



# 6. NEWSLETTER

2023.



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Newsletter 6 (2023)

**THE PUBLISHER**

University of Sarajevo  
Institute for Research of Crimes  
Against Humanity and  
International Law

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## Opening remarks

It is our pleasure to present the sixth issue of the e-newsletter of the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

We can be especially proud of the fact that in October 2023 the Institute organized the International Scientific Conference “Consequences of the Bosniak Genocide in Srebrenica: Social, Economic, Political, Demographic and Cultural Development of Srebrenica (1995-2022)”, on the occasion of marking the 28th anniversary genocide in Sreberenica. In the organization of the Institute in the last year 2023, several scientific gatherings, forums, round tables were held, and several significant scientific studies (books) were published. We certainly highlight: Proceedings from the International Scientific Conference: “Consequences of the genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica: Social, economic, political, demographic and cultural development of Srebrenica (1995-2022)”, published by the University of Sarajevo, Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law and the Institute of History. Then, Proceedings “Aggression on the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Siege and Defense of Sarajevo - Three Decades Later.” Published by the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

In 2023, the University of Sarajevo - Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law and the Institute of History published the book *The emergence of Republika Srpska: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)*, authored by dr. sc. Mumaer Džananović, Ph.D. sc. Jasmin Medić and others. sc. Hikmet Karčića, which aroused great interest among the general public in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the region and the world. By the end of 2023, the mentioned book had more than 40 promotions throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Senior research associate of the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, dr. sc. Amir Kliko in his own edition published the book *Jajce 1992: Siege and defense of the royal city*.

Senior research associate at the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, dr. sc. Zilha Košuta published the monograph *Capital Investments in Judicial Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, published by the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 2023, the employees of the Institute published more than 50 scientific papers, and they had notable interviews, comments and statements in printed and electronic media in the country and abroad from the narrow field of the Institute’s activities.

We are pleased to point out that at the 20th Regular Session of the Council of the Social Sciences Group of the University of Sarajevo, held on September 19, 2023, the director of the Institute, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović was unanimously elected president of the Council for the academic year 2023/2024. year.

In addition, director Muratović was appointed to the Committee for Historical Sciences at the 11th Session of the Presidency of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, held on November 29, 2023.

Asst. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate at the University of Sarajevo - Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, was elected as an associate professor at the University of Sarajevo - Faculty of Administration at the 63rd regular session of the Senate of the University of Sarajevo, held on November 29, 2023.

Senior research associate dr. sc. Muamer Džananović of the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, at the regular session of the Senate of the University of Tuzla, held on November 15, 2023, was elected as an assistant professor for the narrow scientific field of “Sociology” at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Sincerely,

Editorial team of the e-newsletter

## **KUKA: WHILE THE ARBIH FIGHTERS RAISE THEIR HANDS BECAUSE THEY ARE ARRESTED, 101 CRIMINALS ARE HIDING IN SERBIA, CROATIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES**

*Jan 05, 2023.*



Goražde, the hero city, is shrouded in great sadness. Muriz Hadžiahmetović, a former member of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and winner of the highest award for war merits, the “Golden Lily”, took his own life on the night from Sunday to Monday.

Namely, the State Investigation and Protection Agency (SIPA) arrested six Gorazdan fighters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the holder of the highest war award “Golden Lily” Hadžiahmetović aka Murga, on charges of alleged war crimes.

And while they are arresting, persecuting and prosecuting the heroes who defended Bosnia and Herzegovina from the aggressors, they went bare-handed against the aggressor soldiers, armed to the teeth, for the multi-year siege, the destruction of the city of Goražde and the killing of thousands of people, including children - there are no convicted members of the VRS. The fact that to date only one indictment has been confirmed for war crimes against the besieged Bosniak population of Goražde, in the UN protected zone, is killing the surviving citizens and relatives of the victims.

For crimes against Bosniaks in this area, directives and commands, orders, reports of the Army and the leadership of the RS are available to the prosecutor’s office, from which the planners and perpetrators of the most serious war crimes and violations of the laws and customs of war in the period from April 1992 to December 1995 can be easily identified.

Asst. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, comments for Preporod.info on the devastating truth that those who defended Bosnia and Herzegovina are equated with war criminals.

- The fact that we must constantly remind is that classic armed aggression was carried out against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, when horrible and heinous, mass and individual crimes were committed against Bosniaks, including the crime of genocide.

27 years have passed since the aggression, and all the perpetrators of crimes against Bosniaks have not been brought to justice and prosecuted. In fact, today something quite the opposite is happening, not to say paradoxical, and that is that the competent prosecutor's offices and court authorities are dealing with the prosecution of defenders, members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who stood up to defend their families, their property, their homeland. They are on trial only because they stood up for those who were already targeted to disappear, only because they are Bosniaks - says Kuka.



He adds that the institutions that should take care of them left the defenders to fight on their own.

- Due to the lack of any support, some of them decided on radical measures, such as this example of taking their own life. They do this because of the great injustice done to them. We live in a time of narratives aimed at equating the criminal and the victim, the aggressor and the defender, which consciously and deliberately aims to falsify historically established facts at the highest judicial instances in Europe and the world. This is a devastating fact that we are witnessing more and more, especially in recent times. In fact, it is a well-prepared and practically implemented strategy of those who protect criminals and try to hide their crimes, and here, above all, I mean the current leadership of the RS entity and the district prosecutor's offices of that entity, with the indispensable support of the neighboring Republic of Serbia. There are certainly mistakes by the representatives of those who should stand, not only to protect the members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also to work on the prosecution of the members of the so-called VRS, which are known to have committed crimes against Bosniak civilians, and are still walking freely in the same places and cities where they committed crimes - said Kuka.

He states that individual district and cantonal prosecutor's offices applied, in accordance with the Revised Strategy, to projects with international organizations, through which they engaged and employed additional personnel (prosecutors) who are exclusively engaged in the investigation of war crimes.

- Their work is financed by those organizations. In addition to the prosecutor, employed investigators and professional associates who work and assist prosecutors in war crimes cases are also engaged in the same way. According to the available and available data, I did not notice that, for

example, the specific Cantonal Prosecutor's Office of the Bosnian-Podrinje Canton applied for such a project at all. Also, the Police Directorate of the MUP did not fulfill the obligation related to the formation of a separate organizational unit which, according to the Strategy, would exclusively deal with cases of war crimes, as requested in the Strategy, Dr. Hook.

He also referred to the claim that the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not prosecute aggressors and war criminals.

- It is a fact that non-prosecution or insufficient prosecution of criminal acts of war crimes is a perennial problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In December 2008, the State Strategy for working on war crimes cases was adopted, which provided for the resolution of priority and most complex cases by 2015. Since the goal was not met, the Revised Strategy was adopted in May 2018, which extended the deadline until 2023 (a deadline set by the authorities themselves, and confirmed by the OSCE in June 2022). Despite this, adequate steps were not taken in hundreds of cases where the Hague Tribunal found sufficient evidence to indict. The judicial deadlock in the prosecution of former members of the so-called VRS. The results in this regard are almost devastating. Jurisdiction was transferred from the Hague Tribunal to the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina - A list, with the names of 848 persons, where sufficient evidence was obtained for the indictment. But a special problem is that a significant number of these persons are inaccessible to the judicial authorities - says Kuka.

Many people, he explains, are outside the country, inaccessible to justice, and if they are tried, they are tried before the judicial organs of the country they fled to, and not before the court of the country where they committed the crimes.

He points out that according to data from the OSCE Mission to BiH from September 2022, 44 accused are hiding in Serbia, 38 in Croatia, while 19 accused are hiding in Montenegro, Sweden, Switzerland and France.

- Bosnia and Herzegovina has agreements with Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia on the extradition of those accused of criminal offences, but those accused of war crimes are excluded from the agreement. The cases are in the Prosecutor's Office and the question is whether and when they will be prosecuted at all - Kuka points out.

He adds that, in addition to documentation, evidence, names of perpetrators of crimes, the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina has recently been quite selective in dealing with war crimes cases, where the focus has shifted to prosecuting members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- The Serbs, that is, the aggressor forces, committed war crimes in dozens of municipalities, established death camps, and today the perpetrators of these crimes move freely throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, precisely because of the inconsistency and irresponsibility of the prosecution. Many institutions sent and are sending numerous reports to the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina against former members of the so-called VRS, but there is no feedback. The question is whether and when these cases will be prosecuted, whether we are waiting for the criminals to die of natural causes - says Kuka.

He cited the example of Dragiša Masal, a professional officer of the former JNA and lieutenant general of the so-called VRS.

- Dragiša Masal, in the order for further aggressive actions in the operation to attack Goražde called "Zvijezda 94", dated April 11, 1994, complied with the order of the war criminal Ratko Mladić, which stated, among other things:

“Push energetically forward, do not look back at what is happening around us. The Turks must disappear from these areas.”

He is remembered as the person who commanded, directed and ordered the actions of TG “Višegrad” which resulted in numerous individual and mass murders of civilians in the wider area of Višegrad and Goražde. Since he died in 2017, he was not prosecuted and convicted as a war criminal. There are a number of other criminals, for whom the Hague Tribunal has obtained sufficient evidence and whose names are known, but the Prosecutor’s Office is not prosecuting them yet - reminds Dr. Hook.

He notes that the city of Goražde was under siege by Serbian (aggressor) forces, and by Resolution 824 of the UN Security Council of May 6, 1993, it was one of the six cities in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that received the status of a UN “safe zone” a.

However, the extent to which Goražde was actually an unsafe zone is most indicatively proven by the document of the Command of TG “Višegrad”, entitled Plan of tour, assistance and control of b/g and discipline at the combat positions of units of TG “Višegrad”, delivered to the command of the Drina Corps of the so-called Army of the Republika Srpska on approval, dated November 29, 1993. In that document, which was signed by the commander-colonel Dragiša Masal, the responsibilities of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Podrinja light infantry brigades in the TG “Višegrad”, with by the task that reads:

“Informing fighters and elders with the aim of raising combat morale and discipline to a higher level and activities to make the opposing side’s position in protected enclaves as insecure as possible.”

- The civilian population of Goražde was subjected to a campaign of continuous sniper and artillery action, shelling, as well as the creation of such conditions that were supposed to lead to the complete or partial destruction of the group (Bosniaks) as such, which is one of the crimes of genocide. To this day, no one has been prosecuted for those crimes.

According to the research of colleague Dr. According to Muamer Džananović’s book published in 2015, 120 children were killed in Goražde during the siege, and 428 of them were wounded. Each member of the so-called The VRS, which was on the lines of the besieged Goražde, is a potential criminal. In addition, there are orders to shell civilian targets, such as the market, mosque, hospital, post office... However, despite the fact that there is relevant documentary material on the direct responsibility, especially command responsibility, of individual perpetrators of crimes, no one has been prosecuted. Therefore, it is necessary that all competent authorities, especially in the Bosnian-Podrinje Canton (Prosecutor’s Office, Police Directorate, MUP) devote themselves to these issues in their full capacity, as this is in the service of contributing to the full truth about the siege of Goražde during the time of aggression and the fight against the narrative of equalization victim and criminal - says dr. Hook.

On this occasion, we remind you that Preporod.info has so far written to the Prosecutor’s Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina on several occasions asking why they are not arresting war criminals who spread death throughout Goražde, killed women, children and the elderly, raped women and expelled the population. We never got the answers to any of the questions.

(A.N./[Preporod.info](http://Preporod.info))

## PARADE OF EVIL

Jan 07, 2023.



Author: dr. sc. Amir Kliko

Source: [Bosnainfo.ba](http://Bosnainfo.ba)

Photo: Ron Haviv

Taking advantage of the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, the Serbs began the creation of a national state in the first two decades of the 19th century.

Through armed uprisings - and diplomatically and materially supported by some European powers, primarily Austria and Russia - they managed to achieve the autonomous principality of Serbia.

By the middle of the first half of that century, they also imagined the territory to which it, as a future independent state, should expand. This idea of a Serbian national state also covered the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, which at that time was also under Ottoman rule. The Serbian large-state idea is more widely known as "Greater Serbia." The first step in its realization in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina was the Serbianization of the Orthodox population.

The Serbization of the Bosnian Orthodox in the 19th century was also a preliminary step towards the first strategic goal of the Republika Srpska from May 1992 (separation of the Serbs from the other two peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina). First, in the 19th century, the Serbian nation was created from the Bosnian Orthodox, and then, at the end of the 20th century, it was separated from the

other two nations in order to carry out genocide against them in order to create an ethnically “pure” territory for the expansion of Serbia to her.



That first step, the Serbianization of the Bosnian Orthodox, was realized mainly through the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because there was no political and intellectual elite. In the organization of the Church, teachers came with textbooks from Serbia, in order to spread the Serbian national idea and create their own intellectual and political elite among the tired Bosnian Orthodox, with the aim of joining Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Principality of Serbia.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, then called the province of Bosnia, had to be “liberated from the Turks” first, and then “joined” to Serbia. Turks meant not only the Ottoman rule - which in the province of Bosnia was mainly carried out by native Muslims-Bosniaks, not ethnic Turks - but also its entire Muslim population. So the “liberation” of Bosnia from the Turks also meant its “liberation” from the Muslim population.

In the Great Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995, the world recognized the same process as “ethnic cleansing” and genocide against Bosniaks.

From the middle of the 19th century, the principalities of Serbia and Montenegro began to rebel against the Bosnian Orthodox population and raise armed uprisings against the Ottoman rule. And in this, the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church played a very important role, and some priests

were even leaders of larger groups of insurgents. Therefore, the Montenegrin and Serbian armed uprisings from the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century - the results of which were the autonomous principalities of Montenegro and Serbia - from the second half of the same century were transferred among the Orthodox to the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina for the purpose of its "liberation from the Turks" and "joining" Montenegro, that is, Serbia.

The most famous - and the most brutal in terms of violence against Bosniaks - armed uprising of the Bosnian Orthodox in 1875, which can be considered a war, because the following year, in connection with it, the principalities of Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman Empire, and a year later, Russia.

That war of 1875-1878. it was formally masked by an uprising of a social nature against the unjust Ottoman rule, such as the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. was overshadowed by the alleged civil war and the Serbian just struggle for freedom and the right to national self-determination.

The uprising of the Orthodox population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875-1878, that is, the war against the Ottomans, was planned and started by the principalities of Montenegro and Serbia with the help of Russia. Their intention was to expand to the Bosnian vilayet. Russia's goal was to realize its interest through them to the eastern Adriatic coast. Only with the end of the Second World War did the Russians achieve that goal for three years.

The real political reasons for the uprising of the Orthodox population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is, the war it waged against the Ottoman state in 1875-1878, and its consequences for the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina are the same as in the case of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. years. The Orthodox insurgents were logistically and politically supported from Serbia and Montenegro. Volunteers came from them to the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina to fight against the "Turks." The most famous among them was Petar Karađorđević, the later Serbian king. He hid his identity under the war pseudonym Mrkonjić. In honor of his military service in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1924, Varcar Vakuf was renamed Mrkonjić Grad. The principalities of Serbia and Montenegro diplomatically advocated for the Orthodox insurgents in 1875-1878. with the great European powers, and they frantically killed and persecuted Bosniaks from the territory, as did the Yugoslav People's Army and the armed formations of Bosnian Serbs in 1992-1995. years. Also, during the 1992-1995 aggression. Logistical aid to the Bosnian Serb army came from Serbia and Montenegro, but volunteers also came to fight against the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, committing war crimes, as well as volunteers from those countries in 1875-1878. years.

It can be said that the uprising of the Bosnian Orthodox in 1875-1878. it does not differ in any way from the Serbian-Montenegrin aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995, except for the combat technique used. The political causes and demographic consequences are the same for Bosniaks. Even the ending is very similar. The Austro-Hungarian occupation was a military and political intervention by the West that prevented the partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina between Serbia and Montenegro. The Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995 forced Serbia and Montenegro (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) to recognize the state independence of Bosnia

and Herzegovina and to stop the armed aggression against it, which they carried out through the Republika Srpska.

The difference between the so-called uprising of the Bosnian Orthodox in 1875-1878. and the Great Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. is in the fact that the international community legalized the results of “ethnic cleansing,” i.e. the genocide against Bosniaks, with its support for the survival of Republika Srpska as one of the two entities of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, part of eastern Herzegovina with Nikšić was handed over to Montenegro, and Mali Zvornik and Sakar were given to Serbia. This shows how the international community, nevertheless, always in some way tried to satisfy the interests of Serbia (in 1878 and Montenegro) in its territorial ambitions towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Serbia and Montenegro achieved state independence, which enabled them to continue planning territorial expansion. Due to the Austro-Hungarian occupation, they could not carry out significant activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia continued to subjugate the Bosnian Orthodox, waiting for a favorable political opportunity to realize the goals that were interrupted by the Austro-Hungarian occupation. She welcomed them at the end of 1918. However, the idea of “Greater Serbia” could not be fully realized in the joint Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes for the next ten years. Then, on January 6, 1929, King Aleksandar Karađorđević, son of the aforementioned Petar Karađorđević, known as Mrkonjić, introduced a dictatorship. He divided the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into nine banovinas, four of which covered the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of the Banovina were with a Serbian majority population. In every banovina, which also included part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks became a minority population without genocide and persecution. It was the first division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second one was carried out ten years later between Serbia and Croatia, because the leading Croatian politicians were not satisfied with the first one.

The king’s dictatorship created “Greater Serbia” within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia for the next decade. The Serbian republican leadership tried to do something similar in the early nineties of the 20th century in socialist Yugoslavia, which met with fierce resistance from the Slovenes, and then from the Croats and Bosniaks.

In the Second World War, the Serbian great-state idea recognized fascism as an excellent opportunity to be realized and tried to use it as an opportunity through the Chetnik movement. However, the end of the war on the Yugoslav battlefield prevented the realization of the idea of a “Greater Serbia”, which the Chetnik movement fought for, although the Serbs, as well as in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, gained supremacy in the new Yugoslavia over other nations, especially in multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. During World War II, the Chetniks, like the Orthodox insurgents of 1875-1878, committed numerous crimes against the Bosniak population in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For almost half a century, the communist government in Yugoslavia prevented the realization of “Greater Serbia”, which is why it became hated by Serbian nationalists. For this reason, at the end of the eighties of the 20th century, they caused a crisis in order to bring about the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, which, according to their expectations, would enable them to realize the old great-state ideas in the new redrawing of the borders of the Yugoslav republics. They called it “the right of the Serbian people to self-determination”, accusing the other Yugoslav nations of national-

ism, chauvinism, separatism, fascism, religious radicalism and the like. Quickly and very successfully, communists of Serbian nationality placed themselves at the head of Serbian nationalism. By mid-1991, they took over the Yugoslav People's Army.

From the end of the summer of 1991 until the beginning of the spring of the following year, it occupied most of the territory that - in Serbian intellectual, political, military and ecclesiastical circles - was envisioned as the future Serbian state on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For that Serbian state, it is planned that the Serbian population will have an absolute majority in it compared to other nations. Given that in that territory, which it was supposed to capture, Bosniaks and Croats lived in large numbers, in addition to Serbs - and in many cities they were also the majority population - the Serbian majority had to be established through violence. The creation and maintenance of such a Serbian state on the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, later called Republika Srpska, could not be achieved without genocide and other forms of war crimes against the Bosniak and Croat population.

The Yugoslav Federal Army occupied most of the desired territory before the open aggression, and the Serbian separatist authorities in that territory were left with the obligation of military defense and "ethnic cleansing" of Bosniaks and Croats, which they did during the period of aggression in 1992-1995. years. In addition to occupying a large part of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the future Serbian state, the JNA also left it with the weapons needed to form its own army, defend the already occupied territory and occupy the one that the federal army failed to take due to political reasons. By mid-May 1992, the JNA was transformed into the Army of the Republika Srpska.

Serbian nationalist and, against the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, separatist policy was led by the Serbian Democratic Party, which was directly supported by Serbia, Montenegro, the JNA and the Serbian Orthodox Church. After successfully destroying the administrative structure and state institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina throughout 1991, on January 9, 1992, it declared its parastatal union and its secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the past, three significant and major events prevented the realization of the Serbian great-state policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely the Berlin Congress in 1878, the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995. The behavior of the Serbian state leadership and the politicians of Republika Srpska shows that Serbian nationalists are still trying to realize it. This is especially noticeable in recent years. Macedonia definitely broke away from "Greater Serbia" in the early nineties of the 20th century. Croatia succeeded in doing so in 1995, and Montenegro in 2006. In 1999, Kosovo successfully placed itself under the protection of the international community. Although Serbian big-state nationalism "shows its muscles" towards Kosovo, and even more so in Montenegro, in fact only Bosnia and Herzegovina remained unprotected from the idea of "Greater Serbia" now known as "Serbian World." That is why it is the most exposed to the attacks of Serbian radical nationalism, which governs half of its territory and participates in all its state institutions, which it successfully uses to collapse it with the ultimate goal of its destruction so that the Republika Srpska entity with the Brčko district "joins the Serbian world."

Military and police parades and other festivities, organized by the Republika Srpska entity with the support of Serbia on the occasion of January 9, are nothing more than ordinary provocations to Bosniaks. In order for the desired provocation of the Bosniaks to have even greater effects this year,

the organizers of the celebration on January 9 decided to move the related activities from Banja Luka to East Sarajevo. Perhaps they wish for some incidents from the Bosniak side, which they would then use for their future activities. It should be remembered that Serbian politics recently tried to cause incidents in Kosovo as well by setting up barricades in its north and leaving Kosovo's state institutions by employees of Serbian nationality.

Serbia's large-state policy, which has been trying to be realized in Bosnia and Herzegovina for thirty-one years through its war legacy of Republika Srpska, must constantly maintain and strengthen Serbian nationalism towards Bosniaks, and military and police parades are one of the necessary means.

## DR. KLIKO: THE COMMEMORATION OF JANUARY 9 IS A CELEBRATION OF THE RESULTS OF GENOCIDE AND OTHER FORMS OF WAR CRIMES

- *Jan 08, 2023.*



Text: Fedzad Forto, PHOTO: FENA /Fena

The commemoration of January 9 is a celebration of the results of genocide and other forms of war crimes for which the founders of Republika Srpska were convicted before the international court in The Hague, Dr. sc. Amir Kliko from the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo.

Dr. Kliko recalls that at the end of the eighties of the 20th century, the republican leadership of Serbia caused a political crisis in Yugoslavia with the intention of using it for the realization of the Serbian great-state project conceived in the middle of the previous century.

- The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) was formed to realize its intentions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By mid-1991, it had taken over the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). At the same time, she disarmed the Territorial Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those were the first and most important preparations for the Serbian aggression against it through the Serbian parastate, which the SDS declared on January 9, 1992 - he pointed out.

He further states that from the end of the summer of 1991 until the beginning of the spring of the following year, the JNA occupied without a fight most of the territory that the Serbian nationalists envisioned for that parastate in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From its personnel and technical resources, the JNA formed the army of the Serbian parastatal in the middle of spring.

- The creation, maintenance and territorial unification of Republika Srpska with Serbia could not have been achieved without genocide and other forms of war crimes against Bosniaks and Croats, because they, together, were the majority population in most of the occupied territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In May 1992, in Banja Luka, Radovan Karadžić announced the wartime strategic goals of the Serbian parastate, which Ratko Mladić recognized as genocide - reminded Dr. Kliko before the celebration of the Unconstitutional Day of the RS on January 9.

## THE FORUM “JANUARY 9 - THE BEGINNING OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE BOSNIAKS AND THE DEMOLITION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL ORDER IN BIH”

*Jan 09, 2023.*



On Sunday, 08.01.2023. In 2015, a forum was held in the Multimedia Hall of the Municipality of Hadžići:

JANUARY 9 - THE BEGINNING OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE BOSNIAKS AND THE DEMOLITION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL ORDER IN BIH

The forum moderator Mustafa Šehić addressed the words of welcome and thanks to the present citizens on behalf of the organizers.

Guest lecturers were historians dr. sc. Admir Mulaosmanović, Ph.D. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta, M.Sc. sc. Fuad Ohranović and the Mayor of Hadžići Municipality, B.Sc. Eng. Hamdo Ejubović.

The respected lecturers introduced the present citizens to a series of facts that happened a few years before January 9, which were in fact the introduction and preparation for the overthrow of the constitutional and legal order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the execution of armed aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the execution of hundreds of serious war crimes and committing genocide. Facts and information about persons who are responsible for the commission of many war crimes in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who, due to certain actions of the competent institutions, remained beyond the reach of justice, were presented.

The lecturers also talked about the problem of denying court-established facts about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995, and about the mass appearance and production of revisionist narratives that the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina must fight against, first of all through education, correct and truthful information.

It is also necessary to talk and write more about the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina, war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide against Bosniaks, because verdicts and numerous scientific works establish and prove that this date is exclusively related to the preparation of criminal activities.

The ninth of January is the beginning of the open non-recognition of the state authority of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared unconstitutional the celebration of January 9 as the Day of the Republic of Srpska.

Disrespecting the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a direct attack on the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Regardless of the verdicts, the commemoration of the ninth of January in the Republika Srpska entity continues.

Remembering the ninth of January as the day of the beginning of aggression and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a clear message of what the historical and legal facts are in relation to that date. Also, many lessons and messages can be taken from the behavior of the enemies of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the aggression in 1992, which can be connected to the current political events taking place in and around our homeland.

## DŽANANOVIĆ ON THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL “RS DAY”: IGNORING THE ATTACKS ON THE STATE OF BIH IS INADMISSIBLE

*Jan 09, 2023.*



Ignoring the marking of the unconstitutional January 9 Republika Srpska Day, which traced the genocide against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is no longer allowed and it is high time for a stronger reaction by international factors and domestic institutions.

Probosan leaders and representatives of all levels of government, and especially the High Representative, must do more if they want to stop these provocations. Unfortunately, these reactions are absent, as are the reactions of the BiH Prosecutor’s Office, which is not doing its job, says Muamer Džananović, associate of the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

“They must do more to prevent attacks on the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But also threats, deprivation of basic human rights, security threats and various other parades that are organized on a daily basis in front of the homes of a small number of Bosniaks, Croats and other citizens who live in Republika Srpska,” Džananović points out.

It chronologically recalls a series of unconstitutional, illegal decisions made during 1991, which were finalized on January 9, 1992.

“On this day, January 9, 1992, at the 5th session of the self-proclaimed “Assembly of the Serbian People in BiH”, the Declaration on the Proclamation of the so-called “Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina” was adopted. It is stated that this self-proclaimed Republic is located as part of the Federal State of Yugoslavia, which at that moment was actually greater Serbia, and in Article 3, among other things, it was stated that “territorial demarcation with the political

communities of other peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina” should be carried out. Continuity and consistency of the implementation of that policy and those fascist goals is also visible in the example when Radovan Karadžić read the “strategic goals of the Serbian people” on May 12, 1992, at the 16th session of the self-proclaimed “Assembly of the Serbian People”, which was held on the 4th month and 3 days after the one held on January 9, 1992 in Bosnia and Herzegovina” which was adopted by the Assembly. What they emphasized on January 9, 1992, they repeated with the 1st goal, which states that the “state demarcation from the other two national communities” should be carried out,” Džananović points out.

He reminds that a total of six goals were adopted that could only be realized through genocide, which was decisively emphasized by Ratko Mladić at that session, but they were consistently implemented by many perpetrators, including Karadžić and Mladić, who are currently in prison, sentenced to life imprisonment. imprisonment and, among other things, genocide against Bosniaks.

“Today, their photos are carried through the streets and pasted on official institutions in East Sarajevo, throughout Republika Srpska and Serbia. The arrival in East Sarajevo of Ivica Dačić, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia, and the arrival of other officials from Serbia symbolizes the confirmation that official Serbia does not deviate from its centuries-old territorial expansionist goals towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. For example, at the beginning of January 1992, Dacic wrote in the SPS party magazine that “in one way or another, the Republic of Serbia, Montenegro, the Republic of Srpska Krajina and the Srpska the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which includes the Autonomous Region of Krajina, SAO Northern Bosnia, SAO Semberija, SAO Romanija and SAO East Herzegovina). Dacic emphasized that this is a total of 12 million citizens,” reminds Džananović.

He reminds that during the siege of Sarajevo, the aggressors knew what they were doing.

“They wanted to kill culture, history, they wanted to violently end the fact that Sarajevo is a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious center of Europe. They wanted to kill the spirit of Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. And with today’s act and parade, they want a reaction in order to get an argument for their goals from which they do not give up. Today, as then, during the aggression, the international community only observes it and with its attitude stimulates the next steps of those who attack our homeland. I believe that true reconciliation in our homeland will not happen until there is a massive rejection of the evil ideology that is led to mass crimes and genocide. Today, that ideology is glorified and celebrated a few kilometers from us. Unfortunately, it seems that it has no less followers today than in 1991 and 1992,” Džananović points out.

Source: [Klix.ba](http://Klix.ba)

## SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION ‘9. JANUARY - ROAD TO GENOCIDE’

*Jan 10, 2023.*



Text: Darinka Mitrović, PHOTO: FENA /Amer Kajmović

Source: [Fena.ba](http://Fena.ba)

The scientific meeting and exhibition of the Archives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina called “January 9 - The Road to Genocide” today gathered numerous guests at the National Theater in Sarajevo with the aim of contributing to the fight against falsification and rewriting of the recent past through the presentations of the participants and the presentation of authentic documents.

The opening address was given by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fadil Novalić, and the Director of the Archives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hajrudin Ćuprija, while the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Željko Komšić and Denis Bećirović, introduced and sponsored the scientific meeting.

In his address, Director of the Archives of the Federation of BiH, Hajrudin Ćuprija, reminded of the role of archives in the modern environment, and noted that they play a major role in creating the collective identity of a society. He emphasized that the FBiH Archives realized four major scientific projects in one year - Three decades of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Female fighters of the RBiH Army, Documented but unjudged genocide, and today’s “9. January – Road to Genocide”.

- This year, the commemoration of the unconstitutional January 9 is moving from Banja Luka to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or rather to its suburbs, despite the warning of the high representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Christian Schmidt, who stressed that January 9 is

unconstitutional, and that the decisions of the Constitutional Court of BiH are final and binding and must be respected in the entire territory of BiH - stated Čuprija.

He emphasized that lies can only be defeated by truth, ignorance by science, and evil by goodness.

The Prime Minister of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fadil Novalić, said that it was an honor for him to participate in this scientific gathering that brought together the tireless chroniclers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The truth that the enemies of Bosnia and Herzegovina are trying to reshape. However, as he added, they are trying to reshape what is not possible, especially not with parades and celebrations of unconstitutional holidays, stressing that today in Bosnia and Herzegovina entity Republika Srpska celebrates a project created on the foundations of genocide, mass graves and aggression.

- We know the goals of the farce that we watch every January 9 on the streets of another entity as part of that project. These are the same strategic goals from 1992 that were the cornerstone of the genocide. And they celebrate those goals in front of the eyes of the whole world just as the genocide was committed in front of the eyes of the whole world. They are celebrating what has been proven by final verdicts for genocide and other war crimes and which has been proven unconstitutional - stressed Novalić.

BiH Presidency member Željko Komšić, among others, stated that the goal of the parade on January 9 is the government of the smaller BiH. entities, evoking memories of committing genocide, which they are proud of, intimidating the people, but also raising their own prices, first of all, among foreigners.

Komšić stated that in such and similar situations foreigners are always ready to run to those who are for the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of who is in power at that moment, and always with the question of what can be given to Dodik and the separatists in order to preserve stability and peace.

- However, and in this regard, I think it is finally time for us all to say together that we cannot and will not give anything to Dodik and the separatists, because they have too much anyway - said Komšić.

He added that the authorities of the RS entity, by celebrating the anniversary on January 9, are simultaneously covering up the fact that the Greater Serbian regime of Milosevic and Karadzic, even with the help of genocide, did not succeed in making part of Bosnia and Herzegovina part of Serbia.

The member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Denis Bećirović, said that it is high time that the officials of the entity Republika Srpska and Serbia stop their anti-Dayton activities, as well as their immoral and anti-civilizational policy of denying the judicially and scientifically proven genocide against Bosniaks.

Bećirović said that at a time when separatist circles are targeting various untruths, falsifications and hoaxes, it is very important to use science and scientific facts to oppose genocide deniers.

He believes that scientific gatherings like today's are very important, because they provide a scientific valorization of undeniable facts and contribute to a comprehensive overview of the past from historical, legal, sociological, psychological and every other aspect.

The authors of the exhibition “9. January - The Road to Genocide” Muamer Džananović, Jasmin Medić and Hikmet Karčić stated that its goal, primarily for the sake of the victims and current and future generations, is to contribute to the fight for a narrative about the period of aggression.

Muamer Džananović, research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law, said that the documents on display represent a systematization and selection from several thousand documents.

- One of the main goals of the exhibition is to present the spread, systematicity, long-term and persistence in the achievement of the established multi-century great state goal, and present the chronology of making numerous decisions, intercepted telephone conversations and other important documentation, focusing on the period from the beginning of '91. until January 9, '92. from which the genocidal intention is clear, visible and recognizable, but also the consistent conduct of criminal policy in the ultimate achievement of the goal during the period of aggression until the end of '95. - added Džananović.

Research associate of the Institute of History Jasmin Medić said that the exhibition is an indicator of how the creation of RS was prepared and that no civil or religious war was fought here.

- Today, those who inherit that heritage celebrate the way it was created in the third decade of the 21st century and have nothing to offer but the glorification of evil. They support the Russian invasion at a time when the world is condemning it. The international community can see for itself what kind of retrograde policies we are fighting against - stated Medić.





Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, Rasim Muratović, asked the question “what do we have today after the genocide of July 1995?”.

- We have its denial, we have the confiscation of private land of Bosniaks in the RS, we have a ban on the use of the Bosnian language, Bosniaks are called Asians, Muslims... In science, this is called dehumanization of a group that is destined for genocide. What is happening today in Lukavica is an anti-civilization act, it is a celebration of genocide. Convicted war criminals are declared heroes, schools, streets, and institutions are named after them - said Muratović, and emphasized that there is a place in Bosnia and Herzegovina for all those who love it.

The director of MC Srebrenica Potočari, Emir Suljagić, stated that he is convinced that this entity will disappear one day “because there are no cities in that part of our country, and that is what creates growth, and it is all a deep province that responds to the name of Banja Luka and that it can’t last”.

After their speeches, “Srebrenica Inferno” was performed in the National Theater, and inserts from the film of the same name by Avda Huseinović were shown, in which the extent of the crimes that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina after that date were presented.



## VOICE OF AMERICA INTERLOCUTORS MEDIĆ AND DŽANANOVIĆ ON JANUARY 9: GLORIFICATION OF CRIMES AND CRIMINALS

*Jan 10, 2023.*



In the period from 1991 to 1995, there was genocidal intent in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the goal of the criminal policy was aggression, scientific associates of the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and History, dr. sc. Muamer Džananović and others. Jasmin Medić, on the occasion of marking the Unconstitutional Day of the Republic of Srpska.

Source: [Voanews.com](https://www.voanews.com)

**PROF. PH.D. RASIM MURATOVIĆ FOR O KANAL AND OSLOBODENJE:  
I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE RS LEADERSHIP WILL BE PUNISHED,  
THERE IS NO RECONCILIATION WITHOUT AN APOLOGY**

*Jan 11, 2023.*



**You were one of the speakers at the scientific meeting and exhibition on the topic “9. January - Road to Genocide”. What is the goal of the project and how important is it to stop the revisionism of history that we face almost every day?**

- I said that we are facing revisionism, denial of genocide. In relation to the holocaust, which is very rarely denied, in the case of the genocide against the Bosniaks, we have constant denial.

**Arguments and documents**

I think that revisionism can be stopped only with a scientific aspect, a scientific approach, and in the way that the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law does - by publishing studies that are based on an argument and a document.

**On the eve of the commemoration of January 9, in the midst of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, Milorad Dodik, the President of Republika Srpska, awarded the highest decoration of this entity to Vladimir Putin, the President of the Russian Federation. What message is BiH sending to the world with this act? Can anyone stop Dodik and his associates?**

- We heard from one of the presenters of the scientific meeting that it is not, in fact, an act of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is actually the work of that part of Bosnia and Herzegovina that committed an anti-civilization act in the suburbs of Sarajevo just yesterday. I think that Milorad Dodik confirmed his anti-civilization act with that action and exposed the “Serbian-Russian world” that he stands for.

As I said in my presentation, the only and real remedy for all these types of evil is actually the development of democracy, the development of democratic relations and neglecting the subject of genocide. On the contrary, the topic of genocide needs to be incorporated into all programs - from primary, secondary, higher education, to program acts of all political parties and program acts of all business entities.

**Many European officials, members of the European Parliament, representatives of the Bundestag, the high representative, warned that the celebration of the day that the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared unconstitutional could have consequences. Do you believe that the leadership of the entities of Republika Srpska will really be punished and how? Why are the decisions of the Constitutional Court not respected?**

- I don't believe that the leadership of the entity will be punished, to tell you the truth. Judging by the high representative's activities so far, I don't believe that. It is a difficult question why the decisions of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina are not respected. There are certainly more factors that influence it, but we'll see. It is to be hoped that we will not have such cases and examples in the future.

**Can we even talk about reconciliation and truth when every day, and especially around January 9, we are faced with the denial of war crimes, genocide in Srebrenica? Every time we come back to the story of secession and denial of statehood. How to change such a behavior matrix?**

- Well, while that is the case, we certainly cannot talk about reconciliation. In fact, the victim should first experience an apology from the aggressor, the executioner, and only then should she, for herself, evaluate whether to accept that apology. Only the next step is reconciliation. Of course, it is difficult to change the behavior matrix you list. Apart from the development of democratic relations, which I have already mentioned, it remains for everyone who does his job, regardless of what he does, to do it in the best possible way. It is medicine and it is hope.

**Recently, there were messages from Russia that "besides Kosovo, Bosnia could also explode". Do we have reason to be afraid of a new conflict?**

- We have no reason to be afraid, but we have reason to be afraid. Our security services have an obligation, and they have a reason, to work harder on all of this, to inform the competent authorities. Competent authorities have to inform whoever they need to, but we have no reason to be afraid.

It is inevitable that we will once again talk about proceedings against war crimes suspects before the courts of the former Yugoslavia, and especially before the courts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Somehow justice seems really slow. Is it achievable and do you believe that the domestic courts will finally start the process of sentencing those who committed war crimes in these areas more promptly?

- Justice is slow, but attainable. We have 848 cases of the Hague Tribunal. These are items from the A list and there is reasonable suspicion for all of them that they have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide.

The task of science

So far, our judiciary has not done anything on the subject. Now it will be more than 20 years since they received those finished, finished objects. Hope they start doing their jobs, the way they should.

When will the time finally come, and will it even come, for the Bosnian society to condemn and remove all those who are responsible for the murders during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- Bh. the company has already done this in one segment in the past period. Of course, it is the task, first of all, of the scientific institutions to continue working and contribute to the completion of the process on that front.

## **DŽANANOVIĆ FOR HAYAT ABOUT MALAGURSK'S HOSTING: THE BOUNDARIES OF GENOCIDE DENIAL AND PROVOCATION ARE MOVED**

*Jan 12, 2023.*



Scientific associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, dr. sc. Muamer Džananović, was a guest on Hayat television.

During the guest appearance, they discussed Boris Malagurski's guest appearance in Sarajevo and shifting the boundaries of genocide denial and provocation.

## SARAJEVO MUSEUM 1878-1918: THE EXHIBITION “JANUARY 9 - THE ROAD TO GENOCIDE” WILL BE OPENED ON JANUARY 16

*Jan 16, 2023.*



The authors of the exhibition are research associates of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, Muamer Džananović and Hikmet Karčić, and Jasmin Medić, research associate of the UNSA Institute of History.

The FBiH Archives remind that the exhibition was presented to the public for the first time in the National Theatre.

Due to the great interest of the citizens in the exhibition, the Museum of Sarajevo and the FBiH Archives have signed an agreement on cooperation that will take place through the joint implementation of scientific-research, professional and other projects, programs and activities of mutual interest, the subject of which is the history and culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Source: [Slobodna-Bosna.ba](http://Slobodna-Bosna.ba)

**DOC. DR. ERMIN KUKA, SENIOR SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATE OF THE  
INSTITUTE HELD LECTURES IN SWITZERLAND**

*Jan 25, 2023.*



In the period from January 19 to 23, 2023, Assoc. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate at the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, was in Switzerland. At the invitation of Mr. Hazete Hamzić Salihović, was a guest at the promotion of the books: “I can’t forget” and “I will judge you”, which focus on the period 1992-1995. years. On that occasion, at a total of three promotions, in the congregations: GAM (St. Gallen), Ricken and Bischofszell, he gave lectures on the subject of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. and committed crimes against humanity and international law against Bosniaks. He also introduced those present at the promotions to the activities of the Institute in its work so far.

## SERBIA IS A DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE AGGRESSION AGAINST BIH

*Jan 25, 2023.*



A two-day appeal hearing in the case of the prosecutor against Jovica Stanišić and Fran-ko Simatović began yesterday before the International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Courts. After a repeated trial, they were sentenced to 12 years in prison each by a first-in-stance verdict in 2021 for aiding and abetting the commission of a crime in Bosanski Šamac in 1992 and providing practical assistance, which had a significant effect on the commission of the crime, by training and sending members of the special units of the SDB of Serbia. Higher penalties

Although they were acquitted of other crimes in other parts of the former country, the verdict confirmed Serbia's involvement, mainly through the police and security services, in the hostilities on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the appeal hearing, Stanisic's defense attorney, Wayne Jordash, pointed out that the Prosecution got confused when it comes to the grounds on which they are charged - joint criminal enterprise and aiding and abetting the JCE.

- The prosecution must show that the Trial Chamber committed neither a legal nor a factual error, when it determined that Stanišić knew that training and sending forces to the field helped specific criminal acts in Bosanski Šamac, said Jordash.

Simatović's defense attorney, Mihajlo Bakrač, pointed out that there is no basis in the evidence that his client had any possibility of independent decision-making. On the other hand, prosecutor Laurel Baig said that it was not shown that the Council made a mistake when it concluded that the duo on the dock aided and abetted the ethnic cleansing in Bosanski Šamac. She added that they should have been sentenced to much higher sentences.

Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo, expects that what the Prosecutor's Office wrote in the appeal procedure will be respected.

- It is about the fact that the SDB of Serbia dealt intensively with BiH, especially in the 80s and early 90s of the last century. Those who are a little older remember affairs such as: Agrokomerc,

Moševac, Skelani, up to the period and the so-called operations Pauk in the period 1992-1995. Those were the preparations for everything that would happen in the period 1992-1995, reminds prof. Ph.D. Muratović adds that it is not only about Bosanski Šamac, but also about Doboj, Bijeljina, Zvornik, Sanski Most and Trnovo - the place where the young men were shot, and the footage of which went around the world.

He points out that this shows the direct involvement of the SDB of Serbia, i.e. its units for special purposes, where Simatović was the main person.

- Regardless of what the verdict will be in the end, it is important that the involvement of the state of Serbia, that is, the SDB, the leading people of those services, has already been shown in the court process. This denies everything that is still not recognized on the territory of Serbia, which is the direct participation of Serbia, that is, its services, in the aggression and crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1992-1995, emphasized prof. Ph.D. Muratović.

He also points out that in the process so far it has already been shown that it is about JCE. He also reminds that the domestic judiciary is still waiting for the A list of cases, and that there is not a single indictment or verdict for crimes from the areas of Goražde, Sarajevo, Maglaj, Tuzla and Bihać. Scheduled events

Edvin Kanka Ćudić, coordinator of UDIK, points out that the complete process being conducted against Stanišić and Simatović shows that they were actually one of Slobodan Milošević's key figures when it comes to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia.

- In addition to the events in Bosanski Šamac, for which they were convicted, for crimes against humanity, murder, deportation, relocation of the population, the Court noted the events in Doboj - where 16 civilians were used as human shields, the imprisonment of civilians, the killing of Srebrenica residents in Trnovo, and the crimes in Sasini. This shows that what was done by the Serbian Volunteer Guard, the so-called Arkanovci, Red Berets, Scorpions, were not isolated cases of paramilitary formations, but actually planned events, emphasizes Ćudić.

Author: Matea Jerković

Source and photo: [Oslobođenje.ba](http://Oslobođenje.ba)



## OBILJEŽAVANJE 27. JANUARA – DANA SJEĆANJA NA ŽRTVE HOLOKAUSTA

### PROGRAM:

#### OTVARANJE IZLOŽBE -

**„JEVREJSKI RABSKI BATALJON - JEVREJI NARODNI HEROJI“**

AUTORA ELIJA TAUBERA, REKTORAT UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU,  
26. JANUAR 2023. GODINE U 11.30 SATI.

#### NAUČNI SKUP -

**„PUT PROGNANIH KA SLOBODI“**, 26. JANUAR 2023, 12.00 - 13.30 SATI,  
U SVEČANOJ SALI UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU, REKTORAT UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU.

#### OBRAĆANJE:

**PROF. DR. RIFAT ŠKRIJELJ**, REKTOR UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU

**DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ**,

UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU - INSTITUT ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE ZLOČINA PROTIV  
ČOVJEČNOSTI I MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA  
**IZLAGANJE NA TEMU: HOLOKAUST U JUGOISTOČNOJ EVROPI**

**MR. ALMIR GRABOVICA**,

UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU - INSTITUT ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE ZLOČINA PROTIV  
ČOVJEČNOSTI I MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA  
**IZLAGANJE NA TEMU: ANTISEMITSKI ZAKONI**

**DR. ELI TAUBER**,

DIREKTOR ARHIVA JEVREJSKE ZAJEDNICE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI  
**IZLAGANJE NA TEMU: JEVREJSKI RABSKI BATALJON - IZ LOGORA U PARTIZANE**

**MODERATOR I  
ZAVRŠNA RIJEČ:**

**PROF. DR. RASIM MURATOVIĆ**, DIREKTOR INSTITUTA ZA ISTRAŽIVANJE ZLOČINA PROTIV  
ČOVJEČNOSTI I MEĐUNARODNOG PRAVA UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU

NAUČNI SKUP I IZLOŽBA ĆE BITI ODRŽANI 26. JANUARA 2023. GODINE,  
U SVEĀANOJ SALI UNIVERZITETA U SARAJEVU,  
OBALA KULINA BANA 7/II, S POĀETKOM U 11.30 SATI

## DAYS OF MEMORY FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST

*Jan 27, 2023.*



On the occasion of commemorating January 27 - Holocaust Remembrance Day, the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo organizes and participates in a series of activities every year to honor the victims of the Holocaust, as well as to further study the crimes committed on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Holocaust. This year, the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, organized the commemoration of Holocaust Remembrance Day on Thursday, January 26.

According to the commemoration program, held at the Rectorate of the University of Sarajevo, the opening of the exhibition: “Jewish Slave Battalion - Jewish National Heroes”, by Eli Tauber, and the scientific meeting “The Path of the Exiled to Freedom” were held. In this way, the University of Sarajevo has joined the universities around the world that celebrate Holocaust Remembrance Day in an appropriate way.

The scientific conference was opened by prof. Ph.D. Rifat Škrijelj, rector of the University of Sarajevo, pointing out that the University of Sarajevo is commemorating January 27 - Memorial Day for the victims of the Holocaust, who were killed in the most brutal way just because they were Jews, by opening an exhibition and holding a scientific meeting. “With the Nazi ideology, the Jewish people in Europe were condemned to destruction and death, collectively and individually, only because it did not fit into the concept of social engineering of the Nazi creators of eugenics who advocated a pure and superior German race,” emphasized Rector Škrijelj, and underlined the exceptional importance of marking such dates, because, as he said, fascism as an ideology has never been fully defeated.

At the held scientific gathering dr. Hikmet Karčić (Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law UNSA) spoke on the topic “Holocaust in Southeast Europe”. He told the media that the focus of his presentation was on the events before Adolf Hitler came to power,

including the question - how is it possible for a certain evil to happen, and in the context of the ideology and propaganda that marked that time. He specified that the analysis of key moments from the period 1919-1933 is significant in this respect. years, that is, Hitler's entry into power and the establishment of the most brutal regime in the history of mankind.

Mr. Almir Grabovica (Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law UNSA) spoke on the topic "Anti-Semitic Laws", while Dr. Eli Tauber, director of the Archives of the Jewish Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, presented on the topic "Jewish Slave Battalion - from the camp to the partisans".

dr. Eli Tauber, the author of the exhibition "Jewish Slave Battalion - Jewish National Heroes", told reporters that the exhibition, which contains photographs and a text section, testifies to the participation of Jews in the National Liberation Movement (NOP). It is a unit, a Jewish battalion that was formed after the liberation of the camp on the island of Rab, i.e. after the capitulation of the Italian fascist regime in September 1943. dr. In this context, Tauber recalls that it was very significant, and that it was an organized joining of the NOP and partisan units.

The moderator of the scientific meeting was dr. Zilha Mastalić Košuta (Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law UNSA), who gave the closing speech, and pointed out that the state was behind the Nazi solution, and that everything was done systematically. She emphasized that today it is necessary to strengthen institutions where research on the Holocaust and genocide will be carried out, and at such gatherings to learn what kind of evil it is.

In November 2005, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a Resolution marking January 27 as International Holocaust Remembrance Day. On that date in 1945, Soviet troops liberated the infamous Auschwitz camp. For a full sixty years, they worked on discovering the historical, cultural, psychological, and civilizational causes that made the pogrom of the Jews possible, but also on finding a suitable remedy so that it would never happen to anyone again.



## THE DIALOGUE COMMITTEE OF THE MEMORIAL CENTER VISITED DACHAU, VILLACH AND MUNICH

*Feb 24, 2023.*



Source: [Fena.ba](https://fena.ba)

The dialogue committee of the Srebrenica Memorial Center visited the memorial dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust and all victims of the Nazi regime in the German city of Dachau.

The visit was realized as part of the “Truth, Dialogue, Future” project, which is implemented by the Srebrenica Memorial Center with the support of the Government of the United Kingdom.

According to estimates, more than 40,000 people from all over Europe were killed in the Dachau camp, and close to 200,000 were imprisoned. This infamous concentration camp was the first of its kind on the soil of Nazi Germany at the time. The memorial, located on the site of the former camp, depicts the suffering of the detainees and all the brutality of the Nazi regime.

- In the previous days, we visited places where thousands of people were killed just because they were of different faiths, different beliefs and different races. The Nazis imprisoned, tortured and killed over 40 thousand men, women and children in the Dachau camp. In a conversation with representatives of the Jewish community in Munich, we learned that out of the six million Jews killed, one million children perished in the Holocaust. That’s a million souls who didn’t get a chance to live. We will not and must not forget that. As we remember our murdered children, it is our duty to remember other people’s children, who were brutally murdered. Crime does not become obsolete, neither the victim nor the criminal must ever be forgotten. We remember the victim so that she will continue to live in our hearts, and the criminal so that we constantly remind the young generation that they must recognize criminal ideologies in order to prevent them - said the mothers of Srebrenica and Bratunac.

During the visit, the Dialogue Committee paid tribute to the victims of the Holocaust in the Austrian town of Villach at the “Denkmal der Namen” (“Memorial of the Name”) monument, after which they visited the Jewish Municipality of the City of Munich and the Ohel Jakob Synagogue. On that occasion, they met with the director of the Jewish community, Steven Guttman, and other representatives of the Jewish community in Munich. Members of the Dialogue Committee discussed the challenges of fighting against hate speech and denial of genocide and the Holocaust, and presented the current mechanisms and approaches that organizations and institutions use to create conditions for the process of dealing with crimes and preventing crimes.

Muamer Džananović, a research associate at the Institute for Crime Research at the University of Sarajevo and a member of the Dialogue Committee, points out that by visiting the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial and other institutions, Committee members wanted to pay respect to the victims, expand their knowledge of the extent of the Holocaust, but also convey the facts about the genocide against Bosniaks and to the extent of its negation.

- For those of us who scientifically research the Holocaust, genocide and their consequences, empirical research is crucially important in order to gain adequate knowledge. An important fact is that during these visits with representatives of the Jewish community in Munich and other representatives of other institutions, we found great understanding and interest in the extent of the genocide committed in and around Srebrenica. In this sense, it is certainly crucially important that the delegation of the Committee for Dialogue consists of the mothers of Srebrenica. They introduced our hosts to the facts that dozens of their family members and relatives were killed, and that the perpetrators and deniers of the genocide are still alive today. They pointed out that they want justice in this world, and never revenge, nor hatred, which was one of the conclusions and messages of our hosts and of us who made up the delegation of the Memorial Center during the visit to Austria and Germany - emphasized Džananović.

As part of its activities, the committee has so far visited numerous memorials and places of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the region and the world. The goal of these visits is to connect with other memorials and associations that are actively working on the memorialization of civilian victims of violence, to communicate the facts about the genocide in Srebrenica and to develop a dialogue on ways to fight against the denial of crimes.

*“The delegation of the Committee for Dialogue, in addition to Dr. Muamer Džananović, included, among others, Dr. Hikmet Karčić, also a scientific associate of the Institute.”*

## BIH INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATED IN GOTHENBURG: STOP DENYING THE STATE AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST RETURNEES

Mar 01, 2023.



More BiH an organization from Sweden tonight in Gothenburg, on the occasion of March 1, BiH Independence Day, organized a forum on the topic “Current institutional denial of genocide against Bosniaks by Serbia and the RS and discrimination of returnees in the RS”.

The guest of the evening was Muamer Džananović from the University of Sarajevo, and the forum was attended by a large number of young people who study, live and work in Sweden, and to whom their parents have passed on their love for their country Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In his presentation, Džananović informed the attendees of the historical facts that led to the referendum and the legal declaration of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina on whether they want an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state with equal rights for all its citizens.

He pointed out that the separatist forces that wanted a larger part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in greater Serbia had already greatly reduced their activities and had everything ready for their intentions, which they embarked on after the referendum.

“Political activity throughout 1991 and the formation of Serbian autonomous regions, the organization of an illegal plebiscite, the self-proclamation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on January 9, 1992, were moves that preceded the preparation for armed aggression and genocide. The fight for the homeland during the aggression, the survival of the state and Bosniaks in the conditions when no one gave them a chance is something from which they would have to draw adequate lessons,” emphasized Džananović.

He also spoke about the current political situation in the country, focusing on the institutional denial of genocide, the denial of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the discrimination and

segregation of returnees in the Bosnian entity Republika Srpska, which was particularly interesting to those present, considering that most of them were expelled from their homes. during aggression.

Citing numerous current examples, he pointed out that in the end, he wanted to completely change the character of the war, the truth about the defense of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and emphasized that, anyway, a small number of Bosniaks and Croats are being deprived of basic human rights in that entity.

“The latest events with E. Mahić in Kozarac are just one example of systematic persecution of a small number of returnees. Today, as in the 90s, the international community observes it without concrete reactions. The focus of the high representative is predominantly on the Federation, and it should be on the RS and the continuous attack on the constitutional and legal order of Bosnia and Herzegovina that comes from the governing policy of that entity. Even today, the fight for the homeland continues,” Džananović said.



He said that it is necessary to work on programs to preserve the homeland.

“Those who led the process of attacks on our homeland in the 1990s, although they are now in European prisons sentenced for genocide and sentenced to life imprisonment, are celebrated, glorified and have many followers in the smaller BiH entity and Serbia. That is why no one who loves their homeland, and especially the younger generation, we must not tire. Those who lead this country and act or say they are pro-Bosnian forces must urgently come up with strategies to stop negative processes and we must work on national programs to preserve our homeland and strengthen its institutions,” he said. Muamer Džananović on the stand in Gothenburg.

In addition to lectures for numerous visitors, a rich program dedicated to the homeland of Bosnia and Herzegovina was arranged.

Source: Klix.ba

## THE HISTORICAL RIGHT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO CHOOSE THE STATUS OF A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE

*Mar 02, 2023.*



Ermin Kuka for [Patrija](#)

Bosnia and Herzegovina, throughout history, had and maintained the continuity of its existence as a separate geographical, administrative, cultural and economic entity even after the loss of medieval state independence in 1463. During the period of Ottoman administration and rule, Bosnia existed as a separate territorial and administrative area. The natural-geographical (territorial) units that existed during the medieval Bosnian state remained until the arrival of the Ottomans, who carried out their reorganization, with the fact that they respected the natural-geographical units that had existed until then.

By the decisions of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina was given to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. That's when the new name "Bosnia and Herzegovina" was born, which has been preserved to this day. Even during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a special status (*corpus separatum*) was maintained, with the achievement of a special type of development and emancipation of Bosnian society. The period of Austro-Hungarian administration is the period in which Bosnia and Herzegovina begins to rapidly develop economically, culturally, urbanally, and infrastructurally. The beginning of the First World War in 1914 interrupted the positive development processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and set back the overall situation in the states affected by the conflict, including the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### **Interest in ethnic division**

In the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from the First World War to the Second World War, Bosnia and Herzegovina was outside the sphere of interest and occupation of the royal authority in the context of its development and progress. The current interest related to its ethnic division, which was strongly advocated by the national political and other elites of neighboring Serbia and Croatia. In the end, those interests were shaped in 1939 in the form of the Cvetković-Maček agreement, which agreed on the division of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina between Serbia and Croatia. The full implementation of that agreement was interrupted by the occupation of Yugoslavia by Germany in 1941.

During the Second World War, Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Hitler's Nazi and Mussolini's fascist forces. With the establishment of the Nazi quincean creation of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941, the largest part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of it. The so-called The Independent State of Croatia was an extension of Hitler's occupation of Europe and the Balkan Peninsula.

However, historical forces during the Second World War in Bosnia and Herzegovina led to the creation of a strong and broad anti-fascist national liberation front (movement). Its armed (military) component was the People's Liberation Army. Some of the key enemy offensives against the national liberation (partisan) army took place precisely on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina of all nationalities actively joined the anti-fascist movement and made an immeasurable contribution to the fight against the occupiers.

Thanks to the expressed general will and participation in the uprising of all its inhabitants in the joint fight against the occupiers, a decision was made to organize the First Session of the National Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBIH), following the example of other republics. The formed network of national liberation committees became the basis for the preparation and holding of the First Session of ZAVNOBIH on November 25, 1943 in Mrkonjić Grad. Thanks to the decisions of ZAVNOBIH, Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared a federal state unit, equal to Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The special historical significance of ZAVNOBIH lies in the fact that the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina was then restored, which was lost by the Ottoman conquest in 1463. Actually, from that historical point, a new period in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina begins. Its state development within the framework of common Yugoslavia was started.

Within the joint socialist Yugoslav federation, Bosnia and Herzegovina went through two important historical periods. The first period is the period of centralist-administrative development from 1945-1960. years. The second is the period of socialist self-governing development from 1960-1990. years. The significant progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina in almost all spheres of state and social work and activities took place precisely in the period of socialist self-management. The economy, education, transport infrastructure are developing, new companies are opening (especially industrial ones), which focus primarily on export. This is how employment grows. Three new universities are opening: Mostar, Tuzla and Banja Luka. That period of development of Bosnia and Herzegovina is recorded in historiography as a golden age in the development of Bosnian society. Along with general economic development, the capacities in the area of administrative and professional work of the municipal administration, as well as the administration at the republic level, have also been increased.

With such an intense and strong level of development, which could be compared with the medium-developed countries of Europe, Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with other republics of the Yugoslav federation, entered the process of dissolution of the joint state in the period from 1990-1992. years.

The crisis of the joint state (Yugoslav Socialist Federation) culminated in the late 80s and early 90s of the 20th century. The Yugoslav crisis lasted more than a decade. The crisis progressed especially after a series of failed attempts by the presidents of the republics and provinces to find a common political solution. There were several proposals for a solution to that crisis, starting with the reform of the federation, through more decentralization, to proposals for greater centralization. During 1990 and 1991, the process of dissolution of the SFRY deepened significantly. The conception of the formation of independent states prevailed. Already in 1991, Slovenia and Croatia carried out political pluralization and declared independence. Other republics and provinces also followed that path.

### **Pluralization of BH society**

Almost simultaneously with the process of dissolution of the SFRY, the historical process of political pluralization and transition to a multi-party system in all Yugoslav republics began. Pluralization of Bosnian society was carried out peacefully. During 1990, political parties were formed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus introducing a multi-party system. Three parties are formed on a mono-ethnic basis: SDA, HDZ BiH and SDS. The first multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina were held in November 1990, in which the just mentioned three parties won an absolute victory with 84% of the seats won in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With 16% of the seats, the opposition parties were almost completely marginalized.

Already in the first year of activity and decision-making in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the question of its political future was raised as the most important question. In the discussion in the Assembly, two options (two concepts) regarding the future political status and development of Bosnia and Herzegovina crystallized. The first concept, which implied the sovereign and independent legal status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was advocated by SDA, HDZ BiH and five opposition parties. The second concept, which implied that Bosnia and Herzegovina would be only one administrative territory within the already fragmented Yugoslavia, was advocated by the SDS led by Radovan Karadžić. In fact, that concept was based on the establishment of a "Greater Serbia" on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Realizing that the first concept could prevail, Radovan Karadžić issued an open threat in the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in October 1991, saying that if there was a war, the Muslims would not be able to defend themselves and it would be hell. After that, the SDS left the Assembly, and after the referendum, it openly set out to achieve the goal of creating a "greater Serbia".

The response of the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the open threats of Radovan Karadžić was the adoption of the Decision on holding a referendum on the sovereign and independent future of Bosnia and Herzegovina on January 25, 1992. The decision was preceded by the opinion of the Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia (the so-called Badinter Commission), according to which the path to the country's independence entailed holding a citizens' referendum on the sovereign and independent status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, the Assembly of Bosnia

and Herzegovina enabled the citizens to freely and democratically declare the sovereign and independent legal status of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The referendum was held in complex and tense socio-political relations and circumstances. Citizens' statements were made on February 29 and March 1, 1992. The referendum question read: "Are you for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state of equal citizens, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Muslims, Serbs, Croats and members of other nations who live there?". SDS supporters had the task of not going to the referendum and obstructing its implementation wherever the majority Serbian population lived. However, despite the obstructions, the referendum was successfully conducted under international control. This was confirmed by observers of the European Parliament, who assessed that the voting was honest and the organization of the referendum correct. Out of the 109 municipalities at that time, the referendum was held in 107 of them (only Grahovo and Drvar were not held).

64% of citizens registered in the voter's list took part in the referendum, of which 99% positively declared for the sovereign and independent status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The success of the referendum was the basis for international recognition of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, after the Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina determined the results of the referendum and made a decision on the declaration of independence, international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina followed on April 6 by the then 12 member states of the European Community, and then by the USA and other states.

The holding of the referendum was a historic act and moment, because the citizens democratically decided on the sovereign and independent future status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that, as such, it should enter into its own and independent development.

### **Historical context**

The response of the SDS and their supporters to the results of the referendum and the declaration of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the initiation of aggression, with the help of the JNA and other military forces from Serbia and Montenegro. In the period of almost four years of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, civil and patriotic forces organized the defense of the integrity, sovereignty and territory of the state. The fundamental bearers of defense were, in the political level, the War Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in the military aspect, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was formed by the War Presidency.

Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992-1995. was followed by the commission of numerous mass and individual crimes against humanity, primarily against Bosniaks, including the crime of genocide in all occupied towns and cities under siege. These facts have been confirmed in international and domestic courts, and they have been documented through numerous orders and directives of the so-called of the main staff of VRs. In addition to human victims, persecution of civilians and other crimes, the war also brought unprecedented material suffering and destruction. Despite suffering and destruction, Bosnia and Herzegovina managed to preserve its multi-ethnic being and integrity.

Armed aggression was stopped by the signing of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, better known as the Dayton Peace Agreement, at the end of 1995. The

leadership of the USA, with the support of the international community, played a crucial role in this. This agreement also rounded off the basis of the internationalization of the Bosnian issue, primarily through the building and stabilization of peace and the building of state institutions. In fact, the Dayton Peace Agreement provided the geopolitical basis for the establishment and development of the historic process of Bosnia and Herzegovina's integration into the European Union and the NATO alliance.

The starting point of the internationalization of the Bosnia and Herzegovina issue appears in the historical movement until the final achievement of Bosnia and Herzegovina's membership in the European Union and the NATO alliance. The historical process of Euro-Atlantic integration in the time after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement marks the overall content of the political development and structural reforms of the Bosnian society.

Looking at the overall historical context of the existence and development of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the continuity of its uniqueness in those different time distances and periods is clearly recognized. The continuity of the existence and development of statehood confirms the thesis that Bosnia and Herzegovina had the historical right to independently choose its status in the future, in the conditions of the dissolution of the SFRY. Therefore, March 1 is a historical date, since it happens only once in the history of the country.

Before Bosnia and Herzegovina is the task of completing the process of "Europeanization" of society and the state, which entails the implementation of a series of structural, especially constitutional, reforms. Building a state in peace takes place with the full involvement of the institutions of the international community, together with democratic and pro-Bosnian forces within the state. The stability of the institutions and the security of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the overall economic and social development, will go faster and better within the framework of the European Union and the NATO alliance. In this way, Bosnia and Herzegovina will become a legal and democratic state in which equal chances for the development and progress of all its citizens will be guaranteed. Because peace and the state have no other alternative, they are the two biggest public (general) goods.

Along with these messages of optimism, I congratulate all the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina on March 1, the Independence Day of our only homeland.

(The author of the text is Assoc. Dr. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate at the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo)

## ROUND TABLE “TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE: A CASE STUDY OF VIŠEGRAD” HELD AT IUS

*Mar 17, 2023.*



A round table discussion titled “Transitional Justice: A Case Study of Višegrad” was held on Thursday, March 16, 2023 at the Faculty of Law of the International University of Sarajevo (IUS). The speakers at the event included Prof. Dr. David Pettigrew from the Southern State Connecticut University, Mrs. Bakira Hasečić from the Association “Women Victims of War,” Asst. Prof. Dr. Ermin Kuka from the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ena Kazić- Çakar, Acting Dean of the IUS Faculty of Law.

Prof. Dr. Pettigrew focused on the challenges of memorialization in Bosnia and Herzegovina underlining the case of Višegrad and pointing out to the difficulties in the construction of a memorial site for the victims as well as the promotion of memorials to the war criminals. Mrs. Hasečić stressed the importance of testifying of the sufferings – an important segment in building the culture memory. Dr. Kuka touched on the issue of war criminal glorification and concluded that such a problem stands as a challenge to the establishment of transitional justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By using practical examples, he underlined that this is a pressing issue in Višegrad. Finally, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ena Kazić- Çakar also addressed the attendees and questioned the applicability of the plea bargains in war crimes cases reflecting on the cases of war crimes committed in Višegrad.

The aim of this round table discussion was to set out the difficulties faced in the establishment of transitional justice and implementation of its aims.



## DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ GAVE A LECTURE TO AMERICAN STUDENTS ABOUT THE GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Mar 20, 2023.*



On March 16, 2023, dr. Hikmet Karčić, research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo held a public lecture entitled “Roots of the Bosnian Genocide” at the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University.

During his lecture, which was attended by students and university staff, Dr. Karčić presented the main segments from his book “Torture, Humiliate, Kill: Inside the Bosnian Serb Camp System”, which was published by the University of Michigan in 2022.

## ROUND TABLE IN NEW YORK: THE JOURNEY OF THE SARAJEVO HAGGADAH

Mar 28, 2023.



On March 20, 2023, a round table entitled “The Journey of the Sarajevo Haggadah” was held at Teachers College Columbia University in New York. At this gathering, they discussed the importance of the Sarajevo Haggadah and the importance of including the story of saving the Sarajevo Haggadah in the educational process. Scientific associate dr. Hikmet Karčić held an introductory lecture on “Dervish M. Korkut, Sarajevo Haggadah and Muslim Resolutions”.

The organizer of this gathering was The International Lab for Research and Leadership in Interfaith Collaboration and Coexistence, which was founded as part of Columbia University, under the leadership of Professor Dr. Amra Sabic El-Rayees.

The partners of this event were: Congress of Bosniaks of North America, World Jewish Congress, Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jewish Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, La Benevolentija and American Sefar Federation.

## THE BOOK THAT CAUSED GREAT PUBLIC INTEREST: HOW THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA WAS CREATED

Mar 29, 2023.



Published by the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo, the book ‘The Origin Republika Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)’, co-authored by dr. Muamer Džananović, Ph.D. Hikmet Karčić and dr. Jasmin Medić.

Due to the intriguing topic, the book has already attracted great interest from the local and regional public.

“Jasmin Medić, Hikmet Karčić and Muamer Džananović are serious people. They understand that when we talk about genocide, we should talk from the beginning - and the beginnings of every crime of the system lie in its political decisions,” wrote Dr. Emir Suljagić, director of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center.

### **We will not be silenced**

In an interview with the Radiosarajevo.ba portal, Jasmin Medić says that this book was created with the goal “to describe the origin of this creation and to answer all those who keep silent about historical facts”.

According to him, the goal was to make a scientific contribution on the subject of the origin of the RS, but also to send the message “that they cannot silence us”.

“With the book, we want to give the entire public, both in the region and beyond, a contribution to the understanding of the origin of RS west of the Drina. Its origin is not a reflection of spontaneous political moves, but goes deep into the past. Whenever Serbian nationalists had the opportunity, they used it to commit crimes against Bosniaks, Croats, but also those Serbian civilians who did

not accept Serbian nationalist politics. The origin and existence of the RS should be viewed in that context,” says Dr. Medić for the Radiosarajevo.ba portal.

Furthermore, dr. Džananović explains that with this work they wanted to “present the reasons and motives for the creation of the RS, and prove that the separatist ideas and strategic goals of the then leaders could not be realized in any other way than through genocide”.

“The separatist ideas and ‘strategic goals’ are not being abandoned even today. Celebrating, glorifying, denying the genocide and celebrating the ‘9th of January 1992.’ are just some of the activities that are organized and supported by the political structures in the RS today. This work is also a scientific response to the increasingly frequent attempts to rewrite history and attempts to relativize and deny crimes. Accordingly, it is also a response to all revisionist circles in the service of politics.”, Džananović tells us.

### **A reply to all revisionists**

According to dr. Karčić, previous literature has mainly focused on the war period. Therefore, they felt that it would be very useful to cover the events that preceded the year 1992.

“For any understanding of organized violence and genocide, it is necessary to analyze the socio-political activities that led to it. Through this publication, we try to give a brief insight into the most important activities and events during 1991 and 1992,” said Dr. Karcic.

Dr. Medić concludes that this book is also “our answer to all revisionists, mythomaniacs and those who use science for political purposes, or rather abuse it”.

“When someone wants to present the RS to us as an expression of one’s freedom, they should also show the other side of the medal, which is that its creation was prepared for a long time and that through that creation, hatred towards non-Serb peoples was an important factor. Among other things, this is also discussed in the book we’re talking,” concluded dr. Medic.

Source: [RadioSarajevo.ba](http://RadioSarajevo.ba)

## BOOK PUBLICATIONS “THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRB: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)”

*Apr 07, 2023.*



The Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo published the book: “THE EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)”, authored by Dr. Muamer Džananović, Ph.D. Jasmin Medić and others. Hikmet Karcic.

The book represents the consolidated multi-year scientific research of the author. It is systematized in six chapters and written on the basis of primary archival material. A small part of excerpts or entire documents can be found in the appendices of the book.

The reviewers of the book are: academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, Ph.D. Amir Kliko, prof. Ph.D. Ehlimana Memišević and prof. Ph.D. Hariz Halilovich. The editor of the book is M.Sc. Almir Grabovica.

Academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović (Vice President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina) states in his review, among other things, that “the book represents the first comprehensive study of the origins of the Republic of Srpska and focuses on all important decisions made during 1991 and the first half of 1992. The work will have a very significant role in the education of students at the faculties of humanities and social sciences. Also, the book can serve the social and political institutions of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as international institutions, to first of all understand, but also protect the independence, sovereignty and international recognition of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović (Director of the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo) states that “at a time when the genocide against Bosniaks is denied in various ways, when it is commemorated, celebrated and glorified “9. January” the day when the “Republic of Srpska” was declared unconstitutional and illegal, the least that science owes is to explain the phenomenon of the origin, that is, the origin of the so-called

Republika Srpska. The authors incorporated their scientific, primarily empiric research and wrote a work that is of immeasurable importance for Bosnian society and Bosnian science. The act fully explains the motive, method, and reason for declaring the so-called of Republika Srpska and its institutions.”

dr. Amir Klico (Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo) writes in the review that “the authors, using primary sources, explain the unconstitutional and illegal activities of SDS leaders and members in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1991 and the first half of 1992.” By giving the necessary historical overview that explains the origin of the idea of creating a Serbian state west of the Drina River, the authors have written a significant work for several scientific fields and disciplines, but also a socially necessary and necessary work.”

Prof. Ph.D. Ehlimana Memišević (Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo) states that this book “represents the first comprehensive analysis of the process of creating the Republika Srpska entity, which included the commission of genocide, as Ratko Mladić himself characterized the six strategic goals that at the 16th session of the Assembly (unilaterally declared ) of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, presented by its president Radovan Karadžić. A particularly significant contribution of this book, for understanding the process of the creation of the Republika Srpska and the repetition of the crime of genocide against the Bosniak population at the end of the 20th century, is the consideration of the context of the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the process of the creation of Balkan nation-states and organized violence against the Balkan Muslim population.”

Prof. Ph.D. In his review, Hariz Halilovich (RMIT University, Melbourne) writes, among other things, that “the book is intended for the academic public (researchers, students, experts) who study the recent political history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also for all those who personally or institutionally are interested in the phenomena of politically motivated violence, post-genocide societies and cause-and-effect relationships between nationalist projects and violence... I believe that the publication of this work is absolutely necessary because it contains original scientific contributions and, for the most part, unpublished or uninterpreted material on historical facts. , documents and events related to the understanding of the circumstances that preceded the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and the crimes that were part of a wide spectrum of politically motivated violence with the aim of creating the “Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina”. Therefore, the work is of exceptional importance and will contribute to the scientific understanding of the transformation of nationalist rhetoric into a concrete and systematic campaign of violence whose original intention and final result was the genocide of Bosniaks.”

Several promotions of the book are planned in the country and abroad, and the promotion in Sarajevo is scheduled for April 25, 2023 in the Sarajevo City Hall.

## **DR. ERMIN KUKA FOR “AVAZ”: THE RUSSIANS ARE USING THE “SCORCHED EARTH” TACTIC, AS IT USED TO BE IN THE VICINITY OF VISEGRAD, IN BAHMUT**

*Apr 13, 2023.*



The involvement of Russian citizens in the ranks of the VRS during the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina has been mostly researched, documented and known, but every April 12 opens a new debate about a special day in their honor. By the decision of the Government of the RS, the date when Konstantin Bogoslovski, Vladimir Safonov and Dmitriy Popov were killed in the battles with the RBiH Army at Zaglavak near Visegrad was included in the calendar of significant events, so the Day of Russian Volunteers is still celebrated today at the Megdan cemetery in Visegrad.

### **Battle for Zaglavak**

- On April 12, 1993, members of the Second United Russian Volunteer Detachment, under the command of Trofimov Mihailo Viktorović, launched an attack on the defenders' positions at the Zaglavak and Stolac elevations, where Vladimir Safonov and Dimitrij Popov were killed. Konstantin the Theological was also killed in the attack on the Zaglavak hill. Aleksandar Kravchenko, one of the most famous Russian mercenaries on the battlefields around Višegrad, was seriously wounded in the head by shrapnel on the Zaglavak hill, as well as Vladimir Jeger - said for “Avaz” Assoc. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate at the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Kuka recalls that Russian volunteers and mercenaries started coming to Visegrad in an organized manner in late October and early November 1992.

- The bearer of the activities of their arrival was the Cossack captain Aleksandar Kravchenko. With their arrival in the Visegrad area on November 1, 1992, the Second Russian Volunteer Detachment was formed. This detachment was part of the Višegrad Brigade of the VRS, and acted as a special sabotage unit. The Russians also called them “Imperial Wolves”. The headquarters of the detachment was in Okolište, a Visegrad settlement on the left bank of the Drina river. Due to the

failure on the battlefield, a group of about 50 Cossacks came to Višegrad on January 2, 1993, with the aim of helping the VRS in their offensives towards Goražde and Srebrenica. The base of the First Cossack Half Squadron was in the former Institute for Mentally Retarded Female Children and Youth in Višegrad - says Kuka.

### **The village was completely burned and looted**

He adds that the first commander of the First Cossack half-squadron in Višegrad was Ataman Aleksandar Zagrebov.

- Immediately after the arrival of the Cossacks in Višegrad, on January 12, 1993, an attack was made on the village of Tvrtkovići. The attack was commanded by Zagrebov. The operation on the village of Tvrtkovići was called “scorched earth”. The village was completely looted and burned. The Cossack Vasiliy Viktorovich Ganijevski was killed in the attack. It is indicative that, according to the recent statement of one of the commanders of the Ukrainian army, the Russian army in the invasion of Ukraine began to apply precisely the “scorched earth” tactic in the eastern Ukrainian city of Bakhmut. Bakhmut is at the center of the biggest battle since the start of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine. Therefore, they applied that tactic in early 1993 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, using the example of a much smaller populated place - points out Kuka.

### **More than 700 Russians in the war in BiH**

More than 700 Russians participated in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in honor of 37 who died on the battlefields in 2011, a monument with their names was unveiled at the Megdan military cemetery in Visegrad. One of the streets in Višegrad is called Kozačka, and six years ago a Russian cross 5.5 meters high was erected on the Grad hill above Višegrad. It was donated by the Association “April 12” from Kosovska Mitrovica, whose representatives also attended today’s commemoration at Megdan.

However, unlike in previous years, when numerous Russian mercenaries and their commanders came to Višegrad on the Day of Russian Volunteers, the commemoration was attended today by only a few dozen representatives of authorities and associations from RS, Montenegro and Kosovo, as well as family members of one Russian volunteer. The reason is the new aggression, this time against Ukraine, and sanctions against Russia by the democratic world.

Written by: Alen Bajramović

Source: [Avaz.ba](http://Avaz.ba)

## **PROMOTION OF THE BOOK: “THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)”**

*Apr 24, 2023.*

A month ago, the book: “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)”, co-authored by dr. Muamer Džananović, Dr. Hikmet Karčić and others. Jasmin Medic.

The book was published by the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo.

The reviewers of the book are: academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, Ph.D. Amir Kliko, prof. Ph.D. Ehlimana Memišević and prof. Ph.D. Hariz Halilovich.

Academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović (Vice President of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina) states in his review, among other things, “that the book represents the first comprehensive study of the origin of the Republic of Serbia and focuses on all important decisions made during 1991 and the first half of 1992. The work will have a very significant role in the education of students at the faculties of humanities and social sciences. Also, the book can serve the social and political institutions of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as international institutions, to first of all understand, but also protect the independence, sovereignty and international recognition of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Prof. Ph.D. Hariz Halilovich (professor at RMIT University, Melbourne) in his review, among other things, writes: “I believe that the publication of this work is absolutely necessary because it contains original scientific contributions and, for the most part, unpublished or uninterpreted material about historical facts, documents and events related to the understanding of the circumstances that preceded the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and the crimes that were part of a wide spectrum of politically motivated violence with the aim of creating a “Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina”. Therefore, the work is of exceptional importance and will contribute to the scientific understanding of the transformation of nationalist rhetoric into a concrete and systematic campaign of violence whose original intention and final result was the genocide of Bosniaks.”

The promotion of the book will be held tomorrow, April 25, 2023, starting at 6:00 p.m. in the Town Hall.

The promoters are: academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović - vice president of ANU BiH, prof. Ph.D. Sead Turčalo - Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Sarajevo and prof. Ph.D. Emir Suljagić - director of the Srebrenica Memorial Center - Potočari. The keynote speakers are: Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović - director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law and prof. Ph.D. Sedad Bešlija - director of the Institute of History.

**THE PROMOTION OF THE BOOK: “THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)” WAS HELD IN THE TOWN HALL.**

*Apr 27, 2023.*

The book “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)”, authored by dr. Muamer Džananović - scientific associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, dr. Jasmin Medica - scientific associate of the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo and Dr. Hikmet Karčić - scientific associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, was presented in the Sarajevo City Hall on April 25, 2023.

The book was published a month ago by the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo.

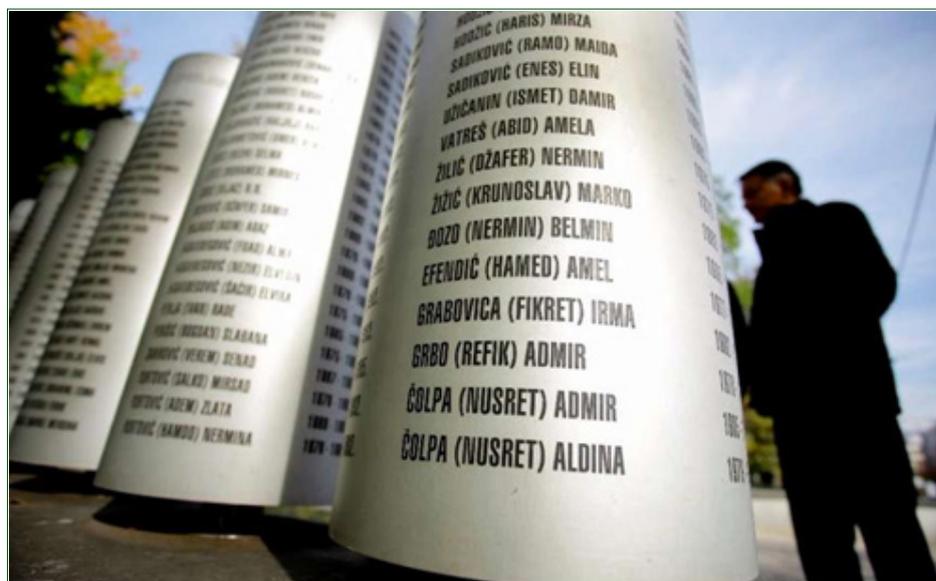
Opening speeches at the promotion were given by dr. Sedad Bešlija - director of the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo and prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović - Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo.

The promoters of the book were the academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović - vice president of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, prof. Ph.D. Sead Turčalo - Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Sarajevo and prof. Ph.D. Emir Suljagić - director of the Srebrenica Memorial Center.

The book analyzes in detail the long-term process of transformation and renaming of political, military and civil structures and putting them into the function of realizing a criminal plan. The book was created by analyzing hundreds of thousands of documents, and it has a clear goal, to oppose the increasingly strong historical revisionism. At the promotion, it was pointed out the multiple importance of this work for our society.

## SARAJEVO - 1425 DAYS OF SIEGE

May 04, 2023.



On the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of the siege of Sarajevo, regarded as the longest besiege of any city in modern history, we have captured the moving testimonies of the people who survived nearly four years of occupation. What was life like without electricity, without water, without food, with the constant threat of death looming over them from the surrounding hills with all manner of weapons? Parents whose children were killed by fragments of grenades and sniper bullets have spoken about their overwhelming pain and loss.

## **AFTER THE NEWS ABOUT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HVO MUSEUM: HISTORICAL AND JUDICIAL FACTS ABOUT THE HELIODROM CAMP**

*May 04, 2023.*

Dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta for Oslobođenje

The HVO museum is planned to be in the building where the command of the Heliodrom camp was stationed, along with a museum display consisting of military and cultural-historical collections. It is completely obvious that the construction of the HVO museum at this location is an act of revisionism and the alteration and falsification of established historical and judicial facts.

It is inadmissible and inappropriate to erect a museum at the place where the war crime was committed and judged by the International War Crimes Tribunal, the HVO and the HV of the Republic of Croatia, which participated in organizing and committing crimes against the civilian population, and that in a place where in the period from the second half of 1992 until the middle of 1994, it was the Heliodrom concentration camp. On the other hand, I believe that it is a provocation towards all the victims who went through wartime torture camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992 to 1995.

In this regard, it is important to recall the historical and judicially established facts about the Heliodrom camp.

### **Mass arrest**

By the decision on the establishment of September 3, 1992, signed by Bruno Stojić, Minister of Defense of the HVO, a short time later, on September 22, the Central Military Prison for the area of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna was established as part of the Heliodrom barracks. In the HVO reports, it was stated that in the second half of 1992, civilians of Bosniak and Serb nationality were imprisoned in Heliodrom, who were taken to forced labor for the needs of the HVO.

The managers of the camp were Stanko Božić and Zlatko Aleksovski, and the deputy manager was Josip Praljak. Other personnel in the camp consisted of: guard commander Ante Smiljanić and interrogators: Josip Marčinko, Predrag Čović, Ivan Škutor, Zvonko Vidović Jež and a dozen other guards.

On May 9, 1993, as part of the HVO attack on Mostar, members of the HVO carried out a mass arrest of the civilian population from the part of the city on the right bank of the Neretva River in Mostar, where, in addition to the resident population, refugees, mostly from the area of Podveležje, were housed and Nevesinja. The civilians were taken to the Heliodrom camp.

According to the data of the Commission for Social Protection and Humanitarian Aid, only until June 30, 1993, 6,000 Bosniaks were arrested and detained. Among them were several hundred Serbs and members of the VRS, as well as “disloyal Croats”. Inmates from other HVO camps were also brought to the same camp. Given that the number of inmates was increasing every day, it is difficult to determine the final number.

Regarding the captured Bosniaks, the Prime Minister of Herceg-Bosna, Jadranko Prlić, said at a meeting held on July 12, 1993, that these people were arrested for “security reasons”. General Milivoj Petković had a similar attitude.

Camp inmates were imprisoned in the following facilities: two sports halls, a school and the central prison, and women and children were detained on the top floor, while solitary confinement was located in the basement rooms. The camp was poorly secured, the environment was messy and neglected, it was overcrowded with inmates, and the hygienic conditions were unacceptable, causing intestinal and respiratory diseases and infectious diseases such as scabies. Camp inmates received very small and insufficient meals. The entrance to the camp was not properly regulated, so anyone had access to the inmates and anyone could take them out to work.

In the HVO camps, crimes were committed against the inmates. They were used for forced labor, for demining minefields, as human shields during attacks by members of the HVO on the combat positions of the ARBiH, the extraction of injured or dead members during their offensives, the construction of houses and the cleaning of Croat houses, for digging trenches and trenches, digging graves and many other forced labors. They were taken mainly to Buna, Bakina Luka, Raštane, Soviče, Risovac and other places in western Herzegovina. The most difficult places to work were the “Vinko Martinović Štela sector”, from the Health Center to HIT, the “Benito Sesar sector” from Šemovac to the Health Center, and work in Šantićeva street. Going to the area of Bijelo Polje was especially critical for the life of the prisoners, where every time one of the prisoners was killed during the works. It also happened that camp inmates escaped, after which other camp inmates would later be mistreated.

One of the methods of abusing inmates was sending them to the front lines with wooden guns so that the ARBiH fighters would think they were HVO soldiers and shoot them. At the beginning of September 1993, HVO and HV forces tried to forcibly move the separation line in Šantićeva street with the help of arrested Bosniak civilians. They made them go in groups of a hundred or more with sandbags to meet the positions of the ARBiH. The unfortunate people were hurried from behind by a cannonade of bullets. Some tried to go back to avoid open death, however, HVO members shot at them. The consequences of such actions were a greater number of murdered inmates. Some were killed in front of the barricade they wanted to reach in order to save themselves. Such situations were frequent, and often led to the death, injury and escape of inmates.

Milivoj Petković issued an order that, when establishing the reached lines, HVO commanders can “use prisoners and detained Muslims”. HVO commanders regularly submitted requests to give them detainees, with the aim of “necessary works for the defense of the city.” The authority to decide on sending camp inmates to forced labor was given to Vladimir Primorac. After the camp inmate was killed during forced labor, the commanders, in a letter to the Heliodrom camp administration, would send a “notice” that their “protégé” had lost his life “from an enemy bullet” and that they had buried him in the “Balinovac harem.”

Members of the HVO physically abused the inmates after returning from forced labor, inflicting severe physical injuries, especially in the head and limbs. Those injuries were visible on a large number of camp inmates.

On July 4, 1993, a decision was made ordering “the release of all Serbs who are in prison.” After that, a certain number of persons of Serbian nationality remained in the camps and were used for exchanges with the Croatian population, captured in the Serbian camps. Thus, on July 5, 55 persons of Serbian nationality were prepared for exchange in Livno. Given that the exchange did not succeed, the persons were returned to the camp again.

During the mass deportation of civilians to the Heliodrom camp on May 9, 1993, a number of members of the ARBiH were also taken to the camp due to circumstances. Members of the ARBiH of Croatian nationality who were captured on that occasion were even more mistreated. The statements of the camp inmates confirm that their ribs were broken by terrible blows. One witness says that they were “shown as monkeys”, asked to simulate an airplane and to throw themselves head and chest into the sand. They slept on boards, they got food once a day in tiny amounts, and they could use the toilet for a few seconds.

According to the Geneva Convention, civilians are protected. Article 23 of the Third Geneva Convention states that under no circumstances may prisoners of war be sent or held in areas where they may be exposed to fire from the combat zone. Article 50 excludes any work of a military nature or purpose in which prisoners of war would be engaged. Working on the front line is contrary to both of these prohibitions. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) responded several times in writing and never received a response. The Herceg-Bosna authorities violated international and humanitarian obligations by using prisoners to work on the front line. Violations of international humanitarian law have been numerous since the beginning of the war in RBiH and resulted in hundreds of killed, injured and wounded. The International Committee of the Red Cross demanded that Herceg-Bosna authorities “immediately” order forces under their command to stop using detainees to work on or near the front line, or to carry out any other tasks that put detainees at risk.

However, relevant sources show us that this practice continued even after that. Some of the prisoners detained at the Heliodrom were released by the HVO, on the condition that “they agree to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina and go to another country”. There were also other methods, the so-called more humane solutions, implemented by the HVO towards the Bosniaks, who lived in the part under its control, so through the emigrant community from Prijedor, its headquarters in Zagreb and a private carrier from Karlovac, they were offered emigration to Sweden and Norway at certain prices. According to one of the SIS reports from July 22, 1993, several cases of organized “emigration of Muslims to Norway” were recorded, with 400 DEM per person being charged from the camp inmates from Heliodrom. In addition to Sweden and Norway, there was emigration to Cyprus and Germany.

And that was part of the plan for “humane resettlement”, where many residents of Mostar accepted that salvation card in order to save their own lives. Bosniaks were forced to sign a statement renouncing all movable and immovable property in favor of the HVO. It is interesting, for the sake of comparison, that Bosniaks were also forced in the territory under the control of the Serbian aggressor to sign a statement that they renounce all movable and immovable property in favor of the authorities of the Republika Srpska before persecution. In RS, Croats also had to sign it.

In August 1993, several journalists from Western European and American news TV companies and a group of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, with the permission of the HVO, entered the Helidrome. Among them were journalists from Sky News and The Times, who were allowed to visit one cell, the size of an average office, which housed 61 prisoners and 18 beds. The emaciated, drunken-faced prisoners did not want to make statements. In the announcement of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, it was pointed out that 15,000 Bosniaks were imprisoned in camps held by the HVO.

At the meetings of the leaders of Herceg-Bosnia held on December 11 and 13, 1993, in order to implement Mate Boban’s order to dissolve all concentration camps and detention facilities by December 17 at the latest, they discussed what to do next with the inmates. Berislav Pušić thought it

was important to make preparations for sending camp inmates abroad. Ivica Lučić then stated that women, children and the elderly should be freed first. That statement testifies to the fact that women, children and the elderly were still kept in the camps. Lučić stated that most were arrested and detained because their apartments were robbed and the perpetrators moved into them. He suggested that these persons be sent to the part under the control of the ARBiH, and considering that they are pressed there by the problems of accommodation and food, these persons would be a “burden” for them, which would be a good reason for them to move away.

At the next meeting on December 14, it was pointed out that part of the detainees should be distributed so that 10% of the inmates can remain in Herceg-Bosnia. On March 1, 1994, 1,001 inmates were recorded in the Heliodrom, although Boban pointed out that all “detention centers” were closed by December 17. Spomenka Cek from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia pointed out that according to ICRC data, there are still between 4,000 and 4,500 inmates in these camps, of which 1,000 should go to “the Muslim side on the left bank of the Neretva, between 100 and 200 to Jablanica, additional 400 to Zenica and Žepa, and 1,000 to third countries”. The other inmates were supposed to be kept in the camps. Camp inmates were kept in those camps even after the Washington Agreement.

Although a certain number of inmates were released from Heliodrom in the period from December 19 to 24, 1993, a large number of them were kept. The authorities of Herceg-Bosnia qualified those inmates as “captured soldiers of the ARBiH” and, as stated by the authorities of Herceg-Bosnia, “they remain in prison until further notice”. However, the list included captured civilians, people over 60 years old and children. On March 1, 1994, 1,001 “detainees” were recorded in Heliodrom. The number of prisoners on March 19, 1994 was 882, and there were 216 inmates on forced labor that day. This is especially worrying if we know that the Washington Agreement was signed on March 18, and Boban promised to release all inmates by December 17, 1993. In the order of February 5, 1994, General Ante Rosso asked for “100 green ants”, and after the completion of the work, the commander of ZP Mostar “orderly returns the ants to the anthill”. Tuta and Štela

According to the reports of the Military Police Administration, the inmates were in Heliodrom even after the signing of the Washington Agreement, and according to the Report of April 17, 1994, a number of 228 inmates were recorded. Camp inmates were regularly taken to forced labor on the orders and approvals of Ante Rossa, Željko Šilje, Minister Perica Jukić, Marijan Biškić and others, where deaths, escapes and injuries were recorded daily. They were often taken to forced labor for the Croatian army, for the Tigers and Gromovi brigades.

The leaders of Herceg-Bosnia, Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoj Petković, Valentin Ćorić, Berislav Pušić, Mladen Naletilić Tuta, Vinko Martinović Štela, who knew about the camps and torture in them, were convicted before the International Court in The Hague. did nothing to prevent it, but encouraged actions that led to crimes against humanity. Before the domestic courts, several HVO members were also sentenced to several years in prison for crimes against humanity in the Heliodrom camp.

After all the presented historical and judicially established facts, the question remains: Should this be made a monument by building a museum?

Source: [Oslobodjenje.ba](http://Oslobodjenje.ba)

## THE BOOK “EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS” WAS PROMOTED IN GORAŽDE.

May 07, 2023.



The Bosnian cultural community Preporod in Goražde, under the auspices of the Ministry of Veteran Affairs BPK Goražde, organized the promotion of the book “Emergence of the Republic of Serbia: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)”, co-authored by Muamer Džananović, Jasmin Medić and Hikmet Karčić.

The work is chronologically organized into six chapters in which the authors analyze and synthesize the relevant literature and primary archival material, and provide insight into the most important events that preceded the proclamation of the so-called “Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, i.e. “Republic of Srpska” on January 9, 1992. The authors also provide a historical overview, followed by a detailed overview of continuous unconstitutional actions during 1991, but also of the period of final preparations for the operationalization of genocide and other crimes against humanity, which were made official on May 12, 1992, when at the 16th session the self-proclaimed “Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina” adopted “Strategic goals of the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina”.

The reviewer Rasim Muratović, Ermin Kuka and Almir Grabovica spoke about the book published by the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo.

“On the 70th page of this book, there is a statement by Ivan Stambolić, where he refers to a conversation with Vasa Čubrilović, who told him that a whole group of “immortals” is working tirelessly to feel Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to somehow find a “goat track” that leads from Belgrade to Karlovac, but exclusively through Serbian villages and towns. I want to say that the conceptual design of the RS was made in Belgrade, that is, in Serbia, the executive design of the RS was made in the Sarajevo Holiday Inn hotel in the period from September 1991 to January 1992. The realization of the entire project lasted from April 1992 to August 1995. In the language of facts, this would

mean the following: the Bosnian society and state were broken, a million people were expelled, 500 thousand people were wounded, over 100 thousand people were killed, 30 thousand women were raped, 300 concentration camps and 600 mass graves were organized. During that period, numerous crimes against humanity and international law were committed, including the genocide against Bosniaks. Because of this, and because of the final verdicts of international courts, the RS is also a genocidal creation,” said Dr. Muratović.

### Scientific truth

This scientific work is important for our history and for a complete understanding of what happened to us in that period, emphasizes dr. Ermin Kuka, one of the promoters.



“The special importance of this book is also the fact that it unmask, deconstructs and demythologizes a narrative that we are constantly witnessing and exposed to by the Serbian and majority Serbian, both political and academic public. The book unmask the narrative that, as time goes by, is more aggressive and intense, about who is to blame for the war conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is about imposing the narrative that the Bosniaks started the war and that the motive was the murder of a Serbian wedding party at Bašćaršija in Sarajevo, of course a relevant, scientifically documented answer should have been offered which is found in this book, which are relevant documents and documents from the other side”. Kuka pointed out.

The editor of the book, Almir Grabovica, pointed out that he was most fascinated by the fifth chapter “Criminals in Connection”, which contains intercepted telephone conversations between the Serbian political elite during 1991 and 1992, including numerous conversations between Slobodan Milošević and Radovan Karadžić.

“We should praise the employees of the State Security Service of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina who, during the year 1991, eavesdropped on the telephone conversations of high-ranking Serbian representatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. Intercepted conversations from this period are the primary source for understanding the genocidal intent,” Grabovica emphasized.

Muamer Džananović, one of the book’s authors, among other things, spoke about the motives behind its creation and emphasized the importance of the documents they came across during scientific research.

### **From the SDS archive**

“For the purposes of working on this study, in addition to the significant documentation of the Hague Tribunal, we came into possession of important documents which, I think, were not even in The Hague, and which Karadžić and their followers had previously read, we are talking about archival documentation of the SDS that was given to us helped us see all the facts objectively. We tried to write as simply as possible so that the work would be accessible to a wider audience, especially pupils and students,” said dr. Muamer Džananović.

Co-author of the book dr. Jasmin Medić, research associate of the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo, said that while writing he never thought about the saying that history repeats itself and that there was never a smaller difference between some processes from three decades ago and the political present. He explains that it is precisely because of the parallel between today and what is written in the book, a desire arose for it to see the light of day.

“If nothing else at this moment, I hope that it will serve all of us as a warning of what can happen if we do not take the political developments in the region and BIH seriously.” Even today, as in 1991, nationalist circles, Serbian and Croatian, in Belgrade and Zagreb, have once again found common ground on the only thing they agree on, the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even today, we are threatened by the exit of some police formations on some ethnic or entity lines, and today many are aware that “political Sarajevo” does not have effective control over all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that the patriotic bloc is again divided into several factions, which is why this country is in continuous dangers very similar to those in the early 1990s,” warned Dr. Medic.

### **A lesson from the past**

Waiting for someone from outside, from the International Community, to solve the political situation shows that we have not learned anything from the 90s, says dr. Medic.

“The number of the majority people is still being questioned in such circles and there is an undisguised attempt to reduce the majority people to a religious group. They tell us that we cannot even be equal with others, at the same time they are satisfied that we are placed in the so-called central Bosnian reserve as they announced to us in 1991 and 1992, and they are even more satisfied that we have become, to be completely honest, a statistical error without any decision-making rights in a smaller BiH entity. Anyone who thinks that any of us will be spared in their projections and plans is delusional. In the projections and plans, they do not divide us into rightists or leftists, into conservatives or liberals, they do not divide us into believers, agnostics or atheists, for them we are all the same, we convinced that in Prijedor in 1992, in Srebrenica in 1995, throughout Podrinje in 1992. in Sarajevo during the siege. Anyone who thinks that a process has ended in BIH and the Western Balkans is denied every day by nationalist actions in our environment. Whoever thinks so should not be surprised if in 30 years a new generation appears who will write about the tragedy of us who lived today and survived genocide and aggression. Let’s just be honest, if that happens that time, unlike in the 90s, we will bear part of the responsibility because we didn’t learn anything from our recent past”, said Dr. Medic.

At the promotion attended by a large number of citizens of Goražde, it was pointed out that the authors received an offer from a reputable British publisher to publish the book in English.

## DAY OF REMEMBRANCE OF MURDERED CHILDREN GORAŽDE: MURDERS OF CHILDREN HAPPENED CONTINUOUSLY, NO ONE WAS HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE CRIMES

*May 15, 2023.*



Exactly 31 years ago, on May 14, 1992, the first murder of children was committed in Goražde at the beginning of the aggression against this city, when Mirsad Ćulov (15) and Selvira Suljović (16) were killed in front of the building in what was then Sandžački brigade street.

After this date, during the 1,336-day long siege, the continuous killing of children continued, and after three decades of the terrible events in Goražde, on the initiative of Amar Imamović, May 14 was declared the Day of Remembrance of the Murdered Children, and this day is also a day of mourning in the entire canton.

For the mother of the four-year-old girl Amila Žunić, who was murdered on May 25, 1994, the monument to the murdered children in Goražde is a place of calm for all her emotions, immense pain, loneliness and sorrow.

“Amila couldn’t wait to go to school, she was so curious and cheerful. You know how she had blonde hair like the girl from Seka chocolate. My beautiful child, innocent...I would tell you for days about her, and they killed her on the day of youth. I managed to overcome all these years of difficult trials and losses. They killed my only child, and I am brave, I can come here, because we must remember,” the mother of the murdered girl told us.

The parents of the murdered children are grateful to the institutions for deciding that one day in Goražde will be dedicated to the murdered children.

“My Harris would be 37 years old today. He is a grown man, who would have children, a family, a job. And he was killed. We parents experience this pain every day, but when we are gone, some-

one has to talk to the generations to come, and that's why I glad that he finally has this day, for our murdered children," says Mirsada Čaušević.

Together with numerous citizens and officials, they left flowers at the monument and offered a prayer, and they all attended a forum organized by the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, where expert associates Muamer Džananović and Ermin Kuka spoke.

### Crimes without punishment

“On May 14, 1992, when the first murder of children was committed in the city, the aggressors launched a fierce offensive with the aim of “cleansing Goražde”, as stated in the documents, and forces from the Čajnič, Foča, Rudo and Užice Corps participated. As a result of these operations the first murder of children in the city was committed when 15-year-old Mirsad Ćulov and 16-year-old Selvira Suljović were killed. In that crime, Adem Hubanić (1963) was also killed, and Selvira's brother Saudin (1983) and her father Ibrahim (1932) were wounded. Selvira's mother was killed during the aggression. During the attack on Lozje on May 22, 1992, in which 11-year-old Advira Šahman was among dozens of victims, it is also a fact that Selvira's daidža and daidžić Mehmed Bogdanić (1943) were killed in that crime. and his son Senad (1966). Selvira's brother Saudin was transferred to Užice where he was not adequately treated,” Džananović said.



During the siege of Goražde, at least 120 children were killed and 428 were wounded. Džananović points out that it is important to point out that among the 149 children whose names are written on the memorial, there are also children who have a direct or indirect connection with Goražde, but were also killed in other municipalities.

“I don't want to talk about children as a number, but as someone we should remember and think about who they were, why they were killed, who else was killed in their family, what they were called, what they looked like. their families and relatives and we think at least this May 14, once a year, about how old they would be today, what they would do, what they would look like, whether they would have children of their own - these are all questions that their parents ask themselves to ourselves. Let's ask ourselves at least once a year what we did for their parents, relatives, relatives of all the victims. The traumas they survived are transgenerational and we as a community must be aware of that,” he said.

He sent the competent institutions the initiative to finally form and make the Association of Parents or Relatives of Murdered Children functional.



“In addition to commemorating these crimes, society would have an interest in bringing them together to more easily recognize the different needs of those families. Also, competent government representatives should send an urgent request to the cantonal and state judicial authorities, primarily to the State Prosecutor’s Office, with the question of which investigative actions were being carried out and which are currently being carried out works when it comes to the crimes against over 550 killed and wounded children in Goražde during the siege, and why no one was held accountable for those and other crimes during the siege,” Džananović said.

### **Museum of Wartime Childhood**

During the forum, the importance of the Museum of the Siege of Goražde was emphasized, as a memorial and educational center for all the crimes committed in Goražde, but also in Podrinje during 1992-1995, as well as earlier historical periods.

“The least these murdered children deserve is a memorial room or a museum of wartime childhood. It could be a museum of their memory, but also the destroyed childhood of all the children who survived the siege. It would certainly be good if throughout the future memories of this day we also remember the murdered children in upper Podrinje, Podrinje in general and Bosnia and Herzegovina, so some of the proposals for memorialization and remembrance of these children will also go in that direction,” says Džananović.

On the occasion of the Day of Remembrance of the Murdered Children of Goražde, an exhibition of sculptures “Mother” by Jakub Hubjer was set up in the city gallery.

## **DŽANANOVIĆ: GORAŽDE WAS IN A CONCENTRATION CAMP, BUT THE AGGRESSOR DID NOT COUNT ON BRAVE DEFENDERS**

*May 19, 2023.*



Interview by: Delvin Kovač

Source: [Nap.ba](http://Nap.ba)

From May 4, 1992, Goražde lived in a kind of concentration camp. The Great Serbian aggressor knew that the local population had no weapons to offer adequate resistance. However, the aggressor soldiers did not count on the brave defenders.

The population had no choice - try to defend themselves, their families and homeland or disappear? With superhuman efforts, with small amounts of weapons, they managed to oppose an immeasurably stronger enemy.

Muamer Džananović, a research associate at the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo, said this in an interview with Patria News Agency.

Džananović is the author of the book “Crimes against children in Goražde during the siege 1992-1995.” and co-author of the book “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)”. He is also the author of more than 20 scientific papers published in Bosnian and English. By the end of the year, his co-authored book will be published, which deals with crimes in the area of Zvornik in the period 1992-1995. years.

In Goražde, on Sunday, May 14, the Day of Remembrance of children killed in the period from 1992 to 1995 was marked for the first time. You are the only one who has scientifically dealt with this issue so far, and you are also the author of the book “Crimes against children in Goražde during the siege 1992-1995.” Can you tell us some of the most significant facts you have come to in your many years of research?

Džananović: First of all, I want to emphasize that these researches are the result of work on a broader scientific project. I felt on behalf of the community that it is important to establish the identities and circumstances of the crime for the youngest fellow citizens who were killed. I must emphasize that, when I started the research, I did not think that we would find out that so many children were killed and wounded. But it perhaps best testifies to the extent of the crimes committed.

So it is about at least 120 killed and 428 wounded children in Goražde under siege. After that, I continued the research and the identities of several more wounded and killed boys and girls were established. In the future, I plan to publish an amended and supplemented edition of my book, so we will also include them in the work.

I must point out that during the research I came into contact with most of the parents and relatives of the murdered children and I have regular contact with many of them. That topic is certainly very painful for them and they grieve every day, they live with many questions. We as a society have to think about that too.

So the end result of my research was not just to determine the number. My research and my scientific work is much broader than that. I wanted us to talk about the children, about who they were, why they were killed, who else was killed in their family, who was still killed by the shell from which they were killed, what their names were, what they looked like. In addition to their families and relatives, we also think about how old they would be today, what they would do, what they would look like, whether they would have children of their own. These are all questions that their parents, their brothers and sisters ask themselves.

Let's ask ourselves at least once a year what we did for their parents, relatives, relatives of all the victims. The traumas that they have survived are transgenerational and we as a community need to be aware of that and be much more responsible towards that issue. It is important that the Day of Remembrance for murdered children in Goražde was finally established. I would like to thank the initiators of the idea for the opportunity for me and my research to be consulted about it.

So far, not a single indictment has been filed for the three-and-a-half-year barbaric siege of Goražde, during which more than 2,000 civilians were killed, including, as you yourself stated, at least 120 children. On the other hand, heroic fighters who defended the city honorably, such as Ahmet Sejdić, Ibra Merkez, Ešef Hurić... have already been tried for "crimes" they did not commit. Where is the justice and why are the victims trying to equate themselves with the criminals?

Džananović: Since May 4, 1992, the population of Goražde has been living in a kind of concentration camp. The aggressors predicted a quick "takeover of power", similar to the ones in the surrounding cities, and committing crimes and expelling the population in the coming period. The Great Serbian aggressor knew that the population of Goražde had no weapons to offer adequate resistance. On May 4, Goražde did not have a hospital, it did not have enough medical supplies, tens of thousands of people expelled from the area of Višegrad, Foča, Rogatica, Čajnič, etc. arrived, and the situation was already complicated by the lack of food, accommodation, health care...

All realistic assessments were in the direction that what happened in other municipalities will be committed here, i.e. that Goražde will fall under the control of the aggressors very quickly. However, the aggressor soldiers did not count on brave defenders. In the defense of Goražde, in addition to the resident population, the same contribution was made by those expelled from the surrounding areas. The population had no choice - either try to defend themselves, their families and their home-

land or disappear? With superhuman efforts, with small amounts of weapons, they confronted an immeasurably stronger enemy.

Taking into account the scale of crimes committed against civilians, it is frustrating that 31 years after the firing of the first projectiles and artillery action against the civilian population and civilian facilities of Goražde during the siege, no one has been held accountable for the crimes committed. Recently, several indictments have been brought, which mainly focus on the crime committed in Lozje on May 22, 1992, but the crimes were committed continuously for three and a half years, systematically and in a wider area, and the cantonal and state prosecutor's offices had to do something concrete.

Are there any indications that in the near future judicial institutions, above all the prosecutor's office in Goražde, could start doing their job? Will the citizens of Goražde who witnessed the brutal aggression against their city ever receive justice?

Džananović: We support that everyone should be held accountable for the crime committed, regardless of its dimensions and regardless of the perpetrator's national, religious or any other affiliation. However, the paradox is that, when it comes to Goražde, the focus of investigative bodies and prosecutions is not numerous mass crimes committed against values protected by international law and against civilians as protected persons committed primarily against Bosniaks under siege, a targeted group as such.

There is no doubt that the indictments that are primarily brought against Bosniaks in these cases are in a huge imbalance in relation to the war crimes that were committed during the period of aggression against this region and the city of Goražde. Today, members of the ARBiH are continuously being investigated, interrogated, accused and prosecuted, and on the other hand, only in recent years have we had indictments, with the fact that some suspects live in Serbia and are inaccessible to domestic justice.

Regarding your question, I am not sure, given the time distance and the pace of work, that worldly justice will be served. Even if some were convicted, it would still not be satisfied considering the scale of the crimes committed.

In connection with the above, it is therefore important that the local authorities do much more on the culture of remembering everything that happened in Goražde, but also in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Goražde had to have a memorial center with an educational character about everything that happened in Goražde, but also in the wider area. Due to specific political circumstances, Goražde must become a place of adequate memorialization of everything that happened at least in the upper Podrinje. Unfortunately, today we have neither a symbol of memory nor a memorial room for murdered children.

## **KUKA: VIŠEGRAD HAS BECOME A SUITABLE PLACE FOR REHABILITATION AND BOASTING OF CRIMINALS AS HEROES**

*May 19, 2023.*



Reactions to the statement of the Minister of Culture and Sports Sanja Vlasisavljević do not stop. While the newly elected minister expresses the position “that war criminals should be rehabilitated”, the survivors in Višegrad are preparing to mark another anniversary of the brutal murder of their members. Murders, burning people alive and torture are permanently etched in the memory of all Bosniaks who witnessed the massacre in Višegrad 31 years ago.

Asst. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, in an interview with Preporod.info, referred to the suffering of Bosniaks and today’s policy of “washing” criminals of their crimes.

- On Saturday, June 3, 2023, in Višegrad, organized by the Association “Woman - Victim of War”, the Association of Families of the Missing “Višegrad 92” and the Majlis of the Islamic Community (MIZ) Višegrad, 31 years will be marked since the horrific crimes against humanity and international rights committed against the Bosniaks of Višegrad. On that day, once again, we will remember all the innocent Bosniaks of Višegrad who were killed on genocidal grounds. They were killed exclusively and only because they were Muslims, Bosniaks. The criminals deliberately killed the Bosniaks of Višegrad, because that was the only way to create an ethnically clean Serbian space in a city that was a multi-ethnic city before the aggression - said Kuka.

As he points out, the monstrous and incomprehensible crimes committed by Serbian forces against the Bosniaks of Višegrad represented the height of hatred and evil intent to kill, slaughter and persecute.

- Mass and individual crimes of killing, burning civilians alive at the stake, imprisonment in camps and other places of illegal detention, rape of Bosniak women and girls, torture, torture and persecution committed from 1992 to 1995, represented the continuity of the pattern of crimes committed against Bosniaks during the Second World War. In this sense, the crimes committed by the Serbian armed formations against the Bosniaks of Višegrad are characterized by planning,

preparation and the precise organization of the execution in detail, which proves the existence of both elements of the crime of genocide: intent (*mens rea*) and the act of genocide (*actus reus*). The radical change in the pre-war ethnic structure of the population is a consequence of the crimes committed, including the genocide against the Bosniaks of Višegrad - said Kuka.

To date, 19 criminals have been convicted of crimes committed against Bosniaks in the Višegrad area during the period of aggression. Of that number, three were convicted at the Hague Tribunal. A total of 246 years of imprisonment, and one life sentence, was handed down to the criminal Milan Lukić.

- Bearing in mind the scale and forms of the crimes committed, it is clear that all the perpetrators of those crimes were not brought to justice and were not held accountable for that. We should not forget the fact that some of them died of natural causes in the years after the aggression, and that indictments were never brought, although there was and still is solid evidence of their participation in the commission of crimes in Višegrad. Also, some of them are still freely moving around the city where they committed crimes without being held accountable, and the question is whether they will be held accountable at all - said Kuka.

Referring to the views of certain government representatives, such as the statements of the FBiH Minister of Culture and Sports, Sanja Vlasić, who said that “criminals should be rehabilitated”, Kuka unequivocally said that “crime does not become obsolete”.

- We know that crime does not have a statute of limitations, but the perpetrators of crimes grow old and die without waiting to be prosecuted. It is another painful point for all the surviving victims of Višegrad. 31 years have passed, and not all the perpetrators of the crime have been brought to justice, nor have the remains of all the innocently murdered Bosniak victims been found. To this day, the remains of Bosniak civilians who were burned alive at the pyres in Pionirska Street (June 14, 1992) and Bikavac (June 27, 1992) have not been found, nor have they been found, as well as many others who were brutally slaughtered and killed. The youngest victim of those bonfires was a baby only two days old. The shameful vow of silence of the Serb neighbors, who do not want to reveal information, which I'm sure they know very well, is still going on. And while we are witnessing the prosecution of former members of the RBiH Army, on the other hand, former members of the Serbian and aggressor armed forces who killed the Bosniaks of Višegrad move freely and remain shamefully silent. They have indisputable protection and security provided by the local Serbian authorities - says Kuka.

As he warned, what we have on the scene today is that Višegrad has become a suitable place for rehabilitation and boasting of criminals as heroes.

- They are considered heroes and saviors of Serbia, to the extent that they are mythologized. Murals are drawn in their honor all over Višegrad. There is almost no street in Višegrad without murals dedicated to the crimes of Ratko Mladić and Vojislav Šešelj, as well as symbols of Russian volunteers and mercenaries. All this, the local authorities in Višegrad approve, whether through public support or their silence - Kuka points out.

He states that due to such a situation and atmosphere, the already small number of Bosniak returnees is on the margins of the community.

- Many of their basic human rights are threatened, and they are often the target of intimidation, robbery, and even physical attacks. Let's just remember the attack on old men Fadila and Ajša

Memišević, returnees to the town of Omeragići. Not only have the perpetrators never been brought to justice, but over time they try to talk about it as little as possible in Visegrad. Even the local authorities in Visegrad ask individual representatives of the Bosniaks of Visegrad to take positions on these matters that circumvent the truth and deny the actual situation. And the truth is that these harassments, robberies and attacks are primarily motivated by ethnic characteristics and religious affiliation - says Kuka.

It is up to the surviving victims, he says, to fight for the truth and clearly present to the public all the dimensions and features of the Serbian crimes committed against Bosniaks in Visegrad.

- In this sense, we write and promote scientific books and studies, based on relevant documentary material, in order to offer relevant and true information and data to the domestic, but especially foreign, public. Here I will mention only a few: "Genocide against Bosniaks in Visegrad 1992-1995", "Live bonfire - Pioneer Street in Visegrad (June 14, 1992)", "Live bonfire - Bikavac in Visegrad (June 27, 1992)". It is just one of the ways of our fight against the increasingly intense narrative about how everyone is guilty of the conflict and everyone committed crimes equally. Such a narrative should be deconstructed precisely with the truth, which is on our side - said Kuka.

(A.N. / Preporod.info)

## ON THE OCCASION OF THE INDEPENDENCE DAY OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY, A BOOK PROMOTION WAS HELD IN TRAVNIK BY AN ACADEMIC, PROF. DR. ARNE JOHANN VETLESEN

*May 23, 2023.*



On the occasion of May 17, the Independence Day of the Kingdom of Norway, in the City Library in Travnik, on May 17, 2023, a promotion of the works of the academician, prof. Ph.D. Arne Johan Vetlesen, which were translated from Norwegian into Bosnian.

The works of academician Vetlesen were discussed by prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo and translator from Norwegian to Bosnian, as well as emeritus, prof. Ph.D. Faik Uzunović, former ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Kingdom of Norway.

Arne Johan Vetlesen (1960 - ) is one of the most famous Norwegian philosophers. He is a professor of Political Philosophy at the University of Oslo. He is the author of thirty books and hundreds of scientific works and essays in which he studied the concept of evil.

In 2015, the University of Sarajevo awarded the Peace and Progress Award to Professor Vetlesen at the proposal of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law.

Arne Johan Vetlesen is a prominent figure in Norwegian scientific thought.

In his essays on genocide, Vetlesen, unlike most genocide researchers, focuses on the victim. In his works, he particularly focuses on the intention present today to impose guilt (those killed) and shame (those who survived) on the victims of genocide.

There are three key figures who influenced Vetlesen's scientific work. They are Jürgen Habermas, Emanuel Levinas and Zygmunt Bauman.

In his works, Vetlesen proves that "what happened in Bosnia from 1992-1995 was not a war. It was genocide. Planned ethnic-religious and sexual genocide. According to Vetlesen, the genocide in Bosnia had one main aggressor (extreme ethno-religious Serbian nationalists) and one main victim, a Bosniak civilian.

Vetlesen's scientific essays are an effort to use science to understand the outbreaks of barbarism and threatened criminal instincts that end in genocide, all with the aim of understanding the causes, goals and scale of genocide, and the prevention of genocide as a crime and evil of the highest order.

The Norwegian philosopher Vetlesen is categorical that the victim cannot be forced to forgive. The victim must be willing to give forgiveness voluntarily, and the offender must accept it only as an undeserved gift. There is no one who has the right to force the victim to forgive, not even a religious or political leader. "No one has the right to give any instructions in this regard. That is the sole right of the victim. Forgiveness is neither an obligation of the victim nor a right of the perpetrator. Whatever that victim decides, no one has the right to condemn or praise her for what she did," said Vetlesen categorically.

According to the opinion of prof. Vetlesen, reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot truly happen unless the perpetrators admit what they have committed and express public remorse for what they have done. And then, if that happens, no one has the right to force the victim to accept an apology. "I know how many denials occur and the silencing of victims to talk about everything that happened can often only make things worse, disrupting a possible reconciliation process. It is understandable that a large number of victims are ready to forget everything that happened to them for the sake of the future. People are often aware that recalling these sufferings can cause new conflicts and unrest in society. Telling the victims to remain silent is tantamount to repeating the experience they lived through. It is morally dubious and psychologically unsustainable to leave it as the responsibility of only the victim and not just the criminal, and it cannot help the victims at all."

Vetlesen considers it a shocking fact that almost nothing of what happened in the period 1992-1995 is taught in schools and is not part of the curriculum. "If this is so, then the future is indeed bleak because history shows us that denial, denial and forgetting do not have the last word. In a culture of living where denial and denial are common, if people still want to deny, society leads to false morality and one moment it will come to light, and the reactions can be very violent and can be dangerous for the future of that nation." He also expressed the view that there really can't be forgiveness unless the perpetrator himself admits everything he has committed and shows sincere regret. But even then, if that perpetrator sincerely shows remorse, he cannot have any rights, neither in the legal nor in the moral sense.



## CRIME WITHOUT PUNISHMENT CHILDREN AND THE ELDERLY WERE KILLED BY NEIGHBORS: 31 YEARS SINCE THE HORRIFIC MASSACRE OF BOSNIAKS FROM JEZERA

*Jun 02, 2023.*



Text by: Dr. sc. Amir Kliko

Source: [Patria](#)

On April 23, 1992, the commander of the 30th Partisan Division, Stanislav Galić, ordered the formation of the 1st Partisan Brigade. He appointed Milorad Vukašević, a JNA officer from Serbia, as its commander.

The command post of the brigade was in Šipovo. In its first battalion there were Serbs from Jajaj, in the second from Šipova and in the third from Ključka. Jovo Trkulja was appointed as the commander of the first battalion, and Ljuban Jarčov as his deputy.

Battalion companies were formed according to the territorial principle. The commander of the Jezero company was Zdravko Simetić (later Đoko Jokić), and the commander of the Brišići company was Dušan Malinović. The second battalion of the 1st Partisan Brigade (Shipovački) was commanded by Neđo Gvozdenc, and his deputy was Jovan Pekez. From September 1, 1992, the command of this battalion was taken over by Milorad Ćirko.

In mid-May, JNA units in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were united with units of the Serbian Territorial Defense and renamed the Army of the Republic of Serbia. Thus, the 30th Partisan Division became the 30th Krajina Division of the 1st Krajina Corps of VRs (formerly the 5th Corps of the JNA). Vukašević remained on the post of commander of the 1st Partisan Brigade until July, and then Slavko Čulić was appointed in his place.

On the night of 26/27. May 1992, units of the 1st Partisan Brigade, reinforced by Serbian militia, carried out a combined artillery-infantry attack on the defenders of Jezera. Around 4 am on May 29, the aggressor units launched an infantry attack again. By June 2, Serbian forces, from the direction of Šipovo and Mrkonjić Grad, occupied Jezero. The Jezero and Brišići companies from the first battalion of the 1st Partisan Brigade, the first company of the second battalion of the 1st Partisan Brigade, tactical group-1 from Ključ and the 3rd Special Purpose Militia Company of the Banja Luka Security Services Center under the command of Milan Suručić participated in the attack. In mastering the Jezera, the Serbian units had no losses, no wounded fighters. The crime they then committed could not have been motivated by revenge.

The majority of the Bosniak population, who found themselves in the Lake at the end of May, transferred during the last nights of May by boat across the lake to the safe shore of Pliva and fled to Jajce. Unprotected Bosniaks from Jezera, Ljoljić, Čerkazović, Zaovina and other nearby villages where they lived, who did not evacuate, were frantically and with impunity killed by criminals. Thus, on June 2 and 3, they killed thirty-four civilians (men, women, old men, women, and children). Some of them were killed in their settlements, and some were taken to other locations and shot. In the Ramić family, all its members were killed, father Sulejman (1931), mother Ajša (1941), daughter Zlatka (1963) and seventeen-year-old daughter Elvira (1975). Three generations of the Karahodžić family were killed: grandfather Adem (1928), his son Nisvet (1955) and Nisvet's fourteen-year-old son Adnan (1978). Adem's younger brother Kasim (1943) and his thirteen-year-old son Selvedin (1979) were also killed. And Adem's older brother Muharem (1926) was also killed. Old woman Behija Mulaosmanović (1923) and her son Salih (1951) were also killed.

The oldest man killed was Rasim Ribić (1908). His wife Fatma (1916) was killed with him. Older spouses Ibro (1909) and Ferida Zjajo (1910) were also killed. The oldest murdered woman was Mevla Bešlić (1906), an 86-year-old woman. Eight more old men and women were killed: Adem Ribić (1912), Muho Ribić (1915), Muho Šuškić (1915), Aziz Balešić (1918), Zuhra Šuškić (1924), Hatidža Rešidović (1924), Hašima Ribić (1927), Safeta Ramić (1928) and Muradif Zahirović (1930).

The remaining murdered men were aged between 29 and 65: Jasmin Žerić (1963), Senad Đukla (1959), Nihad Ribić (1954), Bakir Filipović (1943), Edhem Šuškić (1942), Gane Ahmečković (1938), Ahmet Plivac (1934) and Huso Ćosić (1933).

Almost all those killed were in close marital and family ties. This massacre of the Jezera Bosniaks is the most massive crime in terms of the number of people killed in the municipality of Jajak. Considering the age and gender structure and the close mutual kinship of the victims, it can be said that this is an example of the crime of genocide in a narrow geographical area. And the next - in terms of the number of victims - mass Serbian crime against the Jajaci civilian population happened again against the Jezera Bosniaks. On September 10, 1992, the Serbian army and militia took twenty-eight Bosniaks from the villages of Ljoljići and Čerkazovići, near Jezera, and shot them. Four of them, although seriously wounded, survived. Only one boy survived without being injured. Again, the victims were members of the same families, children, old people, women and men. For some of them, close family members and relatives were killed on June 2 and 3, 1992.

After criminals killed thirty-four Bosniaks from Jezera on June 2 and 3, the command of the 1st Partisan Brigade formed a working group - headed by Nikola Udovicic - and tasked it with determining the number of victims and the circumstances under which they were killed. The task force quickly conducted a formal investigation that did not even establish personal information about the victims or anything related to the perpetrators of the crime. She also compiled a short "report on the situation in the Lake after the cleaning operation." The report has only six short sentences. It stated that it was not possible to determine the exact number of captured persons, who were then killed, but the working group learned that "the figure of 18 liquidated persons is mentioned." It was allegedly unable to determine either "who captured them, to whom they were handed over, who listened to them and who provided security for them." They were killed by infantry weapons. Pero Dević, commander of the Ljoljići platoon from the Jezera company, stated that there was no armed resistance in the direction of his platoon's operations. His platoon captured "four members of the Ramić Sulejman family and handed them over to the unit from Jezera to escort them further, they later found out that they had been killed." The report emphasized that all the victims were from the

category of civilians. From this modest report, however, it can be seen that the Jezera Bosniaks were killed by their Serb neighbors.

This did not prevent Serbian propaganda from portraying the captured - and then killed - Bosniak civilians as military victims of the defenders of Jezera. The Banja Luka newspaper Glas wrote on June 5 that the victims allegedly died in armed confrontations.

The criminals, who killed the Bosniaks from Jezera on June 2 and 3, were not prosecuted. No one from the Serbian army was responsible, even in terms of command. All the aforementioned commanders and unit commanders, who were in Jezera on June 2 and 3, remained at their posts and were later promoted to VRs. At the beginning of July, Milorad Vukašević was transferred to the army of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Stanislav Galić remained on the post of commander of the 30th Division until September 10, 1992, and was then appointed commander of the Sarajevo-Romanian Corps of the VRs. On the Jajce battlefield, he mastered the art of terrorizing and killing civilians in villages and towns under siege, and he successfully used the experience he gained to terrorize Sarajevo in besieged Sarajevo. In 2006, the International Tribunal for War Crimes Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia sentenced him to life imprisonment for terrorizing and killing Sarajevo civilians. The verdict did not charge him with numerous individual and mass war crimes against the Bosniak and Croat population - committed by members of his division in the area of municipalities that were in its area of responsibility (Jajce, Šipovo, Mrkonjić Grad, Ključ and Donji Vakuf) during the time when he was in command of it - as well as for terrorizing and killing Jajaci civilians under the siege of his division.

Jovo Blažanović took over command of the division from Galić. On the same day, several members of the 1st Partisan Brigade (then already renamed the 1st Krajina Brigade) - which at the time was commanded by Slavko Čulić - carried out the aforementioned massacre of Bosniaks from the Lake villages of Ljoljići and Čerkazovići with several members of the Serbian civilian militia from Jezera. This increased the number of killed Jezera Bosniaks to fifty-seven civilians. Four boys were among the killed Bosniaks from Ljoljić and Čerkazović. Two of them were brothers, Asmer (born 1977) and Adis Zobić (born 1983). They were shot with their mother, Fikret. Their father was seriously wounded but survived. Another boy from the Zobić family, thirteen-year-old Adnan, was killed with his grandmother Đula (1924), and from the Bajramović family, his peer Sabahudin (1979). The boy Mustafa Bajramović survived the shooting.

For this crime, although eleven criminals participated in it, only four were convicted (Zoran, son of Branko, Marić; Mirko, son of Mile, Pekez; Mirko, son of Špira, Pekez and Milorad, son of Ljupko, Savić). The judiciary of Bosnia and Herzegovina knows the names of all participants in the crime. They are listed in the judgments of convicted criminals. The organizer of the crime, Jovo Jandrić, is not available to the judicial authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian citizenship protects him from extradition to Bosnia and Herzegovina's judiciary. Neither for this crime - nor for the crime on June 2 and 3 - was anyone held accountable for their command duties. If the Serbian military and civilian authorities had reacted adequately to the perpetrators of the crimes on June 2 and 3 in Jezera - among whom there were probably those who committed the crime on September 10 - this latest massacre probably would not have happened. However, the absence of any adequate reaction by those authorities and their sanctions showed criminals that they can kill defenseless and completely innocent Bosniak civilians with impunity.

Of the fifty-seven lake victims, seven were children (one girl and six boys). Another boy was taken out to be shot, but survived.

## **KUKA IN VISEGRAD: IT IS OUR DUTY TO DOCUMENT CRIMES, BECAUSE WE ARE HERE TO BE THE VOICE OF THE VICTIM AND THE VOICE OF THE TRUTH**

*Jun 05, 2023.*



It is our duty to remember, to speak, write and document crimes, because we are here to be the voice of the victim and the voice of the truth. Our gathering today is the fight for the truth, as the highest scientific and civilizational value - said today in his address on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the crimes committed against Bosniaks in Višegrad, Assoc. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, senior research associate at the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

He emphasized that today's gathering is a form of remembrance of all our Bosniaks of Višegrad who were innocently killed on genocidal grounds.

- In the cases at the Hague Tribunal against the criminals Milan Lukić and Sredoje Lukić, the judges stated that: "Višegrad was subjected to one of the most ruthless campaigns of ethnic cleansing in the Bosnian conflict... Within a few weeks, almost the entire non-Serb population was cleansed from the municipality of Višegrad! " In the explanation of the verdict against the criminal Milan Lukić, it was emphasized that all the terrible crimes against Bosniaks, especially the burning of civilians, stand out for the depravity of the fire attacks, the obvious calculation and sheer recklessness and cruelty", and "for the degree of pain and suffering inflicted on the victims while they were burned alive," he said.

He added that "the recent practice of the Hague Tribunal, as well as the domestic courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina in cases of war crimes committed in the area of Višegrad, indicated that these crimes, especially the crimes of burning Bosniak civilians alive at the stake, were carefully planned and prepared, and all with the aim of completely destroying the identity of the Bosniak people, thus becoming an important evidence and basis for the international and Bosnia-Herzegovina condemnation of the genocidal and criminal Greater Serbian ideology in today's time and context".

- While almost the whole world condemned the Serbian crimes committed against the Bosniaks of Višegrad in the harshest and most rigorous manner, on the other hand, in the city of Višegrad itself, efforts are being made to permanently deny, falsify, minimize and erase the traces of crimes.

Today in Višegrad, Serbian criminals who have been sentenced with finality are celebrated as heroes and saviors of Serbia, murals are drawn and busts erected in their honor, they have a great reputation in the bazaar and society - Kuka pointed out.

He reminded that Višegrad went through hell in 1992, and that much of what the Russians are doing today in Ukraine through aggression was carried out in the small area of Višegrad.

- I will only remind you of the fact that on January 12, 1993, Russian volunteers (Cossacks) who fought on the side of Serbian armed formations attacked the village of Tvrtkovići. The attack was commanded by Aleksandar Zagrebov. The operation on the village of Tvrtkovići was called "scorched earth". The village was completely looted and burned. It is indicative that, according to the recent statement of one of the commanders of the Ukrainian army, the Russian army in the invasion of Ukraine began to apply precisely the "scorched earth" tactic in the eastern Ukrainian city of Bakhmut. Therefore, they used that tactic in early 1993 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, using the example of a much smaller populated place - said Kuka.

He emphasized that "it is a sad fact that only the criminal Milan Lukić has so far been legally sentenced for the crime of burning Bosniak civilians alive in Bikavac on June 27, 1992".

- It was impossible that only one man could do it, prepare everything and implement it. According to the statement of the only survivor, Zehra Turjačanin, the criminal said: "Give me more Muslims" in order to burn as many of them as possible - he said.

In total, 19 Serb criminals were sentenced to 246 years in prison, including one life sentence, for crimes committed against Bosniaks in Višegrad. Eight verdicts are for the crime of rape and sexual abuse of Bosniak women in Višegrad. Of the 19, only one admitted his guilt, and the others persistently, despite all the evidence, denied that they participated in the crimes.

- Because of this, today we have a situation where, even after 31 years, the remains of many murdered Višegrad Bosniaks are being searched for. A large number of them have never been found and properly buried. The Serb neighbors in Višegrad, who lived here during that period and witnessed all those events, do not want to break their long-standing shameful vow of silence even after so long. They do not want to say and reveal what happened to the remains of the victims. In this way, they themselves become part of the machinery that, even in times of peace, tries to implement everything that was not fully implemented through aggression. And that is to make Višegrad an exclusively Serbian city, where nothing in it will remind of the Bosniaks, of the Bosniak identity that was the basis of the development of the city and the pre-war multi-ethnic being - emphasized Kuka.

He pointed to the fact that the radical changes in the demographic structure of the population in Višegrad during and after the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were a direct consequence and result of the aggression and the committed genocide against Bosniaks. There are 12,428 Bosniaks today, or 92.3% less than in 1991.

- Insecurity, frequent physical attacks on people who have returned to their pre-war hearths, threats and discrimination in various fields, and especially in the denial of identity characteristics of Bosniaks and their constant propaganda dehumanization have a negative effect on the already small number of Bosniaks in Višegrad. In peace, therefore, the continuity of breaking the state and society continued with other methods, different forms of pressure, discrimination and segregation. Even the amendment of the Criminal Code did not stop the denial of genocide. Ultimately, all of the above does not bring anything good for the population in general, regardless of the national sign, which can be seen from certain demographic indicators that are present today - said, among other things, Kuka.

## DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ VISITED THE UNIVERSITY OF REGENSBURG

*Jun 12, 2023.*



During the month of May 2023, dr. Hikmet Karčić, research associate at the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, participated in a research project at the Leibniz Institute for Eastern and Southeastern Europe (Leibniz-Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung) at the University of Regensburg.

During his stay, he participated in research “Drina River as a place of memory” and whose preliminary research he presented at the international conference “The Transnational History and Memory of World War II crimes in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and the northern Adriatic”.



## THE YOUNGEST VICTIM WAS A TWO DAY OLD BABY! DŽUBUR-MEHIĆ AND KUKA ABOUT THE CRIME COMMITTED IN VISEGRADA

*Jun 16, 2023.*



Visiting senior scientific associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, dr. You can watch Ermina Kuke on Hayat TV at [this link](#).

## **INSTITUTE FOR THE RESEARCH OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY: MUSEUM ON THE SITE OF THE MOCKERY OF THE VICTIMS**

*Jun 21, 2023.*



The Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo believes that the construction of the HVO museum on the site of the “Heliodrom” camp in Mostar “would be a mockery of all the victims who survived the crime and are still experiencing various types of torture”.

### **Good future relations**

- We consider it important to take all actions and prevent any construction in the place where there was a concentration camp during the period of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to the fact that such construction is to the detriment of all victims of aggression in the period 1992-1995. but also of all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as good future relations between the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina - it is stated.

In a press release, they point out that the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo is reacting to the news that the construction of the HVO museum has already begun on the site of the “Heliodrom” camp in Mostar, which is funded by the state budget of the Republic of Croatia with co-financing by the Ministry of Defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As they remind, it is planned that the HVO museum will be located in the building where the command of the “Heliodrom” camp was stationed, and the museum display would consist of military and cultural-historical collections. “An Act of Revisionism”

- It is obvious that the construction of the HVO museum at that location is an act of revisionism and the alteration and falsification of established historical and judicial facts. It is inadmissible and inappropriate that, at the place where the war crime was committed and judged by the International War Crimes Tribunal, the army of the HVO and the HV of the Republic of Croatia, which participated in organizing and committing crimes against the civilian population, a museum is already being

built, and that in the place where in the period from the second half of 1992 to the middle of 1994, it was the “Heliodrom” concentration camp. On the other hand, we believe that it is a provocation towards all the victims, who went through wartime torture camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992-1995. - it is emphasized.

According to the Institute, on May 9, 1993, as part of the HVO attack on Mostar, members of the HVO carried out a mass arrest of the civilian population from the part of the city on the right bank of the Neretva River in Mostar, where, in addition to the resident population, the largest number of refugees were housed. partly from the area of Podveleža and Nevesinje. The civilians were taken to the “Heliodrom” camp.

### **6,000 Bosniaks were arrested and detained**

According to the data of the Commission for Social Protection and Humanitarian Aid, only until June 30, 1993, 6,000 Bosniaks were arrested and detained. Among them were several hundred Serbs and members of the VRS, as well as “disloyal Croats”. Inmates from other HVO camps were also brought to the same camp. Considering that the number of inmates was increasing every day, it is difficult to determine the final number - he emphasized.

As they emphasize, crimes against inmates were committed in HVO camps. They were used for forced labor, demining minefields, as human shields during attacks by HVO members on ARBIH combat positions, extracting injured or dead members during their offensives, building houses and cleaning the houses of Croats, for digging trenches and trenches, digging graves and many other forced labor.

- They were taken mainly to Buna, Bakina Luka, Raštane, Soviče, Risovac and other places in western Herzegovina. The most difficult places to work were the “Vinko Martinović Štela sector”, from the Health Center to HIT, the “Benito Sesar sector” from Šemovac to the Health Center, and work in Šantićeva Street. Going to the area of Bijelo Polje was especially critical for the life of the prisoners, where every time one of the prisoners was killed during the works. It also happened that camp inmates escaped, after which other camp inmates would be mistreated - he points out.

### **A crime against humanity**

According to the Reports of the Military Police Administration, inmates were still in the Heliodrom after the signing of the Washington Agreement, and according to the Report of April 17, 1994, a number of 228 inmates were recorded.

- The top of Herceg Bosnia (Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoj Petković, Valentin Ćorić, Berislav Pušić, Mladen Naletilić Tuta, Vinko Martinović Štela), who knew about the camps and torture in those camps, were convicted before the international court in The Hague. they did nothing to prevent it, but encouraged actions that led to crimes against humanity. Before the domestic courts, several members of the HVO were sentenced to several years in prison for crimes against humanity in the “Heliodrom” camp - the Institute announced.

Source: [Avaz.ba](http://Avaz.ba)

## SHAMEFUL REVISION OF THE PAST

*Jun 22, 2023.*



In April 2023, the senior research associate of our Institute, dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta, and her reaction was published in the newspaper *Oslobođenje* After the news about the construction of the HVO museum: Historical and judicial facts about the Heliodrom camp.

This time the Institute reacts after the last statements of Dragan Čović, who sees nothing controversial in the construction of this museum. Čović minimizes the importance of that location for the victims, and this is especially shameful in light of the fact that he himself, as stated, was a “user of the Heliodrom camp.”

As a reminder, the HVO museum is planned in the building where the command of the Heliodrom camp was stationed, along with a museum display consisting of military and cultural-historical collections. It is completely obvious that the construction of the HVO museum at this location is an act of revisionism and the alteration and falsification of established historical and judicial facts. It is inadmissible and inappropriate that a museum is already being built at the place where the war crime was committed and judged by the International War Crimes Tribunal, the army of the HVO and HV of the Republic of Croatia, which participated in organizing and committing crimes against the civilian population, and that in the place where from the second half of 1992 until the middle of 1994, it was the Heliodrom concentration camp. On the other hand, we believe that this is a provocation towards all the victims who went through wartime torture camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995.

As it was announced in the previous reaction, on May 9, 1993, as part of the HVO attack on Mostar, members of the HVO carried out mass arrests of the civilian population from the part of the city on the right bank of the Neretva River in Mostar, where, in addition to the resident population, refugees were also accommodated, mostly from the area of Podveležje and Nevesinje. The civilians were taken to the Heliodrom camp. In the HVO reports, it was stated that in the second half of 1992, civilians of Bosniak and Serb nationality were imprisoned in Heliodrom, who were taken to forced

labor for the needs of the HVO. The founding decision of September 3, 1992, signed by Bruno Stojić, Minister of Defense of the HVO, soon after, on September 22, established the Central Military Prison for the area of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna as part of the Heliodrom barracks.

According to the data of the Commission for Social Protection and Humanitarian Aid, 6,000 Bosniaks were arrested and detained until June 30, 1993 alone. Among them were several hundred Serbs and members of the VRS, as well as “disloyal Croats”. Inmates from other HVO camps were also brought to the same camp. Given that the number of inmates was increasing every day, it is difficult to determine the final number.

In the HVO camps, crimes were committed against the inmates. They were used for forced labor, for demining minefields, as human shields during attacks by members of the HVO on the combat positions of the ARBiH, the extraction of injured or dead members during their offensives, the construction of houses and the cleaning of Croat houses, for digging trenches and trenches, digging graves and many other forced labors. They were taken mainly to Buna, Bakina Luka, Raštane, Soviče, Risovac and other places in western Herzegovina. The most difficult places to work were “Sector Vinko Martinović Štela”, from the Health Center to HIT, “sector Benito Sesar” from Šemovac to the Health Center and work in Šantićeva Street. Going to the area of Bijelo Polje was especially critical for the life of the prisoners, where every time one of the prisoners was killed during the works. It also happened that camp inmates would escape, after which other camp inmates would be mistreated.

According to the reports of the Military Police Administration, inmates were still in Heliodrom after the signing of the Washington Agreement, and according to the report of April 17, 1994, the number of inmates was 228.

The leaders of Herceg-Bosnia (Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoj Petković, Valentin Ćorić, Berislav Pušić, Mladen Naletilić Tuta, Vinko Martinović Štela) who knew about the camps and torture in them, were convicted before the International Court in The Hague. He did nothing to prevent it, but encouraged actions that led to crimes against humanity. Several members of the HVO who were sentenced to several years in prison for crimes against humanity in the Heliodrom camp were also convicted before domestic courts.

We consider it very important to take all actions and prevent any construction in the place where there was a concentration camp during the period of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to the fact that such construction harms all victims of aggression in the period 1992-1995, as well as all citizens. BiH, as well as good future relations between the peoples of BiH. We believe that this construction would be a mockery of all the victims who survived the crime and are still experiencing various types of torture. Such actions can be comfortably compared to the idea that the Germans want to build a Nazi museum on the site of the Auschwitz camp. Isn't that absurd?

Author: Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo

Source: [Oslobodjenje.ba](http://Oslobodjenje.ba)

## VOW OF SILENCE, INJUSTICE AND WAITING: THE 31ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE MONSTROUS BURNING OF CIVILIANS IN VIŠEGRAD

*Jun 27, 2023.*



This bloody criminal feast was committed 13 days after the monstrous burning of civilians in Pionirska Street in Višegrad, on June 14, 1992. Only one person survived the bonfire at Bikavac, Zehra Turjačanin.

“The crime of burning Bosniak civilians alive in Bikavac, as well as a number of other individual and mass crimes against Bosniaks, are evidence of the genocide committed against Bosniaks in Višegrad and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The youngest victim was a one-year-old child, and the oldest was 88 years old. This crime, together with the “live bonfire” in Pionirska street on June 14, 1992, represents one of the most terrible, monstrous and colossal war crimes committed by the Serbian armed forces during the aggression and genocide in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and one of the most cruel crimes after the Second World War on the soil of Europe”, reminds Bakira Hasečić, president of the Association “Woman Victims of War”.

### **Documenting the crime**

This year, in cooperation with the author Ermin Kuka, the association published the scientific monograph “Living bonfire - Bikavac in Višegrad (June 27, 1992)”, to be a permanent document and reminder of that crime.

Kuka, a senior research fellow at the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, recalls that Bosniak civilians, women, children and the elderly were brought to the house of Meha Aljić in Bikavac on the eve of one of the biggest Orthodox holidays, Vidovdan. Instead of the promised exchange, a trap was prepared for the victims, and they were completely helpless in the hell that followed.

“Serbian criminals, led by the criminal Milan Lukić, imprisoned 72 Bosniak civilians in the house. Lukić personally asked for as many civilians as possible to be brought to him, and everyone leaving the house was imprisoned. A monstrous crime was committed with the aim of the Great Serbian project of massacre, extermination of mass persecution Bosniaks from Višegrad and the Drina river valley,” recalls Kuka.

The perpetrators of the crime first shot at the house, and then threw bombs, and then the inflammable substance that ignited the flames.

“The identity of 45 victims has been established, while no information is known about the remaining victims even 31 years after the crime, except that they were civilians of Bosniak nationality. Most of the victims of the monstrous crime in Bikavac were from Višegrad parish, only from the village of Velika Gostilje 23 people. Mina Vilić (wife of Hamdija) from the village of Prelovo was burned in this house with three minor children under the age of ten (Nihad, Nihad and Zinet). Of the known victims, the youngest is one-year-old Ensar, son of Esad Tufekčić. Esad’s five-year-old was also burned daughter Elma. Four children are under the age of two, and a total of 16 children were burned. The oldest victim is Tija Šabanović, who was 88 years old at the time of the burning. The average age of the victim is around 30 years old,” says Kuka.

### **A shameful vow of silence**

The next morning, June 28, on Vidovdan, near the burned house in Bikavac, there was a terrifying scene, the remains of the burning, and the air smelled horrible of burnt human bodies. Zehra Turjačanin was the only survivor of this burning. She managed to break a small window on the upper side of the house, get out and save herself from hell. She testified about a horrible crime. She received third degree burns in the fire.



“Such terrible crimes are just a continuation of the cruelty committed against the Muslim population in the Second World War, since even in those tragic times the Chetniks committed numerous crimes. Even then, they imprisoned Muslims in houses, threw hand grenades into them, and then set fire to those houses. In the case of live bonfires in Višegrad, the long-standing shameful vow of silence, both of the perpetrators of this heinous crime, and of all neighbors of Višegrad citizens of Serbian nationality, is worrying. It was impossible to commit such heinous and monstrous crimes of burning, planned and organized, without only a few individuals (perpetrators) knowing for that,” believes Kuka.

Only the criminal Milan Lukić was sentenced to life imprisonment for the crime in Bikavac by the final judgment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague. Sredoje Lukić, as well as Oliver Krsmanović, were not responsible for this crime, because the courts could not establish their presence, even though the Hague Prosecutor's Office, that is, the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina, requested that they be sentenced with final force for participation in the said crime.

“It is unimaginable that only one person could commit such a crime, prepare it, organize it in detail and carry it out. The Trial Chamber did not establish, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Sredoje Lukić was also present at the said crime. Also, the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina is for this crime burden and the criminal Oliver Krsmanović. However, the finding of the Appellate Panel of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the second-instance verdict against the criminal Oliver Krsmanović, is incredible, in which it is stated that “the participation and role of the accused Krsmanović in the whole event has not been fully clarified”, says Ermin Kuka.

#### **A voice on behalf of the victims**

He adds that the obligation of the survivors is to remember and remember, and to document the crime.

“Because we are here to be the voice of the victim and the voice of the truth. Our memory and reminder is precisely the fight for the truth, as the highest scientific and civilizational value,” says Kuka.

The Association “Woman - Victim of War” says that their mission is to preserve such events from being forgotten, with the message that evil should never happen again to anyone, however, that the authorities of the smaller entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the municipality of Višegrad are still trying to reject justice in every possible way. to hide the truth and erase the memory of aggression and genocide in Višegrad and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They also remind that the remains of the victims have not been found and decently buried even to this day.

Source: [Klix.ba](http://Klix.ba)

**DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR CRIME INVESTIGATION, PROF. DR. RASIM MURATOVIĆ, PARTICIPATED IN THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF TRANSLATORS FROM AROUND THE WORLD**

*Jul 02, 2023.*



In the period from June 26 to 28, 2023, NORLA Norwegian Literature Abroad organized an international conference of translators from around the world under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway. The conference, which was held in Oslo, brought together 150 translators from 50 countries who translate books of various genres from Norwegian to almost all languages of the world (Arabic, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Czech, Danish, English, French, Hebrew, Hindi, Croatian, Italian, Japanese, Latvian, Lithuanian, Dutch, German, Portuguese, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian...).



The aforementioned conference was an opportunity for translators from all over the world to get to know each other and exchange experiences and plans related to translation.

The only representative from Bosnia and Herzegovina at this conference was Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo. Prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović has so far translated 14 books from Norwegian and one book from Danish to Bosnian, among which are:

Henrik Ibsen: NORA – Ett dukkeheim. NORA – A doll's house – Second edition -.2022. BH BRIDGE Sarajevo.

Arne Johan Vetlesen, Rasmus Willig: Hvad skal vi sware?. What should we say to our children? 2020. University of Sarajevo - Faculty of Administration.

Arne Johan Vetlesen: Deaths. Pain. 2020. Minex Zenica.

Arne Johan Vetlesen: Nytt klima – Miljøkrisen i samfunnskritisk lys. Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, AS 2008. The new climate - Ecological crisis in the light of social criticism. 2019. Minex Zenica.

Nils Johan Lavik and Nora Sveaass: Political psychology. Pax Forlag, 2005. Political psychology. 2018. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Arne Johan Vetlesen: Studier om ondskap. Universitetsforlaget, 2014. Studies on Evil. 2017. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Grete Brochmann: Hva er innvandring. Universitetsforlaget, 2006. What is migration. 2016. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Øyvind Østerud: Hva er krig. Universitetsforlaget, 2009. What is war. 2016. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Paul Moxnes: Hva er angst. Universitetsforlaget, 2009. What is fear. 2015. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Irene Levin: Hva er sosialt arbeid. Universitetsforlaget, 2004. What is social work. 2015. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Arne Johan Vetlesen: Hva er etikk. Universitetsforlaget, 2004. What is Ethics. 2014. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Påla Repstad: What is sociology. What is sociology. 2014. Fojnica d.o.o. Fojnica.

Kjell Arild Nilsen: Milošević and the war and The Hague - a document. Syppress Forlag, 2007. Milosevic in the war and The Hague - documentation. 2013. University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law.

Henrik Ibsen: NORA – Ett dukkeheim. NORA – A doll's house – First edition -.2005. BH BRIDGE Sarajevo.

Gunnar Stålsett: Hva er da et menneske – tekster til tro og tanke. What then is a man - Texts for faith and thinking. 2005. Sejtaria Sarajevo.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen: Bak fiende bilde – Islam og verden etter September 11. Cappelen, 2002. Paranoia of globalization - Islam and the world after September 11, 2001.. 2002. Sejtarija, Sarajevo.



## DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR CRIME INVESTIGATION, PROF. DR. RASIM MURATOVIĆ, PARTICIPATED IN THE WORK OF THE ROUND TABLE IN KLADNJ

*Jul 02, 2023.*



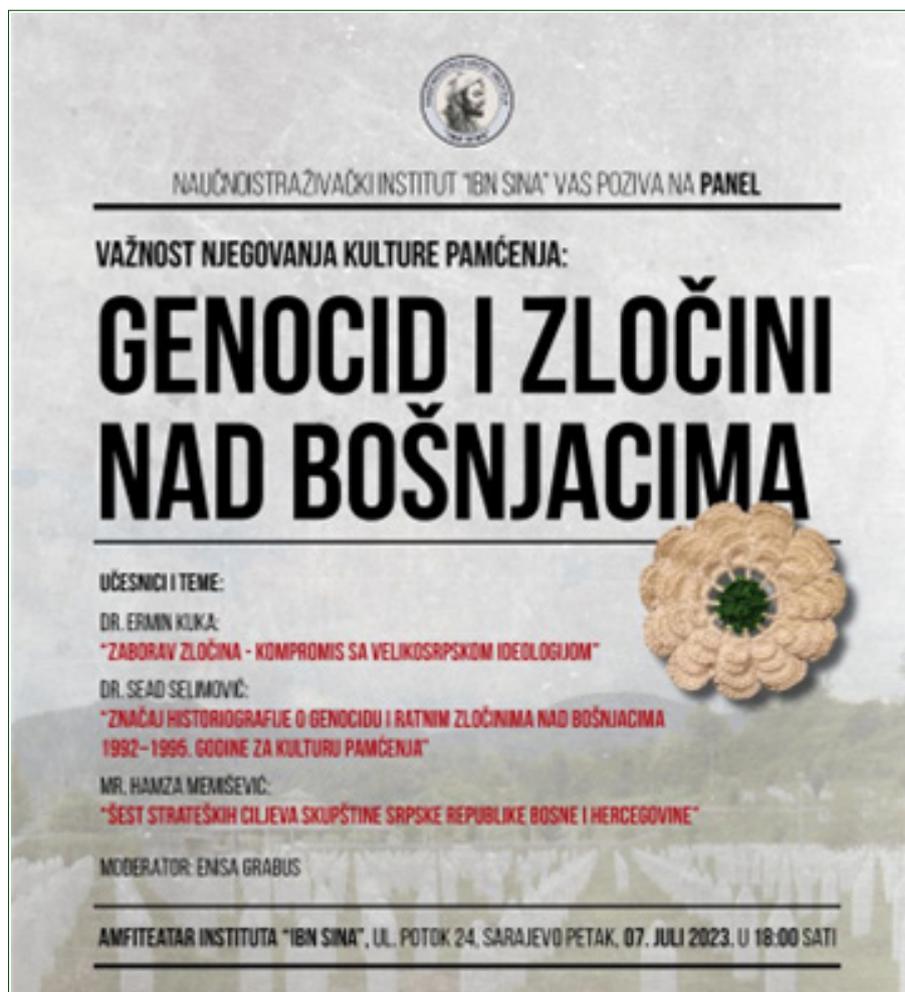
On June 30, 2023, the director of the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, as editor of the Collection of Abstracts and moderator, participated in the work of the Round Table: Tito and Bosnia and Herzegovina: Conversation with the leadership of the NOP for Bosnia and Herzegovina at Plahovići near Kladnje in 1943.

The round table, attended by 15 presenters, aimed to open new perspectives for the study of Josip Broz Tito's stay in Kladnje and his conversation with the leadership of the KPJ Provincial Committee for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The discussion about the importance of this conversation in Plahovići is important especially in the context of opposition to contemporary revisionist views on the Second World War.



## INVITATION TO THE PANEL: “IMPORTANCE OF CULTIVATING A CULTURE OF MEMORY: GENOCIDE AND CRIMES AGAINST THE BOSNIAKS”

*Jul 03, 2023.*



The panel “The importance of cultivating a culture of memory: Genocide and crimes against Bosniaks” organized by the Scientific Research Institute “Ibn Sina” will be held on Friday, July 7, 2023 at 6 p.m.

Participants and topics:

dr. Ermin Kuka: “Forgetting the crime - a compromise with the Great Serbian ideology”

dr. Sead Selimović: “The importance of historiography on genocide and war crimes against Bosniaks in 1992-1995.” year for the culture of memory,,

Mr. Hamza Memišević: “Six strategic goals of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”

## PROMOTION OF THE BOOK “THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA” IN BIHAĆ

*Jul 04, 2023.*



Organized by the University of Bihać, the Faculty of Islamic Pedagogy and the Life Association, the promotion of the book “The Origin of the Republic of Srpska” by dr. Hikmet Karčić, Ph.D. Jasmin Medić and others. Muamer Džananović. The book deals with the issue of crimes committed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1992-1995. years and how the institutions of the Republika Srpska entity were formed.

The focus of the book is, as the subtitle says, on regionalization and strategic goals in the context of the formation of autonomous regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in the period 1991-1992. became Republika Srpska.

- In our book, we actually show that January 9 is the end of the first phase of the establishment of the Republika Srpska. What is normally called in our collective narrative that it is the day of the beginning of the genocide, we consider that January 9 is only the end of the institutional preparation, that is, the formation of special services, agencies and bodies that then carried out crimes and genocide on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on the court rulings, we can say that the Republika Srpska is a genocidal creation, because it is one complete territory that was founded on the basis of ethnic cleansing of the territory, the system of camps, mass crimes and rape, and this is a logical conclusion from all of that - explains Dr. Hikmet Karčić, one of the authors of the book.

All books written on this topic in Bosnia and Herzegovina mainly deal with the issue of crime, and the authors noticed that one important segment is missing, namely the preparations that led to war and aggression. That was also the motive to deal with the issue in more detail and at a scientific level.

- The work was written on the basis of primary archival material and very important documents. So, it is scientific and that was our primary goal and our guide through the writing of this work. It contains numerous documents, primarily from the Serbian Democratic Party, but also numerous other documents that were necessary to achieve the desired goal, and the primary goal was the desire to explain this phenomenon to the scientific and general public, both in the country and abroad. January 9, which is glorified and celebrated, and in that primary and initial idea we wanted to focus only on that event. Then, combining our knowledge, we estimated that it would be good if the focus of the work was on the entire year 1991 until May 12, 1992, because, according to us, all political and military goals had been finalized by then, that is, all political goals had been made public - he points out Ph.D. Muamer Džananović, also one of the authors of the book.

He adds that the year 1991 is important for the reason that in it, which can be seen through this book, genocidal intent was expressed, which is very important and difficult to prove, and that they managed to prove it through documentation and intercepted conversations of Serbian political leaders from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, as well as the territorial claims of Great Britain towards Bosnia and Herzegovina which continue even today, but also anti-Islamism and an incredible hatred towards Islam and everything Islamic.

Source: [Faktor.ba](http://Faktor.ba)

## **AUTHORS OF THE BOOK “EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)” VISITED THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNSKO-SANSKI CANTON**

*Jul 06, 2023.*



Mustafa Ružnić, Prime Minister of the Una-Sana Canton received today Muamer Džananović, Hikmet Karčić and Jasmin Medić, co-authors of the book “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska” and Hajrudin Hodžić, Dean of the Faculty of Islamic Pedagogy in Bihać.

The Islamic Pedagogical Faculty in Bihać organized the promotion of the book “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska”, published by the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo.

In the conversation with the Prime Minister of the USK, the authors stated that the book is the result of their many years of interdisciplinary research and a scientific response to the increasingly frequent attempts to rewrite history, relativize and deny crimes.

- The politics of Krajina has always been and will be guided by the primary goal - to preserve our state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that is why the work of young scientists like you is an extremely important segment in the peacetime struggle against the intentions of historical revisionists, said Mustafa Ružnić in a conversation with the authors of the book “Emergence of the Republic” Serbian”.

## THE PROMOTION OF THE BOOK AUTHORED BY PH.D. MUAMER DŽANANOVIĆ, PH.D. JASMIN MEDIĆ AND PH.D. HIKMET KARČIĆ IN VISOKO

*Jul 07, 2023.*



Promotion of the book “Emergence of Republika Srpska: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)” authored by Ph.D. Muamer Džananović, Ph.D. Jasmin Medić and Ph.D. Hikmet Karčić.

The promotion was held as part of the commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, and was attended by a large number of interested guests.

Dr. also spoke about the book in the announcement. Sedad Bešlija, director of the Sarajevo Institute of History, said that the subject of this book is very difficult and complex, and it affects the fate of the people. The promoter of the book was Ermin Kuka, senior research associate of the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo.

This work is chronologically organized into six chapters in which the most important events that preceded the declaration of the RS are analyzed. The commemoration of the anniversary of the genocide continues tomorrow, when flowers will be laid on the Square of Genocide Victims in Srebrenica and the participants of this year’s “March of Peace” will be seen off.



## SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE “IBN SINA” ORGANIZED A PANEL DISCUSSION ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE GENOCIDE

*Jul 08, 2023.*



Organized by the Center for Balkan Studies, which operates at the “Ibn Sina” Scientific Research Institute, a panel discussion was held under the title “The Importance of Cultivating the Culture of Remembrance: Genocide and Crimes against Bosniaks”, on the occasion of the commemoration of the anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide against Bosniaks.

Participants in the panel discussion were: Dr. Ermin Kuka, who spoke on the topic “Forgetting crime – a compromise with the Great Serbian ideology”, Dr. Sead Selimović from the Faculty of Philosophy in Tuzla presented a presentation entitled “The importance of historiography on genocide and war crimes against Bosniaks in 1992-1995 for the culture of memory”, and Mr. Hamza Memišević entitled “Six strategic goals of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, in which he presented the idea and operation of Serbian politics on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately before the aggression.

In this way, the Ibn Sina Institute strives to nurture the culture of memory by presenting facts with scientifically based topics.

Source: Radiosarajevo.ba

## THE BOOK “EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)” WAS PROMOTED IN ZENICA

*Jul 08, 2023.*



In the organization of the Mufti of Zenica and the University of Zenica, a promotion of the book “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)” was organized tonight as part of the celebration of the anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica.

About the work itself, but also the history, the authors of the book dr. Muamer Džananović, Ph.D. Jasmin Medić and others. Hikmet Karcic. Also, at the promotion, local professors from the University of Zenica, prof., spoke about current historical trends and the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ph.D. Ajdin Huseinspahić and prof. Ph.D. Dzevad Drino.

With this promotion, the mufti of Zenica continued its good cooperation with the University of Zenica, and this cooperation aims to strengthen the public intellectual life in this city.

At the very beginning, the mufti of Zenica, hafiz, prof., addressed the attendees. Ph.D. Mevludin-ef. Dizdarević and the rector of the University of Zenica, Prof. Ph.D. Jusuf Duraković, who emphasized that this promotion is an extremely important event for Zenica, but also for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The authors stated that the work is the result of their many years of research, but also a scientific response to increasingly frequent attempts to change historical facts and attempts to relativize and deny crimes.

- This publication contains the facts of the “other side”. We used documents created by the Serbian Democratic Party. It was very difficult to work on the preparation of this book. I would like to point out that two key things happened in 1991, the population census and the aspiration for an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two moments are crucial for the execution of genocide - said the author dr. Karcic.

One of the goals for writing this book was to scientifically prove that the RS, or at that time the so-called “Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina” is not a reflection of some spontaneous reaction of the Serbian political and military leadership, both from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia.

- The motivation for writing this book is the assessment of the importance of this topic. It is necessary to deal with our past, and at the same time to explain some phenomena that are glorified and celebrated, especially in recent years. Among other things, we have proven Genoz’s intention of the Great Serbian policy, on the basis of which the RS entity was created - said the author Dr. Džananović.

The moderator of the promotion was Edin-ef. Kavazović, head of the Department for Religious Affairs and Education of the Mufti of Zenica.

Source: [Preporod.info](http://Preporod.info)



## HOSTING OF ERMIN KUKE ON BHT1

*Jul 11, 2023.*



Senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, dr. Ermin Kuka, was a guest in the BHT1 program.

The occasion of the conversation is the anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica, and you can watch the entire guest appearance at this link.

## **SREBRENICA IS BIGGER THAN OBLIVION: THE GENOCIDE PROJECT IS DESIGNED BY THE POLITICAL ELITES, AND THE DENIAL IS CARRIED OUT IN THE SAME WAY - FROM THE TOP TO THE BOTTOM**

*Jul 12, 2023.*



Those who survived, those who worked, researched and tried to let the whole world hear about the monstrous evils that the people of Srebrenica survived. About that, but also with what BiH. society is facing, said Kada Hotić, vice president of the Association ‘Mothers of the Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves’; Ph.D. Ilijaz Pilav, from Srebrenica who saved thousands of lives; Hariz Halilović, social anthropologist at the Center for Social and Global Research at RMIT University in Melbourne; Muamer Džananović, research associate of the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity; Edina Bećirević, professor at the Faculty of Criminology, Criminology and Security Studies, UNSA.

It has changed since a lot of time has passed. We are still on the way of investigation, still on the way of seeking that justice. We partially succeeded. This space that serves for our memory and that reminds us of the past, we participated in that, to get this space. We decided to fight and not remain silent, to tell the truth, to make the world aware of this evil that the perpetrators would prefer to cover up, to not talk about it. We didn’t want to be silent. They thought, who committed this evil, that we, the women who survived, would cry, fall behind ours out of grief. We didn’t want to. I’m not saying I defy life. I defy evil. I want to fight. Each of us with the loss of sons, husbands and relatives, we will not remain silent. Let’s talk. The media is a great help to us. They are sending our testimony, our cries, to find out where our people were before we knew they were killed and to bury them with dignity - said Hotić.

She didn’t find Samira’s shoe, but she knows what kind he wore. She pointed out that we are still fighting and we will fight. She also touched on how she coped, and how she sewed underwear, pants and skirts from various materials.

- I was 50 years old when Srebrenica fell. I fought during the hostilities. We were terribly hungry. I fought with many women going to the fields. We carried all the corn over the hill. I carried 25 kilos each 19 times. I was a fighter to feed my family. I mended the boys' ripped jeans. We received packages, so there were diapers. I made pants and skirts from parachutes. We fought in various ways. When we had strangers who promised us that we would survive, we waited for someone to help us. However, they tricked us. They kept us until 1995 and gathered us in the premises of this building. There was an industrial zone. All the people worked together. We were not divided on anything. Not all of it can be told, but we are talking. When the Hague Tribunal was formed, we asked to be present. It spread to the world that there were verdicts that confirmed that there was genocide here. We had aggression across the Drina. Our neighbors obeyed the villain from Serbia. Those were such horrors. Every day we suffered the shelling of all the means that the JNA had. It was our army that went over to the side of the criminals - Hotić recalled.

Pilav was the first witness of the most monstrous crimes and the first stages of the realization of the genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica. He told us how he most clearly recognized that this is not a war by definition, but such a monstrous crime that must have been caused by an evil that is difficult to attribute to man.

- In April, Srebrenica is occupied. Events that had a terrifying dimension immediately followed. A wide strip of settlements along the Drina is destroyed and systematic ethnic cleansing, mass murders, persecutions, and injuries are carried out. Shelling was daily from Serbia. Even in certain moments, the representatives were from certain international organizations. No matter how hard we tried to send such information to the world, to the public, it was obviously kept quiet. When I talk about the genocide, I try to emphasize that the genocide began in 1992, that the silent genocide has been going on since 1992, and that July 1995 was only its culmination - Pilav said. When he speaks on that topic, Pilav makes a comparison between what they survived and the information he learned from reading the book 'Slow Genocide in Bosnia'.

In that book, I was surprised by the courage, the humanity, that there was someone who was a saint in the place where the most important decisions were made, that he described what happened in the room without looking. It is one room where unofficial meetings of the five most powerful, that is, five members of the Security Council were held, and de facto the real decisions were made there, and he called the conference hall with the horseshoe-shaped table a theater. So, that's where all the performances for the public took place. He described exactly what was happening to us. He described that the powerful representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council were explicitly against the fact that the Bosniak people could have any kind of dominance in terms of statehood in these areas. Therefore, the slow-motion genocide took place in 1992, and everything that happened in 1995 was not unexpected - said Pilav.

Investigating the many reasons for the inhumane treatment of Holocaust victims, scientists once concluded that it was a matter of distance and ignorance of the victim. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, if we take Srebrenica into account, that story completely falls apart because we know that even the biggest executioners knew their victims.

- What saved me in Prijedor, which I considered at first to be the most difficult fact for me, is that I was not from Prijedor, that I had no documents, that I was the first to be killed. That's what they killed. A man who was from Visegrad and happened to be there on a visit was killed. They even said

that they killed Murat Šabanović. What saved me in Prijedor, including the camp, was that none of the executioners knew me. I had no schoolmates, I was not listed in the records. When you're nobody, until it's your turn, you survive. Nobody knew me in Prijedor, and what I experienced in Prijedor in 1992 was absolutely a successful attempt to exterminate a people. There was genocidal intent. It was logistically impossible to kill 50,000 people so quickly. They also needed their weapons and their forces in the corridor where the battles around Gradačac were then taking place. So the camps were one option where they mistreated and killed people. They killed people like doctor Ilijaz - pointed out Halilović.

They killed people who were more useful to their community. They beheaded the community, and that is also a genocidal intention – to destroy the people by removing the leaders of a community, and those leaders were educated people.

- I was on the way to what they called an exchange. They said we can go on an exchange. Only not being able to squeeze into the bus saved me. Being a Bosniak in any part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992 - 1995 where the Serbian aggressors occupied the fate was the same. These shoes could have been mine. Only a combination of coincidences, luck or a higher force allowed me to sit here. The slow genocide was a tumultuous, incendiary genocide. There was no place where it happened differently. The intention was the same - adds Halilović.

They followed the genocide of Bosniaks via satellite signals from the world's major power centers, from their comfortable offices. Džananović said what he believes is the cause of so much dehumanization of innocent people.

Spatial and temporal intent to commit genocide against Bosniaks, as a key element, is very important. The intention to commit a crime against the citizens of Sarajevo was identical to the one here in Potočari. When talking about Srebrenica, it is important to emphasize this continuity and persistence of the criminals, that their strategic goal is to eliminate members of other nations, all those who are not Serbs. They were adamant about it. The mentioned April 1992 must not be forgotten - said Džananović.

He emphasizes that July 1995 is today the subject of various attempts to deny, etc.

- The genocide project as such is designed by political elites. They design it, finance it, implement it on the ground... The genocide project moves from top to bottom. The denial of genocide is carried out in an identical way - pointed out Džananović.

Written by: A.H.

Source: [Hayat.ba](http://Hayat.ba)

## WATCH THE SHOW KONTEKST, IN WHICH RESEARCH ASSOCIATE MERISA KAROVIĆ-BABIĆ WAS A GUEST

*Jul 13, 2023.*



Twenty-eight years after the genocide against the Bosniaks in Srebrenica, the main issue is the denial of the genocide. How to fight against it and establish the truth as history? Where to look for solutions? Is it even necessary to expect someone to accept the truth? To what extent is denial of genocide influenced by historical revisionism in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina? to the RS entity and enhancing collective responsibility?

How is it possible that the Hague tribunals are considered political courts that unjustifiably targeted only Serbs - if there are recordings, evidence and, finally, confessions of the perpetrators of the same crimes?

The guests of “Kontext” are historian and research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law Merisa Karović-Babić, political scientist Jasmin Mujanović and Edin Ikanović, coordinator for monitoring the report on the denial of genocide.

## **DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ, KEYNOTE SPEAKER AT THE INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC MEETING “WHY REMEMBER?”**

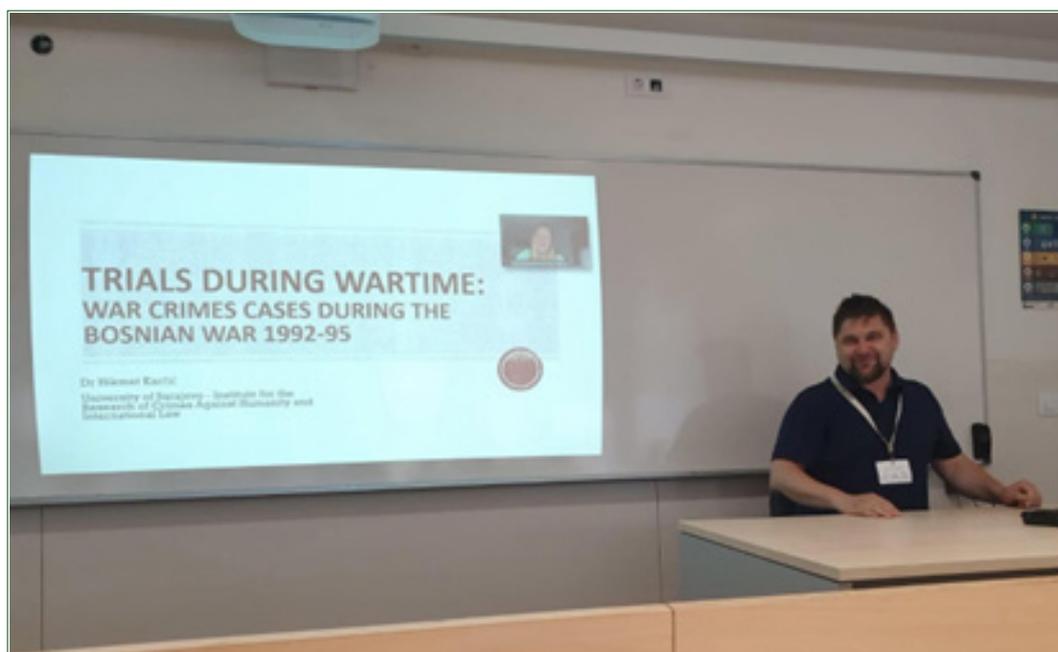
*Jul 17, 2023.*



On July 8, 2023, dr. Hikmet Karčić, research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, held an introductory lecture at the international scientific conference ‘Why Remember?’ organized by the University of the Arts London (UAL) and UK Research and Innovation (UKRI), which was held in Sarajevo. The topic of the introductory lecture was The Roots of the Bosnian Genocide.

## DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ, PARTICIPANT OF THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GENOCIDE RESEARCHERS

*Jul 17, 2023.*



From July 10 to 14, 2023, the Sixteenth Meeting of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS-International Association of Genocide Scholars) was held under the title Authoritarianism & Genocide: Narratives of Exclusion (“Authoritarianism and Genocide: Narratives of Exclusion”). During this international conference, dr. Hikmet Karčić, research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, gave a presentation on the topic Trials during wartime: War crimes cases during the Bosnian war 1992-95.



# PROMOTION OF THE BOOK “EGGS 1992: THE SIEGE AND DEFENSE OF THE ROYAL CITY”

Jul 26, 2023.

Koordinacija boračkih udruženja Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine Jajce

**PROMOCIJA KNJIGE**

**JAJCE 1992:**  
OPSADA I ODBRANA KRALJEVSKOG GRADA

autor dr. sc. Amir Kliko

**PROMOTORI:**

- dr. sc. Jasmin MEDIĆ
- prof. dr. Enes DURMIŠEVIĆ
- general Fikret ČUSKIĆ

**MODERATOR PROMOCIJE:**

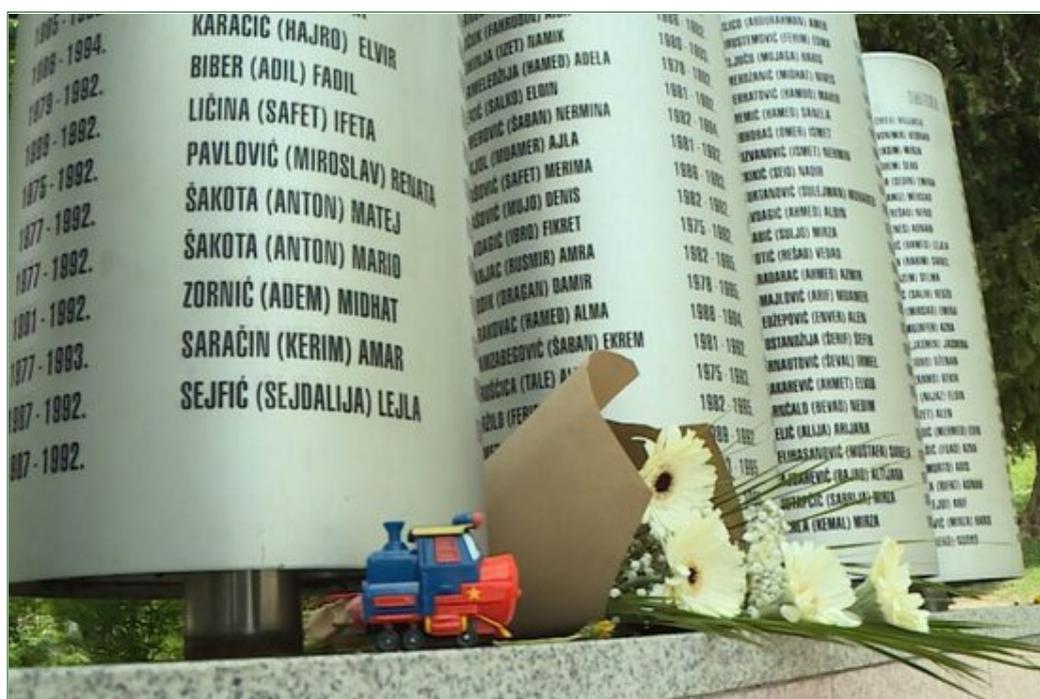
- Adis LIZDE

**28. juli 2023 (petak), 19 sati**  
Velika sala Doma kulture Jajce

**bh** **BH POŠTA**  
"JP BH POŠTA" d.o.o. Sarajevo

## MASTALIĆ KOŠUTA: THE GOAL IS TO REDUCE THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE VRS FORCES IN SARAJEVO

Aug 11, 2023.



For a long time, we have witnessed historical revisionism, which interprets history in accordance with contemporary political goals. At the end of the 1980s, the revisionism of the Second World War was in full swing, and lately, especially in Serbia and Republika Srpska, there have been strong revisionist waves about the wars of the 1990s. The latest wave of historical revisionism in the RS concerns the attempt to present the children killed during the siege of Sarajevo, by shelling or sniping from the occupied parts of the city by the RS Army, as victims of the ARBiH. After the scandal from Prijedor, when during the commemoration of the “Storm” a photograph of a Bosniak exile from Žepa was presented as a Serbian victim of the “Storm” in Croatia, now it is the turn of falsifications about children killed in Sarajevo during the siege. “According to the data of the Republic Center for the Research of War and War Victims [Rs] in the municipalities of Srpski Sarajevo, 106 children died during the war,” said the Center. Many portals have already written about the latest scandal, family members of the murdered children reacted, some describe how their family members were killed during the shelling of the besieged city and announce lawsuits for falsifying history.

We support a detailed investigation into the murdered children, but falsification of history is unacceptable. Dr. Zilha Mastalić Košuta, senior research associate from the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity, University of Sarajevo, researched the topic of killing children in besieged Sarajevo, and writes for our portal about earlier manipulations of the number of Serbs killed in besieged Sarajevo.

Written by: Dr. ZILHA MASTALIĆ KOŠUTA

ERRORS WITH THE DATA OF KILLED CHILDREN

The Republican Center for Research on War and War Crimes in Republika Srpska compiled a list containing the names of 106 children who died with basic identification data. RTRS Television used that list for media purposes. They announced that these data were planned to be placed on the monument that is being built in East Sarajevo, and which is dedicated to the “killed Serbian children”. The children from the mentioned list were said to have been killed in Sarajevo, but with the connotation that they were killed by shelling and sniping by members of the ARBiH. By looking at part of the list, it is clear that the list contains data with the identities of children who do not belong to the said list. Most of these children were killed by the Sarajevo Romanijsko Korkup (SRK) of the Army of the Republic of Serbia (VRS).

The girl Mirjana (Duško, Olgica) Malešević is also in this and other similar lists. Mirjana was killed by a grenade on February 27, 1993, fired by the SRK VRS at Dobrinja II. Together with her, her friend Samir Poljo, who was trying to save her, was killed. The boy Damir (Dragan, Senada) Dodik was killed by a sniper on June 25, 1995, on the street near the Health Center in Vrazova street, Centar municipality. He was on a bicycle and headed towards Ciglani. The bullet hit him near the heart.

Four-year-old Darijan (Miodrag, Jasmina) Jovanović was killed by a grenade on June 13, 1993, in his house at 116 Palmira Toljatija street, Novi Grad Sarajevo municipality. He was buried at the Lav cemetery in Sarajevo.

Danijel (Ivo, Anđa) Kovačević is also on the list of killed “Serbian children”. The boy Danijel committed suicide by hanging himself in Maka Dizdara Street, Novi Grad Municipality. His mother Anđa says that her son Danijel could never mourn the death of his father Ivo, who was killed by a grenade in Sarajevo in 1993. He was buried at the St. Joseph cemetery.

Five-year-old Magdalena (Božo, Hena) Đorem was killed by a grenade on July 6, 1995, while she was playing on the basketball court, on Independence Square, Novi Grad Sarajevo. Five civilians were killed from the two shells that were fired one after the other by the SRK, one of whom was another child Ahmović (Miralem, Radojka) Elvir. Both the father and mother of the Magdalenes were then killed.

In addition to these examples, there are other examples, such as the boy Marko Lukić, who was killed on July 26, 1995, by a shell fired from the position of the SRK VRS, in the Sarajevo neighborhood of Mejtaš. Then Slađana Perišić, who is mentioned in other lists with the same purpose. Slađana was killed by a grenade on July 13, 1992 in Nedžarići, next to the PTT, when her boyfriend Elmir Kurtović, who tried to protect her, was killed along with her.

The girl Maja (Branko, Melita) Đokić was killed by a grenade fired by the Sarajevo-Romanian Corps of the VRS. She was killed on April 9, 1995 in Titova Street, Centar Municipality (in front of the former “Sarajka” Department Store) together with Munevera Selimović (1937), and ten civilians were slightly and seriously wounded.

## EARLY LISTS AND DATA MANIPULATIONS

It should be pointed out that even in the earlier lists, untruths were often stated. In Marko Miker-ević's book entitled "Sarajevo's condemned to death" a list was published with a total of 894 registered persons, as the author stated, "killed and missing Serbs in Sarajevo". By analyzing that list, it was established that there are more than 655 wrong and incorrect data on the list according to various characteristics. On the list, 407 people died, were killed or disappeared in other places, not as shown in Sarajevo by "Muslim formations", "Caco and Caco's criminals", "green berets" etc. There are also nine people killed or missing in the area that at the time of the crime was under the control of the VRS, and they were listed as having been killed in the part held by the ARBiH, by "Muslim formations". Then, 21 people are considered to have been killed, and the analysis proved that they are living people for whom there are addresses and contact numbers. Then, 83 persons in the list are repeated twice, 11 persons are repeated three times, one person is repeated four times; etc. The list also includes Croats, registered as Serbs, then those who died on the battlefields with the HVO or by the HVO, and others. Then, the names are deliberately repeated two or more times in the list, in order to indicate a higher number of victims than there is. By the way, the author did not compile his list in alphabetical or alphabetical order, so that the listed inaccuracies would be more difficult to spot.

It did not state that many of the deaths of the people on the list were those killed and killed by fire by the VRS, which had besieged the city for nearly four years.

Below are some of the names of people falsely represented in earlier lists that also show "Serbs killed or missing in Sarajevo" killed by "Muslim formations". It is a list of the non-governmental organization "ISTINA" - Association for Researching the Suffering of Serbian and Other Peoples in Sarajevo in the period 1992-1995. under the title "Killed and missing Serbian civilians in the period from April 1992 to the end of 1995 in the area of Sarajevo". However, these persons were not killed and disappeared in the area of Sarajevo. Most of them were also soldiers, and in the lists they were also shown as minors.

Golubović (Nedo) Vaso (1974 from Blace near Konjic) is mentioned in the so-called list "Truth" that he was taken on June 18, 1992 from his apartment in ul. Tešanjka towards the "Sutjeska" cinema, where he is lost. However, in the ICRC database under the register. no. BAZ-107770/06 says that he disappeared in the village of Bjelimići near Konjic.

Sandić (Mika) Srbobran is stated to have been born in 1975. and was taken on September 1, 1992 from the apartment in ul. Shenoin to the Court building where he is lost. However, based on the ICRC and no. BAS-001429/01 states that Srbobran was born in 1910 and has nothing to do with Sarajevo. He disappeared in the village of Rastošnica near Zvornik, where he was born.

Čolić (Milorad) Dragiša, born in 1975 according to the «Truth» list, was taken on October 10, 1992 from his apartment in Ciglane in the direction of Kobilja Glava, where he was lost. However, based on the ICRC and no. BAZ-107374/01 states that Dragiša was a soldier of the 1st Sarajevo Infantry Brigade of the VRS and was visiting his aunt in Banja Luka until October 10, 1995. He started from there towards Lukavica, but his trail was lost. From what has been presented, it can be seen that Dragiša was not 17 years old as stated in «Truth» for 23 years.

Ivanović Borislav, according to "Truth", was born in 1976 and was taken from his apartment in Vrazova Street to the looted warehouse of the Military Hospital on September 15, 1992 and disap-

peared. On this list, Borislav is mentioned (repeated) twice with the only difference being that this time he was taken from his apartment on Višnjik. However, according to the ICRC database and other sources, and under no. BAS-001133/01 states that Borislav was born in 1948 in Bročice, Novska municipality, and that he disappeared in April 1992 in Bosanka Dubica. Borislav was not 16 years old, as in “Truth”, but 44 years old.

Martić (Milutin) Željko (1976) was taken according to “Truth” on 13 June 1992. from his apartment in Skenderija Street - Podgaj towards Bistrik. According to the ICRC database and other sources, it stands under no. BAZ-965349/01 that 13 September 1995 disappeared in Skender Vakuf. He was 23, not 16. Janković (Milan) Predrag (1976) was taken according to Mikerević’s list on 13.6.1992. from the apartment in Breka and disappeared in the direction of the “Koševo” stadium. According to the ICRC and no. BAZ-106258/01 was a soldier of the VRS. He disappeared on August 5, 1995, during the withdrawal of his unit from Bosanska Gradiska. And he was 19, not 16.

Unfortunately, there are still a significant number of such and similar examples. In order to reduce attention to the crimes committed by the forces of the Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) in Sarajevo and other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1992-1995. as well as with the aim of relativizing and denying the committed crimes, in recent years, governmental and non-governmental organizations and individuals from the Republic of Srpska, through public means of information and publications, have published lists, information, and data in which numerous errors and inaccuracies can be observed, such as falsification and manipulation of historical and judicial facts established so far, which favor the quasi-scientific truth and not the real truth.

10.08.2023

Source: Historiografija.ba

## DR. MUAMER DŽANANOVIĆ FOR STAV MAGAZINE: GREATER SERBS ARE IMPLEMENTING MEMORANDUM 2, PRO-BOSNIAN POLICY MUST LEARN LESSONS

*Aug 21, 2023.*



Interview by: Mirza Abaz

Source: [Stav.ba](http://stav.ba)

The monograph “Child Victims of War 1991-1995” was published by the Republic Center for Research on War, War Crimes and Search for Missing Persons of the Republic of Serbia, whose primary goal is to point out the senselessness of war, which leaves the greatest consequences for the most vulnerable - children. , said the director of this center, Milorad Kojić. The table in this book contains the first and last names, father’s name, date and municipality of birth and date and municipality of death of children of Serbian nationality who, as it was planned to present, were killed by members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It did not take long for numerous manipulations of data and figures to be discovered. Several children of Serbian nationality who were killed by the RS Army during the siege of Sarajevo in the smaller Bosnia and Herzegovina. they were presented to the entity as Serbian children killed by the ARBiH. Later, the “Sniper Alley” website added to that list the names of five more children - Marko Lukić, Damir Dodik, Igor Malešević, Mirjana Malešević, Vitomir Soknić - who are also included in the publication “Children of War Victims 1991-1995”, and in fact minor victims of the siege of our capital. That list was later further expanded by the author of the “Sniper Alley” project, Džemil Hodžić. It should be noted that the latest machinations from this entity come immediately after the RS authorities, together with representatives of the authorities from the Republic of Serbia, presented the Bosniak refugees from Žepa as Serbian victims exiled during the “Storm” action in the Republic of Croatia.

dr. Muamer Džananović, senior research associate at the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, after this monograph was published, reacted with an open letter on social networks in which he indicated that in addition to the names of the murdered children who were killed by members of the VRS during siege of Sarajevo, there are more

“mistakes” in this book. As he underlined, only a cursory review of this publication can clearly discern that the list contains a significant number of children killed and wounded as a result of the actions of the VRS in other areas of our country. Muamer Džananović is our interlocutor in this issue of Stava, with whom we discussed a new attempt at historical revisionism coming from the Rs entity, but we also touched on other topics. The book “Emergence of the Republika Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)” co-authored by Hikmet Karčić, Jasmin Medic and Muamer Džananović, who is one of the co-authors and co-editors of the “Report on Denying the Genocide in Srebrenica 2023”, was recently published. and which recorded 90 cases of denial of the genocide in Srebrenica in the period from May 2022 to May 2023, and we also discussed the new beheading of former commanders and members of the ARBiH, who are again being charged with war crimes against victims of Serbian nationality in Jošanica near Foča in December 1992.

By the way, Muamer Džananović earned his master’s degree and doctorate at the University of Sarajevo on topics in the field of genocide and war crimes. He is currently employed and elected as a senior research associate at the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law and is the author of several books, scientific papers, exhibitions and publications on genocide and war crimes. He participated in the implementation of numerous scientific projects. He reviewed and edited several books and proceedings.

STAV: You recently pointed out that in the list of murdered children in the publication “Children of War Victims 1991-1995”, published by the Republican Center for Research on War, War Crimes and the Search for Missing Persons, in addition to the names of the murdered children who were killed by members of the VRS during siege of Sarajevo has more “mistakes”. What are the key mistakes?

DŽANANOVIĆ: First of all, I want to emphasize that in the scientific research of war, war crimes, genocide, the most complex and sensitive part of the realization of the research is the one related to obtaining data and determining the identity of the victims, other data related to the victims, and related to the circumstances of the crime. There are many reasons why this is so and you can never say that you have determined the final number of victims. However, such research and their results to which your question refers, even by a cursory review of the list of killed and wounded children only for the area of Sarajevo, are a clear indication to anyone who survived the siege of Sarajevo that these are irrelevant, tendentious, quasi-scientific research. As such, they are part of broader projects that have been worked on for a long time, the ultimate goal of which is the relativization of history, to put it simply.

STAV: A few days ago, you stated that even a cursory examination of this publication shows that it is obviously a significant percentage of children who were killed or wounded by members of the VRS, and who are on the lists and in the mentioned publication with the aim of showing that they they were killed by members of the ARBiH. How important is it to mention, in addition to Sarajevo, other areas where various manipulations are also carried out?

DŽANANOVIĆ: It is certainly important that we do not ignore any crime because children and civilians are killed, wounded and tortured all over the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the moment of my reaction, the author of the “Sniper Alley” project, Džemil Hodžić, who actually identified this problem earlier, announced that six children killed in the siege were on those lists. Already today, when we are talking, he announced that it is about eleven children. And that’s only for Sarajevo. All of us who survived the siege of Sarajevo know very well which civilian locations are and who fired shells at them. It is noticeable, especially in the areas of the besieged cities, that children who have the appropriate name and surname for the authors of this project were killed, which was enough to put them on the list in order to present them as victims of the ARBiH. I reacted with a concrete example for the Goražde area under siege, where a child of Serbian nationality was killed in June 1993 by the VRS.

The mother of that child was killed by the same shell, and another civilian was wounded and killed.

In the context of the mentioned project, I want to emphasize and remind that we are actually talking about children who are victims of the Great Serbian project, victims of crimes, victims of the siege of Sarajevo. Now someone out of political interest puts them on the necessary lists and actually sees them only as a number and nothing more than that. Not to think about the murdered children as children, not to think about their parents, brothers, sisters, all those who are human and understand that pain and whose deepest wounds you touch again in this way... This is something that in relativizing the crime to such a callous way we have not witnessed so far and it is below the lowest level. At the moment I don't have an adequate term to describe it.

**STAV: How many children did members of the VRS kill outside of Sarajevo? You have particularly good statistics, if I'm not mistaken, for the Podrinje region, especially Goražde?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: I was involved in more detail in researching and determining the identity and circumstances of the crime for the killed and wounded children in the siege of Goražde. The results of the research were published in the form of a book. I am in the process of finalizing the publication of the results of scientific research for the area of Zvornik. To a certain extent, through research, I certainly touched Srebrenica, other Podrinja municipalities, but also Tešnja, Maglaj and some other areas. During the siege of Goražde, I determined the identities and circumstances of the crime for 120 children killed during the siege, which was very demanding. Also, using primarily primary sources, I published data on 428 wounded children during the siege. In the future I will publish a revised version of the book. What is the fact and conclusion from my research, as well as that of other colleagues for some other municipalities and regions, that is, from the mass, brutality and ferocity of those crimes, is that children were killed en masse, but also injured, especially in cities under siege, starved, in fact with the civilian population forcibly kept in inhumane conditions with the daily threat of being killed. In the areas that fell under the control of the Serbian army, even children experienced the fate of other civilians. Children were killed, tortured, imprisoned in camps, raped, etc.

**STAV: You also touched on broader projects that are being worked on for a long time, and whose goal is to relativize history. What did you mean? Who orders them, finances them?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: We are witnessing the attitude and policy of the ruling structures, but also a good part of the opposition structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, entity RS and the Republic of Serbia when it comes to these topics. They deny the genocide in various ways, and the highlight is that at certain commemorations on stages, war criminals were judged side by side with them. In fact, there are many things that support the fact that in many fields, including this one, they consistently follow the policy that led to aggression and genocide. I believe that the genocide and crimes committed during the aggression against RBiH were designed, organized and carried out by the political elites and that they are actually state projects, so also these projects of relativizing history, denying genocide and crimes are part of that strategy which is created at the highest levels, political levels. Evidence for this is certainly the public attitudes of political leaders in RS and Serbia. What is visible is that the denial of the genocide has become deeply rooted in the key institutions within that entity and within Serbia, and that it is supported by the wider masses. I remind you that a few years ago the Government of RS commissioned research and formed commissions, one to investigate the "suffering of all peoples in the Srebrenica region in the period 1992-1995." year", and the other for the "suffering of Serbs in Sarajevo in the period 1991-1995", the results of which are completely irrelevant.

In the report that refers to the "suffering of Serbs in Sarajevo", the thesis that has been presented for thirty years, since the day when Serbian forces committed crimes against civilians during the siege, is essentially presented. It accuses "Muslim forces" of killing civilians at the Markale market and other

locations in Sarajevo, at the Tuzla Gate, etc. That narrative prepared at the time of the crime is something that was insisted upon during the defense of convicted criminals in The Hague and is something that is not abandoned even today.

**STAV: How is it possible to fight against such manipulations of data that we have witnessed intensively in the last few days?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: I think that this example shows in which direction the struggle of those for whom the truth is the only guide should go. I believe that science and scientific research are something that we should primarily strive for. So many books, papers and various other publications have been written about the siege of Sarajevo, and only a few researchers and scientists could oppose concrete facts. Scientific research is long-term, requiring a lot of enthusiasm, dedication and investment, which objectively is not enough. What I want to emphasize is the fact that in addition to Džemil Hodžić and certainly the family and relatives of the victims, my colleagues from the Institute, Dr. Zilha Mastalić-Košuta and others. Merisa Karović-Babić. They contrasted these quasi-scientific researches with the results of their individual and joint long-term scientific researches, which they came up with and published in the form of books and papers and on which they continue to work tirelessly. I think that more should be invested in such scientific, primarily empirical projects. Not only because of opposing those manipulations, but because it is also the primary task of society as a whole. Unfortunately, we must be aware that numerous individual and mass crimes have not and will never be prosecuted and that many will not be adequately preserved from oblivion. Therefore, it is our obligation to investigate them on scientific grounds and adequately preserve them from oblivion and as a warning to current and future generations, but primarily to fulfill our obligation towards those against whom crimes were committed.

**STAV: Why do the authorities in the smaller BiH entity they are doing this right now? Do they have some practical reason?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: I think that the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina they have been doing this to the Rs entity for many years, and now it is more seriously recognized by the public. I gave my opinion on who creates these things. It is about the realization of a large-state, Greater Serbia long-term strategy in numerous fields. I invite you and myself, and all those who will read the interview, to re-read parts of the “Second Memorandum” of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, which was created in 2011 and leaked to the public. It is only in that document that it is written what kind of relationship Serbia and the government in Rs will have with regard to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its institutions, and its future. Constant denial of the state of BiH, Bosniaks as a people, denial of genocide, rigging of court proceedings, especially against members of the ARBiH, are some of the things written in that document. I stick to the topic of our conversation, but it is important to mention that action is being directed in other fields as well, such as relations with the international community and lobbying, culture, language, etc. On the other hand, we have the disunity of the pro-Bosnian intellectual elite, which even these days is further stretching the minds of the already deeply divided patriotically oriented part of the BiH population. We do not have a long-term national, state strategy in any field. I would say that even in this field, which is the topic of our conversation, we oppose and actually “breathe” on the enthusiasm of individuals.

**STAV: The book “Emergence of Republika Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)” co-authored by Hikmet Karčić, Jasmin Medić and Vas was recently published. Among other things, one of the theses in this book is that Serbian nationalism basically implies the occupation of those territories where the Serbian people live. How is it possible that the VRS also targeted Serbs in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina? Was anything else their heresy except that they did not choose to join the terror of their fellow citizens?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: The continuity of Serbian nationalism and the idea of creating a greater Serbia goes much deeper into the past. It is precisely for this reason that we have made an introduction and an overview of some of the most important historical events that accompany the idea of creating a great Serbia and its consequences. From its conception until the beginning of the nineties, that idea implied the incorporation of significant parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Greater Serbian state. Even today, they do not give up on it. The primary motive of us authors was to present to the domestic and international public how it actually happened on January 9, 1992 and the declaration of the so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is completely wrong to observe “9. January” as something isolated and as an individual thing that has no flow before and after it. We felt the need to explain the phenomenon of origin, that is, the origin of the idea and the declaration of an unconstitutional and illegal creation. We have already spoken in public, but it is important to repeat that we considered it important for the subject of the book to offer an insight into the period of final preparations for the operationalization of genocide and other crimes against humanity, which were made official on May 12, 1992, when at the 16th session “Assembly of the Serbian people in BiH” adopted “Strategic goals of the Serbian people in BiH”. For the purposes of research, we analyzed all the most important available decisions of the Serbian political leadership, from the formation of communities of municipalities, i.e. autonomous regions, the preparation and holding of plebiscites, parallelism in the form of the unilateral declaration of the so-called Assembly of the Serbian people, the so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Army, etc. In the work, on the basis of primary archival material, we deal in detail with the long-term process of transformation and renaming of political, military and civil structures and putting them into the function of realizing the criminal plan. Behind the realization of the “strategic goals” stood a huge bureaucratic machinery with an ideological basis with the aim of removing other peoples from their hearths. I think that in the end we managed to explain the essence of the so-called self-proclamation. Serbian Republic, i.e. the so-called of Rs.

It is important to emphasize, and it can be seen from numerous documents and intercepted conversations, that Karadžić and his collaborators wanted to form a creation where only Serbs would ultimately live, and with them possibly minorities in a negligibly small percentage. The fact that the decisions they made in 1991 or 1992 were declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court ultimately meant nothing on the ground. There are many similarities with today’s events. In this regard, I believe that the book can serve today’s political pro-Bosnian representatives and representatives of other institutions to learn a lesson and by no means underestimate secessionist announcements and unconstitutional actions in various fields.

**STAV: During the work on this book, hundreds of thousands of different documents of the then structures of Rs. How did the collection of material and the actual work on the book go?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: Colleagues dr. Jasmin Medić and others. Hikmet Karčić and I have been dealing with these topics for many years. We incorporated our previous knowledge and did additional research. Our work colleague dr. Ermin Kuka, as the promoter of the book in Foča, pointed out a fact a few days ago that best describes the work of writing this work. He stated that he witnessed day and night work on this book and sometimes heated and serious discussions. So far, in the short time since the publication of the book, we have had a large number of promotions, and I would like to supplement the previous one in some way, and ultimately describe the cooperation of the three co-authors, and to a certain extent the state of our nation and society as a whole. Namely, those present at all the promotions emphasize that they are particularly glad that young people wrote this work and they are really delighted that three people without any interests cooperate and contribute to society. Our dedicated work, collegial and friendly relationship is perhaps a guide to other colleagues in this and other fields in which direction our work and actions should go. And I want to emphasize that this is not our only

joint project that we have realized, we will work on new ones in the future.

**STAV: To what extent does the current political moment favor Serbian nationalism and its strategic goals and the eventual realization of centuries-old great-state goals?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: I assume that your question is also directed towards global trends which are important and which inevitably concern the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the relations of world political and military forces towards the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are many important topics that require deeper analysis, such as Russia's aggression against Ukraine and Ukraine's resistance, generally Russian influence in the Western Balkans, which is strong, the popularization of right-wing forces in Europe, the primary interests and focus of the USA, global trends and the interests of world powers in general, the position of China, Türkiye etc. These are all important topics and I believe that we should certainly follow global trends and look for ourselves in them and try to position the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and try to realize our interests.

However, we must not forget that whenever we relied and believed that someone from the outside would help us, that's when we suffered the most. The biggest crimes during the aggression were committed before the eyes of the whole world. For example, world powers that could have stopped the genocidal process focused on how to come up with a euphemism and not use the term genocide in their reports and public space. Objectively, any interests of our eastern or western neighbors will be realized here to the extent that the pro-Bosnian forces are disunited and weak. The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, like any other state, is only as strong as its institutions. Institutions are strong and will be strong when they are led and made up of the most dedicated, responsible and best personnel. Those who take an oath to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who put the smallest possible personal and party interests before national, patriotic ones, have often participated in the weakening of our institutions and are participating.

**STAV: Also, for the third year in a row, the Srebrenica Memorial Center, Potočari publishes the research document "Report on denial of genocide in Srebrenica 2023", which recorded 90 cases of denial of genocide in Srebrenica in the period from May 2022 to May 2023. You are one of the authors and editors of this report. It is interesting that the new face on this list is Zoran Milanović. What does that indicate?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: The report on genocide denial in Srebrenica in 2023 is based on monitoring and analysis of the representation of genocide denial. In the context of genocide denial and relativization, you are right, the new name appearing on the list of genocide deniers is Zoran Milanović, the president of the Republic of Croatia. According to research, it is noted that Milanović is increasingly involved in this practice, which represents a key change compared to previous reports. His appearance as a denier of genocide and relativizer is significant because of his high political position and the influence he has as president of Croatia. Genocide denial and relativization are harmful practices aimed at diminishing the character of the crime and prolonging the painful consequences of genocide. In addition, this way the rights of the victims are denied and causes further polarization between communities. Therefore, it is important that such statements and attitudes are carefully monitored, analyzed and publicly condemned in order, among other things, to preserve the truth.

**STAV: When you agreed to be part of the author and editorial team that will work on the Report, were you aware that you would be attacked, that you would be threatened?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: First of all, I believe that my work has been recognized by the leadership of the Memorial Center, and I thank you for the invitation and the opportunity to collaborate. I have been given the exceptional honor of personally contributing to the work of the Srebrenica Memorial Center, Potočari, which works on historically important projects.

To tell you the truth, I don't think about those kinds of consequences, nor do I fear them. If it were otherwise, I would not have agreed to be part of this important project and part of this team. Why should we be afraid to write and present the truth? The fact is that the authors who live and reside in the areas of Srebrenica and Rs are primarily called out and they are under special attack. I don't think it's a coincidence. Bosniaks, as well as Croats living in RS, are under primary attack in various ways, from those who, even in peace, continue the continuity of "breaking" the state and society with other methods, various forms of pressure, discrimination and segregation. And no one protects them, they don't have any protection. The authors or team members did not include Milanović, Dodik and the others in the Report at their own discretion and because they needed media attention. Genocide deniers put themselves on those lists. I would like to use the opportunity to emphasize here that I think it is important that finally those who follow or believe in the correct path of the ideology that led to aggression and genocide begin to examine their own views on the events that took place. To, as Jaspers put it, "self-illuminate". It is important that after that the ideology of evil is massively and completely rejected, the court verdicts and scientifically established facts about the crimes committed in the name of the ideology of evil are accepted and recognized, which actually represents the only way to build peace and prosperity in the region and Bosnia and Herzegovina. society and the state.

**STAV: What does the fact that the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not file a single indictment against deniers of genocide and other crimes and glorifiers of war criminals tell us?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: Since the amendment of the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there has been no lack of direct denials of genocide, but it is noticeable that they occur on a reduced scale within Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in public discourse. In the report, we presented that 90 cases of genocide denial were recorded, and that the year before the publication of this year's results, as many as 693 cases of genocide denial were recorded. More intensive drawing of murals, distribution of leaflets, photographs and other similar ways of glorifying and celebrating convicted war criminals come to the fore. From the middle of 2021, when the Law entered into force, until the end of May 2023, the Prosecutor's Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued a total of 38 orders on non-investigation of criminal charges for denial of genocide. I believe that this practice must stop and that such (in)work by the Prosecutor's Office, if it continues, will lead to public denials intensifying again and actually encouraging genocide deniers and those who glorify war criminals.

**STAV: On the other hand, a few days ago, the team of prosecutors of the Special Department for War Crimes filed an indictment against 13 persons, former commanders and members of the ARBiH, who are accused of war crimes against victims of Serbian nationality in the town of Jošanica near Foča in December 1992.**

DŽANANOVIĆ: The fact is that members of the ARBiH who defended Goražde are again on the docks. I dealt with the crimes during the siege in more detail and researched the topic of crimes against children, and I am currently working on a complex scientific project concerning the siege and defense of Goražde, with a focus on the crimes committed. I want to emphasize that from the scale and mass of the crimes committed, it can be concluded that the crimes committed against civilians during the siege of Goražde, committed in the period when Goražde also had the status of a UN safe zone, represent one of the symbols of the crimes against civilians during the aggression against RBiH 1992-1995 . years. To this day, no one has been held accountable for the deliberate execution of crimes against several tens of thousands of civilians who, due to the imposed conditions of the siege, were practically surviving in a kind of deliberately organized "concentration" camp. The civilian population lived in a complete environment in a constant struggle for biological survival. The aggressor deliberately exhausted the

population by leaving it without electricity, water, food, basic medicines, adequate treatment, which was supposed to accelerate the biological extermination of the dominant ethnic group in this area. During that period, all civilian facilities, including the war hospital, were shelled, and civilians were targeted and killed every day, wounded and starved to death, froze to death and died in other ways due to the harsh conditions imposed on them.

We support that everyone should be held accountable for the crime committed regardless of its dimensions and regardless of the perpetrator's national, religious or any other affiliation. However, the paradox is that, when it comes to Goražde, the focus of investigative bodies and prosecution offices is not numerous mass crimes committed against values protected by international law and against civilians as protected persons. There is no doubt that the indictments brought in these cases are in a huge imbalance in relation to the committed acts of war crimes committed during the period of aggression against this region and the city of Goražde. In view of the above, and bearing in mind the fact that to date, I think over 40 members of the ARBiH, defenders of Goražde, have been indicted and sentenced to 89 years in prison, and that they are still being interrogated and detained "every day", it is concluded that the "unclear" strategy of the judicial authorities, which are focused on possibly committed crimes by members of the ARBiH. Generally speaking, we must not forget Sarajevo, the "Dobrovoljačka" case and numerous other cases against commanders and members of the ARBiH. I remind you that for the crimes in the siege of Sarajevo, in the sieges of numerous other cities and areas, we have not filed a single indictment for committed mass crimes. I mentioned "Memorandum 2" and I believe and I am entitled to the view that all this is a consistent implementation of what is written there. The question is who leads the institutions and who manages these processes. How and why did we get there? Enough of those who supposedly put the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina first, and I mentioned that, I think they also have significant responsibilities in all of this.

**STAV: How important is the existence of an institution like the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law? And what other projects are you currently working on?**

DŽANANOVIĆ: I see the UNSA Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law as an institution of national importance, which may sometimes not receive adequate attention. Not enough is invested in empirical scientific work. I think that much more should be invested in the existence, strengthening of personnel, and a clearly defined development strategy, goals and tasks.

We have already mentioned some of the activities, but in fact, through my scientific research work, I also deal with numerous other topics. I also cooperate with institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. I am involved in numerous scientific projects of social importance, and the scientific and general public will be familiar with the final results. I would like to point out that a book will soon be published that talks about the crimes in the area of Zvornik in 1992-1995. years. It is a co-authored work with dr. Elvedin Mulagić, which is the result of many years of primarily empirical research. We have acquired and analyzed a really large fund of primary sources. Among other things, for the purposes of research, we spent a lot of time in the field, recorded the statements of the surviving victims, filled out a questionnaire for all those killed, etc. Among others, I would like to point out that I am in the phase of working on a long-term scientific research project on the siege and defense of Goražde with a focus on the crimes committed, which will be published in the form of a scientific monograph in two or three years.

## THE COURTS SENTENCED 337 YEARS IN PRISON FOR THE CRIMES AGAINST BOSNIAKS IN THE TERRITORY OF VIŠEGRAD

*Aug 30, 2023.*



The final judgment of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is proof that Serbian criminals, dissatisfied with the magnitude and monstrosity of the crimes committed against Bosniaks in Visegrad, especially in 1992, brought Bosniaks from other places and even neighboring countries to this city and brutally killed them.

Senior research associate of the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, Assoc. Ph.D. Ermin Kuka, after the Appellate Panel of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina confirmed the first-instance verdict by which seven former members of the VRS were sentenced to a total of 91 years in prison for their participation on February 27, 1993 in the kidnapping of 20 civilians from a train in Štrpci, who were killed in the Višegrad area.

“The command of the 2nd Podrinje light infantry brigade, the so-called VRS Višegrad, the same ones whose members kidnapped and tortured the passengers of a train on the route Belgrade - Bar in Štrpci, informed the Drina Corps Command in July 1993 that there were no Muslims in its area of responsibility .

With today’s verdicts, a total of 24 criminals were sentenced to a total of 337 years in prison, including one for life, for crimes committed against Bosniaks in the territory of the Višegrad municipality.

Luka Dragičević, who commanded the brigade, was released. He can’t say he ‘didn’t know’. The documents below are proof that he knew very well. He was never held accountable for the terrible crimes he committed. Until when,” Kuka wrote.

## CRIMES AGAINST THE CROATIAN POPULATION IN THE VILLAGES OF GRABOVICA, UZDOL AND TRUSINA IN 1993

*Sep 11, 2023.*



Author: dr. sc. ZILHA MASTALIĆ KOŠUTA

Grabovica is a village in the municipality of Jablanica, which has been under the control of the Army of the RBiH (ARBiH) since May 1993. A part of the Croatian population remained in the village after that. During the preparation for the “Neretva 93” operation, units of the 9th Motorized Brigade of the 1st Corps of the ARBiH from Sarajevo were stationed in the village. Since there were no other accommodation options for the members of the arriving units, they were accommodated in the houses of Croats from Grabovica. Their stay was remembered for the war crime committed against civilians of Croatian nationality, who did not pose a military threat.

Until the arrival of the members of the 9th mtbr 1 K ARBiH, the relations of the locals with the members of the ARBiH who controlled this area were good. Members of the 9th mtbr brutally killed 13 Croatian civilians on September 8 and 9, 1993, unprovoked. Among the civilians killed was a three-and-a-half-year-old girl, Mladenka Zadro. Her father Mladen, mother Ljubica, grandfather Ivan and grandmother Matija were also killed. Pero, Dragica and Martin Marić, Josip-Jozo Brekalo, Živko and Ljuba Drežnjak, Ivan Mandić and Ilko Miletić were also killed in the village. For the remaining 14 persons who were listed as victims of crime, in the process conducted before the International Court in The Hague, it was not proven that they were killed in the specified period by members of the 9th mtbr.

The Cantonal Court in Mostar conducted a trial against the perpetrators of the crime in Grabovica and convicted three, and the Cantonal Court in Sarajevo convicted two members of the 9th mtbr 1st K ARBiH. Nihad Vlahovljak, Haris Rajkić and Sead Karagić were convicted. All three were sentenced to 13 years in prison before the Cantonal Court in Mostar. Even earlier, before the Cantonal

Court in Sarajevo, Enes Šakrak was also sentenced to 10 years in prison. For this crime, the International Court in The Hague tried General Sefer Halilović on command responsibility, however, he was acquitted on all counts of the indictment.

Uzdol is a village in the municipality of Prozor where the majority Croatian population lived. The village was under the control of the HVO. In the early morning hours of September 14, 1993, the Independent Prozor Battalion, together with several members of the MUP civilian police, attacked the HVO headquarters, which was located in a school building in one of the villages in Uzdol. After the start of the attack, the HVO started shelling Uzdol. During the attack, HVO units were brought into the area, and members of the Independent Prozor Detachment and the MUP committed crimes during the attack on HVO positions in and around Uzdol. Then 25 locals were killed, including children. The youngest victims of this crime were ten-year-old Stjepan and his thirteen-year-old sister Marija Zelić. Twelve-year-old girl Jadranka Zelenika was also killed. The oldest person killed in Uzdol was 87 years old. Some of the inhabitants were killed in their houses, and some of them tried to save themselves by running away from their homes. Enver Buza, acting commander of the Independent Window Detachment of the ARBiH, was sentenced to eight years in prison for the crime in Uzdol according to command responsibility.

Trusina is a village in the municipality of Konjic. Immediately before the crime in that village - on April 16, 1993, combat operations were conducted in Trusina between units of the ARBiH and the HVO. After the ARBiH units entered the village, they shot 15 Croatian civilians and seven HVO soldiers, who had previously surrendered. For the crime in Trusina before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Edin Đeko was sentenced to 13 years in prison, Rasema Handanović to five and a half years, Mensur Memic to ten years, Nedžad Hodžić to 12 and Nihad Bojadžić to 15 years in prison.

Heinous crimes in the villages of Grabovica, Uzdol and Trusina are crimes against the civilian population. The crime committed in the village of Grabovica was committed at a time when there were no combat operations. The crimes in Uzdol and Trusina were committed during combat operations, which makes a difference with the crime in the village of Grabovica. All three crimes are a shameful act and a disgrace to the reputation of the RBiH Army during the period of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. inflicted by individuals from their ranks.

Ph.D. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta is a senior research associate at the Institute for Research on Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo.

09.09.2023

Source: [Historiografija.ba](http://Historiografija.ba)

## REMEMBERING THE WAR CRIME IN GRABOVICA

*Sep 11, 2023.*



The 30th anniversary of the martyrdom of 33 Croatian civilians was marked today in Grabovica, between Mostar and Jablanica, with the laying of wreaths and a holy mass, where political, social and religious representatives of Bosnian Croats gathered.

And this anniversary passed without finding out about the fate of 17 people who are still missing.

The commemoration of the crime in Grabovica was also attended by members of the Association of Civilian War Victims of the City of Mostar. Adnin Hasić from this association said that all innocent victims during the Aggression against RBiH should be honored. In Drežnica, soldiers of the RBiH Army saved the Croats

“Today we are here in Grabovica, we were in Raštani, Trusina, Ahmići, last year we were also in Srebrenica. Grabovica is part of the City of Mostar and we will always be here and anywhere, where the civilians died, to pay our respects so that this evil will never happen again, anywhere,” said Hasić.

He said that it is a “civilizational shame” that 30 years after the crime, the remains of the murdered are still being searched for, and he added that for the sake of truth, these processes must be brought to an end.

“Grabovica belongs to the Local Community of Drežnica, and on the other side of the Čvrsnica mountain, members of the RBiH Army defended the lives of their Croat neighbors. In 1993, at the height of the Croat-Bosniac conflict, the elderly Croat residents of Drežnica who remained in their homes asked their neighbors to help them and to transfer them to the territory controlled by the HVO. Those guys then made superhuman efforts and over the Čvrsnica mountain they took a dozen of their older Croat neighbors towards the line under the control of the HVO. I want to say that the crime against Croats in Grabovica was committed by individuals who were not from Grabovica, and on the other side of the mountain in Drežnica, members of the Army took care of their neighbors and fulfilled their request and saved their lives. We should highlight such values and be proud of them, and we should all condemn the criminals,” Hasić points out.

Hasić, whose parents were killed in the crime against Bosniaks and Croats in Ubork and Sutina, is one of the few Bosniaks who, by their presence in Grabovica, condemn the crimes committed by members of the RBiH Army against Croats. On the other hand, there are more and more people who warn about the politicization of Croatian victims because the crimes against Croats committed by BiH, Serbs or JNA hardly commemorate. Crime in peace

Since May 1993, Grabovica was under the control of the RBiH Army, where a part of the Croatian population remained, with whom the local Bosniaks and soldiers lived in peace.

“During the preparation for the operation “Neretva 93”, units of the 9th Motorized Brigade of the 1st Corps of the ARBiH from Sarajevo were stationed in the village. Since there were no other accommodation options for the members of the arriving units, they were accommodated in the houses of Croats from Grabovica. Their stay was remembered for the war crime committed against civilians of Croatian nationality, who did not pose a military threat,” says Dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta, senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law, University of Sarajevo.

According to witness statements, the soldiers who were stationed in Grabovica were not under the adequate supervision of elders, nor did they have sufficient logistical support.

“Members of the 9th mtbr brutally killed 13 Croatian civilians, including a three and a half year old girl, Mladenka Zadro, without any provocation on September 8 and 9, 1993. Her father Mladen, mother Ljubica, grandfather Ivan and grandmother Matija were also killed. Pero, Dragica and Martin Marić, Josip-Jozo Brekalo, Živko and Ljuba Drežnjak, Ivan Mandić and Ilko Miletić were also killed in the village. For the remaining 14 persons who were listed as victims of the crime, in the process conducted before the International Court in The Hague, it was not proven that they were killed in the specified period by members of the 9th mtbr,” adds Dr. Mastalić Košuta.

For the crimes in Grabovica, several processes were conducted in domestic and foreign courts.

“The Cantonal Court in Mostar conducted the trial against the perpetrators of the crime in Grabovica and convicted three, and the Cantonal Court in Sarajevo convicted two members of the 9th Mtbr 1st Corps of the ARBiH. Nihad Vlahovljak, Haris Rajkić and Sead Karagić were convicted. All three were sentenced to 13 years in prison before the Cantonal Court in Mostar. Even earlier, before the Cantonal Court in Sarajevo, Enes Šakrak was also sentenced to 10 years in prison. For this crime, the International Court in The Hague tried General Sefer Halilović on command responsibility, however, he was acquitted on all counts of the indictment”, explained Dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta.

Crimes against Croats in Uzdol and Trusina

Two more crimes against Croats took place in the area of Prozor and Konjic, but unlike Grabovica, it was in wartime circumstances.

“Uzdol is a village in the municipality of Prozor where the majority Croatian population lived. In the early morning hours of September 14, 1993, the Independent Prozor Battalion, together with several members of the MUP civilian police, attacked the HVO headquarters, which was located in the school building. During the attack, HVO units were brought into the area, and members of the Independent Prozor Detachment and the MUP committed crimes. Then 25 locals were killed, including children. The youngest victims of this crime were ten-year-old Stjepan and his thirteen-year-old sister Marija Zelić. Twelve-year-old girl Jadranka Zelenika was also killed. The oldest person killed in Uzdol was 87 years old. Some of the inhabitants were killed in their houses, and some

of them tried to escape. Acting Enver Buza was sentenced to eight years in prison for the crime in Uzdol according to command responsibility. the commander of the Independent Window Detachment of the ARBiH”, adds dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta.

Trusina is a village in the western part of Konjic.

“Immediately before the crime in Trusina on April 16, 1993, combat operations were conducted between units of the ARBiH and the HVO. After the ARBiH entered the village, they shot 15 Croatian civilians and seven HVO soldiers, who had previously surrendered. For the crime in Trusina, before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Edin Đeko was sentenced to 13 years in prison, Rasma Handanović to five and a half years, Mensur Memić to ten years, Nedžad Hodžić to 12 and Nihad Bojadžić to 15 years in prison,” explains Dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta.

“Heinous crimes in the villages of Grabovica, Uzdol and Trusina are crimes against the civilian population. The crime committed in the village of Grabovica was committed at a time when there were no combat operations. The crimes in Uzdol and Trusina were committed during combat operations, which makes a difference with the crime in the village of Grabovica. All three crimes are a shameful act and a disgrace to the reputation of the RBiH Army during the period of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. which were inflicted by individuals from their ranks”, concludes dr. sc. Zilha Mastalić Košuta.

Source: [Aljazeera.net](http://Aljazeera.net)

## IN ADDITION TO MURALS OF WAR CRIMINALS, MURALS DEDICATED TO KOSOVO AND RUSSIA ARE SPROUTING UP IN VIŠEGRAD

*Sep 18, 2023.*



Ermin Kuka, a citizen of Višegrad, senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, commented on the drawing of murals in Višegrad, which are increasing every day, and besides those dedicated to convicted war criminals, there are also murals dedicated to Kosovo and Russia.

“Višegrad, 28 years after the aggression and terrible crimes of Serbian armed formations committed against Bosniaks, became a place and fertile ground for the creation of various murals dedicated to convicted criminals and their crimes, but also to “Serbian” Kosovo, Russia,... Such murals are a reality of today’s Višegrad. There are more and more of them every day and they sprout like mushrooms after the rain. Recently, there are more and more murals dedicated to Kosovo, which is no coincidence,” Kuka points out.

A few days ago, a mural appeared at the entrance to Višegrad, on which was written “When the army returns to Kosovo”, and Kuka reminds that it was in Višegrad on Vidovdan, June 28, 2011, that the construction of the complex “Andrićgrad” began, the creator of which is the director Emir Kusturica, while the majority financier was the Government Rs.

“That complex was built with the aim, as the Belgrade historian Ivan Čolović claims, of transferring the Kosovo myth to Višegrad. According to Ivan Čolović’s insights, the Vidovdan swearing of Serbian leaders to Lazar and the invocation of Obilić could have been much more successfully performed outside of Kosovo after 1999 That is why the central church and state celebration of this holiday has been held in Kruševac in recent years, and Vidovdan is celebrated on June 28 every year in Višegrad, i.e. in the “Andrićgrad” complex. It has been shown, as Čolović claims, that in that place in Bosnia under the flag of the Kosovo vow can gather representative representatives of the political, church, military and cultural elite of RS and Serbia and show that the struggle for all Serbian interests, fueled by the Kosovo myth, has not stopped even after the wars of the nineties,

regardless of the fact that in recent times the leaders of this struggle can be more successful hope in eastern Bosnia, but in Kosovo itself,” says Kuka.

He reminds that in the “Andrićgrada” complex, the large Church of Saint Tsar Lazar and all Serbian martyrs - Lazarica - was built.

“It is dedicated to the Holy Martyr Lazar and the heroes of Kosovo. That church is, in fact, a replica (modified copy) of the Visoki Dečani monastery in Kosovo, with reduced dimensions adapted to the area where it is located. The intention, goal and purpose of those who create murals, but also those who approve them, which are the local authorities, is more than clear and unambiguous. The authorities and the tourist community can definitely include them in the tourist offer of Visegrad. Such murals have become an everyday occurrence in Visegrad, a well-known multi-ethnic city before the aggression,” Kuka was outraged.

It is known that the suffering, pain and suffering experienced by Bosniaks from Visegrad during the period of aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995. year, were of colossal proportions, and Kuka points out that the current ruling radical and extreme Serbian nationalism in Visegrad, whose indicators of existence and action we see in the mentioned murals, are an obstacle to the creation of better interpersonal relations and the overall security of Bosniaks.

Source: [Klix.ba](http://Klix.ba)

**DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW, PROF. PH.D. RASIM MURATOVIĆ, RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES GROUP**

*Sep 19, 2023.*



At the 20th regular session of the Council of the Social Sciences Group, held on September 19, 2023, the director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović was unanimously elected president of the Council for the academic year 2023/2024. year.

The Social Sciences Group of the University of Sarajevo includes the deans of the Faculty of Economics, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Political Sciences, the Faculty of Criminalistics, Criminology and Security Studies, the Faculty of Sports and Physical Education, the Faculty of Administration and the director of the Institute for Research on Crimes Against Humanity and International Law.

## MEOKRNJE ON THE TOP OF THE WORLD

Sep 25, 2023.



Prof. dr. Rasim Muratović for Oslobođenje

In the introductory part of the Collection, signed by Amela Lolić and Admir Hadžiemrić, among other things, it is written that Meokrnje, the slope of the Vlašić mountain, is an area that for many years, due to the events that took place there, symbolizes the fight against fascism and neo-fascism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The commemoration of events on Meokrnje has been going on since 1947, when July 4th - Day of Fighters - was marked with a hiking trip for the first time in the area of the municipality of Travnik. The significance and deaths of the members of the Travnica and Zenica partisan detachments who died on Meokrnje in the fight against the occupiers and domestic traitors in the Second World War were dignified.

**The socialist period saved Bosnia and Herzegovina from the territorial division, then between Serbia and Croatia, just as the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878 saved it from the division between Serbia and Montenegro**

It was also in Meokrnje during the 1992-1995 war. many lives were lost, and it played a significant role in the defense of the Travnica region. In September 1992, Meokrnje became the first mountain elevation liberated by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. War activities 1992-1995. in Meokrnje, they destroyed the monument erected in memory of the members of the Travnica and Zenica detachments, and the monument was restored in 2017, and next to it, an identical one was built for the members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a permanent memory of the two wars and the anti-fascist struggle of the people of Travnica who stood in defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two monuments symbolize the fight against fascism, and at the same time they are a warning and a reminder to future generations of the war and war activities and the fight of patriots for the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The bearers of the activities within the organization of the Meokrnje manifestation are: the Union of Anti-Fascists and Fighters of the National Liberation War of SBK/KSB and the Organization of Demobilized Fighters of the Defense-Liberation War 1992-1995. central Bosnia, with the support of the Municipality of Travnik, the Government of the SBK/KSB and numerous non-governmental organizations from the area of the Municipality of Travnik that continue with the tradition and

nurturing of the culture of memory of the anti-fascist struggle and the sacrifices of Bosnian patriots who died in both wars. The Meokrnje event is recognizable by its anti-fascist messages identical in both significant periods of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina - that numerous inhabitants of our country were on the side of justice and the civilized world in the battle of good against evil. As part of the Meokrnje 2022 manifestation, a round table "Meokrnje - a symbol of the fight against fascism" was organized, which gathered the academic community of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Travnik on July 22, 2022. The participants of the round table "Meokrnje - a symbol of the fight against fascism" are: academician Mirko Pejanović, prof. Ph.D. Kenan Dautović, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, Ph.D. sc. Amir Kliko, Vildana Selimbegović, Remzija Šiljak, prof. Ph.D. Pavle Mijović, Sead Đulić and assistant. Ph.D. Dženan Dautović.

### **Platform of the Presidency of RBiH**

Platform author, academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović, in a paper entitled The Significance of the Platform on the Work of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the War of Defense and Liberation (1992–1995), wrote that as its strategic goal for the defense of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had the preservation of the historical of the multi-ethnic being of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context, in full unity of its seven members, it was decided to adopt a program document of a political-constitutional character. That document will be called: Platform on the work of the Presidency in wartime conditions.

Based on the program directions of the Platform, the following is ensured:

The unity of the members of the Presidency in leading the resistance and defense against the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina;

Formation of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an armed force for the defense and liberation war;

Shaping the basis for negotiations on achieving a peaceful political solution to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With the achievement of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995, Bosnia and Herzegovina entered a historic period of peace building and integration of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the European Union and the NATO alliance.

In the Platform for the Action of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Wartime Conditions, a strategy of general civil resistance and defense of the integrity and historical being of the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina is based. The Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed based on the strategy defined by the Platform for the Action of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in wartime conditions. The Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed as an armed force of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and members of all its peoples. The units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were formed based on the expressed patriotic mood of the citizens.

**Topalović was killed while trying to escape, his comrades were punished, although not for war crimes, but they were still tried in difficult war conditions, but in today's Sarajevo we live live the efforts to minimize Caca's crimes and punish the victims**

The multi-ethnic composition and unity of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the increased strength of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

are a valid basis for gaining the trust of the international community according to the concept of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the concept of defending its integrity and its historical multi-ethnic being. This support will be expressed, first of all, in the form of the Washington Peace Agreement in March 1994, which stopped the Bosniak-Croat military conflict. Continuing its leadership in seeking a peaceful political solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States of America invested its power and its prestige to sign the Dayton Peace Agreement in December 1995, following the Contact Group plan of 1994. This agreement halted military operations, peace was established throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the decision of the Security Council, in December 1995, NATO forces were given the role of international peacekeeping military forces for the implementation of peace.

The platform for the action of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in wartime conditions had fundamental programmatic and political importance in defining and realizing the concept of defense of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the war that was imposed in 1992 in the form of the aggression of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the sovereign and internationally recognized state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### **Memorandum time**

In the work of prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, conceived on ten pages, and entitled The Role of the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, I wrote, among other things, that the establishment of the Institute was the realization of the provisions of the Platform for the Action of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Wartime Conditions, from June 26, 1992. The Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo was founded in the difficult conditions of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against the Bosniaks, as well as the barbaric siege of Sarajevo.



Due to the everyday misunderstanding of the ordinary world, it is not out of place to repeat that the Institute for the Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo is a public scientific institution that deals with the research of crimes against peace, crimes of genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law, from the historical, legal, sociological, criminological, economic, demographic, psychological, political, cultural, medical, ecological and other aspects important for the complete scientific investigation of crimes.

The Institute has so far published 145 scientific studies and about 5,000 scientific and professional papers, and organized hundreds of scientific conferences and round tables in the country and abroad.

In the concluding part of the text, it is written that today we are living in the “Memorandum time”, which contains the denial of everything that has been done and the protection of war criminals, and the accusation of the defenders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the destabilization of the political and state leadership of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the support of the secession of the Bosnian entity RS.

According to the advocates of such policy and practice, there were no murders, no injuries, no expulsions, no rapes, no concentration camps, no destruction, no collective suffering, nothing. However, the genocide against Bosniaks is a historical, legal and social fact.

In this context, the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, with the young generation of scientists, who entered the public scene in the previous two or three years, will continue and strengthen the role of a leading institution in this field in the country and beyond. in the region.

### **The importance of the anti-fascist resistance movement from the Second World War for the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Senior research associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, dr. sc. Amir Kliko in his work entitled *The Significance of the Anti-Fascist Resistance Movement from the Second World War for the Independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina* states that Bosnia and Herzegovina entered the Second World War as a country divided between Serbia and Croatia, and emerged from it as territorially united and equal with them, thanks to the action of the anti-fascists - led by the Communist Party - and the military victory of the partisan movement of resistance to the fascist occupation.

Sead Đulić wrote, among other things, let's wake up and, with the goal of a better and happier future for all of us, let's gather in a unified anti-fascist national front. Let's gather around those issues on which we have a consensus

As for the Bosniaks, they could not independently influence the outcome of the Second World War on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, just as they did not influence its beginning either. The victory of the anti-fascist resistance movement was the best ending to the war for them. If any other political ideology, Ustasha or Chetnik, had won, it would have been fatal for Bosniaks.

The socialist period saved Bosnia and Herzegovina from the territorial division, then between Serbia and Croatia, just as the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878 saved it from the division between Serbia and Montenegro.

Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosniaks inherited their acquired legal status from Yugoslavia, which was recognized by the entire international community. At the end of the Great Serbian aggression in 1995, the legal heritage of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. its Army, prevailed - along with high-quality and persistent military resistance to the aggressor - its legal legacy from the era of socialist Yugoslavia.

Achieving state independence and its defense in 1992-1995. is another great historical turning point in favor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would hardly have been achieved without the one from 1943.

### **Meokrnje 2022 - Symbol of the fight against fascism**

dr. sc. Kenan Dautović, Mayor of the Municipality of Travnik and President of the Organizing Committee of the Meokrnje 2022 event, made sure that everything went smoothly from an organiza-

tional, technical and every other point of view, and in addition, he also wrote a notable paper on the topic: Meokrnje 2022 - A symbol of the fight against fascism . Considering the general understanding of the concept of fascism, we can state that it is a European, ideological and practical project that arose in the thirties and forties of the last century and which ultimately led to the Second World War. Of the multitude of characteristics that make up its content, the most significant is to emphasize extreme intolerance towards the other and different, a tendency towards excessive violence and expansionism. In the continuation of the work of dr. sc. Kenan Dautović points out that anti-fascism was not a privilege of either the Soviet Union or Western democracies. We know that even in the West, where Bosnia and Herzegovina is also through European and NATO integration, anti-fascism is a civilizational asset to which we should strive.

In post-war Europe, the term anti-fascism becomes ambiguous, often significantly determined by the specific political situation. In Western European democracies, anti-fascism becomes the ideological basis for consistent opposition to all forms of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

### **Antifascism and the future of action**

In a work entitled Antifascism and the future of action, Sead Đulić wrote, among other things, let's become aware and, with the aim of a better and happier future for all of us, gather in a unified universal anti-fascist front. Let's gather around those issues on which we have a consensus. Let's solve it all together, expanding the circle of issues and reaching a consensus on new ones by agreement. Let the initial basis be our need for a democratic society in which freedom, equality and social justice are guaranteed to everyone at every level of the state.

Afterwards, many things will resolve themselves as a consequence.

In short: Everyone in the anti-fascist front!

### **Muslims of Travnik in the Second World War**

Asst. Ph.D. Dženan Dautović, in his work entitled "Muslims of Travnik in the Second World War - rationalization and demystification of the ideological inferno", points out that not a single segment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's past, especially in modern times, can be properly viewed without studying the behavior of all its peoples, including the events in the Second World War. the world war that cost this area the loss of almost an entire nation due to the Holocaust against the Jews. Thus, even though this article focuses on the activities of Muslims in the micro-region of the city of Travnik and its immediate surroundings, it will inevitably have to be based on the analysis of interaction with other peoples, and by no means separated from the general context of the time with events marking the feast of St. Sava.

Numerous sources show that not a single national group within the city had a unique response to the challenges brought by a time in which any moral norms and common sense were forgotten. Muslims, as the most numerous population of Travnik, especially did not have a compass or a clear policy, looking at it as a whole, but we saw that they held prominent positions in each of the conflicting parties, not even shying away from changing sides. Some were ardent followers of Ustasha ideology and Croatian nationalism, presuming such commitment to all other identities; many primarily favored Islamic identity and looked for ways to protect their interests, relying sometimes on the new NDH government, sometimes on their German patrons, and at the very end even on the ideologically completely opposite side of the victor in the war conflict; the third group followed the vision of resistance to fascist ideology from the beginning of the war, either through direct action through communist ideology, or through cooperation with it; after all, the largest number of Muslims

in Travnik was the civilian population, which suffered the consequences of historical events and conflicts of ideologies. One of the most important goals of this work was to retrieve from the darkness of oblivion the names of numerous actors of turbulent events in our city during one of the most turbulent phases of its history. The work on this topic is by no means exhausted, as future research in other archival funds will surely bring many more valuable data.

#### **Attitude towards anti-fascism and the wars of the nineties**

Vildana Selimbegović, chief and responsible editor of *Oslobođenja*, in the paper entitled *Attitude towards anti-fascism and the wars of the nineties* emphasizes that there is no doubt that the famous partisan past and the involvement of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia in the Second World War is that part of the history of the people and nationalities of our former country that undoubtedly favors. I dare to assert that the climate for the wars of the 1990s and the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia was carefully prepared precisely by challenging the bright achievements of the NOB, and I believe that the best example is the debate that has been going on for more than three decades around Jasenovac, however, it seems to me that the strongest connection is between the newly established authorities - from Vardar to Triglav - built on denying the reach and partisan glory gained from 1941 to 1945. Myths about threats, victims were built on this denial, and the hatred necessary for the crimes committed in the wars of the 1990s was ignited. And even if it is no secret that both Croatia and Serbia have been attacking Bosnia and Herzegovina wholeheartedly with troops and logistics, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina - truly defensive and initially quite multi-ethnic - in its documents, strategies and development liked to earn itself the epithet of anti-fascist, at the same time also renouncing partisan heritage.

As someone who spent the war in besieged Sarajevo, I like to point out - with pride - the strength of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the multi-ethnic Presidency, which, in the most difficult year of the war in 1993, ordered an action to deal with crime in its own ranks, and actually put an end to the paramilitary activities of the 10th Mountain Division. brigade of the First Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the executions carried out by members of the army under the command of Mušan Topalović Caca against non-Bosniacs and a few unwilling Bosniaks. Topalović was - officially - killed while trying to escape, his comrades were punished, although not for war crimes, but they were still tried in difficult war conditions, but in today's Sarajevo, we are following live the efforts to minimize Caca's crimes and punish the victims. Caca's remains from the NN tomb, where he was buried that October 1993, were transferred to the Kovači Memorial Center in November 1996, in the presence of tens of thousands of people. The explanation was given by President Izetbegović himself, qualifying him as both a hero and a criminal.

#### **Antifascism today, between idea and reality**

Prof. Dr. Pavle Mijović from the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Sarajevo, in the first part of the paper, based on the theoretical framework of the Italian author Umberto Eco, presents the archetypal dimensions of all fascism. This methodological option of analyzing Ur-fascism is useful since it offers an articulated framework for observing the phenomenon of a "confused totalitarianism", a weak ideology, constituted by various contradictory and nebulous elements, but at the same time extremely violent potential not only in the historical but also in the contemporary moment. Eco's ideas about how fascism is "reincarnated into hundreds of new characters" will be further analyzed, theoretically and praxeologically.

The second part of the paper deals with the issues and possibilities of anti-fascism, understood as resistance to phenomena derived from Ur-fascism, in the contemporary context, not from the perspective of normative political theory, but from the perspective of agonistic pluralism. This approach, theoretically somewhat more demanding, helps us better understand and then conceptualize contemporary societal challenges, and offer an answer through the actualization of certain aspects of anti-fascism in the contemporary moment.

Meokrnje - a symbol of the fight against fascism

Remzija Šiljak in his work entitled Meokrnje - a symbol of the fight against fascism states that Meokrnje is located at the junction of Travnica, Teslić and Kotorvaro municipalities, on the north-eastern slopes of Vlašić, at an altitude of 1,425 meters. It is surrounded by two deep canyons of the river Bila and its tributaries Krna on the southwest, south and east sides. Their banks covered with dense forest are cut deeply and almost vertically. The height difference in only 1,000 meters as the crow flies is over 400 meters, which speaks of how deep these canyons have cut and what a difficult obstacle they represent in the approach from the south and southeast sides. At the end of the nineties of the last century, forest roads were built that lead from the Bila valley to Meokrnje from the western and southeastern sides, and continue to the road leading to Gluha Bukovica. On the northern and northwestern side of this hill, the slopes are somewhat gentler. There are several glades across which two roads lead: one to the north, across the Vučija mountain, in the direction of the village of Bijelo Bučje in the Teslić municipality, and the other to the west, towards the villages in the upper reaches of the Vrbanja river in the Kotorvaro municipality. Access is also possible from the eastern side via Ometal and Mačkovo vrh, on a fairly straight road.

Meokrnje dominates the other buildings, and the locals call it Bukovička planina, because the owners of the land are residents of the most remote village of Travnica municipality - Gluha Bukovica. Over the summer, the residents of Gluha Bukovica drive their cattle out to graze there. They built their mountain huts. Two such log cabins were built before the Second World War at the very top of Meokrnje, and the owners were Mujo and Redžo Zelkanović from Amidžić.

Meokrnje was a place that unites the people of Travnica and neighboring municipalities in peacetime conditions, but also a place around which fierce battles were fought in the Second World War and in the defense-liberation war of 1992-95. years.

The publisher of the collection, written on 163 pages, B5 format, is the Union of Anti-Fascists and Fighters of the National Liberation War of the Central Bosnian Canton/Canton Sredisnja Bosna, Travnik, and the co-publisher is the Organization of Demobilized Fighters of the Defense-Liberation War 1992-1995. central Bosnia, Travnik.

Along with the enthusiasts from Travnik, it should be emphasized that a special contribution to the preparation of the round table "Meokrnje - a symbol of the fight against fascism" was made by the academician, prof. Ph.D. Mirko Pejanović. With his great knowledge and experience, he encouraged the activities of his colleagues, which proved that even in regional centers, and this time in the Travnica region, a contribution can be made to the scientific elucidation of the phenomenon of fascism and the fight against fascism in the modern era.

(The author is the director of the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo)

## EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL AND HISTORY LESSONS: STUDENTS IN SARAJEVO CANTON WILL BE UNIFORMLY EDUCATED ABOUT THE EVENTS DURING THE SIEGE OF SARAJEVO

*Sep 26, 2023.*



The Institute for the Development of Pre-University Education of the Canton of Sarajevo, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education of the KS, launched an initiative to create educational material for all students in the Canton of Sarajevo, in order for them to learn about the mass suffering of citizens during the siege of Sarajevo in the period 1992-1995. year.

The educational material was presented today at the “Fatima Gunić” Elementary School, and its content and significance were discussed by the author and representative of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law Merisa Karović-Babić, the line minister Naida Hota-Muminović, the Minister for Veteran Affairs Omer Osmanović and director of the Institute, Senada Salihović.

“First of all, I want to mention that civilians of Sarajevo were killed en masse in 230 locations in the part of the city that was under siege. Here, in these educational materials, 20 locations of the most massive crimes, where children were also killed, are singled out. It is important to note that in 15 of the 20 locations selected in the educational material, two members from the same family were killed each, which speaks volumes about the scale of the crimes that were committed,” Karović-Babić stated, among other things.

Director Salihović said that, thanks to the work of respected Dr. Sci. Merise Karović-Babić, in Sarajevo Canton to have a uniform education of all our students about everything that happened during the siege of Sarajevo.

“Fatima Gunić Elementary School was chosen for the presentation of this educational material by chance, because there is a museum dedicated to the innocent martyred teacher and her students, who were killed by criminals from the surrounding hills during class,” the director pointed out.

She also stated that history lessons will be held for students about the suffering of Sarajevo civilians.

“This year, we introduced a novelty in our school practice, which is that our primary and secondary school students attend the anniversaries of the mass killings and killings of Sarajevo citizens. For this need, the Institute has created a good material, based on facts, established truths and on the basis of everything that will be good material for teaching, to prepare students for this type of education and marking. We will continue to build a culture of memory, because Sarajevo was an open camp, and the civilians who survived those Golgothas in the longest siege of a city in modern history really have an obligation to pass on those memories, and the school system is the best way to do that.” said Minister Hota Mumunović.

She emphasized that this is becoming a special program for marking and nurturing the culture of memory and memory.

“It is not necessarily realized in classrooms, therefore, not through one subject, but through all subjects and extracurricular activities. On the day we mark the anniversary of the martyrdom of the citizens of Sarajevo, we will prepare a history lesson in schools, and on that day all students will receive basic information about the event and pay respect to the victims. Certain schools will directly participate in the commemoration of the anniversary of the massacre,” said Minister Hota-Muminović.

KS Minister for Veteran Affairs Omer Osmanović said that it is very important to talk about the events during the 1,425 days of the siege of our city and pass the truth on to the younger generations, because with the culture of memory we protect our history from being forgotten.

## SECOND INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE 'CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIAKS IN SREBRENICA'

*Sep 27, 2023.*



On the occasion of commemorating the twenty-eighth anniversary of the genocide committed against Bosniaks in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was confirmed by the judgments of the ICTY for the area of the so-called The United Nations Safe Zones of Srebrenica and its surroundings (July 1995), the University of Sarajevo, the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo, are organizing the second International Scientific Conference “Consequences of the Bosniak Genocide in Srebrenica : Social, economic, political, demographic and cultural development of Srebrenica (1995-2022).”

The conference will be held on October 12, 2023 in the Potočari Memorial Center, starting at 10:00 a.m.

Twenty-eight years after the genocide against Bosniaks in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which culminated in and around Srebrenica, in the area of the so-called safe zones of the United Nations, in July 1995, the consequences are evident even today in the social, economic, demographic, cultural and every other development of Srebrenica and its surroundings. Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from 1992-1995. and the committed genocide against Bosniaks left unfathomable consequences in almost all aspects of work and life. These consequences are particularly indicative in the area of Srebrenica, which, even after twenty-eight years of aggression and genocide, is facing the problem of development and survival of the returning Bosniak population.

The committed crime of genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica led to long-term social, economic, demographic and cultural consequences for people’s lives after the aggression. The first

consequence was the radical reduction of the population. In the city of Srebrenica and in the local areas of the municipality of Srebrenica, the economy and communal infrastructure were destroyed during the war.

The responsibility for eliminating the consequences of the genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica presupposes the establishment of a special social development status of the city and municipality of Srebrenica. Support for the idea of initiating the establishment of a special social and development status for Srebrenica, as a place which as a result of the genocide experienced devastation in all areas of life and work, was given by many domestic and foreign organizations and institutions at the First International Scientific Conference “Genocide of Bosniaks, Srebrenica 1995- 2020: Causes, Scales and Consequences”, held in Sarajevo on October 19, 2020, organized by the University of Sarajevo and the University of Tuzla.

The Second International Scientific Conference, in which eminent and recognized scientists and researchers from several countries of the world will take part, among other things, will be an opportunity to exchange knowledge, insights and experiences about the genocide committed against Bosniaks in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially from the aspect of the consequences for social, economic, demographic and cultural development of Srebrenica from 1995-2022. year, and considering the possibilities of how Srebrenica can achieve progress in all these areas in the future.

In this regard, research teams were formed two years ago that, based on mostly empirical research, will present the results of research and insight into social reality in four important aspects, based on established methodology: 1. Demographic consequences of the genocide and the state of return to Srebrenica; 2. Economic development, employment and construction of social and communal infrastructure in the city and local communities of the municipality of Srebrenica; 3. Interethnic relations and building of trust in the common living of the Bosniak and Serbian population; 4. Sustainability of the return to Srebrenica, and create proposals for measures that, after the conference, will be forwarded to the municipal councils, cantonal assemblies, the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Media sponsors of the Conference are Oslobođenje and Federal Television.

Source: [Oslobodjenje.ba](http://Oslobodjenje.ba)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE FACULTY OF CRIMINOLOGY, CRIMINOLOGY AND SECURITY STUDIES AWARDED TO THE COUNCIL OF THE GROUP OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

*Oct 05, 2023.*



On the occasion of marking 30 years since the establishment of the Faculty of Criminology, Criminology and Security Studies, the Council of the Social Sciences Group of the University of Sarajevo was awarded a Certificate of Appreciation.

At the solemn ceremony, held on October 4, 2023, in the area of the City Hall, in Sarajevo, the director of the Institute, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, President of the Council of the Social Sciences Group.

The Council of the Group of Social Sciences consists of the deans of the Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Political Sciences, Faculty of Criminology, Criminology and Security Studies, Faculty of Sport and Physical Education, Faculty of Administration and the director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo.

## PH.D. HIKMET KARČIĆ PROMOTED THE BOOK DEEP CONSEQUENCES OF GENOCIDE IN BIH IN VIENNA

*Oct 09, 2023.*



A panel discussion dedicated to the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its lasting consequences in Europe was held at the Vienna Academy of Education.

This event brought together experts, survivors, researchers and journalists, and drew on the recently published book *Torture, Humiliate, Kill: Inside the Bosnian Serb Camp System* by Dr. Hikmet Karčić, published by the University of Michigan Press in 2022.

The discussion highlighted the importance of remembering the genocide, warned of the danger of denial, and emphasized the key role of education in countering extreme right-wing narratives.

Dr. Hikmet Karčić, research associate at the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, presented his book *Torture, Humiliate, Kill: Inside the Bosnian Serb Camp System*, which exposes the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the camp system.

He spoke about the deep consequences of the genocide and warned about the worrying connections between Serbian nationalists and the European right.

He expressed concern over the growing trend of genocide denial and appealed to the community to face the past through truth and education.

Selma Jahić, a survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica, emotionally testified about the horrors and torture that people had to go through during the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her words were a call for lasting memory and the fight for truth and justice.

Melina Borčak, a journalist with many years of experience, emphasized the importance of education in the fight against extreme right-wing narratives and warned of the media's responsibility in shaping public opinion.

Dennis Miskiće, a journalist and young political scientist, highlighted the deep wounds that many survivors still feel. He especially emphasized their continuous search for the bodies of their mur-

dered family members as a symbol of their permanent pain. Furthermore, Miskić spoke about his work at the Srebrenica Memorial Center and also emphasized the problem of genocide denial and the glorification of war crimes in the diaspora.

The discussion also considered the label “Bosnian Genocide” and the importance of recognizing wider genocidal activities in the country.

The panelists emphasized that the professional community has a key role in defining historical facts based on solid evidence and research.

This event is part of the BÖJ project, which was hosted by dr. Hikmet Karčić in Austria for lectures and workshops on right-wing extremism and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the support of the Austrian Student Union “ÖH” at the University of Vienna.

**SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATE DR. HIKMET KARČIĆ HELD A LECTURE  
“GHOSTS OF THE PAST: DETENTION CAMPS AND MEMORY IN  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA” IN GRAZ**

*Oct 09, 2023.*



On October 4, 2023, research associate dr. Hikmet Karčić held a lecture at the Center for South-east Europe of the University of Graz entitled Ghosts of the Past: Detention Camps and Memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina.:

## ON THE OCCASION OF “CHILDREN’S WEEK”, A VISIT WAS MADE TO THE MEMORIAL TO THE MURDERED CHILDREN OF BESIEGED SARAJEVO

*Oct 09, 2023.*



“Children’s WEek” in the world is celebrated in the first week of October and aims to draw public attention to children and their rights guaranteed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on November 20, 1989.

Every child deserves the right to: identity (name, family, citizenship), survival (life, food, treatment), development (upbringing and education), participation (decision-making), protection from various forms of violence, discrimination and neglect.

In order for children to achieve their maximum potential, it is necessary to live in a stimulating and safe environment, to respect children’s rights guaranteed by international regulations, and for the family and all social actors to work together for the benefit of children.

On the occasion of “Children’s Week” in the Kindergarten “Razigrani dani” of the Municipality of Centar, on October 5, 2023, a visit to the Monument to the murdered children of besieged Sarajevo was realized. The aim of this visit was to explain to the children of kindergarten age when and why this monument was erected and that it is a testimony to the serious forms and methods of crimes against the children of Sarajevo, the crimes committed, the mass and individual murders of children, with a special emphasis on the strategy of killing children.

They were joined by the senior associate of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, M.Sc. Alma Hajrić-Čaušević, who said on that occasion that children are the future and that no child should ever be injured or killed anywhere.

**ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE “CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST BOSNIAKS IN SREBRENICA: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SREBRENICA (1995-2022).”**

*Oct 10, 2023.*



On the occasion of marking the twenty-eighth anniversary of the genocide committed against the Bosniaks in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the University of Sarajevo, the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo are organizing the second International Scientific Conference “Consequences of the Bosniak Genocide in Srebrenica: Social, economic, political, demographic and cultural development of Srebrenica (1995-2022).”

The conference will be held on October 12, 2023 in the Potočari Memorial Center, starting at 10:00 a.m.

In this regard, research teams were formed two years ago, which will present the results of research and insight into social reality in four important aspects at the Conference, based on mostly empirical research, according to the established methodology: 1. Demographic consequences of the genocide and the state of return to Srebrenica; 2. Economic development, employment and construction of social and communal infrastructure in the city and local communities of the municipality of Srebrenica; 3. Interethnic relations and the building of trust in the common living of the Bosniak and Serbian population; 4. Sustainability of the return to Srebrenica, and create proposals for measures that, after the conference, will be forwarded to the municipal councils, cantonal assemblies, the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Media sponsors of the Conference are Oslobođenje and Federal Television.

## LIFE IN SREBRENICA CANNOT BE RESTORED BY A TILLER, BUT BY SYSTEMIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

*Oct 11, 2023.*



Some tiller cannot bring life back to Srebrenica, systemic and economic development is needed - a return to what Srebrenica used to be. Rasim Muratović, director of the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo, pointed this out in the Rezime show.

“Reconciliation is the key word. What happened in Srebrenica, it was not a neighborly dispute. It was an organized genocide. Now the question is what happens after that. That phase is academically finished. Now we are moving to the economic part, experts suggest is to create a special status for Srebrenica, based on the Brčko District. This enables overcoming all the problems we have had in the past 28 years,” he said.

He added that the reconstruction of the population is taking place most difficult in Srebrenica.

“There are no people there. According to the 1991 census, there were 36,000 inhabitants. In 2013, there were 16,000. Now it is estimated that there are between 6 and 7 thousand people. Another economic factor is related to that. 28 years later, all that was done in an economic sense, at least the study shows, is wrong. Somewhere around 2,000 people from Srebrenica are employed. It was focused on the wrong branches. Before the genocide, mining, industry, construction, etc. were developed there. After 1995, the focus there is on agriculture and fishing Srebrenica is now perhaps the last municipality in terms of development in BiH”.

There is no stability in either the demographic or the economic sense, says Muratović. In Srebrenica, you have neither a baker, nor a shoemaker, nor a barber, but you have five betting shops.

In the post-war period, there is no strategic approach towards the Bosnian sub-region, especially towards Srebrenica and its surroundings, and two are to blame for that, according to Sedad Bešlija, director of the Institute of History at the University of Sarajevo.

“The international community can solve certain problems with its decisions in 24 hours if it wants to. Here, they want to maintain a frozen, unsettled state, and the people who live in this area want to turn into second-class citizens. On the other hand, domestic political actors, their reintegrist

policy has collapsed. The issue of Podrinje is the issue of the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the one for which we all stand, European, democratic. It is necessary to have a complete change of the political paradigm”.

Beshlija notes that reconciliation cannot be brought about by pauses. “It must happen between peoples. The whole of Europe exists in the coexistence of diversity. Bosnia and Herzegovina is an example of that. We must return to those positions,” he is categorical.

When it comes to the Second International Scientific Conference “Consequences of the Bosniak Genocide in Srebrenica: Social, Economic, Political, Demographic and Cultural Development of Srebrenica (1995-2022)” which will be held tomorrow at the Potočari Memorial Center, Muratović points out that the report that will be presented worryingly.

“Over the past 30 years, our Institute has published 150 editions of books, one-third of which relate to Srebrenica. We have also organized dozens of conferences, more than half of which are about Srebrenica. In 2020, the City Council agreed to organize this kind of event every two years conference. The research teams worked for two years, they made their studies. The demographic panel talks about the consequences of the genocide against Bosniaks in Srebrenica. A damage assessment commission was never formed at the level of the state of BiH or at the local level, while good work was done with the collection of remains. As for the material devastation, a state commission was never formed.”

Bešlija reminds that the academic community has defined three key points around which socio-political factors should gather.

“The most important thing at this moment is to stop the denial of the genocide. Unfortunately, even after our conference, we have another, more recent dimension that is more brutal in nature - from denial in the public space to the glorification and cursing of the genocide. In the past three years, we have had only one reaction from the Office of the High Representative, which amended the Criminal Code. We are waiting to see on the ground concrete moves by our institutions towards those who still deny the genocide in BiH. The second measure, the special social development status of the Bosnian Podrinje, the third measure is to work on international activities to affirm the culture of memory in Europe and the world. This is the recommendation of the academic community,” emphasizes Bešlija.

Watch the guest appearance in its entirety at [this link](#).

Source: [federalna.ba](http://federalna.ba)

**CONFERENCE ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE GENOCIDE AGAINST BOS-**

## BIOSCIENCE IN SREBRENICA: ‘THE CITY MUST HAVE A SPECIAL STATUS’

*Oct 13, 2023.*



In the Srebrenica Memorial Center - Potočari, the second international scientific conference “The Consequences of the Bosniak Genocide in Srebrenica: Social, Economic, Political, Demographic and Cultural Development of Srebrenica (1995-2022)” was held yesterday.

The conference was held as part of the commemoration of the 28th anniversary of the genocide committed against Bosniaks in the “UN Safe Zone” of Srebrenica in July 1995, and the conference is organized by the University of Sarajevo, the Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute for history of the University of Sarajevo.

“As humanity, we naively believed that genocide could not happen to anyone after the Holocaust. In July 1995, genocide was committed in Srebrenica. After the genocide, Srebrenica experienced the devastation of all segments of life. Like the first, this second conference will also deal with the consequences of genocide “Building a culture of memory is the responsibility of all of us. Here we must mention those who returned and live in Srebrenica, they are heroes,” Rifet Škrljelj, Rector of the University of Sarajevo, said in his address.

Director of the Memorial Center Srebrenica - Potočari, Emir Suljagić, said that it is important to make the community around the Memorial Center stronger and more numerous.

“It is very important that we deal with the consequences of the genocide. The cornerstone of any of our strategic units cannot be anything other than Srebrenica. We have to see what is in front of us, to see what we can do to make this community around the Memorial Center stronger, more numerous - said, among other things, Suljagić and added:

We have published more than 150 of our publications, one third of which is related to Srebrenica. In this sense, we formed two teams of experts who worked in the field for the past two years and prepared the conference.

“Srebrenica must have a special socio-economic status,” said Rasim Muratović, director of the Institute for Research on Crimes Against Humanity.

Ćamil Duraković, vice president of the RS entity, one of the participants of today’s conference, said that not enough has been done for Srebrenica.

“Unfortunately, not enough was done for Srebrenica. There was no systemic action by the state. We never received full diplomatic, international or other support to hear the voice of those who returned here. Srebrenica is one of the extremely underdeveloped municipalities in the RS entity. We politically have to seek a compromise on the uniqueness of this area. We must all be determined that this city needs help.

We must go in that direction so that, for example, Srebrenica to introduce tax breaks, to introduce special budget lines. This is where people leave. Not only Bosniaks are leaving because of the overall situation, the Serbian population is also leaving. We will use the conclusions of this conference in our future actions,” said Duraković.

Today’s conference will present the results of research related to “Demographic consequences of the genocide and the state of return to Srebrenica; economic development, employment and the construction of social and communal infrastructure in the city and local communities of the municipality of Srebrenica; inter-ethnic relations and the building of trust in the coexistence of Bosniaks and of the Serbian population, as well as the return of viability in Srebrenica.

The conference was organized with the financial support of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Youth of Sarajevo Canton.

Source: [Radiosarajevo.ba](http://Radiosarajevo.ba)

## **SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE “THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BOSNIAK GENOCIDE IN SREBRENICA: SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SREBRENICA (1995-2022).”**

*Oct 19, 2023.*



On the occasion of marking the twenty-eighth anniversary of the genocide committed against Bosniaks in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the University of Sarajevo, the Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo and the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo organized the second International Scientific Conference “Consequences of the Genocide of To Bosniaks in Srebrenica: Social, economic, political, demographic and cultural development Srebrenica (1995-2022).”

The conference was held on October 12, 2023 in the Potočari Memorial Center, starting at 10:00 a.m.

Two years ago, research teams were formed which, based on mostly empirical research, presented the results of research and insight into social reality in four important aspects at the Conference, based on established methodology: 1. Demographic consequences of the genocide and the state of return to Srebrenica; 2. Economic development, employment and construction social and communal infrastructure in the city and local communities of the municipality of Srebrenica; 3. Interethnic relations and building of trust in the common living of the Bosniak and Serbian population; 4. Sustainability of the return to Srebrenica, and create proposals for measures that will be forwarded to municipal councils, cantonal assemblies, the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Media sponsors of the Conference were Oslobođenje and Federal Television.



**AT THE INVITATION OF THE AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
TURKEY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, SADIK BABÜR GIRGINA,  
DIRECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO - INSTITUTE FOR  
CRIMINAL RESEARCH, PROF. DR. RASIM MURATOVIĆ ATTENDED  
THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL OF**

*oct 30, 2023.*



At the invitation of the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sadik Babür Girgin, director of the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law, prof. Ph.D. Rasim Muratović, attended the celebration of the centenary of the proclamation of the Republic.

A reception was organized for about a thousand guests on October 30, 2023, in the premises of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Sarajevo.

## INFO SESSION FOR DAAD MASTER'S SCHOLARSHIPS

*Nov 06, 2023.*



How to successfully apply for a DAAD scholarship for master studies in Germany? The online presentation of the scholarship program of the German Academic Exchange Service will take place on November 7 at 6:00 p.m.

The presentation is organized by DAAD representatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Ajdin Velić, DAAD Alumnus from the University of Göttingen. All questions and ambiguities related to the application process itself, as well as advice, can be obtained at in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, English or German!

- Topics we will discuss:
- Scholarship opportunities for master's studies in Germany
- Everything related to the application requirements, the selection process itself and what the scholarship itself offers
- Direct contact with DAAD representatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Tips for a successful scholarship application by Ajdin Velić (all related to the necessary documents, writing CV and motivation letter - with examples from practice)

Do not miss the opportunity to resolve all doubts and ask the successful scholarship holder everything you are interested in regarding the application process, documentation, conditions and everything that this type of scholarship offers you!

The webinar will be held via the Zoom platform with the following access data:

<https://uni-regensburg.zoom-x.de/j/67846087713>

Meeting ID: 678 4608 7713

## FORUM HELD IN SLOVENIA: “WAR AND PEACE: 106TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOSQUE IN LOG POD MANGART”

*Nov 16, 2023.*



On October 24, 2023, a panel titled “War and Peace: 106th Anniversary of the Mosque in Log pod Mangart” was held at the Kobarid Museum in Slovenia, organized by the Kobarid Museum and the Put Mira i Averroes organization. Participants of the forum are prof. Ph.D. Nedžad Grabus, Zdravko Likar, assistant professor Ph.D. Miha Šimac and others. Hikmet Karcic.

Scientific associate dr. Hikmet Karčić held a lecture on the topic “The relationship between religion and war: examining the complex relationship between religion and violence”.

## THE CITY OF KONJIC STARTED ACTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION OF CELEBRATING THE STATEHOOD DAY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

*Nov 22, 2023.*



“I want you to grow up happily and live in your homeland”, is the message that academician Mirko Pejanović sent today to the students of Konjic High School during the educational class, which was organized by BZK Preporod Konjic and under the auspices of the City of Konjic, held on the occasion of Statehood Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The amphitheater of the High School, filled to the last seat with students, professors and representatives of the City of Konjic, was today the place where the Statehood Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina was discussed, with a reminder of the importance of gaining its independence, and reflection on the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its citizens.

“Today, I tried to bring the perspective to the equestrian youth that the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina lies in achieving membership in the EU and the NATO alliance, and in building a free and legal state within those frameworks. It will certainly come true, but the acceleration of that integration needs to happen. I want these young people, in whose eyes today you can see the desire for knowledge about the origin and development of statehood, will be the ones who, with their knowledge and commitment, will be the guarantor of the preservation of our homeland in its future. I wish you to grow up and live happily in it,” said academician Mirko Pejanović.

Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, Rasim Muratović, referring to the book by academician Pejanović “Bosnia and Herzegovina, 30 years since independence”, which, among other things, was presented on this occasion, said that it is a kind of book of optimism, because it focuses on three important factors: the

first session of ZAVNOBIH, the Referendum for BiH independence and the Platform on the work of the RBiH Presidency, in wartime conditions, authored by Mirko Pejanović.

It was this Platform that invited all citizens, all peoples to fight for freedom, Muratović emphasized in his speech.

“Wanting to remind in the right way the importance of the Statehood Day of our homeland Bosnia and Herzegovina, today we conveyed to our young fellow citizens the most important facts related to the way our homeland gained and preserved statehood. We are happy that we were able to do this with the help of those who in key moments for our country, they were there to preserve it,” said the mayor of Konjic, Osman Ćatić, emphasizing that every year the City of Konjic strives to mark important dates from the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina with quality content.

Today’s celebratory-educational class was one of the first contents with which the City of Konjic will mark the Statehood Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the coming days, there will be the opening of the renovated school in Ribiči, the opening of the school playground in Čelebići, the opening of the renovated Podorašac regional school, a tour of memorials and the laying of flowers, a parade of primary and secondary school students through the streets of the city, a joint program of primary and secondary school students, awarding of prizes for the most successful literary and artistic works of primary and secondary school students, an exhibition of student art works in the Konjic National University Gallery.

On the Statehood Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina, flowers will be laid on the memorials of the Ministry of Health in the area of Konjic, and on Sunday, November 26, as the crown of all activities, the ceremonial opening of the renovated City Stadium in Konjic will be held.



## THE PROMOTION OF THE BOOK: “THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA: FROM REGIONALIZATION TO STRATEGIC GOALS (1991-1992)” WAS HELD IN MAGLAJ, ILIJAŠ AND BREZA

*Nov 23, 2023.*



On November 22, 2023, in the “Muhamed Kantardžić” General Library in Breza, the promotion of the book: “Emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From Regionalization to Strategic Goals (1991-1992)”, by dr. Muamer Džananović, Ph.D. Jasmin Medić and others. Hikmet Karčić. A few days before this promotion, promotions of this work were held in Ilijaš and Maglaj. The promotion in Breza is a total of 17 promotions of this socially significant book. Also, promotions in the country and abroad are planned in the coming period.

We remind you that this work was published in April 2023 by the University of Sarajevo - Institute for Research of Crimes against Humanity and International Law and the University of Sarajevo - Institute of History.



## PREMIERE OF THE MOVIE “JUSTICE” AND PROMOTED PHOTO MONOGRAPH “HEROES OF MOSTAR”

Nov 30, 2023.



*Sarajevo Memorial Fund, in cooperation with the Center for Peace and Multi-Ethnic Cooperation and the Mostar Museum and Memorial, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the judgment of the Hague Tribunal in the case «Prlić and others», organized the screening of the documentary film «Justice» produced by the Center for Peace, and the promotion of a photo monograph «Heroes of Mostar».*

The screening and promotion were held in the Multimedia Hall of the KS Memorial Fund in Kovači with the presence of a large number of guests. Among those present, among others, were the chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Željko Komšić, member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Dr. Denis Bećirović, Vice-Presidents of FBiH Refik Lendo and Igor Stojanović, member of the Board of the House of Peoples of BiH Kemal Ademović, Federal Minister of Displaced Persons and Refugees Nerin Dizdar, who is also the sponsor of the extended edition of the photomonography, and other representatives of state, federal and cantonal authorities, reis-ul-ulema Islamic communities in BiH Reisu-l-ulema Husein ef. Kavazović, mufti of Mostar Selem ef. Dedović, Rector of UNSA Rifat Škrijelj, numerous generals and commanders of the RBiH Army, the «Mother of Srebrenica», families of fallen fighters, winners of war awards, fighters and many others.

In addition to the author of the photomonography project, Safet Oručević, who also had the role of moderator, Dr. Rasim Muratović - Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity, Ahmed Kulanić - Director of the Sarajevo Canton Memorial Fund and Emir Suljagić - Director of the Srebrenica Memorial Center addressed the attendees, who spoke on the Hague Six judgment from

2017 and preserving the legacy of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Journalist and publicist Alija Behram introduced the content of the photo monograph «Heroji Mostar» to the audience.

An important message was sent that centers, associations, institutions and individuals will soon start work on the organization of the International Conference on Genocide Denial, Crime Denial and War Rhetoric. As a legacy from the time of defense against aggression, efforts will be made, as promised, to achieve prevention and lasting peace. Prevention and peace will be attempted with the legacy of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. It was also clearly stated that the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was established by the judgments of this court.

«Today we are witnessing denial and lies about the events of the 1990s despite the judgments of the Hague Tribunal. On television screens, we watched convicted war criminals who shamelessly said that they would do it all again and would not give up anything, while leaders from the political circle pat them, encourage them and call them friends they would not give up. The Hague Genocide Verdict is dismissed, ignored or grossly ridiculed, causing additional pain for the victims. The entire leadership of the Republic of Croatia, with the exception of a number of brave, independent intellectuals from Zagreb, never accepted the verdicts in the case of the «Herceg-Bosna Six and UZP», said Oručević.

He called for further preservation of dignity, announcing a national strategy and platform in response to the brutal revisionism of history.

«We have an agreement in principle at Kovači that these centers - Sarajevo, Srebrenica and Mostar - will come together and with collaborators, along with relevant institutions, associations and individuals, start working on defining a platform as a response to attacks on the truth and the future of our country,» added Oručević.

With tonight's activity, the Sarajevo Canton Memorial Fund tried, among other things, to contribute to presenting and clearly speaking about the relevant events in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

«We proudly joined the organization of the event with the Center for Peace, and at the suggestion of Mr. Safet Oručević, wanting to say how important today's date is in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Hague Six verdict itself. It is one of the two that connect the neighboring states that they are involved in everything and it is really important that we have events like this as a lesson for the future, as a lesson from the past and as an adequate response to all challenges», said the director of the Memorial Fund, Ahmed Kulanić.

It is extremely important to tell the truth about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is the message of the Chairman of the BiH Presidency, Željko Komšić from Kovač.

- Why avoid the truth and go over it? Everything that happened in the war was a disaster for all the people who cared about this country. In the name of the memory of those who paid with their lives and parts of their bodies for the day we live in, we are obliged to speak the truth. The truth is what it is. You can present it one way or another, but you cannot escape the bare facts. And the bare facts have been determined by the judgments of international courts, including the one we are talking about tonight. As in life, there is not much wisdom here, only the truth brings reconciliation and relaxation of relationships. And if it's black, we can't run away from it. We have to be braver, said Komšić.

Ambassador Robert Gelbard from Washington, special envoy for the Balkans and architect of the arrest of war criminals in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, greeted the attendees via video link.

The Hague Tribunal has done a great job, stated the Director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity, Rasim Muratović.

- I know what that meant because we worked closely with them. They established several important facts that we must never forget. That is the basic message of the film and of this gathering. It was established that aggression was committed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, that is, that joint criminal enterprises were committed. These are facts that will remain until the day of judgment, he said, condemning the work and criticizing the judiciary in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which did not judge numerous criminals who were part of the aforementioned criminal enterprises.

Emir Suljagić told how in 2002 he got to know the crimes of Herceg-Bosna in more detail in The Hague.

- Don't think that I didn't know what was happening until then, but I was always surprised why Jadranko Prlić was walking around Sarajevo freely, more freely than I am today. Since that day, I think that the events from 1992 to 1995 represent a single war against BiH and the Bosniak people. Some have been arrested, some are still on trial, but one thing has never stopped - the construction of Bosniaks as a danger on the soil of Europe, in which all Croatian institutions participate, and the construction of BiH as a temporary fake creation allegedly created by the occupation of the Ottoman Empire, said Suljagić.

The film «Justice» tells about the joint criminal enterprise that was judged six years ago, and the struggle of the citizens of Mostar for justice and peace. The photo monograph «Heroes of Mostar» documents the heroic struggle for the defense of Mostar with more than a thousand photographs and testimonies of representatives of the military, civil and religious authorities in the period from 1992 to 1995.



## **A STATE CANNOT BE BUILT WITH CROATIAN POLITICS THAT CONTINUES ITS CRIMINAL GOALS, THE PRO-BOSNIAN FORCES MUST CHANGE THEIR RELATIONSHIP**

*Nov 30, 2023.*



(Patria) - Last night in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the public institution Sarajevo Canton Memorial Fund, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the judgment of the Hague Tribunal in the case «Prlić et al.», organized a screening of the documentary film «Justice» and the promotion of the photo monograph «Heroes of Mostar».

Among others, the director of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo, Rasim Muratović, addressed the audience, saying that the Hague Tribunal had done a great job, establishing several important facts that should never be forgotten.

- It was established that aggression was committed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, that is, that joint criminal enterprises were committed.

These are facts that will remain until Judgment Day - Muratović said, criticizing the judiciary in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, as he stated, did not judge numerous criminals who were part of the mentioned criminal enterprises.

- The dust fell on 848 cases of war crimes, no one touched them, and they are taking out some indictments that were written in Belgrade, such as «Dobrovoljačka» - says Muratović in an interview for Patria News Agency.

A few days ago, the BiH Council of Ministers reached a conclusion on the Revised Strategy for Prosecuting War Crimes, which stipulates that the most complex cases will be processed by the BiH Prosecutor's Office, and all other lower levels of the judiciary, which often reject cases justifying it by lack of evidence.

We asked Muratović if we can then expect the continuation of the persecution of the defenders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the cases of crimes committed by the Army of the Republic of Serbia (VRs) and the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) will be dismissed at lower levels of the judiciary?

- This is not the first time that strategy has been revised, it was revised in 2003, 2005, and even in 2008. If they continue to work as they have been, then that should be expected.

The Hague Tribunal repeatedly reminded them of those 848 cases. All these associations repeatedly warned about it, put pressure on the Prosecutor's Office in a certain way, but it did not help.

So, it is obvious that we are dealing with some policies that have misdirected that segment of the work of the Prosecutor's Office - says Muratović.

During last night's meeting, among other things, it was said that even to this day, Croatian politics has not given up on the goals that led to the crimes committed in the south of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which the «Hague Six» were convicted.

Muratović says that neither Greater Croatia nor Greater Serbia politics will ever give up on these goals.

- There is no cure for those policies. The only remedy I see for you is the one from the other side - that our people from the positions they work in, act correctly, such as the Court and the Prosecutor's Office, for example.

From 2005 until today, the Government of Norway alone has invested 28 million euros in improving the work of courts and prosecutor's offices at all levels of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in order to have better infrastructure and working conditions.

It is my impression, and I think he is not mistaken, that certain policies of the revised strategy have diverted the War Crimes Department in another direction.

A classic example is the subject «Dobrovoljačka». The case of Ejup Ganić was completed in some other courts, and instead of those 848 cases, the indictment written in Belgrade suddenly becomes actualized. It is a paradox. And from this position I can do nothing. Politics can, politicians can.

We have ministries of justice at the state level, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the cantonal levels. They have certain commissions that monitor the work of courts and prosecutor's offices. From time to time, they have to supervise and audit their work - adds Muratović.

We asked him if and how it is possible to build a better future and the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina with such a Croatian policy?

- Unfortunately, it can't be done with something like that. I said last night that the Hague Tribunal did a colossal job - it proved joint criminal enterprises, proved that it was an international armed conflict, that it was aggression by the Republic of Croatia against the sovereign, independent Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatia signed the Dayton Peace Agreement as a participant in that conflict, although they often mock us in public statements that they are some kind of guarantor and witness of that agreement. No, they are participants in the international armed conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both Serbia and Croatia.

So it's up to them, they have to revise their policies. I am not an optimist here, but I am an optimist when it comes to this other side - the fight for justice through the courts and prosecutor's offices, to do it in an adequate way and process those 848 cases. It is enough for them to have something to do for the next 20 years.

It is about the «A» list of people who are suspected of having committed war crimes. Those cases have been completed, trials need to be organized and that's it. Very simple - concludes Muratović in an interview for Patrija.

(D. Kovač)

## IT WASN'T MEANT TO HAPPEN AGAIN, BUT IT HAPPENED AGAIN: CAN GENOCIDE BE PREVENTED?

*Dec 16, 2023.*



Source: Oslobođenje

Author: Prof. dr. Rasim Muratović

This year, on December 9, the world marked the 75th anniversary of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which belongs to the corpus of the most important international legal documents, to the achievements of civilization, as a result of the experience of the international community from the Holocaust and genocide in the Second World War.

Polish lawyer, Jew, human rights fighter Raphael Lemkin was a witness to that characteristic of the century - the indifference and unwillingness of the international community to oppose and prevent the crime of genocide. The genocide of the Herero people in Namibia in 1904, for example, was seen as just a simple colonial campaign by imperial Germany, framed by racial superiority. Neither the holocaust of 6 million Jews, nor the genocide of millions of others, including Serbs, then Roma (in the Nazi Independent State of Croatia), Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sandžak (from the Chetnik movement of Draža Mihailović), were not enough to embed the awareness of genocide into the mindset of world powers. While Nazism was «defeated forever» in 1945, Raphael Lemkin had to wait until December 9, 1948 for the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to be adopted.

## SURVIVORS, EYEWITNESSES AND OBSERVERS

The study of genocide from the perspective of social and historical sciences, which has gradually taken shape since the beginning of the 1980s and continues today, has mainly resulted from two types of studies. On the one hand, the number of detailed and fundamental studies regarding specific cases of genocide and other mass crimes directed against specific groups, which have occurred in history, has increased significantly over the past decades. On the other hand, there are more and more experts in social sciences, who, starting from their disciplines and through the application of different theoretical approaches, study aspects of genocide and other crimes directed against certain groups. Among them are political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists, as well as criminologists, psychologists and psychiatrists. In addition, there is a vast literature, authored by genocide survivors, eyewitnesses and observers, and there are extremely good studies dealing with various aspects of the subject, authored by well-informed journalists, lawyers and members of other professions.

Without any intention to say that the field of genocide has been fully studied, it could still be said that these studies have received their specific form during the past decades, thanks to the efforts of researchers and prominent authors such as Raul Hilberg, Leo Cooper, Frank Chalk, Kurt Jonassohn, Helen Fein, Robert Melson, Irving Louis Horowitz, Omer Bartov, Yehuda Baue, Israel Charny, Ervin Staub, Norman Naimark and many others, because the results of their research work and what they wrote are still considered very significant. Today, many young experts contribute to this field with their new studies.

Since it was first used in 1944 in the book of legal expert Raphael Lemkin, «Axis rule in occupied Europe» (The role of the Axis powers in occupied Europe), the term «genocide» has become established and has entered into widespread use. However, it turned out that this term is extremely complex and difficult and contains different meanings. In the aforementioned work, Lemkin writes: «New concepts require new terms.» By genocide we mean the destruction of a nation or an ethnic group».

For years, the term genocide has been the subject of discussion by politicians and diplomats, lawyers and legal experts, historians and social science experts, as well as various other intellectuals and the general public. During those discussions, some aspects of genocide and related mass crimes were highlighted, while some other aspects remained largely unexplored. Regardless of the certain broader agreement of experts in this field about the basic meaning of the term «genocide», the most appropriate definition and conceptualization is still being discussed today.

In 1947, Lemkin wrote in the American Journal of International Law «... the crime of genocide includes all kinds of acts, including not only taking life, but also preventing life (through abortion, sterilization), as well as actions that significantly endanger life and health (artificially induced infections, forced to work to death in special camps, intentional separation of families for the purpose of displacement...)».

Around the same time, deliberations took place within several committees in the United Nations, which ultimately contributed to the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948. It is interesting that at the time of the adoption of the Convention, and even after, some members of the United Nations wanted to go further in the direction of expanding

the definition of genocide, so they proposed that the definition include the so-called cultural and economic genocide, while other members wanted to add political motives of genocide. The French representative noted that «although genocide was committed in the past on racial and religious grounds, it is clear that the motivation for this crime in the future will be of a political nature.» The Soviet representative offered a realistic reason for the exclusion of «politically defined groups», pointing out that their inclusion would be against the «scientific definition of genocide» and would reduce the effectiveness of the Convention, making the Convention in that case applicable to any act of political crime.

The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide marked the end of Raphael Lemkin's personal struggle to designate genocide as a crime under international law. Lemkin is a Polish lawyer who escaped from Poland in 1938. Arguably, he is considered one of the founders of genocide studies. Not only did Lemkin establish the term genocide, combining the Greek word *genos* (race or tribe) with the Latin word *cider* (to kill), but he also played a key role in establishing the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

As is well known, Article 1 of the Convention confirms that genocide, «whether committed in peace or war, is a crime under international law which the signatories undertake to prevent and punish».

According to the definition in Article 2, genocide represents: «Each of the following actions committed with the intention of destroying, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: a) killing members of the group; b) inflicting severe physical or mental injuries on members of the group; c) deliberately imposing on that group living conditions that are intended to lead to its complete or partial physical destruction; d) introduction of measures aimed at preventing birth/offspring/ in that group; e) intentional transfer of children from that group to another group».

Genocide is certainly a crime punishable under international law, and many even consider it to be the heaviest and most heinous form of crime in the history of mankind. Article 3 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide states: «The following acts shall be punishable: a) genocide; b) conspiracy to commit genocide; c) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; d) attempt to commit genocide; e) complicity in genocide».

Recognized expert on genocide Helen Fein in the work: «Genocide: A Sociological Perspective» (Genocide: A Sociological Perspective), Sage Publications, London 1993, affirmed that genocide «... is the continuous and deliberate action of the perpetrators aimed at directly or indirectly physically destroys a community by preventing the biological and social reproduction of the members of that group, which is continuously carried out regardless of whether the victim has surrendered or that there is no danger from her...».

Helen Fein pointed out «that proving intent is problematic in the absence of written authority or public statements. Intent is the most difficult element of genocide to prove».

Another well-known and recognized expert on genocide Israel Charny proposed in his work «Genocide: Conceptual and Historical Dimensions» (Conceptual and historical dimensions of genocide), University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1994, the definition of genocide: «... genocide is mass killing of a large number of human beings, in a case where it is not a military action against the military forces of the sworn enemy, but in a case where the victims are essentially unprotected and helpless».

Many other authors and sources could be cited, but from these examples it will be clear that, although many experts in this field usually focus on the deliberate mass killing and destruction of innocent people, as the basic meaning of the term genocide, they also emphasize different dimensions of genocidal process as a whole and draw attention to its various aspects.

For this reason, the perpetrators of genocide at all levels of responsibility are very concerned that the genocide be covered up, that it be kept secret, that it be denied, and lately we have a phenomenon that genocide is glorified and celebrated, while, on the other hand, the victims have every right to the realization of justice, and the survivors rightly demand that their fate and their losses be acknowledged, so they expect some kind of satisfaction and justice. Therefore, it is no wonder that today genocide is considered a social phenomenon around which there are many discussions.

Genocide against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995. imposed the need to expand the original UN definition of genocide with at least three elements: systematic and mass rape of women, forced displacement of the population, siege of cities with destruction of cultural and historical monuments and intentional killing of civilians by random and targeted artillery fire. To this end, a group of legal experts from Bosnia and Herzegovina launched an initiative to supplement the international definition of genocide at the International Congress for the Documentation of the Genocide against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was held in Bonn from August 31 to September 4, 1995. . However, the insufficient persistence of the proponents of the initiative, as well as the cumbersome, complicated and ineffective apparatus of the United Nations, once again showed all its weaknesses by not reacting to the mentioned initiative.

There are many events that are designated by the adjective historical in international law, but it is certain that such a strong sign truly belongs to only some of them. The judgment handed down by the International Court of Justice on February 26, 2007 in the case of the lawsuit of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), in which for the first time in the history of international law, the responsibility of a state for «crimes against crimes» was decided on the merits ”, i.e. about responsibility for genocide, certainly deserves such an attribute.

In this context, we should recall some of the most important facts from the 2007 verdict: the International Court of Justice for the first time in its history established the responsibility of a state for violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Therefore, this judgment has historical importance. The court, dealing with the question of the responsibility of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) for the genocide committed against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, established that the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) participated in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The court stated that there is a lot of evidence that confirms the direct or indirect participation of the official army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in military operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition to the direct participation of the army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in military operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Court found that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) provided considerable military and financial assistance to the Republic of Srpska, without which it could not carry out the most important military and paramilitary activities.

What Bosnia and Herzegovina did not prove then, in the opinion of the Court, is that the crimes that confirm the commission of the material element (*actus reus*) of genocide were committed with specific genocidal intent (*dolus specialis*).

#### THE CONVENTION SHOULD BE STUDYED

Lately, we have had an interesting novelty, namely the emergence of third countries that initiate proceedings before the International Court of Justice. The case of The Gambia is striking, as the smallest country in continental Africa, which won its independence in 1965, but established itself as a regional leader in the protection of human rights, which in 2019 initiated proceedings against Myanmar, due to the well-founded suspicion that about 600,000 Rohingya, who remained in Myanmar, in real danger from the genocidal actions of the Myanmar state.

This case is interesting because it is the first time that the procedure has been initiated by a state that is not directly related to the case in question. Therefore, a direct connection is not required to initiate proceedings related to such acts, but every state can have this possibility. It is hoped that this will be an incentive for all countries to be encouraged in filing lawsuits against all those who planned, organized and carried out the crime of crimes, the crime of genocide, behind which the state stands because of its comprehensiveness.

And the latest case is the interest of Brazil, Bolivia and South America to file a joint complaint to the International Court of Justice against Israel for the genocide of Palestinians in Gaza.

In the end, the 20th century was the century of genocide and because it had already happened/performed once before, without adequate response. Then it could happen/performed again, not necessarily in the same form, but it happened/performed. It is not mandatory that it happens/perpetrated again in the same form and against the same groups and by the same perpetrators, but it can happen/perpetrated if the conditions for the prevention of genocide are not created.

For this reason, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide belongs to the body of the most important international legal documents, as a legacy of human civilization and as a result of the documented experiences of the international community from genocides committed in the 20th century. The Convention should be reminded. The convention should be studied. The convention should be applied so that in the rest of the XXI century we have more people, women and children who will die of natural causes. This especially applies to the signatory states of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which should be more determined in their efforts to be on the right side of history in seeking and achieving justice for those national, ethnic and religious groups exposed to attempts at their complete or partial destruction.

(The author is the director of the Institute for Researching Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo)

PRESENTED PROJECT «CHILDREN IN MOSTAR 1992 - 1995 - DAILY  
LIFE AND SUFFERING»

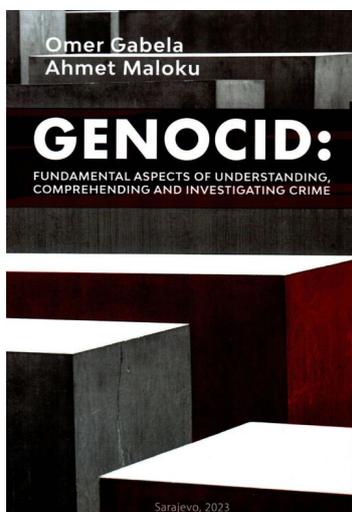
*Dec 18, 2023.*



On December 18, 2022 at 2 p.m., a public presentation of the project “Children in Mostar 1992 - 1995 - Everyday Life and Suffering” was held in hall number 927 of the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the University of Sarajevo (Aleja Bosne Srebrenice bb). The project leader is dr. sc. Zilha Košuta, senior research associate of the Institute.

The aforementioned scientific research project was approved by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science for the year 2023.

## EDITIONS OF THE INSTITUTE in 2023



*Omer Gabela, Ahmet Maloku*

**Genocid: Fundamental aspects of understanding, comprehending and investigating crime**

Sarajevo, 2023.

University in Sarajevo

Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law (304 pages)



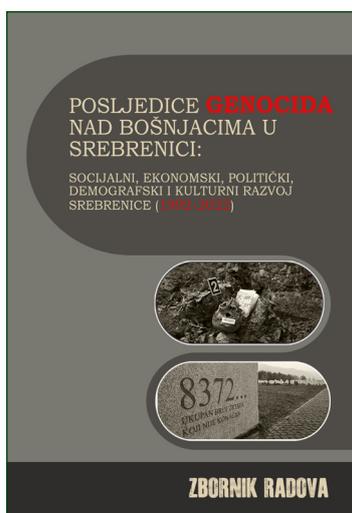
*Muamer Džananović, Jasmin Medić, Hikmet Karčić*

**The emergence of the Republic of Srpska: From regionalization to strategic goals (1991-1992)**

Sarajevo, 2023.

University in Sarajevo

Institute for Research on Crimes against Humanity and International Law (268 pages)



**PROCEEDINGS:**

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