

LATER



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SREBRENICA25 YEARS LATER



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NAMES OF PERSONS KILLED IN THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE

THE LAST REPORT FROM SREBRENICA

"Srebrenica is turning into a slaughterhouse. The dead and the wounded are brought to the hospital continuously. This is impossible to describe. Three deadly projectiles land on this town each second. 17 dead and 57 lightly or badly injured have just been brought to the hospital. Can anyone in the world see the tragedy happening to Srebrenica and its residents? This is an unspeakable crime against the Bosniak population of Srebrenica. This population is simply vanishing. Is Akashi behind this, or Boutros-Ghali, or someone else — I'm afraid that it won't matter to Srebrenica anymore."

NIHAD ĆATIĆ, SREBRENICA, 10 JULY 1995



Ademović Hakija I Ademović Hamed I Ademović Hamed I Ademović Hamid I Ademović Hariz I Ademović Hasan I Ademović Hazim I Ademović Husein I Ademović Huse I Ademović Huse I Ademović Ibrahim I Ademović Ibro I Ademović Israet I Ademović Junuz I Ademović Jusuf I Ademović Kadrija I Ademović Kadrija I Ademović Medo I Ademović Mesud I Ademović Mevludin I Ademović Mevludin I Ademović Muamer I Ademović Muamer I Ademović Muhamed I Ademović Mujko I Ademović Munib I Ademović Mustafa I Ademović Mustafa I Ademović Nežib I Ademović Nezir I Ademović Nezir I Ademović Nurko I Ademović Obran I Ademović Osman I Ademović Ragib I Ademović Ramiz I Ademović Ramo I Ademović Remzija I Ademović Sadik I Ade



I Ademović Sulejmen I Ademović Suljo I Ademović Šaban I Ademović Šefik I Ademović Šefik I Ademović Ševal I Ademović Umka I Ademović Zulfo I Adilović Ahmet I Adilović Fikret I Aganović Sabit I Agić Abid I Agić Aziz I Agić Ćazim I Agić Ermin I Agić Hamdija I Agić Rasim I Agić Sadik I Agić Šaćir I Ahmetagić Husein I Ahmetović Abdulah I Ahmetović Abdulah I Ahmetović Abdulah I Ahmetović Adil I Ahmetović Ahmet I Ahmetović Ahmo I Ahmetović Alija I Ahmetović Asim I Ahmetović Avdo I Ahmetović Avdulah I Ahmetović Azem I Ahmetović Bahrija I Ahmetović Bećir I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Džemail I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Džemail I Ahmetović Džemail I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahmetović Behadil I Ahmetović Bip I Ahme



25 YEARS SINCE THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA

REMEMBER! NO DENIAL!

MARION KRASKE

DIRECTOR OF THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, ALBANIA AND NORTH MACEDONIA

It was probably the most serious crime committed on European soil since World War II. The genocide in Srebrenica in July 1995, when Serb troops killed more than 8300 boys and men, mainly Muslim. These acts were documented and adjudicated before the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia, as confirmed by countless witness testimonies.

However, facts and court judgements are no longer sufficient to preserve the memory of this dark chapter in European history. Instead, denial of atrocities and historical revisionism are on the rise, penetrating the political discourse and poisoning the political climate.

According to, for example, leading Serb politicians, including members of the current BiH Presidency, the genocide never happened. Moreover, denial is accompanied by glorification of the acts and the perpetrators. In the Republika Srpska today, extermination of non-Serb population and other related events are considered

heroic by quite a few nationalist actors.

Even 25 years after the war, such tendencies are hindering true reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina – and thus across The Balkans. Even so long after the end of the war, there is still no stable peace – and it cannot exist until those acts have been named adequately and perpetrators considered killers and criminals.

The far-reaching nature of such tendencies to trivialise and relativise has been confirmed by the decision of the Nobel Prize Committee to award the 2019 Literature Prize to the Austrian Peter Handke, an apologist of the denial machinery that questions the statements of survivor who had lost their male family members, sometimes all of them. Handke provides a powerful voice for such actors of questionable morals. By awarding him, the Nobel Prize Committee undoubtedly elevated the relativisation of extermination ideologies in the context of the Balkan wars to an international level.

Trivialisation of crime is unacceptable in a

world that does not wish to maintain such disturbing barbarity and extermination. Trivialisation and re-interpretation are an attack against the universal system of values that civilisation and the rule of law rest on. In a 2007 speech, professor Christian Scwartz-Schilling, former High Representative of the international community to Bosnia and Herzegovina, said: 'Those who deny genocide are moving outside the norms of civilisation.'

Through law, by using the Bonn powers, Schwarz-Schilling ensured that the Srebrenica – Potočari Memorial Centre and the genocide victims' cemetery are placed under the jurisdiction of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina – rather than the Republika Srpska, whose officials deny the crimes. With this, the German laid the foundations

of the cruellest crimes to those who falsify history and glorify violence. On the contrary, memories of genocide should move into the focus of European culture of remembrance. School children from across Europe should deal with the question where hatred and nationalist fervour may lead. Srebrenica is about the past, but it is also about all of us and our future. It is about Europe that must prove itself ready to defend civilisation and human rights from those who trample over those principles.

In that sense, this publication marking the 25th anniversary of genocide is a voice against the matrix of oblivion, denial and trivialisation, an act of resistance in the name of all the victims and family members whose voices are heard less and less, overpowered by the nationalist, revisionist canon.

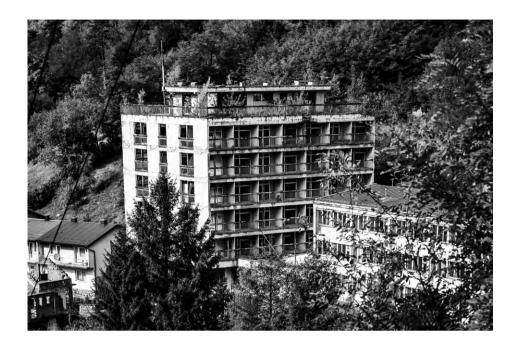
DENIAL OF ATROCITIES AND HISTORICAL REVISIONISM ARE ON THE RISE, PENETRATING THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND POISONING THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

for an independent culture of remembrance that can act without the heated nationalist policies and ethno-nationalism.

Schwartz-Schilling's historical step echoes even today. It is a task for the international community to never forget the small, humble Srebrenica and its touching message. Schwartz-Schilling's decisive action was a call for all not to leave the interpretation

Heinrich Böll, the great German writer and advocate, whose writing, awarded the Nobel Prize in 1972, always opposed war and violence, said it like this: 'Words can kill, but (...) it is a matter of conscience whether language will be allowed to slide into areas where it becomes murderous.'

Sarajevo, July 2020





Alić Hajrudin I Alić Hakija I Alić Hakija I Alić Halil I Alić Hamdija I Alić Hamdija I Alić Hamdi I Alić Hamdi I Alić Hasan I Alić Hasa



Alić Nedžad I Alić Nedžib I Alić Nedžib I Alić Nehrudin I Alić Nezir I Alić Nezir I Alić Nezir I Alić Nijaz I Alić Nijazija I Alić Nijazija I Alić Nirsan I Alić Nisvad I Alić Nurija I Alić Ohran I Alić Ramiz I Alić Ramo I Alić Ramo I Alić Ramo I Alić Rašid I Alić Redžep I Alić Redže I Alić Redže I Alić Redže I Alić Refik I Alić Sakib I Alić Sejdalija I Alić Sufret I Alić Sufo I Alić Saban I



Šabo I Alić Šaćir I Alić Šahzet I Alić Šefik I Alić Šemso I Alić Šemso I Alić Ševko I Alić Ševko I Alić Šukrija I Alić Šukrija I Alić Vahdet I Alić Vahdet I Alić Zahid I Alié Zahid I Aliefendić Bahrudin I Aliefendić Džemal I Aliefendić Habib I Aliefendić Muhamed I Alihodžić Ahmed I Alihodžić Amir I Alihodžić Ekrem I Alihodžić Husein I Alihodžić Izet I Alihodžić Musadet I Alihodžić Namik I Alihodžić Nurif I Alihodžić Ramadan I Alihodžić Samir I Alihodžić Sejdalija I Alihodžić Senad I Alihodžić Senad I Alihodžić Saban I Alijašević Izet I Alimanović Mustafa I Alispahić Adil I Alispahić Armin I Alispahić Azmir I Alispahić Behadil I Alispahić Enver I Alispahić Hamdija I Alispahić Hazim I Alispahić Izet I Aljić Alija I Ališević Alija I Ališević Avdo I Ališević Fadil I Ališević Fahrudin I Alivuković Izet I Aljić Alija I Aljić Džemal I Aljić Fahrudin I Aljić Hajro I Aljić



Hariz I Aljić Ibrahim I Aljić Idriz I Aljić Jusuf I Aljić Kiram I Aljić Latif I Aljić Mevlid I Aljić Muhamed I Aljić Nazif I Aljić Nedžad I Aljić Nermin I Aljić Nijaz I Aljić Nurija I Aljić Omer I Aljić Sabrija I Aljić Salko I Aljić Suljo I Aljić Šaban I Aljić Ševal I Aljić Zijad I Aljić Zijad I Aljić Zijad I Aljikanović Aljo I Aljkanović Bahrudin I Aljkanović Bajro I Aljkanović Behudin I Aljkanović Demo I Aljkanović Hasib I Aljkanović Haso I Aljkanović Izam I Aljkanović Izet I Aljkanović Mali I Aljkanović Nijazija I Aljkanović Osman I Aljkanović Rifet I Aljkanović Safet I Aljkanović Salčin I Aljkanović Sead I Aljkanović Seval I Aljkanović Vehbija I Aljukić Hasib I Aljukić Mehmedalija I Arifović Husein I Arifović Mevludin I Arnaut Hilmo I Arnautović Mevludin I Aruković Fadil I Aruković Seudin I Aruković Šemsudin I Atanović Bajro I Atanović Hasan I Atanović Ibrahim I Atanović Ramiz I Atanović Sejdin I Atanović Šaban I Atić Avdo I Atić Edhem I Atić Ekrem I Atić Ekrem I Atić Fehim I Atić Hašim



I Atić Ibrahim I Atić Ibro I Atić Idriz I Atić Mehmed I Atić Meho I Atić Mirsad I Atić Mujo I Atić Nezir I Atić Osman I Atić Sejad I Atić Sevlad I Atić Sevledin I Atić Smajo I Atić Suljo I Atić Sahman I Avdagić Ibrahim I Avdagić Zuhdija I Avdić Abdulah I Avdić Abdulah I Avdić Abdulah I Avdić Abdulah I Avdić Abdurahman I Avdić Adem I Avdić Adem I Avdić Adem I Avdić Admir I Avdić Ahmedin I Avdić Ahmo I Avdić Akija I Avdić Alija I Avdić Džemal I Avdić Džemal I Avdić Džemal I Avdić Džemal I Avdić Esad I Avdić Esad I Avdić Esad I Avdić Fadil I Avdić Fadil I Avdić Fadil I Avdić Hajrudin I Avdić Hajrudin I Avdić Hajrudin I Avdić Hakija I Avdić Halid I Avdić Halil I Avdić Hamdija I Avdić Hamdija I Avdić Hamed I Avdić Hasan I Avdić Hasib I Avdić





DNA laboratory of the International Commission for Missing Persons, Tuzla 2014







1930 - 1995 Jusić (Nusret) Azmir 1974 - 1995 Jusufović (Huso) Himzo 1940 - 1995 Jusufović (Sado) Sadik 1954 - 1995 Jusufović (Smajo) Salčin 1937 - 1995 1937-1995 Jusupović (Alija) ibrahim 1982-1995 Jusupović (Ramo) Avdo 1976-1995 Kadrić (Adem) Adil 1990-1995 Kadrić (Medo) Hakija 1994-1995 Kahrić (Juso) Huso 1938-1995 Kalić (Bego) Hamid Kalić (Omer) Salko Kandžetović (Ahmet) Omer Kapidžić (Idriz) Bajro Kapidžić (Idriz) Hajrudin 1961 - 1995 1961 - 1995 Kardaševič (Ramo) Hajrudin 1961 - 1995 Karić (Idriz) Reuf Karić (Idriz) Šaban 1955 - 1995 Kasumović (Fejzo) Hasib 1947 - 1995 Kiverić (Šerif) Ismet Klempić (Edhem) Alija Klempić (Edhem) Kadrija Klempić (Hasan) Rasim Krdžić (Hamid) Munib 1953 - 1995 Krdžić (Redžo) Senahid Kriić (ibro) Munib Lenjinac (Huso) Hazim Lolić (Ramiz) Azem 1973 - 1995 Lolić (Ramiz) Omer 1970 - 1995 Lolić (Salih) Mustafa iovica (Durmo) Ohran 1939 - 1995 ztović (Behaija) Hajrudin 1960 - 1995 utović (Omer) Husejin 1951 - 1995 igić (Hamed) Hadžo 1954 - 1995 gić (Salih) Hajrudin latić (Smajo) Salko ić (Fazlija) Teufik Malić (Meša) Mujo Malić (Suljo) Mehmed Malkić (Behaija) Rešid

Mehmedovic (Rizvo) Karo 1925 - 1995 Mehmedović (Sevko) Huso 1935 - 1995 Mekanić (Osman) Jakub 1930 - 1995 1930 - 1995
Mekanic (Suljo) Kadro
1955 - 1995
Memic (Alija) Jusuf
1923 - 1995
Memisević (Alija) Mehmed
1939 - 1995
Memisević (Alija) Saban
1954 - 1995

Memišević (Ramo) Munib 1938 - 1995 1938 - 1995
Memiševic (Saban) Alija
1934 - 1995
Merdžić (Omer) Enver
1959 - 1995
Mešanović (Salih) Azmir
1969 - 1995
Mešanović (Huso) Salih
1942 - 1995
Mešanović (Osman) Nazil
1958 - 1995
Mešić (Salih) Salim 1958 - 1995 Mešić (Salčin) Salem 1954 - 1995 Mešić (Selim) Hasan 1959 - 1995 Muharemović (Lutvo) Mujo Muharemovic (Saban) Reuf Muhić (Meho) Mehmedalija Muhić (Mujo) Hajrudin 1950 - 1995 Mujčić (Ibrahim) Idriz 1940 - 1995 Mujčić (Juso) Zuhdo 1952 - 1995 Mujčić (Omer) Rešid 1940 1995 Mujčić (Zuhdo) Halil 1976 1995 Mujčinović (Avdo) Mujo 1939 - 1995 Mujčinović (Mujčin) Nezir Mujić (Edhem) Sakib 1965 - 1995 Mujić (Haso) Adil 1938 - 1995 Mujić (Haso) Mujo Mujić (Haso) Nezir 1934 - 1995

Ome

Ome Omer

Omere

Omer

Omero

Ori

Orić

Osma

Mujić (Jusuf) Edin Mujić (Muharem) Mehmed Mujić (Nazif) Muhidin 1963 - 1995 Mujić (Ramo) Jusuf 1955 - 1995 Mujić (Ramo) Ramiz 1960 - 1995 Mujić (Senahid) Nedžad Mujkić (Ramo) Enez Mujkić (Ramo) Idriz Mujkić (Ramo) Mehmed Mujkić (Zuhdija) Osman

Bajraktarević Husein I Bajraktarević Husein I Bajraktarević Mirsad I Bajraktarević Mujo I Bajraktarević Mustafa I Bajraktarević Nedžad I Bajraktarević Osman I Bajraktarević Pašad I Bajramović Almir I Bajramović Azem I Bajramović Behudin I Bajramović Dževad I Bajramović Mehmedalija I Bajramović Mujo I Bajramović Nedžad I Bajramović Nesiba I Bajramović Nezir I Bajramović Ohran I Bajramović Senad I Bajramović Šefik I Bajramović Šemso I Bajramović Šemsudin I Bajramović Tahir I Bajrić Ismet I Bajrić Mujo I Bajrić Ramo I Bajrić Rifet I Bajrić Šemsudin I Baltić Hašim I Baltić Mušan I Baltić Rahman I Baraković Bahrija I Baraković Mevlid I Baraković Muriz I Baraković Rifet I Barukčić Almin I Barukčić Hasan I Barukčić Mehmed I Barukčić Zijad I Baščelić Osman I Bašić Hamdija I Bašić Hasib I Bašić Midhat I Bašić Šaban I Bečić Azem I Bečić Hajrudin I Bečić Hakija I Bečić Idriz I Bečić Mensur I Bečić Mujo I Bečić Ramiz I Bečić Ramo I Bečić Safet I Bečić Vehbija

amaz i ukop exhumiranih tijela godine u 11,30 sati

1927 - 1995 ović (Avdo) Ahmet 1940 - 1995 ović (Habib) Azmir 1968 - 1995 ović (Mehmed) Ekrija 1966 - 1995 ović (Mujo) Mustafa 1937 - 1995

vić (Rahman) Džemal ović (Selim) Rahman rović (Sinan) Omer 1938 1995 ović (Sulejman) Sead ć (Cazim) Sejdalija 1961 - 1995 rić (Jusuf) Nermin 1973 - 1995 Oric (Suljo) Haso vić (Alaga) Abdulah nović (Hakija) Osman 1933 - 1995

vić (Hasib) Remzija vić (Mahmut) Meho 1958 - 1995 nović (Meho) Ibrahim nović (Munib) Nedžad 1974 - 1995 anović (Nazif) Hasib nović (Nurija) Hajrudin

nić (Uzeir) Nurif av (Edhem) Hamid

Salihović (Mujo) Suljo 1972 - 1995 Salihović (Mustafa) Mehmed 1935 - 1995 Salihović (Nezir) Nedžib 1966 - 1995

Salihović (Ramo) Hamed

Salihović (Ramo) Sinan

Salihović (Rašo) Rešid

Salihović (Safet) Zaim

Salihović (Šahim) Sakib

Salkić (Alija) Husein

Salkić (Hakija) Nezir 1941 - 1995 Salkić (Idriz) Izet Salkić (Redžo) Džemail

Salkić (Šaban) Seidalija

Sandžić (Lutvo) Huso

Sejdinović (Ahmo) Senaid

Sejdinović (Ahmo) Šaban 1962 - 1995

Selimović (Alija) Hasan

Selimović (Bajro) Hajrudin Selimović (Bajro) Sejfulah

Selimović (Ćamil) Hašim

Selimović (Hasan) Bajro

Selimović (Hašim) Ramiz

Selimović (Ismet) Junuz 1978 - 1995

Selimović (Nezir) Mehmed

Sinanović (Rahman) Muriz 1963 - 1995

Sinanović (Ramo) Ibrahim 1938 - 1995

Sinanović (Safet) Sead 1956 - 1995

Sinanović (Suljo) Hašim 1974 - 1995

Skeledžić (Nezir) Enis

vic (Salko) Nusret 1956 - 1995

Spiodic (Hasib) Nedžad

ecic (Alija) Sabahudin 1971 - 1995

Špiodić (Salko) Hasan

Tihić (Rifet) Esed

1965 - 1995 Turković (Bekto) Alija 1961 - 1995 Turković (Meho) Ibiš 1959 - 1995 Tursunović (Meho) Adil 1955 - 1995 Tutundžić (Bego) Hajrudin

Tuzlic (Avdo) Amir Tuzlić (Avdo) Fadil 1971 - 1995 Varnica (Šećo) Ibro 1949 - 1995 Vejzović (Hasan) Zejnil 1940 - 1995

Vejzović (Mehmed) Hajro 1935 - 1995 Vejzović (Salko) Mersed

Velić (Avdo) Zejnii Vranjkovina (Salih) Fehim 1947 - 1995

Zimić (Azem) Salih 1962 - 1995 Zimić (Azem) Sejdalija 1959 - 1995 Zimić (Ramo) Nusret

Zukanović (Alija) Avdija 1940 - 1995 Zukanović (Mujo) Amir

Zukanović (Salko) Salčin Zukanović (Zajko) Fadil

Zukić (Huso) Mustafa

Jeste li s njim nestali i vi?!

Pomognite identificirati vaše voljene. Dajte svoj uzorak krvi.

O ICMP-II

noj suradnji s vladama u pronalaženju i identificiranju nestalih osoba u oružanim sukobima

O DNA led metadi

Deseci tisuća nestalih ljudi posljedica je oružanih sukoba na području zemalja bivše Jugoslavije u devedesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća. ICMP procjenjuje da je danas još uvijek više od 25,000 nestalih osoba. Kako bi se identificirao velik broj ljudskih ostataka u poslijeratnom okruženju, ICMP u identifikacijskom procesu koristi DNA led metodu. Uspjeh ovog identifikacijskog procesa ovisi o postotku obitelji nestalih, koji daju uzorak krvi

Međunarodna komisija za nestale osobe (ICMP) Alipašina 45a, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina

| www.missing-icmp.org | info@ic-mp.org |

17: +

Sredstva za realiziranje Kampanje ICMP-u je donirala Europska unija

1CMP International Commission on Missin

I Bečić Zihnija I Bećarević Rašid I Bećirović Abdulah I Bećirović Abdulah I Bećirović Abdulkadir I Bećirović Adil I Bećirović Ahmet I Bećirović Ahmo I Bećirović Avdo l Bećirović Avdo I Bećirović Azem I Bećirović Aziz I Bećirović Dalija I Bećirović Esad I Bećirović Fadil I Bećirović Habib I Bećirović Halim I Bećirović Hasan I Bećirović Horo I Bećirović Ibrahim I Bećirović Ibrahim I Bećirović Ismail I Bećirović Ibrahim Ibra I Bećirović Jusuf I Bećirović Kadrija I Bećirović Kahriman I Bećirović Kemal I Bećirović Kiram I Bećirović Mehmed I Bećirović Meho I Bećirović Mevludin I Bećirović Mujo I Bećirović Munib I Bećirović Murat I Bećirović Muriz I Bećirović Nedžad I Bećirović Nermin I Bećirović Nezir I Bećirović Nijaz I Bećirović Omer I Bećirović Omer l Bećirović Osman I Bećirović Rahman I Bećirović Ramiz I Bećirović Ramo I Bećirović Redžo I Bećirović Redžo I Bećirović Rešid I Bećirović Safet I Bećirović Sakib I





Professor Christian Schwarz-Schilling (2005-2007)

A TESTIMONY OF OUR FAILURE

INTERVIEW BY: Marion Kraske

THIS YEAR MARKS 25 YEARS SINCE THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE. SERB TROOPS KILLED MORE THAN 8300 BOYS AND MEN, MAINLY MUSLIM. HOW DO YOU COMMEMORATE THESE ATROCITIES?

C. SCHWARZ-SCHILLING: I often think about a refugee camp in Oskova near Tuzla, which my wife and I visited around the New Year 1995/96. I met so many grieving and desperate women who asked me if there was still hope that they would see their fathers, husbands, sons and brothers. I heard stories of those who experienced expulsion, rape and killing. They kept asking me why the then UN peace forces had not intervened, why were those people left to the mercy of Serb troops. The fact that after the Holocaust, caused by national-socialism and still beyond comparison with anything else, Europe had to experience again this crime of killing, and Europe, Germany included, failed to stop this catastrophe – is an unforgivable crime of the civilised world. The UN Security Council also failed because it failed to recognise the danger of the situation and failed to assign operational powers to the troops on the ground. It is painful to remember all the appeals I sent to the international community back then in 1994 and 1995, asking for Srebrenica and other 'safe zones' to be saved – in vain!

We must never forget that crimes committed in Srebrenica are part of our shared European history, as a horrific testimony of our own failure. I am particularly sad in the month of July every year. This year, I would like to come to Srebrenica to mark the 25th anniversary of the genocide and attend the memorial service on 11 July, but the coronavirus pandemic has altered all our plans. I will make up for this at the earliest opportunity.

FOR QUITE SOME TIME, SOME NO LONGER DEEM FACTS, WITNESS STATEMENTS AND TESTIMONIES BY VICTIMS' FAMILY MEMBERS SUFFICIENT. HIGH RANKING SERBIAN POLITICIANS CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT GENOCIDE NEVER HAPPENED. PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE ARE CELEBRATED AS HEROES. HOW SO YOU SEE THIS REFUSAL TO DEAL WITH THEIR OWN CRIMES?

C. SCHWARZ-SCHILLING: If we look at WWII allies, we see that those who fought hard against the Nazis and won were, in fact, the smart ones: they wanted capitulation and they never intended to have any kind of peace negotiations with them. It is obvious that the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina should have also ended in capitulation, because war criminals who are still involved in governance continue to cause damage, and will continue to hinder democracy and justice, deliberately and fiercely. It is unlikely that a criminal mentality would change without all

that war criminals are still celebrated as heroes, which is a dangerous position. It shows that they have learned nothing from their own history and history of countries of the world. They still do not understand what the spirit of freedom, democracy and the rule of law actually mean – and just like Fascists, they still fight against the development of democracy and the rule of law.

These individuals know very well that only a solid grip on power will continue to give them privileges. And since the international community has not been firm enough when changing the set-up of the state from crime and the absence of freedom towards democracy, the opposite is happening at the moment. Contrary to all the testimonies of crimes and contrary to all the judgements of the International Court in Den Haag – high-ranking Serb politicians insist that genocide in Srebrenica never happened.

THESE INDIVIDUALS KNOW VERY WELL THAT ONLY A SOLID GRIP ON POWER WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE THEM PRIVILEGES

the known war criminals convicted and the judgements accepted. The desire to engage in revisionism, which is still prevalent among these groups, means This shows the endless arrogance and hypocrisy that the Srebrenica war criminals deploy as they still try to change history. But they are wrong!

POLICIES BASED ON LIES WILL EVENTUALLY COLLAPSE LIKE A HOUSE OF CARDS. HOWEVER, THE DANGER FOR THE FUTURE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IS IN THE FACT THAT THERE ARE NOT JUST A FEW RADICALS IN THE MINORITY, BUT RATHER A NUMBER OF HIGH-RANKING ACTIVE

individual case to uncover the criminal structure trying to hide crimes of the old regime. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there was no such 'de-Nazification'.

The international community must also see that since Dayton, the focus has not

IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR ME TO RESTORE THE VICTIMS' DIGNITY, FOR THEM AND FOR THE FUTURE GENERATIONS TO PAY THEIR RESPECT TO THE VICTIMS

POLITICIANS IN THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA (RS) AND SERBIA, BUT ALSO IN CROATIA, WHO CONTINUE TO SPREAD SUCH LIES WITHOUT HINDRANCE. ONE HAS TO BEAR IN MIND THAT BOSNIAKS – AND A SMALL NUMBER OF CROATS AND SERBS, AS WELL AS THOSE SO-CALLED 'OTHERS' – SEE BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AS THEIR HOMELAND. IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, SERBS AND CROATS – TO BE CLEAR, NOT ALL OF THEM – STILL SEE THEIR HOMELAND IN SERBIA OR CROATIA.

IS THERE A LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM GERMAN HISTORY?

C. SCHWARZ-SCHILLING: In post-war Germany, WWII Nazi supporters did not maintain their bases of power, made up of old parties – the Allies did not allow that. They worked hard to remove the Nazi politicians, although it was not possible in each

been on building cohabitation – no. Differences are deepened, hatred is ignited, so that Bosnia and Herzegovina would be partitioned. This must be understood as a major threat to all the citizens of this country who do not wish to be captured by these ethnic categories.

THE TERRITORY WHICH IS NOW THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA WAS ETHNICALLY CLEANSED THROUGH CRIME. IN 2007, AS THE THEN HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THROUGH THE LAW ON THE SREBRENICA — POTOČARI MEMORIAL CENTRE AND THE 1995 GENOCIDE MEMORIAL, YOU ENSURED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE, BY ENSURING THAT BOTH INSTITUTIONS WERE PLACED UNDER THE COMPETENCE OF THE STATE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA. THIS LAW ALSO EXPLICITLY REFERS TO THE

C. SCHWARZ-SCHILLING: I cannot say that I was pleased with the ICJ judgement of 27 February 2007 in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro. Still, the recognition of genocide against Bosniaks is of great importance. This provided a basis for future work related to these events, so that there is a clear foundation for future encounters, for dealing with trauma and overcoming it as an opportunity for reconciliation. This judgment was a clear recognition of the genocide in Srebrenica. However, many seem to not understand that, even today.

The Law on the Srebrenica – Potočari Memorial Centre was one of my last official acts as High Representative, back in 2007.

generations to pay their respect to the victims. I established a special team within OHR in order to deal with the situation in Srebrenica. It was particularly important to create a legal basis for this place of mourning. The idea was to transfer the existing Srebrenica - Potočari Memorial Centre, together with the Srebrenica - Potočari Cemetery, from the competence of the Republika Srpska to the competence of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The financing was supposed to be provided through the budget of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Using the Bonn powers available to me, on 25 June 2005 I proclaimed the Law on the Srebrenica - Potočari Memorial Centre, which prescribed the 'protection of the cemetery for the victims of the 1995 genocide'. With this, I also wanted to remove any sense of doubt and uncertainty for the victims and ensure the long-term status of the Memorial Centre.

I MUST ADD THAT I WANTED TO DO MUCH MORE FOR SREBRENICA

The cemetery itself is in the Republika Srpska, so slander and instigation of hatred towards the victims never stopped, and it was obvious that I had to do whatever was humanly possible to ensure peace for the dead and their grieving family members. It was important for me to restore the victims' dignity, for them and for the future

However, I must add that I wanted to do much more for Srebrenica. I wish I could have transformed Srebrenica into a district independent from the Republika Srpska, just like Brčko. This, however, would have led to a change in the Constitution, which my mandate did not allow me to do. I would not have received support from the

Peace Implementation Council (PIC). The OHR mandate was primarily focused on strengthening the ownership of the national authorities, and this barely included the issue of the Bonn powers. The con-

sing from the Bonn powers and guaranteed through legislation.

Looking back, despite all the obstacles I had to face at the time, I am glad I was

MORE AND MORE STATES ARE INCLINED TO SANCTION AS CRIMINAL OFFENCES THESE FALSE STATEMENTS THAT THE HOLOCAUST OR CRIMES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA DURING THE WAR NEVER HAPPENED

stitutional reform therefore had to come from local stakeholders and we as the international community could not interfere. Of course, it was clear that the Republika Srpska would never agree to such changes to the Constitution, so this option would never have stood a chance. So, we wanted to find a solution that would make the Srebrenica – Potočari Memorial Centre independent from the Republika Srpska without breaching the existing Constitution. After that, the PIC supported me almost unanimously, with the exception of Russia, which supports the RS.

As the High Representative, I accepted the responsibility for Srebrenica and I wanted to ensure this change, at least regarding the dignity and respect for the dead, so that the belligerent, fascist attitudes do not dominate the dead at any point in the future. This was achieved to a large extent through lawful means ari-

able to use the legal instruments available to me at the time to secure peace for the dead

TODAY, THE SREBRENICA - POTOČARI MEMORIAL CENTRE AND THE CEMETERY ARE OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES AND VISITORS FROM ACROSS THE WORLD. HOWEVER, THERE IS A SENSE OF DECLINING INTERNATIONAL INTEREST IN KEEPING THE MEMORY OF GENOCIDE ALIVE. LAST YEAR, THE NOBEL COMMITTEE IN STOCKHOLM AWARDED THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE TO PETER HANDKE, WHO DOUBTS THE STATEMENTS BY THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES. IN YOUR 2007 SPEECH YOU SAID THAT 'THOSE WHO DENY GENOCIDE MOVE OUTSIDE THE NORMS OF CIVILISATION'. IN RELATION TO THIS, HOW DO YOU SEE THE CARELESS ATTITUDE TOWARDS MEMORIALISATION OF GENOCIDE?

C. Schwarz-Schilling: Any attempt to relativise these proven crimes is a serious insult to the victims' families and gives more room to those who deny genocide. What happened has to be overcome, on all sides. In this, education is crucial. The education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be reformed urgently. It is anachronous that pursuant to the so-called ethnic affiliation, different groups of the same age attend 'two schools under one roof' and that, separate from each other, they study the history of their own country though different curricula. This is also directed at the international community, to ensure that all children learn from the same history textbooks. With this I refer to adaptation of curricula in Central Europe after WWII, which was possible just because there were joint German - French and German - Polish committees that worked on this with the greatest possible care, thus creating joint curricula for European countries. This kind of advanced thinking must be disseminated across the Balkans. To leave the young generation in the current spiritual disarray is also a crime that could easily mark the 21st century. We must do everything we can to ensure that this does not happen and that the development of democratic states does start effectively.

The fact that the Nobel Committee awarded the Literature Prize to a person who has been, for years and years, publicly relativising the genocide in Srebrenica and presenting his view of the Serb people

shows that the perception of nationalist statements and statements relativising genocide is changing completely. This reflects a development that seems to be appearing and taking public space in many countries. I cannot use the Committee's assessment to create what I see as an artificial separation of the writer's work and his public statements about genocide and nationalism. Two Committee members were critical of this decision and then drew consequences of all that.

WHAT IS YOUR APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY? WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO END THE STILL INFLUENTIAL ETHNO-NATIONALISM, WHICH CAUSED THE CRUELLEST ACTS AND WHICH CONTINUES TO IMPEDE THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TOWARDS A NORMAL, FUNCTIONAL STATE?

C. Schwarz-Schilling: It has to be reiterated that this is only possible on the basis of laws, so that in the case of genocide denial there is a possibility to seek legal remedy and apply sanctions. More and more states are inclined to sanction as criminal offences these false statements that the Holocaust or crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war never happened. And the fanatic deniers should be treated with a firm and clear legal position. The fact that denial of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, glorification of war criminals and public appearances of fascist groups

still have no judicial response is, in fact, scandalous and does not serve as a basis for overcoming the past and developing a future focused on democracy. This is an area where the Bonn powers may be used to finally introduce laws that correspond to international democratic standards.

Had there been an agreement in the international community regarding the necessary goals in order to build a functional democracy, it should have ensured a different development for Bosnia and Herzegovina. One must admit that the so-called principle of ownership (by the local authorities), i.e., that Bosniaks, or rather the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina take matters into their own hands – has not become reality to this day. No attempt to develop the constitution democratically has

in Bosnia and Herzegovina have at least been recognised as a problem of the international community too. If parliaments cannot use the majority vote because of the precedence of the ethnic principle in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this situation should be corrected by the Bonn powers for a certain period of time. This erroneous development must not be allowed to exist for another 25 years. The principle of ownership of the local authorities was applied far too early, in my opinion. There have been attempts for a long time and they failed, unfortunately. The fear that things may again develop the way they did in the early 1990s is still present among the population. It should be the task of all the responsible politicians to ensure that this fear should be reduced rather than increased, so that numerous Bosnians return to this country and that its

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST NOT CONTINUE TO BE A MERE OBSERVER, IT SHOULD FINALLY BECOME ENGAGED RESPONSIBLY

been successful, and in that respect the chances for Bosnia and Herzegovina to start such changes in the near future are quite slim.

It seems that NATO has also drawn some of these important messages, so that mistakes made during the war young population stays in it, so that they can all be part of the process of rebuilding this country, particularly its democratic institutions. The international community must not continue to be a mere observer, it should finally become engaged responsibly. Where is the courage of the European Union and the OHR?





THE BLIND TOWN

THE NIGHTS ARE DARK AND DAYS TURN INTO DARKNESS. TIME HAS EXPIRED HERE, AND THE BLIND TOWN DIES. MANY HAVE NOT SEEN YOU, BUT OF STALINGRAD THEY HAVE HEARD, EVIL FEET HAVEN'T TOUCHED YOU BUT A NEW ISTANBUL THEY PROTESTED. SILENCE OR SONG IS HEARD HERE. AND TEARS ARE FROZEN - IT IS JANUARY. STARS STILL DRIFT ACROSS THE SKIES EMBRACING THEIR RAVAGED BEAUTY. THIS TOWN IS BLIND RE-RUNNING ITS PAST, IT MAKES ME BLIND WHAT | SURVIVED QUESTION | MUST.

NIHAD ĆATIĆ



I Dedić Selim I Dedić Sulejman I Dedić Šaćir I Dedić Šaćir I Dedić Šaćir I Dedić Zaim I Dedić Sadik I Dedalić Salko I Dedalić Suloj I Delić Abdurahman I Dedić Adnan I Delić Ahmot I Delić Alija I Delić Alija I Delić Avdo I Delić Avdulah I Delić Azem I Delić Azem I Delić Aziz I Delić Bajazit I Delić Began I Delić Bumedijen I Delić Ćamil I Delić Camil I Delić Dahmo I Delić Džemail I Delić Ejub I Delić Ekrem I Delić Elvir I Delić Enz I Delić Enz I Delić Enver I Delić Ermin I Delić Fahrudin I Delić Fejzo I Delić Fikret I Delić Hajrudin I Delić Hamdija I Delić Hamdija I Delić Hasan I Delić Hasan I Delić Hasan I Delić Hasib I Delić Haso I Delić Hazim I Delić Husein I Delić Ibrahim I Delić Ibro I Delić Ibro I Delić Ismet I Delić Jakub I Delić Jasmin I Delić Jasmin I Delić Juso I Delić Mevlad I Delić Kadrija I Delić Mahmut I Delić Mehmed I Del



Mevludin I Delić Mevludin I Delić Mirsad I Delić Mirsad I Delić Mujo I Delić Munib I Delić Munira I Delić Munira I Delić Mustafa I Delić Nazif I Delić Nazir I Delić Sabit I Delić Safet I Delić Sabit I Delić Safet I Delić Safet





Funerals have been organised in Potočari since 2003; 1200 persons who disappeared in the Srebrenica genocide are still missing













Mevlid I Džananović Mevludin I Džananović Mirzet I Džananović Mujko I Džananović Mujo I Džananović Mustafa I Džananović Mustafa I Džananović Mustafa I Džananović Mustafa I Džananović Nezir I Džananović Nezir I Džananović Nezir I Džananović Ragib I Džananović Ramiz I Džananović Ramo I Džananović Rasim I Džananović Rasim I Džananović Redžo I Džananović Rifet I Džananović Rismet I Džananović Salih I Džananović Sevlet I Džananović Šaban I Džananović Šehad I Džananović Šukrija I Džananović Zikret I Džanić Ahmo I Džanić Atif I Džanić Edin I Džanić Esad I Džanić Esed I Džanić Esnaf I Džanić Ešef I Džanić Fahrudin I Džanić Fikret I Džanić Halid I Džanić Ismet I Džanić Janija I Džanić Jusuf I Džanić Janić Nermin I Džanić Ramiz I Džanić Ramiz I Džanić Ramo I Džanić Rešid I Džanić Rifet I Džanić Safet I Džanić Zirhad I Džebo Haris I Džebo Mehmed I Džebo Nusret I Džebo











Ahmo I Gabeljić Ahmo I Gabeljić Alija I Gabeljić Almaz I Gabeljić Amir I Gabeljić Asim I Gabeljić Asim I Gabeljić Atif I Gabeljić Avdo I Gabeljić Hasim I Gabeljić Avdo I Gabeljić Hasim I Gabeljić Fadil I Gabeljić Fadrudin I Gabeljić Hakija I Gabeljić Hasim I Gabeljić Hasim I Gabeljić Husejin I Gabeljić Huso I Gabeljić Ibrahim I



I Gabeljić Rifet I Gabeljić Rijad I Gabeljić Safet I Gabeljić Salim I Gabeljić Salim I Gabeljić Saliko I Gabeljić Sead I Gabeljić Senad I Gabeljić Sulejman I Gabeljić Šaban I Gabeljić Šećan I Gabeljić Šerko I Gabeljić Žijad I Gagulić Alija I Gagulić Hasan I Gagulić Mehmed I Gagulić Meho I Garaljević Enver I Garaljević Idriz I Garaljević Mehmed I Garaljević Mirzet I Garaljević Nermin I Garaljević Nevres I Garaljević Rifet I Garaljević Sakib I Garaljević Salim I Garaljević Samir I Germić Ibrahim I Germić Kemal I Germić Nezir I Gerović Alija I Gerović Emin I Gerović Hajro I Gerović Mehmed I Gerović Nurija I Gladović Sakib I Gluhić Hajrudin I Gluhić Ibrahim I Gluhić Sabahudin I Gobeljić Hasan I Gobeljić Jakub I Gobeljić Lutvo I Gobeljić Mehmedalija I Gobeljić Nedžad I Gobeljić Sejad I Gobeljić Senad I Gogić Abdulah I Gojčinović Ahmet I Gojčinović Hamed I Gojčinović Mahmut I Gojčinović Munib I Gojčinović Sead I Golić Alija I Golić Alija I









I Hadžibulić Asim I Hadžibulić Dževad I Hadžibulić Mevludin I Hadžibulić Mirsad I Hadžibulić Rešid I Hadžibulić Senad I Hadžibulić Suad I Hadžibulić Suljo I Hadžibulić Teufik I Hadžić Abid I Hadžić Ahmo I Hadžić Bajazit I Hadžić Džemail I Hadžić Džemaludin I Hadžić Dževahid I Hadžić Hasan I Hadžić Hasan I Hadžić Husein I Hadžić Ibro I Hadžić Junuz I Hadžić Lutvo I Hadžić Mujo I Hadžić Mujo I Hadžić Suljo I Hadžić Osman I Hadžić Ragib I Hadžić Rifet I Hadžić Salih I Hadžić Salko I Hadžić Šahbaz I Hadžimujagić Sakib I Hadžović Azem I Hadžović Munib I Hadžović Mustafa I Hafizović Abdulah I Hafizović Ahmet I Hafizović Ahmo I Hafizović Amir I Hafizović Avdo I Hafizović Behadil I Hafizović Džemail I Hafizović Dževad I Hafizović Enes I Hafizović Hajrulah I Hafizović Husan I Hafizović Hurija I Hafizović Husejn I Hafizović Ibrahim I Hafizović Kasim I Hafizović Meho I Hafizović Muhamed I Hafizović Munib I Hafizović Muriz I Hafizović Mustafa I Hafizović Salko I Hafizović Sead



I Hafizović Sejmo I Hafizović Senahid I Hafizović Tahir I Hafizović Vahid I Hafizović Vehab I Hafizović Zamo I Hajdarević Admir I Hajdarević Alija I Hajdarević Amir I Hajdarević Amir I Hajdarević Bajro I Hajdarević Edhem I Hajdarević Edin I Hajdarević Edmir I Hajdarević Enez I Hajdarević Fadil I Hajdarević Fehim I Hajdarević Hakija I Hajdarević Halid I Hajdarević Hamid I Hajdarević Husein I Hajdarević Ibrahim I Hajdarević Kadrija I Hajdarević Kemal I Hajdarević Mehmed I Hajdarević Mujo I Hajdarević Sabahudin I Hajdarević Sabin I Hajdarević Ramahudin I Hajdarević Sabahudin I H



I Hakić Fahrudin I Hakić Hajro I Hakić Medo I Hakić Nurdin I Hakić Nurdin I Hakić Sead I Hakić Senad I Hakić Vejsil I Halilović Abdulah I Halilović Admir I Halilović Ahmedin I Halilović









Nusret I Halilović Omer I Halilović Osman I Hali



Zuhrijet I Halilović Zulfo I Halilović Zulfo I Hamidović Jusuf I Hamidović Mustafa I Hamidović Osman I Hamidović Sejdalija I Hamidović Selim I Hamzabegović Adil I Hamzabegović Džemal I Hamzabegović Džemal I Hamzabegović Džemal I Hamzabegović Ibrahim I Hamzabegović Ibro I Hamzabegović Mehmedalija I Hamzabegović Meho I Hamzabegović Mevludin I Hamzabegović Nazif I Hamzabegović Safet I Hamzabegović Sead I Hamzabegović Seval I Hamzabegović Vejsil I Hamzić Aljo I Hamzić Bego I Hamzić Isak I Hamzić Islam I Hamzić Ismet I Hamzić Mevlid I Hamzić Mirsad I Hamzić Mujčin I Hamzić Mujčin I Hamzić Nazif Nazif Nazif Nazif Nazif Nazif Nazif Nazif I Hamzić Nazif Nazif I Hamzić Nazif Nazif



I Hanić Derviš I Hanić Juso I Hanić Meho I Hanić Ramiz I Hanić Redžep I Hanić Rešid I Hanić Salim I Hanić Selim I Hankić Mehmedalija I Hankić Mujo I Harbaš Adem I Harbaš Amir I Harbaš Asim I Harbaš Azmir I Harbaš Bajro I Harbaš Bego I Harbaš Enes I Harbaš Enez I Harbaš Hajrudin I Harbaš Hasan I Harbaš Hasan I Harbaš Hazim I Harbaš Husein I Harbaš Ragib I Harbaš Sakib I Harbaš Sakib I Harbaš Samir I Harbaš Šaban I Harbaš Šemso I Harbaš Vejsil I Harbaš Zekerijah I Hasanković Aziz I Hasanković Dževad I Hasanković Esad I Hasanković Nedžad I Hasanković Sadik I Hasanković Vekaz I Hasanković Zaim I Hasanović Abdulah I Hasanović Alija I Hasanović A



EMIR SULJAGIĆ DIRECTOR OF THE SREBRENICA – POTOČARI MEMORIAI CENTRE

THE GRAVITATIONAL CENTRE OF OUR MEMORIES

INTERVIEW BY:

Nihad Kreševljaković

THE FACT IS THAT SINCE YOUR ARRIVAL, THE SREBRENICA MEMORIAL CENTRE HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY PRESENT IN THE PUBLIC. HOW COME THAT AFTER SO MANY YEARS SUCH AN IMPORTANT INSTITUTION DID NOT HAVE A BETTER POSITION IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE? WE CANNOT ACCUSE GENOCIDE DENIERS OR THE SUCCESSORS TO THE GENOCIDAL POLICIES. HOW COME THAT THE POLITICS THAT RELIES ON GENOCIDE AND THE PAST FOR ITS NARRATIVE FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORTING AN INSTITUTION LIKE THIS?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: It is not necessarily a compliment when you say that the Memorial Centre is more present. I do not know how good that is. Of course, it is important to me that the institution is visible, that it is doing the job it is paid to do, but our main goal is to position genocide as a theme adequately. We want to work on the narrative. I do not think that time has been lost

or that we cannot recover what has been lost. You have to understand that Srebrenica was a serous trauma. The fact that no one knew what to do with it was part of the collective confusion about what to do with Srebrenica. That seriously defined an entire generation in this country. If I were a cheap psychologist, I would say that an individual recovers from a car accident by attending therapy for years and years – let alone entire peoples, an entire community faced with an experience like this.

Srebrenica did not happen inside a vacuum, it happened as part of a more comprehensive process which removed us as a people from one half of our country. We had refugees, we had deaths... Srebrenica happened as part of an overall attack against all of us. To pull oneself out of such trauma and reach a decision on how to memorialise institutionally – it is a long process. I would not blame anyone for that.

Besides, just look at how long it took for serious research into the Holocaust to start. When you look at some of the most prominent institutions memorialising the Holocaust, you see that most of them were established in the 1990s. I fear that 'our' genocide was an inspiration of sorts for an earlier group of survivors to start working on it, a group that was previously the subject of a genocidal campaign and an annihilation attempt. I guess that at one point, seeing Bosnia, Holocaust survivors were inspired to say 'Hey, let's try to remember what we can'. The Holocaust Memorial Museum was founded in 1994, Yad Vashem in 1953. I think. A host of institutions was established only in the 1990s, so I do not think that much time has been lost.

All this was happening as part of a process, in a country with 60,000 foreign soldiers, in an injured country. And it is

view... Let me say this: remembrance is expensive. Destruction is cheap. To destroy something, it takes a bulldozer, a person with a basic qualification to operate it and fifty litres of diesel. And for something to be remembered and saved from oblivion – that takes expenditure and far more serious knowledge. Everything is required, from forensic anthropology to conservation. A wide range of instruments. And a new problem is that with what we are doing at the moment – which is nothing – we are already lacking the capacity to do everything arising from that. We need new knowledge, new people, but we still cannot pay for them.

The greatest curse and the greatest fortune is that the Potočari Memorial Centre is a state institution. On one hand, we do enjoy some protection from the state, but on the other you cannot even imagine the procedure we have to go through

SREBRENICA HAPPENED AS PART OF AN OVERALL ATTACK AGAINST ALL OF US

no surprise. And that's where we are. I don't think it is a paradox. We do what we can with what we have.

AND THE QUESTION OF MONEY?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: The question of money is a different thing and it deserves a different

every time. All the bureaucratic obstacles imaginable present themselves. The legal framework is such that state institutions are responsible for paying salaries, and it is very hard for us to manage, for example, research projects – we always need partner to do that. This is just a trivial example. What we receive

from the state is insufficient anyway.

In short, what does that have to do with money and resources? We will be able to remember as much as we have the money and the knowledge to pay for – down to the last family photo. And that costs too.

WHAT HAS THE FINANCIAL SITUATION BEEN LIKE THIS YEAR?

the community that was attacked – I am referring to Bosniaks – I felt at the time that we as a community went into denial, as if it had never happened to us. That's how I felt. No one could believe it. On the other hand, the perpetrators and their sponsors worked a lot on that. Those responsible for the crime did everything they could to deepen the process. Then there was a stage when the first mate-

TO DESTROY SOMETHING, IT TAKES A BULLDOZER, A PERSON WITH A BASIC QUALIFICATION TO OPERATE IT AND FIFTY LITRES OF DIESEL

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: We contacted everyone in the Federation BiH and we received responses from some 50 municipalities. The responses varied from 1,500 in Bosanska Krupa to 50,000 in Sarajevo Stari Grad or Tuzla. The fact is that we have been able to raise public awareness of the fact that we all co-own the Potočari Memorial Centre and that it is our shared history, to stop seeing Srebrenica outside the context of an attack against an entire country and an entire people.

IN YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE, HOW DO YOU SEE THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SREBRENI-CA OVER THE PAST 25 YEARS? HAS THERE BEEN A CHANGE IN PERCEPTIONS?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: When speaking about

rial evidence, the mass graves, started to appear – and that's when the shock happened. People were shocked by the brutality and the entire machinery, the bulldozers, the trucks, the loaders used in the process and, of course, the sheer magnitude of it all. After the shock, we finally reached a point when we started to confront it, with an understanding that, in my opinion, we can never be as weak as we were when Srebrenica happened. We cannot allow it to happen again because we as group would not survive it.

Let me reiterate: I would like to see the Potočari Memorial Centre as an institution become the gravitational centre of our work to memorialise the 1990s. I would like to see the Potočari Memori-

al Centre serve as the cornerstone of a narrative about what happened to us. I cannot be politically correct any more. I am not trying to leave my Muslim skin, because I understand that I am socially constructed as a Muslim. And this is not a matter of religion, but rather of heritage. These are some of the things I would like to see happen in relation to the Potočari Memorial Centre.

AS YOU TOOK OFFICE, YOU IDENTIFIED THREE PRIORITIES FOR THE POTOČARI MEMORIAL CENTRE FOR THE NEAR FUTURE: PRESERVING THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE VENUE, BUILDING LINKS WITH SIMILAR INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND LAUNCHING YOUR OWN RESEARCH PROJECTS. HOW MUCH OF THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: We are working in all three areas. In terms of reconstruction:

Sattler and his desire to do something for us, none of this would have happened. Also, we will sign an agreement with the Sarajevo Canton Construction Bureau for the refurbishment of one part (floors 3, 4 and 5) of our building. The cost will be 1.2 million Bosnian marks, of which they will provide 850,000 and we will provide the rest. We will be able to pay this from the money we have collected, mainly from donations, which have come this year more than ever before.

The third thing we are currently working on is waiting for our friends from Turkey to start refurbishing the roof above the main hall, which is problematic and which is the heart of the entire complex. In terms of contacts with other institutions, COVID affected our plans for this year, but we have established numerous important contacts with partners such as the History Museum, the National Museum, as well as

AND FOR SOMETHING TO BE REMEMBERED AND SAVED FROM OBLIVION — THAT TAKES EXPENDITURE AND FAR MORE SERIOUS KNOWLEDGE

part of the building is under reconstruction, with plans to house our modern and well-equipped archive there. The cost of the operation is EUR 350,000 and the funding came from the EU Delegation to BiH. I have to say: if it hadn't been for Johann various civil society organisations. All who work in this area work with us and that is very important. We have also established contact with the 9/11 Memorial in New York and the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C., but due to COVID

no work could be done this year. We have also had formal contacts with the Shoah Foundation in San Francisco, the Genocide Museum in Kigali, Rwanda...

Another thing – our own research, all that we have done this year, be it video or audio... It was all produced at the Memorial Centre.

AGED A VERY COMPLEX ARTISTIC AS WELL
AS POLITICAL PROGRAMME TO MARK 11
JULY. WHAT WERE THE REACTIONS? IT
SEEMS TO ME THAT AS YOU TOOK OFFICE,
ATTACKS AGAINST YOU INTENSIFIED?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: I don't have a problem with that. I am a public figure and have no right to privacy. Whoever wants to attack

WE CANNOT ALLOW IT TO HAPPEN AGAIN BECAUSE WE AS GROUP WOULD NOT SURVIVE IT

THERE IS ALSO THE LIBRARY, AN IMPORT-ANT REPORT ABOUT GENOCIDE DENIAL, AND YOU ALSO STARTED COLLECTING THE VICTIMS' PERSONAL ITEMS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE FACTS EVIDENCE ABOUT THE SUFFERING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: This is something we do continuously, as part of our regular activities. We have a system, because it is important and this is something we do on daily basis. We have good public response. We are waiting for money to start working on our video archives. We want to collect all the materials because all of it is on VHS tapes and five years from now there will be no possibility to view it.

We have progressed in all these areas and we will see what the next year will bring.

EVEN DURING THE PANDEMIC, YOU MAN-

– so be it. Ultimately, in view of the milieu that attacks and insults are coming from, it is also proof that we are doing a good iob. If this were not so. I should have bene worried. We have changed slightly the profile of the institution: it is more visible now, it is involved in activities not covered in the past. One of the important things was the premiere of Jasmila Žbanić's film Quo vadis, Aida? Also, the fact that we managed to bring 250 persons to Potočari to attend a superb art event, including one third of the diplomatic corps, 20 TV cameras... This premiere was a test to see whether the visibility we had in July was just an accident, because of the date, or because we had moved forward. And as it turned out, we have moved forward.

The central part of the memorial event included a host of institutions: the Presi-

dency of BiH, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an entire structure that comes together to mark the anniversary... But the entire sidebar programme was part of our project implemented in collaboration with our partners. Što te nema by Aida Šehović, Memento, an exhibit that includes oral history, Zijad Gafić helped us bring together a group of hardcore reporters and photographers, including Tony Birtley who was here in 1993. The exhibit also included 8 hours of footage from Srebrenica in March and April 1993 never shown before. We also had Ron Haviv, Paul Lowe, Zijah Gafić... We also had Exodus, the monumental exhibit by Safet Zec. I had an opportunity to meet him during the preparation, and he is an absolutely fascinating, incredible individual, an angel among humans. MESS

ica to former Yugoslavia?'. To see what are the reflections of Srebrenica across the region. What have South Slavs learned from Srebrenica? I would like to work with people such as the director Zlatko Paković, or Vladimir Miladinović, who presented an exhibit of Mladic's diaries; I would like to work with organisations that have dealt with Srebrenica from Serbia. Croatia, all of former Yugoslavia – and I would like the next anniversary to focus on that.

YOU MENTIONED JASMILA ŽBANIĆ'S FILM. HOW DID YOU PERCEIVE IT? HOW IMPORT-ANT IS ART IN CREATING A CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: I am not a film critic and I don't know enough to present a competent opinion about the film itself, but as a person I

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE PMC AS AN INSTITUTION BECOME THE GRAVITATIONAL CENTRE OF OUR WORK TO MEMORIALISE THE 1990S

and SARTR theatres had a performance shown online all day on 11 July. Šejla Kamerić had her own performance.

WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS FOR NEXT YEAR?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: The plan and something I would like to do is to dedicate the next anniversary to the question 'What is Srebrencan say that three times during the film I fell apart completely and had to put myself back together again. Three times in 104 minutes. I needed to see if there were any factual inconsistencies and there are none, outside of what is necessary for the story to be told through film. For example, it's not three meetings at the Fontana Hotel in Bratunac

but one, but that was what the story of the film required. The film does not judge, if one can say that, it does not take a position. That is Jasmila's way of telling the story. Someone else would have told it differently. As audience, I was impressed. Nothing is overly

people on short-term contracts forever.

CAN YOU IDENTIFY YOUNG PEOPLE IN SRE-BRENICA THROUGH YOUR PROGRAMMES, WHO COULD THEN BECOME PART OF THE TEAM?

WE NEED PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD OF PR AND IN THE FIELD OF CONSERVATION. IT IS A CHALLENGE AND SOMETHING THAT WE WILL HAVE TO WORK ON IN THE FUTURE

pronounced. Art will continue to speak for us once we have passed. And we will pass.

YOU HAVE AN EXCELLENT TEAM AT THE MEMORIAL CENTRE, BUT WHAT YOU DO REQUIRES ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONALS. HOW WILL YOU DEAL WITH THAT?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: That is a problem. We are managing. For the profiles we lack, we find people in Sarajevo and they come over. But the problem is that what I am currently doing is primarily managerial. When I took office – and this is just facts, with no criticism of others – there was no mechanism for managing the institution in this direction. We need professionals in the field of PR and in the field of conservation. It is a challenge and something that we will have to work on in the future. We won't be able to hire

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: Undoubtedly. The people working on research, museum and the archives are people from Srebrenica with true links to this town. There are none of us here who haven't been affected by Srebrenica. Those people have the unique knowledge, the kind of knowledge you cannot acquire through pure academic research, people from here... They knew the fathers, the mothers, the relatives, who used to go to which mosque and so on... But what do we do when we reach the stage where we need someone to manage the digital archives? When conservation specialists become necessary? The most important thing is to find a way to educate those people. We currently have a project where we're struggling to find someone who would be able to use the specialised archival software. How do you find

someone or find an opportunity to have someone trained? If we can't find them, we'll have to 'invent' then.

I SPOKE TO SOME YOUNG PEOPLE IN SRE-BRENICA AND THEY ALL SAY THE SAME THING: 'THERE ARE NO PEOPLE HERE AND THE SITUATION IS GETTING WORSE AND WORSE'. HOW IS IT POSSIBLE TO STRIKE tion between the two and I think that it can work together. The key is, in fact, in how the city is managed. With a slightly more honest administration, Srebrenica may easily become a vibrant town, as it always was, after all. Srebrenica is not Tokyo, it is not Sarajevo. At best, it can be a vibrant little town in Eastern Bosnia and that's it. That's how I see it.

THIS ENTIRE AREA LIVES IN THE SHADOW OF POTOČARI AND THERE IS NO ESCAPE FROM THAT

A BALANCE BETWEEN RETURNING SRE-BRENICA INTO THE ROUTINE OF AN 'ORDI-NARY' TOWN AND BEING AT THE SAME TIME A PLACE OF GLOBAL WARNING ABOUT THE **CONSEQUENCES OF GENOCIDAL POLICIES?**

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: This entire area lives in the shadow of Potočari and there is no escape from that. At the same time, life cannot stop. One of our priorities is that the local community benefits from what happens at the Memorial Centre. It may sound cynical, but I want this to be a living memorial. It is a memorial for the dead, but it needs to be a memorial to the living too.

Another thing: there are concerts in Srebrenica. There are festivals. There is music. Life has its own logic and it is simply unstoppable. I see no major contradic-

WHAT ARE THE ATTITUDES OF YOUTH TO-WARDS THE PAST?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: That depends greatly on the education system, on what young persons are served through the curricula. Our experience without COVID is that between 150 and 200 thousand persons visit Potočari. Most of them are young individuals. I have never heard about any disrespect or incidents. The last group that visited were young persons from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, of different ethnic backgrounds.

Do Serbs from Srebrenica visit the MEMORIAL CENTRE?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: Last year we had two girls from Srebrenica attending the youth camp. I was one of the lecturers. They spoke to people older than themselves as well as their peers. There were no incidents.

WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT SREBRENICA, THE PREPARATORY STAGE OF THE FINAL GENO-CIDE SEEMS TO BE DISREGARDED. PEOPLE STILL DO NOT UNDERSTAND THAT THOSE WHO WERE KILLED IN SREBRENICA IN 1992 WERE ALSO VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE.

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: That is exactly what I have been saying since October last year: we have to depart from the narrative about the five days of July 1995. And to that end, the next meeting of the Steering Board will consider a project to list all the human losses in and around Srebrenica from May 1992 until July 1995. This will give us factual insight into the magnitude of the crime and

Bosniaks in Eastern Bosnia.

YOU SAID THAT THERE IS AND CANNOT BE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOMEONE KILLED IN OMARSKA IN 1992 AND IN SREBRENICA IN 1995. IN YOUR OPINION, WHO INSTIGATED THIS APPROACH? WHAT KIND OF COOPERATION DO YOU HAVE WITH PEOPLE FROM ZVORNIK, VIŠEGAD, FOČA, PRIJEDOR? HAVE YOU CONSIDERED INTEGRATING THEM INTO YOUR COLLECTION?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: To be frank, we currently have no cooperation with them and it is up to us to change that. Unfortunately, we simply haven't been able to do that this year. When speaking about Srebrenica, we speak about institutional memorialisation and some of those places have no institutions similar to this one. That is why we need to cooperate with civil society organisations. In

WE CANNOT SPEAK ABOUT SREBRENICA IN MAY 1992 OR IN JULY 1995 WITHOUT SPEAKING ABOUT VIŠEGRAD OR ZVORNIK IN MAY AND JUNE 1992

the events that took place. That will give us better insight into what Diego Arria referred to back in April 1993 as the slow-motion genocide. I absolutely agree with you that the July 1995 operation did not take place in a vacuum, it was the culmination of three and a half years of policy of destruction of

order to work with them, you have to find credible individuals. Unfortunately, there are all kinds of charlatans there, just like in any other area. That makes things a bit difficult. But I would like the genocidal operation of July 1995 to serve as the corner stone of our grand narrative about the 1990s.

So, you would integrate it into your exhibit?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: Yes. One is unimaginable without the other. We cannot speak about Srebrenica in May 1992 or in July 1995 without speaking about Višegrad or Zvornik in May and June 1992. Srebrenica was not in a vacuum, surrounded by mountains, out of reach of the world... The world did reach us.

How do you see these events surROUNDING THE 'MEMORIAL OF PEACE'?
THE PROCEDURE WAS CONDUCTED WITH
NO OPEN COMPETITION AND IT WAS SIMPLY
IMPOSED AS AN IDEA PRESENTED BY INDIVIDUALS FROM THE MUNICIPALITY? WHAT
DID THE TEAM LED BY THE MAYOR, WHO
DENIES GENOCIDE, WISH TO ACHIEVE WITH
THE MONUMENT?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: First, I don't think it is a relevant topic. Second, inasmuch as it is relevant, I would proceed to appropriate the monument, so that every event related to

of peace, it is a memorial to peace.

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD BE THE RESULT OF BUILDING REMEMBRANCE IN RELATION TO THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA? IS IT THE 'NEVER AGAIN' LINE IN AUSCHWITZ, OR IS IT SOMETHING MORE REALISTIC, SINCE WE FIND THIS 'NEVER AGAIN' A BIT HARD TO BELIEVE?

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: I think that the best lesson anyone has ever drawn from the Holocaust is not a vague and softly spoken 'Never again', but rather the fact that Holocaust survivors understood that it takes a strong state to ensure that it never does happen again. I once said in a discussion, motivated by the Gandhi-like approach by my interlocutor, that the best demonstration against genocide deniers was a sweeping flight of Israeli airplanes at the, I believe, the 70th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. If there is a lesson from that memorialisation, it is that only a strong state can provide protection against repetition.

IT IS OUR JOB TO BUILD OUR OWN STATE

the killing of Bosniaks in Eastern Bosnia in the territory of the Srebrenica municipality from 1992 until 1995 includes a ceremony of laying flowers by that monument. So there, it is a memorial to peace, because peace was killed here. It is not a memorial

BUT THE POLICIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ARE NOT PROMISING WHEN IT COMES TO BUILDING A STRONG STATE.

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: That is not the job of the international community. It is our job to

build our own state. If someone can help, we should use that; if someone does not want to help, avoid them.

IT'S BEEN 25 YEARS. WHEN YOU CLOSE YOUR EYES, WHERE ARE WE? DID YOU THINK THAT THINGS WOULD BE DIFFERENT 25 YEARS LATER??

EMIR SULJAGIĆ: This is not that different from what I thought was possible. I did not think that certain things would be this bad, but I did not think that some other things would be so good. With all the complaints, we have never recorded or examined something that happened to us as well as we did the genocide in Srebrenica. And we continue to research it. Let's be clear: the genocide against Muslims in WWII was taboo until 1990s. Talking about crimes against Muslims in Eastern Bosnia

first time. Shortcomings notwithstanding, I believe that the total number of years of prison sentences delivered in relation to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniaks is more than the prison sentences of all the war criminals sentenced for the Holocaust in Europe.

There are many things that we did well. Whether it was reflex or the right individual at the right place, or guided by inertia or institutionally - that is irrelevant. I never thought that we would be in a situation where a prime minister in one part of the country refuses to answer the question regarding provision of money for relocations of mass graves and commissioning prisoner transport. Oblivion is a most natural human feature. But let's not forget that until 20 years ago we had no physical evidence to show that

WITH ALL THE COMPLAINTS, WE HAVE NEVER RECORDED OR EXAMINED SOMETHING THAT HAPPENED TO US AS WELL AS WE DID THE GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA. AND WE CONTINUE TO RESEARCH IT

committed by joint Chetnik-partisan units was something that prominent Bosniak revolutionaries, communists and Resistance fighters, such as Pašaga Mandžić, paid very dearly. So, this is the first time that have our own memory of what happened to us and that we can construct our own remembrance of what happened to us. The very

anything happened. Until the year 2000 it was a he said, she said situation... Let's not forget that this was the first time that people taped some other people giving orders. Taped them! Documentation at the level of radio-frequency.

How much we built on that – that is a separate issue. But it is still not too late.









I Husejnović Husejnović Ibro I Husejnović Idriz I Husejnović Ismet I Husejnović Ismet I Husejnović Ismet I Husejnović Ibro I Husejnović Kadrija I Husejnović Kemal I Husejnović Kiram I Husejnović Mehmed I Husejnović Mehmedalija I Husejnović Meho I Husejnović Mešan I Husejnović Midhat I Husejnović Mujo I Husejnović Munib I Husejnović Nedžad I Husejnović Nermin I Husejnović Nusret I Husejnović Omer I Husejnović Osman I Husejnović Ramiz I Husejnović Ramo I Husejnović Redžep I Husejnović Rizo I Husejnović Sabit I Husejnović Sadik I Husejnović Sead I Husejnović Seid I Husejnović Sejdin I Husejnović Selmo I Husejnović Senahid I Husejnović Velid I Husić Abdurahman I Husić Abdel I Husić Adem I Husić Adil I Husić Almo I Husić Almo I Husić Azem I Husić Bahrija I Husić Bahrij

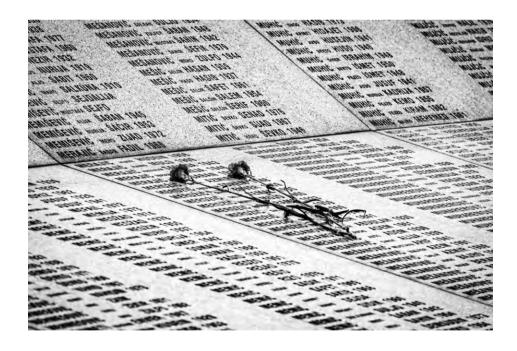












A LANDSCAPE

WE WALK SAD AND IN LOVE,

HAND IN HAND, WITH NO SHAME.

THINKING OF PLACES FAR AWAY,

AROUND US BURNT DEBRIS AND HILLS BARE.

TIRED FROM THE WAR, WE DREAMT

OF MY LITTLE BOAT AND A HOUSE BY THE SEA,

OF SWIMS IN THE EARLY MORNING,

LIKE WHITE SWANS IN THE FEVER OF THE SEA.

I STOOD WITH TIRED FEET,

AS IF CALLING OUT SOMETHING IMPORTANT,

THE MOON DREAMT ABOVE US,

THERE WAS ANOTHER EVENT.

BLOOD-SOAKED DAYS — CALLING FOR MY VERSES,

LIKE THE LAST ACT OF THEATRE FILTHY AND STAINED...

WE KEPT STARING IN SILENCE, WORDLESS

AT OUR DREAMS, TO FANTASIES SURRENDERED.

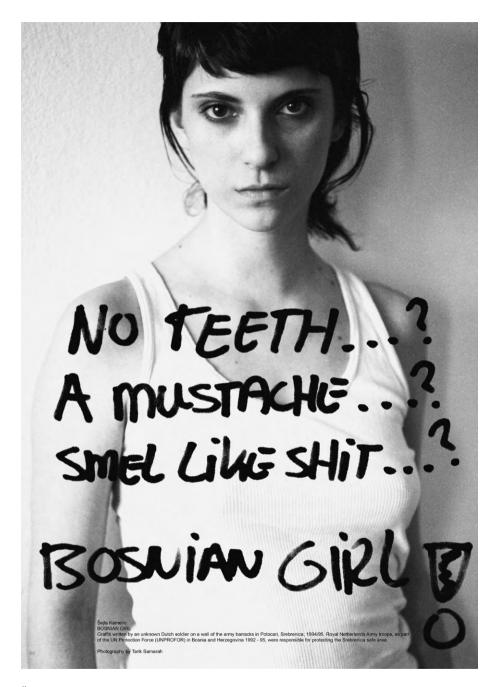
NIHAD ĆATIĆ



Muharem I Ibrahimović Muharem I Ibrahimović Mujo I Ibrahimović Mustafa I Ibrahimović Muška I Ibrahimović Nazif I Ibrahimović Omer I Ibrahimović Osman I Ibrahimović Osman I Ibrahimović Ramo I Ibr



Ibrahimović Senad I Ibrahimović Senad I Ibrahimović Senahid I Ibrahimović Smail I Ibrahimović Smajl I Ibrahimović Smajl I Ibrahimović Smajl I Ibrahimović Suljo I Ibrahimović Suljo I Ibrahimović Šaban I Ibrahimović Zahid I Ibra



Šejla Kamerić: Bosnian Girl, 2003 / Photo by: Tarik Samarah

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ ARTIST

ART AS A CORRECTIVE OF THE SOCIETY

INTERVIEW BY:

NIHAD KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ

YOU WITNESSED THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO AND THAT WAS WHEN YOU ACTUALLY
STARTED TO WORK. DID THE CIRCUMSTANCES GUIDE YOU TOWARDS ART? ARE YOU
ONE OF THOSE WHO WERE GUIDED BY THE
SITUATION, OR ART HAD BEEN YOUR INTEREST BEFORE THE WAR, SOMETHING YOU
WANTED TO DO SINCE YOU WERE A CHILD?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: I was 16 when the war started and I was in art school. I thought that art was the most important thing in the world, I wanted to study photography in Prague and I wanted my first solo exhibit to be held at the beautiful gallery of the Olympic Museum.

The beginning of the siege of Sarajevo was a shock to me. The drama and the tragedy were instantaneous. I was at Marijin Dvor when snipers located at the Holiday Inn hotel started shooting at peaceful protesters.

The Olympic Museum was one of the first

buildings to be set no fire. My father tried to console me by telling me that I should not cry for buildings, that I should only cry for people and that we were happy to be alive. That is when I decided that I would never cry for unfulfilled dreams.

War is an unimaginably horrific experience, which makes you understand what absolute uncertainty means. Every single day of the war was pure fear. Death was everywhere: I saw dead bodies in the street, my friends were killed, my neighbours, my loved ones... A mortar shell hit the roof of our house and killed my uncle Ismet Rizvić, a famous Bosnian painter and my role-model. A month later my favourite uncle Mustafa Seferović was killed, hit in the head by a sniper round at the frontline defending the city. A month after that, not far from our house, a piece of shrapnel killed my father. The pain was indescribable. It was only the beginning of the war, I was just

short of 17 and I felt like an old woman. There was nothing but the bare lives of us who remained. I was disgusted by my naiveté and arrogance which made me think that art was important.

The only important thing was life itself and I learned how to survive.

Any attempt to find comfort in other things failed; I was frightened, there was no electricity to shed light on my desk and my books, I was hungry and cold. I had the need to create, but it was impossible. Those moments of despair and confrontation with the basic necessities for moving on are the root of my piece 'Basic' (2001).

During the war, every trip outside the house was a gamble with death. As I walked past the place where my father was killed, I imagined the choreography of constant survival. In order to survive, we have to move,

YOU ARE AN ARTIST WHOSE WORK FOCU-SES ON THEMES RELATED TO THOSE EX-PERIENCE. WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF 11 JULY 1995 IN YOUR ARTISTIC AND HUMAN GROWTH?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: For me, the fall of Srebrenica was one of the most important moments during the war. I felt the same helplessness I had felt when my loved ones died. Those moment of helplessness and hopelessness are the thing that scars you most profoundly.

SOME BELIEVE THAT ARTISTS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA DEAL EXCESSIVELY WITH THE WAR, THAT THEY ARE TRAPPED IN THE PAST. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THIS, AND IS THIS THEME REALLY DOMINANT IN YOUR AREA OF WORK?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: The brutality of war makes you think that nothing existed be-

ART CAN AND SHOULD BE OF ASSISTANCE IN PRESENTING DIFFERENT SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE AND ARCHIVAL MATERIALS ABOUT THE WAR IN SIMPLE TERMS AND TO THE WIDEST AUDIENCES

we have to work, to create; art moves us and it is the most important thing. That is what guided me. Fifteen years after the war, I recreated this choreography of survival in my film '1395 Days without Red'.

fore the war and nothing can exist after it. Hopelessness is the first thing you have to overcome. War is an indelible experience that changes you for good. The experience of surviving the war is a determinant.

But our lives are never just war. In art, just like in life, themes overlap all the time. For as long as we deal with ourselves and our surroundings sincerely, it is good.

Once there are no wars, there will be no need for artists to deal with them.

says by Mirko Kovač. I kept repeating someone else's words hoping that happiness would come once I have accepted the everyday gloom of war.

Only much later, while living in Berlin and thinking about the past of that city, I

MY FATHER TRIED TO CONSOLE ME BY TELLING ME
THAT I SHOULD NOT CRY FOR BUILDINGS, THAT I
SHOULD ONLY CRY FOR PEOPLE AND THAT WE WERE
HAPPY TO BE ALIVE. THAT IS WHEN I DECIDED THAT
I WOULD NEVER CRY FOR UNFULFILLED DREAMS

IN YOUR OWN WORDS, YOUR WORK IS CO-LOURED BY THE NEED TO SEARCH THROUGH YOUR OWN MEMORIES. WHY IS MEMORY SO IMPORTANT?

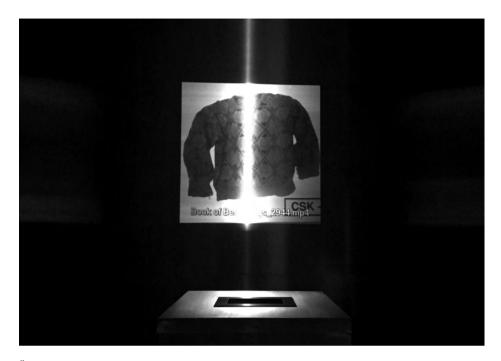
ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: We learn from memories, and the ability to bring them forth ennobles us. The presence of memories and emotions builds our empathy. Whether good or bad, the fact that we can bring memories back is the proof of our progress.

I used the quote "Happiness is when you feel that what appeared gloomy has become the only meaning of life' as the starting point for the film 'Gluck' ('Happiness' 2009). I first read this anonymous quote in 1993, in *Nebeski zaručnici* (Heavenly Fiancés), a collection of es-

understood the meaning of those words. The past cannot be changed, but our memories of it can. It is our good fortune that we have them.

DOING WHAT YOU DO, CAN YOU IDENTIFY THE OUTLINES OF SOMETHING THAT CAN BE DESCRIBED AS THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE OF THIS REGION? WHAT WOULD BE, IN YOUR OPINION, THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAY FOR US AS A SOCIETY TO DEAL WITH THIS THEME?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: Politics based on the narrative of war manipulates individual memories, institutions of government and their representatives are constantly battling memories. That is the strategy of oblivion, that arts and science constantly resist.



Šejla Kamerić: Ab uno disce omnes, Wellcome Collection, London, 2015



Šejla Kamerić: 1395 Days without Red, 2011

Our position is even harder because not only do we have to resist local policies and the trash culture of amnesia, but also the global processes of the strategy of oblivion that has been with us for quite a while.

MANY MAY HAVE FORGOTTEN, BUT YOUR PIECE 'BOSNIAN GIRL' WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WORKS OF ART DEALING WITH SREBRENICA. CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BIH AT THE TIME, SPECIFICALLY IN SARAJEVO, WHEN IT COMES TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS SREBRENICA? WHAT WERE THE REACTIONS TO YOUR WORK? WHAT IS THE PERCEPTION OF THIS PIECE TODAY AND DO YOU THINK (AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR YOU) THAT WHATEVER YOU HAVE DONE AND WILL DO, YOU MAY EASILY BE REMEMBERED PRIMARILY FOR THE 'BOSNIAN GIRL'?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: In 2003, when 'Bosnian Girl' was produced, the genocide in Srebrenica had not yet received proper legal validation, and the organised ceremony of paying respect to the funeral procession was almost non-existent. The survivors and the victims' families were exposed to different kinds of discrimination, left alone to fight for justice and remembrance.

The collective trauma of war combined with the horrible policies applied in BiH advocated a near-disregard for the genocide. I was horrified by the fact that this 'joke' from the graffiti by a UN solider was also the 'joke' that could be heard in

the streets, in different layers of society.

When 'Bosnian Girl' was produced and when a campaign that Tarik Samarah and I organised was launched on 11 July 2003, many people in Sarajevo reacted negatively. There was a question as to why we had decided to present 'that kind' of work at that time. Some colleagues told us that we were boring or taking things too far, and that a piece like 'Bosnian Girl' would interest no one. Today, 17 years later, the narrative has changed. I am proud to see that 'Bosnian Girl' has a cult-status, but also to see that it had acquired a new meaning over time and thus a new level of relevance and power.

It is a piece coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but dealing with the universal theme of prejudice and animosity.

'Bosnian Girl' is not just me, she is every girl, every woman... anyone whose rights have been denied. 'Bosnian Girl' is saying #MeToo.

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT FOR WHAT ARTISTS PRODUCE TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE PEO-PLE WHO ARE NOT DEDICATED ART CON-SUMERS?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: we learn from it, we escape to it... It should be for everyone. To consume art, we need to be curious enough. Communication must be in both directions. There is nothing wrong with not understanding, nor when something

makes us ask questions. What matters is openness, a desire to learn and to gain new and different experiences.

The beauty of art is in the freedom of communication it provides.

I HAVE A FEELING THAT IT IS EVEN RIS-KIER TO DEAL WITH THOSE THEMES TODAY. JASMILA'S EXPERIENCE IS AN EXAMPLE OF THAT. DO YOU THINK IT WILL NOT BE MI-SINTERPRETED? DO YOU THINK THAT SEN-SITIVITY, AND OFTEN MISUNDERSTANDING

I THINK WE SHOULD ALL BE FEARFUL OF THE GENERAL LACK OF EDUCATION AND THE CULTURE OF OBLIVION

SPEAKING ABOUT 'BOSNIAN GIRL', WHILE WORKING ON IT, DID YOU FEAR ANY REAC-TIONS, PARTICULARLY FROM THOSE WHO HAD SURVIVED GENOCIDE?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: I made that piece guided by the need to speak about misogyny, prejudice, chauvinism, hatred, ignorance and aw world where a woman's body is used like territory.

Even if I did feel nervous about reactions to 'Bosnian Girl'. I do not remember it at all. What I do remember vividly is when I saw on TV images of women, mothers, sisters and daughters from Srebrenica associations protesting in front of the office of the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende in Den Haag on 4 June 2007, carrying the 'Bosnian Girl' posters.

That is the greatest compliment to my work. Their understanding and acceptance were proof of success of 'Bosnian Girl'.

OF ARTISTIC PROCESSES MAY LEAD TO A SITUATION WHEN ARTISTS WOULD BECO-ME MORE AND MORE FEARFUL OF DEALING WITH SUCH THEMES?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: I do not believe that any fear of misunderstanding the artistic process may lead to the themes of war and genocide being side-lined.

I think we should all be fearful of the general lack of education and the culture of oblivion.

Disastrous education policy and erroneous cultural polices over the past 25 years have led to the fact that we have generations born after the war, with inherited trauma, and at the same time not knowing where the trauma is coming from. They do not know the scientifically proven historical facts. They live in a manipulated society. Through education, the media and popular culture they are served confusion and kitsch which camouflage hatred and nationalism.

Artists are usually stubborn creatures and if they set their minds on something, they usually do it.

YOUR PIECE 'AB UNO DISCE OMNES' BRINGS TOGETHER SCIENCE AND ART, SPECIFICALLY FORENSICS AND FORENSIC MEDICINE. YOU GENERATED PRESSURE THROUGH YOUR WORK PROCESS AND EVEN SUCCEEDED IN ENSURING THAT LISTS OF MISSING PERSONS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ARE PUBLISHED; A LIST OF MASS GRAVES WAS PRESENTED, A LIST OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS... CAN YOU SHARE THAT EXPERIENCE WITH US, FROM IDEAS TO PRODUCTS, YOUR EXPECTATIONS AND THE EVENTUAL RESULT OF THE PROCESS? WHAT WAS THE PERCEPTION OF THIS PIECE?

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: The work 'Ab uno disce omnes' is based on an integral role that forensic medicine has had in the contem-

visible role of science and how forensic science advanced thanks to the BiH tragedy.

When I started my research, I was shocked by the lack of documents and archives in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by manipulation within consistent interpretation of data gathered by numerous institutions, associations and individuals. The fact that an officially verified list of missing persons in BiH was not just a political stumbling block, but also a breach of one's right of access to information, which is undoubtedly a major obstacle to the process of building a healthy society.

While working on 'Ab uno disce omnes' I became aware of the fact that only through an art project I had the freedom to present to the general public all the scientific evidence about the tragedy of war, with no censorship.

ONCE THERE ARE NO WARS, THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR ARTISTS TO DEAL WITH THEM

porary BiH society after the war. The process of locating and identifying victims of the war in BiH was crucial for establishing scientifically verified truth about what happened during the war, for establishing justice, i.e., for greater rule of law and promotion and protection of right in BiH. I have always been interested in this not always

I set a challenge for myself and for others – should we be able to collect sufficient evidence, information, 'cells or DNA' samples of the war itself, could we at some point interpret the human experience of war in its very essence?

This possibility engendered 'Ab uno disce omnes'.

I worked with a team of young researchers who did not have their own experience of war, so their contribution was also in identifying systems that include no priority assignment of data.

It was important for me to follow my own impulses as well as theirs, and thus interweave some threads of memory and inspiration that would help us navigate the massive amounts of data.

We collected a huge archive of photographs, satellite images, video recordings, legal documents, forensic reports, testimonies, press reports...

The entire process was video-recorded, and short video clips became summaries or rather the output of this huge archive.

The result of this process was a multimedia installation and an open-access database entitled 'Ab uno disce omnes'.

The multimedia installation comprises a large morgue cooler in operation, i.e., actually cooling, housing the server for the database. Visitors enter the cooler individually. The server runs video materials, randomly selecting from more than 32000 video clips, coming up to some 90 hours of video material. The videos are screened on the interior metal wall of the cooler, running a continuous stream of information mapping out and coming back together, giving the viewer a unique experience of the archive.

We thus ensured that the database stored on the server is not just an ar-

THE PRESENCE OF MEMORIES AND EMOTIONS BUILDS OUR EMPATHY

We established files for individual and family cases and for the very first time we established family trees that show the extent of suffering of entire families. We generated maps that indicate the locations of mass graves and concentration camps.

chive but also a living memorial with a complex organism that constantly maps and links information internally.

'Ab uno disce omnes' functions as a memorial made not out of stone, but out of data. The 'Ab uno disce omnes' archive is also a searchable open-access database that is free for anyone to access and continue building it.

The project 'Ab uno disce omnes' ('From one, learn all') has been commissioned by the Wellcome Collection in London and it has been shown there. It is my desire that this artistic/scientific project be

ŠEJLA KAMERIĆ: Despite the irrefutable forensic evidence that genocide did happen, and despite numerous judgements by international and national courts, the denial of genocide in Srebrenica continues. Today, 25 years after the war in BiH and 25 years after the fall of Srebrenica, it is important to start a new chapter, with a different way of dealing with the past.

OUR POSITION IS EVEN HARDER BECAUSE NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE TO RESIST LOCAL POLICIES AND THE TRASH CULTURE OF AMNESIA, BUT ALSO THE GLOBAL PROCESSES OF THE STRATEGY OF OBLIVION THAT HAS BEEN WITH US FOR QUITE A WHILE

permanently housed at the Srebrenica Memorial Centre and remain available as an arts-and-education platform for youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE PLACE FOR SREBRENICA IN ART? HOW HAVE WE DEALT WITH IT AND DO YOU HAVE AN IDEA ABOUT WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE THEME OF SREBRENICA AND THE GENOCIDE IN RELATION TO THE FUTURE OF OUR SOCIETY AS WELL AS GLOBALLY? OR RATHER, IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE ROLE OF ART IN RELATION TO THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE?

Scientific evidence must be the starting point for accepting the past and building a healthier future. Our responsibility towards generations to come is in leaving behind a record of the past based on undeniable scientific facts: facts that do speak of suffering, but also of the complexity of the process of establishing the truth. The role of art in this is not merely commemorative. Art can and should be of assistance in presenting different scientific evidence and archival materials about the war in simple terms and to the widest audiences.



Alija I Kostjerevac Ibrahim I Košpić Emir I Košpić Enis I Košpić Mehmedalija I Košpić Mensur I Košpić Rasim I Košpić Senaid I Kotorić Abdulah I Kotorić Elvir I Kotorić Mehmed I Kovačević Admir I Kovačević Meho I Kovačević Osman I Kozić Amir I Kozić Nedžad I Krajinović Nezir I Krdžić Abaz I Krdžić Adem I Krdžić Atif I Krdžić Azem I Krdžić Bajro I Krdžić Behrudin I Krdžić Behto I Krdžić Benjamin I Krdžić Dahmo I Krdžić Daut I Krdžić Ejub I Krdžić Enver I Krdžić Hamdija I Krdžić Husein I Krdžić Ibro I Krdžić Junuz I Krdžić Mahmut I Krdžić Mehmed I Krdžić Mevludin I Krdžić Mubedin I Krdžić Munib I Krdžić Nazif I Krdžić Nazif I Krdžić Nura I Krdžić Nurija I Krdžić Omer I Krdžić Omer I Krdžić Ramo I Krdžić Rasim I Krdžić Rešad I Krdžić Rifet I Krdžić Sabit I Krdžić Sadik I Krdžić Salih I Krdžić Sejad I Krdžić Senahid I Krdžić Vehbija I Krdžić Zaim I Krdžić Zijamen I Kremić Adil I Kremić Alaga I Kremić Asim I Kremić



Fadil I Kremić Ibrišim I Kremić Mehmedalija I Kremić Mujo I Kremić Ramo I Kremić Rizvo I Krilić Nazif I Krkić Muhamed I Krkić Mujo I Krlić Ibro I Krlić Munib I Krlić Nedžad I Krlić Safet I Krlić Ševal I Krndić Mensur I Kuduzović Hamdija I Kuduzović Hasan I Kulić Hasib I Kulovac Atif I Kulovac Hasan I Kuljančić Avdo I Kuljančić Fikret I Kuljančić Habib I Kuljančić Salko I Kuljančić Šaban I Kuljančić Šaban I Kumrić Ibrahim I Kunić Asim I Kunić Asmir I Kunić Fahrudin I Kunić Fikret I Kunić Kasim I Kunić Mehemed I Kunić Rifet I Kunić Sulejman I Kurbašić Husein I Kurjak Bajro I Kurtalić Alija I Kurtić Behaija I Kurtić Ramo I Kurtić Rifet I Kurtić Sadik I Kurtić Vahid I Kurtić Zuhrijet I Kustura Refik I Latifović Almir I Latifović Izet I Lejlić Fikret I Lelović Avdo I Lemeš Ahmo I Lemeš Alija I Lemeš Azem I Lemeš Muriz I Lemeš Mulja I Lemeš Nihad I Lemeš Senahid I Lemeš Zuhdija I Lenjinac Hazim I





Potočari, 25 September 2020





Sadik I Mahmutović Sead I Mahmutović Vahid I Mahmutović Zejnil I Majstorović Hasan I Majstorović Huso I Majstorović Sead I Majstorović Sulejman I Malagić Admir I Malagić Dahmo I Malagić Ekrem I Malagić Elvir I Malagić Enez I Malagić Habib I Malagić Hadžo I Malagić Hajrudin I Malagić Hajrudin I Malagić Hajrudin I Malagić Halid I Malagić Hamed I Malagić Haris I Malagić Ibrahim I Malagić Izudin I Malagić Mehmed I Malagić Mehmed I Malagić Meho I Malagić Mevludin I Malagić Muhamed I Malagić Mujo I Malagić Namir I Malagić Nedžad I Malagić Nezir I Malagić Nurif I Malagić Nurija I Malagić Nurija I Malagić Nurset I Malagić Ohran I Malagić Omer I Malagić Redžo I Malagić Salko I Malagić Samir I Malagić Selim I Malagić Šaban I Malagić Ševal I Malagić Vahidin I Malatić Elvedin I Malatić Elvir I Malagić Enver I Malatić Husein I Malatić Salko I Malatić Smail I Malić Alija I Malić Alija I Malić Avdija I Malić Avdo I Malić Enver I Malić



Esad I Malić Fadil I Malić Fadil I Malić Fazlija I Malić Fehim I Malić Fuad I Malić Hakija I Malić Hamdija I Malić Hamed I Malić Ibiš I Malić Ibrahim I Malić Ibrahim I Malić Izet I Malić Jakub I Malić Kemal I Malić Mehemed I Malić Meho I Malić Mujo I Malić Nezir I Malić Nurdin I Malić Nurif I Malić Omer I Malić Ragib I Malić Ramiz I Malić Senad I Malić Suad I Malić Šaban I Malić Šaćir I Malić Šahbaz I Malić Šerif I Malić Teufik I Malić Zahid I Malić Zuhdo I Malkić Bajro I Malkić Behaija I Malkić Behudin I Malkić Enver I Malkić Fadil I Malkić Hajrudin I Malkić Hali I Malkić Halimo I Malkić Ibrahim I Malkić Ibro I Malkić Mevludin I Malkić Mevludin I Malkić Mujo I Malkić Omer I Malkić Rašid I Malkić Rešid I Malkić Rašid I Malkić Sabrija I Malkić Sajmir I Malović Hajrudin I Malović Rifet I Maluhija Emir I Maljišević Alija I Maljišević Mehmed I Maljišević Ragib I Maljišević Salko I Mandžić Ahmet I Mandžić Bekir I Mandžić Džemal I Mandžić Emir I Mandžić Emir



I Mandžić Esad I Mandžić Fikret I Mandžić Hedib I Mandžić Hilmo I Mandžić Hisam I Mandžić Ibrahim I Mandžić Idriz I Mandžić Izet I Mandžić Jakub I Mandžić Jusuf I Mandžić Latif I Mandžić Mehmedalija I Mandžić Mehmedalija I Mandžić Nedim I Mandžić Nezir I Mandžić Nurija I Mandžić Ramo I Mandžić Salih I Mandžić Samir I Mandžić Sulejman I Marković Marko I Mašić Admir I Mašić Azem I Mašić Džemal I Mašić Dževad I Mašić Dževad I Mašić Fahir I Mašić Fehim I Mašić Hajro I Mašić Hakija I Mašić Hasan I Mašić Hasan I Mašić Himzo I Mašić Ibrahim I Mašić Idriz I Mašić Muharem I Mašić Mujo I Mašić Mujo I Mašić Nedžad I Mašić Ohran I Mašić Ramo I Mašić Redžo I Mašić Sadem I Mašić Sadija I Mašić Sadil I Mašić



















Idriz I Mehmedović Ismet I Mehmedović Ismet I Mehmedović Izet I Mehmedović Jakub I Mehmedović Kadrija I Mehmedović Karo I Mehmedović Lutvo I Mehmedović Mali I Mehmedović Mehmed I Mehmedović Meho I Mehmedović Mehmedovi



I Mehmedović Mustafa I Mehmedović Mustafa I Mehmedović Mustafa I Mehmedović Mušan I Mehmedović Nazim I Mehmedović Nezib I Mehmedović Nezib I Mehmedović Nusrija I Mehmedović Nusret I Mehmedović Omer I Mehmedović Omer I Mehmedović Omer I Mehmedović Osman I Mehmedović Ramiz I Mehme



Saib I Mehmedović Sakib I Mehmedović Sakib I Mehmedović Salčin I Mehmedović Salčin I Mehmedović Salih I Mehm



Enver I Meholjić Husein I Meholjić Sakib I Mehović Bekim I Mejremić Halil I Mekanić Adem I Mekanić Bekir I Mekanić Ćamil I Mekanić Fadil I Mekanić Hamil I Mekanić Ibrahim I Mekanić Ibrahim I Mekanić Jakub I Mekanić Junuz I Mekanić Kadro I Mekanić Muhamed I Mekanić Mustafa I Mekanić Naser I Mekanić Salim I Mekanić Šećan I Memić Abdulah I Memić Abdurahman I Memić Adem I Memić Adem I Memić Adil I Memić Admir I Memić Ahmed I Memić Ahmet I Memić Alija I Memić Avdija I Memić Bajro I Memić Bego I Memić Bekir I Memić Beriz I Memić Edin I Memić Emin I Memić Hajrudin I Memić Halil I Memić Hasan I Memić Nedžad I Memić Nedžib I Memić Nurija I Memić Osman I Memić Osman I Memić Cosman I Memić Redžo I Memić









Merdžić Refik I Merdžić Reuf I Merdžić Safet I Merdžić Salih I Mešanović Abdulah I Mešanović Adem I Mešanović Adem I Mešanović Alija I Mešanović Arif I Mešanović Azem I Mešanović Azem I Mešanović Azem I Mešanović Bajro I Mešanović Behadil I Mešanović Bekir I Mešanović Camil I Mešanović Fadil I Mešanović Hajro I Mešanović Mesanović Mešanović M









Muhić Hasib I Muhić Hidajet I Muhić Husejin I Muhić Huso I Muhić Ibrahim I Muhić Ismet I Muhić Ismet I Muhić Jusuf I Muhić Kadrija I Muhić Kemo I Muhić Kiram I Muhić Mehemed I Muhić Mehmed I Muhić Redžo I Muhić Resko I Muhić Rešid I Muhić Sabahudin I Muhić Sado I Muhić Sead I Muhić Semir I Muhić Semir I Muhić Sumbul I Muhić Šabah I Muhić Šefik I Muhić Šemso I Muhić Šukrija I Mujanović Adem I Mujanović Almin I Mujanović Amir I Mujanović Asim I Mujanović Bajro I Mujanović Derviš I Mujanović Džemal I Mujanović Hasib I Mujanović Mensudin I Mujanović Sabrija I Mujanović Salkan I Mujanović Selim I Mujanović Selma I Mujanović Sumbul I





HOMELAND AT THE END OF THE WORLD

FIELDS OF DEATH ALL AROUND.

BURNT HOUSES, BLOOD AND SNOW IN THE STREETS.

BIRDS SCATTERED IN THE FOREST,

AND HOMELAND AT THE END OF THE WORLD.

THE TASTE OF GUNPOWDER IN THE MOUTH.

THE SMELL OF BURNT WOOD IN THE NOSE.

THE BLAST OF CANNONS IN THE NIGHT,

AND HOMELAND IN THE GRIP OF WARLORDS.

YOUR VOICE IN MY EARS,
YOUR TOUCH IN MY DREAMS.
YOUR LIFE IN MY THOUGHTS,
AND HOMELAND IN THE BLINK OF AN EYE IN TEARS.

CRUEL WINTER AT THE DOOR.

EMPTY TABLES IN THE KITCHENS.

THE FLASH OF ROCKETS AT THE BORDERS,

AND HOMELAND IN THE HEARTS OF WARRIORS.

HERE, FREEDOM IS RELATIVE.

THEY HAVE BEEN KILLING US FOR YEARS.

FROZEN FINGERS ON THE TRIGGERS,

AND HOMELAND IN THE SOULS OF DEFENDERS.

NIHAD ĆATIĆ



I Mujić Himzo I Mujić Himzo I Mujić Himzo I Mujić Husein I Mujić Huso I Mujić Ibrahim I Mujić Ibrahim I Mujić Ibro I Mujić Izet I Mujić Jakub I Mujić Junuz I Mujić Jusuf I Mujić Jusuf I Mujić Kasim I Mujić Kiram I Mujić Malčo I Mujić Manjo I Mujić Mehan I Mujić Mehemed I Mujić Mehmed I Mujić Mešan I Mujić Mešan I Mujić Mevild I Mujić Miralem I Mujić Miralem I Mujić Mirsad I Mujić Mirsad I Mujić Mumarer I Mujić Muhamed I Mujić Nedžad I Mujić Nedžib I Mujić Nezir I Mujić Nihad I Mujić Nufik I Mujić Nusret I Mujić Omer I Mujić Ramiz I Mujić Redžep I Mujić Redže I Mujić Refik I Mujić Rešad I



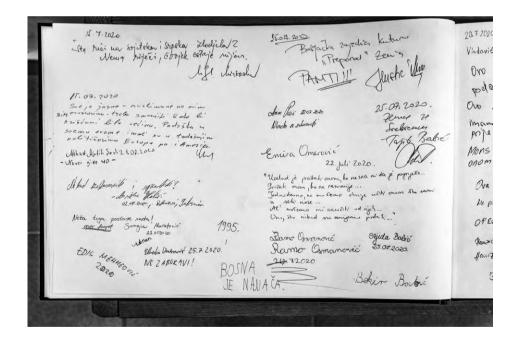
Mujić Rešad I Mujić Rešo I Mujić Reuf I Mujić Rifet I Mujić Rizvan I Mujić Rizvo I Mujić Sabit I Mujić Sadik I Mujić Sadi I Mujić Sakib I Mujić Salčin I Mujić Salim I Mujić Salim I Mujić Samir I Mujić Semir I Mujić Zemid I Muj



The former Battery Factory, used as the UN DutchBat HQ, hosts a memorial room and a documentation centre, parts of the Memorial Centre



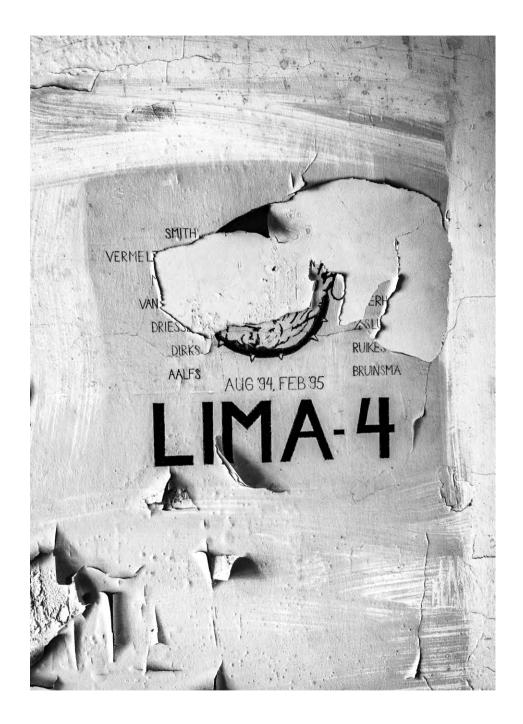






Graffiti by a DutchBat soldier









DESCENDANTS OF GENOCIDE VICTIMS WILL TESTIFY TO GENOCIDE IN THEIR GENES

Interview by: Saida Mustajbegović

Until April 1992, Hariz Halilović (1970), a doctor of social anthropology, was a medicine student. Today, he is a professor at the Centre for Global Research at the RMIT University in Melbourne. Australia. He is also a visiting professor at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) as member of the research team of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Social Applied Research (CISAR) in Sarajevo. A note in his biography is always the fact that led by love, he left the peace demonstrations in Sarajevo in 1992 to visit his girlfriend in Prijedor and instead of the Srebrenica inferno he survived the Sušica camp in Prijedor. Professionally and privately, he is still living Srebrenica: on one hand, by studying and teaching about politically motivated violence, social memory, trans-local identities and performative practices, as well as forced migration, and on the other, going through the lists of victims again and again, looking for what was his life until April 1992, always re-experiencing the guilt and the shame because he survived, and they did not.

THERE WAS A LOT OF HUNGER IN SRE-BRENICA BETWEEN 1992 AND 1995. EMIR SULJAGIĆ WROTE ABOUT IT IN HIS BOOK *POSTCARDS FROM THE GRAVE*. HE WROTE ABOUT RUMOURS THAT ELDER-LY PEOPLE WERE DYING OF STARVATION, ABOUT THE DEATH OF A YOUNG MAN WITH A SACK OF FLOUR ON HIS BACK 'AS LARGE AS HIS LIFE', ABOUT GENERAL PHILIPPE MORILLON WHO WAS GIVEN A PIECE OF BREAD MADE FROM HAZEL SHRUB AND HE DECLARED IT 'GOOD FOR DIGESTION'... HOW VISIBLE IS WARTIME HUNGER IN THE CURRENT LIVES OF THOSE WHO WERE IN SREBRENICA 1992-1995?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: The Srebrenica genocide in July 1995 did, in a way, push aside so much of the suffering of the Bosniaks in the Drina valley, which had started in April 1992. Because faced with this most horrific, blood-drenched episode of killing, all the previous suffering, expulsions, escapes, temporary refuges of entire towns, villages and families, all the shelling, rocket attacks, air bombardments and all the victims somehow lost their meaning and became less horrific. However, it is important to speak about all the suffering and the crimes, but also of acts of heroism that had happened before the fall and before the UN betrayal of Srebrenica. It is important in order to complete and contextualise the historical narrative of Srebrenica, the narrative about direct aggression by Serbia against Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this comprehensive and carefully designed military operation of suffocating the last enclave in this part of the Drina valley, starvation of the Bosniak population was an integral part of the military strategy.

Remembering hunger is part of the memory of all the survivors from Sre-

brenica and across the Drina valley, and of all those who found their last refuge in Srebrenica. You can sometimes hear people who survived the siege of Sarajevo or who lived in Tuzla, about how they would never touch rice and lentils again because they were forced to eat this monotonous food during the war - you'd never hear that from someone from Srebrenica, since they had never seen those food items during the war. Instead, they would tell you about bread made from hazel flour, from the ear (the hard inside part) of corn cob, dried fruit skins and anything normally used as cattle feed, i.e., somewhat edible and digestible. Starvation, described in such detail by Hasan Nuhanović in his book Refuge, was also felt as a particular type of humiliation. Even with expulsion and encirclement, many felt shame because of their hunger and tried to hide it. Starvation continued to be taboo even after the war, because people found it hard to speak about the humiliation of it.

The theme of starvation as well as methods of preparing food out of nothing in the besieged town of Srebrenica was also examined in a doctoral thesis by Marketa Slavkova. Marketa, or Maya, as she was known in Srebrenica, of Czech descent, was my student in Melbourne and she visited Srebrenica in 2007, on a study visit from Australia. Since 2007, I have been bringing my students regularly to study visits and summer schools

in Bosnia. This notable research will remain an important testimony about a particular aspect of aggression and genocide that should be presented.

In addition to the starvation recorded in stories and research papers, like the work by Dr Marketa Slavkova, there is also embodied memory which is, just like any other trauma, transgenerational, even

act scientific methods. Thanks to genes, i.e., DNA of the survivors, the identity of most of the victims of genocide has been established, and survivors and their ancestors will continue to carry in their own genes the fragments of identity and thus the fragments of trauma of those whom they had lost in Srebrenica. For genocide is a transgenerational crime that does not end with the act of killing.

THE GENES OF DESCENDANTS OF THE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE WILL TESTIFY ABOUT GENOCIDE AGAINST THEIR RELATIVES AND ANCESTORS. THIS IS NO SCIENCE FICTION

epigenetic. Namely, in 2018 scientist discovered traces of starvation in the genes of 2nd or 3rd generation Dutch men and women whose parents or grandparents had survived hunger during World War II. Therefore, the answer to your guestion remains open, because the wartime hunger of those who were in Srebrenica 1992-1995 will probably be remembered, in many ways, even by generations to come. The genes of descendants of the victims of genocide will testify about genocide against their relatives and ancestors. This is no science fiction. Thanks to biomedical technology, the Srebrenica genocide is the first genocide in history directly linked to the biological unit of identity, genes, or rather DNA - not on a symbolic level, but rather through exIN YOUR BOOK WRITING AFTER SREBREN-ICA, IN AN ESSAY OF THE SAME TITLE, DESCRIBING EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN JULY 1995 AND A BROTHER PARTING WITH HIS SISTER AND ENTRUSTING HER WITH HIS CHILDREN, YOU WROTE: 'MINA, IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO ME, PLEASE TAKE CARE OF MY CHILDREN...' THIS ONE SENTENCE ALSO PRESENTS THE ARCHETYPE OF TRANSGENERATIONAL SORROW AND WORRY WE ALSO HEAR IN BOSNIAK LYRICAL POETRY. HOW WAS THE TRAGEDY OF SREBRENICA REFLECTED ON THE WORK OF BOSNIAN AS WELL AS REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ARTISTS?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: Great tragedies are always great and hard, but also the most challenging art themes. The greatest chal-

lenge for artists is to deal with the topic of evil that killed any metaphor and became a separate notion on its own. Srebrenica has become synonymous with genocide, just like Omarska has become a symbol of suffering and torture of civilians. Art, particularly by local authors, is only now beginning to find its own language to speak about it and this process will continue. One of the questions I ask in my book is: How ethical is it, is there any point and is there any way to look for creative forms, for abstract words and symbols for that which makes us go silent and guestion the very existence of kindness, which makes us doubt the triumph of justice over injustice, of good over evil, of humanism over fascism? However, I believe that the very act of asking these questions is action, an intervention and confrontation with a theme that almost escapes theoretical or 'objective' analysis, or any quest for causal links, so that we do not fall into the trap of

brutality. From the vantage point of pure symbolism, the Srebrenica dead are living metaphors, not mere rhetoric aids in the absence of words. That is why Srebrenica as a theme cannot become outdated. it cannot vanish from our collective memory, because metaphors will live as long as human language, as will the potential of poetry, faith, and the utopian belief that we can be better people than we are or have been. To deal with the coffins of Srebrenica as real coffins and transcendental metaphors is to break the taboo of evil that continues to triumph in times when intentions to destroy fully or in part religious, ethnic, racial or national groups have become an integral part of military strategies and territorial conquest. Instead of the Bosnian and Bosniak taboo themes, my idea is for Srebrenica to become a place of ecumenical and humanist pilgrimage, which will always show the antithesis of peace, kindness and tolerance. As a real place and as

THE GREATEST CHALLENGE FOR ARTISTS IS TO DEAL WITH THE TOPIC OF EVIL THAT KILLED ANY METAPHOR AND BECAME A SEPARATE NOTION ON ITS OWN

accepting it as a rational option, or even a justification of such an option as a rational solution. Srebrenica has become a metaphor and a synonym for the Greater Serbia project which, just like Picasso's *Guernica*, presents evil in all its raw, monstruous

a metaphor, Srebrenica will continue to warn us, to remind us that 'God and man were killed' there, as stated by Drago Bojić, member of the Franciscan order and our contemporary.

different people who see you as a government representative, and then they lecture you on low pensions or broken benches in a local park, and the lonely ones take the opportunity to tell you their entire life story. Learning from that I imagined census

SREBRENICA WILL CONTINUE TO WARN US, TO REMIND US THAT 'GOD AND MAN WERE KILLED' THERE, AS STATED BY DRAGO BOJIĆ, MEMBER OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER AND OUR CONTEMPORARY

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: The last population census in BiH and also the first post-war one, conducted in 2013, was not an inventory of households and residents, but rather 'tallying the score' to confirm the factual situation on the ground where genocide, violence and crime had destroyed human lives and local communities. That is why I described the process as 'listing the dismissed' which is, in my opinion, another proof of genocide.

During my undergraduate and postgraduate studies in Australia, I worked twice as a census taker, or rather the census takers' team leader. Household and population census is conducted in Australia every five years, and the last one was in 2016, conducted entirely via the Internet. It is an interesting yet responsible job, I have to admit, because you come across

takers equipped with the latest instructions, transparent bags and official ID cards roaming around the destroyed villages of Podrinje, Posavina, Krajina, Herzegovina... Walking from one village to the next – but no villages. I have visited numerous (former) places like that during my own research. And I know that they are best identified in late autumn, before the snow, when the fruit trees go wild, when flowers and leaves drop and former front yards go bare. And when chimneys, broken and humiliated, appear between the crowns of what was once trees, and silence echoes from the broken and dishonoured homes.

The only thing census takers could record in those former places is the omnipresent absence of human life – for those who were once discarded can hardly be listed again. Instead of the 'discarded' ones, the

census should have listed all the trees growing from the debris that were once homes, take souvenir photos of front yards with someone's chairs still there, turned upside down, count the number of shell holes in nurseries, living rooms and bedrooms, note all the sorrow spread across these undug graves that were, just one census ago, happy dwellings where life could be summarised through birth rate, death rate, fertility rate and a host of other statistical categories.

Although discarded by numerous politicians and institutions in BiH, as well as the international actors dealing with this suffering country, those 1.6 million people in diaspora – those who survived camps, rapes, firing squads and expulsion from their homes – never stopped living in their homeland although the homeland has been destroyed. And they

Žepa was burned to the ground, partly killed and partly expelled in 1995, but over the past 25 years it has been reconstructed in St. Louis. The real old Zvornik and Kozluk can easily be found in Vienna, Prijedor in Linz, Banja Luka in Malmö and all across Sweden... And these are not the only places and forms of reconstruction of the destroyed Bosnian homelands.

Many of the 'ethnically cleansed' villages moved from the real to the virtual space, and old neighbours still see one another and chat online, even though there are ten thousand kilometres between them. That is where the 2013 census takers should have sought data about the destroyed villages across BiH. Valid facts about 'vanished places' can also be found in fiction such as the writing by Saša Stanišić about Višegrad, by Almir Kamber about Prijedor, by Elvira Mujčić about Srebren-

MANY OF THE 'ETHNICALLY CLEANSED' VILLAGES MOVED FROM THE REAL TO THE VIRTUAL SPACE

took those intimate homelands, those places of pain with them, and often managed to reconstruct them creatively with different coordinated and in different forms. You just need to know how to find them. Thus, for example, there is more of the 1991 Brčko in Melbourne, Australia, than there is at the district along the Sava.

ica, by Bekim Sejranović about Brčko, by Alen Mešković about Derventa, or monographs and memory collections by Alija Uzunović about Zvornik, Mustafa Kurtić about Žepa, Tarik Đođić about Prijedor... Homeland is the purest and most enduring source of inspiration, especially when this homeland has been stolen from you,

crushed and destroyed, and because of the emotions linked to all that homeland represents, images of homeland and stories about homeland will always be closer to fiction rather than factography. against Muslims in World War II by Vladimir Dedijer and Antun Miletić was only published in 1990, we can understand the scope and the importance of scholarly work related to the recent war and genocide in BiH.

GENOCIDE IS SUCH A COMPREHENSIVE AND RATIONALLY PLANNED CRIME THAT IT WOULD TAKE SEVERAL GENERATIONS FOR ALL THE IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF IT TO BE SCIENTIFICALLY EXAMINED AND DESCRIBED

AS A PERSON FROM SREBRENICA WHO SURVIVED THE INFERNO OF CAMPS IN PRIJEDOR, YOU WITNESSED URBICDE, CULTUROCIDE AND ELITOCIDE. THE INTELLECTUAL ELITE OF PRIJEDOR WAS TORTURED AND KILLED IN OMARSKA: PHYSICIANS, POETS, PROFESSORS. THEY WERE KILLED IN SREBRENICA TOO. WHY IS ELITOCIDE THE LEAST DISCUSSED AND STUDIED?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: There is some truth in that, unfortunately, but I don't think it is ignorance. Genocide is such a comprehensive and rationally planned crime that it would take several generations for all the important aspects of it to be scientifically examined and described. Still, I believe that a generation of scientists that I belong to has done quite a bit to establish the foundations for future work on this complex and important topic. In view of the fact that the first scholarly publication entitled *Genocide*

In addition to dozens of doctoral theses by scholars from BiH, including the one about elitocide by my colleague Dr Dennis Gratz, at least twice as many dissertations and papers have been researched and published by foreigners, from Finland to Australia, including my colleague Marketa mentioned earlier, who had no previous personal links to Bosnia. This growing oeuvre of scholarly work has been established as Bosnian Genocide Studies, studied at leading universities such as Yale, University of Columbia, Monash or RMIT. I am currently mentoring four doctoral students studying different aspects of genocide and consequences of this crime on the BiH society. To go back to your question: genocide did start with elitocide, with the killing of the most prominent, most valuable members of local communities, motivated by the intention to decapitate the community both symbolically and organisationally. Rape and all kinds of sexual abuse of women also served a similar purpose: to destroy the family and the very essence of collective identity of Bosniaks. Also, the killing of men and boys in July 1995 in Srebrenica (and across BiH before that) was aimed at destroying the reproductive power of a people. So, however horrific, genocide is a very rational plan, with implementation that included no unplanned action, without a clear purpose and aim. The consequences of this plan are clear and devastating, and did destroy irreparably numerous local communities across eastern Bosnia, Posavina, eastern Herzegovina, Bosanska Krajina... Elitocide and urbicide and genocide were committed in all those places - in a word: genocide.

guilt, the survivor's guilt. This feeling is almost always there as a reaction to the death of a loved one. Even the lucky ones who lose their parents to old age and natural death wonder if they could have been better to them. So, multiply that feeling by a few thousand and imagine the unanswered questions the survivors ask themselves in relation to their relatives, their friends and neighbours... To be an exception, i.e., to be alive - survivors don't feel it as an honour or a gift, or a particular ability compared to those who were killed. Every time I go to Potočari and when I read the names of my relatives, of my classmates, so many boys who were younger than me when they were killed, I am overcome by a

EVEN THE LUCKY ONES WHO LOSE THEIR PARENTS TO OLD AGE AND NATURAL DEATH WONDER IF THEY COULD HAVE BEEN BETTER TO THEM

IN YOUR BOOKS ABOUT SREBRENICA, BOTH YOU AND EMIR SULJAGIĆ WROTE ABOUT THE SENSE OF SHAME FOR HAVING SURVIVED. DO SURVIVORS TALK ABOUT THIS FEELING?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: Survivors mainly internalise this feeling, they bury it deep within them and find it hard to find the words to describe this sense of shame and

sense of shame. And I feel how much I miss all those people. Imagine having several thousand people with whom you shared relations, classrooms, playgrounds, beaches, cafés, everything you called home... just ripped away from your life. My whole world vanished. Tens of thousands of such worlds vanished from all those who survived and who visit their relatives at the Potočari Cemetery. This sense of shame for being

alive is something I feel when I meet the mothers of my friends and relatives who were killed, and when they tell me how I remind them of their sons, when they wish me all the best in life, when they of dignity that had been crushed. They have also become aware of the rights they have as citizens of the countries they settled and integrated into. Their political activism and lobbying ensured that most of the countries

WAR AND GENOCIDE CREATED THE CURRENT BIH DIASPORA

ask about my son and how much he has grown... All I can do is cry to heaven and back, because I know they have none of these things, and I too miss their dead sons and unborn grandsons.

How much does the Srebrenica diaspora influence the Srebrenica Narrative as well as the projection of truth, of facts about what actually happened there?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: War and genocide created the current BiH diaspora. This diaspora was created by forced migration. That is why our diaspora is closer to the Jewish one after the Holocaust rather than the guest worker ones, created earlier by movement from former Yugoslavia. We now have a large and well-integrated diaspora in numerous European countries as well as in North America and Australia. Many have lived there for more than a quarter of a century and there is already a generation of adults born in the diaspora. In diaspora, Bosnians rebuilt a sense

they live in have adopted resolutions about Srebrenica, 11 July has become a Remembrance Day in many of those countries, including Australia. Diaspora holds scientific conferences and exhibitions, and St. Louis also erected a monument dedicated to Srebrenica. This global narrative built and maintained by the BiH diaspora across the globe is an important integral part of post-genocidal experiences of the survivors.

IN HIS ESSAY 'THE DARK PRODUCT OF THE 20TH CENTURY', PUBLISHED IN 2007 IN THE **Novi pogledi** Journal, Dennis Gratz cited part of Hitler's 1939 SPEECH TO GERMAN GENERALS: 'AND IS ANYONE STILL MENTIONING THE EXTERMINATION OF ARMENIANS?'. HE SAID IT TWO DECADES AFTER THE GENOCIDE. WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE TODAY, WE ARE SEEING SOMETHING ELSE. WHAT HAS CHANGED?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: Not too much, unfortunately. Genocide as politically motivated

violence has proved to be a very successful strategy for achieving political goals. The fact that the so-called Republika Srpska which is, as an idea and as reality, inseparable from the crime of genocide - exists today as a legalized entity and confirms Hitler's idea that genocide pays off. When speaking about genocide, my students ask me if we learned anything from the Holocaust. I always tell them that not only good people learned something, evil ones did too. The camps, white ribbons, mass executions, expulsion, mass graves... perpetrators of the Bosnian genocide may have copied it all from a Genocide manual possibly authored by Hitler himself. The criminals did not even hide it. One of them, Goran Jelisić, a convicted war criminal, butcher from the Luka camp in Brčko, even referred to himself as Adolf, Serbia and the so-called Republika Srpska are full of little Adolf s who are proud of the genocide, because they managed to capitalise on it in every way. Sad but true.

THE PERIOD 1992-1995. AS A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGIST, WHAT TERMINOLOGY WOULD YOU LIKE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO IN RELATION TO PLACES WHERE NON-SERB POPULATION WAS EITHER EXPELLED OR KILLED?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: In addition to the adjudicated crimes of genocide related to mass executions of Bosniaks in the UN protected area of Srebrenica in July 1995, many other crimes in Prijedor, Višegrad, Foča, Zvornik, Sarajevo etc. have also been adjudicated. None of those adjudicated crimes were qualified as, for example, manslaughter or murder. These crimes were defined as crimes against humanity. It is a horrific crime; even the worst serial killers, who had killed their victims out of their sadistic drives, were never tried for this. So, it is important to bear in mind that genocide is not the only terrifying category of crime. However, genocide studies do not deal only with cases of genocide confirmed in court, be-

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YOU HAVE HAD PROFESSIONAL DEBATES ABOUT NAMING THE EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN CERTAIN BIH TOWNS DURING

cause those are indeed few. When I write about crimes aimed at destroying, fully or in part, a particular group on the basis of its ethnic or religious background, I use the term genocidal violence. All the crimes, from Bijeljina to Prijedor, bore the recognisable features of genocidal violence. security is telling enough. The fact that official Belgrade policy relativizes, diminishes, denies, but also celebrates the Srebrenica genocide cannot create a different parrative about it. The Serbian state bears

ALL THE CRIMES, FROM BIJELJINA TO PRIJEDOR, BORE THE RECOGNISABLE FEATURES OF GENOCIDAL VIOLENCE

IN THE SERBIAN CAPITAL, THE CENTRE FOR CULTURAL DECONTAMINATION STAGED SREBRENICA, WHEN WE THE DEAD RISE BY ZLATKO PAKOVIĆ, WITH HEAVY POLICE PROTECTION. THE PLAY IS ABOUT CAFÉ FASCISTS 'WHOSE TONGUE IS BLOODIER THAN THAT OF THE PERPETRATORS'. IS THIS ANNOUNCING THE POSSIBILITY FOR A NEW NARRATIVE, DESPITE THE POLITICAL AND PROPAGANDIST STRENGTH OF SREBRENICA GENOCIDE DENIERS?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: There is one narrative of Srebrenica in what matters, in the adjudicated and forensically proven, but it will be amended and shown from different vantage points – because the evil that culminated in July 1995 is multi-layered and it requires a comprehensive, holistic approach in any attempt to see it as a whole. Of course, credit goes to all who participated in this very important and courageous performance in Belgrade. The fact that a play had to have police

the legacy of this genocide and it will have to confront it sooner or later. One hopes that one day Serbia will pay reparations to BiH and its citizens and thus redeem itself for the crimes it had committed. Café fascists in Serbia are inseparable from the fur cap-clad chetniks with knives held by their ragged teeth. Those Belgrade café fascists are part of the folklore, and they proved their fascism in the field, in Bosnia, where they used to spend weekends shooting from a safe distance at the besieged Bosnian towns and encouraging gunners. The current Serbian president Aleksandar Vučić, along with his mentor Vojislav Šešelj, a convicted war criminal, was one of those café fascists who besieged Sarajevo. Other Belgrade café fascists, writers such as Momo Kapor. Dobrica Ćosić, actor Bata Živojinović, an entire cultural elite of Belgrade, also used to come to Pale. The once avant-garde pop musician Oliver Mandić was a prominent member of the notorious 'Arkan's

tigers', who committed countless looting, expulsion, rape and mass murder... All this must be 'entered into the record' and the narrative must be amended with details about who killed, who instigated, who cheered, who approved ...

WHAT WOULD IT TAKE FOR THE DREAM YOU PRESENTED IN THE 2011 ESSAY *Memo- RIES OF A BETTER FUTURE* AND SEE REAL RECONCILIATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA? HAVE ANY STEPS BEEN TAKEN IN THIS CONTEXT?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: Reconciliation has become a worn-out term that has lost its true meaning. The more it was mentioned, the less it happened. Not everyone can reconcile with everyone else, nor should they. And not all the parties play the same roles. No one has the right to ask victims

war criminal, Biljana Plavšić, repented before the court, admitted her guilt, but then it turned out that it was just a strategy to receive a reduced sentence. Some of those statements sound so powerful that I would put them on billboards in places of origin of those war criminals and places where they had committed the crimes. Perhaps that would influence their fellow nationals to stop celebrating crimes as acts of heroism. In my opinion, that would be a way to create an ambience where reconciliation would be possible, rather than not allowing someone who had asked for 100 Muslims to be killed for one Serb to enter a mosque in footwear. This is not reconciliation and this person does not deserve any respect, irrespective of the role they played. For example, I would place a billboard at the entrance of Vlasenica that says:

NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO ASK VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE AND VIOLENCE TO RECONCILE WITH THOSE WHO RUINED THEIR LIVES

of genocide and violence to reconcile with those who ruined their lives. However, those who took part in crimes have a moral obligation to express remorse and seek some kind of forgiveness from the victims. Many such statements of remorse were an integral part of proceedings before The Hague Tribunal. The best-known convicted I can say that I regret all of it. I truly regret it, because if I simply said 'I regret' for the sake of saying it, I know best how I feel. My remorse come from within, because I had known most of the people since childhood. We had grown up together, some of them were my neighbours. I will take this opportunity to apologise most profoundly

to all those victims and to all whom I hurt directly, whose life and fate I impacted, as well as all who were at Sušica, be it for a day, for a month or longer.

Dragan Nikolić

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO SPEAK ABOUT SREBRENICA AND ALL SUCH PLACES IN BIH SEVERAL DECADES AFTER GENOCIDE AND FTHNIC CLEANSING?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: I think there is a generational responsibility to record and write

POLITICAL ELITES IN SERBIA AND THE SO-CALLED RS CONTINUE TO CELEBRATE CONVICTED WAR CRIMINALS AS HEROES AND REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE TRUTH, WHICH THEY KNOW QUITE WELL

Dragan Nikolić was the warden of the Sušica detention camp, established by Serb forces in the Vlasenica municipality in BiH in early 1992. At the time, he took part in creating an atmosphere of terror and systemic sadism towards Muslim and other non-Serb detainees. He personally killed nine individuals, and he tortured and beat others. Under his watch, women of all ages were raped and sexually abused. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Only the truth, however uncomfortable and painful it may be, can take us on the path of long-term, transgenerational reconciliation. Unfortunately, we are far from such an ambience. Political elites in Serbia and the so-called RS continue to celebrate convicted war criminals as heroes and refuse to accept the truth, which they know quite well.

down all that we testified to, because it happened in our lifetime. We owe it to those who were killed and became past, as well as to those who are the future.

WHY DO YOU INSIST ON THE TERM 'CHETNIKS'?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: By using the term chetniks I want to make a clear distinction between criminals and the people they came from and in whose name they killed. Ultimately, chetnik is the name they gave themselves and use with pride. They also take pride in the crime they commit, so it is no wonder that they have a song that says 'We will kill, we will slaughter'. Not all Serbs are chetniks, and not all Serbs committed crimes in Bosnia and former Yugoslavia, but chetniks did. I have relatives whose mothers are Serb, but their Bosniak husbands were

killed – they too are women of Srebrenica, their family members were killed by chetniks. Also, persons named Dragan, Zoran, Goran... and Jovo Divjak fought against those chetniks, right next to their fellow countrymen, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Chetniks, who are in power in the so-called RS to this day, also killed Miodrag Šušnica, a Serb and the father of my friend Srđan, who had to leave his native Banja Luka a few years ago in order to avoid his father's fate. Thus, I do not want to give the chetniks an opportunity to hide behind an entire people, because if everyone is a criminal, then no one is. There are and always

tegic goals and historical circumstances. I do not want to legitimise them by calling them an army. They can only be a self-proclaimed army or a paramilitary formation. I have no need to observe some kind of political correctness, because a chetnik somewhere may feel hurt. For me, the Army of Republika Srpska is so-called, just like the Republika Srpska (RS) is so-called. Those criminal projects have been condemned by the highest international court and are the shame of the people whose name they use as a façade for their crimes and looting, all under the pretence of acting in the name of the people. No pasaran!

I HAVE NO NEED TO OBSERVE SOME KIND OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS, BECAUSE A CHETNIK SOMEWHERE MAY FEEL HURT

have been wonderful people in Serbia, antifascists (thus anti-chetniks) whose views of the war, genocide and other historically important and judicially confirmed facts related to aggression against BiH do not differ substantially from my own. They even know some things better than I do, because they saw with their own eyes the evil that was sent towards Bosnia, and that Death is a master from Serbia, to paraphrase the poet Marko Vešović. Chetniks are fascists, criminals, killers and self-proclaimed and proven mortal enemies of Bosniaks, as well as other peoples, depending on their stra-

IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, PLACE NAMES, HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, FACTORIES, MINES, BUILDINGS ETC. ARE AN ACTIVE AND PAINFUL PART OF THE NARRATIVE, AND THEY SHOULD BE GENERAL POINTS OF REFERENCE. WITH SUCH PLETHORA, HOW DOES ONE TAKE STEPS TOWARDS A COMMON LEXICON OF TERMS, SYMBOLS AND TOPONYMS?

HARIZ HALILOVIĆ: I have been to numerous places of suffering and I follow the process of exhumation and identification of victims of mass crimes, from Prijedor

to Srebrenica. In most cases, those places are neither marked nor protected. You can still collect spent cartridges at those places of killing. Many of those sites are not treated as they should be – as crime

mine. Access to Omarska is prohibited, except once a year, on 6 August, when the management allows former detainees to enter for a short visit to their place of pain and suffering. It is even worse

I AGREE THAT WE NEED TO LIST, CLASSIFY AND PUBLISH A LEXICON OF TERMS AND PLACES OF PAIN

scenes where each piece of evidence goes through forensic analysis. The focus was mainly on finding and exhuming victims. I have taken pictures of spent cartridges with clear Cyrillic letters ΠΠΥ (Prvi partizan Užice), the manufacturer's seal. There are thousands of cartridges at those sites, such as the warehouse of the old Agricultural Collective in Kravica, where all across the walls, along with thousands of bullet holes, you can still find the victims' bone fragments. In the area of Prijedor, all the former camps (Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje) have been returned to their pre-war purpose, with no indication that people were detained, tortured and killed in those facilities in 1992. The Omarska industrial complex, along with the mine, are now owned by the multinational ArcelorMittal. The management of ArcelorMittal behaves as if it were just a business, rather than an acquisition that comprises a detention camp and probably still uncovered mass graves around the

with the former Trnopolje camp, which included a primary school (once named *Brotherhood and Unity*) and a local community centre. The former camp is again an active primary school, with a concrete monument in the front yard, on memory of Serb fighters, in the form of an eagle, part of the chetnik emblem – not a word about a camp for Bosniaks and Croats from Prijedor.

I agree that we need to list, classify and publish a lexicon of terms and places of pain. My colleague Hikmet Karčić, Ph. D., is working on something similar, something that may be called a calendar of wartime events, which should contain all the events sorted by date, something like 'it happened on this day'. Memorialisation and the culture of remembrance such as this are important, because by knowing what happened on this day, we become aware of how important it is to work on ensuring that the same evil is not repeated at a future date.



Midhat I Ramić Mustafa I Ramić Nazif I Ramić Nezir I Ramić Nijaz I Ramić Nisvet I Ramić Osman I Ramić Ramiz I Ramić Ramiz I Ramić Ramiz I Ramić Ramic I Ramić Ramic I Ramić Ramic I Ramić Ramic I Ramić Salih I Rami



Ridić Husein I Ridić Islam I Ridić Jakub I Ridić Mehmed I Ridić Nurdin I Ridić Osman I Ridić Raif I Ridić Sakib I Ridić Ševko I Ridić Vejsil I Rizvanović Adil I Rizvanović Sadil I Rizvanović Adil I Rizvanović Sadil I Rizvić Adil I Rizv

















I Salihović Redžep I Salihović Redžo I Salihović Redžo I Salihović Redžo I Salihović Refik I Salihović Remzad I Salihović Rešad I Salihović Rešad I Salihović Rešid I Salihović Rešid I Salihović Rešid I Salihović Rešad I Salihović Sadik I Salihović Safet I Salihović Salih I Salihovi

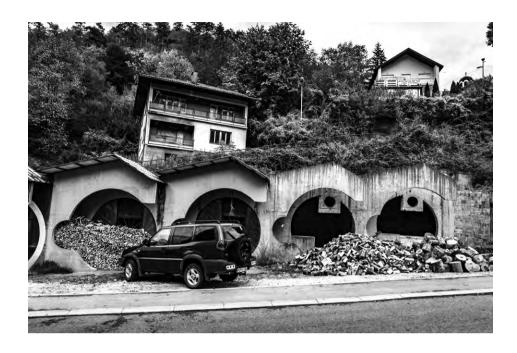




Srebrenica, 25 September 2020



I Salkić Ibrahim I Salkić Ibrahim I Salkić Ibro I Salkić Ismet I Salkić Izet I Salkić Izet I Salkić Jusuf I Salkić Kasim I Salkić Mehan I Salkić Mehmed I Salkić Muhamed I Salkić Munib I Salkić Mustafa I Salkić Mustafa I Salkić Mustafa I Salkić Musafir I Salkić Nedžad I Salkić Nezir I Salkić Nijaz I Salkić Nizam I Salkić Nusret I Salkić Omer I Salkić Omer I Salkić Osman I Salkić Refik I Salkić Refik I Salkić Rešid I Salkić Rešid I Salkić Rejid I Salkić Salkić





'Monument to Peace', Srebrenica















Rasim I Sinanović Redžo I Sinanović Rešid I Sinanović Sabit I Sinanović Sadik I Sinanović Safet I Sinanović Salčin I Sinanović Salih I Sinanović Samir I Sinanović Samir I Sinanović Sanir I Sinanović Sada I Sinanović Senad I Sinanović Šeda I Sinanović Senad I Sinanović Šeda I Sinanović Zijad I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sinanović Abdulah I Sirco Abid I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sirco Abid I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Sirco Adem I Sirco Senad I Skeledžić Edo I Skeledžić Eniz I Skeledžić Ibrahim I Skeledžić Mehmedalija I Skeledžić Mirsad I Skeledžić Sakib I Skeledžić Suad I Skeledžić Šahbaz I Smajić Adem I Smajić Adem



Smajić Fajko I Smajić Ferid I Smajić Fikret I Smajić Fikret I Smajić Hajrudin I Smajić Hamdija I Smajić Hamed I Smajić Hamed I Smajić Hamid I Smajić Hamza I Smajić Hasan I Smajić Jusuf I Smajić Hasan I Smajić Jusuf I Smajić Jusuf I Smajić Jusuf I Smajić Jusuf I Smajić Smajić Kemal I Smajić Kemal I Smajić Kemal I Smajić Kemal I Smajić Manmut I Smajić Mehan I Smajić Murija I Smajić Murat I Smajić Mustafa I Smajić Nedžad I Smajić Nurija I Smajić Ohran I Smajić Osman I Smajić Ragib I Smajić Ramiz I Smajić Ramo I Smajić Rešid I Smajić Rizah I Smajić Rizo I Smajić Sabit I Smajić Sakib I Sma

25 YEARS AFTER THE END OF THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, FAMILIES ARE STILL LOOKING FOR MORE THAN 7,000 MISSING PERSONS!



HAJRA ĆATIĆ

HAJRA ĆATIĆ A MOTHER FROM SREBRENICA

WRITE. RECORD. SPEAK.

INTERVIEW BY: Nihad Kreševljaković

EVEN 25 YEARS LATER, JULY 1995 IS STILL HERE FOR YOU...

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I thought I wouldn't survive this July. I have another son, who left in 1992 and lives in Sweden. They come every year. This year they couldn't. Alone. You can imagine. And this year, the focus was on Nino. It's COVID and I can't count the journalists who visited my home.

THE MISSING ARE USUALLY THE KEY TOPIC ON 30 AUGUST, THE DAY OF THE MISSING, OR ON 11 JULY. WHAT HAPPENS THE REST OF THE YEAR? WHAT IS HAPPENING RIGHT NOW?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: We have been fighting for 25 years. Every 11th of the month, we hold a silent protest in Tuzla. We fight for truth and justice, to find all the remains, to see all the war criminals arrested. But many families died without finding the remains of their children, or husbands...

I am not afraid of death, but of that I am... All I want is to see his grave and a gravestone and I may as well die right away.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO INCREASE THE CHANCES FOR ALL THE MISSING TO BE FOUND?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: You know that we have the Missing Persons Institute at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I was on the Advisory Board for four years, but there are no answers there. You know how it is, representatives of Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks... whatever... blocking everything. No one wants to say anything or give any information. When we had the Tribunal in The Hague, witness testimonies provided information about mass graves... We also have a fund for those who provide any information. But all that seems to have stopped recently.

WITH YOUR EXPERIENCE, WHAT IS THE RIGHT WAY TO REMEMBER? HOW DO YOU

THINK THE STORY ABOUT SREBRENICA SHOULD BE PRESERVED FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: To be clear: we need things to be written, film to be made... Stories to be told. Let the young people... I don't know, I'm not satisfied. I love youth like my own children, but they are all avoiding being filmed, telling stories, this or that. They should accept what we're doing and continue.

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT IN WHAT'S BEEN DONE SO FAR?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I sincerely thank the media. If it hasn't been for the media, much would have remained unknown. They talk about what happened. As I've already said, we need to speak, to record, because if we don't do that, it will all be forgotten. We

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: To be honest, I don't feel that there is support... I don't mean financial. I'm not interested in finance. I don't care about that. We are not satisfied with the judiciary, with the prosecutors... The laboratory of the International Commission for Missing Persons has been moved to The Hague. We were really bitter about that, because they no longer work only for Srebrenica and BiH, but rather for all the places in the world where genocide happened... I have a feeling that things have been slowed down.

WHAT ARE YOUR EXPERIENCES?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: We used to have information about mass graves. Thousands of bones remained spread around Srebrenica and no one is collecting them. We insisted that the remains spread on the ground should be collected first, because of animals, the

TO BE CLEAR: WE NEED THINGS TO BE WRITTEN, FILM TO BE MADE... STORIES TO BE TOLD. LET THE YOUNG PEOPLE... I DON'T KNOW, I'M NOT SATISFIED

have really been fighting for 25 years. We are not wavering and for as long as I can move, I will continue to fight – not only for my own, but for all who are still listed as missing after the tragedy of Srebrenica.

DO YOU FEEL THAT THERE IS SUPPORT FROM THE INSTITUTIONS?

elements... I visited those sites. I entered a minefield at the place where they said Nino had died. I was afraid for those young men, that they shouldn't step on amine. I wasn't afraid of mines and I didn't really know. They told me: this is an anti-personnel mine, this is a rifle grenade... I went to that place. I found nothing, but they didn't let us clear the

fallen leaves, because of the mines...

It's been years, you know. On the way back, not far from Nino's place, I found a scull. I took the scull to the Association. I went through all kinds of things because of that. It was awkward, they told me I shouldn't have done it. It was by a creek. And the creek is so strong and I could imagine how much stronger it would be when it rained, and how many bones and remains the water had already carried. The scull I brought was here for about a year and a half. I called the people who worked on that immediately. They told

Do you dream often?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I go to sleep and wake up with this. You can never, ever remove it from your mind. I have relatives who had no one gone missing. I somehow have nothing to talk to them about... I have more in common with other members of the Association than with those who have had no one killed or gone missing. It's with you always. You cannot remove it. You just live with it.

THE 'NIHAD NINO ĆATIĆ' PRIZE WAS LAUNCHED RECENTLY. HOW MUCH DOES THAT MEAN TO YOU?

NO ONE WANTS TO SAY ANYTHING

me I shouldn't have done it. I said I took full responsibility for doing it and they could arrest me if th4ey wanted. When I was appointed to the Advisory Board of the Missing Persons Institute, I called the spokesperson, Lejla Čengić, and I told her all about it. They called me three times to ask when they could come to pick it up! I mean, really...

I always mention this because we have always insisted that remains above ground should be collected first, and they always said that mines were the problem. And later on, they demined this area where Nino had been, but they never found anything.

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Yes, and I am very happy to see that he hasn't been forgotten. They wanted it to go through the Association but I said no, because there would have been stories about who collects donations, who gives the prize, this or that... I said I agree that the name of the prize should be 'Nihad Nino Ćatić' but I didn't want it to go through the Association, and they did really register a new association quite quickly. And I'm very happy about that.

YOU PUBLISHED A BOOK OF NINO'S POET-RY. HOW DID THAT COME ABOUT?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: That's right. These are the poems he had written until 1994, and he also

wrote a play entitled 'Renegades', but they never managed to produce it. The offensive started, they failed and I never managed to find it. He managed to send the poems to his brother through the Swedes. That was such luck. The Swedes were building a refugee settlement in Jadar, and Nino managed to send his poems through them. This happened in 1994, and from then until July 1995 I wasn't able to find anything.

DO YOU FEEL HIS PRESENCE WHEN YOU READ THE POEMS? HE WILL BE REMEMBERED THROUGH HIS POEMS, AS IT SEEMS. HOW MUCH COMFORT DO YOU FIND IN THAT?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: It means so much to me that I was able to save the poems, which he had sent to his brother, who saved them and sent them to me to print them. This is the second edition. The first one included 25 and the second contains 30. But I am so sorry about the play. The first time I went to Srebrenica, accompanied by international police forces, I

and I was sent to the Domavija hotel. I found Nino's play there. Perhaps you won't believe me, but I cried. I couldn't believe Nino wrote something like that.' And I asked: 'Did you save it, Danica? I'll pay whatever you want.' And she said: 'No, I left it there. How could I know if we'd ever meet again.'

WHEN DID NINO FIRST SHOW INTEREST IN POETRY?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: When he was a child, whenever I washed his jeans, or his jackets... there would always be pieces of paper with his notes. He loved to recite. Later on, he and a few other guys from Srebrenica published the *Srebrenički glas* magazine.

HAS ANY OF THAT BEEN SAVED?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I have one issue of *Srebrenički glas* that was preserved. I gave a copy to the Museum at the Memorial Centre, and I gave a collection of poems to the Library of the Centre.

INSTEAD OF MOVING FORWARD, WE'RE TAKING THREE STEPS BACK

went to report my property and see Danica, a friend of mine, because she wanted to tell me something. I said: 'How are you, Danica, what's up?' And she said: 'You know, Hajra, when you were expelled from Srebrenica. they sent us women to clear the buildings

SUCH MATERIALS HAVE NOT BEEN COL-LECTED?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Many women buried all the items found in the mass graves along with the remains, because no one had

told us that they should be preserved. Things changed now that Emir (Suljagić) is here. I'm sorry it hadn't been done, but Emir feels things differently because he is a survivor himself.

DO YOU EVER LISTEN TO NINO'S LAST REPORT? HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU HEAR IT?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: It's not simple. Senad (Hadžifejzović) preserved it. He is the only one who preserved it. I tried to find it the first time I came back here, but I found nothing. There is another report, but you can't really hear anything.

Whenever he came home, Nino said: 'Mom, the worst thing is to go through the centre of the town.' People would say: 'Why don't you call in, why don't you send

back to Srebrenica, Miloš came up to me to say hello and I just asked him: 'What did they do to my handsome boy?'

WHAT IS LIFE LIKE IN SREBRENICA TODAY?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I live in Srebrenica but I don't have a lot of contacts. I used to have a lot of friends, we worked together at the municipality, but that's not it any more. I have nothing to talk to them about. No one will say what happened.

HAVE YOU EVER SEEN IN THOSE PEOPLE A SINCERE DESIRE TO HELP?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: People either don't want to or don't dare to. I had a friend, we spent a lot of time together, we worked together. I was secretary to the mayor, she worked for the chairman of the council. When Arkan's troops attacked Srebrenica in 1992,

THE YOUNG SHOULD READ AND THEY SHOULD KNOW WHAT HAPPENED

reports?' But everything was blocked. Miloš Nikolić, who used to work with me at the municipality, was among the radio-amateurs in Bratunac. He kept interrupting him and that's why Nino was often unable to file reports. Nino was very attached to me. Miloš would always say: 'I've just met your handsome boy' whenever he'd seen him. And when I came

she moved to Belgrade. She called me one day and I cried and told her about what was being done to us. She called her sister-in-law and sent us a man who had worked in the mine. Nino had gone to the hills with friends, to observe the events in town through binoculars, and when he returned, he asked why the man was there. I explained but Nino told me that her sons

were standing watch in front of the department store while Arkan's men were looting it. So, there... There is nothing to talk about with them.

CAN YOU IMAGINE THOSE INDIVIDUALS AC-CEPTING THE TRUTH AT SOME POINT AND START TREATING WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN A DIFFERENT WAY?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: They know everything, but they do not dare. I guess that's what the authorities are like, they must not speak, I guess.

DO YOU SENSE SHAME IN THEM WHEN THEY MEET YOU?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Nothing, just a hello and that's it. There is nothing to talk about. When my husband was identified, one of them called me to come over and offer her condolences. I told her: 'Why on earth should you come and offer condolences?'

WHAT DO YOU THINK SREBRENICA WILL BE LIKE IN 30-40 YEARS?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: I fear that. Unless the mayor is a Bosniak, it doesn't matter who. See what this one is like. So many people have returned to the Federation since he won the election.

How many young people are here who would like to stay?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: They would stay, but there's no work.

YOU TALK TO SO MANY PEOPLE, DO YOU THINK THERE ARE THINGS THEY SHOULD ASK YOU, BUT THEY DON'T? DO YOU FEEL TIRED FROM REPEATING THE SAME THINGS OVER AND OVER?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: We have to repeat them. Some people accept that, some don't. That's up to them.

IS THERE A DIFFERENCE IN ORGANISING EVENTS TWENTY YEARS AGO AND TODAY?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: There is no difference. The goal is always the same. There are always people and organisations joining us. The Majlis of the Islamic Community became engaged. Different schools became engaged. There is always so many people.

How is your collaboration with Women in Black?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Very good. It is thanks to them that we have this house. We used to work from a garage. One year, they came on 11 July and brought with them this Italian woman whose son had been ill and she started a humanitarian organisation for sick children. She told us about the maximum amount we could spend on the house, and she found the money. We took this house because it's close to the identification centre and the protests we go to.

CAN YOU IMAGINE SERBIA WITH MORE PERSONS LIKE WOMEN IN BLACK?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Nothing for as long as that chetnik is in power. What they did with the exhibition and the play... What they did to Nataša (Kandić)... You've read about it, you've seen it. We attended the Scorpions trial thanks to Nataša. We connected all the families with her, and we went as support. When we arrived, we took a cab from the hotel and as we entered, the driver told Nataša: 'You're defending filthy Muslims'. She just got out. I can imagine what they go through. But they fight. They come every 11th.

No one communicates. They can't agree on anything. I fear they could simply dismantle Bosnia. I have a feeling that Serbs have attained their goal. All that's left is to attach the RS and that's it. But people are leaving the RS. The old ones are dying, the young ones don't want to come back because there's no work. It's tragic. I'm so disappointed. Instead of moving forward, we're taking three steps back. There, the High Representative slept through the whole thing. He doesn't care. He's done nothing.

JUST TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED, DO NOT SPREAD HATE

YOU'VE SEEN JASMILA'S FILM. CAN A FEATURE FILM INVOKE EMOTIONS?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: Yes, of course. You find a thing that hurts.

DOES BOSNIA HAVE A FUTURE AND WHAT IS THE WAY TO PRESERVE MEMORIES, SO THAT THEY ENNOBLE US, RATHER THAN BECOME THE CAUSE OF NEW HATRED? DO YOU HAVE AN IDEA WHAT THAT SHOULD BE LIKE?

HAJRA ČΑΤΙĆ: With this lot in power, there is no future here. I don't like what they're doing on either side. I am not in politics, I don't support political parties, I support individuals. I read about what is happening and this is leading nowhere. You see what's happening.

WHAT WOULD BE YOUR MESSAGE TO FU-TURE GENERATIONS?

HAJRA ĆATIĆ: The young should read and they should know what happened. We brought up our children the wrong way, I think. My husband's father was killed by the chetniks, and then they killed him and his son. My husband never sat his son down and told him 'this is what happened'. You were not allowed to talk about it in the old system, now you can. Just tell the truth about what happened, do not spread hate. I have a grandson and a granddaughter and they know everything. Some don't want to tell their children about it, they don't want to burden them. But they must, so that it doesn't happen to us again.





Premiere of Quo vadis, Aida?, a feature film directed by Jasmila Žbanić, at the Potočari Memorial Centre, 10 October 2020



 $\it Exodus$, a series of works by the painter Safet Zec, was presented at the Potočari Memorial Centre as part of the $\it 25^{th}$ anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide





The first conviction for genocide in Europe delivered by an international court following the Nuremberg trial of the Nazis was delivered in 2001, in the case against general Radislav Krstić, former general of the Bosnian Serb army.

From the judgement summary by Trial Chamber I of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in *The Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić:*

"At issue is not only the commission of murders for political, racial or religious reasons, which already constitute a crime of persecution. At issue is not only extermination of the Bosnian Muslim men of fighting age alone.

At issue is the deliberate decision to kill the men, a decision taken with complete awareness of the impact the murders would inevitably have on the entire group. By deciding to kill all the men of Srebrenica of fighting age, a decision was taken to make it impossible for the Bosnian Muslim people of Srebrenica to survive.

Stated otherwise, what was ethnic cleansing became genocide.

The Trial Chamber is also convinced beyond reasonable doubt that a crime of genocide was committed in Srebrenica."

THE HAGUE, 2 AUGUST 2001



I Vranjkovina Emina I Vranjkovina Emir I Vranjkovina Fehim I Vranjkovina Mehmed I Vranjkovina Nail I Vranjkovina Ramiz I Vranjkovina Ramiz I Vranjkovina Ramiz I Vranjkovina Samir I Vranjkovina Semir I Vranjkovina Ševket I Zahić Meho I Zahirović Arif I Zahirović Beriz I Zahirović Hakija I Zahirović Ibrahim I Zahirović Idriz I Zahirović Muradif I Zahirović Muriz I Zahirović Šaban I Zejnilović Adis I Zejnilović Hasib I Zejnilović Hidajet I Zejnilović Ibrahim I Zejnilović Muhamed I Zekić Nusret I Zemirlić Ekrem I Zemunović Mirsad I Zildžić Abdulah I Zildžić Avdo I Zildžić Ekrem I Zildžić Kada I Zildžić Safet I Zildžić Semso I Zildžić Teufik I Zildžić Zuhrija I Zilić Hamid I Zimić Azem I Zimić Daut I Zimić Enver I Zimić Ibro I Zimić Midhat I Zimić Nusret I Zimić Ramo I Zimić Salih I Zimić Sejdalija I Zuhrić Abid I Zuhrić Adem I Zuhrić Avdo I Zuhrić Bego I Zuhrić Ejub I Zuhrić Hajro I Zuhrić Halil I Zuhrić Ismet I Zuhrić Muhamed I Zuhrić Mujo I Zuhrić Nazif I Zuhrić Nermin I Zuhrić



Nezir I Zuhrić Nurko I Zukanović Amir I Zukanović Avdija I Zukanović Fadil I Zukanović Hajro I Zukanović Hajrudin I Zukanović Hamed I Zukanović Hasan I Zukanović Husein I Zukanović Ibrahim I Zukanović Ibrahim I Zukanović Ismet I Zukanović Juso I Zukanović Mirsad I Zukanović Ramo I Zukanović Sabahudin I Zukanović Sadik I Zukanović Salčin I Zukanović Sed I Zukanović Sejer I Zukanović Selim I Zukanović Sud I Zukanović Sudjo I Zukić Alaga I Zukić Alija I Zukić Alija I Zukić Azem I Zukić Dževad I Zukić Fahrudin I Zukić Fahrudin I Zukić Fikret I Zukić Hajrudin I Zukić Husein I Zukić Husein I Zukić Ibrahim I Zukić Izet I Zukić Jasmin I Zukić Jusuf I Zukić Mehmed I Zukić Mensur I Zukić Mustafa I Zukić Ramo I Zukić Senad I Zukić Senahid I Zukić Sursib I Zukić Šefik I Zukić Šemso I Zukić Velaga I Zukić Zurijet I Zulanović Mujo I Ždero Hamed I Ždero Jusuf I Ždero Rašid I Ždero Redžo I Žigić Emil I Žigić Fadil I Žilić Hamid I Živalj Alija

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