

**UNITED  
NATIONS**

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International Tribunal for the  
Prosecution of Persons  
Responsible for Serious Violations  
of International Humanitarian Law  
Committed in the Territory of the  
former Yugoslavia since 1991

Case No.: IT-95-5/18-T

Date: 24 March 2016

Original: English

**IN THE TRIAL CHAMBER**

**Before:** Judge O-Gon Kwon, Presiding Judge  
Judge Howard Morrison  
Judge Melville Baird  
Judge Flavia Lattanzi, Reserve Judge

**Registrar:** Mr. John Hocking

**Judgement of:** 24 March 2016

**PROSECUTOR**

**v.**

**RADOVAN KARADŽIĆ**

***PUBLIC***

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**PUBLIC REDACTED VERSION OF JUDGEMENT ISSUED ON  
24 MARCH 2016**

**VOLUME I OF IV**

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**Office of the Prosecutor**

Mr. Alan Tieger  
Ms. Hildegard Uertz-Retzlaff

**The Accused**

Mr. Radovan Karadžić

## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. THE ACCUSED AND THE CHARGES AGAINST HIM

1. This case relates to events alleged to have occurred from October 1991 to November 1995 in various locations in BiH, including Sarajevo, Srebrenica, and 20 municipalities of the ARK, the Sarajevo region, and eastern BiH (“Municipalities”).

2. The Accused was born on 19 June 1945 in the municipality of Šavnik, Republic of Montenegro. He was a founding member of the SDS and served as its President from 12 July 1990 to 19 July 1996.<sup>1</sup> The Accused also acted as President of the National Security Council of SerBiH, which was created on 27 March 1992 and held sessions until around May 1992.<sup>2</sup> On 12 May 1992, the Accused was elected as the President of the three-member Presidency of SerBiH.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of June 1992, the Presidency increased to five members, and the Accused continued as President of that Presidency.<sup>4</sup> From 17 December 1992, he was sole President of the RS and Supreme Commander of the RS armed forces.<sup>5</sup>

3. In the Indictment, the Accused is charged under Article 7(1) of the Statute for his alleged participation in four related JCEs in BiH. The Prosecution alleges the following:

- i) From at least October 1991 to 30 November 1995, the Accused participated in an “overarching” JCE, the objective of which was to permanently remove

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Treanor, T. 14000–14002 (1 June 2011); P2536 (Patrick Treanor’s expert report entitled “The Bosnian Serb Leadership 1990–1992”, 30 July 2002), para. 7; D255 (Radovan Karadžić’s speech at the constituent SDS Assembly), p. 2; D269 (Article from NIN entitled “Serbs in Bosnia”, 20 July 1990), p. 1; D4424 (Written agreement between Radovan Karadžić, Momčilo Krajišnik, Biljana Plavšić and Aleksa Buha, 18 July 1996). *See also* Section II.B.1: Serbian Democratic Party (SDS).

<sup>2</sup> P2536 (Patrick Treanor’s expert report entitled “The Bosnian Serb Leadership 1990–1992”, 30 July 2002), paras. 236, 255–256; Patrick Treanor, T. 14060 (1 June 2011) (erroneously referring to 27 March 1991); Momčilo Mandić, C2 (Transcript from *Prosecutor v. Krajišnik*), T. 8743. *See* paras. 89, 95. The Chamber notes that when it refers to a paragraph or a footnote number without specifying the source, it refers to a paragraph or footnote in this Judgement.

<sup>3</sup> P3032 (Minutes of 1<sup>st</sup> constitutive session of “SerBiH” Presidency, 12 May 1992); Patrick Treanor, T. 14060 (1 June 2011); P2536 (Patrick Treanor’s expert report entitled “The Bosnian Serb Leadership 1990–1992”, 30 July 2002), paras. 236, 260; Momčilo Mandić, T. 5000 (13 July 2010). *See* para. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Treanor, T. 14060–14061 (1 June 2011); P2536 (Patrick Treanor’s expert report entitled “The Bosnian Serb Leadership 1990–1992”, 30 July 2002), paras. 236, 261–264; D428 (Minutes of 4<sup>th</sup> expanded meeting of SerBiH War Presidency, 9 June 1992). *See* para. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Treanor, T. 14060–14061 (1 June 2011); P2536 (Patrick Treanor’s expert report entitled “The Bosnian Serb Leadership 1990–1992”, 30 July 2002), paras. 236, 265–267; Dušan Kovačević, T. 39657, 39659–39660 (11 June 2013); Momčilo Mandić, C2 (Transcript from *Prosecutor v. Krajišnik*), T. 8618, 8633–8634, 9107–9110.

Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats from Bosnian Serb claimed territory in BiH through the crimes charged therein (“Overarching JCE”);<sup>6</sup>

- ii) Between April 1992 and November 1995, the Accused participated in a JCE to establish and carry out a campaign of sniping and shelling against the civilian population of Sarajevo, the primary purpose of which was to spread terror among the civilian population (“Sarajevo JCE”);<sup>7</sup>
- iii) Between the days preceding 11 July 1995 and 1 November 1995, the Accused participated in a JCE to eliminate the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica by killing the men and boys of Srebrenica and forcibly removing the women, young children and some elderly men from Srebrenica (“Srebrenica JCE”);<sup>8</sup> and
- iv) Between approximately 26 May and 19 June 1995, the Accused participated in a JCE to take hostage over 200 UN peacekeepers and military observers in order to compel NATO to abstain from conducting air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets (“Hostages JCE”).<sup>9</sup>

4. In addition, the Accused is charged for having planned, instigated, ordered, and/or aided and abetted the crimes in the Indictment.<sup>10</sup> He is also charged as a superior pursuant to Article 7(3) of the Statute for these crimes.<sup>11</sup>

5. The Indictment charges the Accused with 11 Counts as follows:

- i) Count 1: genocide (in relation to the Municipalities);
- ii) Count 2: genocide (in relation to Srebrenica);
- iii) Count 3: persecution, a crime against humanity (in relation to the Municipalities and Srebrenica);

<sup>6</sup> Indictment, paras. 9–14, 30–31. The Prosecution charges the Accused with the first and the third form of JCE in relation to the Overarching JCE. *See* Indictment, paras. 9–10.

<sup>7</sup> Indictment, paras. 15–19. The Prosecution charges the Accused only with the first form of JCE in relation to the Sarajevo JCE. *See* Indictment, paras. 15–16.

<sup>8</sup> Indictment, paras. 20–24. The Prosecution charges the Accused only with the first form of JCE in relation to the Srebrenica JCE. *See* Indictment, paras. 20–21.

<sup>9</sup> Indictment, paras. 25–29. The Prosecution charges the Accused only with the first form of JCE in relation to the Hostages JCE. *See* Indictment, paras. 25–26.

<sup>10</sup> Indictment, paras. 30–31.

<sup>11</sup> Indictment, paras. 32–35.

a. Summary of findings on the four alleged JCEs

5996. In relation to the Municipalities component, the Chamber found that the Overarching JCE came into existence in October 1991 and continued until 30 November 1995. Its common purpose was to permanently remove Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats from Bosnian Serb claimed territory and was shared by the Accused, Momčilo Krajišnik, Nikola Koljević, Biljana Plavšić, Ratko Mladić, Mićo Stanišić, Momčilo Mandić, Željko Ražnatović (Arkan), and Vojislav Šešelj. The common plan of the Overarching JCE involved the commission of the crimes of deportation, inhumane acts (forcible transfer), and persecution (through forcible transfer, deportation, unlawful detention and imposition of discriminatory measures). The Chamber found that the Accused shared the intent for these crimes and, by virtue of his actions and omissions, significantly contributed to the furtherance of the common purpose of the Overarching JCE. In addition, the Chamber found that the Accused acted in furtherance of the common purpose of the Overarching JCE with the awareness of the possibility that the crimes of murder, extermination, and persecution (through killings, cruel or inhumane treatment, forced labour at the frontline, the use of non-Serbs as human shields, the appropriation or plunder of property, and the wanton destruction of private property, including cultural and sacred sites) might be committed either by members of the Overarching JCE or Serb Forces who were used by him or other members of the Overarching JCE to carry out the common plan, and that he willingly took that risk.

5997. In relation to the Sarajevo component, the Chamber found that the Sarajevo JCE came into existence in late May 1992 and continued until October 1995. The Chamber also found that the common plan of the Sarajevo JCE was to establish a campaign of sniping and shelling, the primary purpose of which was to spread terror among the civilian population of Sarajevo. The common purpose of the Sarajevo JCE was shared by the Accused, Ratko Mladić, Momčilo Krajišnik, Nikola Koljević, Biljana Plavšić, Stanislav Galić, and Dragomir Milošević. The common plan of the Sarajevo JCE involved the commission of murder, unlawful attacks on civilians, and terror. The Chamber found that the Accused shared the intent to commit these crimes and that, by virtue of his actions and omissions, the Accused significantly contributed to the furtherance of the common purpose of the Sarajevo JCE.

5998. In relation to the Srebrenica component, the Chamber found that the Srebrenica JCE came into existence as Srebrenica fell in July 1995. Its common purpose was to eliminate the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica—first through the forcible removal of the women, children, and the elderly, and later through the killing of the men and boys—and was shared by the Accused, Ratko Mladić, Ljubiša Beara, and Vujadin Popović. The Chamber found that the original scope of the common plan involved the commission of inhumane acts (forcible transfer) and persecution, and that the

expanded scope of the common plan also involved the commission of murder and extermination. The Chamber also found that the Accused shared the intent for these crimes and that he agreed with the expanded common purpose, *i.e.*, the killing of the men and boys, on the evening of 13 July 1995. The Chamber further found that the members of the Srebrenica JCE intended to kill every able-bodied Bosnian Muslim male from Srebrenica while forcibly removing women, children and the elderly, and that such intent amounted to the intent to destroy the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica. Therefore, the Chamber is satisfied that genocide was within the scope of the expanded common purpose. The Chamber finally found that, by virtue of his actions and omissions, the Accused significantly contributed to the furtherance of the common purpose of the Srebrenica JCE. In addition, the Chamber found that the Accused, as a superior exercising effective control over his subordinates, failed to punish the killings and the related acts of persecution that occurred prior to the evening of 13 July 1995, which he either knew or had reason to know.

5999. The Chamber found that the Hostages JCE existed between 25 May and June 1995 and that its common purpose was to take UN personnel hostage in order to compel NATO to abstain from conducting further air strikes against Bosnian Serb targets. The Chamber found that this common purpose came to fruition following the NATO air strikes on 25 and 26 May 1995 and involved a plurality of persons, including the Accused, Ratko Mladić, Momčilo Krajišnik, and Manojlo Milovanović, who all shared the intent for the crime of hostage-taking. The Chamber further found that Accused significantly contributed to the furtherance of the common purpose the Hostages JCE.

b. Summary of findings on the Counts of the Indictment

i. *Count 1 (genocide)*

6000. In relation to Count 1, genocide in the Count 1 Municipalities, the Chamber found that it was not satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the acts under Article 4(2) of the Statute in the Count 1 Municipalities were committed with genocidal intent. Further, the Chamber was not satisfied that the only reasonable inference to be drawn from the evidence was that named members of the alleged Overarching JCE, including the Accused, other Bosnian Serbs not named as alleged members of the Overarching JCE, or physical perpetrators possessed such intent to destroy the Bosnian Muslim and/or Bosnian Croat groups in the Count 1 Municipalities as such. Therefore, the Accused bears no individual criminal responsibility in relation to Count 1.

ii. *Count 2 (genocide)*

6001. In relation to Count 2, genocide in Srebrenica, the Chamber found that the Accused bears individual criminal responsibility pursuant to Articles 7(1) and 7(3) of the Statute. However, since

crime in Europe since WWII, is indicative of the 'form and degree' of his participation.<sup>20645</sup>

b. Findings

6046. The Accused has been found responsible for having committed, through his participation in four different joint criminal enterprises, a wide range of criminal acts throughout the entire period of the conflict in BiH. He has also been found responsible for having failed to punish certain crimes committed by his subordinates in the Srebrenica component. The Chamber finds that the crimes committed in this case, particularly with respect to the Municipalities, Sarajevo, and Srebrenica components, are among the most egregious of crimes in international criminal law and include extermination as a crime against humanity and genocide. The sheer scale of the crimes for which the Accused has been found responsible as well their systematic cruelty and their continued impact on the victims who have survived are evident. As described above, the Accused had a central role and made a significant contribution to the commission of these crimes. In determining the adequate sentence to be imposed on the Accused, the Chamber has given particular regard to these factors.

6047. More specifically, in the Municipalities component of the case, the Accused has been found responsible for having significantly contributed to a joint criminal enterprise the purpose of which was to permanently remove the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats from Bosnian Serb claimed territory. The Chamber found that the Accused, together with the members of the Overarching JCE, intended that this objective would be achieved through the commission of the crimes of deportation, inhumane acts (forcible transfer), and persecution (through the underlying acts of unlawful detention and the imposition and maintenance of restrictive and discriminatory measures) as crimes against humanity. This common plan resulted in the uprooting of the overwhelming majority of the non-Serb population in the Municipalities and fundamentally changed the ethnic distribution in these territories. The Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat populations of BiH were also subjected to atrocious crimes which the Chamber found were foreseeable to the Accused in carrying out the common plan of the Overarching JCE. Thousands of civilians were the victims of persecution, murder, and extermination and continue to suffer from the impact of these crimes to this day. These crimes were committed during or following the take-over of the Municipalities by Serb Forces and in the dozens of detentions facilities in which non-Serbs were unlawfully detained. The Chamber further found that as RS President and Supreme Commander of the VRS, the Accused was at the apex of power and played an integral role in this enterprise by promoting an

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<sup>20645</sup> Prosecution Final Brief, para. 1121.

ideology of ethnic separation, using a rhetoric that amplified historical ethnic grievances and promoting propaganda to that effect. He also established the institutions used to carry out the objective of the common plan, and created a climate of impunity for criminal acts committed against non-Serbs.

6048. In the Sarajevo component, the Accused has been found responsible for having significantly contributed to a joint criminal enterprise of sniping and shelling, the purpose of which was to spread terror among the civilian population of Sarajevo. For three and a half years, the civilians of Sarajevo lived in the extreme fear of being targeted by sniper and mortar fire and the Chamber found that this in fact subjected them to terror. The Chamber also found that shelling occurred on an almost daily basis throughout the duration of the siege. No place in the city was safe for the civilian population, including their own homes. The civilians of Sarajevo were shot while fetching water, walking in the city, and when using public transport. Children were sniped while playing in front of their houses, walking with their parents or walking home from school, and even when cycling. Hospitals were not spared; civilians were the subject of sniper and mortar fire while receiving treatment and medical staff exposed themselves to the same danger in order to provide medical care to the citizens of Sarajevo. The Chamber found that terror was used intentionally as the SRK wanted to show to the civilian residents of Sarajevo that nobody was safe and that they were helpless. The shelling and sniping campaign ultimately resulted in a large number of civilian casualties. The Chamber found that the Accused's contribution to the Sarajevo JCE was so instrumental that without his support the SRK attacks on civilians could not have in fact occurred.

6049. In the Srebrenica component, the Chamber found the Accused responsible for having significantly contributed to a joint criminal enterprise to eliminate the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica by forcibly removing the women, children, and elderly men and killing the men and boys. In this component of the case, the Chamber found the Accused responsible for forcible transfer, persecution, murder, extermination, and genocide. The implementation of the common plan of the Srebrenica JCE resulted in the killing of at least 5,115 Bosnian Muslim men and the forcible transfer of 30,000 Bosnian Muslim women, children, and elderly men, from Srebrenica to Bosnian Muslim-held territory. The Accused was also found responsible as a superior for having failed to punish the killings which occurred prior to the evening of 13 July 1995. In earlier sections of this Judgement, the Chamber described in harrowing detail the systematic brutality with which these men and boys were killed as well as the mental and physical suffering they endured in the period leading up to their execution. As for the women, children, and elderly men who were the subject of the forcible transfer operation, in addition to them being uprooted, the Chamber stressed the serious mental trauma caused by their sudden separation at Potočari from their male relatives

who were taken away to await an unknown fate. In relation to the gravity of the Accused's conduct in relation to the killings after 13 July, the Chamber found that he was the sole person in the RS with the power to prevent the Bosnian Serb Forces from moving the Bosnian Muslim males to Zvornik to be killed. Instead, he ordered their transfer to Zvornik, where they were ultimately killed. In doing so, the Accused agreed to and enabled the implementation of a systematic, organised, and large scale murder operation.

6050. In the Hostages component, the Chamber found the Accused responsible for having significantly contributed to the common purpose to take UN personnel hostage. The Chamber recalls that the mandate of the UN peace-keepers and monitors who were subjected to the crime of hostage-taking for which the Accused was found responsible was to establish and preserve peace between the parties to the conflict and provide assistance to the civilian population. As such, and in order to fulfil their mandate, the UNPROFOR and UNMOs should have been afforded the highest protection. Instead, they were used as a bargaining tool to obtain the cessation of NATO air-strikes, and the Accused was the driving force behind this enterprise.

## 2. Aggravating circumstances

6051. In addition to the factors identified as relevant to assessing the gravity of the offences for which the Accused is found responsible, the Prosecution submits that abuse of authority may be considered as an aggravating circumstance.<sup>20646</sup> As an example of such alleged sustained and massive abuse, the Prosecution refers to the fact that while the Accused was more able than any other individual in the RS to stop the course of his subordinates' violent actions, he did not stop them but instead provided strategic supervision and issued specific directives in furtherance of these actions, rewarded perpetrators, lied to internationals, and covered up crimes.<sup>20647</sup>

6052. In its findings on the Accused's responsibility in relation to each of the components of the case, the Chamber gave particular regard to the Accused's unique position at the apex of power in the RS and his *de jure* authority over the VRS, MUP and other political organs, which he exercised in fact. The essential role the Accused played in the commission of the crimes in each of the components was a reflection of his position and the manner in which he used that position to further his objectives. The Chamber recalls that it also found the Accused responsible as a superior for having failed to punish the killings which took place before the evening of 13 July 1995 in Srebrenica. These factors have been abundantly discussed in the Chamber's findings on the

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<sup>20646</sup> Prosecution Final Brief, para. 1120, fn. 4051.

<sup>20647</sup> Prosecution Final Brief, para. 1120.