consulted at the Royal Netherlands Air Force

At the Royal Netherlands Air Force, all documents relating to Srebrenica, Yugoslavia and the NATO operation 'Deny Flight' were selected by means of a computerized archive system. The Air Force Registration assigns a correspondence number to each department each year. The documents with the relevant numbers were retrieved and in each case the box in which the document was stored was searched for any surrounding documents which might have been of importance to the enquiry. If the same document was found in the archives of several departments, the documents were checked in case there were extra comments in the margins or on the covers. The method used led to entry into the following archives:

- Archive of the Air Force Council
- Archive of the Commander of the Air Force, General
- Archive of the Commander of the Air Force, Confidential
- Archive of the Commander of the Air Force, Secret
- Archive of the Commander of the Air force, NATO
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Personnel Director, General
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Personnel Director, Confidential
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Director of Operations, General
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Director of Operations, General Confidential
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Director of Operations, Secret
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Director of Operations, Personnel Confidential
- Archive of the Royal Netherlands Air Force Director of Equipment
- Archive of the Director of Operations, Staff Department of Operations, Exercises, Plans, Evaluations & Reporting (STAOOPER).

In the archive of the Staff Department of Operations, Exercises, Plans, Evaluations & Reporting (STAOOPER) there are also several collections:

- Sitreps, messages and faxes from the helicopter squad, 24 January - 21 September 1994
- Documents related to the despatch of Dutchbat and the helicopter squad
- Sitreps, messages and faxes from Operation Deny Flight
- Sitreps, messages and faxes from the Villafranca Detachment
- Diary notes from the 5th ATAF at Vicenza dating from July 1995.

The photo archive of the 306th Squadron at Volkel Air Base was inspected to see if it contained any aerial photographs of the Srebrenica Safe Area. However, the photographs which were found had no bearing on the period from June - July 1995.

At the Air Force History Section there were no documents which were not also to be found in the archives of the Royal Netherlands Air Force.

#### 5. Archives consulted at the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee

In the office archive of the Commander of the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee, the common archive and the confidential archive several memoranda had been preserved, most of which had to do with events after the fall of Srebrenica.

At the Department of Operations, 'special reports' and 'alteration reports from the operations room of the Operations Department, Implementation Affairs Section' dating from 1994 and 1995 had been saved. The special reports were about particular incidents and originally came from the Srebrenica Post of the UNPROFOR Brigade. At the Royal Marechaussee there was also a working file about organizational matters involved in the addition of a marechaussee contingent to Dutchbat and a number of reports about routine Dutchbat staff talks, sent to The Hague by staff stationed at the Srebrenica post. Although these documents are unique, they offer little information.

## 6. Special Defence archives

### *Archive of the Chief Army Chaplain's Office.*

This archive contained correspondence between the chaplain at the enclave and the Chief Army Chaplain.

### *Archive of the Chief Armed Forces Adviser's Bureau.*

This archive provided one document about the preparation of Dutchbat III, but due to circumstances the adviser stayed only a short time with Dutchbat III, and therefore the document offered little information.

## Chapter 3

### Other archives and collections

#### 1. Ministry of Justice

A pack of documents was received from the Ministry of Justice; these were mainly related to records and annexes kept at this ministry which had to do with Srebrenica.

From the Public Prosecutor's Office in Arnhem (military division) records were received which had been drawn up by the Srebrenica Post of the UNPROFOR Brigade of the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee in the period from February 1994 to July 1995 and also records of later enquiries.

#### 2. Ministry of Home Affairs

Collection of the Dutch National Security Service (BVD) in Leidschendam. Several dossiers from this archive concerning the situation in the former Yugoslavia and its possible implications for Dutch national security and the democratic system were made available for inspection.

#### 3. Ministry of Finances

Collection of the Economic Investigation Service, International Economic Investigations Branch in Utrecht. In this archive documents concerning evasion of the embargo against the former Yugoslavia were consulted.

#### 4. Ministry of General Affairs

At this ministry the archive of the Prime Minister's office (KMP) and of the Secretary-General were inspected. Objectivized summaries of the minutes of the Ministerial Council meetings from 1992–1998 were made for the purposes of the present NIOD study.

#### 5. United Nations, Geneva

UNPROFOR Collection. The archive contained documents from the UN headquarters in Zagreb, Sarajevo and Tuzla. Many of the documents from Tuzla originally came from the UNPROFOR Civil Affairs official in Tuzla, who reported on a wide variety of subjects.

Collection of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) Papers, Palais des Nations. This collection includes the most important correspondence between the European negotiators Lord Owen, Vance, Stoltenberg and Bildt, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy Akashi, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations led by Annan and the Unprofor military representatives in the period from 1992–1996.

Collection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In the UN refugee organization's archive many documents concerning humanitarian affairs in the Srebrenica enclave were found.

#### 6. United Nations, New York

Collection of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). This collection includes all of the United Nations coded cables which were exchanged between DPKO and the Unprofor representatives and diplomatic negotiators during the war in Bosnia. The part of this collection covering the period from 1992–1995 was inspected.

Collection of Siergo Vieira de Mello. This archive contains correspondence between DPKO and UPROFOR officials in Bosnia.

UNPROFOR Collection. This archive contains the most important correspondence between the UN Secretary-General's special envoy Akashi, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the UPROFOR commanders during the period from 1992 – 1996 and also the archives of the Force Commander, Deputy Force Commanders and Chiefs of Staff.

## 7. International Criminal Court for the Former Yugoslavia, The Hague

A collection of documents used in the trial of Serbian General Krstic before the Yugoslavia Tribunal (IT-98-33).

## 8. Canada

Collection of the Canadian Ministry of Defence in Ottawa. In the so-called *Green Folder Confidential* and *Red Folder Secret I & II* documents concerning the Canadian UNPROFOR units in Bosnia in general and Srebrenica in particular were inspected. They were mainly reports from Bosnia to the National Defence Headquarters (NDHQ) of the Canadian Ministry of Defence and correspondence with the Canadian UPROFOR units in Srebrenica. There were also Canadian Situation Reports from the Canadian UPROFOR unit in the enclave.

Collection of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) in Ottawa. A total of 39 dossiers from the so-called File No. 21-14-6-UNPROFOR were consulted from the archive of the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This collection contains Canadian diplomatic code telegrams which were exchanged between the ministry in Ottawa and the Canadian diplomatic representations abroad relating to UNPROFOR affairs.

## 9. European Union

Reports from ECMM observers in Bosnia were acquired through the Ministry of Defence.

### *Bosnia*

A total of 44 documents about Srebrenica dating from July 1995 were received from the headquarters of the army of the Bosnian Federation (ABiH).

A total of 76 documents of various sorts were sent by the headquarters of the 2nd Corps of the ABiH in Tuzla.

documents connected with the journey of the men of Srebrenica to Tuzla were received from the Ministry of the Interior of the Republika Srpska (*Ministarstvo Unutrasnjih Poslova*).

### *Yugoslavia*

Ivanisevic Collection. This collection contains documents which are kept at the *Centar za istraživanje zločina nad Srpskim narodom* at Belgrade, of which Milivoje Ivanisevic is the director. The collection contains about 300 documents including 86 Bosnian army documents from a plundered computer in Zepa, containing commands and reports connected with Srebrenica and Zepa. The authenticity of these documents has been confirmed by Ramiz Becirovic, former Chief of Staff of the 28th Division from Srebrenica. One hundred documents came from the Republika Srpska and were mainly witnesses' statements, drawn up in the Opstinas of Skelani, Srebrenica, Zvornik, Milici and Bratunac, about Muslim-perpetrated violence from 1992 to 1994. Also in this collection are about 60 UN documents dating from July and August 1995, from UNMOs, and messages exchanged between UN agencies in Bosnia about Displaced Persons from Srebrenica. Several Dutchbat documents were also found in the collection. At a later stage two diaries from Srebrenica were also made available through this centre;

they are mainly concerned with administrative matters. The Ivanisevic collection also contains Bosnian Serb newspaper and magazine articles and video tapes recorded by private individuals which give an impression of everyday life and were found in Srebrenica after 11 July 1995.

Trifunovic Collection. This collection is kept at the Law Projects Centre in Belgrade, an organization affiliated with the Republika Srpska. The collection contained video tapes from both Srebrenica and surrounding Bosnian-Serb towns and villages. The material includes pictures of victims of Muslim attacks in 1993 and 1994. A small number of documents relating to the presence of Dutchbat in Srebrenica was also found at this Centre.

Yugoslav Ministry of Information. A collection of articles from international periodicals and newspapers concerning the media warfare between the Bosnian Serbs and the Bosnians was received from this ministry.

### *Denmark*

Situation reports dating from July 1995 and a few unrelated letters were received from the archive of the Danish Army Operations Command.

## **10. Clingendael Institute**

'The Clingendael Collection', a pack of UNPROFOR documents thought to be originally from the archives and staffs of the United Nations in the former Yugoslavia. These documents were made available to the Clingendael Institute for research by an anonymous source in the autumn of 1996.

Archive of the Education Department. In this archive some data were found relating to courses on negotiation techniques followed by several Dutchbat members at Clingendael. The lessons themselves were not found.

## **11. Military interest organizations**

Articles from club papers and press releases relating to the despatch of Dutch troops to the former Yugoslavia and their presence in Srebrenica were received from the General Christian Soldiers' Organization (ACOM), the General Federation of Military Personnel (AFMP), the Marechaussee Association and the Dutch Officers' Association.

## **12. Médecins sans Frontières (Brussels)**

In the archive of Médecins sans Frontières there were reports dating from 1993 about the situation in Srebrenica and a complete series of 'Capsat messages' exchanged between the coordinator of *Médecins sans Frontières* in Srebrenica and coordinators elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. In this archive a number of messages from Dutchbat about medical matters were found, as well as messages concerning Dutchbat.

## **13. Swedish Rescue Services Agency (Räddnings Verket) at Karlstad, Sweden**

This organization ran the so-called Swedish Shelter project, a village made up of prefab houses offering shelter to about 3000 people. This organization made its 1994 and 1995 reports, written mainly in Swedish, available. The last report dates from 11 July 1995.

## **14. Norwegian People's Aid (NPA, Norsk Folkehjelp) in Oslo, Norway**

This organization was involved in humanitarian projects in Srebrenica and Bratunac and made all its documentation from Srebrenica and Bratunac available.

The documents written in Norwegian and Swedish from collections 28 and 29 were adapted by Krsti Thørsen at the request of the NIOD. These reports give detailed descriptions and analyses of the archive material made available to the NIOD by these organizations. The titles of the reports are: Swedish Rescue Services Agency, Swedish Shelter Project in Srebrenica, 01/03/1994–11/07/1995 (date of report 9 September 2000); Norsk Folkehjelp (Norwegian People's Aid), Humanitarian Aid Programmes in Srebrenica and Bratunac, 1993–1995 (12 April 2001). The collections of MSF and UNHCR were also adapted and summarized in reports. The titles of these reports are: Médecins Sans Frontières. Humanitarian Aid Programme in Srebrenica, 4/12/1992–21/7/1995 (23 January 2001); United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (15 July 2001). In referring to these reports, the common abbreviations are used (SRSA, MSF, NPA, and UNHCR).

## 15. Private Collections

Sector North East Collection, 1994 and 1995. Several documents originally from the headquarters of UNPROFOR Sector North East at Tuzla were submitted by a private source. These documents are mainly about relations between the 2nd Corps at Tuzla and the SNE Headquarters.

Collection of UNHCR Tuzla reports: UNHCR messages to and from Tuzla, concerning relief for Displaced Persons after the fall of Srebrenica. Acquired from a private source.

Quiggin Collection: UN documents about the Gorazde crisis in 1994.

Voskamp Collection: documents concerning the provision of Close Air Support to Dutchbat in July 1995.

Collection of De Weerd, former adviser to the NATO Permanent Representative at Brussels: diary and abstracts of NATO documents, compiled for the purposes of the NIOD.

Sudetic Collection: abstracts of UN documents originally from the UN Headquarters in New York. At the time of the war in Bosnia, Sudetic was a correspondent for the *New York Times* and author of *Blood and Vengeance: One Family's Story of the War in Bosnia*.

Karremans Collection: letters and documents belonging to the former commander of Dutchbat III.

Rohde Collection: various documents including UN documents, collected during Rohde's time in Bosnia as a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

Westerman Collection: documents collected for the book *Srebrenica: Het zwartste scenario* (Srebrenica: the Blackest Scenario), of which Frank Westerman, at the time a correspondent for *NRC Handelsblad* in the former Yugoslavia, was a co-author.

Brantz Collection: documents belonging to the former Deputy Commander of UNPROFOR Sector North East at Tuzla. In addition to notes dating from the period when Brantz was Chief of Staff of the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff, this collection also contains an (adapted) diary of the Crisis Staff Situation Centre which was not found anywhere else in the archives. The collection also contained a series of diaries which were supplemented over the years. The original version of the diary was not made available.

Van Duijn Collection: several documents relating to the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica.

Wahlgren Collection: documents belonging to the former UNPROFOR Force Commander, mainly about the realization of the Safe Areas.

Stagge Collection: several documents about the organization of the debriefing in Assen.

Nicolai Collection: documents originally belonging to the former BH-Command Chief of Staff in Sarajevo. The documents are mainly concerned with the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica and came from a Dutch source.

Collection of Momcilo Cvijetinovic: the diary of an ABiH soldier, found at Srebrenica, and a newspaper published in Srebrenica on 8 February 1994.

Stanojevic Collection: several diaries and a collection of internal ABiH documents pertaining to the administrative affairs of several brigades in Srebrenica.

Kolsteren Collection: diary notes and several documents from the UNPF Headquarters in Zagreb.

Vader Collection: correspondence relating to the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica.

Hegge Collection: documents about training and the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica.

Vandewijer Collection: diskettes containing notes and briefings dating from 1993-1994.

Hilderink Collection: chronology and notes on various subjects, written after the fall of Srebrenica.

Collection of Rupert Smith: 58 documents which were not found in the UNPROFOR archives in Geneva were selected from four files containing personal correspondence, documents and notes.

Vermeulen Collection: personal documents belonging to the commander of Dutchbat I.

Schouten Collection: diaries from Srebrenica covering the period from February to July 1995 and documents about medical matters and training courses.

Collection of David Moore (Commander of Canbat): documents about Canbat's time and rotation in Srebrenica.

Collection of Bo Pellnäss (Chief UNMO): diary and several documents.

Collection of General Kjeld Hillingsø (Commander of Danish Operational Forces): Danish situation reports.

Collection of Berry Ashton (Deputy Force Commander, United Nations Protection Force): diary notes and policy documents.

Collection of Tony Banbury (Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General): diary notes, accounts of talks and a 'srebrenica dossier'.

Collection of Emma Shitakha (Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General): diary notes and accounts of talks.

Meurkens Collection: correspondence and diary notes.

cobovits de Szeged Collection: diary notes.

Van den Breemen Collection: annotated copies of archive documents.

Uiterweer Post Collection: notes and documents about Tuzla Air Base and relief for Displaced Persons there.

Jansen Collection: Diary fragments and documents from the UN headquarters in Zagreb and intelligence briefings for the Army Council.

Lubbers Collection: notes made for the purposes of the NIOD enquiry.

Rave Collection: diary notes.

Neisingh Collection: diary notes dating from 11 July 1995.

Hicks Collection: documents concerning humanitarian affairs associated with the fall of Srebrenica.

Bourgondiën Collection: documents concerning humanitarian affairs associated with the fall of Srebrenica.

Groen Collection: notes of the debriefing in Zagreb.

Beneker Collection: document about the press conference in Zagreb.

TCBU Collection: documents collected for the purposes of the Temporary Committee for Despatch Decision-Making.

Svensson Collection: UNPF documents and diary notes.

Jacobovitz de Szeged Collection: diary notes made as NATO Permanent Representative.

Ter Beek Collection: archive documents and newspaper articles used to write his book *Manoeuvreren* (Manoeuvring).

Pennin Collection: several documents relating to the debriefing in Assen and the aftermath of Srebrenica.

De Ruiter Collection: documents originally from the UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo.

## 16. Personal memoirs

For the purposes of the NIOD enquiry, the former Minister of Defence J.J.C. Voorhoeve compiled a diary on Bosnia policy and Srebrenica covering the period from 22 August 1994 to August 1995.

Deputy Director of General Information of the Ministry of Defence, B. Kreemers, recorded his memories of Srebrenica and its aftermath for the purposes of the NIOD.

Adjutant Koreman (Dutchbat III) lent the NIOD a manuscript he himself had written about his time in Srebrenica, illustrated with abstracts of reports.

## 17. Archives of Political Parties

1. Blaauw Collection: documents from the archive he had compiled on the former Yugoslavia as VVD parliamentary party spokesman and also from his term as chairman of the so-called Blaauw Parliamentary Committee on Srebrenica.
2. VVD Collection: documents selected from the archives of the party executive and secretariat.
3. CDA Collection: several documents were received from the personal archive of Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, long-time spokesman for the parliamentary party. Large sections of De Hoop Scheffer's archive were destroyed, partly by mistake.<sup>2</sup> The well-organized archive of the CDA party executive turned out to be particularly informative, especially the part relating to the Foreign Affairs Committee.
4. Valk Collection: documents released for the purposes of the Srebrenica enquiry.
5. D66 Collection: documents selected from the archives of the party executive and secretariat.
6. GroenLinks Collection: documents released for the purposes of the Srebrenica enquiry.
7. PvdA Collection: documents selected from the archives of the party executive and secretariat, and copies of documents collected for the parliamentary Temporary Committee, including minutes and documents of consultations within the parliamentary party and the party committees involved. Documents were also received from the Alfred Mozer Stichting.

## 18. Miscellaneous

### *CD-ROM Collection.*

This collection appears to contain the complete correspondence between the 28th Division in Srebrenica and the 2nd Corps of the ABiH in Tuzla during the period when Srebrenica was a Safe Area. The CD-ROMs also contain material from civilian authorities in Srebrenica, and VRS archive material from the 'Zivojin Misic' barracks at Zvornik, which sheds some light on the conflict at Baljkovica where the retreating column had to fight its way through VRS lines after the fall of Srebrenica. The printouts of the most relevant documents in these CD-ROMs were about two metres long.

### *Veterans Institute/ BMNO Centre.*

These institutes provided material and reports relating to the follow-up care of Dutchbat III.

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<sup>2</sup> Information by telephone from Ms B. Rutgers, 10/05/99; H. Hillen to NIOD, 06/07/99; NIOD to H. Hillen, 15/07/99.

## Chapter 4

### Additional private collections

Another twelve private collections were consulted which it was agreed would remain confidential.

- Confidential Collection (1): documents originally from the American State Department.
- Confidential Collection (2): a large number of documents dating from 1994-1995 which were originally from G-2 UNPF Zagreb, and 11.000 military diary notes on CD-ROM.
- Confidential Collection (3): report on Unprofor intelligence acquisition.
- Confidential Collection (4): several Interoffice Memoranda from the Military Information Branch UNPF-HQ.
- Confidential Collection (5): UNMO documents from the UN headquarters in Zagreb.
- Confidential Collection (6): diplomatic correspondence of foreign origin.
- Confidential Collection (7): military documents of Canadian origin.
- Confidential Collection (8): military documents of foreign origin.
- Confidential Collection (9): notes and policy documents.
- Confidential Collection (10): notes and policy documents.
- Confidential Collection (11): notes and reports of Bosnian origin.
- Confidential Collection (12): documents about secret arms supplies to Tuzla.
- Confidential Collection (13): documents related to the trial of General Krstic before the Yugoslavia Tribunal, which were not included in the trial documents.

## Chapter 5

### List of audio-visual material consulted

#### 1. The Netherlands

Liberal use was made of audio-visual source material for the purposes of the enquiry. Without detailed specification, relevant NOS and RTL4 news bulletins issued throughout the entire period covered by the enquiry were consulted. Some of this material came from the Netherlands Audiovisual Archive (NAA) in Hilversum or from the broadcasting corporations themselves. Videotapes of relevant broadcasts made by Defence General Information were also used. The same goes for tapes of various current affairs programmes: *Brandpunt*, *Kenmerk*, *Lopende Zaken*, *Netwerk*, *Nova*, *Reporter*, *2Vandaag* and *Zembla*. With regard to relevant radio programmes, special mention must be made of the series of radio documentaries about Srebrenica made by Gerard Legebeeke in 1998 for the programme *Argos*. The documentary *Crazy* by Heddy Honigman (1999) also deserves a special mention. Use was also made of transcriptions of relevant statements made on radio by politicians and military staff; these were made available by the press documentation service of Parliament. In addition, several specific collections of videotapes were consulted:

- Defence Collection: tapes made personally by W. Dijkema and B. Rave (April-July 1995)
- Defence Collection: Dutchbat I, II and III; ‘Dutchbat in Vredesnaam’ (1996)
- Everts Collection: Dutchbat I and II

#### 2. The former Yugoslavia

The ‘Institute for the collection of data on crimes committed against the Serb people’ in Belgrade has in its possession a large amount of Bosnian video material which was plundered after the capture of Srebrenica. In many cases this material consisted of longer or shorter fragments recording events within the brigades of the 28th Division, scenes from everyday life in the enclave, activities in the hospital and private video shots, apparently intended to be a sort of letter on video for family members outside the enclave. A total of four tapes containing fragments were watched, all of which were related to events which took place in 1992 and 1994.

Plundered video material was also inspected elsewhere in the area. For example, M. Cvijetinovic has a tape showing victory celebrations of several brigades of the 28th Division. Another example is a tape showing Hakija Meholic during various military operations. G. Ivanisevic gave access to material showing Naser Oric in various operations. Z. Petrovic-Pirocanac gave access to tapes which he made in and around Srebrenica in July 1995. At the Centre for Criminological Research in Belgrade, video material about Bosnian-Serb victims during 1992–1993 was inspected. At the Bosnian State Committee for the collection of data on war crimes in Sarajevo, statements recorded on video by survivors of the journey to Tuzla and of mass executions were examined.

#### 3. Other material:

- International Monitor Institute, Los Angeles (USA)
- Balkan Archive (an extensive collection belonging to international film material, transcribed in translation and arranged by key words)
- Refugees International, Washington D.C. (USA)
- Private tapes of interviews with refugees from Srebrenica, made in July 1995. Films and documentaries:
  - *Crime and punishment*, by Maria Fuglevaag Warsinski (1999, Speranza Films)
  - *Warriors*, by Peter Kasminsky (1999, BBC)

- *Panorama* (11/03/96, BBC)
- *Srebrenica, une chute sur ordonnance* (Srebrenica, an orchestrated tragedy), Yves Billy and Gilles Hertzog (Paris, Les films du village, 1996)
- *Bosnia!!*, Bernard-Henry Levy (1994)
- *Envoyé Spécial* [*Srebrenica: enquête sur un massacre*], 26/09/96

*Television Programs*

2 Vandaag, TROS, 21/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, TROS, 10/07/95  
 2 Vandaag EO, 12/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, EO, 08/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, EO, 08-07-95  
 2 Vandaag, EO, 12/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, EO, 24/12/94  
 2 Vandaag, TROS, 10/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, TROS, 13/07/95  
 2 Vandaag, VOO, 18/01/94  
 Achter het Nieuws, VARA, 19/05/91  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 03/03/96  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 03/09/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 09/05/93  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 09/08/92  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 11/12/94  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 16/06/96  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 16/07/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 16/08/92  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 22/09/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 23/07/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 24/09/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 26/11/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 27/08/95  
 Brandpunt, KRO, 28/02/93  
 Dutchbat vrij (Dutchbat free), NOS, 23/07/95  
 Het Capitool, NOS, 30/01/94  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 01/05/95  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 11/04/94  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 17/07/95  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 20/12/93  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 27/02/95  
 Hier en Nu, NCRV, 28/08/95  
 Journaal, NOS, 01/02/94  
 Journaal, NOS, 06/08/92  
 Journaal, NOS, 07/08/92  
 Journaal, NOS, 08/02/94  
 Journaal, NOS, 08/08/91  
 Journaal, NOS, 11/01/94  
 Journaal, NOS, 11/07/95  
 Journaal, NOS, 11/07/95  
 Journaal, NOS, 11/07/95, 12/07/95  
 Journaal, NOS, 12/04/94

Journal, NOS, 12/07/95  
Journal, NOS, 12/07/95  
Journal, NOS, 12/08/92  
Journal, NOS, 12/11/93  
Journal, NOS, 13/07/95  
Journal, NOS, 13/07/95  
Journal, NOS, 16/04/93  
Journal, NOS, 16/04/93  
Journal, NOS, 17/04/93  
Journal, NOS, 18/04/93  
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