

# BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**SREBRENICA 30 YEARS AFTER THE GENOCIDE:  
MEMORY, RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE CHALLENGES OF DENIAL**

JULY 1-3, 2025, SARAJEVO - SREBRENICA

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## ABOUT THE SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica and the 30th Anniversary of the Signing of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Dayton Peace Agreement) represents two pivotal moments in the recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their historical, political, and social significance must not be overlooked or marginalized, as these events continue to profoundly shape the contemporary reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the broader regional context.

Despite the formalization of certain narratives, numerous questions related to these events remain unresolved and call for further engagement from the academic community. Their interconnection—often neglected—warrants a thorough scholarly approach and deeper interdisciplinary reflection. In this regard, the University of Sarajevo, as the oldest and most prominent institution of higher education and research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, bears a special responsibility to contribute, through academic and scientific activities, to the preservation of historical truth, the cultivation of a culture of remembrance, and the encouragement of critical thinking and public dialogue.

This responsibility is reflected in the University's role in initiating and supporting scientific research projects, organizing public debates and academic conferences, and creating spaces for the exchange of knowledge and experiences among experts, scholars, and researchers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. With this objective in mind, the University of Sarajevo is planning a series of activities to mark these important anniversaries: thirty years since the genocide in Srebrenica and thirty years since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement—dates that remain essential to understanding the contemporary history and political dynamics of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **Coordinating Committee:**

As part of the implementation of the University of Sarajevo's project titled *"Program Framework for Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Genocide in Srebrenica and the 30th Anniversary of the Signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement"*, the Rector of the University of Sarajevo has issued a Decision on the appointment of the Coordinating Committee for the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the genocide in and around Srebrenica in July 1995, and the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The Committee is composed of the following members:

- Prof. dr. Tarik Zaimović, Chair, Rector of the University of Sarajevo,
- Prof. dr. Sead Turčalo, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science,
- Dr. Muamer Džananović, Member, Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law,
- Prof. dr. Zinka Grbo, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Law,
- Dr. Sedad Bešlija, Member, Director of the Institute of History,
- Prof. dr. Jasmin Ahić, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology, and Security Studies,
- Prof. dr. Adnan Busuladžić, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy,
- Prof. mr. Faruk Lončarević, Member, Dean of the Academy of Performing Arts,
- Prof. dr. Dubravka Pozderac-Lejlić, Member, Dean of the Academy of Fine Arts,
- Prof. dr. Arma Tanović-Branković, Member, Vice-Rector for Arts, Culture, and Sports,
- Prof. dr. Naris Pojskić, Member, Vice-Rector for Scientific Research,

- Prof. dr. Kemal Durić, Member, Vice-Rector for International Cooperation,
- Prof. dr. Benina Veledar, Member, Vice-Rector for Finance,
- Dr. Gaj Trifković, Member, Director of the University of Sarajevo Center for Human Rights,
- M.A. Miroslav Živanović, Member, Head of the Rector's Office.

**At its session held on February 4, 2025,** the Coordinating Committee adopted a decision on the appointment of the Chair and members of the **Organizing and Scientific Committees** of the international academic conference: **“Srebrenica 30 Years After the Genocide: Memory, Responsibility, and the Challenges of Denial.”**

#### **Members of the Organizing Committee:**

- Prof. dr. Sead Turčalo, Chair, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science
- Prof. dr. Kemal Durić, Member, Vice-Rector for International Cooperation
- Prof. dr. Benina Veledar, Member, Vice-Rector for Finance
- Prof. dr. Naris Pojskić, Member, Vice-Rector for Scientific Research
- Prof. dr. Zinka Grbo, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Law
- Dr. Muamer Džananović, Member, Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law
- Prof. dr. Jasmin Ahić, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies
- Dr. Sedad Bešlija, Member, Director of the Institute of History
- Prof. dr. Fikret Čaušević, Member, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina

- Prof. dr. Asim Mujkić, Member, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Prof. dr. Mile Stojić, Member, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Dr. Hasan Nuhanović, Member, Srebrenica - Potočari Memorial Center
- Dr. Adaleta Durmić Pašić, Member, Director of the Institute for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology
- Dr. Sanjin Haverić, Member, INGEB
- Dr. Melika Arifhodžić, Member
- Prof. dr. Lejla Turčilo, Member, Faculty of Political Science

#### **Members of the Scientific Committee:**

- Dr. Muamer Džananović, Chair, Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law
- Prof. dr. Naris Pojskić, Member, Vice-Rector for Scientific Research
- Prof. dr. Zinka Grbo, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Law
- Dr. Emir Suljagić, Member, Director of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center
- Prof. dr. Sead Turčalo, Member, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science
- Prof. dr. Miloš Trifković, Member, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Prof. dr. Mile Babić, Member, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Prof. dr. Edina Bećirević, Member, Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies

- Academician, prof. dr. Husnija Kamberović, Member, Faculty of Philosophy
- Dr. Hikmet Karčić, Member, Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law
- Prof. dr. Ermin Kuka, Member, Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law
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- Dr. Jasmin Medić, Member, Institute of History
- Prof. dr. Hariz Halilovich, RMIT University Melbourne
- Dr. Edin Omerčić, Member, Institute of History
- Dr. Sabina Subašić Galijatović, Member, Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law
- Prof. dr. Sanela Bašić, Member, Faculty of Political Science
- Prof. dr. Sarina Bakić, Member, Faculty of Political Science
- Dr. Nirha Efendić, Member, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Technical Secretary:** M.A. Ilvana Čengiđ, University of Sarajevo – Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law





## **RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FUTURE: SREBRENICA 30 YEARS LATER**

Thirty years after the genocide in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina—as well as the international community—continues to face critical challenges in preserving memory, ensuring justice, and building lasting peace. Srebrenica is not only a symbol of the most heinous crime committed on European soil since World War II, but also a permanent reminder of the institutional and moral failure of the international community, and the shared responsibility of societies to prevent the recurrence of such crimes.

In this context, responsibility for the future entails not only cultivating a culture of remembrance and solemnly commemorating anniversaries, but also engaging in the education of future generations, developing mechanisms for confronting the past, and strengthening the democratic capacities of society. The academic community—especially the University of Sarajevo—has a fundamental duty to contribute through scholarly research, interdisciplinary approaches, and public engagement to a deeper understanding of the causes and consequences of genocide, as well as to building societal resilience against hate speech, denial, and revisionism.

Srebrenica, thirty years on, calls for a responsible and courageous reckoning with the past, as well as a future-oriented vision grounded in judicially established facts, truth, justice, and human dignity. It is through such a commitment that the foundations for sustainable peace and stability can be built—both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and across the region.



**Prof. dr. PINAR AKARÇAY**

Istanbul University, Republic of Türkiye

## **POLITICIDE AND DEMOCIDE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

### **Abstract**

In this study, the Bosnian War and the Srebrenica Genocide will be discussed through theories of genocide, namely politicide and democide. The definition of genocide, in which the social, in other words ethnic, religious and national characteristics of the victim groups are primarily targeted, is integrated with the definition of politicide, in which the victim groups are targeted according to their social hierarchical positions and political opposition to the regime or dominant groups. Here, politicide arises from historical conflicts between some groups or as a political expansion of authority of some dominant groups over other groups. In other words, in politicide groups are defined mainly in terms of their hierarchical position or possible political opposition to the regime and dominant groups. Democide is the deliberate killing of groups by states. This intention is sometimes achieved through active attempts at destruction and sometimes by turning a blind eye to groups killing each other. Politicide and democide, just like genocide, are deliberate and systematic destruction aimed at suppressing one group, destroying the national pattern, and imposing the national pattern on another group. The essential feature of politicide and democide is a coordinated and persistent attempt by the state or dominant social groups to destroy, in whole or in part, a social or political group. The Srebrenica genocide, almost the first genocide in Europe, is not only an example of genocide but also an example of politicide and democide. In this context, it needs to be examined with these theories and concepts.

**Keywords:** Genocide, Politicide, Democide, Srebrenica Genocide

**Prof. dr. ALOISI ROSA**

**JAYDEN SALTER**

Trinity University, United States of America

## **RESISTANCE TO MEMORIALIZATION AND JUDICIAL TRUTH A MEASURE OF THEIR POWER**

### **Abstract**

On May 23, 2024, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passed Resolution 78/282 designating July 11 as the “International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica” (hereafter Resolution). The Resolution, proposed by Germany and Rwanda, and supported by more than 2000 organizations, represents an important milestone in the establishment of historical truth. Yet, during the discussion of the Resolution within the UNGA and in the immediate aftermath of its promulgation, the Serbian President, Aleksandar Vučić and the President of the Republica Srpska, Milorad Dodik, vehemently opposed its promulgation, calling the attempt at institutionalizing the memorialization of the Srebrenica genocide a political attack on Serbia, which will only contribute to the reopening of wounds and hostilities.

This is one of the latest events in which an attempt of the international community to use memorialization to speak to the perpetrators of international crimes, as to foster acceptance of the troubled history and reconciliation among ethnic communities, is transformed into a weapon used on the battleground of recently reignited political and ethnic divisions.

This contribution suggests that the resistance to memorialization, the destruction, reconstruction, and reinterpretation of the sites of memory and the incendiary rhetoric opposing the institutionalization of a day of memory, speak and explain the power of memorials, in particular of those

memorials that reflect the judicial truth established at the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

We plan to systematically analyze some of the sites/events of memorialization, including the establishment of the Resolution and create a narrative that investigates how the recognized legal truth has materialized on the ground through memorialization and, in turn, how the synergetic effort of law and memorials have been contrasted by the political rhetoric.

**Keywords:** Memorials, judicial truth, political rhetoric, denial

**Prof. dr. BAKIĆ SARINA**

University of Sarajevo

Faculty of Political Sciences

**FROM SILENCE TO REMEMBRANCE: THE ROLE OF  
CULTURE IN KEEPING THE MEMORY OF SREBRENICA  
GENOCIDE ALIVE**

**Abstract**

The genocide in and around Srebrenica remains a serious and devastating event in the history of the Balkans. Yet, despite its undeniable historical significance, the struggle to preserve its memory continues to be fraught with political, social, and cultural challenges. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where ethnic divisions are deeply entrenched, the commemoration of Srebrenica's victims is not merely an act of remembrance but a battlefield for shaping collective identity and historical truth. The role of culture in keeping the memory of Srebrenica alive is multifaceted, serving as both a means of personal and collective healing and as a powerful tool against the politics of denial and distortion.

Despite widespread international recognition of this atrocity, efforts to preserve its memory face continuous challenges, including the already created culture of denial and political manipulation. This article explores the crucial role of culture in the process of memory-keeping and remembrance in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through an examination of cultural practices such as art, literature, music, memorials, and education, this study investigates how cultural expressions shape collective memory, challenge denial, and contribute to the long-term and challenging process of reconciliation. By analysing how survivors and local communities engage with these cultural forms, the author underscores how culture serves as a tool for both personal healing and

collective identity formation. Furthermore, it addresses the importance of culture in countering nationalist narratives that seek to obscure or diminish the scale of the Srebrenica Genocide.

In a society still grappling with its divisive past, the article argues that culture not only preserves history but also functions as an active form of resistance, helping to ensure that the victims are never forgotten and that their stories continue to challenge the politics of memory and the culture of denial. In the context of Srebrenica Genocide, memory is not a passive act, it is an ongoing process, one that involves active participation in shaping the collective consciousness, advocating for justice, and ensuring that the horrors of the past never repeat themselves.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica Genocide, role of culture, active participation, cultural practices, culture countering nationalist narratives

**Prof. dr. BEĆIREVIĆ EDINA**

University of Sarajevo

Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security Studies

**DENYING GENOCIDE, UNDERMINING PEACE:  
SERBIA, RUSSIA, AND THE ASSAULT ON  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

**Abstract**

This paper analyzes the coordinated role of Serbia, Russia, and the regime of Milorad Dodik in Republika Srpska in destabilizing Bosnia and Herzegovina through genocide denial and secessionist ambitions. It argues that the denial of the genocide against Bosniaks is not merely a revisionist narrative, but part of a broader political strategy aimed at undermining Bosnia and Herzegovina's sovereignty and delegitimizing Bosniak national identity. Drawing parallels with Russia's aggression against Ukraine and its denial of Ukrainian nationhood, the paper situates the Serbian-Russian-Dodik axis within a global pattern of authoritarian states using historical denialism as a geopolitical tool. Through discourse analysis, international alignments, and diplomatic obstructionism, the paper shows how this alliance normalizes revisionism, emboldens secessionist rhetoric, and threatens long-term regional stability.



**Prof. dr. BEGIĆ MUJO**

University of Bihać

Islamic Pedagogical Faculty

**CONCEALMENT OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER FORMS OF  
CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW:  
THE CASE OF RELOCATION OF MASS GRAVES IN AND  
AROUND SREBRENICA AND PRIJEDOR**

**Abstract**

The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in genocide and other forms of crimes against humanity and international law committed by Serbian military and police forces. This paper will address the mass graves found in and around Srebrenica and Prijedor, and the attempts to conceal and destroy evidence of the crimes committed, and the relocation of the remains of victims from primary to secondary graves. Through this paper we aim to highlight the systematic, planned, and organized concealment of mass killings and the role of the highest-ranking authorities within the military, police, and political structures of the Republic of Srpska during the aggression against the then Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our comparative analysis points out the similarities in the actions taken to cover up the crimes committed in the areas of Srebrenica and Prijedor, and to show that these actions and activities were not the result of individual decisions but were made at the highest level. Additionally, we will highlight the consequences of these actions in terms of the difficulty of finding, exhuming, and identifying the victims.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica, Prijedor, mass graves, cover-up of crimes, relocation of graves, locating, exhumation, and identification

**Dr. DŽANANOVIĆ MUAMER**

Univerzitet u Sarajevu

Institute for the Research of Crimes Against  
Humanity and International Law

## **GENOCIDE DENIAL IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: FROM MASS GRAVES TO THE UN RESOLUTION**

### **Abstract**

Denial of war crimes and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) began immediately after the crimes were committed, through both media campaigns and systematic concealment of evidence, with mass graves being the most crucial proof. These graves are not only material evidence of the crimes, but also symbols of a prolonged policy of concealment carried out during and after the war by the self-proclaimed authorities of Republika Srpska (RS). The discovery of primary, secondary, and tertiary mass graves across BiH containing victims' remains confirms the existence of institutionally organized attempts to hide and diminish the scope of the crimes. To this day, more than a thousand victims from the 1995 Srebrenica genocide and surrounding areas remain missing, as do thousands from other killing sites across BiH.

Denial persists today, at local, state, and international levels, directed and coordinated by political leaders from RS and the Republic of Serbia. One of the clearest signs of this continuity is the reaction to the announcement and adoption of the UN General Assembly resolution declaring July 11 the International Day of Reflection and Remembrance of the Srebrenica Genocide.

Despite verdicts from international and domestic courts, the substantial body of scholarly evidence, and the adoption of the aforementioned resolution, political leaders in Serbia and RS persist in denying the

genocide. Legislative amendments to the BiH Criminal Code that criminalize the denial of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes have likewise failed to yield the anticipated outcomes. Such policies not only offend the dignity of victims and their families but also pose a serious threat to peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the broader region. Ignoring judgments, glorifying war criminals, and refusing to confront the past reflect a continuation of truth denial. Without genuine acknowledgment and accountability, the endeavour to establish enduring peace in BiH and beyond remains profoundly compromised and obstructed. As long as truth is denied, victims are marginalized, and perpetrators glorified, those who deny remain aligned with the perpetrators.

**Keywords:** genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Srebrenica, genocide denial, mass graves, war crimes denial, international verdicts, UN resolution, BiH Criminal Code, Republika Srpska, Republic of Serbia, confronting the past

**Dr. EFENDIĆ NIRHA**

National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina

## **ORAL FOL POETRY OF THE SREBRENICA REGION FROM THE MEMORY OF HATIDŽA MEHMEDOVIĆ**

### **Abstract**

In 2009 the team of researchers from the National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina were observing and recording changes in way of life of internally displaced persons from Srebrenica and other parts of eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The researchers collected dozens of oral During their fieldwork the researchers collected a dozens of oral poems and other folklore materials, which have been systematically documented and archived in the Folklore Archive of the National museum (FAZM). The research in 2009 was conducted in suburban parts of Sarajevo, namely, Osjek and Blagovac the areas mainly inhabitet by the displaced persons form Srebrenica. Three years later, the research was independently expanded to include the Srebrenica area, focusing on returnees to the city. The majority of oral poems as well as other folklore and ethnographic materials, were recorded from mother Hatidža Mehmedović. Her repertoaire included a particulalrly unusual song about illness of Đerzelez Alija – a renowned epic hero from South Slavic oral tradition, the analysis of which will be the focus of this paper. The study will employ both analyticala and interpretative methods.

**Keywords:** oral poem, ethographic materials, returnees, Srebrenica, the Folklore Archive of the National Museum

**Prof. dr. FEJZIĆ-ČENGIĆ FAHIRA**

University of Sarajevo

Faculty of Political Sciences

## **WHAT IS THE DEGRADATION CEREMONY IN THE GENOCIDE PROJECT?**

### **Abstract**

The paper will examine the phenomenon of the ‘degradation ceremony’, which establishes the triangle of action between the criminal-victim-witness, as defined by the sociologist Harold Garfinkel in the preparation and execution of genocide, which were applied in the enclave of Srebrenica in 1995. At the same time, the identity of the victim must necessarily be strongly denounced, so this triangle is easier to understand in the process of education and information about genocide as denouncer-denounced-media. The victim must be so denounced that its destruction enables the construction of another social object, that the denouncer feels and acts victorious. And that this phenomenon can be repeated permanently and in peace... It is very important to incorporate this legality in simple and continuous language in regular education, media education and everyday experiences in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a post-genocide society.

**Keywords:** degradation ceremony, denouncer, denounced, witness, media

**Prof. dr. HALILOVICH HARIZ**

RMIT University, Australia

## **VOICING THE UNSPEAKABLE: TESTIMONIAL LITERATURE ON THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE**

### **Abstract**

Beyond the forensic evidence of the crimes committed, survivors' stories and personal testimonies have played a crucial role in establishing the facts of what transpired in and around Srebrenica in July 1995. Many of these testimonies have been integral to legal proceedings at the ICTY, serving as key evidence against the perpetrators. In recent years, the Srebrenica Memorial Centre has undertaken a systematic effort to record and archive survivors' narratives, some of which have been included in the Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archive. In addition to their forensic significance, several survivors have published memoirs detailing their lived experiences of witnessing and surviving the genocide. This paper examines a selection of these works published over the past three decades, analysing them through the lens of the authors' diverse perspectives-including age, gender, and life trajectories before and after 1995. By doing so, it explores how testimonial literature contributes to the historical record, collective memory, and the ongoing struggle for truth and justice.

**Keywords:** testimonies, literature, memory, genocide, Srebrenica

**Prof. dr. HOARE MARKO**

Sarajevo School of Science and Technology

## **THE SREBRENICA MASSACRE AS THE CULMINATION OF THE BOSNIAN GENOCIDE**

### **Abstract**

The Srebrenica massacre is the only atrocity of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina of 1991-1996 to have been unambiguously ruled to have been genocide by the international courts, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and International Court of Justice. It is therefore frequently treated as some sort of autonomous atrocity; the result of local factors specific to the Srebrenica region. But this distorts the reality: the Srebrenica massacre represented the culmination of a genocidal process that began in the early 1990s. It was a response by the Serb-extremist perpetrators, in part, to their failure to defeat the Bosnian-Herzegovinian armed forces in the first stage of the war, and to the success of the latter in resisting the them. The Srebrenica massacre, in the form that it took - the total genocidal extermination of all combat-age Bosniak males, as well as of some women and smaller children - must therefore be understood against the background of events since the start of the 1990s.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica, genocide, tribunals, Bosnia, Herzegovina

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**RESOLUTIONS AS INSTRUMENTS OF MEMORY: THE  
UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE QUESTION OF THE  
SREBRENICA GENOCIDE**

**Abstract**

This paper analyzes the role of United Nations General Assembly resolutions as symbolic and political tools in preserving collective memory of the genocide committed in Srebrenica in July 1995. Based on the premise that international recognition of crimes through resolutions is a crucial step in confronting the past and preventing revisionism, this paper explores how such resolutions contribute to the institutionalization of truth and the affirmation of international legal frameworks concerning genocide. The analysis focuses on the political context surrounding the adoption of these resolutions, their content, symbolic significance, and the reactions of member states. Employing an interdisciplinary approach that combines legal, political, and memorial perspectives, it examines both the potential and limitations of UN resolutions in fostering a culture of remembrance and promoting international accountability. Special emphasis is placed on the importance of these resolutions for victims, survivors, and broader regional stability, highlighting the need for sustained international engagement in advancing truth and justice.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica Genocide, UN General Assembly, resolution, collective memory, memorialization



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## **HOSTAGE CRISIS, RAPID REACTION FORCES AND THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA**

### **Abstract**

Following NATO's symbolic bombing of ammunition depots in Pale on May 25–26, 1995, the Army of Republic of Srpska (VRS) demonstrated both its strength and the vulnerability of UNPROFOR. The seizure of approximately 400 UNPROFOR personnel subsequently used as human shields was intended to deter further NATO action and to retaliate the UN forces for the airstrikes. Although the hostage crisis was addressed between June 2 and 18, 1995, the UN's ineffectiveness emboldened the VRS and the Yugoslav Army (VJ) to intensify military operations against the UN-designated "safe areas" of Srebrenica and Žepa, advancing the objectives outlined in Directive No. 7 and aligned with broader Serbian "strategic aims," particularly the elimination of the Drina River as a border between "Serbian states."

Concurrently, the deployment of *Rapid Reaction Forces* was scheduled to arrive in Bosnia to support UNPROFOR in the event of future NATO airstrikes. Although the formation of these forces was formally agreed upon during the meeting in Paris on June 3, 1995, their arrival in the region was delayed by more than two months.

In June 1995, a series of meetings took place between United Nations Peace Forces (UNPF) and the VRS commanders to negotiate the release of detained UNPROFOR personnel. These meetings were met with controversy and attracted significant public scrutiny, particularly

regarding the nature of agreements reached between Generals Bernard Janvier and Ratko Mladić. This paper examines the secret meetings with Mladić and situates them within the broader context of international military inaction.

While genocide was unfolding in Srebrenica under the watch of the global public, *Rapid Reaction Forces* were only gradually being deployed to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This paper also investigates the causes of these delays and analyses concurrent efforts to withdraw UNPROFOR troops from the eastern enclaves.

**Keywords:** United Nations, UNPROFOR, NATO, genocide, Srebrenica, hostages, Rapid Reaction Forces

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**HISTORICAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS FOR  
UNDERSTANDING GENOCIDE: SREBRENICA FROM  
WORLD WAR II TO THE 1990s**

**Abstract**

This paper considers the intersections between the academic fields of Holocaust and genocide studies, specifically about “genocide” as it developed, in the shadow of the Holocaust, both as a historical and a legal category codified in international law. Taking the history of Srebrenica and its environs during World War II as the point of departure, and examining the postwar Yugoslav communist articulations of “genocide” as a concept, the paper suggests the shortcomings of the prevalent Holocaust inspired approaches to World War II mass violence, and the importance of upholding the legal definition of genocide.

**Keywords:** Holocaust, genocide, World War II, historiography

**Prof. dr. KIERNAN BEN**

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## **THE BOSNIAN GENOCIDE IN HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT**

### **Abstract**

The political and ethnic catastrophes in Bosnia, Cambodia and Rwanda, and the crimes of other genocidal dictatorships in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Guatemala, and Iraq, all exemplify in varying degrees the widespread late-twentieth-century ideological and racial “cleansing” deployed to combat supposed political or biological contamination. Such propaganda could coexist with the often contradictory assertion of genetic difference. Perpetrators were preoccupied with their ethnic group’s susceptibility to threats even when they proclaimed their group to be superior. As historian Norman Cigar comments, “This dualistic self-view of superiority and accompanying vulnerability bordering on paranoia can be a particularly explosive mix.” In the early 1990s, that combination fueled the genocide in Bosnia, where perhaps 200,000 local Muslims perished at the hands of Bosnian Serb forces. The Bosnian case also exhibited all four of the common ideological features of most genocide perpetrators throughout history. (See Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, esp. pp. 21-33.) These were: racial and/or religious prejudice, territorial expansionism, an urge to recover long-lost national grandeur, and an idealization of rural life and denigration of cities. This paper will examine in turn each of these features, in the context of the Bosnian genocide of the early 1990s.

**Keywords:** genocide; racism; religious prejudice; territorial expansionism; national grandeur; agrarianism

**Dr. MASTALIĆ-KOŠUTA ZILHA**

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## **STRATEGIC PLANS AND DIRECTIVES FOR THE TAKEOVER OF SREBRENICA 1992–1995.**

### **Abstract**

Two of the six Serbian strategic goals confirmed on May 12, 1992, at the self-proclaimed Assembly of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina held in Banja Luka were: “establishing a corridor in the Drina river valley, eliminating the Drina river as a border between Serbian states,” and “state demarcation from the other two national communities.” Both goals pertained to the region known as Podrinje, or central Podrinje, which includes Srebrenica.

In 1992, Srebrenica was under the control of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH), except for a brief period in April. Throughout this time, military and police forces of the VRS and the Yugoslav Army (VJ) planned and attempted to seize the area. In a June 1992 order, VRS Main Staff Commander Ratko Mladić called for “expanding the corridor between Romanija and Semberija” and “liberating communications in the central Drina region.” New forces were mobilized to achieve these objectives. In the following months, additional units were deployed, with regrouping from other corps. In November 1992, the Main Staff issued a combat order known as Directive No. 4, stating that VRS forces should “wear down the enemy in the broader Podrinje area by inflicting heavy losses and forcing the Muslim population to leave the areas of Birč, Žepa, and Goražde.” A strong offensive by the VRS followed in mid-December 1992, especially

from the direction of Kravica via the villages of Glogova and Ježeštica. The ARBiH counterattacked, liberated Glogova, and cut the Bratunac–Kravica road. VRS forces reinforced their presence and intensified artillery and tank attacks on civilians. In addition to near-daily shelling, the population suffered from severe food shortages and hunger.

This paper focuses on these and subsequent plans and directives by the political and military leadership of Republika Srpska, which culminated in the occupation and fall of Srebrenica in July 1995.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica, 1992–1995, military operations, directives, strategic plans, VRS, VJ, ARBiH, Republika Srpska, Podrinje, genocide

**Dr. MEDIĆ JASMIN**

University of Sarajevo

Institute for History

## **GUILTY PLEAS BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: THE “SREBRENICA ’95” CASE STUDY**

### **Abstract**

Shortly after the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Dražen Erdemović, a member of the 10th Sabotage Detachment of the Army of Republika Srpska(VRS), pleaded guilty to participation in crimes against Bosniaks in July 1995. A few years later, Momir Nikolić (assistant commander for security and intelligence of the Bratunac Brigade of the VRS) and Dragan Obrenović (chief of staff of the 1st Zvornik Infantry Brigade of the Drina Corps of the VRS) also entered guilty pleas. All three were sentenced to prison following plea agreements with the prosecution.

Although he did not plead guilty during the trial, their superior officer Radislav Krstić, chief of staff of the Drina Corps and the first person convicted of genocide by the ICTY, repeatedly expressed remorse while serving his sentence and admitted his involvement in the genocide.

This paper analyzes the guilty pleas of the four men mentioned above and presents research findings addressing the following questions: Were the pleas expressions of genuine remorse or merely efforts to obtain lighter sentences? How did the pleas affect the process of confronting the past within Republika Srpska? What is their significance in the fight against revisionism and genocide denial?

**Keywords:** Tribunal, Srebrenica, Krstić, Obrenović, Nikolić, Erdemović, guilty plea

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## **JUSTICE UNDONE: PROSECUTION OF RAPE AS A WEAPON OF GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1992-1995)**

### **Abstract**

The Bosnian War (1992–1995) saw systematic violence as part of genocidal “ethnic cleansing” campaigns, resulting in over 100,000 deaths, the displacement of more than 2 million people, and severe human rights violations.

While “battle-age” Bosniak Muslim men and boys were often the primary targets of ethnic cleansing and genocide – what Canadian author Adam Jones termed *gendercide* – women were not merely collateral damage. As numerous reports, including the Final Report of the Commission of Experts confirmed, women were systematically targeted, particularly through rape and sexual violence. Estimates suggest that between 20,000 and 50,000 predominantly Muslim women and girls were raped and sexually assaulted during the Bosnian war. Many were imprisoned in “rape camps,” where they were subjected to systematic sexual violence, often forcibly impregnated, and intentionally detained until it was too late to safely or legally seek an abortion. Entire towns, particularly in the Podrinje region – such as Višegrad and Foča – became epicenters of mass rape and sexual violence.

While the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) set important judicial precedents, its response to sexual violence was both a milestone and a failure. Despite reports of over 20,000 rapes, only 32 convictions were secured, revealing a stark gap in accountability. Furthermore, egregious crimes such as the Višegrad rape camps and



forced impregnation-documented in the Final Report of the Commission of Experts-were notably excluded from ICTY prosecutions. Similarly, although the Krstić Trial judgment acknowledged that rape was an integral part of the terror campaign against those seeking refuge at Potočari, sexual violence committed in Srebrenica was not prosecuted at the ICTY. This exclusion underscores the risks of focusing primarily on “core crimes” and dominant narratives, as seen in ICTY indictments and judgments concerning Srebrenica. By omitting sexual violence from the central narrative, the tribunal perpetuates a troubling gap in accountability for these crimes, reinforcing the broader failure to address sexual violence within international criminal law.

The prosecution of wartime sexual violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains fraught with challenges. Courts often adopt a restrictive definition of rape, requiring evidence of force or resistance and disregarding international standards. Sentencing is inconsistent, with punishments frequently below the statutory minimum. In some cases, perpetrators received reduced sentences due to their status as “family men,” even for crimes against minors. More alarmingly, some courts prosecuted wartime rape as “ordinary” rape, ignoring its conflict-related context.

Given the scale of these crimes and the ongoing impunity three decades later, there is an urgent need to examine the failures in delivering justice. This research will analyze the prosecution of wartime rape in Bosnian courts, focusing on barriers to justice for women victims. Additionally, it will explore the role of women in documenting sexual violence, prosecuting perpetrators at both national and international levels, and confronting denialism and the under-memorialization of these crimes.

**Prof. dr. MOSES A. DIRK**

The City College of New York, United States of America

## **RETHINKING THE WAR VS GENOCIDE DICHOTOMY**

### **Abstract**

War (armed conflict) and genocide are conventionally thought to represent differing logics: the former aiming to defeat, the latter to destroy. Yet the reality is that destruction of civilian life and infrastructure routinely occurs in armed conflict. When military action is driven by zero-sum demographic struggles, as it has been in the region since the Balkan Wars over 100 years ago, it is doubly difficult to disentangle war and genocide. Even so, international courts continue to do so, making - in my view - specious distinctions in the interests of conceptual purity.

This paper will explore the various reasonings that constitute this discussion and suggest a new approach.

**Dr. MULAGIĆ ELVEDIN**

Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina

## **COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE GENOCIDES AGAINST TUTSIS IN RWANDA AND BOSNIAKS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

### **Abstract**

The genocides against the Tutsis in Rwanda and the Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina were committed during the same period at the end of the 20th century. Consequently, the processes through which these two societies have addressed the genocides also unfolded within a similar timeframe. However, despite this simultaneity, there are significant differences in the post-genocide processes carried out in the two countries. Both genocides became subjects of serious denial at the domestic, regional, and international levels, both during and after the genocides. There are many shared conceptual features in how these genocides are denied. Yet, the differing societal approaches to confronting the committed genocide have led to significant differences in the forms and extent of genocide denial.

Using a comparative methodology, this paper identifies differences in the strategic approaches taken by Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina to combat genocide denial and confront their respective societies with the atrocities committed.

**Keywords:** Genocide against Bosniaks, genocide against Tutsis, Srebrenica genocide, confronting genocide, combating denial, genocide denial, forms of denial, Rwanda's strategy for promoting national unity and combating genocide denial, National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), Gacaca court system in Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina's war crimes prosecution strategies, UN Resolution on the Srebrenica Genocide, Law on the Prohibition of Genocide Denial in Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Prof. dr. NAIMARK M. NORMAN**

Stanford University, United States of America

## **SREBRENICA IN THE COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF GENOCIDE<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

I seek to place the Srebrenica massacre and the genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a comparative historical framework. I attended the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary commemoration in Sarajevo and Potocari in 2005 and published an article about “Srebrenica in the History of Genocide in 2009. The new paper will focus on 1) the judicial reckonings dealing with genocide, 2) the continuing problems of denial on the part of Bosnian Serbs, the Belgrade government, Russia, and others, and 3) the understanding of the historical phenomenon of genocide itself: in Ukraine and Gaza, and elsewhere.

**Keywords:** Genocide, Memory, Comparative History, Denial, Gaza, Ukraine, Russia

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<sup>1</sup> In *Memories of Mass Repression*, eds. Nancy Adler, Selma Leydesdorff, et.al. (Routledge, 2009), 18pp.

**Prof. dr. NDUSHABANDI ERIC**

University of Rwanda, Rwanda

**HEALING COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL COHESION:  
UNDERSTANDING TRANS-GENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION  
OF AND MEMORIES IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA**

**Abstract**

What to say after a genocide when victims and perpetrators, assimilated and relatives have to live together? Absolute silence is not possible. In any case among all social categories some are silenced but shouting in their mind, others need to express their painful memories. In both cases, the question is who and how can initiate and open these wounds and preside to a neutral and mutual constructive dialogue? What is the ideal? What are or should be the guiding principles of a consensual dialogue when the silence around the so called sensitive issues is considered as “cultural”? What kind of competences, legitimacy and approach to go through and initiate the community dialogue? On what basis can we talk of values around social cohesion? The following questions are based on theories of change, memory and identity. The assumption is that, communities can change but they need to be empowered to safely handle the memory, trauma and grievances after the genocide through open dialogue and collaborative activities. We assume that healing for social cohesion in Rwanda’s reconciliation process can deepen building a society that is more resilient when there are tensions and political or economic challenges. The following paper is drawn from empirical popular voices and community dialogue processes from communities, selected on the basis of particular stories and social-political characteristics before, during and after genocide.

In these spaces, individual memories and collective memories are confronting and questioning the official memory. From a Political

and social work perspective, the paper refer to the memory polices, highlights inter-group tensions collected through a comprehensive, inter-generational approach of memory and trauma healing, community dialogue, joint problem-solving and volunteer projects to help the most vulnerable. The paper contributes to understand the memorialization process in Rwanda from verticality and horizontality perspectives, where we understand. The paper highlights also the complexity and uniqueness of the context.

**Dr. NUHANović HASAN**

Memorial Center Srebrenica

## **MEMORY JOURNEY**

### **Abstract**

This paper offers a personal and ethnographic account of traveling the Romanija route from the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo to Srebrenica—a road imbued with layers of trauma, memory, and post-genocide silence. Through an autobiographical lens, the author reconstructs a “memory journey” that intertwines personal grief and loss with the collective memory of Bosniak survivors, many of whom were displaced or affected by the atrocities committed during the Bosnian war (1992–1995). As the journey moves through towns and village on this route, the paper documents specific sites of massacres, disappearances, and war crimes—places that remain largely invisible or unacknowledged by the local Serb population and broader public.

Drawing on theoretical insights from memory studies, the narrative emphasizes how landscapes become repositories of pain and remembrance, and how acts of silent or selective forgetting perpetuate the divisions of Bosnia’s postwar society. The journey, while practical in function, becomes a ritual of mourning, resistance, and remembrance. It explores how survivors navigate physical and symbolic spaces of trauma, grappling with the enduring presence of the past war in everyday geographies. Ultimately, the paper illustrates how for many Bosniak survivors, the simple act of driving from Sarajevo to Srebrenica becomes a deeply embodied, political act of memory work—where time becomes place, and landscapes speak of lives lost and justice deferred.

**Dr. OMERČIĆ EDIN**

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## **SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

From the very beginning of the war in Yugoslavia in 1990, the Serbian Orthodox Church was an institution that supported the goals of the Serbian nationalist political elite and legitimized the state of war, and contrary to its religious mission in the early 1990s, it became a social institution that acted with the aim of fueling the war conflict.

Through narratives and constructs about the vulnerability of Serbs, the Serbian Orthodox Church has participated in the classification, dehumanization and polarization of the population since the mid-1980s. From the very beginning of the war, it has participated in the denial of crimes committed against the civilian non-Serb, non-Orthodox population, and since 1995 has become a leader in creating an atmosphere of triumphalism over the victims of genocide.

**Keywords:** Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbian Orthodox Church, Genocide, Classification, Dehumanization, Polarization, Negation, Triumphalism



**Prof. dr. OMEROVIĆ ENIS**

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**PROVISIONAL MEASURES IN THE PRACTICE OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE IN CASES  
CONCERNING VIOLATIONS OF THE CONVENTION  
ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE  
CRIME OF GENOCIDE**

**Abstract**

According to Article 41(1) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Court “shall have the power to indicate, if it considers that circumstances so require, any provisional measures which ought to be taken to preserve the respective rights of either party.” Interpreting this provision of the Statute, the Court found that it can order provisional measures only if it establishes *prima facie* jurisdiction over the merits of an interstate dispute. Already at that stage of the proceedings before the Court, it is necessary to provide a basis on which the competence of this judicial forum could be based. Equally, the Court only determines provisional measures if they are about preserving the right that is the subject of the dispute in the court proceedings. Determining the urgency and risk of irreparable damage is the third condition that must be met. According to the practice of the Court, provisional measures are justified only if there is urgency in the sense that an action prejudicial to the rights of any party to the dispute is likely to be taken before a final decision is made. In the paper, we start from the thesis that the power of provisional measures does not end armed conflicts that have already commenced, nor does it prevent or put to an end the commission of the crime of genocide, particularly considering the lack of mechanisms for the enforcement of the Court judgments and, generally, the very negligible role of the United

Nations Security Council in this regard. Although the Court's decision on the indication of provisional measures is legally binding, there are always current discussions about their effectiveness, whether States act on them and whether these measures, such as those usually indicated in cases of violations of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide from 1948, can prevent or stop the commission of this international crime. It is significant that on 26 January 2024, the Court, in *South Africa v. Israel* case, ordered Israel the measure that acts of genocide must be prevented while at the same time refraining from ordering the armed forces of this country to withdraw from the territory of Gaza (Palestine) and to immediately stop by carrying out military operations, which the Court did not determine in the same case in another decision to order provisional measures from 28 March 2024, while the Court indicated the latter measures in the *Ukraine v. Russian Federation* case on 16 March 2022. The paper examines how far the Court followed its practice and decisions on provisional measures in the cases of *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* (violation of the Convention on Genocide) of 8 April 1993 and 13 September 1993, as well as in the *Gambia v. Myanmar* case of 23 January 2020. It is shown that there is a tendency to increase the number of court proceedings regarding violations of the Convention on Genocide. In contrast, the percentage of States' compliance with the ordered provisional measures decreases in parallel. The former Judge of this Court, the Japanese Shigeru Oda, once claimed that "the repeated disregard of the judgments or orders of the Court by the parties will inevitably impair the dignity of the Court and raise doubt as to the judicial role to be played by the Court in the international community." However, the Court will undoubtedly continue with the practice of indicating provisional measures - probably because of its commitment to the preservation and consolidation of international law and to enable other international bodies to implement international legal rules and fulfil their international obligations, independently of the commitment of States to comply with provisional measures. This is evidenced not only by the recent Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of 23 May 2024 on the *International Day of Reflection*

*and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica*, which, among other things, urges all States to fully adhere to their obligations under the Genocide Convention, as applicable, and customary international law on the prevention and punishment of genocide but also the Court's Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024 on the *Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, in which the Court confirmed in principle the findings in its previous *Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory* on the violation of international law, given twenty years earlier on 9 July 2004.

**Keywords:** provisional measures, International Court of Justice, genocide, United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council

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**THE ADEQUACY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S  
CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE THIRTY YEARS AFTER  
THE GENOCIDE**

**Abstract**

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, the second legally adjudicated genocide in Europe was committed. Prior to the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a modern, democratic, and lawful state that respected human rights and had no territorial pretensions toward neighbouring countries. The war ended with NATO's first air intervention, Operation "Deliberate Force," after which the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina was signed in 1995. Under Annex 4 of this Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina received a new Constitution. This paper raises the question of how adequate such a constitutional arrangement is for a country where genocide was committed, and whether Bosnia and Herzegovina's Constitution, thirty years after the genocide, provides a sufficient foundation for further development and progress toward Euro-Atlantic integration.

The paper concludes that, thirty years after the genocide, Bosnia and Herzegovina, must fully harmonize its Constitution and legislation with the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights, which is directly applicable and takes precedence over all other laws (Article II.2 of the Constitution).

**Keywords:** war, genocide, human rights, democratic and lawful state, Bosnia and Herzegovina, European Convention on Human Rights, Euro-Atlantic integration

**Prof. dr. SADIQUE KIM**

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**SREBRENICA, NEVER AGAIN TO NO-ONE AND NOWHERE:  
AN ACTION-ORIENTED APPROACH TO GENOCIDE  
EDUCATION**

**Abstract**

Learning from genocide is intended to be a transformative experience, encouraging learners/visitors to be motivated to prevent its reoccurrence and achieve 'Never Again'. This paper argues that most examples of genocide education do not focus on how to work towards 'Never Again' but rather emphasise remembrance and memorialisation, or 'Never Forget' as the primary goal. This paper therefore explores the experiences of visitors to, and guide-educators at, memorial museums situated in authentic sites of mass atrocities, namely Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum and Srebrenica Memorial Centre. It considers the differing pedagogical approaches, collectively understood as a 'pedagogy of witnessing' and how these influence guiding praxis within these settings. It elucidates the role of more-than-representational space, narration and affectivity in such encounters and how learners/visitors can be empowered to take a more 'activist' position. It concludes by proposing an action-oriented approach to genocide education in authentic sites – A Pedagogy for Social Change.

**Keywords:** Genocide education, pedagogy, memorial museums, Srebrenica, action-oriented, empowerment

**Prof. dr. SHAW MARTIN**

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**THE CHANGING FACES OF DENIAL:  
FROM THE BOSNIAN GENOCIDE TO TODAY**

**Abstract**

This paper discusses the changing manifestations of Stanley Cohen's three "elementary forms of denial" (literal, interpretive and implicative) during the last 30 years, arguing that the political resolution, legal treatment and academic discussion of the Bosnian genocide have all accommodated important denialist elements, which have been replicated in responses to other genocidal events. The paper concludes by considering whether, now that genocide is increasingly embraced by major world leaders, the problem of denial is posed in new ways in today's world.

**Keywords:** Bosnia-Herzegovina; denial; ethnic cleansing; genocide; Srebrenica

**Prof. dr. SIMON J. DAVID**

**FOSTER SOPHIE**

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## **RETURN AND BELONGING – THREE DECADES OF STRUGGLE IN SREBRENICA**

### **Abstract**

The 1992-1995 Bosnian War and Bosnian Genocide destroyed many Bosniaks' houses along with their very sense of home. The destruction of these physical structures and spaces with emotional attachments was not merely collateral damage, but central to the Bosnian Serbs' systematic strategy and implementation of ethnic cleansing to displace and eliminate Bosniak presence. Scholars Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Carl Dalhman apply the term "domicide," or "the intentional exercise of violence to destroy a particular type of spatiality: homes," to describe this "deliberate killing of home," a process that extended beyond individual dwellings to include the destruction of mosques, community gathering places, and familiar spheres of comfort in Bosnia. Erasure of these physical and symbolic spaces sought to eliminate Bosniak culture and sever Bosniaks' sense of belonging to their homeland.

**Prof. dr. ŠABOTIĆ IZET**

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**THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE BOSNIAKS OF SREBRENICA  
AS A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE IN THE CURRICULA  
OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA**

**Abstract**

History is an important science that seeks truth from our past. Historical truth is essential for establishing and normalizing relations within society. In Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), historical knowledge relating to our immediate past, and particularly the period of the 1990s is of great importance. Especially crucial is the awareness of the genocide committed against the Bosniaks in Srebrenica. The historical truth of this genocide has been confirmed by both international and domestic courts, with verdicts delivered against those accused of crimes against humanity and international law, including the crime of genocide committed in and around Srebrenica from July 10 to 19, 1995.

One of the key questions concerns the historical framework on which we base the culture of remembrance of the genocide committed against the Bosniaks of Srebrenica. It all begins with the education system, specifically, the extent to which the culture of remembrance of the Srebrenica genocide is integrated into the curricula of educational institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The degree and manner in which young people are introduced to the historical narrative of the Srebrenica genocide directly shape the broader culture of remembrance. An analysis of the curricula at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels reveals that this historical narrative is either significantly marginalized or entirely omitted.



In schools within the Republika Srpska entity, the genocide narrative is not only suppressed but is also presented in a historically inaccurate manner. In Croat-majority schools in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Srebrenica genocide is addressed only in a reduced form, without dedicated teaching units. Even in Bosniak-majority schools, the historical narrative is insufficiently represented, except in the Tuzla Canton, where in 2023 the history curriculum was amended to include dedicated lessons on the genocide committed against the Bosniaks of Srebrenica. At the level of higher education, the marginalization of this narrative is particularly pronounced. With the exception of the Department of History and the Faculty of Law at the University of Tuzla, where courses such as *History of Genocide* and *Sociology of Genocide* address the Srebrenica genocide directly, other universities in BiH devote minimal attention to this topic.

The conclusion drawn from curriculum analysis is that the historical narrative of the Srebrenica genocide is insufficiently represented. Students are not given the opportunity to learn even the basic historical facts about the planners and perpetrators of the genocide, its victims, issues of international responsibility, and the role played by certain permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

Today, we are witnessing persistent efforts to deny the genocide by those who committed it or on whose behalf it was carried out, while deliberately disregarding the fundamental principles of historical scholarship. This represents an organized attempt to create a new historiography that is not based on scientific methods or principles. The goal is to pass on a legacy to future generations that contradicts historical truth through denial of genocide at all costs.

It is therefore necessary, through responsible and objective efforts within the education system and curriculum development, to build a lasting culture of remembrance that establishes an accurate historical account of the Srebrenica genocide, the gravest crime committed on European soil since the World War II. A historical narrative grounded in truth not only fosters reconciliation and healing within Bosnian-Herzegovinian society, but also ensures that the atrocities is not forgotten.

**Prof. dr. THERIAULT HENRY**

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## **WHAT IS A GENOCIDE? THE NEED TO RECOGNIZE THE FULL GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIAKS FROM 1992 TO 1995.**

### **Abstract**

The finding of genocide regarding the mass killing at Srebrenica in 1995 is certainly important. The reasoning of the decision was innovative and crucial for settling legal debates over what part of a group must be targeted for an “in part” destruction to fit the legal definition of genocide. What is more, the horrific genocidal massacre of men and boys at Srebrenica deserve clear attention within the broader attempt at destruction of Bosniaks. At the same time, restriction of the finding of genocide to this massacre only, rather than the cumulative violence perpetrated by Bosnian Serbs as well as the Serbian Republic as an overarching genocide against Bosniaks, tends to exclude the other horrific elements of the full violence against Bosniaks from the consideration it should be given. The mass rapes, rape camps, genocidal forced pregnancies, concentration and death camps, and other killings and massacres shared the genocidal intent of the Srebrenica Massacre and all contributed to the attempted destruction of Bosniaks in their homeland. It also can assist deniers in their efforts to downplay or negate multiple years of genocide against Bosniaks. Going forward, political, educational, and legal recognition of the full genocide against Bosniaks is both ethically and *practically* necessary: only through this honest characterization of the violence committed can the need for protection of Bosniaks from renewed violence today and the need for the perpetrator group to go through a full criminal justice process for perpetrators as well as a meaningful societal rehabilitative process for the broader Serbian society of the Republic and community of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina be met.

**Prof. dr. TOTTEN SAMUEL**

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**HAS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ACTUALLY  
LEARNED ANYTHING FROM THE TRAGEDY OF  
SREBRENICA?**

**Abstract**

Has the international community actually learned anything from the tragedy of Srebrenica? Has it been proactive in addressing potential genocides early on? If so, how so? If not, why not? This paper will essentially examine the genocides perpetrated over the last 30 years.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica, failure of the international community to honor its commitment to prevent genocide, half-hearted attempts, UNGC, responsibility to protect, words over action, realpolitik, lack of political will, and lack of caring, Sudan, South Sudan, Ukraine, Israel (Gaza), Myanmar (Rohingya), China (Uighurs), North Iraq (Yazidas)

**Prof. dr. TURČALO SEAD**

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**THE CONSTRUCTION OF NARRATIVE AND THE  
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF GENOCIDE DENIAL AGAINST  
BOSNIAKS IN AND AROUND SREBRENICA**

**Abstract**

This article investigates the discursive and institutional mechanisms underpinning the denial of the 1995 genocide against Bosniaks in and around Srebrenica. Even though the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the International Court of Justice have called this crime genocide, denial not only persists but is becoming a deeply entrenched institutional pattern in the entity of Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia. Drawing on Melanie Altanian's epistemological framework of injustice, Steven Baum's psychological analysis of denial, and Linda Melvern's methodological approach to the study of post-genocidal revisionism, this paper treats denial not as a sporadic deviation, but as a coordinated form of post-genocidal violence.

The paper describes key denial strategies, from the deflection of blame and relativisation of victims to conspiracy theories, pseudonymous reports and the political instrumentalisation of collective memory, and shows how political institutions, state and entity commissions, pro-government media and certain academic circles are actively contributing to the erosion of judicially established facts. Empirical material includes court rulings, political documents, media content and curricula, and analyses how these elements generate epistemic violence against victims and undermine the foundations of transitional justice.

This work contributes to the theoretical understanding of genocide denial as a systemic form of post-conflict violence and its role in producing long-term moral disorder in societies affected by mass war crimes.

**Keywords:** genocide denial, Srebrenica, epistemic injustice, transitional justice, memory politics, institutional revisionism

**M.A. UBALDO RAFIKI**

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**PHOTOGRAPHY AS A TESTIMONY, A WITNESS, A STORY,  
AND A MEMORY**

**Abstract**

Photographing genocide is a duty, a quest for justice. Photographing post-genocide pain and suffering is a transgression. But some transgressions are existential exercises. I took this and some other photographs in 2005 during the 10<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the Genocide in Srebrenica. The genocide was ten years old. Now the genocide is thirty years old.

For those who survived genocide, the difference between ten and thirty is thin. They remember the genocide as it was yesterday. Yet, it is an eternity of suffering, remembering, hoping, rebuilding, and living. All at once. What survivors do after genocide can be encapsulated in one word *memory*. Every sunset, every sunrise, every new season brings some memory of the victims and the need to soldier on and live a better life on their behalf.

As survivors reinvent life, photography serves not just to freeze such journeys into snapshots to print and frame. Photography becomes a tool to fight against forgetting and denying. The photographer behind the camera become a *witness* to the pain and suffering of the survivors recovering from genocide and fighting for the memory of victims. The photographer who stays longer or comes back often becomes the *storyteller-friend* as their work becomes an integral part of the survivors' story of resilience. This way the photographs becomes *living instruments of memory*.

When I come to Sarajevo and Srebrenica this summer, I will be coming to say that my 2005 photographic transgressions made me a *witness*, a *storyteller-friend*, and my photographs *instruments of memory*. I will be joining you and fellow survivors to do the work of memory, to bridge practice and theory towards fighting denial. While my submission covers almost all the themes of the conference, I am using photography to directly address the question of “the roles of the art and culture in preserving memory.”

**Keywords:** Photography, witness, survivors, storyteller-friend, instruments of memory

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**ESTABLISHING STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GENOCIDE  
IN INTERNATIONAL LAW—LESSONS FROM SREBRENICA  
AND CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES**

**Abstract**

The question of state responsibility for genocide remains one of the most contentious and evolving areas of international law. The 2007 International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling in *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* was a landmark case in addressing state responsibility for genocide, yet it also revealed significant legal and political limitations in holding states accountable. While the Court affirmed that genocide had occurred in Srebrenica, it stopped short of finding Serbia directly responsible, instead ruling that Serbia had failed to prevent genocide and to cooperate with the ICTY. This decision set a precedent but also raised concerns about the thresholds for proving state responsibility, the role of due diligence obligations, and the international community's role in enforcing accountability.

This paper examines whether the legal and political lessons from Srebrenica have influenced contemporary cases concerning genocide, particularly in light of ongoing proceedings before the ICJ, such as *South Africa v. Israel*. It explores how these cases compare to Srebrenica in terms of legal arguments, evidentiary challenges, and the evolving role of international courts in attributing responsibility to states. By analysing both past and present legal frameworks, the paper assesses whether the international legal system has developed more effective mechanisms for addressing state responsibility for genocide or whether it continues to face the same structural and evidentiary obstacles. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to the ongoing debate on the role of international law



in preventing and responding to genocide, questioning whether existing legal mechanisms are sufficient or require significant reform to ensure meaningful accountability.

**Keywords:** Genocide Convention, State Responsibility, International Court of Justice, Srebrenica, Genocide Prevention

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## **LESSONS FROM SREBRENICA**

### **Abstract**

What lessons can the world learn from the massacre that took place in Srebrenica in July 1995? This paper explores lessons in four main areas. First, I examine lessons to be learned about the root causes and immediate triggers of other mass killings and wartime atrocities. Second, I discuss lessons about early warning of mass killing in related conflicts. Third, I explore lessons regarding external intervention to halt or prevent mass killing and protect potential victims. Finally, I discuss lessons for post-conflict peace and reconciliation.

**Keywords:** Srebrenica, lessons, mass killing, genocide, warning, intervention, peace and reconciliation

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**FROM APOLOGETIC DENIAL TO DENYING APOLOGIES:  
DUTCH (MIS) RECOGNITION OF THE SREBRENICA  
GENOCIDE AS SHARED BOSNIAN-DUTCH HISTORY**

**Abstract**

The last thirty years have seen many attempts to recognize Dutch political responsibility in relation to the Srebrenica genocide. This paper will depart from the observation that these have only partially, minimally, resulted in actual recognition. As recently argued by Alma Mustafić and me (2025), Dutch politics and society failed to take up on the momentum of several civil court cases resulting in establishing Dutch liability for killing of over 350 Bosniak men. This paper will investigate *why* this is. To that end, it will use theory on transformative justice and recognition (Gready and Robins 2014; Fraser 1995) as well as resonance (Rosa 2018) as used in the *Dialogics of Justice*-project. It applies this theory to an investigation of Dutch parliamentary debates, the apologies to Dutchbat veterans and survivors in 2022, and recent yet unfulfilled promises to establish a monument for Srebrenica in The Hague. It argues that the recognition that was ‘given’ by the Dutch state ranged from denial to affirmative recognition. However, it never achieved what can be called transformative recognition: recognition that transforms existing power relations and allows all parties to move to more equal positions. The paper will conclude by stating potential implications of this lack of transformative recognition. Here it will include the wider question of international responsibility for the Srebrenica genocide and its commemoration. It will also relate the lessons of Srebrenica to other forms of institutional injustice by the Dutch ministry of Defense, including the case of the killing of civilians in Hawija.

