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Srebrenica-Potočari  
Memorial Center and Cemetery  
for the Victims of 1995 Genocide  
SREBRENICA

# SUMMARY

“SREBRENICA 1995-2015:  
EVALUATING THE LEGACY AND LONG-TERM  
CONSEQUENCES OF GENOCIDE”

Sarajevo - Tuzla - Srebrenica (Potočari): 9 - 11. July 2015.



**GENOCIDE** means any  
of the acts committed with  
intent to destroy in whole or  
in a part, a national, ethnical, racial  
or religious group.

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**“SREBRENICA 1995-2015: EVALUATING THE LEGACY AND LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF GENOCIDE”**

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**Meldijana Arnaut Haseljić**

**Sabina Subašić-Galijatović**

**Alma Hajrić-Čaušević**

### **Srebrenica- paradigm of genocide in Drina River Valley**

The continuity of imperialist and land-grabbing politics over Bosnia and Bosniaks, reached its peak at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the Great-Serbian aggressor (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/Serbia and Montenegro) launched aggression i.e. war in a conqueror's manner for territories ("living space"-lebensraum). Armed aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and occupation of its great area is a part of Serbian great national project (so called "RAM" project) which was based on unifying all Serbian countries and Serbian people. Bosniaks were massively and individually killed, expelled, sexually abused, wounded, and taken to concentration camps and other places of detention, tortured and forcibly disappeared while their property having been looted and their cultural and religious monuments destroyed. Drina River Valley (Bijeljina, Zvornik, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Vlasenica, Rogatica, Višegrad, Goražde, Čajniče and Foča) is the area of strategic importance in Great Serbian policies and practices, which included the elimination of the Drina River as a border between the Serbian states and "pure Serb" territory in the range of 50 kilometers in the west of the Drina River. The genocidal character of aggression was displayed even in 1992 by taking over greater part of the Drina valley where about one-third of Bosniaks was chased together into a few enclaves (Goražde, Žepa, Srebrenica, and the triangle Kamenica-Cerska-Konjević Polje). At the beginning of 1993, Kamenica, Cerska and Konjević Polje were occupied by Serbian offensive when the size of the Srebrenica enclave was roughly reduced from 900 to 150 square kilometers. Bosnian people from the nearby areas were driven to the town of Srebrenica according to which the population grew to about 60 000 people. At a loss of rural parts of the municipality any possibility for food support of exhausted population was lost. Despite difficult conditions during the siege (no water, electricity, food, medicine, and other living necessities which were refused by Greater Serbian forces) the population has survived, striving for the protection the United Nations until July 1995.

**Key words:** genocide, crime, aggression, enclave, Drina River Valley, Bosniaks, victims

**Dževa Avdić**

**I have to tell the truth... to oppose oblivion**

I have to tell the truth because I will go up in flames of my soul if I don't. I have to tell the truth or I will die of suffocation of unuttered words, I'll die of pain. I have to tell... for all hearts which stopped beating to make ME alive. I have to speak for all mothers. That's why I am writing. Everything that was unwritten seems not to have happened. But it DID. The GENOCIDE happened. I survived just to speak about it.

Srebrenica and its martyrs are living through our memory. They left the voice of silence from Potočari field covered by whiteness of tombstones as the inheritance for us to speak tirelessly about their victims and their existence.

My book is my childhood, my childhood is my wound. My book is a punishment for evil! It was born out of the horrors seen by the eyes of a child. My pain along with the white paper wrote historic testimony about the bloody evil. By writing I found peace for the soul, a heart medication, the punishment for evil! Paper and pen are a reflection of the strength of my soul and my mind to oppose oblivion.

**Srebrenica- Bosnian-Herzegovinian amendment**

Srebrenica and Bosnia and Herzegovina are the sacred places of Muslims, Bosniaks, Bosnians and people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are the habitats of three proclaimed religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In Srebrenica some Christians killed innocent people because they were not co-religionists. Those innocent people were Muslims. The same did the Nazis in the Second World War to Jews. For them Jews and Muslims are different and therefore they should disappear. It is enough to recognize them and the next step is to kill them without being punished. For all these reasons Auschwitz, Srebrenica, Šumarice, Jasenovac, Vukovar, Prijedor and the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina deserve serious scientific and practical attention for this world could become better place for living. According to this, I wrote the short work in which I proposed legal and factual amendments which would make the international law and its institutions more efficient. Srebrenica and Potocari and all that represents genocide geographically should be legally exempted from the jurisdiction of the possession of the Republic of Srpska and be given to the care of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is needed a more precise definition of intention for the arbitrariness of judges and prosecutors could be prevented and a qualified form of genocide for death penalty could be prescribed. All of this is for the sake of restorative justice for the victims of Srebrenica and even for victims of crime and violence wherever they were committed and whoever committed them.

**Edina Bećirević,**

**“ Genocide denial: the Case Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina”**

Almost twenty years after the war and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, genocide denial is rooted more strongly than ever in the region. The rhetoric of denial is pervasive in Serbia — an EU candidate country – and in Republika Srpska, the majority Serb entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. And yet, the international community, which remains the highest sovereign in the country per the Bosnian Constitution, has demonstrated a tacit acceptance of this rhetoric. Moreover, with the exception of the Americans, the international community has been willing to engage with open genocide denialists as legitimate political partners. While trials and judgements of the ICTY represent a historical archive which could be used to deconstruct genocide denial, in the Bosnian political context, they sometimes also have unintended effects.

In this presentation, Bećirević will examine the origins of genocide denial drawing on the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Fikret Bećirović,**

**Geneocide against Bosniaks in Drina River Alley- important and far-reaching social,  
political and cultural consequences**

On the occasion marking the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of genocide against Bosniaks in Drina River Valley which resulted in extreme epilogue in Srebrenica, this paper will focus on cause-and-effect relationship of aggression and committed acts at the area of Drina River Alley through three key segments: military occupation, ethnic cleansing and genocide against Bosniaks, destruction of existing demographic map and long-term socio-political and economic consequences on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Considering the fact that apart in Garašanin's "Načertanije" Drina River Valley could be found in Serbian hegemonic plans as well, this area was occupied and it has benefitted from the first war crimes, deportation and all forms of genocide against Bosniaks with the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The aggressor's goal was to ethnically cleanse Bosniaks from at least fifty kilometers from the Drina River towards the central part of Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus completely change the demographic map of the area where only Serbs would live while apart from these, there were other, also criminal goals which were clearly stated in the "Decision on Strategic Goals" which were adopted by so called National Assembly of the Republika Srpska on 12 May 1992 in Banjaluka.

Due to those strategic goals, massacres were committed in many places while the rest of the population was grouped into several enclaves where they were held until July 1995 when the genocide in Srebrenica was committed. Massacres and crimes were committed in all sixteen neighboring municipalities: Bratunac, Zvornik, Vlasenica, Šekovići, Kalesija, Živinice, Kladanj, Olovo, Brčko, Bijeljina, Han Pijesak, Rogatica, Višegrad, Goražde, Foča and Trnovo. The victims of genocide were buried in mass graves out of which their dismembered body parts were moved and again buried in secondary mass graves.

Demographic and migration changes of this area began even before official beginning of the aggression when many mysterious murders and disappearance of people started to happen and then with the first wave of refugees and displaced persons and various causes of death in the environment which became unbearable for living. With permanent forms of suffering during three-and-a-half-year siege of Drina River Alley's enclaves and mass executions with the fall of Srebrenica, mass and organized deportations of women, children and elderly, the ethnic map of this region was completely changed. In addition to that, refugees and army who went towards free territory were permanently persecuted with the intention of complete extinction so that a great number of refugees were killed by grenades, heavy machine-gun bullets or they died from disease, injury, hunger and exhaustion.

The demographics of this area as well as areas in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was thus completely changed where great number of people got collective properties to settle down. Also, a significant number of refugees and displaced persons found their homes in the countries of Western



Europe, America and Australia which eventually have long-term socio-political, economic and demographic repercussions.

**Key words:** The aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, mass crimes, ethnic cleansing, creating unbearable conditions for life, hunger, disease, high mortality rates, demographic destruction, genocide, homogenization of space, long-term economic, psychological, social and cultural consequences of violent demographic and migratory movements.

### **Genocide in Prijedor and Srebrenica-comparative approach**

Genocides in Prijedor and Srebrenica have common elements in their ideological basis, intention, planning, organization, ordering, execution, scope and consequences, so it is important that comparative approach gives an answer to what is common to these two areas. Genocide committed against Bosniaks of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Municipality of Prijedor in the summer of 1992 was the beginning, while the genocide committed in the territory of UN Safe Area of Srebrenica in July 1995, was the final act of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The areas of Bosanska Krajina and Podrinje are the synonym of genocide in continuity. Here we would like to briefly draw a parallel between the genocides in Podrinje and Bosanska Krajina and in particular in the UN Safe Area of Srebrenica and Municipality of Prijedor.

Our goal is to analyze and compare plans, preparation, execution of genocide in the UN Safe Area of Srebrenica and Municipality of Prijedor. We will indicate the extent of gravest crime through review of genocidal intent and plan that resulted in mass executions and mass graves. Through analysis of mass and forced persecution of the civilian population, mass arrests and illegal detention of women, children, men in the camps where they were killed, tortured, physically and mentally abused; women, girls and men were raped and subjected to other forms of sexual abuse, massive destruction of private property, religious buildings and other crimes against humanity and international law, we would like to point out the common elements of the joint criminal enterprise with the goal to exterminate Bosniaks from these areas.

**Key words:** genocide, crime against humanity and international law, joint criminal enterprise, forced persecution, illegal detention, rapes, physical and mental abuse, destruction of private property and religious buildings.

### **The United Nations has failed an exam in Srebrenica**

In July 1995, when Srebrenica was considered *safe* area, the Army of Republika Srpska committed genocide on Bosniaks living there, killing approximately 8000 people.

The UN Security Council passed the resolution on April 16th 1993 known as *Resolution 819* which declared that “any taking or acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force, including the practice of ‘ethnic cleansing’ is unlawful and unacceptable”. The first group of UNPROFOR troops arrived in Srebrenica on 18th April in 1993.

This was in response to the statement of the Serbian authorities on 13 April 1993 addressed to the UNHCR representatives, that if the Bosniaks had not surrendered and agreed to be evacuated they would have attacked the city within two days.

The attack never happened, but in the period April 1993-July 1995 pretensions of the Army of Republika Srpska to occupy that territory, expel and liquidate Bosniaks were more apparent. By the beginning of 1995, less and less supplies have managed to reach the enclave. In March 1995, Radovan Karadzic, President of Republika Srpska, issued a directive known as *Directive 7*, within which states that it is aim to create in Srebrenica: “By planned and well-thought out combat operations total insecurity, intolerance, and no hope of further survival or life for the inhabitants ...” The reaction of the United Nations had failed.

The former UN envoy for Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, has repeatedly urged the Security Council on the issue of the failure of the concept of *safe areas*, and sought to change this, but the Council has never responded to it. Inaction of UN had encouraged Karadžić’s Serbs to commit genocide in the period 6th-13th July 1995. International Court of Justice in The Hague has adjudicated genocide in 2007.

**Key words:** Srebrenica, a safe area, Resolution 819, the United Nations, the Security Council, Directive 7, ethnic cleansing, genocid

**Eldine Besovic**

**Ajle Skrbic**

**Srdjan Vidackovic**

### **Importance of Nuhanovic and Mustafic case for the victims of Srebrenica Genocide**

This paper will give an overview on Nuhanovic and Mustafic case. The main focus will be the importance of this case for the victims of genocide in Srebrenica. This paper will analytically try to answer the question on possible future cases before the Dutch Court. First part of the paper will be description of the case and then will be followed by analysis of the case, the Court decision and its importance. Then it will proceed to analysis of cases that can be raised before the Dutch Court.

**Smail Čekić**

**Serbia and Montenegro in the crime of genocide against Bosniaks in  
Drina River valley 1992-1995**

The results of scientific research, first of all the relevant documents as the primary sources of data, undoubtedly confirm significant and decisive participation of the Federal Yugoslav Republic (Serbia and Montenegro) in aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and genocide against Bosniaks, especially in the crime of genocide against Bosniaks in eastern Bosnia, including the territory under control of the United Nations, Srebrenica- UN safe area, in July 1995.

**The current and transgenerational post-traumatic disorder of surviving  
victims of the Srebrenica genocide**

The results of psychological, theoretical and empirical studies and verified empirical findings strongly indicate the mental disorders as the consequence of the actions of highly strong stressors. Post-traumatic stress disorder is actually a delayed and (or) prolonged reaction to the traumatic situation in which an individual was found, or the answer to vital threatening of personality. The analysis of aspects of the traumatic effects of multiple stressors in July 1995, in the days of genocide commission against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, reveals major reasons for traumatic disorders of Srebrenica survivors. People who have experienced terrific violence of genocide perpetrators (the threat of death, injuries, harassment, humbling, restricting food, water and sleep) left deep mental scars in the personalities of innocent Srebrenica people. Their statements speak eloquently about the scenes that they have experienced or seen in the behavior of others, painful violent separation of children from their fathers, mothers from their sons and wives from their husbands. Their stories also speak about “traumatic scars” formed from seeing bodies of slaughtered neighbors, or from bullying and sadistic enjoyment in humiliating the helpless during the persecution and from inhuman actions of perpetrators filled with hatred.

The symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder in Srebrenica population who survived genocide were manifested after signing Dayton Peace Agreement, actually in the conditions of peace in which emotional and cognitive functions were not directed towards survival. However, in the environment without pronounced social support and with presence of new stressful feelings filled with frustration (due to series of unsolved basic problems, bereavement and searching for missing persons, stressed denial of genocide in Srebrenica and “proving” that genocide in Srebrenica was “justified God’s punishment” and not punishing “small” and “big” committers of genocide and other stress factors), the “stored” subconscious contents of traumatic experiences started to appear. In the statements and behavior of traumatized people from Srebrenica, it is evident how high the intensity of the impact of traumatic experience on their personal as well as social behavior is and on possibilities and ways to overcome inner complex painful emotional states. More or less expressed characteristic symptoms of post-traumatic stress are evident in the form of re-experiencing the traumatic experience, numbing and avoidance and (or) increased state of psychological arousal.

Almost twenty years passed from the trauma of Srebrenica survivors, most of who were women and children. However, there are still meager facts of the potency and duration of their post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). There is little objective knowledge about flows and outcomes of their social adaptation and how the community contributed to reducing or eliminating factors that lead to an increased risk of psychological disorders and increased protective factors which prevented or hindered the activity of pathogenic state or conditions. It is also important to point out the effects of psychosocial measures and procedures: how and what the outcomes of psychosocial interventions are and what

probability is to predict, on those findings, in generally and socially suitable conditions, the course and outcome of the recovery of traumatized people.

In the treatment of trauma, in the interpretation of the roots of mental disorders occurred during the operation of stress factors in the days of genocide in Srebrenica, of particular concern are the reliable predictions of the outcome measures of psychosocial and psychotherapeutic procedures i.e. applied models of psychological assessment and preventive, therapeutic interventions in prevention and preservation of mental health for survivors of Srebrenica. The prevention and preservation of mental health of Srebrenica, the support of the community can significantly increase efficiency in developing broken personality traits and behavior of traumatized Srebrenica. From effective social action, comprehensive support of traumatized people from the community and their intense activity to reduce the impact of destructive factors (genocide denial, non-expression of feelings of guilt and remorse of ideologists and perpetrators of crime, the failure to lead “big” and “small” criminals up to the Court of Justice...) and application of psychological methods in acquiring skills to overcome the traumatic experience - it is possible to expect that the “inheritance” of traumatic experiences, or transgenerational transfer gets, as some psychologists predict, undesirable trends in the behaviors of younger generations.

**Adib Dozić**

**Abdel Alibegović**

### **Education and genocide**

Who, how and why “prohibits” institutional education about the genocide against Bosniaks 1992-1995?

Genocide against Bosniaks is an undisputable social and legal fact. Final judgments of international courts and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina confirm that most explicitly. Analyzing social and historical causes of the genocide against Bosniaks we become aware of the fact that the causes can be found in social, political, historical, cultural, educational, national and religious substantiality out-of-Bosnia social, political and ideological identities. One of the most effective ways to fetishize and represent in a stereotype manner the truth about the Bosniaks and the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and prepare genocide against Bosniaks is through legal educational policies and curricula. The cultural trap of reconciliation as” a culture of oblivion” was very actively and perfidiously imposed on Bosniaks as well as on all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reversal social process is what is necessary; looking after the “culture of memory” as a culture of truth. Only the culture of memory as the culture of objective and historical truth, learned at school is an obstacle in producing stereotypes about the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its quintessential national identity. It is not rare that Bosniaks were represented in school readers as the people of “someone else’s religion and origin”. In this paper the following questions are analyzed by the authors: Why is there no institutional and educational study of the Holocaust and genocide and the role of Bosnian intellectual elite, especially Bosniaks in questioning the issues of genocide and *why are there no titles, lessons and topics in high schools and university textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina which interpret genocide against Bosniaks 1992-1995 and other aspects of war crimes such as ethnic cleansing, systematic rape and other forms of war crimes?* The curricula in Germany, SAD and other democratic states inevitably include in their content the truth about the Holocaust which is especially significant for the case of German educational system. Why and for what reason is there no topics on Holocaust and genocide in educational programs in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Is it all about the “hidden curriculum” by which the covered truth is imposed on Bosniaks with the aim of oblivion, as one of the key preconditions of new genocide? Who and why “prohibits” data on final judgments passed by the International Tribunal for war crimes in The Hague, the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be found?

**Key words:** education, educational policy, genocide, genocide against Bosniaks, hidden curriculum/curricula, culture of oblivion



### Preserving *Prijatelji* Before and After Genocide

The paper presents findings of an investigation of the long-term consequences of genocide in Srebrenica for Bosniacs, focusing on the ability of families to sustain the culturally important in-law-ship relation called *prijatelji*. This kinship relation is established through visitations and gift exchanges between the families of the wife and the husband after marriage. Marriage strengthens not the agnatic group vis-à-vis another agnatic group, but the affinal group, creating not the opportunity, but the imperative to establish bonds between non-agnates for their own sake. This kinship structure emphasizes the function of horizontalness in a human community rather than the function of verticalness in a descent group, which is not to say that either function is entirely absent in any kinship structure. As reported in the ethnographic literature, the kinship structure in Serbia is the opposite in that marriage strengthens the agnatic group and negates the affinal group. The function of horizontalness is achieved instead through *kumstvo*, a fictive kinship that mimes agnatic kinship. A study is carried out among survivors of genocide in Srebrenica to understand the strength of *prijatelji* before the war and learn whether this kinship relation and its rituals are sustained after the loss of family members, not only agnatic kin but also affinal kin. The goal is to examine the resilience of this unique cultural heritage that is a culturally significant and morally compelling for Bosniacs.

**Muamer Džananović**

**Almir Grabovica**

### **Genocide in Žepa 1992-1995**

Guided by strategic goals of Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian and Montenegrin aggressor in all occupied areas and cities under the siege of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the internationally recognized state and member of the United Nations from the beginning of 1992 until the end of 1995, committed numerous crimes against humanity and international law including the one of highest importance which international law names genocide.

Despite the fact that Žepa was declared “safe area” under UN protection on 6 May 1993 the aggressor continued coordinated and systematic “ethnic cleansing” of Bosniaks even from this area.

The attacks on Žepa were carried out from the beginning of aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in accordance to centuries-old Serbian ideology, policies and practices of creating one-national state at the areas where, except Serbs, the representatives of other national, ethnic and religious groups lived, but that goal could not have been achieved without the intention of committing genocide and performed acts of genocide.

This paper will deal with the status and importance of UN safe areas, relations of high representatives towards aggressor and victims and aggressors’ activities until final putting this “safe area” under their control.

**Key words:** aggression, genocide, Žepa, safe area, UN Resolutions

**Testimony psychotherapy for genocide survivors: providing a common ground between treatment and prevention of human rights abuse**

Testimony psychotherapy is a brief individual psychotherapeutic method for working with survivors of state-sponsored violence. First described by a group of Chilean mental health professionals who were working with survivors of political violence during the Pinochet dictatorship (1, 2), it was further described by Agger and Jensen in their work with refugees in Denmark (3) and with Holocaust survivors (4). All groups report that testimony functions both in private and in public realm as a means for individual recovery and a means of bearing witness to historical truths (5).

Although testimony approach is not strictly a clinical intervention, many have noted that it offers the survivor clinical benefits. This observation was confirmed in our study (6) of testimony psychotherapy with survivors from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As part of research activities of the ‘Project on Genocide, Psychiatry and Witnessing’ of The University of Illinois at Chicago, dr Stevan Weine and I conducted a pilot clinical trial of testimony psychotherapy, at the same time creating oral history archives, and creating awareness in the community of Bosnian refugees of the importance of documenting the survivors’ narratives (6). In this work we were functioning as witnessing professionals, committed to helping individual survivor’s recovery, but also to addressing the social and historical tragedy of genocide (7). Because we saw testimony work from an interdisciplinary perspective, we also sought to create testimony documents that would move outside of the psychotherapeutic dyad and make connections with others in the scholarly, human rights, artistic, and survivors’ communities.

## Cultural-Memorial Aspect and Poetical Features of Documentary

### Prose Written by Hasan Nuhanovic and Emir Suljagic

Within the post-war, post canon Bosniak literature, and creation of the distinctive flow which already has theoretical determinants of a “war letter” (Kazaz 2012) or “poetics of memory” (Kodrić 2011), we are witnessing the existence of a separate stream which is identified as the Srebrenica text, in its utter diversity of genres or cultural-memorial perspectives in literature. Thus the theme of the Srebrenica genocide acquired the first attempts of novelistic narratives by Isnam Taljic and Mirsad Mustafic over poetic discourse-commemoration written by Džemaludina Latic, titled *Srebrenički inferno* (the Srebrenica Inferno); one song and one poem dedicated to the victims of Serebrenica that emerged from the pen of Abdulah Sidran and Melika Salihbeg Bosnawi to documentary prose written by Emir Suljagic, recognizable firstly in testimony titled *Razglednica iz groba* (Postcard from the Grave), and then in the Suljagic’s novel titled *Samouk* (Self Taught). *Zbjeg* (By Hasan *Zbijeg – Put u Srebrenicu*) belongs to the stream of documentary prose. Hasan Nuhanovic symbolically titled the book *Zbjeg* (A Refugee Flow - Journey to Srebrenica) because it follows the path of the war from the incredible survival in the mountain to even more surprising arrival into the besieged City, and then the confron-tation with all miseries that the socio-historical context of the notion of Srebrenica generates. This paper will introduce a cultural-memorial aspect of Nuhanovic’s and Suljagic’s prose and try to deter-mine convincing places of memory in their texts (Nora 2006), that make it artistic impressionable for reading, regardless of its prior documentary orientation. This method will remove the author’s doubts about genre definitions offered at the end of the book (Nuhanovic [2012] 2014: 394). We will use analytical and interpretative methods in the paper.

**Key words:** memory, history, representation of history, identity, another, picture of another

### **People deprived of the right to genocide**

The crime of genocide was committed against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1992-1995. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide was violated due to the intention of destruction of Bosniaks. Although this fact was confirmed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in its judgments of 27 February 2007 as well as the Congress and Senate of the United States and numerous international organizations from Diaspora, among living Bosniaks, especially among young people, the meaning and weight of these terrible events are poorly recognized and have no heritage. A day after the verdict, I kept asking young students of journalism how they felt after shameful verdict that “actually clouded and covered up “an act of genocide and the role of Serbian aggressor. Their statements were bitter, heavy, and full of pain, lament, hopelessness, shock, sadness, especially the replies of youths who came from the places from which they were expelled. “Yesterday, the world showed its true face”, was the main students’ message.

Personally, I wrote the essay entitled “People deprived of right to genocide” (poor nominations for genocide), expressing the pain, bitterness and intellectual cynicism- everything I could have possible felt in that moment when the bitterness of injustice hovered everywhere where there were human beings those days and weeks and surprisingly I got an award for the best essay on the internal competition within the institution where I worked.

Regarding the fact that the world remains to the youths, there is an urgent need to establish all possible and feasible mechanisms which would preserve “collective and individual memory” of genocide through family narrative, schools, universities, mass-media, religious events, scientific and research conferences, the Book of Remembrance, the Book of Pain, and books of various sorts and testimony, testimony of facts (which is the most important), as well as through films, photography, dramas, poetry, novels about genocide against Bosniaks. But, in the first place, we should see where we are standing now. This conference is an excellent opportunity for that.

**Theoretical and methodological aspect of genocide research in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Genocide represents the most serious form of crime which is reflected in its complexity in terms of organizers, commanders, perpetrators, along with the acts of covering up crimes and its subsequent denial. Genocide is the subject matter of various scientific disciplines primarily the legal ones (criminal substantive and criminal procedural law), criminology, crime investigation and law enforcement, psychology, sociology etc. The research of genocide has to be approached with all its specifics, features and characteristics for which theoretical and methodological activities with the scientific methods of research at the basis are essential. Through genocide research it is highly important to reach the scientific truth about the origin and development of genocide in the context of autonomous criminal act. It is necessary to establish circumstances and historical facts which led to its commission along with the facts that preceded and contributed to its construction and development. It is an imperative to investigate the causes which lead to genocidal behavior, and those causes can be various. Genocide research approach has to be multidisciplinary in order to comprehend all aspects of the stated problems and provide answers to many questions for genocide could be preventively prevented in the future and not just dealt with the consequences. Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not been fully investigated and that crime has to be the subject-matter of scientists of various profiles: historians, sociologists, criminologists, criminal investigators, lawyers, political scientists etc.

**Key words:** genocide, scientific research, genocide research, genocidal intent, international humanitarian law.

### **The Archive of Genocide**

In its broadest sense, the archive that develops around a particular genocide or genocidal regime is an infinitely augmented composite of dispersed and often fragmentary tangible evidence that was consciously or incidentally created by perpetrators, survivors and their families and loved ones, international participants in conflicts, aid agencies, journalists, tribunals, forensic scientists and many others. However, also contributing to this archive, and critically important to its human and societal impact are the individual and collective imaginings about and aspirations for the archive and its contents that emanate out of both affect and absence. This paper will examine how such a multiply-constructed and 'ever-becoming' archive of genocide supports not only justice in the more immediate term, but also ongoing processes of forgiveness, reconciliation, healing and inter-generational and trans-community understanding as it moves through time, space and generations and away from the lives, time and spaces associated with the genocide.

**The attitude towards the issues of genocide in modern literature of Bosnia**

In the Balkans and therefore in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the relation to the history had most often been nationalistically and ideologically conditioned. In most cases, the truth is not what and how something had happened but the truth is the official verification of existing covered facts. On one side, many writers from Bosnia are still suppressed to actualize the painful subject of suffering Bosnia and committed genocide in the Bosnian territory by the aggressor's military formations in their literary work while, on the other side, many other authors, those who over night "recognized" themselves as writers, or to put it more precisely: a self-appointed guardians of collective memory approached the crime of genocide in Bosnia raising of national consciousness, and sometimes even too naturalistic in descriptions and narratives, which resulted in the rise of many works with almost no literary-aesthetic value. These books are primarily read as suitable vernacular historiography or so-called documentary readings. Of course, there were such literary works where an author did not want to violate literary-aesthetic standards. All those aspects of modern literary expression will be discussed in this work.



**Nermin Halilagić,**

**The role of the ICTY in establishment of the facts about genocide and other forms of crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

War crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the cruelest acts seen in Europe since World War II. Crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina were horrific, the ways and circumstances of killings were such that it was inconceivable that something like that can happen on the European soil but, unfortunately, it was a terrible reality. Because of that, the truth about victims and their sufferings, no matter how painful it is, is one of the stronger incentives in the process of establishing trust and building up a democratic society in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. Critically and honestly, dealing with the past is a prerequisite for a stable and prosperous future. The International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia played an important role in establishing facts about war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its practice and files, as well as its documentation, has an irreplaceable role in the historical review. Despite all the pressures in its work, the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia collected abundance of material that will surely provide a basis for historical review for many generations to come. Its great role is reflected in the fact that in 2001 it contributed to the recognition of the crime committed in Srebrenica naming it genocide (“Krstić case”) and this decision was confirmed in the second-instance proceedings in April 2004. It was the first judgment of the Hague Tribunal for genocide. According to the ICTY indictment, troops under the command of General Ratko Mladić, in an organized and systematic way killed around 8,000 Muslim men and boys by 19 July 1995.

**The political aspects of the Srebrenica genocide**

Every political event, including the Srebrenica genocide, carries causes, guilt and responsibility. However, although the causes are necessary, they do not exonerate the perpetrators and responsible persons. Guilt comes with responsibility. It is a form of a decision and assumes conscious execution of a deed. The existence of the causes of the guilt, its necessity, does not absolve one of guilt. If it does not include one's own choice, it includes one's consent to do something, not to reject something. Guilt is "visible and free," says Jaspers. "Considering why something happened the way it happened and why it had to happen," suggests that the cause was "blind and necessary". "The causal relationship of history," says Jaspers, does not absolve people of responsibility. The cause became necessary since its occurrence had not been prevented. The political events carry political responsibility. It may vary in its extent, but it is always either direct or indirect. In addition to the guilt of the individual, political events include collective guilt and the guilt of the regime, or the nation. The individual and the nation can be held responsible directly or indirectly. An example of direct political responsibility of a nation are the political parties and leaders it votes for in the election. An example of indirect political responsibility of the people is the effect of the government it elected. If the elected government establishes the rule of terror, says Hannah Arendt, "the nation becomes an accomplice in the crimes of the leaders."

**Anthropology after Srebrenica: research and ethical responses to genocide**

Srebrenica genocide and other war crimes and widespread campaigns of politically motivated violence committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 1992-95 war—as well as the lasting demographic, socio-cultural and political consequences of these crimes—have been subject of interest to a growing number of researchers from social science, humanities and legal studies disciplines, including a significant number of anthropologists. Based on a holistic research and analytical approach, involving fieldwork, ethnography and participants-centred research practices, socio-cultural anthropology seems to be particularly well equipped to respond to research and ethical challenges of such complex phenomena like genocide and to unveil their human dimension from a perspective of an individual, family and local community as well to situate them into a broader societal context. Unlike some other disciplines that are still entrenched in the tradition of rigid positivist interpretative frameworks—in which principles of neutrality, objectivity and representativeness are sometimes elevated to the level of a fetish—humanistic and applied qualities of anthropology, and methods such as participant observation and action research, coupled with knowledge creation ‘from below’, allow anthropologists to actively and creatively engage in promotion and protection of human rights of those who are subject of their research. (Sadly, this does not mean that these high ethical standards and principles have always been adhered to in the anthropological studies conducted in and about Bosnia during the last two decades.)

The aim of this paper is to offer a critical overview and analysis of anthropological studies and publications relating to genocide, war and post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to evaluate anthropologists’ contribution to understanding of and positive changes in the researched communities. In conclusion, the author discusses some practical ideas how anthropological approach to researching and studying genocide can be of benefit to local communities, influence relevant policies and politics and subsequently improve the way these communities are treated of by the local governments and international organisations.

**Genocide: roots, content and problems of legal definition of genocide**

In this work genocide is analyzed through its roots, content, feature of passive subject and, what is most important, subjective component- a destructive genocidal intention of the offender, which is often referred to as “the crime of crimes” or “the most difficult” or so-called “capital crime”. It therefore falls within the crime in which the international character is of high importance. The planned and systematic destruction of whole groups of people leaving wide bloody trails is running through the history of humanity, while the forms of a phenomenon of committed crimes are versatile as well as the motives and achievements, along with the genocide which marked the twentieth century. In fact, the motives of the perpetrators of genocide in a broader sense can be “versatile”, for example, they can be based on the intelligence towards destruction of group of people thus creating more suitable “living space” for other group, or the motive for the genocidal actions can be established on pure hatred in relation to specific group of people and other lower irrational motives etc, but in the criminal and legal sense for the existence of genocide it is necessary to have so-called genocidal intent regardless of whether the intent is the part of a broader established motives for undertaking specific acts or it exists independently of specific more or less precisely defined motives, although it is very difficult to imagine a completely unmotivated execution of such serious crimes. Such genocidal intent as an essential element of the crime of genocide and its basic component must be safely proved in many cases and basic evidence problems related to genocide arise from it which is the dominant reason to write and speak more frequently about the genocide in a broader historical context, and not on the basis of final court decisions in relation to the crime. Genocide is a specific case of a crime based on de-personification of victims so that the crime is not directed at the victim as such, due to his/her individual qualities but only because s/he is the part of a certain group.

**Key words:** genocide, genocidal intent, ethnocide, judgment, resolution, UN, EU, ethnic cleansing

**Zijad Hasić,**

### **Srebrenica- “UN safe area” 1993-1995**

On the occasion marking the International scientific-technical conference named “Srebrenica 1995-2015: Evaluation of heritage and long-term consequences of genocide” I will prepare the article under the title “Srebrenica- safe area during aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995”.

The article will be consisted of:

*Introductory part-* the legal nature of the “safe area” in the regulations of the International Humanitarian Law, particularly in the Geneva Conventions and their protocols will be emphasized.

*The main part* of the article will represent the legal nature of the Srebrenica- UN safe area, in the regulations of International Humanitarian Law and acts of the Security Council of the United Nations and by the reference to the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, the suffering of these zones will be indicated. This paper will demonstrate the cruelty of superior enemy over unprotected population on the territory which was declared for demilitarized, safe area. Such cruelty was reflected in violations of basic human rights and freedoms in Srebrenica in August 1995, especially the most important right, the right to life, which resulted in loss of about 9000 people. I will also suggest that UN Protection Forces which were asked to protect civilians and which demilitarized this zone did not take necessary steps for protection of residents but, at some point, they openly extradited civilians and civilian population to the Army of Bosnian Serbs thus contributing to the tragedy of this zone.

*The final part* of this article will display the weaknesses of the mechanism of the International community in protection of civilians and civilian population as well as other categories of protected persons in the aggression on Srebrenica in this crucial historical period, at the time of committing genocide. Here, I will mark the messages dedicated to the constant affirmation and extension of existing norms of International Humanitarian Law on the protection of civilians in the safe areas as well as to a more efficient mechanism of the International community to implement these standards.

**Key words:** Srebrenica, safe area, genocide, suffering and protection of civilian population.

### Memorial Centre in Potočari- advantages and disadvantages of the concept

From the above-mentioned title it is deducible that there is scientific, technical as well as political justification for the existence of the study on Memorial Center in Potočari near Srebrenica. It is the institution with the purpose to collect, systematize, process, exhibit and present materials as the proofs of memorial occurrence because of which it exists and that is genocide against Bosniaks. The concept the memorial center is based on has its advantages and disadvantages. The biggest advantage is hidden in its existence as a legal entity and the cultural institution which was designed as a real memorial: with the buildings which serve as the monuments (burial ground with Musallam) and a museum (the building of the former Battery factory). The people who work there are the employees who have a professional obligation to nurture and keep alive the memory on the greatest crime that could ever happen in a human society and community and which had happened there under protection of the United Nations. Every visitor of this memorial should be aware of these advantages as well as its employees. However, the things are not completed here nor are they perfect in the conceptual sense. It is far away from it. These advantages should be constantly upgraded and even reviewed. The reason why this should be a constant activity of the Potocari Memorial Centre is because there is an urgent and obvious need for transferring memories of the genocide in July 1995 to the next generations as better as possible. Historical context has shown it as a very difficult task. There are some conceptual disadvantages which should be courageously remedied despite various causes, circumstances and reasons. The concept of decorating cemetery departed from the folk tradition of Bosniaks but also from the needs of victims' families that every victim gets a dignified landmark, and so-called *nishan* (tombstone). The architects fully realized their fantasies here without taking care of the above-mentioned needs. Therefore, every victim got only one tombstone, the one above their head. In Bosnia, from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the dead, whose bodies for whatever reason could not have been found or moved to the place where they were buried, were marked this way.

Such is a monument of Mahmut Branković from Rogatica erected around 1471-1485. On this monument it is stated” i pogibe na bo/ju despotovu/ a sie bilig Mahmuta /Brankov/ića na svoi bašti/ne/ na Petro/vu/ Pol(j)u da (j)e blagosovena r/uka ko/ sieče i pisa”<sup>1</sup>. The tombstone of Mahmut Branković lies on his private property. There is no his body nor tombstone at the feet. He was killed in the battle far from his home, his body was not found but a tombstone was raised for Mahmut Branković which is still kept in the National Museum. The same monument was raised for Radivoje Oprašić with the following text: „*legoh u tuđoj zemlji a bileg mi stoi na baštini*“ (*I lied in the foreign land but the landmark of me stayed on my inheritance*”). Such monuments were raised all over Bosnia and Herzegovina until the end of the Second World War. So, wherever we find a tombstone at the head, not at the feet, it is the sign the body was not buried next to the landmark.

In the Memorial Centre in Potočari, the centuries-old tradition was abandoned. There, one tombstone can be found in the victims that were found, identified and whose body parts were buried there, while

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<sup>1</sup> Written by arhaic Bosnian language: it is explained in the text which follows

those victims who were killed and their bodies were not found, have no nishan. That should be remedied, in my opinion.

In the premises of Battery factory should be made a permanent museum exhibition of a classic type so it could be possible to hold a mass presentation to a large group of visitors. Exposure in the “black room” seems like a bottleneck because one must peek through small openings, which practically means one opening-one visitor.

It is necessary to enable professional staff employed at the Memorial Centre in Potočari to have continuous education in museum activities focused at the work of the Memorial centre as the institution which fosters a culture of remembrance. Law on museum activities predicted central museum institutions which provide memorials with professional support but this legal provision is not implemented or respected till nowadays. For these reasons certain mistakes were made in the past which enabled the engagement of people of other professional orientations such as ethnologists and Orientalists which resulted in shortcomings of the concept that was discussed here.

If these measures would be implemented, I am sure the work of the Memorial Centre in Potočari would always be efficient and socially justified, the memory of the genocide would have deeper meaning, and its content and results of collecting and research work would not attract only Bosniaks but the experts from all over Europe and the world whose life and career orientation is studying of historical processes on the territory of former Yugoslavia, new phenomenon of nationalism and fascism, which altogether led to appearance of genocidal intention and practice. The centre could thus develop more vivid educational activities which would ensure the maintenance of long-term memory of the genocide which took place and helped building consciousness in order for those disasters happen to nobody, nowhere and never more.

**Why it is difficult to end a genocide: an activist's perspective**

1. This paper asks why it has proved so difficult to stop a genocide, whether by external intervention or the engineering of an internal collapse of the genocidal regime. It presents the lessons, questions, and conclusions of twenty years of antigencide activism as what the French would call a “provocation”, a series of definitions, conclusions and categories of analysis submitted as aids to understanding the puzzling failures and rare successes in the struggle to maintain the diversity of the human species in the face of regimes attempting to reduce that diversity. Its controlling question, however, looks to the future: “How can we advance the political and social health of the human species as a whole, that is, by maintaining its diversity of ethnic, national, ‘racial,’ and religious groups in a situation of multiple individual identities (and loyalties) while allowing for social or cultural change and even conflict?”
2. The paper will offer and elaborate upon an action-oriented, operative definition of genocide: the radical diminution of a people and their culture.
3. The paper will propose four conditions that indicate that a genocide has ended.
4. The paper offers a critique of the policies of the Clinton, Bush and Obama administrations’ policies with regard to ending genocides
5. .The concluding section of the paper contain the core of the “provocation,” an annotated and instantiated list of reasons why it is hard to stop a genocide: futility, perversity, jeopardy, multiplicity, externality, ambiguity, purity, selectivity, hypocrisy, naïveté (calculated), inertia, flexibility, lamppost preference, specificity-aversion-cum-deference, rigidity, empathy/imagination deficit, and high shock threshold.

Finally, the paper comments on four important failures that brought about the persistence of genocide: policymakers’ priorities, the civil society – administration gap, structural weaknesses of activist organizations, and inadequacies in the application of historical understanding.



**Avdo Huseinovic,**

**The possibility of the reconstruction of events through the testimony of members of Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Srpska**

The way genocide in Srebrenica-“UN safe area” was planned and carried out in July 1995 would probably remain the great unknown if the witnesses to the genocide themselves did not reveal time, place and methods of executions during court proceedings.

During the court proceedings for genocide in Srebrenica, some of the defendants revealed some of the most important, up to that moment unknown details.

It mainly refers to the testimony of Miroslav Deronjić, Momir Nikolić, Dražen Erdemović, Franc Kos, Jephthah Bogdanović, Dragomir Vasić, Jovan Nikolić...

Miroslav Deronjić testified that Radovan Karadžić said to him on 9 July 1995 in Pale that “all Bosniaks should be killed”; Franc Kos admitted that he shot at the head of those who were wounded during the executions at the Branjevo farm “for their misery to be reduced”, Momir Nikolić said before the Hague Tribunal that general Mladić showed him by his hand that all captured would be killed, Jefthah Bogdanović carried out all Bosniaks executed by firing squad in the Center of Culture in Pilica...

Most certainly, without such testimony, history would remain deprived of some of highly important facts about the mass executions of Bosniaks in July 1995 which would mainly create fertile ground for the army of deniers of genocide.

**Hikmet Karčić**

**Potraits of Bosniaks in Serbian cinema: „Nož“ A Case Study**

The film „Nož“ is a popular Serbian film produced in 1999 by Miroslav Lekić. It was a hit among Serbs in Serbia and Republika Srpska. The film is about identity and war in a small village in Herzegovina. Two families: Jugović and Osmanović live one next to the other in a small village in Herzegovina. World War Two breaks out and during the attack on the village – a Serb infant is taken and raised as a Muslim. The film is based on Serb nationalist Vuk Drašković's book under the same title. This film is considered one of the most important in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The aim of this research paper is to show how Bosniaks are perceived in the film and what messages the film sends.

**Key words:** Bosniaks, Serbs, Bosnia and Herzegovina, war, identity

### **Hostage crisis of UNPROFOR and genocide in Srebrenica**

After the members of ARS (Army of the Republika Srpska) from several points of UNPROFOR took heavy weapons and after 71 people were killed and 140 of them were wounded in the center of Tuzla at the place known as “the Gate” by 130mm-shell fired from ARS positions on the Mount Ozren, NATO bombed their positions of ammunition in Pale. Well-known game in which NATO gently punishes ARS, as well as the ARS punishes NATO, which went into full swing after NATO’s bombing of Pale on 26 May 1995 when ARS, demonstrating their power, in fact displayed the weakness in which UNPROFOR was found. Taking around 400 members of UNPROFOR for hostages who were used as human shields, it was a way to stop NATO actions as well as the penalty for UNPROFOR members for the bombing. Hostage crisis was resolved from 2-18 June 1995 but the inability of UNPROFOR encouraged the ARS members to intensify attacks on Srebrenica and Žepa thus realizing the plans from Directive 7 and partly from “strategic objectives of Serbian people” which referred to elimination of the Drina River as the border among Serbian states. Meanwhile, the Rapid Reaction Forces were arriving in Bosnia and they should have served as the aid to the members of UNPROFOR in case of air strikes by NATO. But the rule of “dual-key” according to which the UN Secretary-General should call NATO to intervene, their inaction and failure to prevent genocide in Srebrenica, reassuring letters by the Special Representative of Secretary-General of the United Nations, Yasushi Akashi for Radovan Karadžić, meetings on the basis Janvier- Mladić on the occasion of releasing hostages, their collusion as well as Janvier’s public resistance to military intervention will be the subject matter of this paper work. This policy of the United Nations eventually resulted in commission of genocide in Srebrenica and the statement of Radovan Karadzic “We are fortunate to have the United Nations to arrange all the jobs with” proved to be precisely correct.

**Key words:** United Nations, UNPROFOR, NATO, genocide, Srebrenica, hostages,

### **Cultural-historical heritage of war crimes and the crime of genocide in Srebrenica**

The relevant sources of cognition contained in various types of cultural-historical heritage are required for relevant (true, scientific) interpretation of numerous war crimes during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) as well as the crime of genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica (Drina valley) in July 1995. Basically, there are two types of sources: the first and foremost are documentary materials (documents, audio, photo and phone records, items etc) emerged during the war period as a consequence (result) of specific actions and procedures of official structures (authorities, political parties, military formations, security forces, business and institutions etc) and the second type of sources, especially highly important in the absence of the first, not less important part of heritage arisen with the goal of preserving truth in the form of written record (testimonies of victims and displaced persons, camp prisoners, martyrs of different types) and to serve as evidence of the crime.

Neither one of the above-mentioned sources was devoted necessary attention and importance by the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina nor the system during the war or after the war. In practice, certain structures and individuals (especially criminals) try hard to destroy as many sources of information to avoid criminal responsibility while, on the other side, the state structures of various administrative levels as well as individuals as the victims of crime do nothing to preserve as many sources of information about the crimes as possible in order to create the written form of a crime to preserve the whole truth about it. Such behavior of the state structures at all levels is in contrast to international conventions and other legal acts on the protection of cultural heritage which Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the UN member, is required to carry out.

This paper reflects on the conditions of cultural-historical heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina arisen during the aggression and after signing Dayton Peace Agreement, and it indicates a number of inadequacies, and positive (isolated) experiences and points to the azimuth of possible solutions. It is not only important for historiographical but also for all other scientific research on this subject which made the author of this paper give his modest contribution to this topic.

### **The world and genocide in Srebrenica 1995-2015**

The author deals with the issues of research of genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica in the period 1995-2015 i.e. twenty years later. The writer is analyzing the crimes against humanity in Bosnia and Herzegovina from critical positions and is interpreting the world's perspective towards tragic events in Srebrenica and elsewhere. No matter how much this topic was explored, unfortunately, not all victims were found and registered, although 8000 of them were found and buried in the Potočari Memorial Centre. In addition to that, all criminals were not legally sentenced. These issues deserve critical evaluation of individual and collective guilt for crimes against Bosniaks which Federal Republic of Yugoslavia i.e. Serbia and Montenegro committed. Despite the fact the victims of Srebrenica gave a strong warning to the world, aggression and the war were stopped by Dayton Peace Agreement in November 1995. However, even this agreement delivered genocidal message by recognition of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina i.e. by the creation of so called the Republic of Srpska. Its evil spirit is all around us and twenty years after bloody events in Srebrenica and twenty-four years of ruthless demolition of Vukovar, nationalistic slogans can be heard at many meetings in Serbia, Montenegro and the the Republic of Srpska: "Pazar will be new Vukovar, and Sjenica new Srebrenica". According to this it may be concluded that even two decades are not enough to overcome evil and establish tolerance and human relationships in society. Hundreds of mass graves and cemeteries are opened by new cognitions and ideological consideration of memories. This clearly indicates Srebrenica mustn't be forgotten as we must not forget Auschwitz or Jasenovac. In this sense, Fran Frinžgar warned all the creators that "every writer's task is to show what others did not see passing by with their eyes open."

Srebrenica remains one of the greatest tragedies that occurred in the Balkans from the ancient times and even in the world, with serious messages how to survive after all. This issue is not only the topic for historians but also for writers and psychologists, sociologists and philosophers of ethic orientation.

**Key words:** Srebrenica, world, genocide, Bosniaks, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, tragedy, evil, memory.

**Ajlina Karamehic-Muratovic**

**Laura Kromjak**

**Post Traumatic Growth and Levels of Witnessing in Esad Boškailo and Julia Lieblich's  
Wounded I am More Awake: Finding Meaning After Terror**

“The goal of healing is to have some semblance of life before the trauma.” *Wounded I Am More Awake* (2012) is a seminal example of post-traumatic life narratives from the realm of Bosnian refugee communities in the U.S. It is written in direct reference to “tragic optimism” conceptualized by Holocaust survivor Victor Frankl in *Man’s Search For Meaning* (1946). This paper will explore aspects of healing as documented by Bosniak genocide survivor turned psychiatrist Esad Boškailo and Jewish human rights journalist Julia Lieblich through the combined perspectives of mental health and literary theory. Post Traumatic Growth (PTG), the concept that a major traumatic event or crisis can evoke a positive rather than a negative psychological change, is a mental health concept central to *Wounded I Am More Awake*. Boškailo and Lieblich challenge what we fundamentally hold to be true of a traumatic experience, and through deeply personal and meaningful narratives, demonstrate how trauma can lead to psychological shifts that promote growth beyond survival. Drawing on Maureen Goggin and Peter Goggin’s model of trauma discourse, it can also be argued that different levels of witnessing to trauma in Boškailo’s memoir testify not only to confront the horrors of the genocidal war, but also to expose the pain of oneself and others. It will be revealed how the interconnectedness between these levels is integral for individual and collective healing as well as restorative justice for the survivors in Bosnia and elsewhere in refugee communities.

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**Ermin Kuka,**

### **The importance and role of education about the genocide in Srebrenica**

For any society and country, education represents basis for its development and prosperity specifically of young people. Regarding the fact that the Bosnia and Herzegovina is still a country of postwar transition and restitution, trying to achieve higher rate of overall development, one cannot forget the fact that genocide was committed against Bosnian people in Srebrenica, as well as in all other towns, exactly twenty years ago during aggression on Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The worst thing for one nation and society is oblivion. Thereby, imperative of prosperity must not overcome memory and cognition (education) about committed genocide against Bosnian people in Srebrenica in July 1995. Apart from other things, teaching about genocide in Srebrenica should be component part of education of all citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially of young. In this way, future generations will have clear messages and lessons that something like that never and nowhere happens again. In this respect, actual educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina should include teaching about genocide in Srebrenica, as component part of lesson plans and programs. This is the only way to prevent conscious falsifications.

## **Genocide in Srebrenica as a basis for abolition of The Dayton Peace Agreement**

Summary: Violation of JUS COGENS norm, according to Article 53 of Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties presents basis for abolition of any international treaty.

Article 53 of Vienna Convention applies to contracts that are contrary to a peremptory norm of general international law (“jus cogens”).

Consequently each convention that is at the time of conclusion in conflicts with a peremptory norm of general international law (jus cogens) is considered as void.

There are different opinions in terms of what belongs to jus cogens norm, but it is generally accepted that this standard includes prohibition of genocide.

Bearing in mind that genocide occurred in Srebrenica in July 1995, before signing of The Dayton Peace Agreement and that the court condemnation from 2007 confirmed that genocide was committed in Srebrenica, it is necessary to point out that from the moment when condemnation was issued, there is a legal basis under which Bosnia and Herzegovina can request from the International Court of Justice to abolish The Dayton Agreement and all its legal implications and reactivate previous status and The Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to Article 53 Vienna Convention, jus cogens norm is a peremptory norm of general international law. It is standard that is accepted and recognized by international community of States as whole as a norm from which no derogation is permitted and which can be modified only by a subsequent norm of general international law having the same character.

**Key words:** Jus cogens, The Dayton Peace Agreement, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, Genocide, Srebrenica, The International Court of Justice, Bosnia and Herzegovina.



**Declaration on Srebrenica between needs and reality**

**Abstract:** The author analyzes the works of the Declaration on Srebrenica which is by the Assembly of Republic of Serbia adopted in 2010, based on the judgment of the International Court of Justice. Special emphasis is laid on the relationship of public and political elite of the Republic of Serbia towards the genocide that occurred in Srebrenica, in fact, whether the Declaration on Srebrenica is adopted because of meeting the mere form and the need on its own way towards the Euro-Atlantic integration, or is it a product of the real circumstances, regret and respect for the victims of genocide. Twenty years later of Genocide in Srebrenica, its denial, calculating terms, the division of the public, and non-existence of a clear and sincere intention to put an end to the genocidal behavior, the question is, what reality is and what the need is of the Republic of Serbia, have we as a country matured to understand and admit our mistakes in the past, with the determination that they never happen again, or have we remained at the same level with the same consciousness and ideology, which in the future may produce some new genocide.

**Key word:** Genocide, Declaration on Srebrenica, local genocide, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

### **Continuity of the genocide against Bosniaks**

The genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina passed through all 10 known phases, but the denial is still present even after the verdict was reached by the International Court of Justice and International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague. The victims who survived the genocide, Bosniak returnees in the smaller entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, often find themselves in a situation where the more dominant party, in whose name the genocide was committed, uses the law, political strength or something else to deny their civil rights. Generating discrimination and the genocide denial indicate a hidden upholding of genocidal intent, which increases the possibility of further genocide three times.

With the aim to find an adequate model of preventing genocide, the task in this paper is the consideration and analysis of the genocidal state, by solving the trilemma: Whether the genocide which was committed against the Bosniaks was in the phase of denial or concurrently with denial active are the elements of some other phases or it is the case of the new 11<sup>th</sup> genocidal phase.

The answers to the given trilemma will be presented in this paper based on the living conditions surviving victims of the genocide, perceiving the crux of the felony of genocide by means of the question whether the planned and targeted destroying of Bosniaks has been continuing, by analyzing the existence of destruction in the structures vital to their survival. A more detailed analysis of those vital structures includes a synthesis of indicators regarding disabling or preventing personal security, freedom, health, dignity, economic existence, culture, language, national feelings, religion, and based on these facts it will be feasible to conclude if there exists a continuous action of that sort or not, which could, in the end, result in another extermination of the mentioned population from that area.

Depending on the detected phase of the genocide, besides finding an adequate model of prevention, the secondary mission of this paper will be finding national and international relief for the surviving victims of the genocide.

*Key words:* genocide, phases of genocide, Bosniaks, Bosnia and Herzegovina, discrimination, denial, destruction.

**Srebrenica - the unspoken topic in Swedish and other European schools**

We can read these days that Serbia is to mount its first trial over one of Europe's worst atrocities: the massacre of some 8,000 Bosniaks by Serbian forces in Srebrenica in the summer of 1995. Many Serbs persist in believing that the tribunal in The Hague is an international plot aimed at stigmatising the Serbs and blaming them for the horrors of the 90s. Staging a trial on such an emotive subject in Belgrade might serve an educational purpose as well as bringing justice and some closure to the families of the victims.

It is not surprising, maybe only interesting to observe the new situation in Serbia regarding Srebrenica genocide, but it is much more concerning and disturbing European attitude toward this historical event as "Srebrenica" is concealed topic in all European countries. Srebrenica is not mentioned at all, or very poorly mentioned in historical or other school books. The topics regarding genocide are only those about the Nazi Holocaust and WWII as if "Srebrenica" never happened. Why has Srebrenica genocide become the unspoken and ignored topic in school books? After all Srebrenica is a town in the Europe and Srebrenica happened only 20 years ago. In other words, the war in Balkans 1992-1995 is the part of the European history. In this paper Aida Hadžialić (Minister for Upper Sekcondary School, Adult Education and Training), and Nihad Bunar (Professor of Child and Youth Studies) are trying to answer this question.

**„Mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995“**

During three years and a half of the aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina there were recorded as forcibly missing 27.734 persons. Majority of even 88% of missing are the persons of Bosniak nationality, mainly civilians. Of the total number of missing, 8,8% are Bosnian Serbs, 2,8% are Bosnian Croats, and 0,4 % are the members of other peoples and ethnic groups (Albanians, Montenegrins, Romanians, Ukrainians, Slovenians, Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Italians, Russians, Turks and other). Every tenth missing person is female. More than 90% of missing refers to the municipalities which were occupied by the greater-Serbian aggressor and his collaborationists. Cases of forced missing are very rare in time and on the area of direct war actions, and the greatest number of these are taking place in time and in the municipalities when there are no fighting or after ending of war actions, as in Prijedor, Sanski Most, Ključ, Brčko, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Vlasenica, Bratunac, Višegrad, Foča, Rogatica, Hadžići, Vogošća, Ilidža, Ilijaš, Nevesinje, Kalinovik, Kotor Varoš, Skender Vakuf and other. In the past 14 years from the end of the war, approximately 20.000 missing have been found in 414 mass graves, more than 300 in common and more than 3.000 in individual graves. Of the said 414 mass graves with five or more victims, 397 are located on the area which during the war period, were under the control of YNA and Serb troops. If we look at the map of mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina discovered up to now, and having in mind the identity of the victims found in them, the conclusion imposed by itself is: victims are civilians, mainly members of Bosniak nationality, both sex and all ages, from babies of only several months to the old men of nearly 100 years. Treatment of victims after the execution, places and manner in which they had been interred (pits, mines, garbage heaps, secondary and tertiary graves) had the goal to inflict additional pains and sufferings to the survived family members and to deter them from their eventual decision to return to the places of the pre-war living (like Foča, Višegrad, Rogatica, Nevesinje, Prijedor and others). It means the mass graves are a part of the criminal plan directed to thorough elimination of one or more ethnic groups from the specific territory.

### Evaluating the legacy and long term consequences of genocide

Before the Bosniac genocide, last genocide of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, others have proved it (as a reference or an anti one) : the legacy and the long-term consequences of such a crime are tightly bound to the provided Justice : its goal is to judge and condemn the perpetrators and their accomplices but also to reveal the truth to the world. Only the recognition of the facts, known by the perpetrators as well as their victims survivors may be the base of a possible life-after, and the eventual reconciliation among the next generations. Only the recognition by all of the truth as the reference of what should never happen again in a shocked but for the time being seemingly appeased world, can give birth to the words sounding as a sincere pray : « Never more ». Unfortunately those two words have been repeated since the Nuremberg trial, in despair and as a semantic absurdity.

The truth, nothing but the truth, the whole truth : many evidences of the Bosniac genocide (among which the Srebrenica one is, as part of it, the only episode recognized at this time as such by the ICTY) have been revealed within the trials, even if the indictments prove an obvious reluctance regarding the charge of *genocide*, as well as the *Bigs* responsibilities – when not acknowledged complicities. That issue has transformed the Srebrenica genocide into a Pandora box, which lid is still sealed by all Western leaders.

Some of the criminals Western accomplices still dare to state : « We knew nothing, we couldn't have known », even if the trials have given all elements proving they all knew in advance what was been planned, and later happening. As for Srebrenica, the US, British and French politicians and diplomats as well as the UN hierarchy had to make a choice. Once Mladic had overtaken the enclave, wishing not to be criticized as accomplices in an ethnic cleansing, they chose to sacrifice the population to its executioner, becoming the accomplices in a genocide. As long as their crime would never be known.

This fact has now to be repeatedly revealed to the world, and hopefully at last admitted and assumed by the actual Western leaders. If not, the Bigs will keep on ignoring Bosnia as much as possible, a still bloody State to their minds and in the frozen international omerta.

This is the subject of most of my researches regarding the Bosniac genocide. Comparing the answers of a great number of Western responsables to my interviews brings evidence of their complicity in the crime.

**Jasmin Medić**

**Genocide in Kozarac- similarities and differences with the genocide in Srebrenica**

The author is concerned with the political situation as well as with the military pre-arrangement in the municipality of Prijedor shortly before the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina. He particularly reflects upon the genocide committed in Kozarac during the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, the consequences of such war crime, and the similarities and differences with genocide committed in July 1995 in Srebrenica.

**Key words:** Kozarac, Prijedor, aggression, genocide, SDS, JNA, Srebrenica

**Keeping of th culture of remembrance on the victimes of the war  
crime by model of the international school yad vashem<sup>1</sup>**

The international school Yad Vashem is occupying with learning about Holocaust. The basic goal of the School is remembering on the victims of the war crime and keeping of the culture of remembrance , with the aim of not forgetting the war crimes, from the one side, and of not ever repeating them, from the other side. The war crime in Srebrnica has caused numerous and long term consequences in all fields of civil and cultural life in BIH. It does not have justifying, it is for every convince and it should not be repeated. It is the important condition for developing of different relationships between countries and people in the region, who should stream for making peace and developing of democratic societies. For investigating the evaluations of teachers of primary schools about possibilities of keeping the culture of remembrance on the victims of war crime in Srebrenica and with the aim of making peace and developing of democratic societies in the region by the model of Yad Vashem school, it was conducted the investigation in the first half of 2015 Year, on the sample from 186 of teachers in primary schools in Vranje and Sarajevo. Collected data have been treated by Factorial analysis and Man-Whitney U test. Three factors have been extracted by factorial analysis: 1) culture of remembering, 2) remembering on victims, 3) making peace and understanding ( $KMO = .876$ ,  $p = .000$ ); Man-Whitney U test has not discovered the significance difference in levels of evaluations of primary schools teachers in Sarajevo ( $Md = 53$ ,  $n = 92$ ) and Vranje ( $Md = 53$ ,  $n = 75$ ) about the possibilities of keeping the culture of remembrance on the victims of war crimes in Srebrenica in the aim of making peace and developing of democratic societies in the region by the model of Yad Vashem school ( $U = 3357$ ,  $z = -.306$ ,  $r = -.023$ ,  $p = .760$ ).

**Key words:** learning, Yad Vashem School, the culture of remembrance, Holocaust, Srebrenica

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<sup>1</sup> The paper was written within International project ICHEIC – Yad Vashem Jerusalem: The International School for Holocaust Studies.

**Tamara Miskovic**

**Disparity between international conventions and their implementation outcomes through local laws: Making decisions about the protection of children during the war**

“To build future, you need to know the past” Otto Frank, 1967

The continuous documenting and incessant discussing of war crimes and events are significantly important in order to convey the truth about genocide, and to develop strong cultural and historical foundations of one's country and its people. War crimes are often linked explicitly for collective mass destruction with immediate visible consequences (material and human physical damages), while less often invisible consequences (psychological, social and cultural damages of surviving civilians) are not looked at as war crimes. Thus, this paper focuses on invisible impacts of the evacuation of unaccompanied children during times of crisis. Although the phenomenon of evacuation of unaccompanied children has long-term psycho-social-cultural consequences, it is not adequately represented in war literature.

Mass evacuation of children is a common procedure during war and other crisis conditions. The humanitarian evacuations are organized by domestic and international, governmental and non-governmental organizations as a form of social welfare to protect children. Although the humanitarian evacuation efforts aim to keep the best interest of the child in mind, evidence suggests that temporarily evacuated children often remain permanently separated from their parents or are being adopted in their various host countries. This frequently leads to the loss of identity and connections with their immediate family and culture. Thus, it is important to research the long term impacts of decisions made in a “moment of panic” during these times of crisis not only for families and children but for the larger society and culture as whole. Lastly, special attention should be paid to who and how makes decisions about the protection of children and their best interests in times of crisis considering power, discourse and privilege.

Children rights are defined by numerous international and local documents such as the Convention on Children Rights and The Hague Convention. In practice, during times of war, there are many barriers for children rights to be respected. Analyzing the barriers for implementation of international laws, procedures and conventions of the rights of children evacuated without their parents will help to understand how macro forces and international politics influence and condition micro practices and decisions made in the best interest of unaccompanied evacuated children at the local level. These findings will contribute to development of necessary preventive measures which will facilitate and improve cooperation between international, national and local institutions in order to ensure the well being of children and protect healthy family units whenever it is possible during the time of war and evacuations.



### The political consequences of genocide

Genocide against Bosniaks of BiH in the UN safe area Srebrenica in 1995 is the crime which outcome was politically sanctioned by the relevant international organizations, including the UN and the European Union. The basis of the political sanction of the crime is the division of BiH into two territorial-administrative units, entities *the Federation of BiH* and *the Republika Srpska*, by *the Constitution of BiH*. Such political division of BiH, which is the result of the aggressive war of conquest and genocide, has caused, among other things, the multiple political and other discrimination of Bosniak and other non-Serb population in the Municipality Srebrenica. First of all, there is *a denial of the passive voting right* on certain levels of government. In addition, there is *the denial of freedom of movement and choice of residence, restriction of freedom of information, violation of bureaucratic procedures during the exercise of civil rights, violation of privacy of personal data, denial of health care and the like, and the denial of the right to an effective legal remedy* in the above mentioned examples of discrimination. The aforementioned directly violate human rights protected by *the Constitution of the RS, the Constitution of BiH, the Dayton Peace Agreement, and the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*. Discrimination is politically carried out through anti-constitutional *Law on Refugees, Displaced Persons and Returnees of BiH, the Law on Residence of BiH, the Law on Health Insurance of the FBiH* and others, as well with *the high-handedness of entity and municipal authorities of the RS and Srebrenica, in particular the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RS*. Part of the paper is dedicated to the particular discrimination in the field, as a result of political discrimination, which includes *physical and verbal attacks*, as well as *the intimidation* in order to prevent the return to the area of Srebrenica.

**Ben Moore**

**Memory, Oral History, and a Generational Divide: The Bosnian Diaspora  
Community in St. Louis**

St. Louis, Missouri, has the largest Bosnian diaspora community in North America, with nearly 50,000 people. Since 2006, I have overseen an ongoing oral history initiative focused on Bosnian refugees who now live in St. Louis. Among Bosnians living in diaspora, one of the central consequences of genocide is the forced renegotiation of cultural identities, a process that is becoming increasingly problematic as a new generation comes of age. In addition to examining a generational rift that is emerging in St. Louis's Bosnian community, the proposed paper describes community-based research methods, through which younger Bosnians participate in the recording of oral histories as both interviewers and narrators.

Often younger Bosnian-Americans have little understanding of their parents' experiences, even though their own lives have been profoundly shaped by the genocide. Many also experience a sense of cultural homelessness—that is, of belonging neither to the U.S. nor to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some Bosnian-American youth will recount vividly events that were related to them by their parents, but in other families, silence separates the children from their parents' past.

All of these problems make it even more imperative that we persist with this oral history project and collect as many accounts as we can, allowing younger Bosnians to participate whenever possible. One aim of the perpetrators of genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina was to destroy not only people but also any recollection of them, and we cannot allow the purposes of genocide to be achieved through silence and forgetting in the diaspora.

**Denial of genocide – case of genocides against tutsi and Bosniaks**

Taking into account that Genocide is the gravest crime which humankind has experienced throughout of history, confronting and preventing genocide is getting a crucial for countering against an occurrence of such as the grave threat, which threatens to the further existence of entire national, religious, ethnic and racial groups.

Genocides against Tutsi in Rwanda and Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina were perpetrated almost at same time and in the same international context in late 1990s. While genocides were being executed in the field, both were notoriously denied at the international level either by UN bodies or officials of big powers. Aftermath genocide, the genocides have been denied on regular and systematic manner by organized groups of deniers. Often, genocides committed against Tutsi and Bosniaks have been denied by same deniers. “*Spontaneous act*”, “*retributive crime*”, “*double genocide*” and “*conspiracy theory*” are some of the most used form of denial of the genocide against Tutsi or genocide against Bosniaks which are going to be examined in the paper.

Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina have different national solutions in confronting to Genocide Denial. Both national solutions will be presented in this paper.

As per many notable genocide scholars wide spread of the denial of committed genocide is a warning sign for a reoccurrence of the genocide, therefore identifying force that stands behind deniers is of the crucial magnitude. As final finding, we are going to reveal an ultimate goal of denial.

## **Admir Muratović**

### **The intention of genocide commission: genocide against the Bosniaks in Sandžak 1941-1945 and Bosniaks in Srebrenica in 1995.**

Since the beginning of life on Earth, people were divided into two groups. Those who were inclined to do evil to others, and those who are trying to find ways to anticipate the evil, answering the question of why bad happened and trying to be adequately sanctioned.

From Gobineau's: "An Essay on the inequality of races", "Mein Kampf" by Adolf Hitler, Mussolini's party's newspaper: "Avanti" and "I Popolo d'Italia", Njegos's: "Mountain Range," Garasanin's "Nacartanija "Moljoviceve" Homogeneous Serbia ", Andric "The Bridge on the Drina", Kusturica's "Stone City", "Serbian question in the twentieth century, and Bosnian War by Dobrica Cosic, "Black Fairy (Tales)" by Radovan Karadzic, "honey and beekeeping," by Ratko Mladic, "Neo-Ottomanism" by Darko Tanasković, "TERRORISM - Global Network of Islamic Fundamentalists - Part II - Modus operandi-Model Bosnia" by Darko Trifunovic, it's the long list of those who in the name of ideology, religion, "legitimate historical rights", (referring) to the destruction of others just because they were different from them, in their opinion, (unworthy) of life "progressive man".

### **What is genocide?**

Genocide, by definition is the gravest, most complex, and the most heinous form of crime in the history of mankind, and one of the most complex social processes and phenomena, projected in time and space as a process resulting from the collective ideology, politics and practice, has its stages, systematic and planning character, a broad context, dynamics, and intensity, carried out continuously (against unprotected, helpless, innocent, and unarmed victims, selected only because they belong to one of the protected groups, according to the international law, which is the target only because of their affiliation, in form of mutually functionally connected different actions, committed by a large number of organized participants in the process which characterizes the planning, preparation, organization, and execution, along with a full support, coordination, direct engagement and control by the highest state authorities, which is also characteristic for the genocide against Bosniacs in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century.

### **UN –stans stance on the crime of genocide**

After the terrible genocide and the Holocaust against the Jews and other nations during the Second World War, the international community, UN, was in december 11 1946. adopted a resolution by which genocide is a crime under international law which is contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world; recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and are convinced that in order to liberate mankind from such odious scourge international cooperation is essential.

## **Srebrenica - Bosnian “red line”**

On the eve of the third millennium, 26 years after the first man landed on the moon, six years after the fall of the Berlin Wall while waiting for the JNA, the protector of “Brotherhood and Unity”, “take matters into their own hands” and solve the Yugoslav crisis, committed a genocide in Srebrenica. The crime for which, Simon Wiesenthal asked whether his 40-year activities, research of Nazi war crimes, in vain.

Adorno pointed to a phenomenon after the WWII, with his question “How can the poetry be possible after Auschwitz?”. Similar question was raised in the late nineties of the 20th century by scholar Tomas Kuschman: “How can the idea of Europe be possible after Bosnia”.

## **Denial of genocide**

Denial of genocide, according to the scholars and the authorities of Holocaust and genocide, is the last stage of genocide, which always accompanies that gravest form of crimes against humanity and international law and it can last (so) long after the genocide.

Denial of genocide is a valid and reliable indicator, which suggests that the genocide is committed. Denial has different motives: ideological, strategic, socio-political and others, whereas the consequences for the victims are always tragic. There cannot be silence or irrelevance on genocide. Thus, it is the duty of scholars, as Nobel prize winner Elie Wiesel writes, to speak on behalf of genocide victims, remind of their suffering and tears and suppress the fear of oblivion.

## **The Crimes in Sandzak from 1992-1995.**

Sandzak region has a special place in the history of the breakup of Yugoslavia, and all that is happening in this neuralgic area especially in the period 1991.-1995, and later, (violations of human rights, murder, robbery, kidnapping, , mass emigration, various forms of discrimination, political trials, mass “informative talks” preventive repression, etc.). remained in the shadow of the events in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Some parties, such as radicals, openly threatened and called for the cleansing of Bosniaks marginal parts of Serbia and Montenegro, along the border with Bosnia.

Borisav Jovic, former President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia in 11 September 1990. writes in his diary: “We are planning, Serbian ethnic map, especially in Bosnia and Croatia, to clearly show the territories where Serbs are in the majority; from Sibenik to Lika, Bosanska Krajina region, near the Sava river to Bijeljina all Serb is in majority. In the center of Bosnia, Muslims. Serbs crossed the Drina and Sandzak, and Muslims can not unite. This is the future, space, of Serbia.

## **Crimes against Bosniaks in Bukovica, Kukurovića and Pljevlja**

In the context of what Jovic said, the horrible crimes committed against Bosniaks in Sandzak, who lived on the left side of the Drina River, near the border with Bosnia. In the village Ravni ( Bukovica - Pljevlja), including as a result of the ‘beatings inflicted by armed men in military uniforms, died on 16 February in 1993. Latif Bungur. His body was buried after 15 days in 30 October in 1993., in the town cemetery in Pljevlja. On 18 February in 1993. in the village Kukurovici (Priboj) killed three

Bosniak civilians, Bulut Huzeir, Husović Musan and Sarac Sadeta, and burned nine houses. Ramo Berbo, from Sjeverin, killed in August 1992., while waiting for the bus on the Priboj - Rudoway, and Iugar Muzaffer Đogo from Bukovica, Plevlja, also.

### **Sjeverin massacre**

On the morning of 22 October 1992, a bus traveling from Priboj in the Sandžak area of Serbia to Rudo, Bosnia, was stopped in the Bosnian village of Mioče by four members of the Osvetnici (Avengers) paramilitary unit under the command of Milan Lukić. The other members of the group were Oliver Krsmanović, Dragutin Dragicević and Djordje Sević. 16 Bosniak passengers from Sjeverin - 15 men and one woman, all Yugoslavian and Serbian citizens - were taken off the bus and forced onto a truck. They were taken to Višegrad, in eastern Bosnia, which was under the control of the Bosnian Serb Army. Along the way, the prisoners were forced to sing Serbian nationalist songs. The truck stopped at the Vilina Vlas hotel in Višegrad. The hostages were severely beaten and tortured inside the hotel and then taken to the edge of the Drina River where they were executed.

### **The Abduction from the train in Štrpci**

Less than five months after the in Sjeverin, continued bloody implementation of the plan Borislav Jovic, Slobodan Milosevic and the great Serbian policy in Sandzak.

At the Strpci station of the Belgrade-Bar railway line on 27 February 1993, the members of the Osvetnici (Avengers) paramilitary unit under the command of Milan Lukić, same unit like in Sjeverin, abducted 18 Bosnians and one Croat from train 671, took them by truck to Višegradska banja, where they were later tortured and killed.

For the war crimes in Sandzak, the International Court in The Hague refused to prosecute them, thus making Serbia a service that supposedly was not at war, even though the same court an indictment against Vojislav Seselj for the crimes against Croats in Vojvodina.

Of all the Genocide against Bosniacs, more than half occurred against Bosniaks from Sandzak. If you look at the break between the last and the next one genocide, we will see that this period of time necessary to perform forgetfulness.

Without the institutional memory of the genocide, stands forgotten, as a sure guarantee that the next one, by ferocity and brutality, be passionate.

The reality in which we live is the legacy of the painful past .

Challenges which way to go . Perspective remember and not forget . The future made on the basis of past experience with the emphasis that we must find ways to live a quality coexistence of differences . The alternative is new conflicts . We want to believe that no one wants , and that no one's interest to repeat the evil . No one , anywhere and never !

**The testimony of genocide victims of the crime of genocide in Srebrenica in July 1995**

There are numerous and varied, valid and reliable sources of information and data about the genocide against Bosniaks in the UN safe area in July 1995, out of which highly important are relevant documents of political, military and security organs of the state aggressor (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia- Serbia and Montenegro) and their collaborationists as well as the testimonies of victims of genocide, as the participants of events and immediate witnesses- surviving victims of genocide. In this text, the intention will be focused and dedicated to the testimonies of the victims of genocide, without which it would be impossible to make a valid reconstruction of the crime of genocide in Srebrenica- UN safe area in July 1995.

**International involvement and responsibility for genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica**

In our modern history, as nowhere else in Europe, the United Nations, with its bureaucratic and not small, mammoth machinery, suffered such humiliation and disgrace in Srebrenica. There were buried all the principles of so-called Western democracy, and were trampled and betrayed all charters and resolutions starting from the UN Charter to the Helsinki Conventions, Paris Principles, Hague tribunal decisions, Geneva Conventions etc.

In Srebrenica, Maastricht was buried or at least those principles on which European Union wants to build its future. The curtains fell down and the hopes of those who still believed in a new international order, human rights and freedom, achievements of Western civilization and culture were extinguished. The old, arrogant, neo-colonial European politics in Srebrenica showed its true colors.

Although almost all peace proposals/plans such as: the Carrington-Cutileiro (March 1992), the Vance-Owen (April 1993), Owen-Stoltenberg (September 1993), Washington-Vienna (May 1994), Contact Group (July 1994) treated Srebrenica as the territory with mostly Bosniak majority, as it was in reality, the international community allowed its suffering.

**Key words:** International community, responsibility, genocide, Bosniaks, Srebrenica



**Genocide against Bosniaks in the Vlasenica area 1992-1995**

Vlasenica, as the part of central Drina River Valley was, in a whole, a target of Great-Serbian protagonists' policy since the Berlin Congress in 1978, conclusively with the aggression of Serbia and Montenegro against Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995. How strategically important this area was for the aggressor, prove the evidence i.e. data that the representatives of political, military and police leadership of Serbia and Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina in mid-1991 carried out necessary preparations for putting under control areas of this municipality along with the municipalities of central Drina River Valley. As a remainder, in a second half of 1991, after the withdrawal of Yugoslav units from Croatia, the armored mechanized brigade from Jastrebarsko near Zagreb became dislocated to the area of the municipality of Šekovići which was geographically leaning against the territory of Vlasenica municipality. One of the battalions of this brigade was located in Lukić Polje which is situated at the line between the Vlasenica municipality and the municipality of Srebrenica. In the mid-1991 in Milići the volunteer brigade was formed that was exclusively consisted of the members of Serbian nationality, while at the end of the same year the third battalion was formed out of the brigade from Han Pijesak, made up of volunteers of Serbian nationality from Milići, as well. By mid-March 1992, from hangar of the military airport of Dubrave near Tuzla MTM (Material and Technical Means), ammunition, and weapons underwent dislocation and were placed in Tisco which comes before Vlasenica at the main road Sarajevo-Vlasenica. Apart from these funds, the family members of Active military and civilian personnel and part of seniors of armored brigade were relocated to Tisca and put up at the hotel in Sekovici. This operation of dislocation of listed funds and stuff was realized in the period from 19 to 30 March 1992. These data testify that the whole Central Drina River Valley with Vlasenica in mid-1991 was separated from the remaining area of Bosnia and Herzegovina and put in military rim since the units from Serbia were in the state of readiness at the opposite side of the river. The fact that the Central Drina River Valley was a strategic priority of planners and organizers of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, was confirmed by the data that the aggressor forces occupied Bijeljina on April 1, Zvornik on April 8, Bratunac on April 17, Srebrenica on April 18 and Vlasenica on 20/21 April 1992.

After that, the Bosniak population in the already occupied areas of the region was suffering from the terrible torture, many were killed and a significant number were forcibly expelled from their living space. Bosniaks from Vlasenica Municipality, in coordination with representatives from neighboring municipalities by self-organized defense managed to defend a significant space of their municipality until 13 March 1993, when far more superior Serbian forces managed to occupy the entire area of the municipality of Vlasenica.

This work will be divided into several thematic sections. In the first part, the evidence about preparing Serbian forces for the occupation of Vlasenica and crimes committed against Bosniaks will be presented. In the second part, the forced division of the territory of the municipality of Vlasenica by

political, military and police leadership of the municipality of Vlasenica will be treated. In the main part of the paper, the dimension of the crime, victims of crime, the mass graves and the responsibility for the crimes will be discussed.

**Key words:** Vlasenica, occupation, crimes, genocide and grave.

### **From Srebrenica to the Hague**

As the war commandant of 28<sup>th</sup> division of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I am a victim of the genocide in the central part of Drina River Valley which started out in spring 1992 and it lasted during whole period of aggression. It went through its final phase in July 1995. The central part of Drina River Alley was under constant aggression of Higher Corps of Yugoslav Army and special units under the control of Serbian security service during 1992 and first half of 1993. Despite constant attacks, Srebrenica became liberated town in Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1992, firstly, and secondly, in a crucial battle on 17 April 1993 while under the protection of the United Nations in July 1995 it has experienced the only genocide after Second World War in Europe. At the time when nothing was known about the thousands of missing Bosniaks from Srebrenica, under the constant pressure from Serbia, the Hague Prosecution launched an investigation and carried out my arrest. It was an attempt of Great Serbian politics that over indictment to me balance the responsibility for genocide committed in July 1995 against Bosniaks in the safe area of Srebrenica and Zepa. I was proving my innocence in the Hague for three years for alleged war crimes which were attributed to be and finally gained that till the end of that uncertain battle.

**Mirko Pejanović**

**Cvrk Mirsad**

**The refugee returns in function of renewal of inter-entity trust in the town and municipality of Srebrenica**

In socio-historical context the perpetrator of genocide in July 1995 in Srebrenica was guided by clear aim: to persecute and destruct Bosniak population in this area.

Two decades after the genocide committed in July 1995 in Srebrenica the consequences of the crime of genocide among surviving victims are still evident. These effects are manifested in all aspects of social life.

Before the crime of genocide: according to the census of 1991, the major national groups in Srebrenica were Bosniaks (27, 000 or 72 % of the total population- 37,382).

At a rough estimate, 15,903 inhabitants of Srebrenica were expelled to the world and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The return of Bosniak refugees after DPA (Dayton Peace Agreement) took place in unfavorable historical circumstances. The population of Srebrenica displayed great interest in return for the period 1998-2000. The biggest resistance to return of Bosniaks to Srebrenica was provided after the elections in 2000, when the multi-national government was established with the help of international community.

The representatives of institutions and organizations of the international community displayed a certain degree of responsibility for the implementation of return of refugees and displaced people from Srebrenica.

According to the census from 1991, the local communities of Srebrenica municipality numbered on average about 2,500 people. In the period 1996-2006, small number of people returned to the local community. *In a whole, the number of returnees in this period is 9,679 people, which is less than 10 % of the total pre-war population.*

After 2000, the largest number of people returned to rural areas without any infrastructure, roads, electricity and other means of livelihood. The return to Srebrenica took place in unacceptably small percentages (about 10 %). The main reason for that was the genocide which was committed in this area, and later due to economic factors which did not follow the interests of returnees- Bosniaks in Srebrenica.

Twenty years after the commission of genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica, inter-entity communication between Bosniaks and Serbs remains burdened by the consequences of genocide.

The economic growth in Srebrenica can serve as the best basis for restoration of inter-entity trust. It is necessary to provide equal enjoyment of human rights for all citizens regardless of their ethnic and

religious affiliation. It is especially important to support citizens who make extra efforts to do everything for Srebrenica to become an example of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism for all who want to live in it and to develop co-existence and mutual trust.

The structure of returnee households is such that in most cases the women of killed Srebrenica men (about 40 %) are the providers. Therefore, serious agricultural development could not have been expected. Domestic institutions and institutions of the international community still do not have a strategic plan for sustainable return and the development of Srebrenica. Many returnee settlements lack basic municipal infrastructure: local roads, clinics, schools, shops.

Refugee returns to Srebrenica takes place in impermissible small percentage. New policies that would shape return projects, economic and infrastructure development and the protection of human rights in Srebrenica are necessary. The establishment of a special development status of the Srebrenica municipality is advocated. One should establish a special entity (the Republic of Srpska and Federation of BiH) funds for economic and infrastructural development of the Srebrenica municipality.

Local authorities should initiate activity for the formation of an international fund, which would be aimed at socio-economic development and sustainability of return to Srebrenica.

**David Pettigrew**

**“Prohibited Memorials and the Continuation of Genocide in RepublikaSrpska:  
The Legacy of Srebrenica and Dayton.”**

This paper will identify an orchestrated effort in RepublikaSrpska designed to prevent survivors of the genocide from erecting memorials to the victims in such locations as Višegrad, Prijedor, and Foča. The Bosnian Serb administration in Višegrad, for example, seeks to destroy a house in which 60 women and children were burned alive in 1992, in order to erase any traces of the crime. While memorials for victims have been prohibited, and survivors have been prevented from using the term “genocide,” memorials to the perpetrators have been installed in the center of Višegrad, and near the Trnopolje concentration camp. In the hills above Sarajevo, in a location from which the city’s residents were attacked during the siege, a plaque honoring indicted war criminal Ratko Mladić has been installed. Accordingly, this paper will consider the extent to which the discriminatory practices regarding memorials in RepublikaSrpska constitute a blatant violation of human rights. Further, the paper will argue that, following Raphael Lemkin’s definition of genocide, the prohibitive policies in RepublikaSrpska with respect to memorials and commemorative practices constitute nothing less than a continuation of the genocide; a second phase of the genocide designed to insure the permanent erasure of a world that was destroyed. These human rights violations and the continuation of the genocide are a troubling testament to the failure of the international community in Bosnia. In conclusion, the paper will identify an urgent need for constitutional reform in order to reunify Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multicultural society.

### **Writing as Re-Victimization: Ethnography of Genocide Through Ontological Turn**

During first two days of Summer University in Sreberenica in 2012 we used to have lectures in the old battery factory, former compound of Dutch UN battalion. Every morning when we were gathering in front of the factory a constant noise of the machine was coming from the cemetery across the street. As I was aware that soon would be next burial of the identified victims I thought that noise was a product of the machines working on the mowing and preparing the site for the occasion. But the day after when we went to the cemetery I found out that noise that I heard last two days came from the bulldozer excavating new graves. At that precise moment despite of the stories that I heard, movies that I've seen and talks that I had with the survivors, I became for the first time fully aware of the tragedy that haunts people living in the region. Instantly I felt sick. And I still don't know weather this sickness came from facing the range of atrocities or from my thoughts that automatically appeared in my head to make sense of that noise the day before.

Described experience faced me with almost unresolvable problem. Victims of Srebrenica genocide circulate in many different discourses. Inevitably, at the moment of their inscription in any of them victims gain surplus specific for the discourse itself. Their humanity is reduced just through the process of "making sense" of the terrible semantic noise that was produced by the atrocity. Consequence could be that it is impossible to write about victims of the genocide without their re-victimization. At the end the discourse will always use the victim for the sake of its own consistency. And ethnography is certainly not an exception.

In this paper, drawing from my fieldwork experience, I would like to propose possible elicitation from such "ethnographic" dead knot through usage of recent "ontological turn" in anthropology.

**Milan Popović,**

### **The clause of chaos in Srebrenica 1995-2015**

On the twentieth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, the most serious crime in Europe after the II world war, committed in July 1995, this short article emphasizes the three main facts and messages. Firstly, it starts with the universal nature and need for the punishment of this and any other crime against humanity. Secondly, it continues with the contradictory and worsening result in the criminal persecution and punishment of the crimes, both in national and international jurisdiction, and due to deteriorating domestic and world realpolitik. And thirdly, it concludes with the categorical imperative to continue with the insistence on the punishment, despite all these deteriorations.



**Selma Rizvić**

**Fatmir Alispahić**

### **Virtual Museum as a media for culture of memory**

There is no nation in Europe which, since almost 200 years, was being exterminated, persecuted, dispersed, and plundered as Bosniak nation, without those facts ever being institutionalized. Non-existence of an institution which would deal with studying of continuity in genocides upon Bosniaks resembles the complicity in politics of covering-up or ignoring this trans-historical crime, which culminated by genocide in Srebrenica 11th of July 1995. With establishment of the Virtual Museum of genocide upon Bosniaks (VMGB) finally there are conditions for collecting and presenting materials about the genocide and opening new research and presentation forms and projects. Although most of virtual museums have been created from physical ones, our final goal is that VMGB is some day realized also as a physical museum, containing classic presentation forms combined with cutting edge digital technologies.

We are building up the VMGB through collection, classification and presentation of materials about the continuity of genocide upon Bosniaks, following the historical and geographic lines. Genocide stages are presented as historical and physical locations, with all factographic, presentational and optionally legal materials. Both lines presume including of all media and expression forms witnessing genocide.

Virtual museum consists of 10 virtual environments linked to the central one, where documents, testimonies and records of genocide are presented using interactive digital stories. This way we can connect and efficiently present various types of documents (text, pictures, audio, video, 3D objects). The VMGB case study confirms efficiency of virtual museums as a media for culture of memory.

**Amira Sadiković**

### **Two Genocides, One Bosnian and a Learning Curve**

It is a privilege, and yet an impossibility, to live a life not marred by crimes against humanity. It is hard to deal with consequences of genocide. But it happens rarely that one has to do that within a very short time-span of just one year. Two genocides on two continents – very different experiences. Rwanda in 1994 and Srebrenica in 1995. Trying to understand the “mechanics” of genocidal action, trying to understand the needs of the people who deal with the consequences of such action, trying to understand the enormous spectrum of responses to such events: there is no easy way to describe the challenges one goes through in such situations. This is a personal account of a Bosnian who was in such a situation, examined with the aim of learning about the aftermath of genocide and the different reactions that may subsequently lead to differences in the historical treatment of events.

### **Identification of persons exhumed from single and mass graves**

Identification of exhumed victims of aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly important, both for the families of the dead persons, and for the presentation of evidence during the prosecution of perpetrators of war crimes.

The problem is particularly acute among the victims exhumed from mass graves, and especially secondary mass graves, but it exists by remains found in single graves.

The absence of ante-mortem data on the killed persons, finding burned or damaged remains, lack of close relatives, killed more people from the same family, are just some of the challenges of identifying persons, even those found in single graves.

The formation of mass graves, bodies moved from primary to secondary and tertiary graves, throwing the bodies into pits, inevitably leads to a strong comingling of the remains, which significantly complicates and slows down the process of identification.

- The goal of this presentation is to present: Identification of the persons found in single graves, when it is impossible to isolate the DNA profile or when there is no close relatives to give the blood for DNA analysis.
- Identification of persons where it was found only a small part of the body, either because they have been found in secondary or tertiary graves and primary have not yet been found, or remains were found on the surface.
- Identification of persons where in the same family were killed more brothers or sisters, who had no children, so the DNA report for one body can be generated only on all the murdered brothers or sisters.
- Identification of the persons found in secondary or tertiary mass graves, with very mixed remains.

### Suicides of war criminals in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Results of (my) scientific research confirm close correlation between the war crimes committed against Bosniaks in the past aggression and the number of suicides of war criminals.

In the period from 1992 to 2011 in Bosnia and Herzegovina 9753 of suicides were committed out of which 3578 in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina **and 6175 in the Republic of Srpska (which is the number of so far exhumed Bosniaks who were killed in the worst crime- the crime of genocide in and around Srebrenica in July 1995)**. During the period from 1992 to 2011 in the Republic of Serbia 29024 of suicides were committed. In the period between 1992 and 2011, in the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Srpska number of suicides reached its total of 35 199. Taking into account the total of committed suicides; the fact that The Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Srpska were the subjects of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ideological, planning, commanding and executive) and the fact that after the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina a sharp rise in suicides in the Republic of Srpska and Serbia was registered, **it can be concluded that the war crimes against Bosniaks and a sharp rise in the number of suicides can be casually and scientifically brought in a close correlation**. According to scientific estimates, the Republic of Srpska and Serbia will reach the number of suicides which will be equal to number of killed Bosniaks in the past aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Data on the number of suicides of members of the ARBiH (Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina), HVO (Croat forces) and ARS (Army of the Republic of Srpska), are not registered anywhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina nor they wish to do that institutionally. There is a major dilemma why Bosnian society does not want to keep up-to-date the numbers of their demobilized soldiers. Nowadays, demobilized soldiers live in a “prolonged war period” dying of invisible bullets. Out of three armies which fought each other, demobilized soldiers of ARBiH take the third place at the rates of suicides (around 1500 of suicides registered). Members of HVO take the second place in the rates of suicides (around 500 of suicides). **Crime and punishment: in the first place, namely by largest number (and highest rate of suicides) are found the members of the Republic of Srpska (in contrast to the members of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and HVO) with the number of 3000**. The total number of suicides of demobilized members of the Army of BiH, HVO and ARS for the period from 1996 to 2012 reaches 5000. From the point of law, justice, morality, religion...rates of suicides are arranged in the following way: the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina fought for justice, state, nation and religion during the entire aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and it has the minimum rate of suicides; HVO fought for justice and injustice during the war and takes the second place in rates of suicides; ARS fought only for injustice and the destruction of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, destruction of Bosniaks and Islam and it has the highest suicide rate which is critically high/alarming.

**Key words:** Worst war crime-genocide, suicide

**Cooking and Dining in Times of War and Peace: Theorising Armed Conflict and Post-war Development in Srebrenica, BiH in the Framework of Anthropology of Food**

In the last 1990's war Srebrenica, BiH became an isolated enclave under siege, that was later declared the UN 'Safe Area'. Despite its protected status, in July, 1995 this Eastern-Bosnian city became a site event classified by the ICTY as genocide and is regarded as the second worse mass atrocity in Europe after the WW2. In this presentation, I take a look at these events from a non-traditional perspective—the one of food. Genocide (unlike massacre) is a systematic intentional act to destroy targeted group of people that takes course in several identifiable phases and features a certain characteristic internal logic (see Zwaan, 2003). I suggest that the “food perspective” is helpful to illustrate these different phases and features and is, thus, useful to understand and map Srebrenica genocide.

Food has played a central role within human society from time immemorial. It supplies nutrients necessary to preserve functions of human organism and thus assures survival (see Couningham 1999, Farquar 2006, Lupton 1996). Moreover, edibles can ‘tell’ many stories about social cohesion or exclusion and both collective and individual identity. Yet, what happens to relation between social actor and “everyday bread” under conditions of starvation and overall material scarcity? The aim of this presentation is to unfold discussion regarding these issues in comparison with my ethnographic data from fieldwork in Srebrenica and on the example of war and post-war diet show that food can function also as an effective tool of social oppression and violence.

**Key words:** Anthropology of Food; Foodways; Identity; War in Ex-Yugoslavia in 1990s; Genocide; Nationalism; Srebrenica; Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Sakib Softić,**

**The review procedure of the Judgment of 26 February 2007- objective  
assumptions for revision**

The International Court of Justice in The Hague passed the judgment in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro on 6 February 2007 for violation of Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide. The claim of Bosnia and Herzegovina of 24 April 2006 requesting the Court to deliver sentence on Serbia which committed genocide or participated in the commission of genocide through its organs or persons whose activity draws their responsibility according to the International Common Law in order to compensate material or non-material damage to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its citizens, was rejected by the verdict. These points of the judgment represented the essence of the claim of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina were deprived of the truth and justice by this verdict. Therefore, all the time after pronouncing the sentence the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the direct victims of genocide request from the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina to institute proceedings of the review procedure of the judgment.

The review procedure as a remedy prescribed by the Statute of the International Court of Justice is allowed only in exceptional cases. The conditions for launching the review procedure were set quite strictly. They deal with the researching new facts of such importance which would justify the opening of the review procedure. When the audit process is permitted it does not mean the Court will meet the prosecutor or judge otherwise.

This paper work deals with problems connected with the issues of revision of the procedure. These are primarily the issues of legal requirements for revision. They are dealing with the fact of existence of relevant facts and where they could be found, whose obligation it is, who is responsible for making a decision on the revision, choosing the persons for representing in the eventual review procedure concerning the merits of the dispute and other related issues.

**Genocide against Bosniaks 1941-1945 and 1991-1995- comparative approach**

The researcher of this paper work will deal with the problem of genocide against Bosniaks in the period of 1941-1945 and 1991-1995 through comparative approach. Through given examples of genocide against Bosniaks, the author will identify the characteristics of genocide against Bosniaks with special emphasis on Greater fascist ideology which will confirm that it is the main holder, creator and common thread of crimes of genocide against Bosniaks not only in these two examples of genocide against Bosniaks in the 20<sup>th</sup> century but in all concrete examples of genocide against Bosniaks in the past two centuries.

**Topic: Genocide in Srebrenica: between recognition and denial -  
of temptation historical studies**

The Srebrenica genocide, committed against innocent Bosniak population in July 1995 by the Serbian military and police forces is the biggest crime in Europe after World War II. The extent of the committed genocide is perhaps best illustrated by numerous undisputed evidence that confirms an unprecedented monstrosity in its execution, during which 8,372 persons were killed. A significant body of evidence used in court cases in this legal action was used by the Hague Tribunal, and that helped to take on this major international legal jurisdictions confirmed in several judgments for genocide in Srebrenica. But, nevertheless, we are witnessing a different relationship to the act of genocide in Srebrenica, in terms of its recognition and denial. Such contradictions are the result of political, biased and others views of the genocide in Srebrenica, which come from those who planned, ordered and committed genocide in Srebrenica. All this is done with a clear objective, to disavow the world and domestic public and minimize the genocide in Srebrenica, thus significantly affect the determination of the character of the war (aggression) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995).

What is now in the historical science regarding the Srebrenica genocide raised as a serious problem is the attitude of historical institutions and individuals in the smaller Bosnian entity, even in Serbia, who openly deny genocide, thereby disregarding the basic methodological principles and the principles of historical studies, based on the undisputable factography. It is obvious that such institutions and historians do not manage historical-scientific principles, but the full impact of them is being left by those policies and ideologies which were the main cause and perpetrators of genocide in Srebrenica. These result in a conscious distortion of the image of the genocide in Srebrenica and other important events related to the period of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, a significant number of historians, who comes from the people victims (Bosniaks) are persistently silent on the genocide in Srebrenica, justifying it by the need for a historical time distance, and other unjustified reasons. So, today, the issue of genocide in Srebrenica far more dealt with by experts from other disciplines, rather than historians. This is not good for historical science, and even society as a whole, because we need objective and not unreal perception of such a globally destructive event such as the genocide in Srebrenica. It needs a fair view, which will confirm and warn! That's the task and function of historical science. Therefore, it can rightly say that the historical science must not have a dilemma as to whether to comply with the scientific principles or to comply with the interests of certain policies and ideologies. If you do the latter, the dignity of historical studies can be quite doubtful and compromised on the issue of genocide in Srebrenica. I hope that this will not happen and that the genocide in Srebrenica will be a valid reason for the meeting of "histories" in order to have a completely clear and objective picture of genocide in Srebrenica, which would represent a warning for the mankind as a collective memory of the inhuman act committed in Srebrenica, during July of 1995.



### **Negation of genocide in Srebrenica**

Denial of the aggression and particular crimes which have occurred during the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina after signing the Dayton Agreement has acquired a form of a culture and ideology negations in the Serbian public sphere and in the smaller Bosnian entity, the Republic of Srpska. *Generally, the culture of denial represents the systematic, institutionalized attempt of negation of solid consensus established on the scientific methods* and in case of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the court decisions of the world's highest court instances. In this work, I want to indicate some of many examples of negation of genocide, especially the genocide in Srebrenica-“UN safe area”.

**Key words:** negation, negationism, Srebrenica, genocide

### The responsibility for the crime of genocide in Sarajevo under siege

In February 2007, when the International Court of Justice in The Hague pronounced the sentence for the genocide against the Bosniaks committed in July 1995 in Srebrenica, all the other, more or less difficult crimes committed in the wars in the former Yugoslavia 1991-1999 which international judiciary did not consider to have the character of genocide, were pushed in the background.

According to its intentions and methods of implementations, the crime of the siege of Sarajevo, cannot have other connotations than crime of genocide. The victims of genocide under the siege in Sarajevo, taking in consideration their four-year suffering which is unprecedented in the sieges of other cities and towns in recent history, deserve to get relevant scientific answer about the character of the crime of siege of Sarajevo although the international legal qualification of the siege failed to take place. The relevant scientific and complete answer to this extremely complex question can be only provided if the “clean” or so-called “bare” data are used; the data which were used in the courts in recent proceedings for responsibility of crimes committed during the siege of Sarajevo and it is necessary to establish roots, causes, intentions and the extent of Serbian crimes against Bosniaks which were lasting continuously for about 150 years. Only after the judges learn the history of crime which committed the parties in the conflict as well as the roots, causes and intentions of committed crimes through the history, it will be possible to say, without any reasonable doubt (as judges like to say when they are convinced something really exists) how Serbian perpetrators were mentally prepared to kill thousands of beardless youths in one day, in an abandoned building near Srebrenica. If they committed the crime with the genocidal intention, is it possible that they had intentions different from intentions in July 1995 in Srebrenica when during the siege of Sarajevo, a sniper killed more than fifty children, or in Višegrad when fifty people were burnt live in a house, or at the Korićani Cliffs or camps in or around Prijedor etc. The way of execution of the genocide in Srebrenica is not the determination of the definition of “genocide”.

Aren't the bureaucrats of the international legal system, without any reasonable doubt, able to get to the bottom of general *mens rea* (intention) of such crimes and determine their actual qualifications which would apply to all Bosniaks taking in consideration above-mentioned, as well as numerous other individual criminal actions along with the existence of mental readiness of Serbian criminals to do what they did? Every Serbian criminal act if it is connected with its roots is genocide. This is the subject matter of this paper. This paper is an attempt of questioning the roots, causes and intentions of two-century long Serbian violence against Bosniaks.

**Key words:** Sarajevo, siege, crime, cause, roots, genocide

**Conceptual bases for  
commemoration of genocide in Srebrenica**

First collective janazah for the victims of Srebrenica genocide were held eight years after the genocide took place, one on 31<sup>st</sup> March and the other on 11<sup>th</sup> July 2003, in Potočari. Since then, the annual commemoration ceremony for the victims of genocide in Potočari, has mainly been a religious act, a janazah and burial of the victims that have been found and identified. Janazah prayer is primarily a religious ceremony, considering the fact that in coming years there will be no need for janazah prayer, the issue of the commemoration of Srebrenica genocide will necessarily arise. In what form the commemoration in Potočari will be held, to be more precise. In this article we consider some aspects that could be potential bases for the commemoration of genocide of Bosniaks in Potočari. The article stresses the significance of preserving the religious aspect of the ceremony considering the identity of victims. In Muslim tradition of the Bosniaks, any ceremony that entails remembering of the deceased is always a religious act and a part of the religious tradition. However, the absence of a uniform shape of commemoration in Bosniak religious tradition calls for the establishment of a collective, clearly formed religious act based on the Islamic sources and Tradition with the purpose of preserving the memory of the victims of Srebrenica genocide.

**Key words:** genocide, commemoration, janazah prayer, Muslim religious practice, identity

**Isnam Taljić**

**How to treat Srebrenica in the art, especially literature- “The story of Srebrenica”**

Written in 1996, this novel was the first literary testimony about Srebrenica. It ran through thirteen editions: 6 editions in Bosnian language and 7 translations/editions: 3 editions in English (Kuala Lumpur, Cairo/Alexandria and Sarajevo), 2 editions in Turkish language (Istanbul) and an edition in Arabic (Cairo/Alexandria) and Slovenia (Ljubljana).

“Srebrenica- the name of the town I can barely pronounce is now engraved deep in my heart”. By using these words, Dr. Mohammed Mahathir, former president of Malaysia, one of the most relevant and influential politicians at the time, began the preface of my book “The Story of Srebrenica”, the first edition in English language, published in Kuala Lumpur in 2004.

### **Problems in the Research of Crimes**

Cognition of the relevant provisions and features of crimes against humanity and international law is acquired through a variety of studies which are characterized by specific peculiarities. Relevant, valid and reliable scientific knowledge about the crimes is achieved through research. In the process of acquisition of scientific knowledge by scientific research on crimes against humanity and international law, multiple and various problems are evident starting from specific preliminary work in the function of creation of applied (operational) research project, project development of scientific research, implementation of scientific research, especially the collection of data, sorting out and data processing and reasoning, producing a report on the study and research, presentation of the acquired scientific information of relevant research and its application to science and social practice.

**Key words:** crime, research, scientific research, problem.

### **Enforced disappearance and mass graves**

Concealment of massive killings during the Srebrenica genocide is a well-known fact. Disappearance of people has been known as a tool of repression and has been defined as crime against humanity<sup>1</sup>. This crime is prohibited by the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance and by the Roma Statute of the International Criminal Court. Enforced disappearance as a worldwide phenomenon has been known for ages and it was usually associated with totalitarian regimes in Latin America. From genocide in Srebrenica mass graves have been associated with former Yugoslavia. This paper will be focused on mass graves related to Srebrenica genocide but will also try to compare case of Srebrenica with those ones in Latin America when it comes to the usage of findings and results in reaching reconciliation on the one hand and legal proceedings on the other. First part of this paper will give an overview on what happened in July 2015. Then it will proceed with how excavations have contributed to the legal proceedings and reconciliation process in BiH. Third part will be dedicated to mass graves phenomenon in Latin America and importance of excavating for the truth commissions and for the healing process in Latin America. The last part will be focused on what are the lessons learned from the case of Srebrenica and from Latin America when it comes to establishment of truth, reconciliation process and judicial proceedings as a results of excavation of mass graves.

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<sup>1</sup> 4 UN Doc A/RES/33/173 of 20 December 1978; UN Doc A/RES/47/133 of 18 December 1992; OHCHR FactSheet No. 6; UN Doc A/CONF.183/9, of 17 July 1998: Rome Statute Article 7, 1.(i). The concept is defined as relating to persons “arrested, detained or abducted against their will or otherwise deprived of their liberty by officials of different branches or levels of Government, or by organized groups or private individuals acting on behalf of, or with the support, direct or indirect, consent or acquiescence of the Government, followed by a refusal to disclose the fate or whereabouts of the persons concerned or a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of their liberty, which places such persons outside the protection of the law”.

### **Remembering Srebrenica in Turkey**

Turkish politicians are increasingly insisting on the historical, cultural, spiritual and even emotional ties between Bosnia and Turkey. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President of Turkey and Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu have both asserted that such ties reveal a responsibility for Turkey to ensure the continued memorialization of Srebrenica, while other public officials have pronounced that Turkish people have and will continue to share Bosnia's pain.

Within this context, this paper discusses the ways in which the genocide in Srebrenica is made meaningful in Turkey and by Turkish citizens. In particular, I explore the significance of 'Srebrenica' in the public and private imaginary of the Bosniak minority in Turkey. The paper is informed by ethnographic research conducted with Turkish citizens who in some way trace their heritage, cultural identity to Bosnia or identify as Bosniak. The paper reveals how research participants reacted to the events of 1995 and the manner in which they sought to express a shared emotionality with Bosnia and Bosnians. The paper illustrates how Srebrenica has since been appropriated as a symbol, by some, as a means for understanding and justifying their own migration experiences in Turkey. I describe how suffering and resistance emerge in these narratives as the central motifs through which emergent expressions of transnational solidarity are made.

**Coping with levels (ne) liability for prevention  
long-term consequences of the Srebrenica genocide**

The consequences of the genocide in Srebrenica seems apparent two decades after that heinous act, rather than just a few years after him.

The question of responsibility or irresponsibility of such a situation can never be reduced to a single structure or a single level. multi-layer and multi-issue is different responsibility for the situation in Srebrenica, two decades after that terrible July 11, 1995. All these levels or structures can be divided into at least four groups of questions, which still have no answer that would satisfy those who live in Srebrenica and who are the victims of genocide. Same as much as the level of responsibility of dealing with the past, those who are the immediate and direct guilty of genocide (Serbia and Montenegro), it is a question of economic and social approach in that city, as well as the constitutional status or realacija according to the judgment of the International Court of Justice in The Hague for genocide. The process of maturing and dealing with the past in Serbia and Montenegro, and in addition to the first look encouraging, but only declarative messages will be still very long and difficult. Speaks in favor of the fact that the Srebrenica genocide, no one connected with his political causes, but for many years it defines as the work of a psychopath and sick people. Politicians have not done what they had, and they had to say that these crimes only an illustration, that when it comes to Srebrenica to be multiplied many times with so many times. Because there are many crimes committed in Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere by the same perpetrators or principals. It was not yet ready to ask the question where they came so cruel and horrible crimes?! He was not ready to say that it was a policy of ethnic nationalism, politics of creating ethnic states whose perpetrators in the form of paramilitary groups and the regular army as legitimate to remove certain territories with all those who in some way represent an obstacle to live up to the pure ethnic preset boundaries occur.

In solving the problem of Srebrenica middle of the second decade of the third millennium should have a special approach, and economic and social, and every other quality of life. In Srebrenica season has about 3.000 Bosniaks. According to the census in 1991 in Srebrenica, Srebrenica region's population of around 100.000 Bosniaks. In this sense, the economic and social status should be given such access for people to be sure, to support the return and ensure their existence. It can make a policy of constructive dialogue among different factors. To do much to convince people to return, and not just talk about it and live away from Srebrenica. Give someone a loaf and makeup Srebrenica, as some foreigners think, is the way to experience another genocide. A Srebrenica still alive and walking around people who are the direct executors of 1995.

This time should not and can not wait. You need to provide life people who exist in Srebrenica. Doing a lot of this is necessary in order to change the situation on the ground in Srebrenica. These jobs in the field are economic in nature, then public safety, bringing war criminals to justice, social issues, return to Srebrenica ... So Srebrenica community is a community where life is possible.



Rules about all this must be very transparent (and money and everything else). Constitutional status of Srebrenica is a question that will take a long time to resolve. This city must have a special status in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Srebrenica should be given such access to justice as the International Tribunal did not do it. Following the judgment of the International Court of Srebrenica is the only city in the world that has a conviction for genocide. The Srebrenica genocide was committed by the institutions of Serbia and Montenegro. And these institutions should be sanctioned. That's what the whole world agrees, but no results of this agreement.

One must start from the ground up and establish, first, courts and war crimes in Serbia and Montenegro. Special Prosecution is converted into its opposite on these issues. Waiting for the passage of time and the obsolescence of cases is rushing into a new banalization of crimes. Every day, the perpetrators of genocide should form their own judgments and prosecute cases of cheating in no excuses and legal ambiguities.

All of these levels or structures that (e) seeking quick answers and quick solutions to Srebrenica turned into a city - a project in which those who are necessarily directed at her, and who were the victims of genocide, see their existence and their future.

**Key words:** Coping - Responsibility / Irresponsibility - Consequences of Genocide – Economic Social Status - Constitutional Status – (No) the Quality of Life in Srebrenica.

**Genocide against Bosniaks in Drina River Alley- social issues of single parenthood**

Today, twenty years after genocide in Srebrenica, one of the key consequences is a social matter of single parents, not only in Srebrenica but in the whole Drina River Alley. Therefore, this study will focus on social issues of single parenthood. It is consisted of two parts in terms of content: in the first part of this work will be displayed creating single-parent families as the result of commission of crimes against humanity and international law as well as genocide against Bosniaks in Drina River Alley (Bijeljina, Zvornik, Bratunac, Srebrenica, Vlasenica, Rogatica, Višegrad, Goražde, Čajniče and Foča). In order to conquer the territory (50 kilometres to the west of the Drina River) genocide against Bosniaks was committed for a reason to fulfill one of the six strategic objectives of the Assembly of Serbian people held on 12 May 1992 in Banjaluka which consisted of “elimination of the Drina River as a border separating Serbian states”. Thus, according to this goal, the Army of the Republic of Srpska, as well as volunteer units from Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Russia committed the crime of genocide with mass executions, rape, and various forms of atrocities with the intention of complete destruction of Bosnian population (especially men) with a great success. However, apart from mass executions, great majority of male population was killed or they died of severe wounds three and a half years after the war, so that single-parent families were the result of those two key reasons. In addition to these two, the attention should be drawn to the third one which is a divorce, although it is minimal in comparison to the aforementioned causes.

The second part of the work will deal with various problems and social needs of single-parent families which emerged from the reasons mentioned in the first part as well as the ways of their fulfillment, the role of the state, i.e. two entities in implementation of their rights.

**Key words:** genocide, Drina River Alley, ethnic cleansing, one-parent families, single parenthood, residence, education, raising children

**Disastrous consequences of affirming historical untruths through Great-Serbian literature**

What really happens with the psyche of an individual who, without thinking with military boots, literary crushes a newborn child and kills him while he was still tied to his mother's umbilical cord? What kind of Chetnik's mindset is, when annoyed by one child's crying, could he take the child from a Muslim mother's arms, strike a large knife, called dagger and return a beheaded and bloody body to a petrified woman?

These are just two of many unprecedented crimes committed in 1995, during the Fall of Srebrenica in Potocari Battery Factory, a military base of UNPROFOR. Never would be told everything about the rapes of underage daughters in presence of their mothers, tortures over helpless women and days-long shooting at tied men's hands. Hatred led to genocide across the country. That unnatural state of psyche is a direct consequence of lies and the biggest lies are represented by myths. The Great-Serbian literature uses them as its matrix. Those events reinvented and remanufactured by hundreds of years according to which Serbs are the most maltreated people in this region from Kosovo battle onwards by the Ottoman, or as they say Turkish authorities, are implanted into the memories of preschool children through Religious education. Through later education Serbian so-called historical novels as required reading materials, with its falsified content intended to poison the consciousness and conscience of their readers leading them to the brink of collective schizophrenia. In this way, through generations, Serbs become convinced of the right and the obligation to revenge the alleged sufferings of their ancestors.

Great-Serbian literature is a main generator of constant national hysteria. Before military campaigns the amnesty of St. Sava church was given in advance for all crimes committed against those who were different from themselves, along with the obligatory alcohol consumption. It results in killing of human emotions and collective conversion of the members of that nation into monsters.

