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Genocid u Srebrenici i borba protiv zaborava

Genocide in Srebrenica and fight against oblivion

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RIJEČ UREDNICE

„Težina genocida ogleda se u strogim zahtjevima koji se moraju zadovoljiti prije no što se donese osuđujuća presuda za to krivično djelo. Ti zahtjevi – uslov postojanja dokaza posebne namjere i pokazatelja da je cijela grupa, ili njen znatan dio, bila određena za uništenje – čuvaju od opasnosti da se osuda za to krivično djelo izrekne olako. Kada se, međutim, zadovolje ovi uslovi, pravda se ne smije skanjivati da počinjeni zločin nazove njegovim pravim imenom."

(*Tužilac protiv Radislava Krstića,*
Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju,
Presuda Žalbenog vijeća,
19.4.2004, IT-98-33-A, ¶ 37)

U julu 1995. godine u Srebrenici su snage bosanskih Srba počinile genocid. Ova je činjenica potvrđena hiljadama stranica sudskih i vansudskih svjedočenja i dokumentacije. Potvrđena je presudama međunarodnih i nacionalnih sudova. Srebrenički genocid je od međunarodne zajednice proglašen najgorim zločinom počinjenim na evropskom tlu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Istovremeno, ipak, postoje akteri i u Bosni i Hercegovini i u međunarodnoj zajednici koji ovu činjenicu negiraju, opravdavaju, odbacuju, relativizuju, osporavaju broj i identitet žrtava, preispituju legitimnost i presude sudova te rade na historijskom revizionizmu. Među njima su i osobe visoko pozicionirane u državama nastalim raspadom SFRJ, koje ne samo da ne obeshrabruju negatorske narative nego ih često i same kreiraju.

Takva situacija je posebno prisutna u Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji, gdje je prekrajanje historije postalo otvorena državna politika.

Ovaj zbornik nastao je kao odgovor na svakodnevne primjere ozbiljnih i sistemskih pokušaja historijskog revizionizma. Strukturisan je u četiri dijela, koji sa različitih aspekata analiziraju genocid u Srebrenici.

Prvi dio podrazumijeva pravnu analizu, odnosno razmatra sličnosti i razlike između pravnih sistema koji jesu ili nisu kriminalizovali negiranje genocida, te daje osvrt na uporedne prakse u borbi protiv negiranja i poricanja genocida. Čitanjem radova iz ovog dijela zbornika mogu se, između ostalog, dobiti odgovori na pitanja kao što su: *Kakvi su trendovi u ovoj oblasti u različitim jurisdikcijama?* i: *Postoje li neke prakse koje Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i drugim državama u okruženju, mogu biti uzor u kriminalizaciji negiranja genocida?*

U drugom dijelu zbornika objašnjava se i analizira politički kontekst u Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji kako danas tako i u posljednjih 25 godina. Ovdje autori i autorice traže uzroke problema koji dovode do nemogućnosti da se (u BiH, ali prvenstveno u Srbiji) zvanično prizna genocid u Srebrenici. Pored toga, autori i autorice u ovom dijelu zbornika pokušavaju, iz perspektive politike i društva u različitim državama regiona, dati rješenja za ovu oblast za naredni period.

Treći dio zbornika pokriva aktivnosti civilnog društva: od udruženja žrtava, preko različitih nevladinih organizacija – sve do

istaknutih pojedinaca. Oni/e kroz svoje radove objašnjavaju komemorativne prakse i memorijalizaciju, te ukazuju na to koliko kultura sjećanja utiče na odnos prema prošlosti i na stvaranje kolektivnog identiteta.

U posljednjem, četvrtom dijelu, doprinos su dali angažovane umjetnice i umjetnici, koji kroz vlastita iskustva objašnjavaju postignuća u borbi protiv historijskog revizionizma i svoj odnos prema toj borbi.

Iz gore objašnjene strukture zbornika jasno su vidljive novine koje zbornik donosi. Kao prvo, četiri različite oblasti (pravo, politika, civilni sektor i umjetnost), koje su, svaka na svoj specifičan način, nezamjenjive u zaštiti činjenica i koje do sada nisu na ovaj način povezivane – u ovom zborniku čine jednu cjelinu. Dakle, zbornik ukazuje na širok spektar pristupa koji su mogući i koji postoje na tu temu te, na sistematičan i uporedan način, analizira višestruke susrete između ovih različitih oblasti. Pored toga, pristup ovog zbornika je pluralistički te uključuje različite jurisdikcije, perspektive i stavove. Autori i autorice radova dolaze iz različitih država, što omogućava uporednu analizu pravnih, društvenih i političkih svjetova u borbi za zaštitu od historijskog revizionizma. Nadalje, štampanje zbornika ne samo na bosanskom/crnogorskom/hrvatskom/srpskom nego i na engleskom jeziku omogućava da poruke autora/ica dopru do šire međunarodne publike. Također, većina autora i autorica u zborniku ukazuje na značaj i potrebu za još većom podrškom pojedincima i civilnom društvu u radu na suočavanju s prošlošću. S obzirom na njihov poziv na preispitivanje načina u borbi

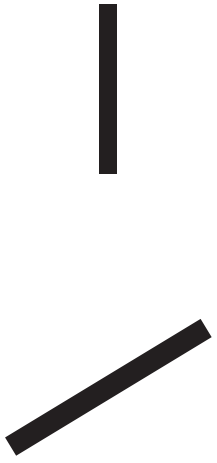
protiv iskrivljenih narativa, moguće implikacije ovog zbornika su velike. On je posebno važan s obzirom na praksu raširenog (u pogledu broja) i sve više podmuklog i "iznijansiranog" (u pogledu sadržaja) negiranja i poricanja genocida u Srebrenici te neograničene mogućnosti širenja teorija zavjera u doba interneta.

Najveća odgovornost u širenju činjeničnog pristupa srebreničkom genocidu, ipak, leži na institucijama Bosne i Hercegovine i Srbije. No, sve dok zbornike poput ovog ne budu izdavale institucije ovih dviju država, na nama – akademskim radnicima/ama, pravnicima/ama, historičarima/kama, političarima/kama, umjetnicima/ama, aktivistima/cama i civilnom društvu – leži obaveza da se borimo protiv historijskog revizionizma. Najbolje sredstvo u ovoj borbi jesu činjenice. Negiranje genocida ne samo da vrijeđa žrtve i onemogućava pomirenje nego i omogućava manipulacije, kao i ponavljanje zločina predaka. Stoga je nakon svakog sukoba od neizmjernog značaja svaki razgovor o počinjenim zločinima zasnivati na činjenicama, obrazovati o prošlosti i raskrinkavati mitove. Tek tada će suočavanje sa prošlošću i pomirenje između naroda biti moguće i biti iskreno.

Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava Srbija, Forum Civilna mirovna služba (forum ZFD) Srbija i Nezavisno društvo novinara Vojvodine nadaju se da će ovaj zbornik poslužiti razvoju konstruktivnog dijaloga o neophodnosti ne samo donošenja zakona o zabrani negiranja srebreničkog genocida nego i o neophodnosti reforme u pristupu tranzicionoj pravdi u država-

ma nastalim raspadom SFRJ. I jedno i drugo je moguće, ali je za to potreban samokritički napor. Svjesni smo da je mnogo više potrebno za suočavanje s prošlošću, ali ovaj zbornik zasigurno predstavlja doprinos na tom putu.

doc. dr. Ajla Škrbić,
urednica zbornika



PRAVO

GENOCID U SREBRENICI: PRAVNA I MORALNA ANALIZA[1]

Menachem Z. Rosensaft
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SAŽETAK

Iako su Međunarodni sud pravde i Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju nedvosmisleno i u više navrata utvrdili da ubistva bosansko-muslimanskih muškaraca i dečaka od strane paravojnih snaga Republike Srpske u Srebrenici i njenoj okolini u julu 1995. godine predstavljaju genocid, političari iz Republike Srpske, kao i neki drugi, nastavljaju da poriču genocid u Srebrenici. Kao što se i Holokaust pamti i obeležava kao genocid, tako i stradali u drugim genocidima, uključujući srebrenički, zaslužuju dostojanstvo i pravdu u smislu prepoznavanja, kvalifikovanja i priznavanja zločina u kojima su izgubili svoje živote kao genocida utvrđenog međunarodnim pravom.

Alfons Ori, sudija Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ), doneo je u Hagu 22. novembra 2017. godine presudu u predmetu IT-09-92-T, *Tužilac protiv Ratka Mladića.* Utvrdivši Mladićevu krivicu za genocid, istrebljenje, ubistvo i druge zločine protiv čovečnosti i ratne zločine, MKSJ je Mladića osudio na doživotnu kaznu zatvora.

Oksfordski rečnik engleskog jezika *(Oxford English Dictionary)* definiše ljudsku verziju čudovišta kao "osobu odvratno neprirodnog karaktera ili osobu koja ispoljava tako ekstremnu surovost ili zlo da se čini neljudskom; monstruozan primer zla". Ratko Mladić je takvo čudovište.

Od 1992. do 1996. godine Mladić, nekadašnji oficir Jugoslovenske narodne armije, bio je komandant vojske otcepljene srpske Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, poznatije pod nazivom Republika Srpska. Tokom tih godina, zajedno sa predsednikom Republike Srpske Radovanom Karadžićem, orkestrirao je brutalno etničko čišćenje bosanskih Muslimana i Hrvata na područjima koje su njih dvojica, kao i drugi srpski ultranacionalisti, smatrali sastavnim delom *de facto* "Velike Srbije". Mladić je takođe upravljao granatiranjem Sarajeva od 1992. do 1995. godine, što je, po Pretresnom veću Haškog tribunala, sejalo strah među civilnim stanovništvom glavnog grada Bosne; zatim, uzeo je osoblje UN-a za taoce, što predstavlja kršenje zakona i običaja rata, i, što je najrelevantnije za ovaj tekst, izvršio je genocid nad bosansko-muslimanskim stanovništvom iz Srebrenice.

Sedeći u sudnici bez znakova potresenosti tokom prvih 45 minuta dok je sudija Ori iznosio sažetak presude, sveže obrijan, uredno podšišane sede kose, obučen u mornarsko plavo odelo i belu košulju uz crvenu kravatu, Mladić nije izgledao kao čudovište, kao krvnik, ali opet, nije ni Adolf Ajhman u svojoj staklenoj ćeliji u Jerusalimu.

Nakon oko 42 minuta Mladićeva odbrana zamolila je Tribunal za pauzu, kako bi optuženi otišao do toaleta. Kada se zasedanje nastavilo, sudija Ori rekao je da je Mladić prebačen u drugu prostoriju, u kojoj postupak može pratiti na ekranu.

Ovde je značajno spomenuti neke činjenice koje su prethodile jugoslovenskim ratovima '90-ih, tokom kojih je izvršen genocid u Srebrenici. U svojoj političkoj reportaži iz 1936. godine pod nazivom *Inside Europe (U Evropi)* Džon Ganter pisao je da je tadašnja Kraljevina Jugoslavija, nastala posle Prvog svetskog rata od balkanskih područja koja su pripadala nekadašnjem Osmanlijskom carstvu i Austrougarskoj monarhiji, bila sastavljena od "nekih 13.500.000 snažnih i ratobornih Srba, Hrvata, Slovenaca, Slavonaca, Makedonaca, Crnogoraca, Bosanaca [i] Dalmatinaca".[2] Mnoge, ako ne i većina ovih različitih nacionalnih grupa imale su iza sebe vekovnu istoriju međusobnih duboko ukorenjenih animoziteta.

Između 1945. i 1980. godine nezavisni komunistički i raniji antifašistički partizanski vođa Josip Broz Tito držao je jugoslovenske unutrašnje napetosti uglavnom pod kontrolom. Deset godina po Titovoj smrti, međutim, srpski nacionalistički pred-

sednik Slobodan Milošević pokušao je da nametne srpsku dominaciju u državi, degradirajući delikatnu ravnotežu moći koja je održavana nakon Drugog svetskog rata.

U aprilu 1989. godine, u uvodniku magazina *New York Times,* Milošević je optužen za raspirivanje "drevnih etničkih mržnji zarad sopstvenih političkih ambicija".[3] U uvodniku se navodi da je, otkako je postao šef Komunističke partije Srbije, Milošević "navalio s nemilosrdnom političkom kampanjom, uz masovne mitinge, zapaljivu retoriku i birokratske čistke, sve u cilju da Srbija i njen partijski vođa imaju vrhovni položaj u preoblikovanoj Jugoslaviji".

"Moramo obezbediti jedinstvo u Srbiji ako želimo da, kao najveća i najmnogoljudnija republika, diktiramo budući tok događaja", izjavio je Milošević 1991. "Tu su pitanja granica, suštinska državna pitanja. Granice, kao što znate, uvek diktiraju jaki, a ne slabi." Karadžić i Mladić bili su među onim bosanskim Srbima koji su bili odlučni da uspostave svesrpsku hegemoniju u srpskom delu Bosne i Hercegovine.[4]

Godine 1991. Slovenija i Hrvatska bile su prve dve jugoslovenske republike koje su se odvojile, a secesija Hrvatske rezultirala je brutalnim sedmomesečnim ratom. Naredne godine, kada je Bosna i Hercegovina – etnički sastavljena od 43 posto Muslimana, 35 posto pravoslavnih Srba i 18 posto Hrvata katolika – učinila isto, nastao je otcepljeni entitet koji je sebe nazvao Republika Srpska, uz katastrofalne posledice po bosansku muslimansku i hrvatsku manjinu. Reagujući na zločine koji su

otvoreno vršeni prema civilima na prostoru koji je nekad činio Jugoslaviju, 25. maja 1993. godine – dve godine pre srebreničkog masakra – Savet bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija osnovao je MKSJ, s nadležnošću da procesuira niz krivičnih dela, uključujući i genocid i zločine protiv čovečnosti.

Nakon što je MKSJ protiv njih podigao optužnice 1995. godine, i Karadžić i Mladić bili su u bekstvu. Karadžić je konačno uhapšen u julu 2008. godine i izručen Hagu da bi mu se sudilo pred MKSJ. U martu 2016. godine osuđen je po više tačaka optužnice za ratne zločine, zločine protiv čovečnosti i genocid. Zatim je Mladića policija u Srbiji uhapsila 26. maja 2011. godine u selu Lazarevo, nekih 90 kilometara udaljenom od Beograda. Pet dana kasnije on je avionom prebačen u Hag. Suđenje Mladiću počelo je 16. maja 2012. godine.

Optužnica je Mladića teretila za genocid, kao i za progon, istrebljenje, ubistvo, deportaciju, ostala nečovečna dela, kako u smislu individualne odgovornosti tako i u okviru kriminalne zavere zajedno sa Karadžićem i ostalima. Prema optužnici: "Kad (...) koristi reč 'počinio', tužilac nema nameru da sugeriše da je optuženi fizički počinio bilo koji od zločina za koje se lično tereti. U kontekstu odgovornosti optuženog prema članu 7(1), 'reč počinio' označava njegovo učešće u udruženom zločinačkom poduhvatu."[5]

Prema članu 7 Statuta MKSJ, činjenica da je neko od krivičnih dela za koje se optuženi tereti izvršio njegov podređeni ne oslobađa optuženog krivične odgovornosti ako je "znao ili je bilo razloga da zna da se podređeni sprema počiniti takva dela ili da

ih je već počinio, a on nije preduzeo nužne i razumne mere da spreči takva dela ili kazni počinioce".[6] Mladić se sada smatra odgovornim za genocid, zločine protiv čovečnosti i ratne zločine izvršene u Bosni i Hercegovini i direktno i po osnovu komandnog zapovedništva nad jedinicama koje su pokolj izvršile.

Prva od dve tačke optužnice za genocid, koja se odnosi na učešće u "udruženom zločinačkom poduhvatu da se bosanski Muslimani i bosanski Hrvati trajno uklone s područja [u Bosni i Hercegovini] na koja su bosanski Srbi polagali pravo", tereti Mladića za "ponašanje na osnovu kojeg se videla namera da se delimično unište nacionalne, etničke i/ili verske grupe bosanskih Muslimana i/ili bosanskih Hrvata kao takve" u drugim bosanskim opštinama, tj. nezavisno od Srebrenice.[7] Kao i kod Karadžića, Pretresno veće osudilo je Mladića za istrebljivanje i ubistvo, što spada u zločine protiv čovečnosti po ovoj tački, ali ne i za genocid. Druga tačka optužnice za genocid – po kojoj jeste utvrđena Mladićeva krivica – teretila ga je da je "učestvovao u udruženom zločinačkom poduhvatu da se bosanski Muslimani u Srebrenici eliminišu ubijanjem srebreničkih muškaraca i dečaka, kao i prisilnim odvođenjem žena, dece i dela starijih muškaraca iz Srebrenice".[8]

Treba ponoviti jezive činjenice zbog kojih Srebrenica, grad u istočnoj Bosni, stoji uz Aušvic-Birkenau, Jasenovac, Musa Dag i Butare.

Aušvic-Birkenau je, naravno, bio najozloglašeniji nacistički koncentracioni logor i logor smrti, u kojem je izvršen holokaust evropskih Jevreja tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Jasenovac je

bio koncentracioni logor u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj, u kojem su ustaše ubile između 77.000 i 99.000 Srba, Jevreja i Roma od 1941. do 1945. godine.[9] Musa Dag je oblast Osmanlijskog carstva gde je tokom 1915. godine nekoliko hiljada Jermena 53 dana odolevalo uništenju u događaju poznatom pod nazivom genocid nad Jermenima. Bature je prefektura u Ruandi, gde se procenjuje da je 220.000 pripadnika naroda Tutsi ubijeno u pokolju od strane njihovih suseda i sunarodnika iz naroda Hutu tokom genocida u toj zemlji 1994. godine.[10]

Savet bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija je 16. aprila 1993. godine proglasio "Srebrenicu i njenu okolinu zaštićenom zonom koja se ne sme oružano napadati niti izlagati nekom drugom neprijateljskom činu".[11] Kao "zaštićena zona", Srebrenica je bila pod zaštitom Zaštitnih snaga Ujedinjenih nacija. Ovo je potvrđeno drugom rezolucijom Saveta bezbednosti, od 6. maja 1993. godine.[12] Prkoseći međunarodnoj zajednici, trupe Republike Srpske pod Mladićevom komandom preuzele su kontrolu nad Srebrenicom početkom jula 1995. godine. Tokom narednih nekoliko dana, počev od 12. jula, ubijeno je između sedam i osam hiljada bosansko-muslimanskih muškaraca i dečaka. U izveštaju od 12. februara 2000. MKSJ je utvrdio da je "najmanje 7475 osoba iz enklave Srebrenica nestalo i smatra se mrtvim".[13] Kasnije je Međunarodna komisija za nestala lica procenila broj nestalih na oko osam hiljada,[14] dok je zagovarateljica ljudskih prava Evelina U. Ohab ovaj broj procenila na 8.372.[15] Godine 2005. generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih nacija Kofi Anan opisao je ono što se dogodilo u Srebrenici kao "strašan zločin – najgori na evropskom tlu nakon Drugog svetskog rata".[16]

Čitajući sažetak Mladićeve presude, sudija Ori opisao je jedan elemenat genocida: "U periodu od 12. do 14. jula 1995. [snage Republike Srpske] organizovali su prevoz približno 25.000 bosanskih Muslimana, uglavnom žena, dece i staraca, iz srebreničke enklave na teritoriju pod kontrolom Armije Bosne i Hercegovine, u konvojima autobusa i kamiona. Vojnici, bosanski Srbi, su sistematski odvajali vojno sposobne muškarce, bosanske Muslimane, koji su pokušavali da se ukrcaju. Među tim odvojenim muškarcima bilo je i dečaka koji su imali tek 12 godina, kao i ljudi starijih od 60 godina. To odvajanje često je bilo agresivno. Ljudima koje su prevozili rekli su da će muškarci, bosanski Muslimani, doći kasnije. Oni nikada nisu došli."[17]

Bosansko-muslimanski muškarci i dečaci odvedeni su u obližnje logore, gde su pogubljeni. Sudija Ori je nastavio: "Veće je konstatovalo da su mnoge od tih muškaraca i dečaka, dok su čekali da budu pogubljeni, psovali, da su ih vređali, pretili im, terali ih da pevaju srpske pesme i tukli ih. Snage bosanskih Srba (...) sistematski su poubijale nekoliko hiljada muškaraca i dečaka, bosanskih Muslimana, pri čemu su veliku većinu njih poubijali u roku od samo nekoliko dana, u periodu od 12. do 17. jula 1995."[18]

Što se tiče tačke optužnice kojom se Mladić tereti za genocid zbog masovnih ubistava u Srebrenici, sudija Ori je rekao: "Veće je utvrdilo da su fizički izvršioci počinili zabranjena dela, iznesena u pravnoj definiciji genocida, ubijanja i nanošenja teških telesnih i duševnih povreda nad bosanskim Muslimanima iz Srebrenice. Veće je zatim ispitalo posebnu nameru fizičkih

počinilaca. Kao što je detaljno objašnjeno u Presudi, Veće je konstatovalo da su fizički izvršioci nameravali da unište bosanske Muslimane u Srebrenici, koji su činili značajan deo zaštićene grupe. Veće je, shodno tome, konstatovalo da su nad bosanskim Muslimanima u Srebrenici i njenoj okolini počinjena krivična dela genocida, progona, istrebljivanja i ubistva, kao i nehumano delo prisilnog premeštanja."[19]

Postoje različiti tipovi izvršilaca genocida. Svi oni su jednako krivi, ali u genocidu imaju različite uloge. Na jednom kraju su politički inspiratori zločina – Adolf Hitler ili Jozef Gebels na primer – čija je zadrta ideologija dovela do nacističkog "konačnog rešenja jevrejskog pitanja", mada oni sami nikada nogom nisu kročili u logor smrti ili prisustvovali masovnom ubijanju Jevreja. Karadžić spada u tu kategoriju. U drugoj grupi su esesovski lekari, kao što je Jozef Mengele, koji je u logoru Aušvic-Birkenau vršio selekciju, te esesovci koji su trpali Jevreje u gasne komore, kao i oni slični hrvatskom franjevačkom fratru fra Tomislavu Filipoviću, poznatom i kao "fra Sotona", brutalnom upravniku logora Jasenovac.

Mladić nesumnjivo spada u ovu drugu kategoriju. Bez obzira na to da li je sam potegao obarač, Pretresno veće MKSJ utvrdilo je da je on naredio i rukovodio masovnim ubijanjem. On je 11. jula 1995. snimljen u Srebrenici. "Poklanjamo srpskome narodu ovaj grad", izjavio je. Pogrdno nazivajući Muslimane "Turcima", nastavio je: "I napokon došao je trenutak da se

posle bune protiv dahija Turcima osvetimo na ovom prostoru.“ Nakon što je ovaj televizijski snimak prikazan na početku Mladićevog suđenja, tužilac Piter Mekkloski rekao je sudu: “U narednih pet dana nakon ove zlokobne opaske o osveti Mladićeve trupe zarobile su i sistematski ubile hiljade srebreničkih muškaraca i dečaka.“[20]

Može se samo zamisliti ogorčenje celog sveta kada bi murali Adolfa Hitlera bili vidno postavljeni po Nemačkoj, ili kada bi studentski dom u Berlinu bio nazvan po Adolfu Ajhmanu, arhitekti sistematskog uništenja šest miliona Jevreja u Holokaustu.

Slično, ceo svet bi nesumnjivo osudio svaku nemačku vladu koja bi bila dovoljno sumanuta da tvrdi da Holokaust nije bio genocid i da su Jevreji sami doveli do toga da budu masovno ubijeni.

To je upravo ono što se dešava u Republici Srpskoj, koja je danas entitet Bosne i Hercegovine, gde se počinioci srebreničkog genocida uzdižu u nebesa. Ogromni Mladićevi murali postali su svetilišta za bosanske Srbe,[21] a studentski dom nazvan je, uz fanfare, po Radovanu Karadžiću.[22]

Do sada je devetnaest pojedinaca, uključujući Mladića, Karadžića i Miloševića, koji je umro u pritvoru u Hagu pre nego što je izrečena presuda u njegovom predmetu, optuženo pred MKSJ u vezi sa Srebrenicom. Od njih su šestorica – opet uključujući Mladića i Karadžića – osuđena za genocid. Osim toga, najmanje osam drugih osoba osuđeno je za genocid zbog svoje uloge u Srebrenici pred Većem za ratne zločine Suda Bosne i Herce-

govine. A u presudi koja predstavlja prekretnicu Međunarodni sud pravde (MSP) takođe je utvrdio da se u Srebrenici dogodio genocid.

Pa ipak, bosanski Srbi i njihovi sledbenici proveli su poslednjih četvrt veka očajnički pokušavajući da ubede svet da ono što se dogodilo u Srebrenici nije genocid. U maju 2020. godine Memorijalni centar Srebrenica-Potočari objavio je izveštaj o poricanju genocida u Srebrenici, koji dokumentuje revizionističke inicijative političara i pseudonaučnika usmerene na izvrtanje istorije.[23] Ove aktivnosti se kreću od pokušaja da se ospori broj mrtvih do okrivljivanja žrtava za sopstveni pokolj kroz tvrdnje da se radi o reakciji na bošnjačke provokacije.

Samo tokom 2019. godine Milorad Dodik, srpski član tripartitnog Predsedništva Bosne i Hercegovine, nazvao je srebrenički genocid "lažnim mitom" i rekao da bosanski Muslimani "nisu imali [mit], pa pokušavaju da ga izgrade od Srebrenice".[24] Ministar odbrane Srbije Aleksandar Vulin izjavio je da je "srpski narod preživeo genocid, nije ga počinio".[25] A Željka Cvijanović, predsednica Republike Srpske, koja se pojavila kao jedan od sastavnih entiteta Bosne i Hercegovine nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog sporazuma u novembru 1995, oštro je sugerisala da je ubijanje Bošnjaka od strane bosanskih Srba u Srebrenici bilo odmazda za prethode antisrpske "ratne zločine nad Srbima" koje su navodno počinile snage bosanskih Muslimana.[26]

Slično, predsednik Srbije Tomislav Nikolić izjavio je na crnogorskoj nacionalnoj televiziji 2012. godine da "u Srebrenici nije bilo

genocida“, priznajući samo da je “[u] Srebrenici (...) bio veliki zločin, koji su počinili neki pripadnici srpskog naroda“.[27]

Daleko od toga da su ovi poricatelji genocida u Srebrenici sami. U junu 2015. Efraim Zurof, direktor izraelske kancelarije Centra Simon Vizental, dao je dragocenu podršku srpskim i ruskim pozicijama kada je izjavio za beogradski dnevnik *Politika* da ne veruje da se ono što se desilo u Srebrenici uklapa u “opis ili definiciju genocida. Mislim da je odluka da se to nazove genocidom doneta iz političkih razloga“.[28]

U drugom intervjuu za ruski radio Sputnik u Srbiji Zurof je rekao: “Treba biti jako pažljiv kad se koristi pojam genocid. Ne poričem da su srpske snage ubile Muslimane u Srebrenici, to nije smelo da se dogodi, i odgovorni se moraju privesti pravdi. Ali u Srebrenici nije bilo genocida, jer su Srbi na početku pustili žene i decu. A zatim je počeo proces politizacije tragedije.“[29]

Rusija je 8. jula 2015. godine uložila veto na rezoluciju Saveta bezbednosti UN-a koju je predložila Velika Britanija, a koja bi osudila srebrenički masakr kao “zločin genocida“.[30] Ambasador Vitalij Čurkin, stalni predstavnik Rusije pri UN-u, omalovažio je predloženu rezoluciju kao “konfrontističku“ i “politički motivisanu“.[31]

Reagujući na Čurkinov veto na rezoluciju o genocidu u Srebrenici, Adisada Dudić, moja nekadašnja studentkinja na *Cornell Law School,* koja je kao dete provela tri godine u bosanskom izbegličkom kampu, rekla je: “Praktično govoriš ljudima koji su

gledali kako njihovi najdraži umiru da osoba koju su sahranili nije ni postojala. Da njihov život nikad nije ništa značio. Ta vrsta uvrede je ono što i dan-danas viktimizira preživele – odbacivanje njihovog bola bez izražavanja kajanja. Ljudi samo žele da se njihov bol prizna i da se zločin nazove pravim imenom."[32]

Takvo odbacivanje istorije suprotstavlja se nizu sudskih presuda u kojima se detaljno pokazuje da ubijanje bošnjačkih muškaraca i dečaka iz Srebrenice, uz prisilno premeštanje bošnjačkih žena, dece i staraca, sadrži nameru uništenja prisustva bosanskih Muslimana u istočnoj Bosni, što je neophodan uslov za genocid. U presudi u kojoj je Karadžić osuđen za genocid Pretresno veće MKSJ navelo je da je "jedini razuman zaključak" koji se može izvesti iz ubijanja bošnjačkih muškaraca i dečaka iz Srebrenice "taj da su pripadnici snaga bosanskih Srba koji su rukovodili ovom operacijom nameravali da unište bosanske Muslimane kao takve".[33] Kako je nakon Čurkinovog veta izjavio ambasador Piter Vilson, stalni predstavnik Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva pri UN: "To da se genocid dogodio u Srebrenici (...) je pravna činjenica, ne politička ocena".[34]

Tri stvari su ovde presudne. Prvo, genocid, kako je određen u Konvenciji, predstavlja pažljivo definisan osnov za krivično gonjenje osmišljen tako da omogući sudsku fleksibilnost u tumačenju. Drugo, fundamentalno je pogrešno genocid smatrati ozbiljnijim ili gnusnijim zločinom u odnosu na druge zločine protiv čovečnosti, kao što je "istrebljenje". I treće, gde se činjenice uklapaju u definiciju genocida, pokušaj da se žrtvama uskrati određenje zločina kao genocida je duboko moralno štetno.

Pre razmatranja zločina genocida u kontekstu srebreničkog masakra važno je razumeti razvoj pravnih normi koje uređuju zločin genocida od kad je ovaj termin prvi put upotrebljen 1944. godine u knjizi Rafaela Lemkina, izbeglice poljsko-jevrejskog porekla.

Nakon nemačke invazije na Sovjetski Savez 24. avgusta 1941, premijer Vinston Čerčil rekao je u radijskom obraćanju: "Od mongolske invazije na Evropu u XVI veku nije bilo tako metodične, nemilosrdne klaonice takvih ili približnih razmera. I to je samo početak... Nalazimo se u prisustvu zločina bez imena."[35] U avgustu 1945. zločini izvršeni nad civilnim stanovništvom u Evropi pod okupacijom nacista u Povelji Međunarodnog vojnog suda određeni su kao "zločini protiv čovečnosti". Ovaj novi osnov za krivično gonjenje uključivao je "ubistvo, istrebljenje, porobljavanje, deportaciju i druge nečovečne radnje počinjene prema svakom civilnom stanovništvu", kao i "progon na političkoj, rasnoj ili verskoj osnovi pri izvršenju ili u vezi sa svakim zločinom iz nadležnosti Suda".[36]

U međuvremenu, Lemkin je skovao termin "genocid" u svojoj knjizi *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe (Vladavina sila Osovine u okupiranoj Evropi)* iz 1944. godine. Lemkin je napisao: "Pod pojmom genocid smatramo uništenje nekog naroda ili etničke grupe... Uopšteno govoreći, genocid ne mora nužno da znači neposredno uništavanje nekog naroda, osim kada se vrši kroz masovno ubijanje svih pripadnika tog naroda. Izraz pre treba da označi koordinisani plan različitih radnji koje se preduzimaju u cilju uništenja suštinskih temelja života nacionalnih grupa,

radi uništavanja samih grupa. Genocid je usmeren protiv nacionalne grupe kao celine, a radnje koje ga čine usmerene su prema pojedincima, ne u njihovom svojstvu pojedinca, već kao pripadnika nacionalne grupe."[37]

U članku iz 1946. godine[38] Lemkin je proširio značenje genocida i na rasne i verske grupe, a zatim je lobirao kod delegata na prvoj Generalnoj skupštini UN-a da genocid proglase zločinom po međunarodnom pravu, što je i učinjeno u jednoglasno usvojenoj rezoluciji 11. decembra 1946. godine.[39]

Dve godine kasnije, 9. decembra 1948, Generalna skupština usvojila je Konvenciju o sprečavanju i kažnjavanju zločina genocida. Prema članu II Konvencije "kao genocid se smatra bilo koje od navedenih dela učinjenih u nameri potpunog ili delimičnog uništenja jedne nacionalne, etničke, rasne ili verske grupe kao takve:

A ubistvo članova grupe;
B teška povreda fizičkog ili mentalnog integriteta članova grupe;
C namerno podvrgavanje grupe životnim uslovima koji treba da dovedu do njenog potpunog ili delimičnog uništenja;
D mere usmerene na sprečavanje rađanja u okviru grupe;
E prinudno premeštanje dece iz jedne grupe u drugu."[40]

Ova formulacija, koja se pojavljuje i u statutima Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za Ruandu[41] i Međunarodnog krivičnog suda (MKS),[42] jedina je relevantna definicija genocida po međunarodnom pravu.

U naredne 44 godine genocid kao osnov za krivično gonjenje bio je u velikoj meri apstraktan. Međutim, 25. maja 1993, reagujući na izveštaje o zverstvima koja su otvoreno vršena na Balkanu, Savet bezbednosti UN-a formalno je osnovao "međunarodni sud čija je jedina svrha procesuiranje osoba odgovornih za ozbiljne povrede međunarodnog humanitarnog prava počinjene na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije" od 1991. godine.[43] On će postati prvi međunarodni krivični sud nakon Međunarodnog vojnog tribunala u Nirnbergu. U istoj rezoluciji Savet bezbednosti usvojio je izveštaj generalnog sekretara UN-a, koji je uključio i genocid kao poseban osnov za krivično gonjenje u okvir nadležnosti MKSJ, uz zločine protiv čovečnosti, ratne zločine i kršenja Ženevskih konvencija.[44]

Stoga, moram sa puno poštovanja da izrazim neslaganje sa profesorom Stivenom T. Kacom, koji je napisao da se genocid mora definisati kao "uništenje, bez izuzetka, svih ljudskih bića koja pripadaju određenoj etničkoj, nacionalnoj ili verskoj grupi".[45] Kako će biti više reči u nastavku, namera da se uništi deo zaštićene grupe kao takve jasno ispunjava zahtev Konvencije. Kac je izneo suštinski istu poentu u prvom tomu svoje knjige *The Holocaust in Historical Context, Vol. 1 (Holokaust u istorijskom kontekstu),* gde je takođe proširio definiciju genocida tako da obuhvati pokušaje "ubistva u celini svake (...) političke,

društvene, rodne ili ekonomske grupe".[46] Iako je intelektualno provokativan, ovaj argument je u pravnom smislu irelevantan. Da bi se prilagodio popularan savremeni izraz, pravna definicija genocida, kako stoji u Konvenciji o genocidu, onakva je kakva jeste – ništa manje, a svakako ni više od toga.

Istovremeno, uzgred, ja čvrsto verujem da genocid nije strašniji zločin od zločina protiv čovečnosti definisanog u Povelji Međunarodnog vojnog tribunala. Zločini protiv čovečnosti, uključujući ubistvo, istrebljenje, porobljavanje, silovanje i mučenje, izvršeni nad civilnim stanovništvom, predviđeni su kao posebni osnovi za krivično gonjenje u statutima MKSJ, Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za Ruandu i MKS, pri čemu se nigde ne sugeriše da se radi o delima koja su imalo manje strašna, manje varvarska ili manje zla od genocida. Masovna ubistva, masovna silovanja i istrebljivanja nisu ništa manje monstruozna samo zbog toga što ne ispunjavaju pravnu definiciju genocida.

Konkretno, činjenica da je Mladić – isto kao i Karadžić pre njega – osuđen za istrebljivanje, a ne za genocid, zbog masovnih ubistava počinjenih u različitim opštinama nezavisno od Srebrenice ni na koji način ne umanjuje njegovu krivicu, niti ga čini manje gnusnim bićem.

Jednom sam napisao da Holokaust stoji sam u vremenu kao stranputica istorije.[47] I dalje stojim iza te izjave onoliko koliko ona odražava transnacionalni i multinacionalni domet hitlerovskog "konačnog rešenja jevrejskog pitanja". Nikad ranije – a

svakako ni nikad kasnije – nisu milioni muškaraca, žena i dece pripadnika date etničke, nacionalne ili verske grupe prevoženi iz zemalja sa celog kontinenta u logore smrti opremljene gasnim komorama i krematorijumima. Nikada ranije – a svakako ni nikada kasnije – mašinerija uništavanja nije bila toliko velika i toliko mnogostrana kao u Trećem Rajhu i širom okupirane Evrope od juna 1941, kada su počela masovna ubistva Jevreja nakon nemačke invazije na Sovjetski Savez, do 8. maja 1945. – Dana pobede – kada je Drugi svetski rat u Evropi okončan.

Međutim, to ne znači i nikad ne sme da se tumači tako da sugeriše da su drugi genocidi i zločini protiv čovečnosti išta manje teški. Svaki genocid je jednako strašan, bilo da su žrtve Jevreji, Jermeni, Tutsi, Bošnjaci, Jezidi, Rohinje ili pripadnici neke druge zaštićene grupe. Činjenica da su kao instrumenti smrti odabrani mačeta ili mašinka, a ne gasna komora, ne čini zločin ili seriju zločina manje zločinačkim. Niti činjenica da je genocid trajao nekoliko meseci, a ne godinama, kao u Ruandi, ili nekoliko dana, kao u Srebrenici, čini njegovo izvršenje išta manje dostojnim prekora. Namera da se uništi određena grupa kao takva, koja leži u osnovi ovog zločina, jeste u suštini genocida, a svaki uporediv zločin protiv čovečnosti što se toga tiče je zločin koji šokira našu svest. Poređenje stradanja je kontraproduktivno i u moralnom smislu odvratno.

U razgovoru na temu genocida u međunarodnom pravu koji je održan u američkom Memorijalnom muzeju Holokausta u

martu 2004. čuveni naučnik u oblasti međunarodnog krivičnog prava i ljudskih prava Vilijam Šabas otvoreno je postavio centralno pitanje koje je interesovalo mnoge kada je reč o Srebrenici – naime, kako se ubistvo manje od 8000 ljudi može smatrati genocidom? Ubistvo između pola miliona i milion pripadnika naroda Tutsi je, po njegovim rečima, "zaista jasan slučaj genocida". S druge strane, i mogu da kažem, razumljivo, Šabasa je mučilo ono što je on nazvao "mikrogenocidom", to jest, opet, kako je on rekao, "stvarno užasan masakr, ali ne u dimenzijama Ruande ili Holokausta".[48]

Međutim, činjenica je da razmera mogućeg genocida nije određujuća. Neemija Robinson, direktor Instituta za jevrejske poslove Svetskog jevrejskog kongresa, koji je do danas priznat kao jedan od vodećih autoriteta za Konvenciju o genocidu, napisao je u svom Komentaru Konvencije iz 1960. godine (koji je nešto modifikovana verzija monografije koju je prvi put objavio 1949. godine) da se "namera da se uništi mnoštvo osoba koje pripadaju istoj grupi zato što pripadaju toj grupi mora kategorisati kao genocid čak i ako te osobe čine tek deo grupe bilo u jednoj zemlji ili regionu, bilo u jednoj zajednici, pod uslovom da je taj broj znatan. (...) Sudovi će u svakom pojedinačnom slučaju da odluče da li je taj broj dovoljno veliki".[49]

Drugim rečima, ne postoje arbitrarni ili objektivni parametri po kojima se određuje da li je dati zločin dovoljno veliki da bi bilo kvalifikovan kao genocid, već sudovi moraju proceniti svaku situaciju pojedinačno i, makar u određenoj meri, subjektivno.

MKSJ je to uradio u više navrata, počev od prvostepene presude u predmetu *Tužilac protiv Radislava Krstića*[50] iz 2001. godine, koju je Žalbeno veće potvrdilo 2004. godine.[51]

Žalbeno veće u predmetu *Krstić* nedvosmisleno je utvrdilo da broj žrtava nije odlučujući faktor za donošenje zaključka da li se dogodio genocid:

> *"Brojčana veličina ciljanog dela grupe nužna je i važna polazna tačka, mada to nije nužno i kraj ispitivanja. Broj ciljanih pojedinaca treba oceniti ne samo u apsolutnom smislu nego i u odnosu na ukupnu veličinu cele grupe. Osim brojčane veličine ciljanog dela, može biti korisno uzeti u obzir i njegov značaj u okviru grupe. Ako neki deo grupe na ovaj ili onaj način predstavlja čitavu grupu, ili ako je ključan za njen opstanak, to može ići u prilog konstataciji da se taj deo kvalifikuje kao znatan (…)."*[52]

Prema Žalbenom veću u predmetu *Krstić:*

> *"Srebrenica je bila važna jer je imala poseban značaj, kako za bosanske Muslimane tako i za međunarodnu zajednicu. Grad Srebrenica bio je u javnosti najviše eksponirana 'zaštićena zona' Saveta bezbednosti UN-a. Godine 1995. već su mu veliku pažnju poklanjali i međunarodni mediji. U rezoluciji Saveta bezbednosti kojom je Srebrenica proglašena zaštićenom zonom stoji da je to zona koja se ne sme oružano napadati niti izlagati nekom drugom neprijateljskom činu'. Tu garanciju zaštite potvrdio je ko-*

mandant Zaštitnih snaga UN-a u Bosni (UNPROFOR), a dodatno ju je pojačalo razmeštanje snaga UN-a. Eliminacija muslimanskog stanovništva Srebrenice, uprkos garancijama međunarodne zajednice, bila bi jasan pokazatelj svim bosanskim Muslimanima koliko su ranjivi i bespomoćni u odnosu na srpske vojne snage. Sudbina bosanskih Muslimana Srebrenice poslužila bi kao primer svim ostalim bosanskim Muslimanima."[53]

Presuda Žalbenog veća u predmetu *Krstić* dalje kaže da je u donošenju zaključka da se dogodio genocid Pretresno veće s pravom uzelo u obzir "dugoročne posledice koje će eliminacija sedam do osam hiljada muškaraca iz Srebrenice imati na opstanak te zajednice".[54] Žalbeno veće je dalje potvrdilo zaključak Pretresnog veća da:

"S obzirom na patrijarhalnost zajednice bosanskih Muslimana u Srebrenici, uništenje tako velikog broja muškaraca 'neizbežno za posledicu ima fizički nestanak bosansko-muslimanskog stanovništva u Srebrenici'. Dokazi predočeni na ovom suđenju idu u prilog tom zaključku pokazujući da se, s obzirom na to da se većina ubijenih muškaraca službeno vodi kao nestala, njihove žene ne mogu ponovo udati i imati još dece. Fizičko uništenje muškaraca stoga ima teške posledice po stvaranje potomstva u srebreničkoj muslimanskoj zajednici, uz mogućnost izumiranja zajednice."[55]

Žalbeno veće u predmetu *Krstić* zaključuje: "Sprečavanje takve vrste fizičkog uništenja upravo je cilj Konvencije o genocidu".[56] Žalbeno veće takođe je potvrdilo razmišljanje Pretresnog veća

u vezi s nesmrtonosnim elementima srebreničkog masakra. Pretresno veće je, na primer, zaključilo da se "prisilno premeštanje" žena, dece i staraca iz Srebrenice može posmatrati kao "još jedan način da se obezbedi fizičko uništenje zajednice bosanskih Muslimana iz Srebrenice. Tim premeštanjem definitivno su iz Srebrenice uklonjeni svi bosanski Muslimani, čime je eliminirana i najmanja mogućnost obnavljanja muslimanske zajednice na tom području".[57]

Godine 2007. u presudi u tužbi Bosne i Hercegovine protiv Srbije i Crne Gore MSP je usvojio zaključak MKSJ iz predmeta Krstić i zaključio da "dela počinjena u Srebrenici (...) izvršena su sa posebnim ciljem delimičnog uništenja grupe Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini kao takve; shodno, to su bila dela genocida, koja su izvršili pripadnici VRS [tj. snage Republike Srpske] u Srebrenici i njenoj okolini otprilike od 13. jula 1995".[58]

Godine 2010, opet konstatujući da je u Srebrenici izvršen genocid, Pretresno veće MKSJ u predmetu *Tužilac protiv Popovića, Beare i ostalih* naveo je dela koja podupiru ovakav zaključak. Osim "ubistva pripadnika grupe" (Član II (a) Konvencije o genocidu i Člana 4 (2) Povelje MKSJ), Pretresno veće utvrdilo je da su operacijom ubijanja u Srebrenici takođe "Muslimanima iz istočne Bosne nanesene teške telesne i duševne povrede", kako onima koji su ubijeni tako i onima koji su preživeli ubistva, kao i preživelim članovima porodica i bliskim ljudima ubijenih (Član II (b) Konvencije o genocidu i Član 4 (2) Povelje MKSJ).[59] U januaru 2015. Žalbeno veće MKSJ potvrdilo je presudu Pretresnog veća u predmetu *Popović.*[60]

Takođe se mora imati u vidu da je u svojoj presudi iz aprila 2015. u predmetu *Tužilac protiv Zdravka Tolimira* još jedno žalbeno veće MKSJ potvrdilo – po mom mišljenju odlučno i nedvosmisleno – da "ubistvo najmanje 5749 bosansko-muslimanskih muškaraca iz Srebrenice" predstavlja *actus reus* genocida, izvršen uz potrebnu genocidnu nameru.[61] Žalbeno veće u predmetu *Tolimir* takođe je potvrdilo konstataciju Pretresnog veća da (a) nanošenje teških fizičkih ili duševnih povreda tim muslimanskim muškarcima i dečacima pre nego što su pogubljeni predstavlja genocid, i (b) da su "patnje žena, dece i staraca koji su prisilno premešteni iz Srebrenice predstavljale tešku duševnu povredu na osnovu člana 4 Statuta [MKSJ]", što znači da njihovo nanošenje predstavlja delo koje je element genocida i prema Povelji MKSJ i prema Konvenciji o genocidu.[62]

U vezi sa deportacijom bosansko-muslimanskih žena, dece i staraca iz Srebrenice, Žalbeno veće u predmetu *Tolimir* izjavilo je da "teška duševna povreda ne mora da bude posledica dela kojima se izaziva permanentno ili neizlečivo mentalno oštećenje. Dovoljno je da ponašanje kojim je nanesena povreda izazove teško i dugotrajno oštećenje sposobnosti pripadnika zaštićene grupe da vode normalan i konstruktivan život, koje preti fizičkim uništenjem cele te grupe ili nekog njenog dela".[63]

Slično, u četvorotomnoj presudi od 2581 strane u predmetu Karadžić iz marta 2016. nabrojani su faktori u osnovi osuđujuće presude za genocid koju je Pretresno veće donelo, uključujući sledeće:

- bosanski Muslimani bili su zaštićena grupa u smislu člana 4 Statuta [genocid];[64]
- najmanje 5115 bosansko-muslimanskih muškaraca ubijeno je od strane snaga bosanskih Srba, a ti bosansko-muslimanski muškarci bili su pripadnici zaštićene grupe u smislu člana 4 (2) (a) Statuta;[65]
- "patnje" koje su ti bosansko-muslimanski muškarci pretrpeli "u poslednjim danima i satima pre nego što su ih snage bosanskih Srba ubile predstavljaju teške telesne ili duševne povrede";[66]
- "snage bosanskih Srba nanele su teške telesne i duševne povrede muškarcima, bosanskim Muslimanima, kojima je pošlo za rukom da prežive ubijanje i koji su doživeli da o tome svedoče". Osim toga, pored spomenutih teških telesnih ili duševnih povreda koje su preživeli bosansko-muslimanski muškarci pretrpeli, "kod svakoga od njih taj bliski susret sa smrću imao je dalekosežne posledice po njihovu sposobnost da vode normalan i konstruktivan život";[67]
- "duševne povrede" nanete "ubijanjem muškaraca i dečaka i prisilnim odvođenjem preostalih bosanskih Muslimana imale [su] dalekosežne posledice po sposobnost preživelih žena, dece i dela starijih muškaraca da vode normalan i konstruktivan život";[68]
- "jedini razuman zaključak" koji se može izvesti iz ubistva bosansko-muslimanskih muškaraca i dečaka iz Srebrenice je da su "pripadnici snaga bosanskih Srba koji su rukovodili ovom operacijom nameravali da unište bosanske Muslimane iz Srebrenice kao takve";[69]
- snage Republike Srpske su "morale biti svesne da će isko-

renjivanje više generacija muškaraca imati štetne posledice po bosanske Muslimane iz Srebrenice, odnosno da će ubijanje svih vojno sposobnih muškaraca i prisilno uklanjanje preostalog stanovništva imati teške posledice po bosanske Muslimane iz Srebrenice kad je reč o stvaranju potomstva i stoga dovesti do njihovog fizičkog izumiranja";[70]

- i pored toga što je "muslimansko stanovništvo iz Srebrenice brojčano predstavljalo mali postotak muslimanskog stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine, zauzimanje enklave bilo je od posebne strateške važnosti zbog toga što je enklava bila geografski blizu Srbije i imala simboličan status kao utočište bosanskih Muslimana, kao i zbog činjenice da bi njena eliminacija, uprkos tome što je imala status zaštićene zone, bila jasan pokazatelj potencijalne sudbine svih bosanskih Muslimana". Stoga je Pretresno veće u predmetu Karadžić zaključilo da su "bosanski Muslimani iz Srebrenice predstavljali znatan deo muslimanskog stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine".[71]

Pretresno veće u predmetu *Mladić* učinilo je isto, osudivši nekadašnjeg generala Republike Srpske za genocid, uz doživotnu zatvorsku kaznu. Kao i u presudi u predmetu *Karadžić,* Pretresno veće u predmetu *Mladić* konstatovalo je da su Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini predstavljali zaštićenu grupu u smislu Statuta MKSJ.[72] Među osnovama za osuđujuću presudu protiv Mladića koje je Pretresno veće navelo u obrazloženju osuđujuće presude za genocid u vezi s ubijanjem u Srebrenici jesu i sledeće: da je potvrđeno da su jedinice Republike Srpske terorisale

i maltretirale bosanske Muslimane iz Srebrenice;[73] da "ta dela predstavljaju surovo i/ili nečovečno postupanje"[74] i da je "patnja koju su pretrpeli bosanski Muslimani iz Srebrenice pre nego što će biti ubijeni bila intenzivna, dugotrajna i ozbiljna. Mnogi od njih su poslednje trenutke svog života proveli u stanju očajanja".[75] Pretresno veće je zaključilo da su:

> *"Hiljade bosanskih Muslimana iz Srebrenice bile izložene nanošenju teških telesnih i duševnih povreda, uključujući: pretnje smrću ili postupanje koje ih je dovelo do ivice smrti ili samoubistva; u mnogim slučajevima znanje o predstojećoj smrti usled užasnog načina na koji se s njima postupalo pre nego što su ubijeni; dugotrajna fizička i duševna šteta. Povredama koje su počinioci naneli žrtvama prethodila je patnja koja je bila sastavni deo ubijanja. Pretresno veće stoga konstatuje da su teške telesne i duševne povrede koje su pretrpele hiljade bosanskih Muslimana iz Srebrenice doprinele uništavanju ciljne grupe kao posledica radnji fizičkih počinilaca."*[76]

Pretresno veće u predmetu *Mladić* takođe je objasnilo zašto bosanski Muslimani iz Srebrenice ispunjavaju kriterijum supstancijalnosti za konstataciju o izvršenom genocidu, iako su "činili manje od dva procenta Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine kao celine".[77] Pretresno veće jasno je reklo da "u procenjivanju supstancijalnosti grupe brojčana veličina jednog dela u apsolutnom smislu samo je jedan od mnogih faktora".[78] Među faktorima koje treba uzeti u obzir su: "brojčana veličina dela u odnosu na veličinu cele grupe; važnost dela grupe u odnosu na veću

celinu i da li taj deo ima simboličan značaj za celu grupu ili je od suštinskog značaja za njen opstanak; područje delovanja i kontrole počinilaca te mogući domet počinilaca."[79]

Pretresno veće se, u svojoj analizi supstancijalnosti, usredsredilo na još jedan element, a to je izjava samog optuženog (spomenuta ranije u tekstu[80]) u vezi sa Srebrenicom:

> *"Mladić je izjavio u jednom intervjuu iz 1994. godine da je Srebrenica bila veliko islamsko i tursko uporište do početka rata i da, iako tu čine većinu stanovništva, nasleđe ne pripada Turcima. Izjavio je da je Drina sinonim dominacije nad Srbima još iz vremena moćne turske imperije. Mladić je tražio da predstavnik jedne humanitarne organizacije snimi područje Srebrenice i rekao je: Neka naši Srbi vide šta smo im uradili, kako smo se pobrinuli za Turke. Mladić je takođe rekao da, da Holanđani nisu bili tu da zaštite bosanske Muslimane, oni bi davno nestali s ovog područja. Po dolasku u Srebrenicu 11. jula 1995. Mladić je rekao: Evo nas 11. jula u srpskoj Srebrenici. Uoči još jednog velikog praznika srpskoga poklanjamo srpskome narodu ovaj grad. I napokon došao je trenutak da se, poslije bune protiv dahija, Turcima osvetimo na ovom prostoru."*[81]

Istražujući supstancijalnost, Pretresno veće u predmetu *Mladić* razmatralo je zajednički uticaj sledećih elemenata:

> *"Ubijanje više hiljada muškaraca, bosanskih Muslimana, uništavanje političkih ili verskih spomenika i domova te*

prisilno premeštanje bosansko-muslimanskih žena, dece i staraca. Fizički izvršioci ovih dela izvršili su ih znajući da će ona biti pokazatelj konačne sudbine svih Muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini, zbog simboličkog uticaja ubijanja bosanskih Muslimana u okviru zaštićene zone, uništenja velikog broja verskih objekata i domova bosanskih Muslimana na tom području, kao i prisilnog premeštanja celokupnog ili gotovo celokupnog preostalog muslimanskog stanovništva."[82]

Pretresno veće je zatim primetilo da je "taj simbolički uticaj" posebno važan u svetlu značaja koje su snage Republike Srpske pridavale kontrolisanju "ove opštine koja je u to vreme bila jedna od retkih teritorija u kojima je preostalo većinsko muslimansko stanovništvo na području na koje je pravo polagala republika bosanskih Srba".[83]

"U svetlu prethodno navedenog, Pretresno veće smatra da je enklava Srebrenica bila od znatnog strateškog značaja za rukovodstvo bosanskih Srba tokom sukoba, jer im je zbog većinskog muslimanskog stanovništva na ovom području bilo teže da tvrde da se radi o srpskoj zemlji. Rukovodstvo bosanskih Srba naročito je Srebrenici davalo značaj jer je geografski blizu Srbije i stoga je bila neophodna za održavanje pograničnog prostora naseljenog srpskim stanovništvom u susedstvu Srbije. Tokom rata Srebrenica je takođe postala mesto u kojem su bosanski Muslimani iz tog regiona našli utočište, posebno kada je proglašena zaštićenom zonom UN-a. Pretresno veće stoga

smatra da je zadovoljen uslov da Muslimani iz Srebrenice predstavljaju značajan deo muslimanskog stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine."[84]

Kako je Neemija Robinson ispravno primetio, jednom kada genocid postane pravni termin, njegovo tumačenje je pitanje za sud,[85] a niz sudova je jasno i nedvosmisleno konstatovao da je u Srebrenici izvršen genocid. U najmanju ruku je nepošteno tvrditi nešto drugo.

U svom obraćanju na mestu nacističkog koncentracionog logora Buhenvald u Nemačkoj 2009. godine predsednik Barak Obama rekao je da je poricanje Holokausta "neosnovano, odraz neznanja i mržnje".[86] Poricanje srebreničkog genocida je jednako "neosnovano, odraz neznanja i mržnje".

Kao i kod poricanja Holokausta, ne može se dozvoliti da se poricanje genocida u Srebrenici predstavlja kao legitiman intelektualni stav. Mnoge države, pre svega Nemačka, kriminalizovale su poricanje Holokausta. One koji poriču genocid u Srebrenici i glorifikuju njegove izvršioce treba u najmanju ruku javno izložiti i osuditi te isključiti iz javnog života. To je najmanje što žrtve srebreničkog genocida i njihove porodice zaslužuju.

Papa Benedikt XVI osudio je poricanje Holokausta kao "nešto što se ne može tolerisati i što je potpuno neprihvatljivo".[87] Kao moralni imperativ, međunarodna zajednica mora učiniti isto i jednom i za svagda odbaciti poricanje genocida u Srebrenici kao nešto "što se ne može tolerisati i što je potpuno neprihvatljivo."

U video-poruci povodom obeležavanja dvadeset pete godišnjice srebreničkog genocida generalni sekretar Ujedinjenih nacija Antonio Gutereš opisao je masovno ubijanje kao "najgori zločin na evropskom tlu nakon Drugog svetskog rata". Pozivajući "sve u regionu i šire da spreče govor mržnje, retoriku podela i narativ nepoverenja i straha", Gutereš je izjavio: "Ne možemo da ne nastavimo da radimo na istinskom poverenju."[88]

Potpuno se slažem s generalnim sekretarom da je pomirenje od suštinskog značaja da bi države i narodi krenuli dalje posle genocida i drugih zločina protiv čovečnosti. Međutim, svako istinsko pomirenje mora počivati na istini, na zajedničkom razumevanju istorijskih činjenica.

Pomirenje Nemaca i Jevreja nakon Holokausta bilo je moguće samo zbog toga što su nemačka država i većina nemačkog civilnog društva priznali i prihvatili nemačku odgovornost za brutalno i sistematsko uništavanje šest miliona Jevreja.

Svaki konstruktivni dijalog nakon Holokausta bio je i još uvek je zasnovan na nemačkom priznanju i prihvatanju bezmernosti zločina koje je izvršila nacistička Nemačka, bez opravdanja ili sebičnih racionalizacija u ime počinilaca.

Spomen-obeležja na mestima kao što su nekadašnji nacistički koncentracioni logori Bergen-Belsen, Buhenvald i Dahau pod pokroviteljstvom nemačkih pokrajinskih i saveznih vlasti edukuju mlade Nemce i sve ostale posetioce o njihovoj istoriji. U Nemačkoj poricanje Holokausta je krivično delo.

Do pomirenja nakon genocida u Srebrenici i svih drugih zločina počinjenih pod rukovodstvom Ratka Mladića i Radovana Karadžića neće i ne može doći sve dok političko rukovodstvo i intelektualna elita Republike Srpske, kao i politički i intelektualni establišment Srbije, generalno ne edukuju svoje mlade, kao i civilno društvo u celini, da se u Srebrenici dogodio genocid koji su izvršili bosanski Srbi.

Jednostavno rečeno, ne sme se dozvoliti političarima Republike Srpske i njihovim međunarodnim pomagačima da nekažnjeno nastave poricanje genocida u Srebrenici ili da besramno pokušavaju da krivicu prebace na žrtve.

Političarima koji to rade mora se jasno staviti do znanja da ne mogu i neće biti prihvaćeni kao deo međunarodne zajednice ukoliko i sve dok jasno i nedvosmisleno ne priznaju najmračnija poglavlja svoje istorije.

Naposletku, međutim, i možda jednako važno je da postoji i moralno pitanje – pa čak i moralni imperativ – zbog kojeg se srebrenički masakr mora priznati kao genocid na međunarodnom nivou.

U noći između 3. i 4. avgusta 1943. moj brat, sin moje majke, ubijen je u jednoj od gasnih komora Birkenaua zajedno sa svojim ocem i svojim – našim – babom i dedom.

Ne mogu mirne savesti da osudim počinioce genocida u kojem su stradali moj brat i moji baba i deda ako ne osudim i počini-

oce svih drugih genocida, uključujući i onaj koji se dogodio u Srebrenici.

Ne mogu mirne savesti žaliti za svojim bratom kao žrtvom genocida ako na sličan način ne žalim za svim ostalim žrtvama genocida, uključujući žrtve Srebrenice.

U svom seminarskom radu za moj čas o pravnim normama koje uređuju zločin genocida i suđenjima za ratne zločine iz Drugog svetskog rata na *Cornell Law School* Adisada Dudić (sada Adisada Dudić Hoque) napisala je:

> *"Moja domovina je uništena, moja porodica rasuta je po svetu, hiljade bošnjačkih žena i devojčica silovano je i obeščašćeno, hiljade bošnjačkih muškaraca i dečaka mučeno je u koncentracionim logorima i zakopano u masovne grobnice, i toliko veliki broj pripadnika mog naroda poklan je od neprijateljske ruke koja je posegnula za svakom osobom koja se samoidentifikovala kao bosanski Musliman."*

Beskrupulozno je i dostojno prekora da iko Adisadi kaže da užasi koje su pretrpeli njeni sunarodnici bosanski Muslimani – uključujući članove njene porodice – u Srebrenici ne predstavljaju genocid, baš kao što je beskrupulozno i dostojno prekora da bilo ko poriče genocid u kojem su ubijeni moj brat, moji baba i deda, kao i milioni drugih evropskih Jevreja. Odbijanje da se genocid nazove genocidom omalovažava patnje žrtava.

Kao što se i Holokaust pamti i obeležava kao genocid, tako i stradali u drugim genocidima, uključujući srebrenički, zaslužuju dostojanstvo i pravdu u smislu prepoznavanja, kvalifikovanja i priznavanja zločina u kojima su izgubili svoje živote kao genocida utvrđenog međunarodnim pravom.

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SUOČAVANJE S GOVOROM KOJI ANIHILIRA: PORICANJE GENOCIDA KAO OBLIK NASILJA I NJEGOVE POLITIČKE IMPLIKACIJE

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SAŽETAK

U ovom poglavlju istražuje se uloga poricanja u procesu genocida, a poricanje genocida se razmatra kao oblik nasilja. Razumevanje odnosa poricanja prema genocidnom nasilju ima implikacije na strategije koje se koriste za rešavanje problema poricanja genocida, a to su, pre svega, kriminalizacija i edukacija. U analizi se razmatraju ove političke implikacije dok se govori o snagama i slabostima oba pristupa.

UVOD

Iako je svaki genocid jedinstven, uporedno istraživanje pokazuje da takve epizode masovnog nasilja imaju određene zajedničke karakteristike. Jedna značajna zajednička karakteristika je i negiranje genocidnog nasilja. Oni koji učestvuju u orkestriranju i izvršenju genocida često poriču svoje zločine, ali u poricanju mogu učestvovati i oni koji sami nisu vršili nasilje, već podržavaju ideološke ciljeve počinilaca. Drugi akteri podržavaju prakse poricanja jer je za njih realnost genocida iz nekog razloga previše zastrašujuća da bi je priznali. Poricanje genocida ima različite oblike, od eklatantnog negiranja istorijskih činjenica do kompleksnog interpretativnog i implikativnog poricanja koje podrazumeva reinterpretaciju istorijskih događaja u pokušaju da se prikriju prava priroda nasilja i njegove posledice. Takvo poricanje predstavlja napad na žrtve i izaziva mržnju i nasilje. Iako države sprovode različite politike u vezi s pitanjem poricanja genocida, one se uglavnom kreću oko kriminalizacije i edukacije. Mnogo toga već je napisano u vezi s konkretnim politikama, te ovaj rad nema za cilj da to ponavlja, već da podstakne diskusiju kroz razmatranje aspekata o kojima je manje bilo reči. U analizi se prvo razmatra kako su, u okviru studija genocida, istraživači došli do razumevanja fenomena poricanja genocida i njegove uloge u procesu genocida. Razumevanje odnosa poricanja prema genocidnom nasilju ima implikacije na politike kriminalizacije i edukacije, o kojima će biti reči u poslednjem odeljku analize.[1]

PORICANJE GENOCIDA

Poricanje je mehanizam koji ljudi koriste da bi se odbranili od realnosti koje su iz nekog razloga previše zastrašujuće ili uznemirujuće da bi se priznale.[2] Cohen je, međutim, primetio da poricanje nije samo mehanizam koji ljudima pomaže da lakše izađu na kraj sa svojom patnjom; ono je neophodno i onima koji su patnju izazvali, pri čemu poricanje igra presudnu ulogu u izvršenju nasilnih zločina, uključujući genocid.[3] Zapravo, uloga poricanja u izvršenju genocida je toliko prožimajuća da, prema Nichanianu, "poricanje predstavlja suštinu genocida".[4] Za počinioce, poricanje ima višestruku svrhu u vezi sa započinjanjem, trajanjem i okončanjem genocida. Da bi se prevazišle psihološke i normativne barijere za nasilno ponašanje, počinioci poriču ljudskost svojih žrtava i tako neutrališu inhibicije u odnosu na nasilje, što im omogućava da viktimizuju drugo ljudsko biće. Poricanje takođe omogućava počiniocima da se izbore s negativnim ličnim i društvenim reperkusijama svog kriminalnog ponašanja, što, ako se uspešno obavi, olakšava nastavak vršenja nasilja.[5] Osim što omogućava inicijalno izvršenje radnji koje čine genocid, te njihov nastavak, istraživači takođe poricanje eksplicitno prepoznaju kao primarni mehanizam koji se koristi u poslednjoj fazi genocida.[6] Nakon istrebljenja žrtava, počinioci teže da unište i istoriju i sećanje na nasilje koje su izvršili.[7] Elie Wiesel je stoga primetio da genocid podrazumeva "dvostruko ubijanje".[8] Nasuprot prethodno opisanom poricanju koje je prisutno ranije u procesu genocida, a koje je omogućilo izvršenje ostalih radnji genocida, poricanje genocida u poslednjoj fazi predstavlja čin genocidnog nasilja po sebi, jer proces

genocida dovodi do kraja. Takvo poricanje genocida je poslednji korak u procesu genocida i može se objasniti specifičnim ciljem koji genocid teži da ostvari, a to je anihilacija.[9] Anihilacija ljude svodi na ništa, čini ih nepostojećim.[10] Za to je neophodno uništiti manifestacije nasilja, tako da nas ništa ne podseća na žrtve i sredstva kojima su viktimizovane. Konačno, osim žrtava, napada se i sam čin genocida, a to se postiže poricanjem genocida.[11] Stoga Vidal-Naquet one koji poriču genocid opisuje kao "ubice sećanja".[12] Douglass ističe da je poricanje genocida "izum samih počinilaca", a ne posleratnih ideologa ili rasista.[13] Prema Douglassu, "poricanje [...] se mora razumeti ne samo kao pokušaj zataškavanja zločina *post hoc,* već je to čin koji je u potpunosti u skladu s prvobitnim metodama počinilaca [...] *[P]oricanje [je] sredstvo izvršenja genocida."*[14] Poricanje genocida je tako inherentno povezano s genocidnim nasiljem i perpetuira zločin.[15] Smith, Markusen i Lifton zaključuju da, usled svoje suštinske uloge u procesu izvršenja, poricanje genocida treba posmatrati "samo po sebi kao deo genocidnog nasilja".[16] Poricanje tako konstituiše direktnu egzistencijalnu pretnju za žrtve. Ono ubija istinu, a istoriju čini nerazumljivom, na taj način dovodeći do kraja proces genocidne anihilacije, dok se onima koji pate poriče status žrtve.[17] Ozbiljna posledica toga je da, sve dok poricanje postoji, genocidni proces se nastavlja, te poricanje tako uzrokuje dinamiku kontinuirane viktimizacije.[18] Zbog toga je poricanje genocida savremeni problem koji zahteva neodložno delovanje, jer, za razliku od ostalih faza u procesu genocida (progon, istrebljenje itd.) koje su se dogodile u prošlosti, poricanje genocida predstavlja postojeću manifestaciju genocidnog nasilja.

Cohen primećuje da se, u cilju suprotstavljanja poricanju, može primeniti edukativni pristup koji podiže svest, i time uticati na "srca i umove" ljudi. Drugi pristup tiče se zakonske prinude kroz kriminalizaciju, gde se normativna i prinudna sila zakona koristi da bi se uticalo na radnje i iznudilo, tj. nametnulo priznanje.[19] Ove strategije razmatraju se u nastavku teksta, kao i neke političke implikacije koje proizilaze iz prethodne analize.

KRIMINALIZACIJA

Ne postoji uniformni pristup kriminalizaciji genocida. Kada se sumiraju dosad usvojeni zakoni, grubo se mogu razlikovati četiri pristupa kriminalizaciji poricanja genocida. Prvo, poricanje genocida je kriminalizovano u okviru šireg zakonodavnog napora da se spreči ponovno izvršenje genocida i oživljavanje ideologije genocida. Na primer, u Nemačkoj, zakonodavstvo koje se bavi poricanjem genocida deo je šire zakonske strategije suzbijanja i prevencije neonacizma.[20] Drugo, u nekim zemljama poricanje genocida je protivzakonito zbog kriminalizacije preispitivanja istorijskog postojanja određenih međunarodnih zločina. U Francuskoj, osporavanje zločina protiv čovečnosti koji su definisani u povelji Nirnberškog tribunala predstavlja krivično delo. Takođe nije dozvoljeno opravdavati i odobravati te zločine, kao ni opravdavati počinioce.[21] Treće, postoje zemlje koje su generalno kriminalizovale poricanje genocida. Ruanda je kriminalizovala poricanje, grubo minimiziranje ili opravdavanje genocida.[22] Četvrto, poricanje genocida može biti regulisano propisima koji kriminalizuju diskriminaciju, izazivanje mržnje i nasilja. To je slučaj u Holandiji.[23] Stoga, poricanje genocida

može biti kriminalizovano bilo putem posebnog zakona, bilo kroz opšte zakonodavstvo koje zabranjuje govor mržnje; osim toga, kriminalizacija se može odnositi na konkretan genocid ili na zločin genocida generalno. Takođe, zakonodavstvo može da obuhvati različita dela koja se smatraju problematičnim u smislu poricanja genocida, od negiranja, minimiziranja i trivijalizacije do opravdavanja i odobravanja genocida.

Osnovni princip na kome počiva kriminalizacija je sprečavanje neželjenih ili štetnih posledica. Poricanje genocida se kriminalizuje jer podstiče netoleranciju, mržnju ili novo, tj. obnovljeno nasilje, te se krivično pravosuđe koristi kao sredstvo intervencije pre nego što dođe do stvarne štete. Međutim, kako Douglas primećuje, problem je u tome što poricanje genocida ne podrazumeva uvek očigledne pozive na mržnju, niti oni koji poriču genocid uvek direktno napadaju dostojanstvo žrtava.[24] Poricanje genocida može se vršiti putem manje emotivnih ili subjektivnih izjava, a i korišćenjem objektivnijih pseudonaučnih pojmova. Pošto takvo "ogoljeno poricanje" ne sadrži preterani govor mržnje, strogo posmatrano ne bi bilo obuhvaćeno zakonskom zabranom. Međutim, ono jeste obuhvaćeno kriminalizacijom jer se smatra suštinski neprijateljskim i diskriminatornim, te stoga i virulentnim oblikom govora mržnje koji podstiče mržnju i nasilje.[25] Stoga, umesto kriminalizacije poricanja genocida kao oblika genocidnog nasilja, ono se uglavnom kriminalizuje zbog podsticanja. Prethodna analiza, međutim, pokazala je da u okviru procesa genocida, poricanje predstavlja nasilni genocidni čin po sebi. U tom slučaju, ono ne potpomaže, već konstituiše nasilje u trenutku kada se javno iznosi. Stoga, bav-

ljenje poricanjem genocida ne tiče se samo sprečavanja budućeg genocida, već se radi i o zaustavljanju tekućih genocidnih procesa, jer poricanje predstavlja nastavak genocida, ali sada drugim sredstvima.[26] Takođe, ako se poricanje posmatra kao konstitutivni element nasilja, "ogoljeno poricanje" je moguće kriminalizovati zbog nasilja koje čini, umesto da je neophodno udenuti ga u domet zakonodavstva tako što će se konceptualizovati kao kamuflirani oblik govora mržnje. Činjenica da se poricanje genocida često ne vidi kao nasilni čin sam po sebi verovatno je tesno povezana s pitanjem kako mi generalno konstruišemo vezu između nasilja i jezika. Uloga jezika često se vidi kao nešto što potpomaže fizičko nasilje. Tvrdi se da se, kroz okrivljivanje, omalovažavanje, dehumanizovanje, poricanje itd., ljudski odnosi rekonstruišu u toliko negativnoj meri da viktimizacija postaje moguća.[27] Kako Garfield primećuje, ideja je da "nasilni govor rađa nasilno ponašanje".[28] Iz te perspektive, poricanje genocida zaista jeste uglavnom problematično jer podstiče mržnju i nasilno ponašanje, ali ovo stavljanje fokusa na štetne posledice poricanja zamagljuje uvid o kome je prethodno bilo reči, a to je da poricanje može biti nasilno samo po sebi i u sebi. Ova percepcija da jezik potpomaže nasilje, međutim, čini se duboko ukorenjenom u našem društvu, što potvrđuje i izreka "kamen mi može razbiti glavu, motka mi slomiti nogu, ali reči mi ništa ne mogu".[29]

Koliko ozbiljno se pristupa problemu poricanja genocida i kojim genocidom (ili genocidima) se zakon bavi zavisi od situacionih činilaca u vezi s ulogom koju je genocid odigrao i još uvek igra u jednom društvu. Kako Lipstadt primećuje: "Svastika ili

poricanje holokausta ima drugačije značenje u Atlanti nego u Berlinu ili Beču".[30] Međutim, ako se prizna suštinski potencijal poricanja genocida da učini nasilje, teško je opravdati ograničenja, jer u tom slučaju svako poricanje je štetno, bez obzira na to kada, gde i u vezi s kojim genocidom do njega dođe. Osim toga, u našem savremenom globalizovanom svetu, poricanje genocida se ne zaustavlja na regionalnim ili državnim granicama. Zahvaljujući internetu i novim socijalnim medijima, oni koji poriču genocid dopiru do međunarodne javnosti. Ta kretanja poricanje genocida pretvaraju u kolektivni problem koji nije ograničen na države i regione u kojima je određeni genocid počinjen. Konačno, genocid dovodi do nastanka dijaspore u celom svetu. Na primer, mnogi Tutsi izbegli od genocidnog nasilja u Ruandi 1994. godine završili su u Evropi, ali u mnogim državama poricanje genocida prema Tutsima nije kriminalizovano, niti privlači mnogo pažnje na neki drugi način. Tokom intervjua koje je autor sproveo u Ruandi i Holandiji, sagovornici su primetili da Zapad ima dvostruke standarde. Objasnili su da nije dozvoljeno poricanje holokausta, ali genocid prema Tutsima može se poricati bez posledica, što škodi lokalnim žrtvama i njihovim zajednicama.

Čak i ako se obrade prethodno pomenuti aspekti, kriminalizacija i dalje ima ozbiljne nedostatke. Glavni princip na kome počiva kriminalizacija je da pretnja kaznom može sprečiti poricanje genocida u javnosti, a u slučaju da do toga dođe, omogućeno je krivično gonjenje učinilaca. Problem s ovim pristupom je da verovatno ne vodi ka promeni uverenja. Moguće je i da prinudna priroda krivičnopravnog odgovora izazove kontrareakciju,

jer krivično gonjenje može one koji poriču genocid pretvoriti u mučenike, istovremeno im obezbeđujući platformu. Umesto da se poricanje genocida iščupa iz korena, sva je prilika da bi oni samo ojačali u svojim uverenjima. Osim toga, kriminalizacija takođe može imati negativan uticaj na to kako se ljudi izražavaju, jer ograničava slobodu govora, a u ekstremnijim slučajevima državni organi je mogu zloupotrebiti za ućutkivanje ljudi. Zatim, čak i kad je zakon precizan, teško je uključiti sve moguće forme poricanja genocida s obzirom na dinamičnost ovog fenomena. Uprkos ovim nedostacima, kriminalizacija poricanja ili sudsko prihvatanje genocida kao opštepoznate činjenice može biti moćno simboličko priznanje. Njima se istorijske činjenice prihvataju kao opšte znanje, i to je autoritativan način da se prenese poruka da se određeno ponašanje ne toleriše, dok se istovremeno potvrđuju važne vrednosti i izražava solidarnost sa žrtvama. Postavlja se pitanje da li krivično pravo treba koristiti za te svrhe, uz argument da sudije nisu istoričari i stoga nisu najpozvaniji da odlučuju o istorijskim činjenicama.

EDUKACIJA

Još jedan veliki nedostatak kriminalizacije je što ne osnažuje vulnerabilnu javnost u odnosu na poricanje genocida, niti se bavi svim ponašanjima koja su relevantna u smislu poricanja genocida. Dinamika poricanja ne oslanja se samo na tvrdokorno poricanje od strane počinilaca ili ljudi koji su im ideološki srodni. Poricanje je takođe (nenamerno) omogućeno i potpomognuto neznanjem, indiferentnošću, nedostatkom razumevanja i erozijom sećanja.[31] Problem je što ti mehanizmi izazivaju prazninu

u znanju i svesti. Kriminalizacija nije konstruktivna u suprotstavljanju ovoj vrsti poricanja genocida. Umesto toga, politike treba usmeriti na prikupljanje istorijskog znanja i njegovo javno priznavanje. Poznavanje istorijskih činjenica, međutim, nije dovoljno da se zauzda poricanje genocida. Idealno, treba podići svest o tome kako se takve činjenice aktivno poriču i kako je to od suštinskog značaja u genocidnim procesima. Suočavanje s poricanjem genocida stoga zahteva kritičko razumevanje poricanja i njegove uloge u genocidu, tako da javnost može da prepozna o čemu se zapravo radi u često kompleksnoj retorici poricanja genocida. Uobičajeni nesporazum je da se poricanje tiče samo negiranja istorijskih činjenica, ali u pitanju je nešto mnogo podmuklije, i često podrazumeva reinterpretaciju događaja, u čijoj srži stoji poricanje genocida maskirano korišćenjem novinarskog ili naučnog žargona i obraćanja.[32] Edukacija koja stvara kritičku svest o oblicima i strategijama poricanja genocida čini ljude manje podložnim takvoj obmanjujućoj retorici.

Muzeji genocida su verovatno najsveobuhvatnije i najznačajnije obrazovne ustanove u ovom kontekstu, jer imaju za cilj da posetioce uključe u smisleno iskustvo učenja. Muzeji genocida imaju određene centralne karakteristike.[33] Najvažniji deo muzeja je stalna izložba koja objašnjava šta se i kako dogodilo, uz razmatranje uloge različitih aktera, kao što su počinioci i žrtve, ali i posmatrači i spasioci. To se čini kroz dokumentovanje istorije genocida, često putem (hronološkog) narativa koji je potkrepljen istorijskim artefaktima, fotografijama, umetnošću i filmskim snimcima, itd. Osim toga, muzeji uglavnom imaju i manje izložbe koje se dublje bave određenim aspektima, a če-

sto postoji prostor za putujuće ili privremene izložbe. Izložbe u samom muzeju su dopunjene virtualnim ili digitalnim izložbama dostupnim putem interneta. Sam prostor muzeja se takođe koristi za memorijalizaciju i komemoraciju, i konstruisan je tako da stalno podseća na žrtve i bori se protiv zaborava. Muzeji se mogu nalaziti tamo gde su zločini počinjeni, ali i na mestima koja su na drugi način simbolički relevantna i imaju značenje. Konačno, osim onog što je izloženo, muzeji u svojim depoima i arhivama čuvaju i drugi materijal, i to s dvostrukim ciljem: radi očuvanja materijala, ali i njegove dostupnosti za potrebe edukacije i istraživanja.

Na osnovu kratkog pregleda, jasno je da muzeji genocida razvijaju edukativne komemorativne pristupe podizanju svesti kod svojih posetilaca.[34] Da bi se takav pristup razvio, muzeji moraju da odgovore na ozbiljne izazove. Dobro su poznati problemi reprezentacije i pedagogije, kako primećuje Ellsworth: "Podučavanje i reprezentacija tako traumatičnih istorija pedagoge suočava sa ograničenjima naše teorije i prakse u pedagogiji".[35] Kako uhvatiti realnost takvih događaja, a zatim ih učiniti smislenim za posetioce? Dok to rade, muzeji ne prenose samo istorijsko znanje, već pokušavaju da postignu transformativno obrazovno iskustvo kroz koje ljudi razvijaju kritičko razumevanje, koje zatim utiče na njihove percepcije i radnje.[36] Međutim, da bi moglo da se izbori s poricanjem genocida, to transformativno iskustvo je možda potrebno dodatno proširiti.

Muzeji genocida, kroz svoje izložbe, čine istorijsku kompleksnost izvršenja genocida i viktimizacije razumljivom za publiku

tako što objašnjavaju kako je genocid izvršen i kako je uticao na žrtve. Izložbe se bave različitim elementima i fazama u procesu genocida, od inicijalnog planiranja i organizacije do procesa društvene, kulturne i ekonomske marginalizacije, i konačno istrebljenja žrtava. Iako je poricanje presudno za izvršenje i finalizaciju genocida, muzeji se u svojim izložbama često ne bave ovom fazom procesa genocida. To ne znači da muzeji genocida potpuno zanemaruju problem poricanja genocida. Edukovanje ljudi o ovim istorijskim događajima i o tome kako je do njih došlo presudno je kada se radi o neznanju ili borbi protiv poricanja genocida. Kako Cole primećuje, posetioci su suočeni s "neverovatnim" grafičkim prikazom posmrtnih ostataka žrtava masovnog istrebljenja, i susreću se s "dokazima iz prve ruke" o onome što se dogodilo, što otežava poricanje zločina.[37] O problemu poricanja genocida se takođe govori na predavanjima koja se održavaju, ili se ovo pitanje razmatra na internet prezentaciji muzeja, kao i kroz digitalne izložbe, informativne brošure, vebinare ili nastavne programe. Međutim, sveobuhvatna strategija protiv poricanja genocida podrazumevala bi da se o ovoj finalnoj fazi genocida govori ne na "marginama", već u okviru sastavnog dela same izložbe. Kako je Huttenbach zaključio: "Poricanje je postalo sastavni deo genocida; kada se ovaj aspekt ne uzme u razmatranje, ne razume se osnovna komponenta u dinamici istrebljenja."[38]

ZAKLJUČAK

Poricanje genocida je goruće pitanje savremenog doba jer, za razliku od ostalih faza u procesu genocida koje su se dogo-

dile u prošlosti, poricanje genocida je sadašnja manifestacija genocidnog nasilja koje pogađa žrtve danas. Usled poricanja, genocid tako postaje beskonačan zločin, a ne "prosto" davni istorijski događaj. Iako poricanje genocida može da izazove mržnju i dovede do nasilja, ono takođe konstituiše nasilje u trenutku kada se javno iznosi, usled činjenice da se radi o činu koji je presudan za proces genocidne anihilacije. Takvo razumevanje poricanja genocida i njegove uloge ima posledice na politike. Rečeno je da je kriminalizacija uglavnom usmerena na negiranje genocida kao ponašanja koje potpomaže mržnju i nasilje, i da se često zanemaruje da i ono samo po sebi može biti nasilno. Bavljenje problemom poricanja genocida ne tiče se samo prevencije buduće štete, već se radi i o suočavanju s genocidnim procesima koji su u toku. Iako su neki genocidi relevantniji u svetlu lokalnog konteksta, kada se kriminalizuje poricanje genocida, treba voditi računa o dvostrukim standardima koji su u konačnici diskriminatorni prema drugim genocidima i žrtvama. U vezi s obrazovanjem, rečeno je da muzeji, koji su najrelevantnije obrazovne ustanove u ovom kontekstu, često u svojim izložbama "previđaju" poricanje genocida kao njegov suštinski deo. Da bi pojačali kritičku svest svoje publike u vezi s ovim pitanjem, muzeji bi mogli da se pozabave poricanjem kao sastavnim delom genocida u svojim izložbama, za šta je potrebno da publika bude obaveštena o tome šta poricanje genocida podrazumeva, koja je njegova uloga u genocidu i na koji način pogađa žrtve. Takođe u ovom kontekstu, ranije pomenuto pitanje dvostrukih standarda može biti predmet rasprave, a inkluzivnost se može postići dodavanjem komparativnih elemenata studijskim materijalima i izložbama, što se

već često događa. Sve u svemu, diskusija pokazuje da politike kriminalizacije i edukacije pokrivaju različite temelje u smislu aktera, slučajeva i vremena. Kriminalizacija je više reakcionarna i usmerena ka prošlosti, dok je edukacija više usmerena ka budućnosti i fokusira se na prevenciju. Stoga, ove politike su komplementarne jer se bave različitim aspektima složenog problema poricanja genocida.

Politike kao što su kriminalizacija i edukacija zahtevaju ne samo intimno razumevanje izvršenja, već i viktimizacije. Da bi se neko ponašanje kriminalizovalo, šteta koju ono izaziva mora biti jasna. Takođe, prenošenje iskustava žrtava ima suštinsku ulogu u transformativnim edukativnim pristupima. Ono omogućava publici da oseti empatiju i postane svesna duboko problematičnih posledica genocida. Iako je znanje o viktimizaciji važno, čini se da su istraživanja o poricanju genocida često previđala iskustva žrtava. Mnoga istraživanja bave se pitanjem kako se vrši poricanje genocida, i ovo sveobuhvatno razumevanje izvršenja u oštroj je suprotnosti s nedostatkom dubljeg razumevanja šta poricanje genocida čini žrtvama na koje je usmereno. Istraživači generalno tvrde da je poricanje genocida štetno i nasilno, ali i dalje jedva da postoji detaljno empirijsko znanje o tome kako ono direktno i transgeneracijski pogađa pojedinačne žrtve i njihove zajednice.

Postoje izuzeci, kao što su Charny,[39] Alayarian[40] i još neki, ali u poređenju s količinom dostupnog materijala o tome kako akteri učestvuju u poricanju genocida, relativno mali broj studija bavi se nasiljem i štetom koje poricanje podrazumeva. Zato

bi bilo dragoceno da se u istraživanjima više pažnje posveti nasilju uključenom u poricanje genocida i tome kako ono pogađa žrtve. Do sada se većina istraživanja o poricanju genocida bavila genocidom u Jermeniji i holokaustom. Poricanje drugih genocida, kao što su genocid prema Tutsima ili genocid u Srebrenici, privlači mnogo manje pažnje. Da bi se popunila ova praznina, neophodno je više dubinskih istraživanja o poricanju ovih i ostalih genocida.

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SREBRENICA, DAN POSLIJE: PRODUŽENI ŽIVOT ZLOČINA

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SAŽETAK

Srebrenički zločin je u proteklih 25 godina dobio nekoliko dimenzija: pravnu kvalifikaciju genocida, haške osude i doživotne kazne, utvrđene činjenice, memorijal, svjedočenja preživjelih. U ovom malom mjestu je ipak svaki dan osim 11. jula "dan poslije": postgenocidni, prazan i osporavan. Nastavak života u traumi i negiranju zločina ogromnih razmjera tako produžava agoniju žrtava, preživjelih i njihovih porodica. Transgeneracijski prenos podijeljenog sjećanja normalizira klimu nekažnjivosti, rascjepkanih istina koje habitiraju između dvije oprečne politike sjećanja i krhkih ličnih, alternativnih narativa. Oblikovanje kolektivnog pamćenja se time dešava između osporavanja i činjenica o srebreničkom genocidu, sprečavajući sve pokušaje krivičnog prava i simboličke reparacije da se spuste na srebreničko tlo. Izostanak legislative kojom bi negiranje i osporavanje počinjenih zločina, kao i veličanje zločina i ratnih zločinaca, bili zabranjeni onemogućava zaustavljanje ove prakse. Potrebno je u prevladavanju prošlosti razumjeti da u slučaju Srebrenice empatija i spremnost za nazivanje genocida pravim imenom naprosto neće doći sami od sebe i da bosanskohercegovačko etnički podijeljeno društvo nema političku, kolektivnu, sistemsku opredijeljenost za izgradnju mira van isključivih etničkih narativa o prošlosti.

UVOD

Juli 1995. godine nepovratno je oblikovao rat i postratni život u Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH). Zločini počinjeni u Srebrenici, u posljednjoj godini oružanog sukoba u BiH, centralna su tačka kolektivnog sjećanja – što zbog obima i okrutnosti zločina, što zbog prijepora o odgovornosti, kvalifikaciji zločina i broja stradalih. Tako ovaj zločin – genocid utvrđen presudama Međunarodnog krivičnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) i Međunarodnog suda pravde te drugih nadležnih sudova – nastavlja da živi. Postgenocidni period obilježavaju borba za istinu i priznanje zločina te njegovo paralelno negiranje.

U Srebrenici je prema popisu stanovništva iz 1991. godine živjelo 36.666 stanovnika. Od toga je 75% bilo Bošnjaka, 23% Srba i 2% ostalih.[1] Tokom rata je preko 10.000 stanovnika općine Srebrenica ubijeno, preko 18.500 je protjerano. Većina ubijenih, prognanih i raseljenih su bili Bošnjaci.[2] U Srebrenici danas živi 13.409 stanovnika, od kojih je 54% Bošnjaka, 45% Srba, 0,1% Hrvata i 1% Ostalih. Iz ovih podataka uočava se da je Srebrenica izgubila 23.257 građana (63%), od tog broja 20.324 Bošnjaka. Promjene etničke slike naselja pokazuju da je pet bošnjačkih naselja (18,10 km^2) postalo srpsko.[3]

"Prvi masovan povratak u Srebrenicu bio je povratak mrtvih. To se dogodilo 31. marta 2003. godine kada je izvršen ukop 602 ekshumirane i identificirane žrtve čiji su posmrtni ostaci pronađeni u oko 100 masovnih grobnica između Srebrenice i Kladnja."[4]

Kao privremeno radno tijelo Vlade Republike Srpske (Vlada RS), Komisija za istraživanje događaja u i oko Srebrenice od 10. do 19. jula 1995. (Komisija) formirana je odlukom Vlade RS-a 2003. godine. Komisija je imala u nadležnosti da preduzima "sve istražne i druge radnje u cilju utvrđivanja pune istine o događajima u i oko Srebrenice u vremenu od 10. do 19. jula 1995, a radi ostvarivanja trajnog mira i izgradnje povjerenja u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Izvještaj o Srebrenici 2004). Komisija je iste godine objavila "Dodatak Izvještaju od 11. juna 2004. o događajima u i oko Srebrenice od 10. do 19. jula 1995.", u kojem se navodi da, po njihovim nalazima, broj ubijenih u srebreničkom masakru iznosi 7.000 do 8.000.[5] Vlada RS-a je prihvatila Izvještaj Komisije u cijelosti i usvojila zaključke u kojima, između ostalog, navodi da Vlada "saosjeća sa bolom srodnika postradalih Srebreničana, uz iskreno žaljenje i izvinjenje zbog tragedije koja im se dogodila". Sedam godina nakon objave rezultata rada ove komisije, organizacija Istorijski projekat Srebrenica, sa sjedištem u Holandiji, u čijem je finansiranju sudjelovala i Vlada RS-a, ocijenila je da Izvještaj Komisije "predstavlja jedinstven spomenik izdaji, kukavičluku, podlosti, poltronstvu i beščašću srpskih političara".[6]

Prije Komisije, 2002. godine Dokumentacioni centar Republike Srpske za istraživanje ratnih zločina, zajedno s Biroom RS-a za odnose sa MKSJ, izdao je "Izvještaj o slučaju Srebrenica", nazivajući počinjene zločine "navodnim masakrom", osporavajući broj ubijenih Bošnjaka i njihov status u vrijeme smrti (naoružani vojnici, a ne civili). Izvještaj su osudili Ujedinjeni narodi i Međunarodna krizna grupa kao slučaj historijskog revizionizma, no

danas možemo uočiti nastavak ove relativizacije i poricanja u cijelom postratnom periodu.

Izvještaj Komisije iz 2004. godine stavljen je van snage 2018. godine. Tadašnji predsjednik RS-a Milorad Dodik (u vrijeme pisanja teksta član Predsjedništva Bosne i Hercegovine) izjavio je da dokument sadrži "lažne podatke" i da je sastavljen pod pritiskom tadašnjeg visokog predstavnika međunarodne zajednice u BiH sa ciljem da se "sataniziraju Srbi".[7] Vlada RS-a imenovala je 2019. godine članove nove Komisije za istraživanje stradanja svih naroda u srebreničkoj regiji u periodu 1992–1995. godine. Cilj nove Komisije je, riječima Dodika, da konačno utvrdi istinu o dešavanjima u srebreničkoj regiji od 1992. do 1995. godine.[8] Formiranje ove komisije zapravo označava pokušaj revidiranja utvrđene istine i, kako se navodi u otvorenom pismu međunarodnih akademika, "predstavlja kulminaciju više od jedne decenije poricanja genocida i istorijskog revizionizma od strane Vlade RS-a".[9] Između 1995, 2004, 2018. i 2020. godine[10] donesene su presude vezane za srebreničke zločine: za ove zločine osuđeno je više od 50 osoba na međunarodnim i nacionalnim sudovima (pred MKSJ 26 osoba, uključujući 13 presuda za genocid). Radislav Krstić je prva osoba koju je MKSJ osudio za genocid,[11] dok su Ratko Mladić i Radovan Karadžić optužnicama od 25. 7. 1995. godine optuženi za genocid i zločine protiv čovječnosti nad Bošnjacima i Hrvatima u ratu u BiH. Prvostepena odluka je u pogledu kvalifikacije genocida potvrđena drugostepenom odlukom[12] i obrazložena činjenicom da je eliminacija muškaraca u Srebrenici imala za krajnji cilj nestanak bošnjačkog stanovništva istočne Bosne te je predstavljala in-

direktnu prijetnju i traumu za cijeli bošnjački narod.[13] General Krstić je prva osoba koja je u Evropi osuđena za čin genocida poslije Nirnberškog procesa.[14]

U pogledu činjeničnog utvrđivanja, zločini počinjeni u Srebrenici su dobili pravnu kvalifikaciju, izrečene su osuđujuće i oslobađajuće presude, uspostavila se komemorativna praksa,[15] identificirali nestali i ubijeni,[16] otkrile (masovne) grobnice,[17] dok se za više od hiljadu osoba i dalje traga. Pitanje koje ovdje pak ostaje otvoreno jeste pitanje suočavanja sa zločinima, spuštanje haških činjenica u srebreničku stvarnost i omogućavanje žrtvama simboličke reparacije i priznanja njihove patnje. Umjesto toga imamo poricanje zločina (kako njegove kvalifikacije kao genocida tako i njegovog obima) koje je mobilizacijski usmjereno prema jednoj etničkoj grupi, instrumentalizovano i institucionalizirano. S odmakom godina ovaj narativ poricanja zločina i veličanja presuđenih ratnih zločinaca prerasta u mitološku interpretaciju prošlosti koja se duboko usađuje u kolektivno pamćenje radi učvršćivanja naracije o otporu kolektivnoj krivnji srpskog naroda ("satanizacija Srba") u BiH. O žrtvama, posljedicama genocida, rastakanju krhkih pokušaja mira ovdje se ne govori. Dehumanizacija iz devedesetih godina se time nastavlja. Kako se živi poslije zločina?

ŽIVOT U POLITIKAMA PORICANJA

Srebrenica je Općim okvirnim sporazumom o miru u BiH iz novembra 1995. godine teritorijalno u okviru entiteta RS-a. Ranije je predstavljen podatak o strukturi i broju stanovništva poslije

rata, dok sami brojevi ne mogu dovoljno ilustrovati koliko je ponovno uspostavljanje suživota u ovom mjestu bolan i težak proces. Ovome naročito doprinose kontinuirana negiranja genocida ne samo u Srebrenici već i od političkih elita RS-a koji svoj centar vide u Banjoj Luci. Nije dugo trebalo da nakon lokalnih izbora 2020. godine novoizabrani gradonačelnik Banje Luke Draško Stanivuković ponovi okosnicu nacionalističke politike i negira genocid u Srebrenici tvrdeći da je "to pitanje" politizirano i da ne priznaje presude MKSJ-a.[18] Govoreći o suživotu, moramo imati na umu da govorimo o etničkim grupama i političkim zajednicama čiji su današnji identiteti u značajnoj mjeri obilježeni zločinom.[19]

Upravo ovdje leži jedno od ključnih pitanja relativizacije i negiranja genocida u Srebrenici: kako presude i činjenice učiniti sastavnim dijelom istorije i pamćenja? Očit je prekid između krivične pravde i procesa suočavanja sa prošlošću u BiH, a na primjeru Srebrenice se može vidjeti koliko su kompleksni i oprečni procesi kreiranja kolektivnog pamćenja na rat iz devedesetih. MKSJ može kazniti počinitelje ratnih zločina, što dovodi do individualizacije krivnje, ali to je tek prvi korak ka miru i pomirenju. Međutim, MKSJ-u u ovom slučaju nedostaje društveni legitimitet;[20] nije došlo do prihvatanja ili nametanja zaključaka postignutih presuda, pri čemu je izostala reakcija i međunarodne zajednice. To rezultira time da se osuđeni ratni zločinci veličaju poput heroja uz izostanak bilo kakvog oblika katarze, dok se MKSJ delegitimizira u očima javnosti.[21]

"Situacija sa sjećanjem u postratnoj BiH možda i ne bi bila tako složena da službene politike sjećanja ne funkcioniraju tako dobro."[22]

Negiranje genocida, ali i drugih ratnih zločina, široko je rasprostranjeno u javnom diskursu. Negiranja ili minimiziranja vidljiva su na različitim mjestima političkog djelovanja i kao posljedica toga utisnuta su na mnogim mjestima svakodnevnog života u podijeljenim zajednicama u BiH: mural Ratku Mladiću u Nevesinju; naziv studentskog doma na Palama po Radovanu Karadžiću; njegova odlikovanja; rehabilitacija zločina; isticanje fotografija osuđenih ratnih zločinaca na javnim skupovima; osnivanje udruženja i organizacija koje nose imena ratnih zločinaca; postojanje i legalno djelovanje fašističkih organizacija, okupljanja podrške osuđenim ratnim zločincima i vrlo direktno negiranje zločina.[23] Narative o "mitu o Srebrenici" prati produkcija materijala koji se iscrpno bave njegovom "dekonstrukcijom" (uključujući publikacije Milana Lukića, Biljane Plavšić, Vojislava Šešelja). U Srebrenici je samo 2020. godine zabilježeno slavljenje 11. jula kao "dana pobjede i oslobođenja Srebrenice" (Udruženje "Istočna alternativa" iz Bratunca); tradicionalno obilježavanje rođendana Ratka Mladića postavljanjem plakata sa njegovim likom u Srebrenici uz poruku da se genocid nije desio; puštanje četničkih pjesama i pucanje pored Memorijalnog centra u Potočarima, u kojem su ukopane žrtve genocida.

"Postgenocidna društva su ona društva koja su duboko, najdublje deformisana vladavinom terora."[24]

Kultura i politika poricanja ovdje postaju "nosivi obrasci zajedničkog života, proizvodeći razorne moralne i praktično-političke posljedice".[25] Iz političkog diskursa, negiranje genocida i veličanje ratnih zločinaca spustilo se i održalo na lokalnom, svakodnevnom nivou. Podijeljena zajednica, podijeljena država, kolektivizacija negiranja kroz obrazovne i druge institucionalne mehanizme učinili su da građani žive te fikcije sprečavajući razumijevanje, saosjećanje patnje i bola drugih.[26] Šta je sa preživjelim, povratnicima, žrtvama?

Za žrtve, njihove porodice i preživjele negiranje pokreće obnavljanje boli jer ne samo da pokušava osporiti njihove patnje iz prošlosti već cilja na živa sjećanja na traumu, a negiranja predstavljaju oblik poniženja, posebno kada dolaze ili se prenose iz vrhova društva.[27] Politika poricanja[28] nije lokalizirana isključivo u Srebrenici, no tamo se njome najmanje bavi. Nužno je sagledati sumornost jednog komemorativnog dana u godini koji bi pripadao žrtvama i preživjelim. Bolan je 12. juli svake godine, u kojem se povratnici vraćaju proživljavanju osporavanja stradanja, brutalnoj političkoj manipulaciji genocidom i strahu. Bosanskohercegovačko suočavanje sa prošlošću u prethodnih 25 godina nije uspjelo uključiti kritičko sjećanje, propuštajući cijele generacije da odrastaju na etniciziranim interpretacijama prošlosti. Nasuprot tome, ovaj proces treba ozbiljan sistemski pristup i treba se zasnivati na moralnom pravu na istinu i pravdu žrtava, uključujući priznanje zločina i patnje kojem su bile izložene.[29]

"Poricanje je neodvojivi dio genocida. Negiranje omogućuje i počiniteljima i pasivnim posmatračima da izbjegnu osjećaj krivice isključivanjem žrtava iz vlastitog moralnog univerzuma, u kojem su jasno definirani ispravno i pogrešno, zločin i kazna."[30]

Kako navodi Bugarel, u RS-u tvrdoglavost s kojom se većina odgovornih političara i običnih građana odbija suočiti sa srebreničkim zločinom može se objasniti strahom od mogućih institucionalnih posljedica priznanja zločina, teškoćom da se prizna sopstvena politička ili moralna odgovornost ili osjećajem da međunarodna zajednica ne pridaje jednaku vrijednost svim žrtvama i svim patnjama. To prvenstveno ostavlja srpski narod zatočenikom stavova i mitova proizvedenih tokom godina.[31]

KAKO SE PIŠE SREBRENICA U ZAKONU?

Činjenični pristup srebreničkom genocidu jeste izazov ne samo za BiH već i za Srbiju. Negiranje zločina kao i potpora etnonacionalističkoj politici unutar BiH usko su vezani sa istim ideološki obojenim političkim elitama u Srbiji. Dakle, kako oživjeti činjenice u postkonfliktnim društvima čija politika se izvodi direktno iz njihovih negiranja?

"Pomirenje znači odbacivanje negiranja genocida i ratnih zločina kao i svakog pokušaja glorifikacije ratnih zločinaca. To, također, znači prepoznavanje svih žrtava i neprisvajanje kolektivne krivice."[32]

Imajući u vidu sveprisutnost negiranja, osporavanja, minimiziranja genocida i drugih ratnih zločina te veličanje ratnih zločinaca, što se u obje zemlje neometano i bez sankcija dešava, nužno je razmišljati o potrebi pravne regulative koja bi bila još jedan (trenutno nepostojeći) instrument u borbi za istinsku izgradnju mira u regionu.

U Srbiji je 2016. godine Skupština usvojila izmjene Krivičnog zakonika kojima se uvodi novo krivično djelo, po kojem se kažnjava negiranje genocida i ratnih zločina. Član 387-5 Krivičnog zakonika obuhvata javno odobravanje, negiranje ili značajno minimiziranje genocida, zločina protiv čovječnosti i ratnih zločina počinjenih nad grupom osoba ili njenim članom na temelju rase, boje, religije, porijekla, državnog, nacionalnog ili etničkog porijekla. Međutim, postoje dvije važne restrikcije. Prvo, zakon pokriva samo djela koja mogu dovesti do nasilja ili mržnje prema takvoj grupi. Drugo – a ovo je teže ograničenje – odnosi se samo na one zločine koje su utvrdili srpski sudovi i Međunarodni krivični sud. To znači da su odluke MKSJ i Međunarodnog suda pravde isključene iz zabrane. Stoga je negiranje srebreničkog genocida u Srbiji – legalno.[33] Zločini koji su se dogodili u prošlosti, a naročito kvalifikacija genocida, predstavljaju polje na kojem se susreću politička manipulacija, ignorisanje istorijskih činjenica i proizvoljni i neutemeljeni stavovi o pravnim kvalifikacijama.[34]

U BiH su na državnom nivou podnesene dvije inicijative za donošenje zakona o zabrani negiranja genocida, holokausta i drugih ratnih zločina. Prvi prijedlog podnesen je 2011, a dru-

gi 2016. godine. Prijedlozi nisu usvojeni. Oba puta nisu dobili potrebnu entitetsku saglasnost zbog glasova delegata iz RS-a. Usto, u tri navrata su na državnom nivou predlagane izmjene i dopune Krivičnog zakona BiH koje bi omogućile procesuiranje slučajeva negiranja genocida i ratnih zločina. Ni ovi prijedlozi nisu usvojeni. Krivični zakoni BiH i RS-a ne tretiraju zabranu negiranja genocida ili drugih ratnih zločina. Iako u Federaciji BiH postoji odredba kojom se zabranjuje negiranje ili opravdavanje genocida koje izaziva mržnju ("narodnosnu, rasnu ili vjersku mržnju, razdor ili netrpeljivost"), ona je postavljena kao kondicioni član (kao u slučaju Krivičnog zakonika Srbije).

Pravna regulacija ove oblasti u obje zemlje treba se odnositi na zabranu negiranja, minimiziranja, javnog odobravanja, glorificiranja i teškog umanjivanja genocida, holokausta, zločina protiv čovječnosti i ratnih zločina protiv civilnog stanovništva – i to u slučajevima koji su tako kvalificirani pravosnažnim presudama međunarodnih i domaćih sudova. Sasvim je jasno da političke volje za donošenje ovakve regulative nema. Ipak, ne smije se odustati od zahtjeva za donošenje zakona ili odredbi krivičnih zakona koji bi uredili ovu oblast na način da zabranjuju negiranja i veličanja ratnih zločina i zločinaca, uključujući sve ranije identificirane forme ovih djela. Naša društva nisu sposobna da samostalno odaberu empatiju, kritičku kulturu sjećanja i odgovornosti, već promoviraju kulturu nekažnjivosti za počinjene zločine. Stoga je, uz sve druge napore koji moraju obuhvatati i obrazovanje, kulturu, religijske zajednice, medije, potrebno uvesti i zakonsku regulaciju kako bi se praksa osporavanja zločina i žrtava zaustavila.

BiH u tom pogledu ima i teorijsku mogućnost intervencije Ureda visokog predstavnika (OHR), odnosno nametanja ove vrste zakona. OHR je u više navrata istaknuo spremnost da nametne zakon koji bi zabranjivao negiranje, poricanje, veličanje genocida i ratnih zločina, no to se još uvijek nije desilo. Na posljednjem sastanku 2020. godine Vijeće za provedbu mira pozvalo je političke lidere da ispune obećanje i javno odaju počast svim žrtvama rata i prekinu retoriku koja bi osujetila napore na pomirenju, uključujući veličanje ratnih zločinaca, poricanje genocida i istorijski revizionizam.

Nezavisno od načina usvajanja/nametanja ove vrste regulative, u razmatranju potencijalnih modela za zakonsku regulaciju zabrane negiranja (poricanja), minimiziranja, opravdavanja ili odobravanja genocida, holokausta, zločina protiv čovječnosti ili ratnih zločina važno je posmatrati četiri segmenta: *šta se zabranjuje* (pravna kvalifikacija zabranjenih djela), *kojim zakonskim aktom* (zaseban zakon ili dopune krivičnih zakona), *na kojem nivou* (državnom ili entitetskom) te *koje su sankcije.* Cilj donošenja ovakve zakonske regulative bio bi prekidanje s kulturom nekažnjivosti, odnosno da oni koji su odgovorni za ratne zločine za to trebaju biti kažnjeni i da se time ne manipulira. Zakonska regulacija treba spriječiti nastavak zapaljivih retorika i produbljivanje podjela u BiH.[35] Presuđeni zločini, uključujući ali se ne ograničavajući na srebrenički genocid, moraju biti priznati u javnom prostoru bez obzira na to koja strana ih je počinila.

ZAKLJUČAK

"Da bi se krenulo naprijed, možda je potrebno prvo se osvrnuti natrag i ponovo razmotriti kako mi zapravo pripovijedamo priču o nasilnoj prošlosti."[36]

Rad na izgradnji mira u BiH nema alternativu. Srebrenica je u tom kontekstu prepoznatljiv primjer nefunkcionalnosti političkog sistema i odsustva dostatne društvene odgovornosti da se součavanje sa teškom prošlosti desi. Ujedno, mnogi drugi ratni zločini počinjeni na svim stranama nerijetko ostaju zasjenjeni sporom oko najteže riječi u BiH – genocidom. To što još uvijek naša društva imaju ove teme kao aktuelne pokazuje koliki je neuspjeh dosadašnjih fragmentiranih, isprekidanih mehanizama izgradnje mira i tranzicijske pravde, jer izgradnja mira zahtijeva prevazilaženje instrumentalnih nacionalističkih narativa koji relativizuju zločine i njihovo naslijeđe.[37] Danas, 25 godina nakon okončanja rata, nasilje stvara novu mikrodinamiku nacionalizma, koja pak traje dugo nakon što ubijanje prestane.[38]

Sudski utvrđene činjenice moraju postati dijelom društvene i političke realnosti. Selektivno priznavanje odluka nadležnih sudova, odnosno njihovo neprihvatanje, izraz je nepoštovanja pravosudnog sistema i vladavine prava uopće, čime nastaju poremećene vrijednosti, dobivaju svoj društveni položaj i značaj, a time se ujedno grubo narušavaju svi demokratski procesi u državi.[39] Sasvim je izvjesno da društvo i država moraju pronaći način da afirmišu vrijednosti i institucije koje će raditi na uklanjanju uzroka sukoba. Također je jasno da su se i rat i mir ovdje

odvijali uz posredovanje međunarodne zajednice. U tom pravcu treba gledati i kada pokušavamo promišljati preporuke za budućnost. Zakonska regulativa koja bi zabranjivala negiranja, minimiziranja, javna odobravanja i veličanja genocida, holokausta, zločina protiv čovječnosti i ratnih zločina neophodan je korak ka odgovornijem odnosu prema izgradnji mira. Ujedno, mora se okončati sraman odnos prema žrtvama i preživjelim ako postoji barem minimum opredijeljenosti za pozitivan mir u BiH.

"Moramo imati sposobnost da vjerujemo kako naša društva mogu biti pravedna iako svakodnevno čine nepravde."[40]

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zamjenik komandanta Drinskog korpusa, jednog od korpusa u sastavu Vojske Republike Srpske.

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II

POLITIKA

ZAŠTO NISMO...

Veran Matić
Predsednik UO Fonda B92, Republika Srbija

SAŽETAK

Rad predstavlja osvrt na pitanja (lične) odgovornosti, istine o ratovima iz poslednje decenije 20. veka na prostoru Balkana i pomirenja naroda koji su nekada živeli u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji od strane osobe koja je aktivni antiratni novinar i aktivista od samog početka sukoba na Balkanu pa sve do danas. Od uređivanja Radija B92 i vođenja brojnih njegovih mirovnih i humanitarnih akcija, preko predsedavanja Upravnim odborom Fonda B92 i strateškog vođenja njegovih aktivnosti na polju ljudskih prava, pa sve do volonterskog rada na otkrivanju poslednjeg počivališta velikog broja nestalih u sukobu Srbije i Hrvatske 90-ih godina prošlog veka kroz ulogu specijalnog izaslanika predsednika Republike Srbije za rešavanje pitanja nestalih sa Republikom Hrvatskom, Veran Matić već 30 godina ima poseban uvid u pitanja suočavanja sa zločinima počinjenim u naše ime.

UMESTO UVODA

Pojavni oblici mog i angažmana organizacija u kojima sam radio ili i dalje radim na pitanjima suočavanja sa ratnim zločinima menjali su se tokom vremena sticajem mnogih okolnosti, ali je suštinski poriv koji me je pokretao ostao isti – antiratno traganje za istinom, pravdom i utehom za sve nevino stradale u našim nesrećnim ratovima. Profesionalno i objektivno izveštavanje o sukobima na prostoru bivše države donelo je Radiju B92 brojne probleme ne samo sa režimom Slobodana Miloševića već i sa velikim brojem građana Srbije koji nisu želeli da poveruju u činjenice. S druge strane, ljudi u Radiju B92 nisu mogli "samo" da prenose informacije, patnja je bila tolika da smo se više puta angažovali da pomognemo stradalnicima, ali i da pokrenemo razgovor u društvu o suživotu nakon tako traumatičnih događaja. "Istina, odgovornost i pomirenje" bio je krovni naziv za serijale radijskih i televizijskih emisija koje smo producirali, dokumentarce koje smo sami snimali ili otkupljivali radi emitovanja, konferencije o pomirenju koje smo organizovali sa učesnicima iz preko 60 zemalja sveta, knjige, istraživanja, studije slučajeva o narodima koji su nekako nastavili da žive zajedno i posle strašnih zločina. Sada se trudim da pomognem u međudržavnom nastojanju da se otkrije šta se dogodilo sa nestalima u ratovima devedesetih, da se njihovim porodicama vrati nekakav mir. Ali od svih rana otvorenih tih godina, Srebrenica je, za mene, i dalje najbolnija.

Postoje neka pitanja ili događaji u životu koji vam se uvek vraćaju i izazivaju iste reakcije, neku vrstu griže savesti i potrebe za novim preispitivanjem. Nekoliko dana nakon početka velikog egzodusa Srba iz Hrvatske, posle akcije "Oluja",[1] u prostorijama Radija B92 i Doma omladine organizovali smo veliku humanitarnu akciju za sve izbeglice iz kolone koja se protezala od Beograda do iza Banje Luke i kojima su bili potrebni hrana, lekovi, higijenska sredstva, gorivo... Bukvalno svi zaposleni su bili gotovo danonoćno angažovani. Priključile su im se desetine dobrovoljaca, aktivista i brojnih sugrađana, koji su maksimalno pomagali u situaciji kada je Miloševićev režim nastojao da sakrije ovu tragediju, da preusmeri prikupljanje pomoći van centra i da nadiruću izbegličku kolonu na obodima Beograda preusmeri ka Kosovu i Vojvodini.

U toj atmosferi punoj adrenalina, empatije i brige, Adrijana van Heteren, Holanđanka koja je došla u Beograd da nam ličnim sposobnostima i znanjem pomogne kao profesionalka, ali i kao aktivistkinja, pomalo začuđeno me je upitala: "A zašto ovako nešto niste organizovali i za egzodus iz Srebrenice?" Njeno pitanje mi se često vraća, i ne samo u vreme godišnjice tog strašnog zločina.

Tada sam joj odgovorio dosta racionalno o onome što je zaista i bilo: nismo odmah raspolagali informacijama o razmerama zločina, kao i mnogi drugi, ne samo kod nas već i u svetu. Kako su stizale informacije, mi smo ih objavljivali. A paralelno

su se odvijale druge bitke koje su na dnevnom nivou prekrivale mogući veći angažman. Prisustvo naših novinara na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine bilo je minimalno i u najvećoj meri su bili kao fikseri za strane dopisnike. Onoliko koliko su kolege iz sveta svedočile sa lica mesta, toliko smo i mi prenosili u našem programu.

Ovih dana sam se, uz pomoć knjige "Talasanje Srbije" Dušana Mašića,[2] podsećao toga na osnovu svedočenja drugih koji su tada radili na Radiju B92, koji su potvrdili da smo objavljivali bukvalno sve do čega smo mogli da dođemo.

Ipak, mene i dalje muči Adrijanino pitanje.

Mislim da to nije samo pitanje o tome da li smo mogli da uradimo više da im pomognemo kao izbeglicama, već je ono mnogo šire i dotiče se dileme da li smo mogli nekako da predupredimo zločine i nešto uradimo da smanjimo patnju Srebreničana? Da učinimo više kako bi građani Srbije spoznali neporecivu istinu o genocidu, kako ga je kvalifikovao Međunarodni sud pravde, i prihvatili presude sudova o individualnim krivicama počinilaca zločina?

Do bombardovanja Srbije tokom 1999. godine imali smo snažan fokus na stvaranje uslova za mirnu promenu vlasti, boreći se protiv upornih nastojanja tadašnjeg režima da uništi nezavisne i profesionalne medije. Među njima su bili i Radio B92 i Asocijacija nezavisnih elektronskih medija (ANEM), koji su svakodnevno izveštavali o pripremama za novi rat na Kosovu.

I onda se dogodilo bombardovanje Srbije. Odmah po izdavanju naredbe za bombardovanje bio sam uhapšen i zatvoren u pritvornu jedinicu sedišta policije koje je već bilo evakuisano. I tada se opet pojavio osećaj krivice, kako da taj užas nismo uspeli da sprečimo – zločine na Kosovu i patnje civila kojima će biti izloženi tokom bombardovanja.

Tokom boravka u Crnoj Gori nakon ubistva Slavka Ćuruvije[3] pokrenuo sam debatu o sopstvenom osećaju krivice i odgovornosti sa Arijem Najerom, koji je tada vodio Fondaciju za otvoreno društvo, a pre toga Hjuman Rajts Voč, i koji je imao veliko iskustvo u oblasti tranzicione pravde.

U narednih nekoliko godina organizovali smo dve velike međunarodne konferencije o suočavanju sa prošlošću, na kojima smo mogli da čujemo svedočenja aktera različitih komisija za istinu i pomirenje – od Južne Afrike do Argentine. Objavili smo desetine knjiga, studija, članaka, istraživanja i činilo nam se da je, na osnovu dotadašnjih iskustava iz sveta, jasan put kojim treba da idemo. To je bilo utvrđivanje istine i odgovornosti, sa jasnim paralelnim procesom pomirenja, uz istovremeno demontiranje kulturnog modela koji je doveo do zločina i uspostavljanje novog na temeljima kulture mira i pomirenja, pijeteta prema žrtvama i obrazovnim modelima zasnovanim na činjenicama i zajedničkim faktografskim imeniteljima, kao i sudskim procesima utvrđivanja pravde za zločince uz preuzimanje odgovornosti za (ne)činjenje prethodnih vlada i društveno-političkih elita.

Iako bi se reklo da je to postajalo jasno i vidljivo, u praksi se ništa od svega toga nije događalo. Kada se pogledaju aktivnosti brojnih organizacija u Srbiji – Fonda za humanitarno pravo, Fondacije za otvoreno društvo, Centra za kulturnu dekontaminaciju, Kulturnog centra Rex, brojnih udruženja i pojedinaca, posebno medijske kuće B92, reformskog premijera i Vlade, stiče se utisak da smo imali sve neophodne sastojke, i to čak u zavidnim količinama.

Ali se praktično ništa nije bitnije pomeralo. Nikako nismo mogli da stignemo do tačke preokreta.

Programi B92 su u velikoj meri tada bili vezani za temu suočavanja sa prošlošću, a poseban trenutak u prvoj polovini 2001. godine bio je kada smo emitovali BBC-jev film "Krik iz groba" o Srebrenici. To je bio prvi snažni, sveobuhvatni, neporecivi dokument o zločinu koji će kasnije Međunarodni sud pravde u Hagu, ali i Međunarodni krivični tribunal za bivšu Jugoslaviju u pojedinačnim presudama osobama koje su učestovale u izvršavanju ovog strašnog zločina, definisati kao genocid.

Kada sam pogledao film, imao sam osećaj da imamo krunski dokaz, sveobuhvatnu sliku zločina iz kredibilnih izvora. Imao sam bar delimičan odgovor na Adrijanino pitanje. Šest godina kasnije. Nedostajao mu je, doduše, i onaj deo koji se tiče empatije i proaktivne, direktne akcije. Film smo emitovali u centralnom večernjem, najgledanijem terminu. Tada smo TV signalom pokrivali još uvek samo Beograd, ali su film reemitovale i članice ANEM-a širom Srbije.

I onda, muk. Posle premijernog emitovanja nije bilo reakcija – ni pohvala ni protesta. Odlučili smo se da film odmah repriziramo, i tek posle trećeg emitovanja usledile su reakcije. Dominirale su negativne. O tome sam pisao onako kako su pristizale. Tekst je nosio naslov "Odbacivanje istine".[4] Danas ne bih imao šta da dodam, iako je prošlo 20 godina, osim što bih možda mogao da ga malo redefinišem – "Odbacivanje jasno utvrđenih činjenica kroz reviziju, negaciju i odbijanje suočavanja sa realnošću". Navodim neke delove iz ovog teksta iz maja 2001. godine:

"Gađao bih televizor, ali mi žena nije dala." – reakcija gledaoca TV emisije "A Cry from the Grave".

"Ako je to zaista bilo tako, onda meni ostaje jedino da uzmem pištolj i da se ubijem!" Ovo je jedna od reakcija na serijal "Istina, odgovornost i pomirenje", koji je počeo da emituje TV B92, i to posle prve dve epizode, u kojima se govori o zločinu prema nekoliko hiljada stanovnika Srebrenice 1995. godine. Pre nego što je izgovorio ovu rečenicu, gledalac iz unutrašnjosti Srbije dugo je negodovao protiv emitovanja ovakvog programa. Veoma civilizovano je govorio o tome da je u pitanju propaganda, blaćenje srpskog naroda, koji je viteški, itd. Na pitanje zašto je protiv toga da se vidi i neka druga verzija događaja od one koju je do sada imao prilike da vidi, a koji je plasirala Miloševićeva ratna mašinerija – izjavio je da ne bi mogao da podnese takvu istinu.

I nije jedini. Veliki broj gledalaca to isto tvrdi. BBC-jev program "A Cry from the Grave" potresao je i one koji su znali šta se

događalo u Bosni. Za vreme emitovanja programa u "prime-time" terminu gledao sam paralelno šta se emituje na drugim kanalima i video da je na jednom južnoamerička sapunska opera – omiljena među gledaocima jer nudi sladunjavu priču, a na drugom serija "Chicago Hope", koja svako veče u srpske domove unosi dramatične priče iz američke bolnice. Kada sam okrenuo taj kanal, lekari su upravo otvarali grudni koš pacijenta i, u sceni prepunoj krvi, masirali srce koje je prestalo da radi. Gledanje ovakvih scena očigledno ne izaziva gađenje ili uznemirenje. Gledanje leševa i delova tela ljudi pobijenih u okolini Srebrenice to svakako izaziva, uprkos tome što su ljudski ostaci izgubili svaki lični karakter.

Gledao sam u jednom dokumentarnom filmu koji je prikazao francuski kanal ARTE scene u kojima saveznički oficiri, čini mi se u Dahauu, posle oslobađanja koncentracionog logora pitaju građane iz susedstva da li su znali šta se u logoru dešava. Posle odrečnog odgovora, svi građani su provedeni kroz logor prepun leševa. Često se mogu čuti procene da takva terapija nije dala pozitivne rezultate i da je preispitivanje sopstvene nacističke prošlosti zaista počelo tek dvadesetak godina posle Drugog svetskog rata, upravo onda kada se pojavila velika sapunska opera američke proizvodnje na programima TV stanica u Nemačkoj. Neosporno je i da je hapšenje i suđenje Adolfu Ajhmanu u Jerusalimu mnogo više doprinelo saznanjima o razmerama Holokausta nego mnoge rasprave o denacifikaciji koje su se pre toga vodile. Ali je doprinelo i saznanju o "banalnosti zla", kako kaže Hana Arent.

Nisam ni tada, a ne želim ni sada da poredim zločine iz Drugog svetskog rata i sam Holokaust sa zločinima iz ratova u Hrvatskoj i Bosni, već da identifikujemo neke univerzalne situacije. Izjava "učitelja iz Pirota" sa početka teksta podsetila me je na belešku Prima Levija, koji je preživeo Holokaust, iz knjige "Utopljenici i spašeni"[5] o ciničnom upozorenju jednog SS čuvara: "Kako god završi ovaj rat, mi smo dobili rat protiv vas, ako neko od vas i preživi, svet vam neće verovati, ljudi će reći da su događaji koje opisujete previše monstruozni da bi bili istiniti. Mi ćemo pisati istoriju koncentracionih logora."

Ovo navodim jer danas, 26 godina posle zločina, živimo negacionizam, revizionizam, a optuženi za ratne zločine ili zločin genocida pred sudom u BiH šetaju slobodno Srbijom. A da ne govorimo o brojnim drugim učesnicima surovih likvidacija preko 8.000 Bošnjaka tokom samo nekoliko dana.

Imao sam prilike da vidim ekshumacije masovnih grobnica, koje se i dalje otkrivaju u Bosni i Hercegovini, da vidim dokaze o identifikaciji tela čiji su delovi pronađeni u pet različitih masovnih grobnica na udaljenosti od 100 km, što jasno govori o mašineriji zla. I da budem u društvu onih koji su ostali bez najmilijih u samo nekoliko dana, onih čiji su delići tela pronađeni, ali se čekaju još neki delovi da bi ukop imao smisla, kao i onih koji još uvek ne znaju gde su pokopani ostaci njihovih najrođenijih.

Ne znam šta je uobičajena, normalna reakcija, ali lično se osećam veoma uznemireno, tužno i imam potrebu da se izvinim svima onima kojima je ova patnja nametnuta. To redovno i činim kako bih iskazao saučestvovanje u njihovoj boli, i to ne samo onda kada ih sretnem.

Uznemirenost je nešto što nije poželjno, što ljudi ne vole, ali je neminovna kada je reč o suočavanju sa činjenicama u teškim trenucima. Nešto što se savladava, rešava. Naročito kada je reč o poziciji "posmatrača". "Uznemirenje mora da prethodi pomirenju", nekako tako je rekao Žarko Puhovski na jednoj od konferencija iz 2000–2001.

Iako međunarodna zajednica sa jedne strane često insistira na suočavanju sa prošlošću, ona ga u isto vreme i sprečava. Heni Erceg, urednica Feral Tribunea, u jednom tekstu iz 2015. godine navodi jedan ilustrativan primer: "Izvrstan primer cinizma čitave priče o Srebrenici, lažnoj krivnji, rezolucijama, papagajski ponavljanoj odgovornosti, sve pred grobovima Srebreničana, demonstriran je baš na jednoj konferenciji o Srebrenici nedavno održanoj u Haagu. Tu su se okupili međunarodni kreatori srebreničke tragedije, kancelarijski sudionici masakra, a bio je i pozvan Hasan Nuhanović, prevodilac onima koji su imali zadatak 'čuvati zaštićenu zonu UN-a', svjedok genocida. Ali uoči konferencije javili su mu da ne dolazi, da nije dobrodošao, jer će se 'u njegovom prisustvu neki ljudi osećati nelagodno'. Možda zato jer su mu u Srebrenici ubili oca, majku i brata, ili zato jer je Nuhanović gorki svjedok kako se u krvi rastopila tadašnja rezolucija o Srebrenici."[6]

Uticaj "stabilokratije" ima pogubno delovanje kada je reč o suočavanju sa prošlošću, nešto kao "hladni rat" za suočavanje sa zločinima u Drugom svetskom ratu.

Prošle godine u Hrvatskoj je, kroz proces zajedničkih komemoracija, započelo vrlo utemeljeno suočavanje sa prošlošću. Naime, stvoren je prostor za "nedogmatski" pristup, za mogućnost različitog tumačenja pojedinih istorijskih događaja, za poštovanje različitog pristupa koji nije dijametralno suprotan i ne predstavlja negacionizam i revizionizam. Predvodnici su političari mlade generacije čije su porodice takođe stradale. To više nije ni eksperiment, to je politika i vladajuće stranke u Hrvatskoj i vodeće stranke Srba u Hrvatskoj. Prisustvovao sam skoro svim događajima. Želeo sam da dam punu podršku i to je više pozitivno nego negativno prihvaćeno u Hrvatskoj, a u Srbiji, čini mi se, obrnuto. Moje simbolično klečanje na Ovčari u Vukovaru proizvelo je za mene neobjašnjivu i čudnu koaliciju koja se protivila onome što sam uradio. I onih koji su saborci u autentičnim procesima suočavanja sa prošlošću i onih koji su negatori zločina.

Boris Milošević, potpredsednik Vlade Republike Hrvatske za društvene delatnosti i ljudska prava, Anja Šimpraga i brojni drugi predstavnici nove generacije Srba u Hrvatskoj su centralna snaga procesa normalizacije kroz zajednička komemoriranja bitnih događaja iz ratova tokom devedesetih. To je ogroman teret koji ima nove žrtve, ali je jedini mogući put.

Bavim se problemom nestalih između Hrvatske i Srbije. I konstantno osećam udaljavanje politika od potreba žrtava, od

percepcija da uznemirenje može otežati aktuelne političke procese… Nedavno sam prisustvovao situaciji u kojoj građani malog mesta ne žele da se kod njih dogodi susret dve strane i iskazivanje žaljenja, jer će to lokalnu zajednicu koja je pronašla kakav-takav način suživota iznova uznemiriti, polarizovati pa i stvoriti moguće konflikte.

Prošle godine hteo sam da budem u Srebrenici. Između ličnog angažmana i mogućnosti da predstavljam odnos države prema ovom zločinu isprečile su se okolnosti uticaja koronavirusa, nedostatka međudržavne koordinacije, kasnih reakcija... U svakom slučaju, razgovarajući dan pred komemoraciju sa bivšim gradonačelnikom Srebrenice Ćamilom Durakovićem, dobio sam informaciju koju je verovatno trebalo da znam i ranije. Naime, za ogranizatore, porodice žrtava i bošnjački deo Predsedništva BiH na komemoracijama nisu poželjni predstavnici zemalja koje negiraju genocid u Srebrenici. Ćamil, koji trenutno nema nikakvu zvaničnu funkciju u organizovanju obeležavanja godišnjice, rekao mi je: "Možeš da dođeš kod mene kući." Za mene je to bio trenutak vrhunskog srama, ali i vrhunske počasti koju može učiniti samo onaj ko prolazi kroz pakao zločina načinjenog prema sopstvenoj porodici i koji, i pored toga, svom snagom iskreno želi da se zajednički iskoraci dogode.

Pre dve godine bio sam na komemoraciji, i tada sam saznao da je Ćamil nakon mandata predsednika opštine Srebrenica, u okviru kojeg je uspeo da napravi most saradnje, suživota u Srebrenici i sa Vladom Srbije, koja je donirala nekoliko miliona eura za normalizaciju života u Srebrenici, završio na berzi rada.

Verovatno je tamo i danas. I to mi je, pored primera Hasana Nuhanovića, najupečatljivija slika aktuelnog stanja kada je reč o poimanju zla koje je činjeno u Srebrenici.

I u isto vreme je presek ključan za razumevanje političke budućnosti ovog pitanja, saradnje u regionu i suočavanja sa prošlošću.

Verujem da, kao i u Hrvatskoj, nove snage u Bosni i Hercegovini mogu da pronađu mehanizam, projekte, prostor za određene gestove čije bi činjenje doprinelo da se izbrišu stereotipi i načini atmosfera da se opravdavanje zločina, negacionizam zla učine nedopustivim. Dobro bi bilo da započne proces koji bi nagoveštavao takvu realnost.

Na početku 2021. umrla je Mira Furlan. Simbol univerzalnih vrednosti, simbol patnje vezane za raspad Jugoslavije i svih zločina počinjenih, između ostalih, i prema njoj. Posle njene smrti neke institucije u Hrvatskoj, predstavnici Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta u Zagrebu i Globusa odlučili su da joj se izvine za zlo koje su joj načinili hajkom i oduzimanjem posla, stana… Kasno… Kada ona nije mogla da to suočavanje lično percipira za života. I brojne su takve situacije, svedoci, žrtve koje odlaze… Stiče se utisak da mnogi misle da će time sve biti rešeno. Prirodnim odlivom.

Neće. Samo će biti gore.

Zbog toga su danas veoma važne zajedničke komemoracije čak i kada su u pitanju različita tumačenja vezana za iste, tra-

gične događaje. Danas u Hrvatskoj taj proces snažno podržava i akcije solidarnosti vezane za zemljotres na Baniji, gde žive Srbi i Hrvati, promocija suživota kroz zajedničke komemoracije prenosi se i na zajedništvo u solidarnosti.

Mogu da navodim puno negativnih primera, ali mislim da to ne pomaže u ovakvim tekstovima.

Za mene postoje porodice žrtava i postojim ja. I odnos prema zločinu.

Kada god vidim majke Srebrenice i rodbinu žrtava, imam autentičnu potrebu da iskažem saučešće kao da je reč o meni najrođenijem koji je ubijen. Isto tako, ako mi to nije omogućeno, osećam iskonsku obavezu/potrebu da pronađem način da to uradim.

Srebreničke majke molim da razumeju da u Srbiji razumemo obim počinjenog zla i da prihvatamo presude Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu. Imamo niz organizacija koje se bave ovom temom. Ako budem imao dozvolu da ove godine prisustvujem komemoraciji, iskoristiću priliku da Muniri Subašić poljubim ruke i iskažem žaljenje za gubitak svih ubijenih i nestalih.

UMESTO ZAKLJUČKA

U svojim memoarima Simon Vizental priča o večeri u kući preživelog iz logora Mauthauzen.[7] Taj je u međuvremenu postao draguljar i napravio veliko bogatstvo. On je Vizentalu rekao: "Mogao si postati milioner da si otišao u Izrael i vratio se arhitekturi. Treba pustiti prošlost i okrenuti se budućnosti. Život ide dalje." Vizental mu je na to odgovorio: "Kad dođemo na drugi svet, tamo ćemo sresti milione ljudi koji su poginuli u koncentracionim logorima. Kad nas oni budu pitali: 'Šta ste vi radili?', biće mnogo odgovora. Ti ćeš im reći: 'Ja sam postao draguljar.' Neko drugi će im reći: 'Ja sam gradio kuće.' Treći će im reći: 'Ja sam se bavio preprodajom cigareta i kafe.' A ja ću reći: 'Ja vas nisam zaboravio.'"

IZVORI

"Specijal: 10 godina od 'Oluje' nad Krajinom", *B92,* 4. 8. 2005, https://www.b92.net/specijal/oluja/index.php?start=0&nav_id=173958.

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Veran Matić, "Odbacivanje istine", *Reč,* Br. 62.8 (Maj 2001), str. 75-82, Beograd.

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1 "Specijal: 10 godina od 'Oluje' nad Krajinom", *B92,* 4. 8. 2005, https://www.b92.net/specijal/oluja/index.php?start=0&nav_id=173958.

2 Dušan Mašić, *Talasanje Srbije* (Beograd: Samizdat B92, 2006).

3 Slavko Ćuruvija bio je novinar, urednik i vlasnik nekoliko nezavisnih medija u Srbiji tokom vladavine Miloševićevog režima 1990-ih godina. Ubila su ga dva izvršioca na ulici 11. aprila 1999. godine, tokom bombardovanja Srbije od strane snaga NATO-a. Suđenje za ovo ubistvo još uvek je u toku. Više o Slavku Ćuruviji dostupno je na stranici fondacije koja nosi njegovo ime: https://www.slavkocuruvijafondacija.rs/slavko-curuvija-i-njegovo-naslede/ (pristupljeno: 15. 2. 2021).

4 Veran Matić, "Odbacivanje istine", *Reč,* Br. 62.8 (Maj 2001), str. 75-82, Beograd.

5 Primo Levi, *Utopljenici i spašeni* (Zaprešić: Fraktura, 2017).

6 Heni Erceg, *Sir, vrhnje i fašizam* (Rijeka: Ex Libris, 2020).

7 Simon Wiesenthal, *Pravda, ne osveta – sjećanja* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost Sarajevo, 1989).

KA PRIZNAVANJU GENOCIDA U SREBRENICI: INICIJATIVE I STRANPUTICE SRPSKOG DRUŠTVA

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SAŽETAK

Srebrenički genocid je kulminacija ratnih zločina na Zapadnom Balkanu krajem dvadesetog veka. Četvrt veka kasnije, ustanovljavanje i priznavanje istine o ovom najmasovnijem i najmonstruoznijem zločinu nakon Drugog svetskog rata u Evropi i dalje teško pronalazi svoj put u srpskom društvu. Čak je i republička vlada na čelu sa Zoranom Đinđićem, koja se najviše zalagala za rešavanje regionalnih problema, bila opstruisana od predsednika Savezne Republike Jugoslavije Vojislava Koštunice i njegove partije, koja je i na republičkom nivou bila deo koalicione vlasti.

Ubistvom premijera, nakon samo dve godine mandata, zaustavljeno je sprovođenje tranzicione pravde. Od tada obračun nacionalističke većine sa građanskom manjinom, odnosno marginalizacija onih koji istrajavaju u pokušajima da se suprotstave novonastaloj političkoj situaciji, traje gotovo dve decenije.

Srpsko društvo još uvek nije iskorenilo ideologiju koja je i dovela do izvršenja genocida jer žilavost ideologije utemeljene u ratnoj politici konstantno održavaju političke stranke koje danas čine većinu i u vlasti i u opoziciji, potpomognute vojnim, policijskim, crkvenim i medijskim strukturama.

U ovom radu nastojala sam da sumiram najznačajnije inicijative koje su preduzimane u cilju rasvetljavanja i priznavanja istine o srebreničkom genocidu, koja u Srbiji, nažalost, još uvek nije prihvaćena. Te inicijative su najčešće preduzimane povodom obeležavanja godišnjica masovnog stradanja Bošnjaka u Srebrenici. Takođe, povod za aktivnosti, od upućivanja brojnih deklaracija u skupštinsku proceduru (od 2005. do 2019) do delovanja civilnog sektora u cilju podsticanja javnosti na promišljanje, bile su i odluke organa međunarodne zajednice.

UVOD

Suočavanje sa prošlošću suštinska je vrednost po kojoj se može meriti napredak jednog društva u prihvatanju civilizacijskih normi i standarda. Od tog procesa se ne može pobeći. I ne sme. Zato je lekovit svaki uloženi napor preduzet u tom cilju.

Srebrenički genocid je kulminacija ratnih zločina na Zapadnom Balkanu krajem dvadesetog veka. U zaštićenoj zoni UN-a sredinom jula 1995. godine masakrirana su 8.372 muškarca Bošnjaka, među kojima je bilo i dečaka, iz 13 opština Podrinjskog okruga. Prognano je više od 25.000 ljudi. Mnogi od njih se vraćaju samo jednom godišnje. Na komemoraciji žrtvama 11. jula svake godine prisustvuju i sahranjivanju novopronađenih posmrtnih ostataka. I tako iz godine u godinu. Prošlo je više od 25 godina, a još uvek nisu pronađena sva tela ubijenih.

Međutim, ustanovljavanje i priznavanje istine o ovom najmasovnijem i najmonstruoznijem zločinu nakon Drugog svetskog rata u Evropi teško pronalazi svoj put u srpskom društvu.

Kakav je odnos srpskog društva prema srebreničkom genocidu? Najveći deo učestvuje u relativizaciji, uključujući i sve one koji nemaju nikakav stav, jer je i to svojevrsna relativizacija. Retrogradne snage koje su kreatori gnusne ideologije 90-ih, danas samo deklarativno, po inerciji ili po potrebi, popuštaju u velikosrpskoj retorici. Međutim, novostvorene konzervativne

snage još snažnije negiraju izvršeni genocid. Vrlo su agresivni i nimalo bezazleni u odbrani i interpretaciji "svoje istine" uprkos utvrđenim istorijskim činjenicama i presudama međunarodnih i domaćih sudova.

Žilavost te ideologije utemeljena je u konstanti poricanja, negiranja i relativizacije utvrđenih činjenica. Ispoljava se kako kroz osporavanje – umanjenje broja žrtava, teze da su i drugi činili zločine uz zloupotrebu pretrpljenih žrtava, stvaranje atmosfere naše puke obaveze, ali ne i etičke potrebe prilikom hapšenja i isporuke ratnih zločinaca haškom sudu, njihovom glorifikacijom i javnim promovisanjem – tako i konstantnom marginalizacijom i napadima na pokušaje da se otvoreno raspravlja i javno osudi srebrenički genocid. Parola "nož, žica, Srebrenica" slobodno se prezentovala čak i na fudbalskim stadionima, dok je pitanje Srebrenice u parlamentu uvek dočekivano "na nož".

Hapšenja i isporuke zločinaca Haškom tribunalu praćene su neredima i protestima dela opozicije i nacionalističkih pokreta. S druge strane, vladajuće garniture, uz podršku provladinih medija, stvarale su tenziju predstavljajući ove poteze kao posledicu pritiska međunarodne zajednice, uz izbegavanje sagledavanja razmera i posledica zločinačke politike.

Što se tiče domaćeg pravosuđa, do sada su donete samo dve osuđujuće presude – ali ne i za genocid.[1] U Srbiji još uvek nije prihvaćen stav međunarodnih sudova, koji ova masovna ubistva kvalifikuju kao genocid.

U odnosu prema Republici Srpskoj vladajuće garniture kontinuirano gaje paternistički odnos, uz istovremeno zataškavanje činjenice da je upravo na tom prostoru Vojska Republike Srpske izvršila najmonstruozniji zločin na tlu Evrope nakon Drugog svetskog rata. Dominantno se promovišu stavovi "elite" i Srpske pravoslavne crkve (SPC), koji podupiru i održavaju taj milje. Na međunarodnom planu relativizaciju i negiranje ohrabruju oni kojima odgovara nestabilnost na Balkanu.[2]

U takvim okolnostima veoma je teško ostvariti snažniji društveni potencijal koji bi barem parirao duboko ukorenjenom nacionalizmu i neetičnosti. Neophodno je podizanje svesti o potrebi raskrinkavanja i jasne osude još uvek žilave velikosrpske politike.

Hronološki posmatrano, najznačajniji koraci su bili preduzeti u vreme prve demokratske vlade Republike Srbije na čelu sa Zoranom Đinđićem. Otvoren je prostor za vidljivije delovanje civilnog sektora, intelektualaca i nekoliko manjih političkih partija,[3] inače aktera antiratne politike iz 90-ih i promotera neophodnosti suočavanja sa prošlošću. Uspostavljen je i poseban sistem procesuiranja počinilaca ratnih zločina usvajanjem Zakona o organizaciji i nadležnosti državnih organa u postupku za ratne zločine.

Nekoliko meseci nakon formiranja Vlade Srbije, 28. juna 2001. godine, Haškom tribunalu je isporučen Slobodan Milošević, a

11. jula je na Javnom servisu (televizija "RTS 1") u udarnom terminu emitovan BBC-jev potresni dokumentarni film o srebreničkom etničkom čišćenju "Krik iz groba". Oba događaja su, uz obrazloženje da su to napadi i nastavak međunarodne zavere protiv Srbije, izazvala snažne otpore, kako u javnosti tako i u institucijama. I to ne samo od strane poraženih snaga, već i od tadašnjih koalicionih partnera u vlasti – Demokratske stranke Srbije (DSS), čiji je predsednik Vojislav Koštunica ujedno bio i predsednik Savezne Republike Jugoslavije (SRJ).

Predsednik SRJ, koji je još u opoziciji 1999. godine za sud u Hagu rekao da je "politička, a ne pravna institucija",[4] a pred predsedničke izbore 2000. izjavio da mu je saradnja sa ovim sudom "deveta rupa na svirali",[5] sprečavao je svaki pokušaj suočavanja sa prošlošću. Tako je formirao Komisiju za istinu i pomirenje i imenovao njene članove bez ikakve javne rasprave, da bi ugledni članovi, kao što su profesorka Latinka Perović i profesor Vojin Dimitrijević, odbili da učestvuju u njenom radu. Komisija, čiji je rad predsednik države skoro svakom izjavom[6] obesmišljavao, nije održala nijedno javno saslušanje. Ukinuta je već 2003. godine.

Ubistvom premijera Zorana Đinđića, nakon dve godine mandata, u zavereničkoj akciji i to pod nazivom "Stop Hagu", zaustavljeni su procesi pomirenja. Posle vanrednih izbora mandat predsednika Vlade Srbije dobija dotadašnji predsednik SRJ Vojislav Koštunica. Bio je to početak zaustavljanja politike tranzicione pravde.

Od tog trenutka prećutkivanje i zataškavanje zločina prerasta ne samo u otvoreno negiranje već i u glorifikaciju ratnih zločina – od lepljenja plakata sa fotografijama Ratka Mladića i Radovana Karadžića, preko nošenja majica s njihovim likovima čak i u skupštinskim klupama, pa do skandiranja "nož, žica, Srebrenica" na sportskim stadionima.

Obračun nacionalističke većine sa građanskom manjinom, odnosno marginalizacija onih koji istrajavaju u pokušajima da se suprotstave novonastaloj političkoj situaciji traje više od dve decenije.

Pred obeležavanje desetogodišnjice srebreničkog masakra 2005. godine u Skupštini Srbije je podneta "Deklaracija o obavezama države Srbije da preduzme sve mere zaštite prava žrtava ratnih zločina, a posebno žrtava genocida u Srebrenici",[7] koju smo u ime osam nevladinih organizacija[8] podneli kolega poslanik Žarko Korać (SDU) i ja (GSS).

U tekstu je navedeno: "Parlament Srbije osuđuje genocid u Srebrenici i iskreno žali sve žrtve Srebrenice. Ovom prilikom upućuje izvinjenje svim članovima porodica žrtava zato što Srbija 1995. godine nije učinila dovoljno da spreči genocid u Srebrenici." Od države se traži "da će se jasno obratiti žrtvama i njihovoj zajednici i priznati da je zločin izvršen u naše ime, i tim činom legitimne i moralne demonstracije distancirati od zločina".

Naglašava se da je "poricanje genocida i odobravanje genocida čin koji ima karakter saučesništva u zločinu, jer je sprečavanje i kažnjavanje zločina genocida otelotvorenje savesti čovečanstva".

Zaključuje se da "genocid ne sme da se veliča, ne sme da se negira i ne sme da se zaboravi" i da "suočavanje s prošlošću zahteva sistem institucija, mehanizama i procesa, koje je Srbija dužna da usvoji i primeni". I da "Republika Srbija se obavezuje: da će razotkriti i kazniti svako ideološko opravdanje zločina, da će građanima otvoriti mogućnost da odbace kompromitovane vrednosne stavove, i da će onemogućiti instrumente, aktere i posledice masovnog nasilja iz javnog i društvenog života". Kao i da će "usvojiti sve mere kako bi pitanje odgovornosti za zločin postalo stalna tema u političkom i javnom životu".

Ova deklaracija je skinuta sa dnevnog reda, da bi potom srpski parlament pokušao da sroči tekst nove deklaracije. Nakon konsenzusa preostalih 248 poslanika da bi u nacrtu dokumenta trebalo osuditi sve zločine, a posebno one počinjene na teritoriji Srebrenice i Bratunca, Demokratska stranka (DS), Srpski pokret obnove (SPO) i DSS priložile su i zasebne predloge. Dogovor je izostao.

Povodom desetogodišnjice genocida Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, u svojoj ediciji "Svedočanstva", objavljuje knjigu koju je priredila Sonja Biserko "Srebrenica: od poricanja do priznanja".[9] Ovo je i danas najsistematičniji poduhvat, u kojem su prikupljeni i temeljno komentarisani brojni dokumenti.

Na žalost, u javnosti je veću pažnju izazvala tribina održana na Pravnom fakultetu državnog Univerziteta u Beogradu u organizaciji profašističkih organizacija. Pravni fakultet je jedino insistirao na promeni naziva tribine ("Deset godina od oslobođenja Srebrenice"), a ne i na njenom sadržaju. Učesnici su bili složni u oceni da u Srebrenici nije počinjen nikakav zločin, već da su tu "ubijeni vojnici muslimanske vojske, koje je žrtvovao Alija Izetbegović kako bi se izazvala strana vojna intervencija". Tribina je izazvala verbalne, ali i fizičke sukobe fašistički i građanski orijentisanih posetilaca.

Na desetogodišnjicu genocida 11. jula 2005. godine je pre komemoracije, na kojoj je prvi put prisustvovao i tadašnji predsednik Srbije Boris Tadić, u Memorijalnom centru Srebrenica–Potočari održan i skup na kojem su govorili brojni zvaničnici, među kojima i Žozef Borel, tadašnji predsednik Evropskog parlamenta.

Priliku da se obratim pred više od 50 delegacija i brojnih ministara inostranih poslova, kao predsednica GSS-a, imala sam i ja. Uz duboko žaljenje i izvinjenje zbog žrtava i patnji koje je prouzrokovala zločinačka politika u naše ime izgovorila sam i sledeće:

> *"Od svih zločina na prostoru bivše države samo jedan je, pravosnažnom sudskom presudom, okvalifikovan kao najteži mogući. Kao genocid. Ovaj u Srebrenici. Suočavanje sa tom činjenicom nije lako, ali je tim pre neophodno i nužno. Nužno je pre svega zbog žrtava, jer njihovo je pravo da nikada ne budu zaboravljene. Pravo žrtava je,*

takođe, da zločinci budu kažnjeni. Ali osuda zločina, a još više politike koja je do zločina dovela, neophodna je i zbog generacija koje dolaze, zbog budućnosti naše dece. Moj narod nije kolektivno odgovoran za strahotu koja se ovde desila jula 1995. To je delo pojedinaca ili grupe koju haška optužnica kvalifikuje kao 'zajednički zločinački poduhvat'. Bez obzira na to što se radi o nosiocima najviših državnih funkcija, tvrdim da nisu imali mandat građana Srbije da čine zločine. Čak ni onih koji su za njih glasali. Uostalom 'zločinačko udruženje' ili 'bandu' može da formira bilo ko, pa i šef države. To je i dalje banda.

Ali od odgovornosti za osudu zločina, zločinaca i politike zločina ne može se pobeći. Moguće je samo da naše generacije tu odgovornost prebace na buduće, na one koje dolaze, a koji neće imati bilo kakve veze sa nedelima čiji smo savremenici. Mislim da bi to bilo veoma kukavički.

Tu obavezu moramo obaviti mi, jer oni koji su zločine činili u naše ime najviše bi voleli da odgovornost i pokajanje ostave našoj deci. Tako bi izbegli odgovornost za svog života, a uz to bi uspeli da je prebace na ceo narod u budućnosti. To je njihova prava namera, pošto danas imaju samo jedan cilj – da izbegnu odgovornost. Tu ne mislim prvenstveno na zločince. Oni već odgovaraju, i tek će. Uključujući i najodgovornijeg za Srebrenicu."

Istakla sam i da su građani odgovorni za osudu Miloševićeve nomenklature zločina:

"Taj račun dolazi nama, jer oni koji su činili zločin u naše ime to svakako neće uraditi. Tu leži naša kolektivna odgovornost – za osudu politike zločina i suočavanje sa prošlošću, koja je suštinska civilizacijska vrednost na kojoj počiva ujedinjenje Evrope.

Kada većina naših građana shvati da je politika poštovanja ljudskih prava pre svega u njihovom interesu i u interesu onih koji dolaze, ta budućnost će početi i na ovim prostorima."

Obeležavanju desetogodišnjice genocida prisustvovalo je više od 600 novinara. Čitav svet je opomenut na promišljanje i osudu. U Srbiji je, međutim, i taj događaj relativizovan.[10] Samo su jedan dnevni list u Srbiji ("Danas") i jedan elektronski medij ("B92") objavili da je ovaj međunarodni skup i održan. Međutim, nisu navodili prisutne zvaničnike niti citirali bilo kog drugog govornika osim što su izdvojili nekoliko rečenica iz mog obraćanja. Ispostaviće se da je to bio i jedini govor nekog srpskog političara ikada održan na mestu stradanja srebreničkih žrtava.

Naredni bitan momenat u tranzicionoj pravdi dogodio se dve godine kasnije. Presuda Međunarodnog suda pravde 2007. po tužbi BiH protiv SCG utvrđuje da Srbija nije odgovorna za izvršenje i saučesništvo u genocidu. Istom presudom je Srbija postala prva i jedina zemlja u istoriji čovečanstva koja je odgovorna za kršenje Konvencije o sprečavanju i kažnjavanju genocida.

U domaćoj javnosti slavodobitno je komentarisan ishod presude. Tumačen je kao pobeda i olakšanje. U senci je ostala,

potpuno zanemarena, utvrđena odgovornost za nesprečavanje i nekažnjavanje zločina.

Presuda je izazvala i nove pokušaje u pogledu institucionalne rasprave i osude. Liberalno-demokratska partija (LDP) organizuje prikupljanje potpisa građana radi stavljanja Deklaracije o Srebrenici na dnevni red Narodne skupštine. Dostavljen je "Predlog deklaracije o obavezama državnih organa Republike Srbije u ispunjavanju odluka Međunarodnog suda pravde", u kome se tražilo da Srbija kroz pravni sistem i postupanje državnih organa "jasno osudi svako poricanje genocida u Srebrenici". Nakon toga su i LSV i Savez vojvođanskih Mađara (SVM) podneli i svoj predlog, u kojem su takođe zatražili "odavanje pošte srebreničkim žrtvama i izvlačenje trajne pouke o pogubnim posledicama nekritičkog patriotizma". Poslanička većina je odbila da se ovi predlozi uvrste u dnevni red.

Nakon odluke Evropskog parlamenta iz 2009. godine kojom se 11. jul zvanično proglašava Danom sećanja na žrtve masakra u Srebrenici,[11] pomenute stranke su ponovo podnele, sada zajednički, Predlog deklaracije o Srebrenici. I on je odbijen.

Isticanje naših stavova po pitanjima Srebrenice i Kosova rezultiralo je, u to vreme, i fizičkim napadima – LDP-u je demolirano 80 lokalnih kancelarija i 2 puta je zapaljena centrala stranke u Beogradu. Intenzivirani su napadi na lidere stranke i u medijima.

Konačno je 2010. godine, tek deset godina nakon petooktobarskih promena, a 15 godina od genocida, u Skupštini Sr-

bije usvojena deklaracija koju je predložila vladajuća koalicija predvođena strankom predsednika države Borisa Tadića (DS). U tekstu se osuđuje zločin na način utvrđen od strane Međunarodnog suda pravde, ali bez pominjanja termina genocid.

Protiv su bile opozicione stranke, ujedno i učesnici u ratnohuškačkoj politici, ali i LDP, koji je jedini bio protiv deklaracije bez kvalifikacije genocida: "Jasnim stavom o genocidu u Srebrenici mi ne potvrđujemo samo svoju evropsku orijentaciju već dokazujemo ljudskost Srbije, koja je zbog zločina i ćutanja do sada osporavana. Pitanje ratnih zločina i odnosa Srbije prema njima ne sme biti rešavano na stranačkoj buvljoj pijaci" (predsednik LDP-a Čedomir Jovanović, Narodna skupština Republike Srbije).

Rasprava je ogolila dubinu srpske frustracije, posebno u odnosu na rat u Bosni i Hercegovini. Bilo je jasno da je deklaracija, tesnom većinom, doneta pod pritiskom međunarodne zajednice, a ne zbog želje za iskrenim pomirenjem uz priznavanje grešaka iz prošlosti. To se vidi i po tome što je uz pomenutu deklaraciju nekoliko meseci kasnije doneta još jedna, kojom se osuđuju zločini nad srpskim narodom i građanima Srbije. Prva je bila za "spoljnu", a druga za "unutrašnju" upotrebu.

I u narednim godinama svaka godišnjica je obeležavana tenzijama između većine, koja je relativizovala ili negirala genocid, i nekoliko građanskih partija i nevladinih organizacija koje su tražile da se 11. jul proglasi Danom sećanja na žrtve srebreničkog genocida.

Promenom vlasti 2012. godine ove tenzije postaju još jače. Jer, za razliku od dotadašnjeg predsednika Srbije Borisa Tadića, koji se dva puta izvinio i odao počast žrtvama u Srebrenici, ali da nikada nije upotrebio reč genocid, njegov naslednik Tomislav Nikolić je uz izvinjenje žrtvama genocid direktno negirao.

Današnji predsednik Aleksandar Vučić je kao srpski premijer 2015. godine na komemoraciji žrtvama u Srebrenici bio izviždan i oteran kamenicama, što je bila reakcija na njegovu ratnohuškačku i radikalsku prošlost.

Poslednji pokušaj da se u Narodnoj skupštini najoštrije osudi genocid kao i svako poricanje genocida i da se 11. jul proglasi za Dan sećanja na genocid u Srebrenici uz izražavanje saosećanja za sve žrtve podnelo je 2016. godine 11 poslanika[12] iz LDP-a, Stranke demokratske akcije, LSV-a i Zelene stranke. I ovaj predlog da se rezolucija uvrsti u dnevni red nije usvojen.

Danas u Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije vlada nikad veće jednoumlje. A državni zvaničnici, naročito predsednik države i predsednica vlade, decidno nastavljaju sa negiranjem srebreničkog genocida.

ZAKLJUČAK

Prošlo je četvrt veka od srebreničkog genocida, a srpsko društvo i dalje izbegava da se suoči sa realnošću. Kao da se od nje može pobeći.

Upućivanje izvinjenja za zločin u Srebrenici, prisustvo zvaničnika na komemoracijama i usvajanje deklaracija koje izjednačavaju ratne zločine nije dovoljno. I nije iskreno.

Prvi pravi korak u spoznaji istine i prihvatanju odgovornosti u Srbiji će nastupiti kada država srebrenički masakr nazove pravim imenom – genocid, a zatim počne i da brani tu istinu. Kada državni organi budu odgovorniji prema teškim kršenjima ljudskih prava. Kada bude zabranjena glorifikacija i javna promocija zločinaca. Kada bude zabranjeno negiranje genocida. Kada bude javno preispitana uloga njegovih inspiratora, koji nakon svih ovih godina više ne bi uživali nikakav ugled, već bi bili posramljeni. I na kraju, kada u obrazovno-nastavnim programima budu obuhvaćene istorijske činjenice iz naše neposredne prošlosti i osuda politike koja je prouzrokovala zločine, među kojima je najveći srebrenički genocid. Tek tada možemo postati humano društvo.

Za sada ohrabruje činjenica da je zahvaljujući civilnom sektoru, pojedinim intelektualcima i građanskim političkim partijama, iako su u manjini, održan kontinuitet u borbi za modernu državu u kojoj funkcionišu vladavina prava i demokratija. Taj kontinuitet je iznedrio i potporu mladih ljudi, koji od te borbe, sigurna sam, neće odustati. Kao što ne odustaju ni hrabri i angažovani pojedinci. Najsvežiji primer je pozorišna predstava "Srebrenica. Kad mi ubijeni ustanemo", koja se pre svega bavi odgovornošću "akademika, pesnika i duhovnika genocida".[13]

Građanskim partijama, nevladinim organizacijama i malobrojnim pojedincima koji se bore za ostvarivanje tranzicione pravde

potrebno je obezbediti snažniju podršku, naročito u pogledu veće konsolidacije, kako bi bili efikasniji u delovanju protiv politike izbegavanja odgovornosti i manipulacije činjenicama. Samo će se na taj način promeniti dosadašnja politika prema regionu, posebno u pogledu funkcionalnosti Bosne i Hercegovine.

U protivnom, ostaćemo zatočenici u zaveri prećutkivanja i poricanja.

IZVORI

Deklaracija o obavezama države Srbije da preduzme sve mere zaštite prava žrtava ratnih zločina, a posebno žrtava genocida u Srebrenici, 2005, https://pescanik.net/predlog-teksta-deklaracije-o-srebrenici/.

NIN, 21. 9. 2000.

Politika, 12. 7. 2009.

Politika, 31. 5. 1999.

Sonja Biserko (Ur.), *Srebrenica: od poricanja do priznanja* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2005).

FUSNOTE

1 Pred Haškim tribunalom i sudovima u regionu je za genocid, zločine protiv čovečnosti i druge zločine počinjene u Srebrenici izrečeno pet doživotnih kazni zatvora i više od 700 godina zatvora.

2 Usvajanje Rezolucije Saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija o Srebrenici kojom se osuđuje genocid u julu 1995. godine, a koju je predložila Velika Britanija i podržale Sjedinjene Američke Države i zemlje Evropske unije, ulaganjem veta blokirala je Rusija. Deset zemalja glasalo je "za", a četiri su bile uzdržane, među kojima i Kina.

3 Pre svega mislim na nekadašnji Građanski savez Srbije (GSS), Ligu socijaldemokrata Vojvodine (LSV) i Socijaldemokratsku uniju (SDU).

4 "Sud u Hagu je politička, a ne pravna institucija koja služi interesima SAD i koja ima nameru da sudi svima sem Amerikancima. Haški tribunal je sredstvo ucene i pritisaka za ostvarivanje volje SAD." (Vojislav Koštunica u *Politika,* 31. 5. 1999).

5 *NIN,* 21. 9. 2000.

6 "Možemo li zaista da učinimo taj kopernikanski obrt naše zlehude istorije" (Vojislav Koštunica, otvaranje međunarodne konferencije "U potrazi za istinom i odgovornošću – ka demokratskoj budućnosti", Beograd, Maj 2001).

7 Deklaracija dostupna ovde: https://pescanik.net/predlog-teksta-deklaracije-o-srebrenici/.

8 Komitet pravnika za ljudska prava, Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju, Građanske inicijative, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Žene u crnom, Beogradski krug, Fond za humanitarno pravo i Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava.

9 Kompletna knjiga je dostupna ovde: https://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Svedocanstva%2022.pdf.

10 Gotovo jednaku pažnju mediji su posvetili događaju održanom sledećeg dana u Bratuncu, a posvećenom komemoraciji srpskim žrtvama pod nazivom "Petrovdanski dani Srebrenice, u znak sećanja na stradale Srbe u sedam opština Podrinja i Birča".

11 "Jedino je Nataša Mićić *(od svih ispitanika, napomena autorice),* potpredsednica Liberalno-demokratske partije Srbije, jasno podržala rezoluciju o Srebrenici EP, bez ali, smatrajući da je 'tužno da je ovu rezoluciju doneo EP pre Srbije', koja je 'u vezi sa odgovornošću za genocid u Srebrenici', i da je 'negativno što ovde (u Srbiji) ne postoji nikakva svest o tome da je potrebno da mi to institucionalno osudimo kroz parlament'." (*Politika,* 12. 7. 2009).

12 Sulejman Ugljanin, Enis Imamović, Čedomir Jovanović, Žarko Korać, Nataša Mićić, Nenad Milić, Nenad Čanak, Goran Čabradi, Olena Papuga, Marinika Tepić i Nada Lazić.
13 Autori: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava i reditelj Zlatko Paković.

III

CIVILNI SEKTOR

GLASOVI PREŽIVJELIH I INSTITUCIONALIZACIJA SJEĆANJA

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SAŽETAK

Čuvanje glasova onih koji su preživjeli masovna zvjerstva i genocid danas se prepoznaje kao važna metoda dokumentovanja historije, dok istovremeno preživjelima daje prostor da ispričaju svoje lične priče. Postoje brojni pristupi prikupljanju i očuvanju ovih narativa. Neki prihvataju, dok drugi odbijaju priliku da podijele svoja iskustva. Same osobe koje su preživjele genocid u Srebrenici objašnjavaju razloge za svoje odluke. O tome koji su ciljevi očuvanja ovih narativa govori se u kontekstu prepoznavanja činjenice da javno iznošenje ličnih priča može biti ljekovito, ali i traumatično. Osim projekata usmene historije *(oral history),* institucionalizacija sjećanja posmatra se kroz postojanje memorijala. Svrha memorijala istražuje se zajedno s pitanjem kompleksnosti njihovog postavljanja, osmišljavanja i vođenja. Poseban naglasak stavljen je na Memorijalni centar Srebrenica, njegovu historiju, evoluciju njegove misije i trenutne službe i projekte.

UVOD

Na vanjskom zidu blizu ulaza u Američki memorijalni muzej holokausta u Vašingtonu, u kamen je urezan sljedeći natpis:

> *"Stvari koje sam vidio vape da budu opisane... Vizuelni dokazi i govorna svjedočenja o izgladnjivanju, surovosti i bestijalnosti bili su toliko poražavajući da mi je pomalo muka... Namjerno sam došao, kako bih mogao iz prve ruke pružiti dokaz o ovim stvarima ako se ikada u budućnosti pojavi neko ko će za ove tvrdnje reći da su čista 'propaganda'."*[1]

Ovaj citat prvobitno je 1945. godine napisao Dwight D. Eisenhower, vrhovni komandant Savezničkih snaga u Zapadnoj Evropi tokom Drugog svjetskog rata, koji je predvodio invaziju na Evropu pod okupacijom nacista. O tome je pisao u telegramu generalu Marshallu, šefu zajedničkog generalštaba u Vašingtonu, nakon oslobođenja nacističkog koncentracionog logora Ohrdurf, koji je pripadao Buchenwaldu. Zgrozio se zbog onoga što je vidio i brinuo se da će u budućnosti možda biti ljudi koji će poricati da su se ova zvjerstva uopće desila. Napravio je jedan neuobičajen korak i tražio od generala Marshalla da u oslobođene logore dovede članove američkog Kongresa i poznate novinare da mogu svjedočiti ovoj užasnoj istini o nacističkim zvjerstvima.[2]

Gotovo pedeset godina kasnije, u julu 1995, više od 8000 muslimanskih muškaraca i dječaka pogubljeno je u Srebrenici, u

prvom genocidu na evropskom tlu nakon holokausta. Procjenjuje se da je tokom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini ubijeno 100.000 ljudi, dok je 2,2 miliona ljudi raseljeno, što čini skoro polovinu stanovništva. Hiljade žena silovano je u sistematičnim napadima. Riječ je o najrazornijem konfliktu u Evropi nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata.[3]

Na one koji su preživjeli i koji mogu da svjedoče pala je institucionalizacija sjećanja, kao i zadatak da se priče o ovim stravičnim događajima podijele s javnošću. Mnoge kulture u svijetu imaju bogatu tradiciju pripovijedanja, što se danas često naziva "lični narativ" ili "usmena historija". Veliki dio historije poznat je zahvaljujući pričama koje se prenose s generacije na generaciju. Isto važi i za očuvanje glasova i iskustava iz rata i genocida.

Na kraju Drugog svjetskog rata, general Eisenhower, kao svjedok događaja, postavio je pred sebe misiju ne samo da ispriča priču o koncentracionim logorima, već i da osigura da postoje i mnogi drugi koji to mogu uraditi. Tek mnogo kasnije, ljudi koji su preživjeli holokaust počeli su da pričaju svoje priče o preživljavanju, kao i priče onih koji su nestali.

Godine 1979, više od 30 godina nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata, započeti su prvi zvanični napori u pravcu prikupljanja i bilježenja priča svjedoka i preživjelih iz holokausta. Organizacija "Filmski projekat preživjelih iz holokausta" (the Holocaust Survivors Film Project) počela je praviti videozapise preživjelih, a kasnije je svoju zbirku svjedočenja donirala Univerzitetu Yale.

Ova zbirka je rasla i sada je dostupna istraživačima, nastavnicima i široj javnosti.[4]

Formalna definicija pojma "usmena historija" zahtijeva ispunjenje određenih kriterija.[5] Za potrebe ovog rada, međutim, izrazi "usmena historija", "lični narativ", "lična svjedočenja" i "pripovijedanje" koriste se naizmjenično da označe isti pojam.

Da li je upravo razvoj zvaničnih programa usmene historije podstakao ljude koji su preživjeli holokaust da počnu pričati o svojim iskustvima ili se radi o nečem drugom? Možda je potrebno da prođe vrijeme prije nego što preživjeli osjete da je moguće ili da je sigurno da ispričaju svoju priču? Ljudi moraju biti spremni da pričaju, a društvo mora biti spremno da ih sluša. Posljednjih decenija, akademska javnost sve više se zanima za proučavanje memorijalizacije katastrofa, rata, spomenika i veza između smrti i sjećanja. Također je prisutno sve veće interesovanje za vezu između sjećanja i traume.

Kako su preživjeli iz Drugog svjetskog rata počeli da stare i umiru, postalo je jasno da je došlo vrijeme da se njihove priče sačuvaju. Osim toga, dešavali su se i drugi genocidi, pa je počela da se prepoznaje važnost razmjene iskustava.

Prvi organizirani napor da se prikupe priče osoba koje su preživjele holokaust počeo je 30 godina po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata. Genocid u Srebrenici se dogodio prije 25 godina, tako da je prošao sličan vremenski period prije nego što su stvoreni organizirani, zvanični programi usmjereni na očuvanje ličnih priča.

Bilo da se glasovi preživjelih čuvaju u okviru formalnog protokola ili na neformalnije načine, ljudi moraju biti spremni prije nego što ispričaju svoje priče. Nekima je to lakše, drugima teže, dok ima i onih koji nikada neće biti spremni da se njihov glas čuje.

Preživjeli opisuju zašto im je previše teško da ispričaju svoje priče. Postoji nekoliko razloga. Naprimjer, neki od toga imaju noćne more, plaše se da otvore "nepoznatu kutiju" koja može da eksplodira, ili može biti emocionalno štetno i previše bolno; žele da zaborave, da imaju novi život, i misle da mogu izbrisati ono što se dogodilo; misle da nemaju šta novo da kažu, jer je sve već rečeno; pretpostavljaju da njihova priča neće ništa promijeniti i da ne može ništa promijeniti; misle da to nikoga ne zanima; pitaju se zašto bi ikoga bilo briga kad ih već nije bilo briga 1995.[6]

Neki preživjeli rekli su sljedeće:

> *"Čovjek je ono što pamti, a sjećanja preživjelih Bošnjaka su nalik onome što je opisano u Danteovom Paklu, putovanje kroz pakao. Mrtvi ne pričaju priče, fokus je na preživjelima da ispričaju istinu o paklu kroz koji su prošli. Svako sjećanje na stradanje kopa u stare rane, jer svi mi nosimo teške ožiljke koji nas bolno podsjećaju na naše stradanje i na stradanje naših najdražih. Noćne more su strašne i bile bi još gore da pričamo. Ako govorimo o genocidu, unosimo još veće košmare u naše već košmarne snove. Plašim se da će se potomci Bošnjaka probuditi uplašeni*

i preznojeni od posljedica bježanja od Srba koji su htjeli da ubiju nas i naše porodice. Mnogi traže naše priče, ali skoro niko preživjelima ne nudi podršku."[7]

Jedna preživjela je podijelila svoje oklijevanje da govori o onome što joj se dogodilo:

"Ne mogu da govorim o tome jer bi me preplavile emocije. Zaglavila bih se i ne bih mogla da nastavim dalje. Uvijek bježim od kamera. Lakše je onima koji govore u javnosti od samog početka. Navikli su se. Kada je moj sin završio master, uzela sam lijekove za smirenje za vrijeme prezentacije. Bila sam jako nervozna. Teško je govoriti o bolnoj prošlosti. Uskoro će biti godišnjica smrti mog muža koji je ubijen u ratu."[8]

Dok je mnogim preživjelima teško da pričaju svoje priče, postoje i drugi koji su odlučili da su sada u stanju da govore o svojim iskustvima i podijele priče onih koji nisu preživjeli. Kao grupa, preživjeli pričaju svoje priče zato što se osjećaju kao da ih, gdje god da idu, prati sjenka traumatičnog sjećanja i žele s tim da se suoče. Ili osjećaju da to duguju ubijenima. Vjeruju da su preživjeli kako bi ispričali priču onih koji nisu. Svijet treba da zna jer se može ponovo dogoditi. Buduće generacije trebaju saznati šta se dogodilo kako bi izbjegle istu sudbinu. Žele da daju doprinos ostvarivanju pravde.[9]

Neki preživjeli koji su spremni javno podijeliti svoje priče rekli su sljedeće:

"Svi mi imamo teške i traumatične priče. Treba da pričamo jer godine prolaze. Ljudi zaboravljaju, ljudi ne čitaju mnogo. Neki žele sve da zaborave. Ja više volim da pišem nego da pričam. Trebamo pričati zbog mlađih generacija koje trebaju znati šta se dogodilo. Hegemonističke ideologije naših susjeda još su žive i nisu poražene. Postoji opasnost da se historija ponovi."[10]

Jedan preživjeli podijelio je svoje razmišljanje o razlozima zašto je u stanju da javno ispriča svoju priču:

"Nakon prvog Mirovnog marša[11] *na kome sam učestvovao, osjetio sam ogromno olakšanje. Bilo mi je teško kad sam prolazio pored nekih mjesta kojih se sjećam iz Marša smrti. Prije toga, bilo mi je teško da posjetim neka mjesta, ali poslije je bilo lakše. Kada sam prvi put ispričao svoju priču, osjetio sam ogromno olakšanje. Pričao sam s drugima o svom iskustvu u nadi da će i oni odlučiti da podijele svoje priče. Za one koji još oklijevaju, oni misle da je preživjelima lakše da pričaju samo s drugim preživjelima, misle da oni koji to nisu prošli ne mogu da razumiju. Plaše se da neće moći objasniti sve što im se dogodilo."*[12]

Prepoznajući značaj očuvanja narativa i u želji da važni glasovi preživjelih stignu do šire publike, autor i autorica ovog rada nedavno su objavili knjigu pod nazivom "Glasovi iz Srebrenice: Narativi preživjelih bosanskog genocida" *(Voices From Srebrenica: Survivor Narratives of the Bosnian Genocide).*[13] Knjiga iznosi činjenice o regionu, ratu i genocidu, kao i o tome šta je

bilo poslije, uključujući psihološke posljedice kumulativne traume. Ključni dio knjige čine lični narativi preživjelih s primarnih stratišta, kao i preživjelih iz Marša smrti, koji su šest dana i noći bili progonjeni kroz šumu pokušavajući izbjeći genocid. Osim toga, lični narativi preživjelih žena ilustriraju užasne ratne događaje, kao i njihovu rezilijentnost. U knjizi su data i razmišljanja aktivista i aktivistica za ljudska prava iz Srbije. Najvažniji cilj ove knjige je da se glasovi podignu na viši nivo.

Hasan Hasanović, koautor i preživjeli genocida, posvetio je svoj život tome da se njegov glas može koristiti za edukaciju ljudi iz cijelog svijeta na temu genocida. On javno govori o sudski utvrđenim činjenicama, kao i o svom ličnom iskustvu. Iskreno govori o svom iskustvu preživljavanja i kasnijeg suočavanja s intenzivnom traumom. Već dugo svoju priču priča i po nekoliko puta dnevno u Memorijalnom centru Srebrenica, gdje radi od 2009. godine, i smatra da mu zahvaljujući tome nije nelagodno da razgovara s pojedincima, grupama, zajednicama, kao i s velikim grupama ljudi na univerzitetima, u parlamentima i drugim okruženjima.[14]

Postoji nekoliko poznatih strukturiranih programa koji prikupljaju lična svjedočanstva, prije svega osoba koje su preživjele holokaust. Neki od najproduktivnijih aktera koji prikupljaju narative su Američki memorijalni muzej holokausta i Institut za vizuelnu historiju i edukaciju Fondacije Šoa *(USC Shoah Fundation's Institute for Visual History and Education).* Misija Američkog memorijalnog muzeja holokausta, koji se bavi holokaustom, jeste "da unaprijedi i proširi znanje o ovoj tragediji

bez presedana, očuva sjećanje na stradale i ohrabri posjetioce da razmišljaju o... sopstvenoj odgovornosti...“[15] U misiji Fondacije Šoa je i cilj da “razvije empatiju, razumijevanje i poštovanje kroz svjedočanstva“.[16]

Javno iznošenje ličnih priča, bilo na spontan i nestrukturiran način ili kao dio formalnog projekta usmene historije, predstavlja suštinski dio podizanja na viši nivo glasova onih koji su preživjeli i onih koji nisu u cilju očuvanja sjećanja. Osim toga, osnivanje memorijala također ima važnu svrhu u institucionalizaciji sjećanja.

INSTITUCIONALIZACIJA SJEĆANJA I ZVANIČNI MEMORIJALI

Nije moguće dovoljno govoriti o važnosti memorijala, kao ni o kompleksnosti njihovog osnivanja, osmišljavanja i vođenja. Proces je uvijek zamršen, posebno kada se pravi memorijal u spomen relativno nedavnog ili kontroverznog događaja. Ibreck piše da “sjećanje na genocid se čuva u mnoštvu ustanova i kroz mnoštvo rituala u Ruandi, u vrijeme dok posljedice zvjerstava iz 1994. godine još uvijek utječu na preživjele i oblikuju društvene i političke odnose“.[17] Drugi su govorili o konceptualizaciji memorijala bilo kao o “sredstvima politike i nacionalizma ili kao izrazima žaljenja“.[18]

Zvanični memorijali osnivani su najčešće u spomen različitih vrsta velikih gubitaka, kao što su prirodne katastrofe, terористički napadi, ratovi ili genocid. Većina ih je pažljivo osmišljena

i izgrađena da trajno ostane. Treba ih posmatrati kao nešto mnogo složenije od spomenika ili mjesta sjećanja.

> *"Osnovno pitanje je uloga memorijala u postkonfliktnom pomirenju: da li memorijali podstiču pomirenje ili produžavaju podjele i ozlojađenost? Odgovor koji se pojavio... jeste da se kod memorijala ne radi prvenstveno o pomirenju, iako nakon nekog vremena mogu da se koriste i u te svrhe."*[19]

Zbog osporenog značenja spomenika ili memorijala, bilo je problema tokom ranih napora da se osnuje Memorijalni centar Srebrenica, pošto je bilo potrebno pozabaviti se suštinskim pitanjima.

> *"Važno je razumjeti da spomenici predstavljaju jedan način... oblikovanja razumijevanja historije budućih generacija. Memorijali odražavaju ideje i vrijednosti za koje jedno društvo vjeruje da treba da se zapamte i/ili poštuju. Stoga, proces kreiranja... memorijala može biti poprište borbe za kontrolu interpretacije istorije između suprotstavljenih percepcija i suštinski različitih sjećanja."*[20]

Definiranje svrhe memorijala i odluka u vezi s očuvanjem važnih glasova preživjelih bili su u prvom planu prilikom osnivanja Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica, i nastavljaju biti predmet diskusije. Bosna je i dalje veoma podijeljeno društvo i smatra se da ima najkomplikovaniju strukturu vlasti na svijetu.[21] Ova struktura vlasti, uspostavljena Dejtonskim mirovnim sporazumom kojim je i okončan rat, institucionalizirala je kulturu

poricanja, zbog čega je još važnije da se čuju i sačuvaju glasovi preživjelih.

S osnivanjem Međunarodne komisije za nestala lica[22] 1996. godine, omogućen je početak identifikovanja posmrtnih ostataka pronađenih u masovnim grobnicama. Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKTJ),[23] koji je procesuirao predmete ratnih zločina od 1993. godine, počeo je da intenzivira svoj rad. Kroz rad MTKJ-a, činjenice o Srebrenici su sudski utvrđene i zamah za kreiranje zvaničnog memorijala je rastao.

Memorijalni centar Srebrenica – Potočari – Spomen obilježje i mezarje za žrtve genocida iz 1995. godine, poznat pod nazivom Memorijalni centar Srebrenica, osnovan je 2000. godine odlukom Visokog predstavnika[24] za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Međunarodna zajednica nije ništa uradila za osnivanje zvaničnog memorijala, tako da je ovaj zadatak pao na preživjele. Ženske organizacije koje su se organizirale nakon genocida bile su primarna snaga koja je stajala iza zagovaranja osnivanja memorijala. Odbile su lokaciju koja je prvobitno bila predložena i insistirale da memorijal bude u Srebrenici kao posljednjem mjestu na kome je većina preživjelih posljednji put vidjela svoje članove porodice koji su kasnije pogubljeni. Čvrsto su smatrale da memorijal koji treba da institucionalizira njihova sjećanja mora biti na mjestu na kome su živjeli pod opsadom tokom rata i gdje se genocid dogodio i željele su centralnu lokaciju na kojoj će njihovi bližnji biti dostojanstveno sahranjeni. Porodice žrtava također su željele mjesto na kome će se reći istina, uključujući istinu o neuspjehu međunarodne zajednice.

Na početku se Memorijalni centar fokusirao na ukope i komemoracije, a prvi ukop obavljen je 2003. godine. Postojalo je centralno mjesto za ožalošćene, kao i mali prostor gdje su posjetioci mogli saznati činjenice o genocidu kroz čitanje nekoliko ličnih narativa i gledanje dokumentarnog filma. Kustosi su također iznosili činjenice i govorili o nekim od svojih iskustava.

S vremenom, godišnji ukop i komemoracija 11. jula narasli su i privukli svjetske medije i zvaničnike iz cijelog svijeta. Zbog međunarodne pažnje, više ljudi u svijetu počelo je da saznaje o srebreničkom genocidu.

Memorijalni centar Srebrenica, koji ima oko 120.000 posjetilaca godišnje, eksponencijalno je rastao i kada je riječ o njegovoj misiji i o fizičkom prostoru. Sada, uz godišnji događaj svakog 11. jula, Memorijalni centar razvio je mnogobrojne projekte osmišljene u cilju institucionalizacije sjećanja, podizanja glasova preživjelih na viši nivo, i edukacije na lokalnom i međunarodnom nivou. Neki od ovih projekata su:

Komemoracije i ukopi
Godišnji ukop i komemoracija 11. jula
Čitanje za Srebrenicu[25]
Godišnji Marš mira[26]
Godišnji događaj 13. jula[27]

Edukativni programi i materijali
Edukativni materijali i ture za posjetioce[28]
Online časovi i prezentacije[29]
Izvještaj o negiranju genocida iz 2020. godine[30]
12 dana sjećanja[31]

Britanski projekat "Istina, dijalog, budućnost"[32]
Biblioteka[33]

Istraživanje
Ubijeni prije pada Srebrenice[34]

Lični artefakti i projekti usmene historije
Projekat prikupljanja ličnih predmeta žrtava genocida[35]
Život iza polja smrti[36]
Iskustva djece tokom genocida u Srebrenici[37]
Pribavljanje audio i videosnimaka[38]

Od prvih ukopa 2003. godine, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica nastavio se razvijati i sada ulazi u novu fazu partnerstava i kompleksnijih projekata sjećanja i edukacije. Osim partnerstva s univerzitetima, postoje i druge organizacije posvećene edukovanju javnosti o srebreničkom genocidu. Jedna od najvećih i najaktivnijih je *Remembering Srebrenica,* britanska dobrotvorna inicijativa, koja obezbjeđuje opširnu edukaciju radi podizanja svijesti o genocidu širom Velike Britanije, te organizira komemorativne događaje i sponzorira česte posjete Srebrenici kako bi ljudi direktno učili od preživjelih. U Beogradu, Žene u crnom[39] igraju aktivnu ulogu u edukovanju građana Srbije na temu genocida, i pružaju aktivnu podršku bosanskim ženama koje su preživjele rat.

Godine 2020, Evropski parlament donio je rezoluciju kojom se 11. juli proglašava Evropskim danom sjećanja na žrtve genocida u Srebrenici.[40] Ova rezolucija podigla je godišnjicu srebreničkog genocida na nivo zvaničnog dana sjećanja u cijeloj EU, što je bilo u oštroj suprotnosti sa ruskim vetom na rezoluciju Vijeća

sigurnosti UN-a 2015. godine, kojom bi se srebrenički masakr priznao kao genocid.[41]

Kad preživjeli ponekad nailaze na podsmijeh i poricanje, postaje im izuzetno teško da se odluče javno podijeliti svoja iskustva ili učestvovati u projektima usmene historije. Pozitivne akcije, kao što je Rezolucija EU, od presudnog su značaja za suzbijanje sveobuhvatnog poricanja i historijskog revizionizma koji buja, posebno u Republici Srpskoj, entitetu Bosne i Hercegovine u kome se Srebrenica nalazi.

ZAKLJUČAK

Aktivnija, vidljivija uloga Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica stvara dublje povjerenje među preživjelima koji sada vide da je Centar sposoban institucionalizirati i sačuvati sjećanje, edukovati širu javnost o genocidu, i sigurno dokumentirati njihove lične priče koje predstavljaju veliku dragocjenost. Osim toga, pozitivan posao koji obavljaju organizacije kao što su Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava i Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava u Srbiji od suštinskog su značaja u pokušaju institucionaliziranja glasova i sjećanja onih koje je pogodio genocid u Srebrenici.

Počinioci genocida nisu pobijedili jer su preživjeli počeli da govore. Narativ o Srebrenici pripada njima. Memorijalni centar će nastaviti osiguravati da se njihova sjećanja i sjećanja njihovih najbližih sigurno čuvaju i budu dostupna za cijeli svijet.

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NEGIRANJE GENOCIDA KAO DRŽAVNA POLITIKA: SEĆANJE NA RATOVE DEVEDESETIH U SRBIJI OD PADA SLOBODANA MILOŠEVIĆA DO DANAS

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SAŽETAK

U radu se ispituje interpretacija genocida u Srebrenici u kontekstu službene politike sećanja na ratove devedesetih u Srbiji nakon pada Slobodana Miloševića 2000. godine. Rad sagledava negiranje srebreničkog genocida kao karakteristiku politike sećanja u Srbiji u ovom periodu, dok se promene u dominantnim diskursima o genocidu i širem kontekstu oružanih sukoba devedesetih godina tiču njihove artikulacije. Tokom prve decenije nakon smene Miloševićeve vlasti nije postojao jasan centralni narativ o ratovima devedesetih i službena politika sećanja nije podrazumevala fokus na izgradnji takvog master narativa. U periodu posle dolaska na vlast Srpske napredne stranke i njenih koalicionih partnera 2012. godine dolazi do konsolidacije jednog komemorativnog master narativa i ratova devedesetih kao ključne tačke politike sećanja. Negiranje genocida u Srebrenici i iskrivljavanje činjenica o ratovima devedesetih postaje otvorena državna politika. Rad predstavlja analizu paradigmi u službenoj politici sećanja i javnih i dominantnih diskursa o genocidu i ratovima devedesetih.

UVOD

U julu 2020. godine veliki broj medija u Srbiji preneo je vest o 5. godišnjici pokušaja atentata na predsednika Srbije Aleksandra Vučića.[1] Navodni pokušaj ubistva dogodio se 2015. godine dok je Vučić prisustvovao obeležavanju 20. godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici u Memorijalnom centru u Potočarima. Neki od okupljenih napali su Vučića kamenjem i flašama i on je morao da bude odveden sa komemoracije. Svake godine državni zvaničnici i tabloidi u Srbiji podsećaju na godišnjicu ovog događaja i izostanak pravde za predsednika Vučića. Čak i retki izveštaji o obeležavanju godišnjice u Potočarima 2020. godine u naslovu su fokus stavili na napad na Vučića.[2]

Umesto izveštavanja o 25. godišnjici genocida i posvećivanja pažnje žrtvama genocida i njihovim porodicama, mnogi mediji u Srbiji skrenuli su svu pažnju na ovaj navodni pokušaj atentata. Na taj način je Aleksandar Vučić ukrao 11. jul od žrtava genocida i postao centralna žrtva koje se treba sećati tog dana u Srbiji. Državni zvaničnici iz vladajuće Srpske napredne stranke (SNS) i njenih koalicionih partnera zahtevali su istragu i pravdu, optužujući vlasti Bosne i Hercegovine za nerešavanje slučaja. Od 2015. godine državni akteri i mediji bliski SNS režimu napravili su inverziju sećanja na 11. jul, koji se od početka srebreničkog genocida pretvorio u dan viktimizacije predsednika Srbije.

Više je iznenađujuća činjenica da je Aleksandar Vučić prisustvovao obeležavanju godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici nego

to što je njegovo prisustvo izazvalo gnev mnogih ljudi. Naime, samo devet dana nakon pada Srebrenice u julu 1995. godine Vučić, tada poslanik Srpske radikalne stranke (SRS), održao je govor u Narodnoj skupštini u kojem je podržao pretnju predsednika stranke Vojislava Šešelja da se za svakog ubijenog Srbina ubije 100 muslimana. Vučić je Šešeljevu pretnju nazvao dokazom "velike slobodarske tradicije SRS".[3] Iako je izjavio da postoje mnoge stvari koje je ranije govorio a koje danas ne bi ponovio, činjenica je da se Aleksandar Vučić nije mnogo udaljio od politike koju je zastupao tokom devedesetih godina.

Kontinuitet u društvu i politici u Srbiji između devedesetih godina prošlog veka i sadašnjeg vremena evidentan je u službenoj politici sećanja, čiji diskursi podsećaju na nacionalističku mobilizaciju tokom ratova u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i na Kosovu. Hegemonija takvih diskursa u današnjoj Srbiji nije iznenađujuća jer su mnogi trenutni državni akteri bili uključeni u ratnu mobilizaciju kao članovi SRS-a ili Socijalističke partije Srbije (SPS) Slobodana Miloševića.[4] Dominantni narativi o ratovima devedesetih izgrađeni su na dualnoj slici herojstva srpskih oružanih snaga i nevinosti i patnje srpskih žrtava, koja je dominirala srpskim medijima i tokom samih ratova. Ovakva binarna i uska perspektiva ne ostavlja prostora za osvrt na ratne zločine koje su počinili srpski vojnici, policijske ili paravojne snage i za priznanje žrtvama nesrpske nacionalnosti. Priznanje srebreničkog genocida nije kompatibilno sa takvim komemorativnim master narativom[5] i postoji politički konsenzus oko poricanja genocida i negiranja i iskrivljavanja činjenica o njemu.

Ovaj rad analizira interpretaciju, odnosno negiranje genocida u Srebrenici u kontekstu službene politike sećanja u Srbiji od 2000. godine. Politika sećanja, koja se u nemačkoj naučnoj literaturi naziva i istorijskom politikom *(Geschichtspolitik),* u ovom radu se shvata kao domen u kojem različiti akteri istoriju upotrebljavaju za svoje interese i u političke svrhe.[6] Iako državni akteri nisu jedini koji instrumentalizuju prošlost za potrebe sadašnjosti, oni su neuporedivi kada su u pitanju moć i resursi koje državni akteri ulažu u ovu sferu.[7] U tom smislu, državne institucije i zvaničnici, političke stranke i druge elite nadjačavaju različite grupe u društvu, imaju veći domet, ali imaju i autoritet i moć da ograniče suprotstavljene napore. Zbog toga službene politike sećanja i dalje predstavljaju prirodan izbor i vredan predmet istraživanja istorijskog sećanja.[8] Pitanje politike sećanja nije da li je istorijska slika koju promovišu države tačna, već kako i od strane koga, s kojim namerama i s kojim posledicama se istorijsko iskustvo pojavljuje u javnosti i postaje politički relevantno.[9]

POLITIKA SEĆANJA NAKON PADA MILOŠEVIĆA

Povratak nacionalističkim i patriotskim narativima o viktimizaciji praćen političkim pragmatizmom posebna je odlika perioda nakon dolaska SNS-a na vlast 2012. godine kada je u pitanju sećanje na ratove devedesetih.[10] Ratovi devedesetih nisu igrali ključnu ulogu u službenoj politici sećanja prethodnih vlasti vođenih Demokratskom strankom (DS), iako nije postojala ni politička volja za suočavanjem sa prošlošću i prevazilaženjem nasleđa vladavine Slobodana Miloševića.[11] Neposredno nakon

smene Miloševića nove vlasti imale su jedinstvenu priliku da povuku crtu između sebe i prethodnog režima i uspostave nove nacionalne diskurse, institucije i politike koje bi se odvojile od nasilne prošlosti i nasleđa ratnih devedesetih godina i prevazišle ih.[12] Do toga nije došlo.

Tokom prve decenije nakon smene Miloševića bilo je nekoliko propuštenih prilika za priznanje srebreničkog genocida. Neke državne inicijative i pokušaji koji su naizgled mogli da budu pozitivni koraci, poput Komisije za istinu i pomirenje Vojislava Koštunice iz 2001. godine, bili su zapravo unapred osuđeni na neuspeh.[13] Šansa za priznanje genocida i drugih ratnih zločina došla je 2005. godine sa pojavom video-snimka streljanja šestorice Bošnjaka od strane paravojne jedinice "Škorpioni" te usljed medijske pažnje i debata koje su usledile. Međutim, politički i društveni akteri na pozicijama moći u Srbiji nastavili su da čvrsto zastupaju tvrdnju da Srbija nije igrala nikakvu ulogu u događajima u Bosni i Hercegovini niti imala ikakvu vezu sa paravojnim formacijama poput "Škorpiona". Drugi dominantni narativ koji služi relativizaciji genocida u Srebrenici je umanjenje njegovih razmera i značaja kroz argument da su sve strane u ratu počinile zločine, naravno sa fokusom na zločine nad srpskim civilima.[14]

U martu 2010. godine Narodna skupština Republike Srbije donela je Deklaraciju o Srebrenici, koja "najoštrije osuđuje zločin nad bošnjačkim stanovništvom Srebrenice u julu 1995. godine".[15] Deklaracija nigde ne spominje reč genocid. Takođe, deklaracija u poslednjoj stavci ipak stavlja fokus na srpske žrtve

i relativizuje genocid u Srebrenici izražavajući očekivanje da će i druge države osuditi zločine "protiv pripadnika srpskog naroda, kao i da će uputiti izvinjenje i izraziti saučešće porodicama srpskih žrtava".[16] Važno je i napomenuti da se SPS već tokom prve decenije nakon pada Miloševića potpuno politički rehabilituje i postaje jedna od najsnažnijih političkih stranaka u Srbiji uz pomirenje s DS-om.[17]

MILITARIZACIJA I INDUSTRIJA SEĆANJA

Od 2012. godine dolazi do drastične promene u odnosu prema oružanim sukobima koji su pratili raspad Jugoslavije. Dok ratovi devedesetih nisu igrali ključnu ulogu u službenoj politici sećanja prethodnih vlasti, sećanje na njih postaje centralni izvor legitimiteta i političkog identiteta režima pod vođstvom SNS-a. Za razliku od različitih stavova i interpretacija ratnih dešavanja tokom prve decenije nakon 2000. godine, državni zvaničnici i institucije od 2012. godine ulažu ozbiljne napore u izgradnju i promociju jedinstvenog i centralnog master narativa o ratovima. Dominantna slika prošlosti zasniva se na prethodno pomenutoj binarnoj interpretaciji ratova devedesetih kroz prizmu srpskog herojstva i patnje. Svi napori u sferi politike sećanja služe učvršćivanju te slike, što podrazumeva iskrivljavanje i negiranje utvrđenih činjenica o ratovima koje ne odgovaraju interpretaciji srpskog naroda kao heroja ili nevinih žrtava.

Militarizacija sećanja na ratove devedesetih, kao i celokupnu istoriju, u Srbiji je višestruka. Prvo, u fokusu politike sećanja su isključivo zločini i žrtve ili novokonstruisani mitovi o bit-

kama poput borbi na Košarama i na Paštriku tokom rata na Kosovu. Aspekti devedesetih godina koji nose mirovnu poruku i mogli bi da doprinesu izgradnji održivog mira i pomirenja, poput antiratnog aktivizma ili pojedinačnih izraza tolerancije, pomaganja drugome ili težnje da se nasilje prekine, ne postoje u dominantnim narativima.[18] Drugo, u srži politike sećanja je glorifikacija srpske vojske, njene snage i hrabrosti njenih vojnika i komandanata, što uključuje i javnu promociju i podršku i ratnim zločincima. Konačno, militarizovana politika sećanja Srbije podrazumeva i militarizaciju komemorativnih praksi sa Vojskom Srbije i Ministarstvom odbrane kao glavnim akterima politike sećanja. Mnoge godišnjice obeležavaju se kroz vojne parade, prikaze snage Vojske Srbije i pokazivanje nove opreme, dok je Ministarstvo odbrane veoma aktivno i u izdavačkoj i muzejskoj delatnosti.[19]

Iza izgradnje master narativa i novih mitova o ratovima devedesetih stoji sveopšta državna industrija sećanja u kojoj sećanje služi kao strateški resurs i znak i proizvod političke moći,[20] a kojoj različite inicijative odozdo, iako mnogobrojne, ne mogu da pariraju.[21] U periodu nakon 2012. godine pojavljuju se centralne manifestacije kao komemorativne prakse vezane za godišnjice događaja iz ratova devedesetih. One su često putujuće ili se dešavaju istovremeno na više lokacija u Srbiji, a prenose se uživo na Radio-televiziji Srbije (RTS) i Youtube-u i time su prvi put dostupne svima. Uz podršku državnih institucija i javnog servisa, nastaje i filmska proizvodnja o događajima iz devedesetih. Centralni predmet industrije sećanja su pre svega rat na Kosovu, uključujući i NATO bombardovanje SR Jugosla-

vije, kao i vojno-policijska operacija Oluja, kojom se završio rat u Hrvatskoj 1995. godine. Od ovih događaja akteri politike sećanja stvaraju nove mitove o herojstvu, hrabrosti i patnji srpskog naroda. Važno je i napomenuti da je političko vođstvo Republike Srpske posebno važan partner u politici i industriji sećanja, pa Milorad Dodik prisustvuje i govori na najvažnijim komemorativnim manifestacijama.

Službena politika sećanja u Srbiji je društveno-politički kontekst koji ne samo da omogućuje već i ohrabruje i promoviše otvoreno poricanje genocida u Srebrenici. U hegemonim diskursima potpuno izostaje priznanje zločina nad žrtvama nesrpske nacionalnosti. Kada nisu nevidljive, žrtve srpskih snaga, poput žrtava genocida u Srebrenici, instrumentalizuju se kroz narativ o posvećenosti pomirenju i poštovanju tuđih žrtava, koji Aleksandar Vučić lično promoviše, dok istovremeno glorifikuje ulogu srpskih snaga u ratovima devedesetih.

GENOCID U SREBRENICI U KONTEKSTU SRPSKE POLITIKE SEĆANJA

Nijedna vlast u Srbiji od pada Slobodana Miloševića 2000. godine nije zvanično priznala šta se desilo u Srebrenici i okolini u julu 1995. godine kao čin genocida. Ne postoje naznake da se priznanje genocida može očekivati u ovakvoj političkoj konstelaciji. Službeni stav srpske vlade uvek je bilo negiranje genocida. Negiranje genocida u slučaju Srbije ne podrazumeva poricanje da su počinjeni zločini i da su se ubistva bošnjačkih muškaraca i dečaka dogodila. U pitanju je otvoreno odbijanje

da se ovi zločini nazovu njihovim pravim i sudski potvrđenim imenom, već se umesto toga koriste izrazi "zločin" i "strašan zločin". Drugi važan element politike poricanja srebreničkog genocida je osporavanje bilo kakve odgovornosti Srbije i eksternalizacija krivice. Tako, na primer, srednjoškolski udžbenik iz 2010. godine naziva genocid u Srebrenici ratnim zločinom i zločinom protiv čovečnosti koji je nad civilima i vojnicima počinila Vojska Republike Srpske zajedno sa paravojnim jedinicama. Autori udžbenika, koji je objavio državni Zavod za udžbenike, dalje napominju da je "MKSJ ovaj zločin kvalifikovao kao genocid, ali nije povezao Srbiju sa ovim događajem".[22]

Negiranje genocida nije novi fenomen u srpskom društvu, čija je zvanična priroda vezana isključivo za period vladavine SNS-a, koji je obeležen urušavanjem demokratije, rastom autoritarnih tendencija i populizmom.[23] Nova karakteristika je otvorenost u negiranju zločina uz istovremeno promovisanje narativa da Srbija pruža ruku pomirenja širom regiona. Narativ o posvećenosti pomirenju je i razlog zašto je Aleksandar Vučić išao u Potočare 2015. godine, dok je istovremeno negirao genocid, kao što ga i danas negira.

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SREBRENICA – OPOMENA ČOVEČANSTVU

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SAŽETAK

Genocid u Srebrenici je traumatska tačka za Beograd i svi pokušaji da se taj zločin negira i minimalizuje ostaju bez uspeha. Ovaj tekst ukazuje na odgovornost elita koje su učestvovale u planiranju i kreiranju atmosfere zla, a danas sistematski učestvuje u kreiranju narativa koji poriče odgovornost Beograda i sugeriše ne samo da je zločin u Srebrenici bio odgovor na zločine Bošnjaka već da su Srbi najveće žrtve. Taj narativ rat u Bosni kvalifikuje kao oslobođenje Srba. Uprkos brojnim presudama Međunarodnog krivičnog tribunala za bivšu Jugoslaviju i stavu Međunarodnog suda pravde u Hagu, država Srbija i dalje insistira na interpretaciji koja produbljuje tenzije između Srba i Bošnjaka. Napori međunarodne zajednice nisu doprineli prevazilaženju nedavne prošlosti i neizvesno je kada će Srbija odustati od svojih pretenzija na Bosnu. Srebrenica je bila moralni debakl međunarodne zajednice koji je u velikoj meri diskreditovao njene napore. Dejtonski sporazum je dodatno cementirao etničku podelu Bosne i Hercegovine. Sazreva mišljenje Zapada da je neophodno uložiti napor da se napokon okonča "unfinished business" i da se stvore uslovi koji će obezbediti funkcionalnu državu BiH. Genocid u Srebrenici je u tom smislu bio stalna opomena da je neophodno ispraviti nepravdu nad Bosnom i njenim narodima, posebno Bošnjacima.

UVOD

Srebrenicu nije moguće razumeti bez razumevanja srpskog nacionalnog projekta, od kojeg se još uvek nije odustalo – sada u opticaju kao "srpski svet". Suđenje Slobodanu Miloševiću pred Haškim tribunalom obelodanilo je ulogu ne samo Slobodana Miloševića, JNA, MUP-a, medija nego i srpskih elita (intelektualnih iz akademskih i kulturnih krugova) koje su imale presudnu ulogu u pripremi atmosfere i kondicioniranju srpskog naroda za ono što se dešavalo devedesetih. Ne treba zaboraviti zaprepaštenje Evrope i sveta kako se u Evropi "mogao desiti genocid usred civilizacije". Svedočenja žrtava pred Haškim sudom, a kasnije i pred nacionalnim sudovima, bila su šokantna, jer su dželati veoma dobro poznavali svoje žrtve, a ipak su bili u stanju da urade sve ono što su uradili. Uprkos tome što su najodgovorniji za zločine u Bosni osuđeni, oni su sada nacionalni heroji koji su se žrtvovali za nacionalni interes.

Ratna scenografija i narativ nisu se bitnije promenili ni do današnjih dana. Tragovi rata, pre svega mentalni, i dalje su vidljivi. Nije ih moguće izbrisati iz sećanja – ni žrtava ni dželata. Republika Srpska (RS) je simbol tog zločina i ona se neće oporaviti sve dok se sa tim zločinom ne suoči.

Ratovi devedesetih su bili prva ozbiljna kriza na evropskom tlu posle Drugog svetskog rata i zapravo je razumljiv toliki interes političara, medija, analitičara, posebno evropskih. Raspad

Jugoslavije sam po sebi nije bio problem, koliko njegova brutalnost. U to vreme bilo je mnogo teorija o tome ko je počeo rat, ali su uglavnom izjednačavane sve strane u sukobu. Haška suđenja su postepeno identifikovala suštinu – srpske imperijalne aspiracije. Tužilac u slučaju Milošević je shvatio da on nije mogao sam pokrenuti takav rat. Shvatio je da treba proučiti i ulogu srpske elite i zbog toga je naručio izveštaj o tome, koji je napisala Audrey Budding. Ona je i svedočila pred sudom, ali je bila izložena, kad je reč o Beogradu, užasnim pretnjama, osporavanjima i diskvalifikacijama.

Kako je bilo moguće da dojučerašnji susedi takoreći preko noći postanu dželati, odnosno žrtve? Emir Suljagić, mladić iz Srebrenice, sada pisac i političar, u svom "Pismu srpskom prijatelju" kaže: "Zastrašujuće u tom zločinu, na trenutke više i od razmjera, jeste njegova priroda, bliskost između ubica i žrtava".[1] Ideološka dehumanizacija žrtava upravo i ima za cilj da se zločin obavi bez savesti, a masovnim pokoljem /nad njima/ poriče se da su i oni ljudska bića.

Demonizacija protivnika je dugo trajala – najpre su oživljeni svi negativni stereotipi o drugima, a onda je pokrenuta kampanja o ugroženosti srpskog naroda i plasiranje konspirativnih teorija, koje su samo potkrepljivale već iznesene teze protiv "drugih". Demonizacija protivnika spada u oprobane metode da se ličnost dehumanizuje, a potom uništi. Mnogi srpski naučnici i akademici su legitimisali svojim imenima propagandu koja je vođena preko srpskih mejnstrim medija. Dakle, učestvovali su u kreiranju atmosfere koja je podstakla srpski narod na zlo. Oni

danas poriču da su učestvovali u takvim kampanjama jer sebe smatraju idealistima, patriotima, moralistima koji učestvuju u velikim istorijskim predstavama.

Zanimljivo je da je vodeća srpska elita koja je učestvovala u planiranju i kreiranju atmosfere zla poništila sve druge pojedince i grupe. Dakle, svi ti akademici (Ćosić, Marković, Ekmečić, Tadić, Isaković, Bećković i brojni drugi), svi oni žive(li) u nekom alternativnom svetu, pozivajući se na ljudske vrednosti, a u suštini učestvovali su u njihovom poništavanju – to su svest, moralnost, osećaj odgovornosti i realnosti.

Etničko čišćenje, genocid i uništavanje kulturne baštine Muslimana/Bošnjaka nije bilo moguće bez sveobuhvatnog planiranja. Sistematičnost i brzina kojom su se zločini dešavali u Bosni – od marta do septembra 1992. godine – ukazuju na to da je sve unapred bilo dobro isplanirano. Nedeljnik Vreme je 1991. objavio tekst o planu RAM[2] koji je pripremila vojska, a o kojem je kasnije bilo reči i u Haškom tribunalu. Mobilišuću ulogu imao je i srpski radikalni nacionalizam. Svi su preko toga olako prelazili, a Milorad Ekmečić, jedan od glavnih ideologa bosanskog rata, rekao je: "Ne bih to zvao ozbiljnim, to o RAM planu."[3]

Vrhunac zla koji se desio u Bosni je svakako srebrenički genocid. Kontekst tog zločina, pojedinačno najvećeg i najmonstruoznijeg zločina počinjenog tokom jugoslovenskih ratova 1991–1999. godine, opomena je čovečanstvu o neophodnosti stalne spremnosti za prepoznavanje politike koja planira takve zločine. Do njih nikada ne dolazi preko noći.

Zločin u Srebrenici dogodio se pune četiri godine nakon početka rata na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije. Rat u Bosni i Hercegovini je od početka 1992. godine bio genocidan, jer je politika zvaničnog Beograda podrazumevala etničko čišćenje. Ono je kroz različite forme nasilja i zastrašivanja, odnosno terora, imalo za cilj da Bošnjake sa teritorija na kojima su stolećima živeli, prvenstveno onih duž reke Drine, otera kako bi se stvorile čiste srpske etničke teritorije. Etničko čišćenje nisu izmislili Srbi. Međutim, uznemirava činjenica da se ono odvijalo, uprkos svim informacijama kojima se raspolagalo o masovnim ubistvima, maltretiranju, uništavanju kulturne baštine, pljačkama privatne imovine, masovnom nasilnom transferu ljudi i sl.

Izveštaj specijalnog izaslanika UN-a, Tadeusza Mazowieckog, još 1992. godine je upozorio na to da je etničko čišćenje bilo cilj rata, a ne njegova posledica. Osim toga, genocid je izuzetno složen proces, koji ima svoj početak, strukturisani tok, kao i svoj kraj, koji obično nastupa nakon žestoke spoljne intervencije. Ambasador Diego Arria je još 1993. godine u Savetu bezbednosti UN-a, kada je izveštavao o situaciji u Srebrenici, izašao sa kvalifikacijom o "puzećem genocidu". Postavlja se pitanje: kako je Srebrenica uopšte bila moguća? S jedne strane, odgovor je u nečinjenju međunarodne zajednice, koja je prema Konvenciji o sprečavanju i kažnjavanju genocida (iz 1949) bila obavezna da deluje, odnosno da (ga) "spreči i kazni". Nažalost, zapadne vlade su izbegavale da zločin nazovu pravim imenom – genocidom – kako bi izbegle i svoje obaveze proizašle iz Konvencije, koja, u krajnjoj liniji, podrazumeva i intervenciju. S druge strane, srpske snage su, ohrabrene okle-

vanjem međunarodne zajednice, realizovale zločinačku politiku bez ikakvog kažnjavanja. Događalo se upravo suprotno: u to vreme kontakt-grupa pokušava da ubedi strane u konfliktu da pristanu na etničku podelu Bosne i Hercegovine, do čega je kasnije i došlo u Dejtonu.

Jean Baudrillard je uoči samog pada Srebrenice (3. jul 1995) u listu *Liberation* objavio tekst u kojem kaže: "Optužujući Srbe da su 'opasne psihopate', mi uobražavamo da smo lokalizovali zlo i ne sumnjajući u čistotu naših demokratskih pobuda. Mi smatramo da smo obavili posao time što smo Srbe obeležili kao zle, ali ne i kao neprijatelje. I to sa razlogom, jer na svetskom poprištu, mi Zapadnjaci, Evropejci, borimo se protiv istog neprijatelja kao i oni – protiv islama, protiv muslimana."[4]

Genocid u Srebrenici bio je deo srpske strategije koja je Srebrenicu, zajedno sa Žepom i Goraždem, smatrala "muslimanskim koridorom" (tzv. "zelena transferzala") koji povezuje Sarajevo i Tursku preko Sandžaka, Albanije i Kosova. Po njihovom tumačenju, to je bila svojevrsna opasnost za čitavu Evropu, pa je zbog toga Srebrenica bila na meti Ratka Mladića još od 1992. godine. Ta interpretacija rata još uvek je aktuelna u Srbiji. Na njoj se utoliko više insistiralo nakon što su u Hagu obelodanjeni počinjeni zločini i njihova monstruoznost.

Haški tribunal je prvi međunarodni sud, osnovan 40 godina posle Drugog svetskog rata, i prvi uopšte nadležan za kažnjavanje genocida. Međutim, u vreme dešavanja u Srebrenici, kao nova institucija, nije bio u mogućnosti da spreči takvo finale rata u

Bosni i Hercegovini, pa čak ni da kasnije spreči sličan scenario na Kosovu. Samo je Vlada BiH još 1993. godine pokrenula postupak protiv Jugoslavije, odnosno Srbije i Crne Gore, pred Međunarodnim sudom pravde u Hagu za genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini. Međutim, presudom Međunarodnog suda pravde Srbija je oslobođena odgovornosti za genocid, ali je utvrđena njena odgovornost za nesprečavanje genocida u Srebrenici. Beograd je uložio ogromnu energiju i mobilisao celu pravnu elitu Srbije da na svaki način spreči kvalifikaciju o genocidu.

Kredibilitet proklamovanih demokratskih i moralnih vrednosti zapadnih zemalja događajima u Srebrenici bio je doveden u pitanje. Međunarodne snage, koje su štitile Srebrenicu kao zaštićenu zonu UN-a, jednostavno su ovaj grad predale srpskim snagama koje je predvodio Ratko Mladić. Holandski bataljon, koji je štitio Srebrenicu i Žepu, ne reagujući je posmatrao kako vojska bosanskih Srba osvaja zone bezbednosti – Srebrenicu i Žepu, da bi potom hladnokrvno, na očigled celog sveta, likvidirala blizu 10.000 muških civila, ne birajući ni godine ni uzrast.

S moralne tačke gledišta, Srebrenica je bila prekretnica u bosanskom ratu, ali istovremeno i simbol ravnodušnosti i ignorancije zapadnih zemalja. Genocid u Srebrenici usledio je nakon genocida u Ruandi, gde je ubijeno oko milion ljudi, što je međunarodna zajednica takođe ignorisala. Zato je Srebrenica isprovocirala ozbiljne moralne dileme svuda u svetu osim u Srbiji. Srebrenica je bila simbol neuspeha i neefikasnosti i Klintonove administracije na spoljnopolitičkom planu.

Srebrenica je tačka na kojoj se zapadna civilizacija "prelomila" i koja ju je prinudila da se vrati svojim izvornim vrednostima. Onim antifašističkim, na kojima zapadna civilizacija sada i počiva. Osuđeni su i odgovorni za zločin genocida u Srebrenici, među kojima i general Radislav Krstić kao najodgovorniji izvršilac. Ratko Mladić i Radovan Karadžić, kao inspiratori i organizatori, završili su pred Haškim tribunalom. Karadžić je osuđen na doživotni zatvor, a suđenje Mladiću još uvek traje. Proces suočavanja je pokrenut u celom svetu. Čak je i vlada Republike Srpske pod pritiskom pripremila vlastiti izveštaj o zločinu u Srebrenici. Takođe pod međunarodnim pritiskom, priznala je čak i broj ubijenih i, makar formalno, izvinila se. (Milorad Dodik se kasnije odrekao tog izveštaja i inspirisao je negiranje genocida na najvulgarniji i besraman način.)

Srbija je ostala izvan tog procesa. Još uvek se negira broj nestalih i ubijenih. I ne samo to. Tvrdi se da nije reč o civilima, već o presvučenim vojnicima, te da se ne radi o genocidu nego "užasnim zločinima". Naime, Srebrenica je za Beograd noćna mora, jer postoje toliki dokazi i presude baš za genocid u Srebrenici. Upregnuta je čitava pravna elita koja sistematski negira i obesmišljava rad Haškog tribunala. Aktuelna vlast je poricanje i negiranje odgovornosti toliko produbila da je to sada dominirajući narativ.

Ipak, postoje pojedinci, grupe i organizacije u Srbiji koji Srebrenicu doživljavaju kao sopstvenu odgovornost i sopstveni stid. To su ljudi koji ne propuštaju priliku da se oglase ili reaguju kad god je reč o Srebrenici i o ovom zločinu. Istoričarka Latinka

Perović ističe: "(…) Isceljenje zahteva višestruki napor. To će biti posao raznih nauka i umetnosti. Ali, svako od nas, savremenika te biblijske tragedije, kažnjivost zločina mora prihvatiti kao vlastiti moralni imperativ. To neće biti nadoknada za nedužne žrtve, ali će biti važan zalog za našu vlastitu budućnost."[5]

Jedan broj organizacija civilnog društva kao što su Fond za humanitarno pravo, Žene u crnom, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, Inicijativa mladih te niz pojedinaca, ali i medija nisu propustili priliku da se suprotstave dominirajućem trendu poricanja odgovornosti. Nastale su brojne knjige, dokumentarni filmovi, tekstovi koji ukazuju na to da jedan deo društva, doduše manji, ipak nije bio moralno ravnodušan. Svi ti ljudi i organizacije bili su etiketirani kao izdajnici i satanizirani u srpskom društvu, ali ostaje trag njihovog delovanja kao jedna druga mogućnost, kao vrednost koja će biti važno uporište za generacije koje tek dolaze.

ZAKLJUČAK

Rat u Bosni je zaustavljen, Dejtonski sporazum je doneo mir. Trebalo je više od decenije da se odgovorni nađu pred Haškim tribunalom, koji je ostavio iza sebe obimnu dokumentaciju i svedočanstva o dešavanjima u Bosni. Ipak, ne može se reći da je Bosna krenula pravim putem. Jer, Dejtonski sporazum je nametnuo rešenje koje Bosnu trajno čini disfunkcionalnom državom. Etnička podela koja je sankcionisana Dejtonskim sporazumom suprotna je vrednostima na kojim počiva savremena Evropa.

Milošević je isporučen Hagu, gde je i umro (2006), ali nacionalizam je u izvesnom smislu dalje radikalizovan zato što njegovi politički sledbenici (Šešelj, Vučić, Nikolić, Dačić i drugi) nacionalizam nude kao jedinu ideju koja još uvek snuje o oslobođenju i ujedinjenju. Bosanski rat je, kako ga je Ćosić kvalifikovao, "oslobodilački rat Srba", a Republika Srpska ratni plen od kojeg se neće lako odustati.

Dejtonski sporazum stvorio je nefunkcionalnu državu u kojoj su nacionalisti dobili ono što su želeli – monopol nad svojim zajednicama. Bosna je tako postala ružno ogledalo impotencije Evropske unije, koja nije bila sposobna da osmisli *nation building* jedne multietničke i pluralne države.

Zato Bosna nije više samo bosansko ili regionalno pitanje, već prevashodno evropsko, ili čak svetsko pitanje. Može se reći da danas postoji konsenzus EU i SAD-a da treba završiti "unfinished business" na Balkanu, prevashodno u Bosni. Pobeda Joea Bidena na američkim izborim i brojne izjave i paneli, kao i saslušanja *(hearing)* u Kongresu ukazuju na to da sledi novi pristup Balkanu, zapravo ne toliko novi koliko odlučan da se napokon stane na kraj nacionalistima koji su ceo region doveli do ivice ambisa.

Na uspeh takvih očekivanja svakako će uticati i turbulentna kretanja u Evropi i Americi koja ukazuju na krizu zapadnog demokratskog modela, njegove insuficijencije, te masovne migracije, terorizam i ostali izazovi savremenog sveta koji traže odgovore. Možda će upravo ti novi izazovi bosansko pitanje rešavati na pravim vrednostima.

Sonja Biserko

IZVORI

Emir Suljagić, "Srebrenica, 11. juli 1995. - 11. juli 2003.: Pismo srpskom prijatelju u Bratuncu", *Dani,* 1. 7. 2013, https://bhdani.oslobodjenje.ba/bhdani/arhiva/pismo-srpskom-prijatelju-u-bratuncu.

Jean Baudrillard, *Liberation,* 3. 7. 1995.

Jens-Martin Eriksen i Frederik Stjernfelt, *Scenografija rata* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2010).

Latinka Perović, "Duboki muk – još uvek", U: Sonja Biserko (Ur.), *Srebrenica: od poricanja do priznanja* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2005).

FUSNOTE

1 Emir Suljagić, "Srebrenica, 11. juli 1995. - 11. juli 2003.: Pismo srpskom prijatelju u Bratuncu", *Dani,* 1. 7. 2013, https://bhdani.oslobodjenje.ba/bhdani/arhiva/pismo-srpskom-prijatelju-u-bratuncu.

2 RAM je bio vojni plan razvijan tokom 1990. godine, a svrha su mu bili organizovanje Srba van Srbije, konsolidovanje kontrole nad Srpskom demokratskom strankom (SDS) te pripremanje oružja i municije u nastojanju da se uspostavi zemlja u kojoj bi "svi Srbi sa svojim teritorijama živjeli zajedno u istoj državi".

3 Jens-Martin Eriksen i Frederik Stjernfelt, *Scenografija rata* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2010), str. 114.

4 Jean Baudrillard, *Liberation,* 3. 7. 1995.

5 Latinka Perović, "Duboki muk – još uvek", U: Sonja Biserko (Ur.), *Srebrenica: od poricanja do priznanja* (Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2005), str. 720.

IV

UMETNOST

SMRT I DJEVOJKA

Ines Tanović
Rediteljica, scenaristica i producentica,
Bosna i Hercegovina

SAŽETAK

U ovom radu kroz vlastito iskustvo propitujem umjetničke prakse i artivizam u vezi sa temom odnosa prema genocidu. Uvodnim tekstom ću objasniti svoje iskustvo "logoraša" u opkoljenom Sarajevu, promišljanje o životu i smrti u ratnim okolnostima. U nastavku govorim o tome koliko je daleko ili blizu bila potreba da se sve to izrazi kroz umjetnost odmah dok se dešava ili da se rat tretira s vremenske distance. Kraj teksta je jedina logična misao, a to je da je za svaku žrtvu zločina potreban smiraj kroz priznanje ili izvinjenje.

UVOD

Odnos umjetnika i stvarnosti je uvijek ličan. Kada rat, smrt, razaranje i očaj prekinu maštanja o budućnosti, onda je zaista potpuno nepredvidiv i intiman način kako će se neko izboriti sa tim iznenadnim užasom. Oni hipersenzibilni koji imaju potrebu da artikulišu taj odjek u sebi kroz umjetničko djelo za mene su istinski autori.

Kako sam se ja, onda 26-godišnja djevojka, zanesena snovima o budućnosti filmskog reditelja, sa kućom koju sam upravo gradila da mi bude oaza stvaralačkog mira, mogla osjećati 2. maja 1992. godine? Tog dana je moj dugoočekivani dom razorila prva minobacačka granata, sljedeće tenkovske srušile su okolne zidove, nova stakla sasule detonacije, a šake snajperskih metaka dočekale su me na podu mog zamišljenog dnevnog boravka. Da li sam se ja tada trebala osjećati kao autor ili kao ljudsko biće koje je u tom momentu podsvjesno osjetilo da nikada više ništa neće biti isto, a koje i dalje misli da će se sve to završiti već sljedeći dan, već sljedeći mjesec, ali do ljeta sigurno, jer se more nikada ne preskače, pa neće ni ove.

Početkom godine sam kao mlada rediteljica nakon nekoliko uspješnih kratkih igranih filmova dobila na konkursu SIZ-a (Samostalna interesna zajednica) za kinematografiju sredstva za produkciju debitantskog igranog filma "Vukojedina". Bio je mart 1992. i život se činio fantastičan. Sad kad razmišljam o

čemu je bio taj scenarij, kao da se autorski krug polako zatvara. Radilo se o adaptaciji dijela romana Derviša Sušića "Hodža strah", koji se bavio periodom osmanske okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, o pobuni lokalnog stanovništva planinskog sela protiv okupatora. Ono zbog čega sam željela da pravim taj film bila je priča o pravdi koja je spora, ali dostupna. Tada sam tu priču doživljavala očima čitaoca, a onda me je život stavio u ulogu aktera. Šestog aprila '92. umjesto partija useljenja u novu kuću, počinje četverogodišnja agonija opsade mog grada i mene kao čovjeka i autora. 1423 dana pokušaja da preživim fizički, ali još više mentalno. Stvarnost je kreativnija od svega što mogu da zamislim kao autor. Svaki dan je isti, idem po vodu, cijepam drva, ložim peć da skuham kafu, traje vječnost da voda provri, sjedim u podrumu kuće jer mislim da sam tamo zaštićena od granata. Kakva zabluda, mi živimo ruski rulet iz minute u minutu, a na životu nas održavaju humanitarnom pomoći kako bismo bili pokretne mete. Prkosim sudbini tako što hodam sa psom, ratnim drugom, po razrušenom gradu, organizujem derneke pod kandilima sa preživjelim društvom, pjevamo, sviramo klavir, pijemo ljepljive likere ili pivo iz kanistera, koje se jedino još može nabaviti u opkoljenom gradu. Okus je bljutav, ali mi zamišljamo da je super i da nam je dobro. Prkosimo divljacima sa brda tako što se smijemo, jer samo nam je dvadeset i nešto godina. Nismo ni djeca ni odrasli. Većina dragih ljudi je napustila grad. Porodica se osipa. Nema više moje producentske kuće, nema filmskih kamera, nema 35 mm traka, sve staro je prestalo da važi. Ne znam da li ću više ikad biti reditelj…

Postajem majka pod granatama, sad živim za drugo, bitnije biće od mene. Više ja nisam važna, ni ja ni moji snovi. Važno je da sam nešto ostavila iza sebe, da raste, da svjedoči mom postojanju, ako poginem, ako ostanem bez nogu, ako me snajper ili granata osakate. Želim dokaz da sam živa, da sam bila živa. Je li moje dijete moje autorsko djelo? Taj prkosni krik koji sam jedino mogla i znala stvoriti tada? Ne znam, ali sam se kriomice od sebe same nadala da, ako preživim, ako ostanem normalna, možda opet budem pravila filmove onako kako znam, kako želim. Stvarnost je tada izgledala toliko okrutno jaka da sam se u poređenju s njom osjećala slaba. Zar se nije svaki dan kroz prozor, na ulici odvijao novi film? Gdje je nestao taj umjetnik u meni? Mučim se pitanjima dok dijete raste, sretno, nesvjesno užasa oko sebe. Da li sam barem dobra majka? Odgovori su ostajali u zraku.

I onda, odjednom, kažu – kraj je rata. Ja gledam kroz taj isti prozor i vidim razoreni grad, naše razorene duše i ne znam kako dalje. A nepravda i razočarenje da je žrtva možda bila uzalud dalje tiho razara nutrinu. S osjećajem nemoći da promijenim to svoje istrajavanje u prkosu za koje niko od nas nije dobio pravedan kraj rata, nastavljam da živim dalje u nadi da će se kad-tad istina glasno priznati i kazniti svi koji su nas zvjerski ubijali.

Moja prva dva profesionalna kratka filma IDEA (1988) i ČOVJEK "S" (1990) bila su zamišljena kao dokumentarci. Prvi o kuhinji Crvenog krsta i ljudima koji su u "ono" dobro vrijeme ipak bili gladni i nezbrinuti, a Čovjek "S" je trebao biti o retuši-

ranju historije u našem "totalitarnom" sistemu. U istraživanju za oba filma osjetila sam autorsku odgovornost i određenu vrstu strahopoštovanja prema ljudima koji su istinski akteri. U toj moralnoj dvojbi oko "manipulacije" materijalom radi boljeg ishoda filma odlučila sam da oba filma pravim kao kratke igrane. Odgovornost prema dokumentarnom materijalu, prema artefaktima, prema stvarnim živim ljudima – akterima filma nagnala me je da pobjegnem u igranu formu u kojoj mogu biti slobodna da ispričam priču kakvu hoću. Tada sam pomislila da je puno teže napraviti dokumentarni film nego igrani. Baš u odnosu na materijal koji obrađujem. U igranoj formi je dozvoljena umjetnička sloboda i odgovornost je isključivo na autoru. Kod dokumentarnog filma manje je zahtjevno misliti o kameri, montaži, režiji, koliko je bitno složiti to sve u jednu priču koja neće izmanipulisati aktera filma. Bila sam mlada, ali sam osjećala određenu vrstu strahopoštovanja prema ljudima čije priče želim snimiti. I nisam u tom momentu znala kako da prevaziđem taj strah i ispričam poštenu priču. Očito je trebalo da prođe vrijeme autorskog i ljudskog sazrijevanja, trebalo je da proživim to što sam proživjela živeći u Sarajevu sve vrijeme od rođenja do danas. Taj život me je formirao u autora kakav danas jesam.

Godine 1996. izlazimo iz opsade, dobili smo struju, vodu, plin, možemo da putujemo, da idemo na more… Možemo da radimo šta hoćemo, ali mi ne znamo šta sad. Dok smo četiri godine bili bombardovani, gladni, ranjeni, ubijani, dok smo gledali svu nepravdu koja nam se dešavala, svijet je otišao dalje. Niko nije čekao na nas. Snimali su se novi filmovi, održavali su se festi-

vali, televizije su pravile nove programe, kompjuteri su postajali novo osnovno životno sredstvo, a mi smo trebali da nadoknadimo sve to što smo izgubili sjedeći smrznuti u mraku podruma, gladni. Mi koji nismo izlazili iz Sarajeva za vrijeme opsade, koji nismo imali nikakve privilegije, izgubili smo godine i godine svega onog što je u svijetu bilo normalno. Mi smo još kucali na pisaću mašinu…

Iz pozicije žrtve trebalo je prevazići tu granicu i postaviti se ponovo u oko posmatrača/autora. Meni to nije bilo jednostavno. Osjećala sam zasićenost stalnim pričama o granatama, stradalima, ubijanjima – negativna propaganda je na nas ostavila trag. Osjećali smo se nemoćni i da se naš krik o istini ne čuje. Ja sam bila blokirana da pišem o ratu jer je još svjež u mojim venama, u venama mog djeteta. Previše blizu, nismo ga se mogli osloboditi jer je sve oko nas još uvijek mirisalo na rat.

Užasan je bio osjećaj bespomoćnosti kad smo saznali za Srebrenicu. Bili smo unutar sarajevskog grotla i sami zatočeni, a slušali smo vapaje ljudi iz Žepe i Srebrenice preko radioamatera. Iako i sami pod granatama, osjećali smo da je to što se tamo dešava neki poseban užas, nešto gore nego što se nama događa, nešto gore od onog što živimo i možemo zamisliti. Nama ipak niko nije uspio stići na vrata domova da nas kolje i ubija. Mi smo bili mete bez lica i imena zločincima sa brda. Ali Srebrenica i Žepa su bile razoružane, prepuštene UN-u, koji nas je toliko puta razočarao. Strah i slutnja uvlačili su se u nas, koji smo se ipak nadali da to Svijet neće dozvoliti. Bilo je strašno svaki dan saznavati razmjere zločina. Tek kad je rat

Fotografija br. 1 (iz filma IZLOŽBA)

stao, mogao se sagledati sav užas i shvatiti o čemu se radilo u istočnoj Bosni. Historija se tamo ponavlja kao usud.

I kako sad praviti film o ratu? Živim mir, a rat zapravo nikad nije ni završen. Osjećam se malo i nemoćno u tome. Rekonstruišem svoj život polako, nastavljam raditi na državnoj televiziji, radim dječije programe, programe o baletu, o književnosti, ozbiljnoj muzici. Sve samo što dalje od patnje.

I onda dolazi poziv da snimim postavku izložbe genijalnog slikara Ede Murtića u razrušenoj Vijećnici. U građevini koju sam gledala kako gori u ratu i čiji su izgoreni papiri knjiga nacionalne biblioteke padali po mom krovu i dvorištu. Pristajem misleći da je to samo jedan od filmova o umjetnosti. U toku snimanja upoznajem

Fotografija br. 2 (iz filma IZLOŽBA)

se sa nikad do tada izloženim djelima Ede Murtića posvećenim stradanju Dubrovnika 1991. godine. To su crteži koji pokazuju slikarevo viđenje stradanja i patnje njegovog naroda. Izložba dobija na monumentalnosti kontekstom u kojem je smještena. Izgorena Vijećnica nije mogla biti bolje mjesto za ovakvu postavku i IZLOŽBA postaje moj prvi dokumentarni film. Nekako se taj film jednostavno intuitivno desio, autorski sam osjetila kako da sklopim taj materijal u cjelinu i da pobjegnem od očekivanog TV prikaza. Film je predstavljen u Cannes Short Film Corneru 2009. godine. To mi je dalo samopouzdanje da mogu biti autor i dokumentarnog filma iako je moja preokupacija godinama igrana forma.

Ovo je film koji je nastao 13 godina nakon kraja rata, u vrijeme kad sam se osjećala dobro, radila mnogo, spremala svoj prvi igrani film, rat se činio tako daleko tih godina.

Ines Tanović

Fotografija br. 3 (iz filma JEDAN DAN NA DRINI)

I onda, ljeto 2010, divan sunčan dan u gradu, sjedim sa svojim mužem i producentom Alemom Babićem u jednoj od sarajevskih kafana. Pričamo o odlasku na more, život puno obećava, kao da ništa ne može da ga pokvari, idemo na zasluženi odmor. Sa radija u kafiću emituju apel Instituta za nestale osobe BiH da se prijave dobrovoljci koji će se priključiti ekipama Instituta na pronalaženju i iskopavanju ljudskih ostataka na obali isušenog jezera Perućac. Brana na rijeci Drini se pokvarila, turbina je prestala sa radom i, da bi je osposobili, bilo je potrebno da se isuši vještačko jezero Perućac. Kad je voda krenula da otiče, iz mulja jezera su počele da izviruju ljudske kosti. Stotine ljudskih ostataka skupljene su u velikoj akciji koja se odvijala na jezeru tog jula i augusta 2010. godine. Volonteri su dolazili i golim rukama kopali mulj jer su tražili svoje najbliže ubijene u Višegradu od 1992. do 1995. To su bili ostaci stradalih Bošnjaka Podrinja. Porodice su godinama u agoniji jer ne znaju gdje su njihovi nestali. Nema ih, ne mogu ni da ih sahrane. Kao neko ko

Fotografija br. 4 (iz filma JEDAN DAN NA DRINI)

je proživio rat u Sarajevu, ali bez gubitaka bliskih ljudi, slušala sam stalno apele preživjelih iz Srebrenice i cijele istočne Bosne, iz Mostara i drugih dijelova Bosne i Hercegovine da se otkriju mjesta masovnih grobnica kako bi mrtvi našli smiraj. Nažalost, sve ove godine poslije rata bilo je malo ljudi među agresorima koji su otkrili lokacije masovnih grobnica kako bi pomogli da se barem u smrti zvjerski ubijeni smire.

Slušajući taj apel da se dođe i pomogne na jezeru Perućac, jer Srbija radi sve da se brana što prije osposobi kako bi se sve te kosti ponovo našle pod vodom i zločin se ponovo sakrio, rekla sam naglas da ja to moram da snimim. Da moram to da zabilježim kao dokument da se zna i da se ima. Alem je prihvatio moj prijedlog i zajedno smo organizovali da odmah sutra idemo sa ekipom na jezero, sa stručnim forenzičkim timom, dobrovoljcima i policijom koja je štitila te ljude da ih

neko ne bi napao. Teritorija je duboko u Republici Srpskoj, na granici sa Srbijom. Niko od nas se nije lagodno osjećao. Jedva smo našli snimatelja jer je vrijeme odmora. Nas troje, mala ekipa, odlučna da snimi sve što zatekne na terenu, krenula je u zoru sa kolonom. Bilo je to prvi put da poslije rata prelazim entitetsku granicu, zamišljenu liniju koja nas je razorila kao društvo, moralno i fizički. Snimatelja sam postavila u autobus sa dobrovoljcima da sačuvamo svaki trenutak tog puta. Kad smo stigli poslije dugog silaska na obalu rijeke, dočekali su nas mulj, žute trake, forenzičke zastavice prosute po pješčanoj obali. Vreo ljetni dan. Mjesec ramazana. Mnogi od ljudi poste, do sumraka ne uzimaju ni vodu ni hranu. Mislila sam da će se onesvijestiti na ogromnim temperaturama, ali svi su strastveno radili. Moja uloga reditelja je tu bila skoro nepotrebna. Priča se odvijala sama. Hodala sam kilometrima gore-dolje pored rijeke sa kamermanom da što više zabilježimo. I vidjela sam prvi put

Fotografija br. 5 (iz filma JEDAN DAN NA DRINI)

Fotografija br. 6 (iz filma JEDAN DAN NA DRINI)

ljudske ostatke. I pored toga što sam bila u ratu, nikada nisam vidjela mrtvo ljudsko biće. To je bio šok za mene kao čovjeka, ali kao autor sam bila zadovoljna da smo imali tako dobre snimke. Paradoks je u tome da više mrtvih znači da će film biti bolji. Sebi postavljaš pitanje kako možeš tako da reaguješ. Za mene je važno bilo da film govori u ime tih ubijenih ljudi, da ispriča njihovu priču, da pokaže istinu. Nakon cjelodnevnog snimanja vratili smo se u Sarajevo s planom da ćemo doći ponovo da kompletiramo materijal. Za nekoliko dana saznali smo da više ne smijemo ići jer smo kao ekipa bili prijetnja forenzičkom timu. Prisustvo kamera i to što dokumentujemo slikom šta se desilo izazvalo je reakcije sa srpske strane: odlučeno je da više ne smijemo doći. Materijal koji smo snimili tog dana je mjesecima stajao u montaži jer sam mislila da ne mogu ništa napraviti, čak ni TV vijest. Alem je poslije nekog vremena rekao da je šteta da taj materijal stoji i da bi bilo dobro da ga pogledamo i nešto od toga napravimo. Film smo smontirali za vrlo malo dana, jer

je bilo i malo materijala. Međutim, sa nekoliko dramaturških intervencija, taj, na prvi pogled arhivski, materijal je u montaži postao 17-minutni film. Kad sam ga prvi put pogledala u cjelini, emocije su me preplavile i plakala sam kao svaki gledalac potresena onim što vidim. Čudno je to da kada ste autor, na snimanju gledate samo kako da dobijete najbolji kadar, a kada taj isti materijal vidite kao gotov film, doživite ga prvi put sa autorskim odmakom. Vidite ga kao cjelinu koja ima neku priču. Film je doživio mnoge festivalske premijere i nagrade, proglašavan remek-djelom, ali za mene je od svega najvažnije da je ostao trag za generacije koje dolaze o tome šta se desilo i šta je prava istina, jer slika govori a ne laže…

Na drugačiji način je nastao film ŽIVI SPOMENIK – kao odgovor na zadatu temu. Producentica Amra Bakšić Čamo me je 2013. pitala da li želim da učestvujem kao autor u seriji dokumen-

Fotografija br. 7 (iz filma ŽIVI SPOMENIK)

Fotografija br. 8 (iz filma ŽIVI SPOMENIK)

taraca koje je producentska kuća Pro.ba radila za neki strani fond. Rekla mi je da su sve atraktivnije teme već podijeljene među autorima i da je samo ostala tema "Spomenik". Po glavi mi se vrtjelo nekoliko različitih rakursa iz kojih bi se ova tema mogla obraditi. Jedan je bio da snimam poznata, a neobilježena stratišta iz proteklog rata na kojima bi trebalo izgraditi spomenike, drugi je bio da snimam zaboravljene spomenike iz prošlog sistema i šta su njihova današnja čitanja. Treći pristup je prevagnuo jer je bio drugačiji od očekivanog – bavila sam se pojmom šta je uopšte spomenik. Za mene to nije građevina, fizički objekat, već sadržaj zbog kojeg taj spomenik treba da postoji. Istinski sadržaj su zapravo priče, svjedočenja ljudi. Tako je nastao koncept za film Živi spomenik. U istraživanju za temu tražila sam žrtve zločina iz proteklog rata, ali iz različitih kategorija – ljude koji su preživjeli logore, koji su izgubili djecu, silovane žene i preživjele iz Srebrenice. Ni jednoj žrtvi nisam dodala ime upravo da bih dobila čiste priče o patnji ljudi koji-

ma na licu nigdje ne piše koje su nacije. Patnja je univerzalna, zločin je neoprostiv bez obzira na to o kome se radilo. Tako je nastao film koji je ispovijestima stradalnika stvorio virtualni spomenik svim žrtvama ratnih stradanja.

ZAKLJUČAK

Moji dokumentarni filmovi su nastajali unutarnjim porivom da budem svjedok toga šta su čiste nepatvorene emocije i da to zabilježim. Treba snimati svjedočenja dok su akteri živi i to je jače od bilo kojeg igranog, rekreiranog događaja. Često sam se pitala zašto da pravim igrani film o ratnim temama kad su artefakti tu oko nas, sve vidimo, sve čujemo, samo ako nas zanima. Zato treba snimati, bilježiti i nekad će neko sa one druge strane to ipak vidjeti i čuti. Sveta dužnost autora je da bude iskren i da se bavi bitnim temama. Dokumentarna for-

Fotografija br. 9 (iz filma ŽIVI SPOMENIK)

ma je žanr koji možda najbolje i najiskrenije govori o ratu jer su žrtve još žive i autentičnija je njihova ispovijest od bilo koje interpretacije istog događaja.

I dok sam snimala ove dokumentarce, pripremala sam svoje igrane filmove koji su se bavili isključivo sadašnjošću, jer sam smatrala da sam ja taj svjedok društva koje se i poslije 20 godina ratnih dešavanja i dalje osjeća zarobljeno posljedicama rata. Osjećala sam da imam pravo da govorim o tome jer sama to proživljavam.

Pišem novi, treći scenarij. Nakon skoro 30 godina od početka rata ono što me muči je priznanje zločina i koliko godina ćemo se baviti prošlošću i time šta se tačno desilo… Kako doći do pomirenja… Mi znamo šta je bilo, sad treba da radimo na onome što se dešava poslije, na priznavanju toga što je bilo, a nakon svega toga na izvinjenju…

Šta za žrtve znači izvinjenje – ja mislim da znači apsolutno jedini mogući smiraj.

Moji filmovi su moj put da njima, nama, društvu olakšam potragu, dokumentarnim ili igranim filmom, ljudski i autorski…

Fotografije iz dokumentarnih filmova:

Izložba / Exibition.
Jedan dan na Drini / A Day on the Drina.
Živi spomenik / Living Monument.

ULOGA MUZEJA U DOKUMENTACIJI I PREVENCIJI NEGIRANJA GENOCIDA

Jasminko Halilović
Osnivač i direktor Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva, Bosna i Hercegovina

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad govori o doprinosu koji muzeji i kulturne institucije daju procesima suočavanja s prošlošću, odnosno dokumentaciji genocida i prevenciji negiranja genocida. U uvodnom dijelu rada diskutuje se potreba da se muzeji bave ovom temom te se objašnjava regionalni kontekst koji će biti u fokusu.

Zatim se donosi pregled rada muzeja u oblasti dokumentacije genocida u svijetu, poput onih koji se bave Holokaustom ili genocidom u Kambodži ili Ruandi. Dat je i pregled institucija koje se bave dokumentacijom i prezentacijom srebreničkog genocida.

U glavnom dijelu rada predstavljen je rad Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva na dokumentaciji genocida u Srebrenici iz ugla djece. Osim informacija o rezultatima zajedničkog rada sa Memorijalnim centrom Srebrenica, u ovom dijelu su prezentirana i neka od prikupljenih svjedočanstava i materijala iz arhiva Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva.

UVOD

"Muzeji 21. stoljeća imaju veću obavezu nego ikad da promoviraju jednakost i ljudska prava. (...) Desetine hiljada muzeja širom svijeta dočekuju milione posjetilaca svakog dana, te igraju važnu ulogu u informisanju, obrazovanju i mijenjanju društva. (...) S obzirom da su među institucijama kojima se najviše vjeruje, muzeji to moraju iskoristiti da učvrste svoju poziciju vodećih edukatora o ljudskim pravima i jednakosti."[1]

Novi trendovi u muzejskoj industriji upućuju na mnogo aktivniju društvenu ulogu u kojoj muzeji više neće isključivo bilježiti prošlost, već će aktivno odgovarati na probleme sadašnjosti i izazove koje donosi budućnost. U tom kontekstu, i muzeji koji su posvećeni dokumentaciji genocida, ili oni koji djelimično u njoj sudjeluju kroz svoj rad, imaju odgovornost i obavezu raditi proaktivno na prevenciji negiranja genocida i zločina koje su dokumentovali.

Duboka polarizacija historiografije i normalizacija etnonacionalizama onemogućile su kritičko suočavanje sa bliskom prošlošću zemalja bivše Jugoslavije. Ono je u postkonfliktnoj Bosni i Hercegovini zamijenjeno historijskim revizionizmom i selektivnim, etnocentričnim pristupom tumačenju proteklog rata (1992–1995).

Nespremnost suočavanja s prošlošću je u bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu najočitija u devijantnom tumačenju, a nerijetko i otvorenom negiranju ratnih zločina koji su se desili u Srebrenici. Zločini počinjeni u julu 1995. pod vodstvom Voj-

ske Republike Srpske bili su usmjereni na progon i masovna ubistva bošnjačkog stanovništva, a svojom su magnitudom bili najveći u Evropi poslije Drugog svjetskog rata. Međunarodni sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju (ICTY) je 2004. godine zločine u Srebrenici okarakterisao kao *genocid,* koji je u Konvenciji o prevenciji i kažnjavanju zločina genocida (1948) definisan kao "namjera potpunog ili djelimičnog uništenja nacionalne, etničke, rasne ili vjerske grupe". Ova presuda je ujedno bila i prva presuda za genocid u Evropi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

DOPRINOS MUZEJA DOKUMENTACIJI GENOCIDA I PREVENCIJI NEGIRANJA GENOCIDA

Dok se sud u Hagu bavio krivičnim procesima protiv organizatora i počinitelja ratnih zločina, odgovornost je bila na zemljama bivše Jugoslavije da iznjedre novu samokritičku historijsku misao koja će se aktivno baviti kolektivnim sjećanjem i konstruktivnim dijalogom o nasilnoj prošlosti. Tribunal u Hagu je u tom kontekstu "metadon, a ne trajno rješenje, zato što minuli rat nije bio događaj, nego eksplozija struktura čiju iracionalnost treba sputavati aktivnim nezaboravom".[2] Priznanje odgovornosti i promjena kulture sjećanja prvi su korak u razvijanju novog sistema vrijednosti, u kojem će saznanja o prošlosti "obavještavati, a ne pravdati interese sadašnjice".[3] U kontekstu zaoštrenih debata o prošlosti, postavlja se pitanje da li su aktivno sjećanje i upozoravanje na prošlost konstruktivni.

Pored državnih i međunarodnih mehanizama za suočavanje sa prošlošću kao što su sudovi i komisije za pomirenje, zemljama

tranzicijske pravde su potrebne institucije koje će u javni prostor suprotstavljenih historijskih narativa unijeti ideje pomirenja i pluralizma. Ta potreba otvara pitanje potencijala kulturnih institucija, a naročito muzeja, kao instrumenata aktivnog sjećanja i samorefleksije koji su neophodni za proces pomirenja nakon okončanja sukoba.

Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, svjetska kulturna scena je svjedočila globalnoj proliferaciji memorijalnih muzeja kao transkulturnih formi suočavanja s prošlošću.[4] Memorijalni muzej Holokausta u Washingtonu (USHMM), posvećen žrtvama Holokausta, osnovan je kao "živući memorijal" i iskustveni, narativni muzej koji prenosi priču i poziva na emotivnu vezu sa posjetiocima.[5] Upravo su središnja uloga priče i sekundarna uloga materijalnih izložbenih predmeta ono što USHMM razlikuje od tradicionalnog historijskog muzeja. Pored toga, USHMM je danas i jedan od najvećih naučnoistraživačkih centara o Holokaustu. Za razliku od tradicionalnog poimanja uloge muzeja, USHMM pored memorijalizacije i realizacije izložbenog sadržaja aktivno sudjeluje u modernom razvoju historiografije, učestvuje u postavljanju teških pitanja i stoji na pročelju novih naučnih istraživanja o Holokaustu.[6]

Takvi su i memorijalni muzej genocida Tuol Sleng u Phnom Penhu, posvećen žrtvama genocida u Kambodži, i čileanski Muzej historije i ljudskih prava, posvećen žrtvama vojne diktature. Šest godina prije osnivanja čileanskog memorijala otvoren je i Memorijalni centar za žrtve genocida u Kigaliju, posvećen žrtvama genocida nad populacijom Tutsi u Ruandi. Slijedeći

uspješne prakse svojih prethodnika, misija muzeja u Kigaliju jeste pružati podršku preživjelima, informisati i educirati javnost o uzrocima i posljedicama genocida, podučavati o strategijama prevencije genocida i dokumentirati materijalne dokaze i lična svjedočenja preživjelih.

U Amsterdamu Kuća Anne Frank, koja također djeluje kao muzej, predočava lično iskustvo Anne Frank, na taj način svjedočeći o žrtvama nacizma. Pored predstavljanja autentičnih materijalnih ostavština porodice Frank i njihovih prijatelja, Kuća Anne Frank se aktivno bavi i naučnoistraživačkim aktivnostima iz oblasti historije i društvenih nauka, kao i edukacijama na temu antisemitizma, negativnih stereotipa i diskriminacije i ljudskih prava.

U kontekstu zapadnog Balkana, odnosno Bosne i Hercegovine, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica (MCS) radi na podizanju svijesti o genocidu u Srebrenici, u isto vrijeme promovirajući pomirenje, toleranciju i međuetnički i međureligijski dijalog. Memorijal se sastoji od dvije komponente: mjesta gdje su ukopani posmrtni ostaci žrtava srebreničkog genocida i nekadašnje Fabrike akumulatora, koja je služila kao sjedište UN-ovog bataljona, a u kojoj se sada nalaze izložbena postavka spomen-sobe, multimedijalna soba, dokumentacioni centar i drugi muzejski sadržaji.

Istovremeno sa naporima Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica, sjećanje na genocid čuva i Galerija 11/07/1995 u Sarajevu, u kojoj je moguće pogledati fotografije osnivača Galerije Tarika

Samaraha te saznati činjenice o genocidu u Srebrenici. Sarajevski Muzej ratnog djetinjstva (MRD) također je realizirao poseban projekt Djeca i genocid (Children and Genocide), a kroz koji je, u saradnji sa Memorijalnim centrom Srebrenica, dokumentovano i prezentirano iskustvo ljudi čija su djetinjstva obilježena srebreničkim genocidom.

Svi navedeni muzeji kroz svoje proaktivno i društveno odgovorno djelovanje nadilaze pojedinačne i lokalne komemorativne prakse. Oni nisu samo muzeji posvećeni žrtvama i preživjelima, već imaju i važnu društvenopolitičku i međunarodnu ulogu prenošenja historijskog znanja u javni prostor.[7] Onda kada je lično sjećanje sa individualnog nivoa premješteno u institucionalni okvir, ono postaje važan alat u borbi protiv politike zaborava, ali i historijskog revizionizma.

RAD MUZEJA RATNOG DJETINJSTVA NA DOKUMENTACIJI I PREVENIRANJU NEGIRANJA GENOCIDA

Složena bosanskohercegovačka stvarnost i politička kultura koja nerijetko podstiče instrumentaliziranje i banaliziranje historijskog sjećanja pred muzeje kao kulturne institucije stavila je višestruke izazove. Ideja da se u takvoj političkoj klimi osnuje muzej koji će djelovati u pravcu pomirenja i baviti se sjećanjem bez da nad njim deklariše apsolutni autoritet privukla je veliku pažnju javnosti 2015. godine kada je objavljeno da se radi na osnivanju Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva u Sarajevu.

Muzej ratnog djetinjstva nastao je kao rezultat sedmogodišnjeg istraživačkog rada na temu kolektivnog iskustva odrastanja u ratu. U junu 2010. autor projekta uputio je putem web-stranice otvoreni poziv ljudima koji su svoje djetinjstvo ili dio djetinjstva proveli u ratu od 1992. do 1995. da se jave i daju kratak odgovor na pitanje: "Šta je za tebe djetinjstvo u ratu?" Ideja se brzo širila preko društvenih mreža i za samo tri mjeseca u projekt se uključilo preko 1.500 ljudi iz 38 država svijeta. Kao rezultat projekta, 2013. godine je objavljena knjiga "Djetinjstvo u ratu", u kojoj se našlo 1.030 kratkih sjećanja isto toliko ljudi. Zvaničnom otvaranju Muzeja u januaru 2017. godine prethodili su izdanje knjige na nekoliko stranih jezika te nekoliko privremenih izložbi. Prva izložba, održana u Historijskom muzeju Bosne i Hercegovine, privukla je preko 4.000 posjetilaca za samo 10 dana te potvrdila potrebu za stalnom postavkom u Sarajevu. Na njoj je premijerno pokazan dio prikupljene kolekcije ličnih predmeta i priča ljudi čija je djetinjstva obilježio rat u BiH.

Stalna postavka Muzeja otvorena je u januaru 2017. godine u Sarajevu, a godinu dana kasnije Muzej je dobio i Muzejsku nagradu Vijeća Evrope za 2018. godinu u programu Evropski muzej godine. Kao prvi svjetski muzej koji se bavi isključivo temom odrastanja u ratu, Muzej ratnog djetinjstva ima misiju kontinuirano i po najvišim standardima dokumentirati i digitalizirati materijale koji se odnose na odrastanje u ratu, te ih prezentirati kroz izložbe i različite medije, u cilju edukacije šire publike o ovom iskustvu.

Dosadašnji rad Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva pokazao je da njegove izložbene, istraživačke i edukativne aktivnosti jednako

dopiru do različitih ljudi, bez obzira na dobne, rodne, političke, nacionalne i druge različitosti. Nasuprot jednostranoj političkoj retorici zasnovanoj na podjelama, Muzej ratnog djetinjstva kroz svoju duboko antiratnu poruku doprinosi osnaživanju međusobnog razumijevanja.

Na individualnom nivou Muzej nastoji pomoći pojedincima prevazići posttraumatska iskustva i spriječiti traumatizacije drugih. Na kolektivnom nivou Muzej doprinosi unapređenju međusobnog razumijevanja, s ciljem da podrži lični i društveni razvoj. U bosanskohercegovačkom kontekstu postkonfliktnog istraživanja on predstavlja prvi opsežan kvalitativni istraživački poduhvat u dokumentaciji iskustva djetinjstva obilježenog oružanim sukobom. Osim istraživačke, te uloge u procesu izgradnje i promocije mira, pozitivnom su ocijenjene i druge uloge koje Muzej ratnog djetinjstva ima u društvu, uključujući promociju društvenog poduzetništva te promociju izvrsnosti u muzejskoj djelatnosti.

Povodom 25. godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici, Muzej ratnog djetinjstva je zajedno sa Memorijalnim centrom Srebrenica od 2019. godine radio na dokumentaciono-istraživačkom projektu tokom kojeg su prikupljena svjedočenja i lične uspomene onih koji su kao djeca preživjeli genocid u Srebrenici. Formirana je zajednička kolekcija dvije institucije i to je prva kolekcija o iskustvu osoba koje su kao djeca preživjele genocid u Srebrenici.

Proces dokumentovanja ličnih sjećanja podrazumijevao je videodokumentovanje svjedočenja primjenom metode usmene

(oralne) historije. Usmena (oralna) historija je kvalitativna metoda koja se koristi u etnologiji, arhivistici i drugim naukama za prikupljanje podataka koji se baziraju na ličnim sjećanjima na određeni događaj ili period, a pokazala se naročito korisnom u kontekstu društava tranzicijske pravde, gdje nerijetko djeluje uporedo sa zvaničnim historijskim izvorima kao važno sredstvo za facilitaciju dijaloga o prošlosti.

Početkom 2020. godine predstavljeni su rezultati prve faze dokumentacije iskustava djece tokom genocida u Srebrenici. U projektu je učestvovalo preko 100 učesnika i učesnica koji su u prostorijama Muzeja pred kamerom dijelili svoje lične priče, a neki od njih su umuzejili i rijetke lične predmete koji ilustruju neka od njihovih sjećanja. Važno je naglasiti da je proces evociranja sjećanja na traumatično iskustvo preživljavanja ratnih zločina izuzetno težak i iscrpljujući zadatak ne samo za one koji se sjećaju već i za one koji to sjećanje dokumentuju. Stoga Muzej ratnog djetinjstva u sklopu svoje metodologije ima i niz politika i procedura zaštite kako učesnika tako i istraživača i članova tima. U nekim projektima i aktivnostima, što je bio slučaj i sa ovim projektom, cijeli proces nadgledaju i u njemu aktivno sudjeluju i psiholozi-supervizori, s ciljem dodatne zaštite učesnika i istraživača.

Glavnu ulogu u ovom projektu imala je voditeljica istraživanja Lejla Hairlahović Hušić, dugogodišnja istraživačica Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva i doktorandica kulturne antropologije. Lejla je predvodila istraživački tim koji je svojim znanjem, ali i etičnim i empatičnim pristupom učesnicima pružio ne samo priliku da ispričaju svoje priče već i sistem podrške i osjećaj povjerenja.

Slika br. 1. Muška Begić, učesnica zajedničkog projekta MRD-MCS

Muška Begić je jedna od učesnica projekta koja je kao petnaestogodišnja djevojčica preživjela genocid u Srebrenici.

"Taj dan kada je padala Srebrenica nisam uopšte imala predstavu da toliko ljudi živi i da može stati u Srebrenicu, pošto su svi muškarci prolazili tamo gdje je moja kuća, išli su tom rijekom, a mi civili, žene, djeca, starci, smo išli putem prema Potočarima. Granate su padale s jedne na drugu stranu. Ja nisam plakala. Moj tetić, i dan-danas kažem, žao mi je jer ne znam je li obuo te čarape. Oni su živjeli u gornjem dijelu Srebrenice. Dan ranije su došli u našu kuću zato što su gore već počeli ulaziti srpski vojnici. Ja sam njemu oprala čarape i stavila ih ispred kuće. Nikad nisam saznala da li je obuo te čarape ili ne. Bile su tu i dvije djevojčice od komšinice koje su non-stop bile kod mene u kući. Starija je stajala na terasi, a otac je mlađu

zagrlio i poljubio. Tada je ova odozgo sa terase pitala: 'A, babo, zar nećeš mene poljubiti?' Tad sam počela plakati i čini mi se da nisam nikad prestala dok nismo prešli na slobodnu teritoriju."

Almasa Salihović je imala devet godina kada je zajedno sa majkom i ostalim civilima bila prisiljena autobusom napustiti UN-ovu bazu u Potočarima.

"U jednom periodu se autobus zaustavio te je na zadnji dio, baš gdje smo mi sjedili, ušao vojnik koji je bio, bar iz moje dječije perspektive, ogroman, visok. Nije imao majicu. Imao je samo maskirne pantalone, tu vojničku uniformu. U jednoj ruci je držao veliku pušku, a u drugoj vojni nož, te je počeo galamiti da odmah predamo ukoliko imamo novca, zlata, srebra, inače će, kad nas drugi put

Slika br. 2. Almasa Salihović, učesnica zajedničkog projekta MRD-MCS

zaustavi i pronađe to, sjeći dijelove tijela, uši, prste ako nađe prstenje. I, znam da sam u tom periodu jednostavno zamislila kao da nema nikog, da sam jedina u tom autobusu. Zaboravila sam da je majka pokraj mene, da su svi oko mene. Samo sam ustala i počela sam vikati. Držala sam lutku u svojoj ruci koja nije imala jedno oko. Počela sam galamiti i vikati da ja imam samo lutku: 'Uzmi moju lutku jer ja nemam više ništa. Evo ti moja lutka.' I, osjećala sam takav drhtaj u nogama i to je onaj strah koji nikad kasnije nisam više doživjela u životu.

Meni je drago što sam danas ovdje bar dio sebe da prenesem u ovo i voljela bih da što više ljudi prenese svoja sjećanja na ovakav način, da to ostane iz razloga što se danas dešava toliko negiranja, toliko izvrtanja činjenica, izmišljanja nekih novih priča, neistina. Koliko god ljudi misle da to nije bitno, da ima dovoljno materijala, dovoljno priča – nikad nije dovoljno koliko treba reći, koliko treba upozoravati da se ovakve stvari apsolutno nikad ne smiju desiti. A to ne smije ostati samo na riječima. Smatram da je svaka akcija spašavanja bilo kakvih priča, bilo kakvih sjećanja, veoma bitna i za buduće generacije, pogotovo iz razloga što smo svjedoci da ukoliko ove sadašnje generacije mladih ljudi odrastu sa nekim neistinama ili sa izmišljenim stvarima, da to samo može pokrenuti lavinu novog nasilja, da se ponovo ovakve stvari mogu nekad desiti."

Jedan od važnih ciljeva projekta bio je i promoviranje naučno-istraživačke djelatnosti na temu genocida iz ugla djece. Ovaj

opsežni dokumentaciono-istraživački projekt nije bio samo doprinos dokumentaciji genocida u Srebrenici već i dokumentaciji genocida iz ugla djece na globalnom nivou. Svi učesnici projekta su svojim individualnim, ličnim sjećanjem doprinijeli stvaranju ovog arhiva, na taj način pružajući otpor politici zaborava, relativizacije i negiranja. Iz prethodnog isječka jasno je da to prepoznaju i sami učesnici, te da je to bio jedan od motiva da se odazovu projektu.

U cilju da dokumentirani materijal približi i prezentira široj javnosti, Muzej ratnog djetinjstva je u drugoj fazi projekta surađivao sa autoricom i fotografkinjom Debrom Barraud, koja stoji iza platforme Humans of Amsterdam – jedne od najpoznatijih digitalnih platformi za prezentaciju ličnih priča u Evropi. Producirana je globalna online kampanja pod nazivom #ChildrenAndGenocide (Djeca i genocid), koja je predstavila portrete, lične priče i eksponate četrnaest osoba čija su djetinjstva obilježena genocidom u Srebrenici. Tim Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva je zajedno sa Debrom Barraud putovao gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine i ponovo se susreo sa nekim od učesnika koji su ranije snimili videosvjedočenja u okviru istraživačkog projekta s Memorijalnim centrom Srebrenica. Neki od njih su već ranije umuzejili lične predmete od velikog značaja za njih i njihove porodice. Jedan od takvih predmeta je jastučnica koju je Elvis Muminović donirao arhivu Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva. Elvis je tokom genocida u Srebrenici izgubio sestru Enesu, a dugi period traganja za njenim posmrtnim ostacima obilježila je jastučnica koju su čuvali kao poklon za Enesu kada se ona vrati.

Slika br. 3. Elvis Muminović, učesnik kampanje #ChildrenAndGenocide

"Godine su prošle bez ikakvih informacija o tome što se desilo Enesi i Sadifu. Moja mama je čuvala posteljinu u plastičnoj vrećici ispod svog kreveta. S vremena na vrijeme, vadila bi je iz vrećice da bi je oprala. Nakon pranja, pažljivo bi je ispeglala, složila, i ponovo vratila u plastičnu vrećicu. Nismo gubili nadu sve dok 2002. godine nismo primili poziv od Instituta za nestale osobe. Pronašli su tijelo u šumi, a DNK analizom je utvrđeno poklapanje. Moja mama i ja smo morali doći u mrtvačnicu kako bismo izvršili identifikaciju. Kada smo stigli, uposlenik Instituta je predložio da bi bilo bolje da mama ne ide unutra, tako da sam ja ušao sam. Pronašli su sve njene kosti, a na stolu je bio crveni komadić tkanine i nešto kožnog materijala. Doktor me pitao da li je to odjeća koju je Enesa nosila

na dan kada je napustila Srebrenicu. Rekao sam da ne znam jer nisam vidio Enesu godinama. Pitao sam mamu šta je Enesa nosila u danu kada je otišla. Mama je rekla: 'Crvenu haljinu i kožnu jaknu.' Rekao sam: 'Mama, to je Enesa.' Počela je plakati. Mama se nije prestala nadati do posljednjeg trenutka."

Kampanja #ChildrenAndGenocide je publici širom svijeta predstavljena 6. jula 2020. na društvenim mrežama Facebook, Instagram i Twitter. Za manje od 24 sata stigla je do preko milion korisnika na društvenim mrežama. Objavljene lične priče i portrete vidjelo je tokom jula 2020. preko 11 miliona ljudi iz cijelog svijeta, koji su na objavljene priče reagovali preko 300.000 puta.

Nakon što je online kampanja privukla veliki interes javnosti, lične priče i portretne fotografije predstavljene su i na pop-up izložbi u glavnom gradu Bosne i Hercegovine, na Trgu djece Sarajeva. Nakon Sarajeva, izložba je prezentirana i na trgu Sergels u Štokholmu.

U obje faze ovog projekta učesnici i učesnice kontinuirano su pokazivali izuzetnu svijest o važnosti dokumentacije ličnih priča u kontekstu izgradnje mira, kao i posvećenost da svjedočenjem daju svoj doprinos da se zločini preveniraju. Njihovo ukazivanje na potrebu prevencije eventualnih budućih sukoba govori o tome da je njihovo sjećanje na prošlost uvijek usko povezano sa vizijom za budućnost, a njihovo "nikad više" zapravo "postaje imperativ sjećanja, a ne puka pouka prošlosti",[8] što afirmira aktivno sjećanje kao važan segment izgradnje i promocije mira.

Slika br. 4. Mirnes Zahirović, učesnik zajedničkog projekta MRD-MCS

"Želio bih mojoj generaciji poručiti da se više potrudimo oko njegovanja historijskog sjećanja. Mi ne smijemo nikad zaboraviti, a ni naša djeca, ni naše potomstvo, šta je bilo u Bosni i Hercegovini devedesetih, pogotovo šta je bilo u Srebrenici. Dužni smo da razvijamo svijest o tome i da nikad to ne zaboravimo. Naravno, uvijek prepoznajući i uvažavajući prave vrijednosti i kod drugih ljudi i kod drugih etničkih skupina, bez ikakve namjere da bilo koga obilježavamo samo zato što pripada nekoj etničkoj skupini ili narodu."

Mnogi od učesnika i učesnica osvrnuli su se i na duboku povezanost sa preživjelim žrtvama drugih genocida u svijetu. Jedan od njih je Irvin Mujičić, koji se ohrabren ličnom pričom čovjeka koji je preživio Holokaust vratio u Srebrenicu nakon što je bio primoran izbjeći iz rodnog grada u julu 1995. godine.

"Veoma mi je značilo kad sam počeo raditi na Drugom svjetskom ratu i holokaustu. Tada sam upoznao posebnog čovjeka. On sada ima 95 godina i on je meni dao snagu da se vratim u Srebrenicu. On je preživio 11 logora. Bio je zarobljen sa svojom porodicom blizu Pariza. Njegova porodica se bavila cirkusom. Imali su konje, karavane, putovali po cijeloj Francuskoj, imali su predstave cirkusa i filmova. On je bio akrobata u tom cirkusu. Tada je imao 14 godina. I on je uspio da pobjegne. Kako je cijela porodica ostala unutra, on iskopa tunel i svake večeri donese malo hrane unutra, i izvuče jednu osobu sa sobom preko tog tunela. Do jedne večeri, kada je bio tu na prozoru i osjetio pištolj. Zatim drugi logor, treći logor i zadnji logor. I to veoma povezujem sa nekim pričama iz Srebrenice kako se narod krio na bukvama. Njih četvero je pobjeglo. Odmah su tragali za njima Nijemci, SS. Oni se popnu

Slika br. 5. Irvin Mujičić, učesnik zajedničkog projekta MRD-MCS

gore na bukvu, oni dole tragaju, ne mogu ih naći. Onda se on pješke vrati u Pariz i pridružuje se partizanima. Osim što je njegova priča veoma zanimljiva, on poslije Drugog svjetskog rata odlučuje da kupuje zemlju tamo gdje su hapsili njega i njegovu porodicu '42. godine. On kupi tu zemlju i danas tu ima 16 sinova i ima 45 unučadi. Drži 13 ponija i ima 12 konja. I, to je meni dalo snagu da se vratim ponovo u Srebrenicu. On je meni dao snagu da gledam iz različitog ugla svoj život. I, jednostavno, da se vratim kući, da vratim život kod kuće zato što je cilj ove vrste agresije, filozofije nacionalizma, da se ubije život i suživot."

ZAKLJUČAK

Dokumentujući i prezentirajući lične priče preživjelih sa dignitetom i integritetom, muzeji postaju sigurni prostori za očuvanje sjećanja, dijalog o prošlosti, ali i o budućnosti. Potencijal ličnih priča da otvore takav dijalog i izgrade empatiju ne isključuje niti umanjuje ulogu onih muzeja koji se bave dokumentovanjem i predstavljanjem historijskih činjenica. Naprotiv, prezentacija proživljenog iskustva dodatni je segment u samoj dokumentaciji zločina, a muzeji i muzejske aktivnosti posvećene dokumentaciji i prezentaciji proživljenog iskustva komplementarni su onima koji se isključivo ili većinom bave historijskim činjenicama.

Rad Muzeja ratnog djetinjstva demonstrira niz pozitivnih efekata postojanja platforme kroz koju preživjeli mogu podijeliti svoja iskustva. Mnogi od njih tu platformu koriste da pošalju

snažne poruke mira, a sama činjenica da mogu podijeliti svoju priču i da će je čuti široka publika može ih osnažiti i pomoći im da se nose s vlastitom prošlošću.

Muzeji, kao visoko kredibilne institucije koje uživaju povjerenje, imaju značajnu ulogu u društvu. Ipak, dok u kontekstu dokumentacije genocida mogu igrati i jednu od ključnih uloga, muzeji, bez obzira na svoj doseg i resurse, ne mogu sami iznijeti borbu protiv negiranja genocida. Nju uvijek moraju i uvijek će morati predvoditi donosioci odluka, odnosno zvanične politike. U društvima poput bosanskohercegovačkog, gdje neki od najutjecajnijih političara ohrabruju i aktivno učestvuju u negiranju genocida, muzeji neće moći napraviti veliku promjenu, ali mogu i moraju osvijetliti put i pravac kojim društvo treba ići.

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2 Todor Kuljić, *Kultura sećanja* (Beograd: Čigoja, 2006), str. 377.
3 *Ibid.*, str. 381.
4 Amy Sodaro. *Exhibiting Atrocity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), str. 111.
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7 Sodaro, *supra n.* 4, str. 170.
8 Kuljić, *supra n.* 2, str. 391.

GENOCID U SREBRENICI: "ISTRAGA LAŽNIH LJUDI, LAŽNE VJERE"

Andrej Nikolaidis
Pisac, Crna Gora

SAŽETAK

U radu se osporava teza o "neinformisanosti" građana Srbije i Crne Gore o ratnim zbivanjima u Bosni i Hercegovini, uključujući tu i ratne zločine te genocid u Srebrenici. Autor propituje funkcionisanje ratne propagande te tihu, ali konstantnu podršku srednje klase Srbije i Crne Gore u velikodržavnom projektu u čije ime je počinjen genocid. Autor ističe propagandnu matricu nacionalističkog pristupa genocidu: relativizacija, potom normalizacija zločina i na koncu ismijavanje žrtava, njihova posthumna dehumanizacija.

Moja je tvrdnja vrlo jednostavna i vrlo neprijatna: znali smo.

Ne samo da smo znali da se dogodilo nego smo znali i da će se dogoditi. Genocid u Srebrenici, naime, nije bio nikakav izolovani incident, nikakvo iskliznuće iz matrice po kojoj se rat u Bosni odvijao. Srebrenica je bila krešendo brižljivo planiranog i sprovedenog zločinačkog pothvata, koji je upravo u Srebrenici najdetaljnije, najpotpunije realizovan. U nešto drugačijim, da ih tako nazovem – laboratorijskim uslovima, bez (zakašnjelog i odveć slabog) pritiska velikih sila, čitava Bosna bila bi – Srebrenica.

"Mi nismo znali", kažu. Kada su izašli na ulice i poredani u špalir, onako kako su nekada dočekivali Štafetu mladosti na Titov rođendan, ispraćali tenkove što su se zaputili na ratište, nisu znali da će ti tenkovi tamo rušiti i ubijati? Te su tenkove zasipali cvijećem zato što nisu bili svjesni uloge tenka u ratu? Ili su, dakako da jesu, savršeno znali kamo se i kojim poslom ta oklopljena smrt zaputila, pa su baš zato bacali cvijeće na nju?

Kada su srpske snage izvršile masakr na sarajevskoj tržnici Markale, Miloševićeva je televizija organizovala vanredne emisije u kojima su "eksperti" dokazivali kako Karadžićeva vojska ne samo da nije izvršila taj zločin nego ga nije ni mogla izvršiti. Doista, kako bi i mogla? Sarajevo je godinama držano u opsadi; na grad je tokom opsade ispaljeno oko pola miliona projektila; samo 22. jula 1993. ispaljeno ih je 3777.[1] Cilj tog bombardovanja, koje nije bilo nikakva tajna za građane Srbije i Crne Gore, niti su se oni protiv tog bombardovanja – čast malobrojnim

medijima i pojedincima koji jesu – bunili, bio je istovjetan cilju svakog granatiranja grada u istoriji: ubiti što više ljudi i srušiti što više građevina. No građani Srbije i Crne Gore pozvani su da Markale shvate kao uvredu nacionalnoj časti. Ko, mi – šta smo mi, neki zločinci? Televizijski "ekspertski" panel zaključio je da su Bošnjaci ispalili granatu na Markale: pobili su sami sebe da bi napakostili srpskoj vojsci, ne bi li isprovocirali međunarodnu reakciju. Pola miliona projektila nije bilo dovoljno: bio je potreban još jedan da bi bio dokazan zločin bombardovanja grada?

Najefikasnija je ona propaganda koja kuca na otvorena vrata. Ljudi će, prosto, između svih "istina" najprije odabrati baš onu u koju već vjeruju. Stoga propaganda koja potvrđuje mišljenje ima kudikamo veće šanse za uspjeh od one koja za cilj ima da promijeni mišljenje puka. Još veće izglede na uspjeh ima ona propaganda koja je praktično potvrda predrasuda, straha i mržnje, propaganda koja pruža opravdanje i "viši razlog" za njih.

Pogrešna je pretpostavka da je za uspješnu propagandu nužno da bude prikrivena činjenica da se radi o propagandi. Primjer Srbije i Crne Gore i ovdašnje propagande tokom rata u Bosni (kao i ratova u Hrvatskoj i Kosovu) svjedoči da izuzetno efikasna može biti i kampanja laži za koju je opštepoznato da je kampanja laži. U takvoj kampanji građani aktivno učestvuju: oni nisu žrtve te kampanje, njima se ne manipuliše: oni su saučesnici te propagande. Saučesništvo obezbjeđuje aktivan status građana – jednako tokom trajanja kampanje, kao i u vremenu kada je kampanja formalno obustavljena. Građani će, jednostavno, nastaviti u nedogled ponavljati propagandnu matricu – zato

što je ona njihova odbrana. Radi se o sljedećem: dok zločin traje, mi lažemo zato da bi zločin mogao biti počinjen. Nakon što je zločin počinjen, mi lažemo zato što tako branimo svoju nevinost, tvrdeći da u zločinu ne samo da nismo učestvovali nego za njega nismo ni znali.

Međutim: znali smo, kao što rekoh.

U ljeto 1992. uvedene su sankcije protiv Miloševićeve Jugoslavije. Nije prošlo dugo a Jugoslavija je postala jedna od najmračnijih tačaka ovog svijeta, koji ionako odveć podsjeća na crnu rupu. Prosječna plata iznosila je nekoliko maraka. Centralna banka u Beogradu je dan-noć štancovala pare. Na kraju su štampali novčanicu od 500 milijardi dinara, koja nije valjala ni koliko list toalet-papira. Osim kao stroj za ratne zločine, ta će Jugoslavija biti upamćena po najvećoj hiperinflaciji u istoriji svijeta.

Autor Geoff Dyer je u *Financial Timesu* objavio članak pod imenom "Sankcije: rat drugim sredstvima" *("Sanctions: War by other means").* Pišući o sankcijama protiv Rusije (dobro je da je o tome izvještavala tako ugledna novina, jer u suprotnom Rusi ne bi ni primijetili da su pod sankcijama, tako su ih žestoko kaznene mjere Zapada pogodile), on tvrdi da je u jednom trenutku "Klintonova administracija počela da uvodi 'pametne sankcije' – mjere koje su ciljale specifične pojedince i entitete, a ne cijelu populaciju". Pa veli kako su takve, "pametne" sankcije, uveli i Srbiji.[2]

No kao što naš narod kaže – nije kome je namijenjeno nego kome je suđeno: te su sankcije oštetile čitavu populaciju; manje-više sve, osim upravo onih "individua i entiteta" koje su ciljale.

Ljudi su trošili životne ušteđevine da bi u praznim samoposlugama i na crnom tržištu kupili hranu za porodice. Budući da je ogromna većina njih glasala za Miloševića i bila spremna da trpi i gladuje samo da bi rat u Bosni potrajao do konačne pobjede, za njihovo siromaštvo nemam trunku empatije: jedino mi je žao što za hranu nisu prodali i kuće, pa za Miloševića išli glasati kao beskućnici.

Podržavajući zločin u Bosni, srednja klasa u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori pristala je na vlastito uništenje: najprije kroz sankcije, potom kroz tranziciju. Te 1993. nije postojala cijena (visokorangirani političar tog vremena Branko Kostić saopštio je da ćemo, ako treba, jesti korijenje[3]) koju prosječni građanin Srbije i Crne Gore nije bio spreman platiti samo da bi u Bosni bilo pobijeno što više muslimana.

No čitava je stvar sa sankcijama imala i drugu dimenziju: na oči onih koji nisu oslijepili od fašizma nestajala je srpska i crnogorska srednja klasa. Sa srednjom klasom nestao je i njen moral, koji znamo i pod imenom građanska pristojnost. Nije ekonomski slom ono što je proizvelo etički slom: bilo je upravo suprotno.

Istovremeno, crna švercersko-kriminalno-državna elita bliska Miloševiću i njegovim crnogorskim saveznicima, oni protiv ko-

jih su uvedene "pametne sankcije", postajali su sve bogatiji. Novac osiromašene srednje klase završio je u njihovim džepovima.

Pritisnuta sankcijama, srpska i crnogorska industrija je kratko teturala, a onda kolabirala. "Mete pametnih sankcija" za sitniš su pokupovale zatvorene fabrike, hotele, propale banke i trgovine. Eto kako su teško bili pogođeni kaznenim mjerama "međunarodne zajednice".

Srednja klasa je bila kolateralna žrtva sankcija protiv Miloševićevog režima. Sankcije su porodile novu elitu nadojenu krvlju, donijele još društvene nepravde. Sankcije su bile jedan od ključnih faktora za uspostavljanje ovdašnje forme kapitalizma. Pomogle su Miloševiću u sprovođenju politike nacionalne homogenizacije. Tiranin je upro prstom u spoljnjeg neprijatelja i njegovu zavjeru protiv "našeg naroda". To je, u biti, produžilo život režimu. Jer, kao što znamo, dobar neprijatelj je sve što je potrebno tiraninu za dugu i mračnu vladavinu.

"Naši pravoslavni" su četiri godine palili, klali i etnički čistili po Bosni, da bi na kraju počinili genocid u Srebrenici. Miloševićeva Jugoslavija je u Bosnu slala ne samo oružje i naoružane ljude nego i novac. Ogromne svote novca. Uprkos strahovitom osiromašenju stanovništva, taj je period praktično prošao bez socijalnih nemira. Zašto su radnici imitirali muze pa ćutali kada su topovi govorili? Zašto su velike beogradske demonstracije tog vremena bile nacionalističke, a ne antiratne? Zašto su ih predvodili nacionalisti, a ne neustrašiva antiratna i antinacionalistička elita Srbije? Zašto je čak i Zoran Đinđić[4] pekao vola na Palama sa

rukovodstvom bosanskih Srba, pružajući im tako podršku? Zašto je srpska opozicija, sa nekoliko izuzetaka, problematizovala način na koji Milošević vodi "našu stvar", ali ne i samu "našu stvar"?

Zato što su građani Jugoslavije odlično razumjeli da trpljenjem obavljaju takozvanu "patriotsku dužnost", pa su pristali da plate svoj dio za ostvarenje srpskih ratnih ciljeva u Bosni.

Posebna je priča to što sankcije rade za tajkune i totalitarne lidere, a ne protiv njih. Povrh svega: one pomažu da se uspostavi ekonomski sistem zbog kojeg će takozvani "obični građani" patiti još decenijama, i kada je vladar odavno istrunuo duboko pod zemljom i niko se više ne sjeća vješala sa kojih je visio. Ili bi trebalo reći: građani će cijenu svog saučesništva plaćati još decenijama.

Paradoks sankcija je sljedeći: Zapad ih uvodi da bi podstakao "demokratizaciju". U praksi, one vode uništenju srednje klase i zemlju vode još dalje od "demokratizacije i reformi" – to smo jasno vidjeli u Miloševićevoj Jugoslaviji. Milošević je potrajao još devet godina nakon uvođenja sankcija, a tajkuni koji su izronili iz sankcija traju do danas, i u Crnoj Gori i u Srbiji. Do danas traje i nacionalizam kao dominantna društvena sila. To je neizbježno, jer je nacionalistička urota savršena: u nju su, i dalje, uključeni i egzekutori i propagandisti i jataci. Kažem jataci, jer je tačka do koje je bilo moguće posmatrati sebe kao žrtvu zločinačke propagande daleko iza nas: onda kada smo, uprkos tome što je genocid dokumentovan i presuđen, odlučili genocid nastaviti negirati, postali smo jataci.

Zavjerenička matrica se održava, bez obzira na to što dio zavjerenika i danas pljačka drugi dio zavjerenika, kao što ih je pljačkao i prvog dana njihovog zajedničkog pothvata. Da bi zavjera bila razbijena, potrebno je priznati vlastitu ulogu u njoj, time i vlastitu odgovornost. Jasno: ne i krivicu. Jasno: ne zagovaram ideju kolektivne krivice. Tvrdim, međutim, da je proces takozvanog "suočavanja sa prošlošću" osuđen na neuspjeh ukoliko izostane – kao što je izostalo – pitanje i iskren odgovor koji sebi i žrtvama Srebrenice duguje svaki građanin ondašnje Miloševićeve Jugoslavije: šta sam ja, lično ja, učinio da se Srebrenica ne desi? Koji su moji postupci i zablude učinili mogućom politiku i ideologiju koja je dovela do genocida?

Paradoksalno, iza ideje kolektivne odgovornosti kriju se upravo zavjerenici. Oni su ti koji neprekidno tvrde kako je "presuda Karadžiću/Mladiću presuda svim Srbima", iako sud u Hagu, koji presude donosi, tvrdi suprotno: da su to presude pojedincima, nipošto kolektivu. Zavjerenici su ti koji insistiraju da je presuda za genocid u Srebrenici presuda "svim Srbima".

Poricanje je prva linija odbrane zločina. Ono, jasno, ne može trajati dugo, naročito ne vječno. Jednom kada je zločin dokumentovan i presuđen, kada je utvrđeno takozvano činjenično stanje, odbrana zločina se povlači na rezervni položaj, odakle tuče ubojitijom municijom: najprije relativizacijom, potom normalizacijom zločina, a na koncu sadističkim ismijavanjem, ruganjem žrtvama zločina.

Ima li boljeg primjera za to od Milomira Marića i njegove "Happy" televizije sa nacionalnom frekvencijom, čiji se program emituje i u susjednim državama? Na toj televiziji osuđeni ratni zločinac Vojislav Šešelj (deset godina robije za zločine protiv čovječnosti) ismijava žrtve zločina, u čemu mu vrlo uspješno asistira Marić. Po Mariću, Srebrenica se nije desila, naročito ne kao genocid; koncentracioni logori za Bošnjake u okolini Prijedora bili su "otvorenog tipa", logoraši su iz njih mogli otići "kad god su htjeli"; srpska vojska je zatočenike u logore smjestila da bi ih zaštitila, "da ih neko ne ubije"; izgladnjeli, izmučeni logoraši su "bolovali od tuberkuloze", pa su u logoru izliječeni…

Ismijavanje žrtava sprovode, dakako, i navijačke grupe, koje su tokom rata bile povezane sa paravojnim jedinicama umiješanim u monstruozne ratne zločine, da bi poslije njih iz rata bili regrutovani vojnici kriminalnih klanova. Transparenti sa natpisima "Nož, žica, Srebrenica" i "Oj Pazaru, novi Vukovaru, oj Sjenice, nova Srebrenice" postali su uobičajeni. Sa jedne strane imamo, dakle, tvrdnju da se u Srebrenici nije desio genocid, a sa druge prijetnje ponavljanjem Srebrenice. Kakvim ponavljanjem kada se Srebrenica nije desila? Ovdje imamo posla sa nacionalizmom koji se osjeća tako nedodirljivim i superiornim da otvoreno prijeti repeticijom svojih najgorih zločina.

Suočena sa činjeničnim stanjem, odbrana zločina pribjegava, rekosmo, njegovoj relativizaciji: insistiranjem na "istorijskom kontekstu", usporedbom sa "zločinima počinjenim nad nama" (na primjer: šta je Srebrenica u odnosu na Jasenovac?)... Nudi

se, ukratko, nova interpretacija činjenica da bi potom te interpretacije postale nove činjenice.

Sa te pozicije, dakle sa pozicije moći, potom se otvoreno zahtijeva da se o Srebrenici više ne govori. Nakon što je Bošnjačka stranka u Crnoj Gori zatražila da se u dnevni red Skupštine Crne Gore uvrsti njihov prijedlog rezolucije koja bi jasno osudila genocid u Srebrenici, nova parlamentarna većina je raspravu, a samim tim i rezoluciju, rutinski odbila. Bošnjačka stranka je optužena za "instrumentalizaciju" Srebrenice i od strane više poslanika vladajuće većine pozvana da insistiranjem na Srebrenici ne podiže nacionalne tenzije u Crnoj Gori. Istovremeno, na čelo parlamentarnog odbora za ljudska prava postavljen je poslanik koji odlučno negira genocid u Srebrenici. Činjenice su, dakle, poznate – ali činjenice, očito, nisu obavezujuće. Činjenice su, prosto, nemoćne u sukobu sa ideologijom, koja je ostala netaknuta.

Dvije i po decenije nakon genocida u Srebrenici i u Srbiji i u Crnoj Gori na vlasti je ista ideologija (i političke grupe okupljene oko te ideologije) koja je dovela do genocida. Svakom godinom koja nadalje bude proticala činjenice će biti sve nemoćnije pred tom vladajućom ideologijom.

U normalizaciji ideologije koja se poigrava sa genocidom i ismijava ga učestvovali su, na žalost, i predstavnici međunarodne zajednice. Kada je umro mitropolit Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Crnoj Gori Amfilohije Radović, američka ambasadorka u ovoj zemlji Judy Rising Reinke u tviter poruci je Amfilohija nazvala "dragim mitropolitom".

On, "dragi mitropolit", na sahrani majke Radovana Karadžića pokojnicu je uporedio sa majkom Jugovića, jer je ona Radovana vaspitala "da na svetim načelima hrišćanske etike živi i umire".[5]

"Dragi mitropolit" je o genocidu u Srebrenici govorio ovako:

"Pitanje te Srebrenice jeste jedna velika rana. Ako kaže Tomislav Nikolić, predsjednik Srbije da već kleči pred Srebrenicom, a šta ćemo sa Bratuncem, sa nekoliko hiljada pobijenih prije toga. Šta ćemo sa onim što se dešavalo na tim istom prostorima, nije to davno od 1941. do 1945. godine. Koliko je tamo pobijeno i uništeno porodica od raznih Handžar divizija i raznih NDH jedinica. Sad ti najedanput preuzimaš ono što su oni stvorili mit o Srebrenici. Pa je Srebrenica sada postala nešto veće i od Dahaua i od Aušvica… Tako forsirajući tu nesreću, koja jeste nesreća u Srebrenici, ustvari se priprema za budućnost nove pokolje i nove mržnje."[6]

Govoreći o istorijski spornoj "istrazi poturica", pod čim se misli na pokolj muslimana u Crnoj Gori opjevan u Njegoševom "Gorskom vijencu", koji je srpskom nacionalizmu poslužio kao "istorijski i kulturni model" za genocid u Srebrenici (Ratko Mladić, nimalo slučajno, po ulasku svoje vojske u Srebrenicu kaže kako je došlo vrijeme da se "Turcima" osvete i u tom kraju, direktno najavljujući "istragu poturica"), Amfilohije je rekao: "Mnogi i danas prigovaraju kako je to smio vladika Danilo. Jeste da je strašno pobiti ljude, međutim, još je strašnija duhovna smrt koju siju oko sebe ti lažni ljudi, s lažnom vjerom. Zato je, blagodareći toj žrtvi, vladika Danilo spasio Crnu Goru. Da se to

nije dogodilo, danas ne bi bilo pravoslavnog uha u Crnoj Gori, i to treba imati u vidu."[7] U pitanju je, po Amfilohiju, vrsta *preventivnog genocida.* Napokon, stradali su jedva ljudi: u pitanju su "lažni ljudi, s lažnom vjerom". Stoga je i zločin nad njima – jedva zločin. Ako to uopšte jeste: jer je njihovo istrebljenje, po Amfilohiju, bilo nužno da bi država bila spašena. Izgovarajući ovo godinama nakon Srebrenice, Amfilohije nedvosmisleno, i ne imenujući ga, komentariše upravo taj genocid.

Upravo je "dragi mitropolit", kao jedna od ključnih figura militantnog srpskog nacionalizma s kraja XX i početka XXI vijeka, sažeo čitav spektar strategija odbrane zločina o kojem je u ovom tekstu bilo riječi: od upotrebe riječi "nesreća" umjesto genocid, preko pseudoistorijske rekontekstualizacije genocida, do promocije ratnih zločinaca u borce za "hrišćanske vrijednosti".

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DVA SVJEDOKA SREBRENICE O KNJIGAMA *ZBIJEG* HASANA NUHANOVIĆA I *RAZGLEDNICA IZ GROBA* EMIRA SULJAGIĆA

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Funkcija pisca sastoji se u tome da svakog upozna sa svijetom,
tako da niko ne može sebe smatrati nevinim.
Jean-Paul Sartre

Neke su ružne,
velim, godine prošle, i danas: ja više o mrtvima
mislim, nego o živim. Bliži su meni mrtvi, oni
su moji bližnji, to je moja svojta.
Abdulah Sidran

SAŽETAK

Tekst se bavi knjigama *Zbijeg* Hasana Nuhanovića i *Razglednica iz groba* Emira Suljagića. Polazeći od osnovnih osobina sjećanja i pamćenja kako te fenomene razumijevaju Jan i Aleida Assmann, na primjeru dviju knjiga svjedočenja o genocidu u Srebrenici pokazuje se u kojoj mjeri porodica čini egzistencijalni osnov i okvir za sjećanje. Zatim se ukazuje na činjenicu da je socijalni aspekt sjećanja kod obojice autora bitno određen fenomenom gladi u enklavi Srebrenica. Nemogućnost da se vlastita pozicija svjedoka kontekstualizira u odnosu na ustaljene društvene vrijednosti, u knjigama Hasana Nuhanovića i Emira Suljagića zamjenjuje se na izvjestan način "arhivama kulture", u koje spadaju i slike svijeta pomjerenih proporcija. Uprkos razlikama u perspektivi sjećanja, obje knjige se pokazuju kao vrijedan doprinos ovih autora kulturi sjećanja, koja se prije svega zasniva na odnosu prema mrtvima.

U svom tekstu *Svjedok i sudija* Mihail Bahtin ulogu svjedoka i njenu važnost povezuje s pitanjem cjelokupne stvarnosti, pišući da se ta cjelokupna stvarnost, čak i kada svjedok vidi i sazna makar njen mali dio, mijenja u potpunosti, jer to više nije naprosto stvarnost kakva je bila bez odnosa prema svjedoku. Bahtin ovo pitanje izdiže gotovo na nivo metafizičkog principa te o tome piše:

> *Pojavom svijesti u svijetu (u stvarnosti), a, možda, i pojavom biološkog života (možda ne samo životinje nego i drveće i trave svjedoče i sude) svijet (stvarnost) se radikalno mijenja. Kamenje ostaje kameno, sunce – sunčano, ali događaj bića u njegovoj cjelovitosti (nezavršiv) postaje sasvim drugačiji zato što na scenu prvi put izlazi novo i glavno dejstvujuće lice događanja – svjedok i sudija. I sunce, ostajući fizički ono što je, postalo je drugačije zato što su ga počeli saznavati svjedok i sudija.*[1]

Teško da bi se boljim riječima mogla opisati važnost koju u vezi s pojedinim, gotovo nepojmljivim historijskim događajima ima uloga svjedoka, a jedan od tih događaja, koji još uvijek nije dobio simbolički opseg kakav zaslužuje, svakako, jeste i genocid u Srebrenici. Zato je možda važno upozoriti na dvije knjige svjedočenja, čiji autori su između uloge svjedoka i uloge sudije izabrali da svjedoče. To su knjige *Zbijeg – Put u Srebrenicu* Hasana Nuhanovića i *Razglednica iz groba. Svjedočanstvo* Emira Suljagića, knjige čiji autori su svojim angažmanom nakon pada Srebrenice odlučili biti svjedoci i na druge načine: Hasan Nuhanović svojom tužbom protiv Holandskog bataljona UNPRO-

FOR-a, a Emir Suljagić svojim dugogodišnjim izvještavanjem sa procesa vođenih pred Haaškim tribunalom.

Ono na šta pomalo paradoksalno upozoravaju i neka druga i ova svjedočenja vezana za Srebrenicu jeste jedna ideja koja stoji u temelju moderne evropske kulture, a koja je izgleda u tužnom Dvadesetom stoljeću doživjela svoj užasan ironijski obrat. Naime, sve do renesanse "ja" u književnosti jeste čista konvencija, ono se ne povezuje sa građanskom osobom autora niti se doživljaji o kojima knjige govore mogu povezati sa ličnim doživljajem onoga ko o njima piše. Na to upozorava slučaj Francesca Petrarce kao prvog autora koji uvodi svoje lične, privatne doživljaje u krug književnih razmatranja. U svojoj knjizi *Moderna filozofija čovjeka* Bogdan Suhodolski piše da Petrarca lomi propise vezane za lične doživljaje jedinke, ali da to istovremeno upućuje na pitanje o odnosu između čovjeka koji se iskazuje kroz govor i konvencija jezika kojima svaki govornik podliježe. Povodom Petrarcinih soneta, Suhodolski kaže: "određivanje čoveka kao bića što govori doduše jeste tačno, ali nepotpuno, pošto bitni antropološki problemi počinju tek tamo gde 'reč laže mislima', a istovremeno te misli stvara".[2]

Uzimajući u obzir da ovu ideju o važnosti privatnih doživljaja u evropskoj kulturi prati konstituiranje ideje o osobi kao neponovljivoj individui, koja je ponosna na svoje razlike u odnosu na druge ljude, ima neke užasne ironije u čitanju svjedočanstava ljudi koji su preživjeli holokaust, koncentracijske logore, genocid... Jer, u skladu s tipom osobe kako se taj fenomen od renesanse do Dvadesetog stoljeća doživljava u kulturi Zapada,

možda smo dužni razmisliti o užasnom znaku kraja moderne epohe, uzimajući upravo u obzir i svjedočenja onih koji su na tlu Evrope krajem Dvadesetog stoljeća preživjeli čin brisanja pojedinačnosti i neponovljive individualnosti, preživjeli pokušaj svođenja svih osoba na jedan kolektivni identitet koji "treba biti uništen". Hasana Nuhanovića i Emira Suljagića spasilo je njihovo poznavanje engleskog jezika i činjenica da su u Srebrenici bili prevodioci UN-a, a to što je u tzv. Zaštićenoj zoni Ujedinjenih nacija ubijeno gotovo devet hiljada ljudi pokazuje u kojoj mjeri radikalnu sliku individualističke kulture prati nedostatak poretka i empatije za konkretne pripadnike nekog kolektiva.

Na odnos između individue koja se sjeća i kolektiva upozorava nas sama priroda ljudskog sjećanja, o čemu su vrijedne stranice ispisali Jan Assmann u svojoj knjizi *Kulturno pamćenje* te Aleida Assmann u svom djelu *Duga sjenka prošlosti.* Podsjetimo, Assmannovi razlikuju sjećanje kao subjektivni, individualni, psihološki fenomen, od pamćenja kao fenomena koji je kolektivno oblikovan. Jan Assmann polazi od teze da ni jezik ni sposobnost da komunicira s drugim čovjek ne razvija iznutra, iz samog sebe, već u razmjeni s drugima, u cirkularnoj i rekurzivnoj zajedničkoj igri unutarnjosti i vanjskosti.[3] Aleida Assmann svoju knjigu *Duga sjenka prošlosti* počinje konstatacijom da su ljudi kao individue nedjeljivi, ali da nisu samodovoljni identiteti, da je svako "ja" povezano s jednim "mi" koje mu obezbjeđuje važne osnove njegovog sopstvenog identiteta.[4] Pišući o individualnom pamćenju, Assmannova kaže da se sjećanja grade i učvršćuju tek u komunikaciji, u jezičkoj razmjeni s drugim ljudima[5] te nas upozorava na moć sjećanja kao onog što ljude

čini ljudima, pokazujući da su biografska sjećanja neophodna kao građa od koje su izgrađena iskustva, odnosi, a, prije svega, slika vlastitog identiteta. Nije najmanje bitna konstatacija Asssmannove da pamćenje pojedinca obuhvata puno više od onoga što je sadržano u fundusu nezamjenjivih ličnih iskustava, jer se u pojedincu uvijek ukrštaju individualno i kolektivno pamćenje. Neke važne ideje i zaključci koje u svojim knjigama iznose i uvjerljivo obrazlažu Jan i Aleida Assmann svoju potvrdu dobijaju i u Nuhanovićevoj i u Suljagićevoj knjizi sjećanja na događaje u Srebrenici.

Knjige *Zbijeg* i *Razglednica iz groba* prije svega jesu svjedočanstva koja u obzir uzimaju porodicu kao okvir. Aleida Assmann kaže da je porodica egzistencijalni osnov koji možemo različito uobličavati, ali kojim ne možemo raspolagati po sopstvenoj volji te dodaje kako je to paradigmatska zajednica koja inkorporira svoje mrtve, makar se na tom zadatku uvijek iznova lomila.[6] Za razliku od uobičajenog okvira u jednoj porodici unutar koje sjećanje na mrtve članove traje tri generacije, odnosno nekih 75 godina, jasno je da svjedočenja koja tretiraju nestanak hiljada i hiljada porodica upravo imaju i funkciju da se užasni ritam smrti – odnosno "ubrzano" vrijeme zaborava – pokuša "usporiti", zbog čega i Nuhanovićevu i Suljagićevu perspektivu bitno određuje porodica kao okvir za sjećanje.

Čitava Nuhanovićeva knjiga jeste na izvjestan način svjedočenje o životu jedne porodice u vanrednim uslovima, o životu koji završava Hasanovom potragom za mrtvim ocem, majkom i bratom koji su nakon pada Srebrenice u ruke Vojske Republike

Srpske ubijeni i bačeni u masovne grobnice. Vremenski okvir Nuhanovićevog *Zbijega* tematizira njegovu razdvojenost od porodice, koja se na početku tretira kao fizička, a na kraju kao nešto što bi trebalo biti metafizička činjenica. Na početku svoje knjige Nuhanović se sjeća svoga služenja vojnog roka u JNA, 1988. godine, a zatim opisuje događaje iz studentskog doma u Sarajevu, u proljeće 1992. godine, da bi u zadnjoj rečenici knjige naveo: "Oca ću u Potočarima sahraniti tek nakon deset godina, a brata i majku nakon petnaest."[7]

Na sličan način i Suljagić uokviruje svoju knjigu svjedočenja. Na početku on navodi kako je 1992. godine s ocem iz svog mjesta ušao u pustu Srebrenicu, a majka i sestra su bile kod rodbine u jednom od sela nedaleko od tog grada. Uvodni dio u kojem govori o bijegu iz svoje kuće s ocem, Suljagić završava pasusom:

> *Niko od mojih saputnika nije živ. Juso, s kojim sam napustio kuću, poginuo je u koloni koja se u julu 1995. pješice probijala od Srebrenice ka Tuzli, nadomak slobodne teritorije. Nihad, koji me doveo u Srebrenicu, nije preživio juli 1995. Moj otac se vratio kući i poginuo u svom dvorištu, u decembru 1992.*[8]

U posljednjem poglavlju svoje knjige, Suljagić navodi kako bi volio napisati priču o svakome koga je u Srebrenici znao, ali da to, naravno, nije moguće. Zato je na kraju napisao tri priče kao odraz onog što se desilo. Naslovljavajući te priče po brojevima parcela na kojima u Potočarima leže ljudi o kojima piše, on

kaže: "Htio sam ispričati priču koja se krije iza brojki, napisati da su te brojke imale familije, sestre, braću, djevojke..."[9]

Uzimajući u obzir ovu činjenicu da porodica čini egzistencijalni osnov i okvir za sjećanje, nije slučajno što su u obje knjige porodični odnosi presudno važni i za definiranje vlastite pozicije autora svjedočanstava, odnosno za njihovo odrastanje, o čemu knjige *Zbijeg* i *Razglednica iz groba* na svoj način, također, govore. Naprimjer, Nuhanović na jednom mjestu piše:

> *Dođosmo, bježeći od klanja, na kraj Bosne. Dalje se nema kud. Otac reče da je nekad davno, prije trideset godina, kao mladić, do sestre u Luku, ovuda prošao pješke. Išlo se pola dana iz Stobobrana. Ali nije se mogao sjetiti kuda ide ta staza. Ja sam, vidjevši da se otac više ne snalazi u orijentaciji, preuzeo vođstvo. Bio je to jedan od onih ratnih momenata kada je otac morao meni prepustiti glavnu riječ. To se prije rata rijetko događalo, možda čak nikad.*[10]

S druge strane, Suljagić svoje odrastanje povezuje s rastankom od svoje majke i svoje sestre. Nakon očeve smrti, on ih uspijeva nagovoriti da u martu 1993. godine na jednom kamionu napuste Srebrenicu i odu na sigurno, a o tom rastanku s njima piše:

> *Ulice su klizave, zamrznute i teško je hodati. Na oči mi naviru suze i smetaju, ne smijem podići ruku da ih obrišem, prvi put u životu sam sâm, ovo je prvi dan mog odraslog života, vidjet će me, plašio sam se. Suze koje su se nakupile u očima pomutile su mi vid i poslije nekoliko koraka*

pao sam na tvrdi led. Došao sam kući, koja ionako nije bila moja, nisam pozdravio nikoga, kuća je bila prazna, nisam imao koga pozdraviti, i bacio se na kauč na kojem sam spavao, kauč neodređene boje, kupljen novcem zarađenim "na privremenom radu u inostranstvu", novcem zarađenim na gradilištu u Libiji ili Njemačkoj kasnih sedamdesetih, eh, na takav kauč sam se bacio koliko sam dug i počeo plakati, gušeći se u suzama.[11]

Zanimljivo je kako Nuhanović svoju promjenu uslijed ratnih okolnosti povezuje i s porodicom kao okvirom ali istovremeno i s najvećim problemom s kojim su se opkoljeni ljudi u enklavi Srebrenica suočavali prvih godina, a to je glad. Pišući o tome kako se obrok za njih četvoro sastojao samo od kukuruznog hljeba promjera od svega petnaestak-dvadeset centimetara, on kaže da je taj hljeb majka jednom izrezala na četiri dijela, a njemu se učinilo kako je bratov komad bio veći. Zatim slijedi reakcija:

Šta je ovo – viknuo sam! Zašto je moj komad manji? Otac je u mene gledao zabezeknuto. Brat je šutio.

Majka je počela plakati i odgurnula je svoj komad od sebe i rekla: - Ja neću ništa jesti.

Onda je otac ustao sa stolice, a ja sam istrčao iz sobe i uletio u kupatilo. Gledao sam svoj odraz u ogledalu. Od mene nije ostalo ništa – pomislio sam. Samo kosti, oči upale u duplje. Bio sam izgubio oko 25 kilograma. Otac

40. Šta se dešava sa mnom? Još ću početi otimati hranu od roditelja i brata. Mislim da sam već lud.[12]

Oba ova autora veliki dio svojih sjećanja posvećuju potrazi za hranom, kao presudnom odlikom života u opkoljenoj enklavi. Suljagić kaže kako je glad do jula 1992. godine "već postala središnja tačka u životu svakog stanovnika enklave",[13] a odmah zatim dodaje:

Dani su s ljetom postajali sve duži, predugi, a zalazak sunca nije bio poziv na večeru; najteže je bilo poslijepodne, glad se pretvarala u bol, nalik grču u stomaku, bol koju se nije moglo odagnati. Poslije rata u Sarajevu sam upoznao mladića iz Foče koji je rat proveo u Goraždu, također opkoljenom tri godine, i zajedničkom računicom došli smo do prilično pouzdanog zaključka da smo tih godina dnevno dobijali manje kalorija nego zatočenici Staljinovih gulaga.[14]

Aleida Assmann kaže da je individualno pamćenje uvijek socijalno grundirano.[15] Taj socijalni okvir za pamćenje i u Nuhanovićevoj i u Suljagićevoj knjizi velikim dijelom čini upravo glad. Nazivajući smrt i glad saputnicama i drugaricama,[16] Nuhanović na nekoliko mjesta upućuje na radikalan prekid s društvenim normama i upozorava na prešutnu saglasnost da sve konvencije, koje kao kulturni produkt porijeklo vode iz "ponašanja za stolom", u opkoljenoj enklavi prestaju važiti. Naprimjer, u jednoj epizodi on kaže da se jelo tako što bi se na sto pred deset odraslih ljudi postavila velika zdjela sa čorbom i kriške hljeba. Svi

bi jeli u isto vrijeme, pokušavajući kašikom što više zahvatiti. O preobražaju vrijednosti Nuhanović piše:

> *Bila je to borba o kojoj se nije pričalo, ali koje smo svi bili svjesni i svi smo o tome šutili. Ta se borba nametnula sama. Nekakav prirodni zakon. Zakon opstanka. Svi smo taj zakon prihvatili kad je pukla prva četnička granata i ta borba je trajala cijeli rat. Nije bilo ljutnje. Mogao si se ljutiti jedino na sebe, ali na druge ne. Ta će se borba za opstanak, za samoodržanje, u narednih nekoliko mjeseci, tiho, neprimjetno uvući i među nas četvero. Pokušaće da raskine i neraskidive veze između oca i sina, brata i brata, majke i sina. Pokušaće da nametne rezon po kojem si ti, ono tvoje "Ja", uvijek na prvom mjestu a onda tek na red dolaze svi drugi. Kako su dani, sedmice, mjeseci prolazili, ja sam osjećao da sve više postajem životinja, a da sam sve manje čovjek. Glad i iskonski nagon na samoodržanje, pretvorili su me u nešto sasvim drugo. To više nisam bio ja.*[17]

Emir Suljagić, također, navodi čitav spisak implikacija koje proističu iz gladi kao temeljnog određenja života u enklavi Srebrenica. Ovdje će se navesti ilustrativan citat iz njegove knjige koji svjedoči o načinu na koji su se žrtve prvo dehumanizirale, i to upravo tako što su prepuštene gladi. Suljagić o tome piše:

> *Bio je već šesti mjesec opsade: bili smo na ivici izdržljivosti, svaki naredni dan pomjerali granice za koje se još jučer mislilo da su krajnje. Budili smo se bijedni, u hladnim sobama s najlonom na prozorima na čija su okna bila*

složena drva koja su pružala zaštitu od šrapnela granata; budili smo se izgladnjeli i ušljivi, bez želje, mnogo češće snage, da se pomjerimo; bez porodica, sami i napušteni, poniženi, silovane prošlosti i zaklane budućnosti, poražene i porazne sadašnjosti; i nešto se slomilo u nama.

Protekle mjesece smo preživljavali napuštajući enklavu i idući po hranu, krišom noću posjećivali spaljene kuće i ugažene njive; nešto se stvarno slomilo, i bez razmijenjene riječi u zraku se osjetila odluka da se to okonča. Ljudi su umirali kao tati, noseći na mršavim leđima vreće žita. Bilo je u toj smrti nešto tako degradirajuće; prvo su pretvoreni u posljednje lopove, one koji obijaju salaše, a onda ubijeni.[18]

I u knjizi *Zbijeg* Hasana Nuhanovića i u knjizi *Razglednica iz groba* Emira Suljagića na bolan način se pokazuje u kojoj mjeri insistiranje na tjelesnom aspektu ljudskog postojanja svjedočenje o tom postojanju štiti od ideologizacije. Evropska književnost nas, naime, uči da ljudsko tijelo uvijek konkretizira, zbog čega ono u formama koje se bave idealnim i ideološkim principima postojanja nije prisutno, ili je prisutno samo kao simboličko. U tematiziranje tijela spada, naprimjer, Nuhanovićevo opisivanje manifestacije straha od avionskog bombardovanja, pri čemu ljudi u pauzama trče u WC i na vratima se smjenjuju. On tu kaže: "Uletiš u poljski WC i taman čučneš, a sljedeći već lupa na vrata."[19] Na jednom mjestu, Suljagić piše o ranjivom i kvarljivom dobu "kada smo tek otkrivali sebe sebi samima i jedni drugima; onda kada valjda formiramo prva mišljenja, kada se u nama bude prva osjećanja, kada svijet postaje čulniji nego

što je do tada bio".[20] Ali, pišući o gladi kao onome što bitno određuje postojanje u enklavi Srebrenica, i Nuhanović i Suljagić bitno deideologiziraju jedan aspekt rata, navodeći epizode koje su dostojne žanra tzv. epske fantastike.

Naime, Suljagić piše da se zbog gladi broj civila koji su pratili vojne akcije postepeno povećavao, da bi s krajem prve ratne godine on postao višestruko veći od broja vojnika. Za tu "najgladniju vojsku na svijetu" Suljagić kaže:

> *Strpljivo su čekali da padne prvi bunker ili da prvi srpski vojnici krenu u bijeg, a onda krenuli za njima, ponekad dok su se borbe još vodile, urlajući, lupajući u šerpe i lonce, sve u svemu dižući galamu od koje se ledila krv u žilama. Iz hiljade grla bi se zaorilo "Allahu ekber!", i taj uzvik je pored toga što je plašio Srbe, stvarao i utisak o brojčanoj nadmoći. Ginuli su, mnogo više nego vojnici: žene bi, sa željom da ugrabe komad hrane više, ulijetale pravo u unakrsnu vatru, djeca se od avionskih bombi krila pod drveće, nenaoružani muškarci natrčavali na puščane cijevi.*[21]

O tim akcijama piše i Nuhanović, koji na jednom mjestu kaže: "Može li čovjek zamisliti scenu u kojoj jedni vade meso iz zamrzivača u srpskoj kući i trpaju ga u vreće, dok ljudsko meso oko njih leti po zraku i dok krv šišti iz otkinutih ljudskih udova."[22] On, također, navodi dvije izjave srpskih civila vezane za ove napade. Navodno je jedan čiča, na pitanje novinara šta mu je bilo najgore, odgovorio da su najgori specijalci što napadaju golim rukama, oni koji imaju samo ruksake na leđima i upadaju

kroz prozore.[23] Također, Nuhanović navodi kako se u program radija u Milićima javila neka starija žena, koja je molila da se pusti konvoj Muslimanima, jer ako im ne prođe hrana, "sve će nas pobiti".[24]

I kod Nuhanovića i kod Suljagića na više mjesta se prepoznaje nemoć jezika kao društvenog fenomena, pogotovo u slučajevima kada oni pokušavaju sebi objasniti svoj društveni i ekonomski status prilikom boravka u opkoljenoj enklavi Srebrenica. Naprimjer, Nuhanović na jednom mjestu piše:

> *Ono što sam ja, zapravo, bio, zajedno sa roditeljima i bratom, nisam mogao ni definisati. Izbjeglica, lutalica, tragač za hranom, pobjeglica, skrivač. Sve što smo tih mjeseci svakoga dana radili bilo je da tražimo mjesto gdje leći da ne pogineš od granate i da se ne smrzneš, šta jesti, gdje ići po hranu, na kojem bunaru nasuti vode, gdje odsjeći drvo za ogrijev.*[25]

Suljagić piše kako su ljudi brzo učili da "naš odgoj i inteligencija, naše vrijednosti, nisu vrijedili ni pišljiva boba i počeli smo se zadovoljavati otpacima, jer ništa drugo nismo mogli dobiti, a da pritom ostanemo ono što jesmo, da ne izgubimo sebe".[26] Zatim, on dodaje:

> *Srbi oko enklave su bili vlasnici naše budućnosti, bili smo vraćeni duboko u prošlost i znali da budućnost nije naša, da ćemo i ako preživimo živjeti živote s kojima nikad nećemo imati ništa zajedničko. Odrastali smo u poderanim*

džemperima, ukradenim cipelama, pantalonama donesenim iz pljačke nekog još nezapaljenog sela, živjeli na posuđenom vremenu, koje su pojeli neki pokvareni zubi, na udijeljenom kruhu... I sve uzalud. Bili smo podjednako nebitni svima.[27]

Jan Assmann piše da prošlost uopće i nastaje time što se odnosimo spram nje, i ona nam se ne daje prirodonosno, ona je kulturno ostvarenje.[28] Aleida Assmann kaže da svojim pamćenjem, u kojem se ukrštaju sjećanja i zamišljene predstave, mi uvijek jesmo priključeni na eksterna skladišta tekstova i slika iz medija i arhiva kulture.[29] Upravo se ovi aspekti pamćenja i kod Nuhanovića i kod Suljagića pokazuju kao važni u situacijama u kojima više ne postoji mogućnost govora u odnosu na bilo kakve uređene društvene vrijednosti. Zato kod Nuhanovića nalazimo pokušaje da se upamćeni svijet objasni pomoću filmova *(Indijana Jones, Mad Max, Dan poslije...),* a kod Suljagića se pojavljuje niz visokoartikuliranih opisa "arhiva kulture", kao što su opisi srebreničkog kina, ili jedinih srebreničkih novina.

U tretiranje prošlosti kao kulturnog ostvarenja spadaju i mnoge slike koje nam u svojim svjedočenjima nude Nuhanović i Suljagić, a koje bismo mogli povezati sa svijetom pomjerenih proporcija, kao poetičkim načelom koje je prepoznato u okviru škole ruskog formalizma. Niz slika koje nam nude Nuhanović i Suljagić gotovo da imaju funkciju umjetničkog postupka kako su ga shvatali ruski formalisti, tvrdeći da je zadatak umjetnosti deautomatizacija percepcije te da oneobičavanje služi da stvari vidimo, a ne da ih prepoznamo. U takve slike, naprimjer,

spada niz navoda o promjeni sistema trgovine, o šibicama i cigaretama kao valuti za koju se mogla kupiti hrana, zatim Nuhanovićeva epizoda u kojoj on oblači nove Leviske 501, ali to niko ne primjećuje, jer svi primjećuju da je u podrumu kuće našao čizme-rudarke. Kod Nuhanovića nalazimo sliku koja bi mogla funkcionirati kao nekakva srebrenička realizacija jedne od utopističkih slika o srednjovjekovnoj Zemlji Dembeliji. Nakon što prethodne večeri s bratom nije uspio u šumi naći ništa od paketa s hranom koje su avioni humanitarne pomoći bacali oko Srebrenice, Nuhanovića njegov brat ujutro budi i kaže mu da izađe napolje. Dalje Nuhanović piše:

> *Izašao sam još bunovan i ugledao prelijep prizor – na krovovima svih kuća u ulici, prekrivenim snijegom od tridesetak centimetara, bilo je na desetine rupa. Paketići su padali i po krovovima kuća, ali isto tako, udarivši u crijep, skliznuli sa krovova i pali u avlije. Te oko kuća ljudi su već bili pokupili. Međutim, neki su se zadržali i na krovu. Mama je, s osmijehom na licu, izašla na vrata pokazujući u rukama pregršt paketića koje je uzela iz snijega u avliji.*[30]

Suljagić nam, s druge strane, kao jednu od slika svijeta pomjerenih proporcija nudi sliku potpunog nedostatka empatije najodgovornijih holandskih oficira prema civilima Srebrenice. Naime, Hasanovog brata Bracu oni su dodali na spisak osoblja UN-a, pokušavajući ga tako spasiti od smrti. Zamjenik komandanta Holandskog bataljona u Srebrenici, Robert Franken, ne želi povjerovati u priču da je Braco zaposlen kod njih. On gleda u spisak imena koje je UNPROFOR dužan zaštititi, a zatim Bra-

cino ime prekriži, i to uradi – ružičastim flomasterom. Suljagić žali što to ime nisu ubacili negdje u sredinu spiska, jer ga tako Franken možda ne bi ni vidio, a zatim dodaje: "On bi bio živ, a ja se ne bih sjećao jednog oštrog poteza flomasterom, kratke ružičaste crtice ispod koje se još naziralo ime, i ne bih imao osjećaj da sam, ne htijući, učestvovao u nečijoj smrti na tako ružan, prisilan i posredan način."[31]

Ova epizoda vezana za prepuštanje Nuhanovićevog brata smrti na jezgrovit način svjedoči o jednoj osobini sjećanja koju u svojoj knjizi navodi Aleida Assmann,[32] govoreći da su sjećanja perspektivistička te da, zahvaljujući svojoj životnoj historiji, svaki pojedinac posjeduje vlastito mjesto sa specifičnim opažajnim položajem. U slučaju dviju knjiga kojima se ovaj tekst bavi, dalo bi se pokazati u kojoj mjeri i obrazovanje može odrediti nečiju perspektivu sjećanja. Naprimjer, detaljnija analiza bi pokazala u kojoj mjeri je obrazovanje odredilo doživljaj prostora enklave Srebrenica u svjedočenjima Hasana Nuhanovića i Emira Suljagića. Nuhanović je prije rata studirao Mašinski fakultet, pa njegov doživljaj prostora u knjizi *Zbijeg* predstavlja svojevrsnu konstrukciju "koordinatnog sistema" gladi. S druge strane, Emir Suljagić je kao novinar i publicista prostor enklave bitno obilježio i svojim hrabrim konstatacijama o korumpiranosti bošnjačke vlasti u Srebrenici, za koju kaže da je njenu plemensku prirodu osjetio na vlastitoj koži.[33] Pa, ipak, ma kako bila detaljna analiza razlika i u ovom prostornom i u svim drugim aspektima koji se tiču knjiga *Zbijeg* Hasana Nuhanovića i *Razglednica iz groba* Emira Suljagića, ipak bi se na kraju te knjige pokazale kao vrijedni doprinos autora kulturnom sjećanju, pogotovo zbog

njihovog sličnog odnosa prema Srebrenici u trenutku iz kojeg se tog prostora sjećaju. Nuhanović o svom prvom odlasku u Srebrenicu nakon rata, u martu 1996. godine, piše:

> *Prošli smo tog dana, ne znajući, dva puta pored masovnih grobnica u kojima su se nalazila tijela mog brata, oca i majke. Nisam znao ni gdje su ubijeni, ni kako. Da li su ubijeni zajedno, da li isti dan? Ništa nisam znao, a htio sam saznati sve. Svaki detalj.*[34]

Suljagić u Srebrenicu prvi put nakon rata odlazi u junu 1999. godine, a o tom svom putovanju piše:

> *Na povratku sam shvatio da put u Srebrenicu nije put kroz prostor, nego kroz vrijeme, vremenski skok unatrag, putovanje u posljednju enklavu balkanskog nacizma. Pomislio sam da je Srebrenica naša "mala" Treblinka, na četiri sata vožnje od Sarajeva i nešto manje od Tuzle. I u jednom trenutku, dok sam prelazio preko glavnog gradskog trga i borio se sa sjećanjima koja su navirala, uhvatio sam sebe kako hodam na prstima: osjećaj da hodam po leševima svojih najbližih, bio je toliko snažan da je postao skoro fizički.*[35]

Ovakav odnos prema prostoru Srebrenice ukazuje i na Nuhanovićev i na Suljagićev temeljni motiv za pisanje ovih knjiga. Jan Assmann fenomen spomena na mrtve smatra izvorištem i središtem onoga što bi trebala biti kultura sjećanja. Tretirajući kulturu sjećanja kao odnos prema prošlosti koja nastaje

tamo gdje postajemo svjesni diferencije između *jučer* i *danas,* Assmann kaže da je smrt praiskustvo takve diferencijacije, a sjećanje na mrtve praforma kulturnog sjećanja.[36] Ovaj aspekt u tolikoj mjeri određuje i Nuhanovićevo i Suljagićevo sjećanje da bi se moglo reći kako oni svoje knjige ne pišu kao živi ljudi, nego kao oni koji su *pre-živjeli.*

O samom činu artikuliranja užasnih ličnih doživljaja možda na najbolji način govori naslov knjige Jorgea Sempruna, u kojoj taj veliki pisac tek nakon nekoliko decenija uspijeva opisati svoje iskustvo boravka u koncentracijskom logoru Buchenwald. Semprun toj svojoj knjizi, u kojoj piše o pokušaju zaboravljanja i neuspjehu tog pokušaja, daje znakovit naslov: *Pisanje ili život.*[37] U svojoj uglednoj knjizi *Tipične forme romana,* Franz Stanzel piše da u tipu pripovjedačke situacije u prvom licu, kod tzv. autobiografskog pripovjedača, uvijek postoji tenzija između pripovjedačkog Ja i nekadašnjeg Ja, to pripovjedačko Ja je od vremena svojih doživljaja koji čine sadržaj priče iznutra sazrelo i steklo nova saznanja.[38] Nedostatak tih saznanja i nemogućnost da se za njima prestane tragati, i kod Nuhanovića i kod Suljagića upozorava u kojoj mjeri je i njihovo sjećanje na užase proživljenog obilježeno ovom Semprunovom dilemom, zbog čega su nam ta sjećanja još važnija, pogotovo što nam govore o kondiciji čovjeka u vanrednim uslovima. Zato bi ovdje, na kraju, možda imalo smisla ukazati na važnost sjećanja i svjedočenja kao što su ova Nuhanovićeva i Suljagićeva. Kako je to povodom knjige *7000 dana u Sibiru* Karla Štajnera govorio Danilo Kiš: "Da je bilo sreće, mi bismo danas mesto mase papirnatih romana, romančina i romančića imali jednu bogatu

memoarsku literaturu, jedan ogranak književnosti koji smo, eto, pretvorili u staru hartiju, velika smo iskustva i krvave istorijske dane pretvorili u petparačke romane, istorijska se zbilja preobrazila u lutkarsko pozorište, u muzej voštanih figura, u panoptikum!"[39]

IZVORI

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SREBRENICA: REMINISCENCIJE

Damir Šagolj
Fotograf, direktor WARM fondacije, Bosna i Hercegovina

SREBRENICA: REMINISCENCES

Damir Šagolj
Photographer, Director of WARM foundation, Bosnia and Herzegovina

II
Petrovdanski program, onaj
sa desne strane oglasne
ploče, počinje par dana ranije
projekcijom dokumentarnog filma
produciranog s očiglednim ciljem
da se izjednače strane, i više
od toga. U domu kulture će se
skupiti manje od deset posjetilaca
raštrkanih po udobnim sjedištima
da pod svojim maskama sačekaju
da se potvrdi ono od čega ih ne
možeš razuvjeriti – da je sve zavjera
bjelosvetska, da su i brojevi i riječi
laž, i da postoji samo jedna istina,
evo je ovdje na velikome platnu.

II
The programme for the Solemnity
of Saints Peter and Paul, on the
right-hand side of the notice board,
opens a couple of days earlier with
the projection of the documentary
film made with the obvious aim
of apportioning the blame, and
more. An audience of less than
ten, suitably masked, will scatter
on the cushy seats of the Culture
Centre in order to be confirmed
in their conviction which nothing
can shatter – that it was all an
international conspiracy, that the
num-bers and the words are false,
that there is but one truth, right
here on the big screen, for all to see.

I
Dva su plakata na premaloj
oglasnoj ploči Doma kulture
Srebrenica. Jedan najavljuje
obilježavanje 25. godišnjice
genocida koji su snage bosanskih
Srba počinile nad lokalnim
stanovništvom. Drugi, lijevi,
raspored aktivnosti u sklopu
Petrovdanskih dana koji govore
o "stradanju srpskog naroda
Srebrenice", da precizno citiram.

I
On the all too small notice board in
the Culture Centre in Srebrenica,
there are two posters. One
announces the 25th anniversary of
the genocide of the local Muslim
men committed by the Bosnian
Serb troops. The other one, on the
left, lists the activities scheduled
for the Solemnity of Saints Peter
and Paul, commemorating, to give
the exact words, the suffering of
the Serbian people of Srebrenica.

NE DA TITULU

IV
U magli i vlazi sam slikao, pod sivim mrakom što ubija boje i prolazne oblike, briše vrijeme, izoštrava i otrežnjava. Bez ljudi, bez plakata i promocija, bez laži i istine, bez istorije – samo posmrtni ostaci života i poneka sjena preživjelog. Izbacilo me ponovo iz svakako preuskih cipela, slikao sam vrijeme kako prolazi preko ožiljaka ostavljajući iza sebe tek laganu patinu, ne remeteći pokidano.

IV
I took photographs in the mist and the damp, under the gray darkness that snuffs out all colour and every ephemeral form, obliterating time, pulling into focus and sobering up. No people, no posters, no functions, no lies, no truths, no history – only vestiges of life, an intermittent shade of a lone survivor. It made me jump out of my certainly too tight boots all over again. I photographed time passing over scars, leaving but a light verdigris in its wake, with what is torn left undisturbed.

III
Prigodno će slovo održati lokalni sveštenik, retrogradnih stavova a zapaljive retorike kojeg ću poslije sretati i slušati na više mjesta, uvijek u glavnoj ulozi, kako žari i pali. Od ameba do "nas i njih", tu su i zavjere svjetskih sila, naravno, jedino je u crkvi spas, priziva otac, novim žrtvama hrani mit. Pogled unaokolo, u lica ljudi koji slušaju, samo rijetki trepću. Jasno – nepravedna je borba mitomanije i forenzike, njihove su mase, nad masama moć retorike, otac vlada institucijom straha, a ako treba i inkvizicije. Meni ostaju samo slike, što preciznije i što oštrije.

III
The oration for the occasion will be delivered by the local priest, all mossback beliefs and fire-brand rhetoric. Whenever I came across him afterward, he was invariably the star of the show and perpetually on fire. From the amoebae to us and them via a detour of infernal plots hatched by global powers. Of course, salvation lies in the church. The father's invocations are stoking the myth with new victims. Take a look around: the faces of the people listening, hardly anyone as much as blinking. For sure, mythomania and forensics are unevenly matched. The masses are with them, in thrall of their rhetoric; the father is expert at wielding fear, the inquisition forever ready in the wings. Whereas all I have are images, as definite and sharp as possible.

VI
Poslije, bolni krug po stratištima, slikam majke kako stoje uz zid pred kojim su im djeca pobijena, kako skupljaju čaure od metaka kojima su im muževi streljani, kako se raspadaju u kadru što se sužava u tačku. I polako se spremam iskrasti se iz grada ponovo nagrižen osjećajem krivice. I s osjećajem da, opet, nisam uradio sve i onako kako sam planirao, da se moglo i moralo više i bolje.

VI
Afterwards, making painful rounds of the killing grounds, I take photographs of mothers standing by the wall before which their children were murdered, gathering casings from slugs that slaughtered their husbands, falling apart in a frame that is vanishing into a single point. Tardi-ly, I prepare to slink awayfrom the town, guilt-ridden. I have the feeling that, once again, I failed to do everything I intended and as planned. More and better could and should have been done.

V
I onda rani silazak u 11., u polje u kojem se često baš tog jutra po nišanima zakači magla, silazak u Potočare gdje maske padaju i pucaju šavovi. Gubi se kontrola i prvi strada pogled sa distance, velika slika se muti, ne vidi se dobro, nešto joj smeta. Ne uspijevam se odmaknuti od kadrova boli i smiraja, često samo boli, to me drži, užasan izazov, spojiti emociju i fakt u jednu fotografiju, srediti joj kompoziciju, okinuti u pravom trenutku.

V
And then, at the crack of dawn, down to the 11th, into the field where, on that very morning, the mist frequently chose to stick to the headstones. Then further down into Potočari, where masks are cast off and stitches burst open. Control is lost and the view from a distance is the first to fall by the wayside, the great image is uneasy, one cannot see clearly, something is amiss. I cannot step back from the scenes of pain and demise – often just pain – and this keeps me going. A terrible challenge: to fuse emotion and fact into a photograph by arranging its composi-tion and deciding on the right moment to shoot.

VIII
I zato ove, u originalu, fotografije od pet puta tri metara, sa ekspozicijom od 25 godina. Jer jedino je to ispravno – da se izbrišu sve sjene i raziđu oblaci, da otpadne i prođe šta treba proći, a da ostane samo najbitnije. Da ostane forenzika. Ljuta i precizna. Ostalo se razišlo, ili će se uskoro razići, da se slije u tu jednu kompoziciju u koju sam otkao tolike godine, i sagledao je i saslušao sa svih strana, preciznu. Nikad razigranu, nikad agresivnu.

VIII
Hence these photographs, originally five by three metres, with the exposure time of 25 years. That is the only right way – the shadows erased, the clouds dissipated, everything that should fade and pass faded and gone. What remains is the essential: forensics. Livid and defined. The rest has vanished, or is about to vanish. To come together in that one composition it took me so many years to get to, the one I have listened to and seen from all sides. And which is accurate. Never playful, never aggressive.

VII
Nasuprot mitu koji prijeti je forenzika, ogoljena slika na kojoj živog roba nema. Hladne glave, opran kišom, samoćom i tišinom ja sam svoje već uradio, u onoj magli, pod sivom tamom, izvan godišnjica i velikih riječi. Ono što možda još uvijek ima šansu, minijaturnu, ali šansu, da šapne hladnom tišinom podsjećanja, ono što je snimljeno u stotinama slika, fragmenata koje nosim sa sobom, koje sam spojio i gledao kako izranjaju iz digitalnog razvijača, jedna po jedna, precizne i odlučne.

VII
Against the menacing myth there stands forensics, a bare image without a living soul. Cool-headed, washed by rain, solitude, and silence, I have already done my part, there in the mist, under the gray darkness, away from commemorations and big words. What still stands a chance, minute though it may be, to whisper the cold silence of memory, is what is photo-graphed in the hundreds of images, the fragments that I carry around, having put them together and seen them emerge from the digital developer, one by one, exact and determined.

X
Na fotografijama su mjesta na kojima su, prema podacima besprijekorno istraženim i zapisanim, snage bosanskih Srba uz pomoć asistenata mraka, pobile ljude iz Srebrenice. Uglavnom mecima, iz puške. Koliko li je trebalo metaka da se ubije preko 8.000 ljudi? Koliko je ljudi pucalo tih dana?

X
These are photographs of the sites where, according to the painstakingly researched and recorded data, Bosnian Serb forces, assisted by the henchmen of gloom, slaughtered the men of Srebrenica. Mostly by rifle bullets. How many bullets were needed to kill more than 8000 men? How many were shooting?

IX
Na stranu metafora o ekspoziciji od 25 godina, snimanje po razbacanim stratištima, okupanim tragovima zla ide puno brže. Nema ljudi, nikoga da smeta, da odvlači pažnju. Ja svaku lokaciju i njen – a svaka ima poseban – mrak imam zapisan u noćnim morama, svaki kadar precizno razrađen, centriran i fokusiran. Ostalo je egzekucija. I dramaturgija iz tih snova, ona magla i vlaga u kojoj nestaju boje, a počinje mrak, sišla sa nebesa da se sretnemo, da odšutimo svojih 45 minuta i raziđemo se, ko ljudi. Privremeno.

IX
25 years of exposure time is merely a metaphor, of course. Shooting photographs on scattered execution sites, drenched in evil, takes far less time. Noone is around, nobody cares, there are no distractions. Every site, each of them accompanied by its own distinct darkness, is recorded in my nightmares, every shot is precisely conceived, centered, and fixed. The rest is execution. And the drama of those dreams, the mist and the damp, where colours fade and where darkness begins, descended from on high for us to meet, to be silent for 45 minutes, and then go our separate ways. For the time being.

XII
Čim se, na trenutak, otvori crna f64 rupa na objektivu, zvjezdano svjetlo besprijekorno grane, rastjera mitove i priče, ne prelomi se na sjećanjima i emociji, nego sprži senzor, retinu, probije se, precizno i duboko, skroz do hipokampusa gdje će ovjeriti svoju vječnost. Gdje će se brojevi uklesati da podsjećaju i plaše. Jer jedino tako ima smisla, ostalo su autoportreti trenutka, bljeskovi u mraku, nejasni putokazi.

XII
As soon as the black f/64 aperture on the lens opened for a split second, the starry light shone immaculately, chasing away all myths and stories. Refracted through neither memories nor feelings, it scorches the sensor, the retina, penetrating unerringly to the core, all the way to the hippocampus, there to be attested as eternal. There the numbers will be engraved, to remind and terrify. For that is the only way that makes sense, anything else would be but self-portraits of the instant, flashes in the dark, vague guideposts.

XI
Žuljaju me slike, jave se s vremena na vrijeme iz tišine, pecnu me pa se ponovo sakriju, vrebaju. Treba ih pustiti vani možda, da prodišu, da se upoznamo. A možda bi bilo bolje odšutjeti uz njih, ništa ne napisati, očigledna je to preporuka, ali tišina ubija. Iz nje grmi i sijeva kao iz samoće, iz nje vrebaju opasnosti. Riječi su i teret i melem našoj paleti svakodnevnog i sveobuhvatnog sivog, kao so bez koje je sve bljutavo, a koja peče kad je prospemo po otvorenoj rani.

XI
The images bug me, now and then they appear from the quiet, sting, then hide again – lurking. Perhaps I should set them free, let them breathe, get to know them. Or perhaps it would be bet-ter to stay silent, write not a word. That is the obvious course to take but the silence is deadly. It thunders and lightnings like solitude, all the dangers lurk within it. Words are both a burden and a balm in our palette of everyday and all-encompassing gray – like salt, without which eve-rything tastes vapid but which burns when sprinkled on the open wound.

Hotel Zone

NIKOME SE NE PONOVILO

Genocid u Srebrenici i borba protiv zaborava

Genocide in Srebrenica and fight against oblivion

NEVER AGAIN, TO ANYONE

PREFACE

"The gravity of genocide is reflected in the stringent requirements which must be satisfied before this conviction is imposed. These requirements – the demanding proof of specific intent and the showing that the group was targeted for destruction in its entirety or in substantial part – guard against a danger that convictions for this crime will be imposed lightly. Where these requirements are satisfied, however, the law must not shy away from referring to the crime committed by its proper name."

(Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić,
International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia,
Appeals Chamber Judgment,
19 April 2004, IT-98-33-A, ¶ 37)

In July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces committed genocide. This fact has been confirmed by thousands of pages of testimonies and documentation presented both in court and out of court. It was confirmed by judgments of international and national courts. The Srebrenica genocide was described by the international community as the worst crime committed on European soil since World War II. At the same time, there are still actors in both Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the international community negating, justifying, rejecting, and relativising this fact, disputing victims' number and identities, questioning the court legitimacy and court judgments, and engaging in historical revisionism. Among them are also high-ranking persons from the states formed after the

dissolution of the SFRY who not only fail to discourage the narratives of negationism, but often create them themselves. Such situation is present particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia, where distorting history has become an open state policy.

This Edited Collection was developed in response to emerging accounts of serious and systematic attempts of historical revisionism. It is structured into four parts that analyse different aspects of the Srebrenica genocide.

The first part focuses on legal analysis, i.e. it discusses similarities and differences between the legal systems which do or do not criminalise genocide denial, and presents comparative practices in the fight against genocide negation and denial. The articles in this part of the publication, address questions such as: *What are the trends in this area in different jurisdictions,* and *Are there good practices that could serve as an example of the criminalisation of genocide denial to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as other countries in the region?*

In Part Two, the political context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia is explained and analysed, both as it is today and in the last 25 years. Here, the authors search for the causes of the problems that make it impossible to officially recognise the Srebrenica genocide (in BiH, but primarily in Serbia). Furthermore, the authors attempt, from the perspective of policy and society in different countries in the region, to offer solutions in this area for the upcoming period.

Part Three addresses the activities of civil society, ranging from victims' associations, and various non-governmental organisations, to prominent individuals. Here, the authors explain the commemorative practices and memorialisation, emphasising how much memory culture affects attitudes towards the past and creation of collective identity.

In the last, fourth part, the socially engaged artists gave their contributions, explaining through their own experiences the achievements in fighting historical revisionism and their attitude towards such struggle.

The above-described structure of the Edited Collection clearly demonstrates the novelties the Collection brings. First, in this publication, four different fields (law, policy, civil society and art), which are, each in their own way, indispensable in protecting the facts, and never before connected in this way, make a whole. The Collection reflects a variety of possible and existing approaches to this topic and systematically and comparatively analyses multifaceted encounters among these different fields. In addition, the approach of this collection is pluralistic and includes various jurisdictions, perspectives and positions. The authors come from different countries, which allows for comparative analysis of legal, social and political worlds in the fight for protection from historical revisionism. Further, the publication being printed not only in Bosnian / Montenegrin / Croatian / Serbian language, but also in English, makes it possible for the authors' messages to reach broader international audiences. Moreover, the majority of authors highlights the importance and need for

greater support to individuals and civil society in their work on dealing with the past. In view of their call on reconsidering the manner of fighting distorted narratives, possible implications of this publication are substantial. This is particularly important having in mind the widespread (numerically) and increasingly perfidious and 'nuanced' (content-wise) negation and denial of the Srebrenica genocide, and the unlimited possibilities of spreading conspiracy theories in the Internet era.

Still, the greatest responsibility for spreading the factual approach to the Srebrenica genocide, rests with the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. However, as long as the publications like these are not published by the institutions of the two states, it is on us – scholars, legal specialists, historians, politicians, artists, activists, and civil society – to fight against historical revisionism. Facts are the best means in this fight. Genocide denial is not only offensive for victims and prevents reconciliation, but it also enables manipulations, as well as the repetition of the ancestors' crimes. For this reason, after any conflict, it is of utmost importance to base any debate on the crimes committed on facts, as well as to educate about the past and bust the myths. Only then could dealing with the past and reconciliation between nations be possible and honest.

The Youth Initiative for Human Rights Serbia, forumZFD Serbia and the Independent Journalists' Association of Vojvodina hope that this publication will contribute to the development of a constructive dialogue on the necessity of not only passing legislation to ban the denial of the Srebrenica genocide, but also on the

necessity of reforming the approach to transitional justice in the countries formed after the dissolution of the SFRY. Both are possible, but require self-critical effort. We are aware that much more is needed in dealing with the past, but this publication is certainly a contribution to that end.

Doc. dr. Ajla Škrbić
Editor

LAW

THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE: A LEGAL AND MORAL ANALYSIS[1]

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ABSTRACT

Even though the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia have unambiguously and repeatedly held that the killings of Bosnian-Muslim men and boys by paramilitary forces of Republika Srpska in and around Srebrenica in July 1995 constituted genocide, Republika Srpska politicians and others continue to deny the Srebrenica genocide. Just as the Holocaust is remembered and commemorated as a genocide, the dead of other genocides, including the Srebrenica Genocide, deserve the dignity and justice of having the crimes that took their lives duly recognized, categorized, and acknowledged as genocides as a matter of established international law.

On 22 November 2017, in The Hague, Judge Alphons Orie of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) delivered the judgment in Case IT-09-92-T, *The Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladić.* Finding Mladić guilty of genocide, extermination, murder, and other crimes against humanity and war crimes, the ICTY sentenced him to life imprisonment

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the human variant of a monster as, "A person of repulsively unnatural character, or exhibiting such extreme cruelty or wickedness as to appear inhuman; a monstrous example of evil." Ratko Mladić is such a monster.

From 1992 until 1996, Mladić, who had previously been a career military officer in the Yugoslav People's Army, was the commander of the army of the breakaway Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, better known simply as Republika Srpska. During these years, together with Republika Srpska President Radovan Karadžić, he orchestrated the brutal ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims and Croats from territories they and other Serbian ultra-nationalists considered integral to a de facto "Greater Serbia." Mladić also directed the shelling of Sarajevo from 1992 to 1995 which the ICTY Trial Chamber deemed to have spread terror throughout the Bosnian capital's civilian population, took UN personnel hostage in violation of the laws or customs of war, and, most relevant to this article, perpetrated genocide against the Bosnian Muslim population of Srebrenica.

Sitting impassively in the courtroom for the first 45 minutes of Judge Orie's summarizing of the judgment, clean shaven, his white hair neatly trimmed, dressed in a navy blue suit, white shirt, and red tie, Mladić did not look like a monster, a *genocidaire* if you will, but then again, neither did Adolf Eichmann in his glass booth in Jerusalem.

After approximately 42 minutes, Mladić's counsel asked if the Tribunal could take a recess so that the defendant could use the restroom. When the session resumed, Judge Orie announced that Mladić had been removed to another room where he could follow the proceedings on a screen.

Some background to the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, which included the genocide perpetrated at Srebrenica, is relevant here. In his 1936 political reportage, *Inside Europe,* John Gunther wrote that what was then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, created in the aftermath of World War I out of Balkan regions of the defunct Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, was made up of "some 13,500,000 powerful and truculent Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Slavones, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, [and] Dalmatians."[2] Many if not most of these different national groups had centuries-old histories of deeply rooted animosity toward one another.

Between 1945 and 1980, the independent communist and former anti-fascist partisan leader Josip Broz Tito kept Yugoslavia's internal domestic tensions largely under control. Within a decade of Tito's death, however, the nationalist Serbian presi-

dent Slobodan Milošević pushed the envelope with respect to Serbian domination of the country, relegating to the dustbin a delicate balance of power that had been maintained since the end of World War II.

In April of 1989, a *New York Times* editorial accused Milošević of inflaming "ancient ethnic hatreds for the sake of his own political ambitions."[3] Since becoming Serbia's Communist Party boss, the editorial wrote, Milošević had "pressed a relentless political campaign, complete with mass rallies, fiery rhetoric and bureaucratic purges, all aimed at making Serbia, and its party leader, supreme in a reshaped Yugoslavia."

"We must secure unity in Serbia if we wish, as the largest and most populous republic, to dictate the further course of events," Milošević declared in 1991. "These are the questions of borders, essential state questions. The borders, as you know, are always dictated by the strong, never by weak ones." Karadžić and Mladić were among those Bosnian Serbs who were determined to establish a pan-Serbian hegemony in the Serbian part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[4]

In 1991, Slovenia and Croatia were the first two Yugoslav republics to secede, with Croatia's secession resulting in a brutal seven-month war. The following year, when Bosnia and Herzegovina – whose ethnic make-up was 43 percent Muslim, 35 percent Orthodox Serb, and 18 percent Roman Catholic Croat – followed suit, the breakaway entity that called itself Republika Srpska came into being, with catastrophic consequences for Bosnia's

Muslim and Croat minorities. In response to the atrocities that were being committed openly against civilians in what had been Yugoslavia, the United Nations Security Council on May 25, 1993 – two years before the Srebrenica massacre – established the ICTY, whose charter gave it jurisdiction over a series of crimes, including genocide and crimes against humanity.

Following their indictments by the ICTY in 1995, both Karadžić and Mladić went into hiding. Karadžić was eventually captured in July of 2008 and extradited to The Hague to stand trial before the ICTY. In March 2016, he was convicted on multiple counts of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. Mladić in turn was seized by the Serbian police on May 26, 2011, in the village of Lazarevo some 90 kilometers from Belgrade, and flown to The Hague five days later. Mladić's trial began on 16 May 2012.

The *Mladić* indictment charged him with the commission of genocide, as well as persecution, extermination, murder, deportation, other inhumane acts, both individually and as part of a criminal conspiracy with Karadžić and others. According to the indictment, "By using the word 'committed'… the Prosecutor does not mean that the accused physically committed any of the crimes charged personally. 'Committed,' in the context of the accused's liability under Article 7(1), refers to his participation in a joint criminal enterprise."[5]

Article 7 of the ICTY Statute provides that the fact that any charged criminal acts were committed by a defendant's subor-

dinate does not relieve such defendant of criminal responsibility if the defendant "knew or had reason to know that the subordinate was about to commit such acts or had done so and the superior failed to take the necessary and reasonable measures to prevent such acts or to punish the perpetrators thereof."[6] Mladić has now been held accountable for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes perpetrated in Bosnian and Herzegovina, both directly and by virtue of his command authority over the troops that carried out the carnage.

The first of the two genocide counts in the indictment, which relates to "a joint criminal enterprise to permanently remove Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats from the territories of [Bosnia and Herzegovina] claimed as Bosnian Serb territory," charged Mladić with "conduct that manifested an intent to destroy in part the national, ethnical and/or religious groups of Bosnian Muslims and/or Bosnian Croats as such" with respect to Bosnian municipalities other than Srebrenica.[7] As had been the case with Karadžić, the Trial Chamber convicted Mladić of extermination and murder – crimes against humanity – on this count, but not of genocide. The second genocide count – on which Mladić was found guilty – charged that he had "participated in a joint criminal enterprise to eliminate the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica by killing the men and boys of Srebrenica and forcibly removing the women, young children and some elderly men from Srebrenica."[8]

The gruesome facts that earned Srebrenica, a town in eastern Bosnia, its place alongside Auschwitz-Birkenau, Jasenovac, Musa Dagh, and Butare, bear repeating.

Auschwitz-Birkenau, of course, was the most notorious of the Nazi death and concentration camps where the Holocaust of European Jewry was perpetrated during World War II. Jasenovac was the concentration camp in the "Independent State of Croatia" where between 77,000 and 99,000 Serbs, Jews and Roma were murdered by the Croatian fascist Ustaša between 1941 and 1945.[9] Musa Dagh is the region of the Ottoman Empire where several thousand Armenians resisted for 53 days in 1915 against the efforts to destroy them in what has become known as the Armenian Genocide. Butare is the Rwanda *préfecture,* or province, where it is estimated that 220,000 Tutsis were slaughtered by their Hutu neighbors and compatriots during that country's 1994 Genocide.[10]

On April 16, 1993, the U.N. Security Council designated "Srebrenica and its surroundings as a safe area which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act."[11] The Srebrenica "safe area" was under the protection of a United Nations Protection Force. This designation was reinforced by the Security Council on May 6, 1993, in a second resolution.[12] Defying the international community, Republika Srpska troops under Mladić's command took control of Srebrenica in early July of 1995. Over the course of several days beginning on July 12, between 7,000 and 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were murdered. The actual number of the dead has yet to be established. A February 12, 2000 report to the ICTY determined that "a minimum of 7,475 persons from the Srebrenica enclave are missing and presumed dead."[13] More recently, the International Commission on Missing Persons has estimated the

number of missing at around 8,000,[14] and international human rights advocate Ewelina U. Ochab has set the number of dead at 8,372.[15] In 2005, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan described what occurred at Srebrenica as "a terrible crime – the worst on European soil since the Second World War."[16]

In reading the summary of the judgment for Mladić, Judge Orie described one element of the genocide: "From 12 to 14 July 1995, [Republika Srpska forces] organized the transport of approximately 25,000 Bosnian Muslims, mostly women, children, and elderly, out of the Srebrenica enclave to territory under the control of the army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in convoys of buses and trucks. Bosnian-Serb soldiers systematically separated Bosnian-Muslim men of military age who were trying to get on board. Some of the separated males were as young as 12 years old and some older than 60 years. The separations were frequently aggressive. The people being transferred were told that the Bosnian-Muslim men would follow later. They never followed."[17]

The Bosnian Muslim men and boys were taken to nearby detention centers where they were executed. Judge Orie continued: "The Chamber found that many of these men and boys were cursed, insulted, threatened, forced to sing Serb songs, and beaten while awaiting their execution. Bosnian-Serb forces… systematically murdered several thousand Bosnian-Muslim men and boys, the vast majority over just a few days from the 12 until 17 July 1995."[18]

With respect to the count of the indictment charging Mladić with genocide for the mass killings at Srebrenica, Judge Orie said: "The Chamber found that the prohibited acts, as set out in the legal definition of Genocide, of killing and causing serious bodily and mental harm, were committed by the physical perpetrators against the Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica. The Chamber then examined the specific intent of the physical perpetrators. As explained in detail in the judgment, the Chamber found that the physical perpetrators intended to destroy the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica, a substantial part of the protected group. The Chamber therefore found that the crimes of genocide, persecution, extermination, murder, and the inhumane act of forcible transfer were committed against Bosnian Muslims in and around Srebrenica."[19]

There are different types of *genocidaires,* all equally guilty but performing different roles. At one extreme are the political instigators of the crime – Adolf Hitler or Joseph Goebbels for example – whose bigoted ideology sparked the Nazis' "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" but who never set foot in a death camp or witnessed a mass killing of Jews. Karadžić falls into this category. At the other extreme are the individuals who directly perpetrated the crimes. This latter grouping includes SS doctors such as Josef Mengele who performed the selections at Auschwitz-Birkenau and the SS personnel who herded Jews into the gas chambers, as well as the likes of the Croatian Franciscan friar Fra Tomislav Filipović, also known

as Fra Sotona ("Brother Satan"), the brutal commander of the Jasenovac camp.

Mladić falls squarely into the latter category. Regardless of whether or not he pulled an actual trigger himself, the ICTY Trial Chamber found that he ordered the mass killings to take place and orchestrated them. On July 11, 1995, he was filmed in Srebrenica. "We give this town to the Serb people as a gift," he declared. Derogatorily referring to Muslims as "Turks," he continued: "The time has come to take revenge on the Turks in this region." After this television footage was shown at the opening of Mladić's trial, prosecutor Peter McCloskey told the tribunal, "Over the next five days after this ominous remark about revenge, Mladić's troops captured and systematically murdered thousands of Srebrenica's men and boys."[20]

One can only imagine the international outrage if murals of Adolf Hitler were to be prominently displayed throughout Germany, or if a Berlin student dormitory were to be named after Adolf Eichmann, the architect of the systematic annihilation of six million Jews in the Holocaust.

Along the same lines, there would undoubtedly be across-the-board condemnation of any German government delusional enough to claim as a matter of policy that the Holocaust was not a genocide, and that the Jews brought their mass slaughter upon themselves.

This is precisely the kind of scenario that has been playing itself out in the present-day Republika Srpska entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina where the perpetrators of the Srebrenica genocide are being lionized. Enormous murals of Mladić have become shrines for Bosnian Serbs,[21] and a student dormitory was named with great fanfare after Karadžić.[22]

To date, nineteen individuals – including Mladić, Karadžić, and Milošević, who died in custody at The Hague before his case came to verdict – have been charged before the ICTY in connection with Srebrenica. Of these, six – again including Mladić and Karadžić – have been convicted of genocide. In addition, at least eight others were convicted of genocide for their roles at Srebrenica by the War Crimes Chamber of the Court in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And in a landmark ruling, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) also held that Srebrenica constituted a genocide.

And yet, Bosnian Serbs and their acolytes have spent the past quarter of a century desperately trying to persuade the world that what happened at Srebrenica was not a genocide. In May 2020, the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center issued a report on Srebrenica genocide denial that documents the revisionist initiatives by politicians and pseudo-academics to distort history.[23] The efforts range from attempts to dispute the death toll to blaming the victims for the slaughter by claiming that it was a reaction to Bosniak provocations.

In the course of 2019 alone, Milorad Dodik, the Serb member of the tripartite Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, called

the Srebrenica genocide a "fabricated myth," and said that Bosnian Muslims "did not have a myth, so they decided to construct one around Srebrenica."[24] Serbian Defense Minister Aleksandar Vulin declared that, "the Serbian people survived genocide rather than committed it."[25] And Željka Cvijanović, the president of Republika Srpska, which emerged as one of the constituent entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina following the November 1995 Dayton Accords, has pointedly suggested that the killing of Bosniaks by Bosnian Serbs at Srebrenica was retaliation for prior anti-Serb "war crimes against Serbs" purportedly committed by Bosnian Muslim forces.[26]

In the same vein, Serbian President Tomislav Nikolić declared on Montenegrin State Television in 2012 that "There was no genocide in Srebrenica," acknowledging only that, "In Srebrenica, grave war crimes were committed by some Serbs."[27]

These Srebrenica genocide deniers are far from alone. In June 2015, Ephraim Zuroff, the director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Israel office, lent invaluable support to the Serb and Russian positions when he told the Belgrade-based newspaper *Politika* that he did not believe that what happened at Srebrenica "fit the description or definition of genocide and I think that the decision to call this genocide was adopted for political reasons."[28]

In a separate interview on Russian-sponsored Sputnik Serbia radio, Zuroff said, "It is necessary to be very careful while using the concept of 'genocide.' I do not deny that the Serbian

forces killed Muslims in Srebrenica, this should not have happened, and those responsible must be brought to justice. But there was no genocide in Srebrenica since the Serbs initially released women and children. And then the process of politicization of the tragedy began."[29]

On July 8, 2015, Russia vetoed a British-sponsored U.N. Security Council resolution that would have condemned the Srebrenica massacre as a "crime of genocide."[30] Ambassador Vitaly Churkin, Russia's permanent representative to the U.N., disparaged the proposed resolution as "not constructive, confrontational and politically motivated."[31]

Reacting to Churkin's veto of the Srebrenica genocide resolution, Adisada Dudic, a former student of mine at Cornell Law School who had spent three years as a child in Bosnian refugee camps, said: "You are basically telling people who watched their loved ones die that the person they buried never existed. That their life never mattered. That kind of insult is what victimizes the survivors to this day – an unapologetic dismissal of their pain. People just want their grief to be acknowledged and for the crime to be called its proper name."[32]

Such historical rejectionism flies in the face of a succession of judicial holdings that set forth in detail that the killing of the Bosniak men and boys from the Srebrenica enclave, coupled with the forced deportation of Bosniak women, children and elderly men, evidenced the requisite intent to destroy the Bosnian Muslim presence in eastern Bosnia so as to constitute

genocide. In its judgment convicting Karadžić of genocide, the ICTY Trial Chamber wrote that the "only reasonable inference" to be drawn from the killing of the Bosniak men and boys of Srebrenica "is that members of the Bosnian Serb Forces orchestrating this operation intended to destroy the Bosnian Muslims as such."[33] As Ambassador Peter Wilson, the United Kingdom's Permanent Representative at the UN, declared following Churkin's veto, "that genocide occurred at Srebrenica… is a legal fact, not a political judgment."[34]

Three points are critical here: First, genocide, as set forth in the Convention, is a carefully defined cause of action crafted so as to allow for judicial flexibility in its interpretation. Second, it is a fundamental error to consider genocide a more serious or more heinous crime than other crimes against humanity such as "extermination". And third, where the facts fit the definition of genocide, it is a profound moral disservice to attempt to deprive its victims of the designation.

Before discussing the crime of genocide in the context of the Srebrenica massacre, it is important to understand the development of the law of genocide since the term was first used in 1944 in a book by a Polish-Jewish refugee named Raphael Lemkin.

On August 24, 1941, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill said in a radio broadcast: "Since the Mongol invasions of Europe in the sixteenth century there has never been methodical, merciless

butchery on such a scale or approaching such a scale. And this is but the beginning… We are in the presence of a crime without a name."[35] In August 1945, the atrocities perpetrated against civilian populations throughout Nazi-occupied Europe were designated as "crimes against humanity" in the Charter for the International Military Tribunal (IMT). This new criminal cause of action encompassed "murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population," as well as "persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal."[36]

Meanwhile, Lemkin had coined the term "genocide" in his 1944 book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe.* "By 'genocide,'" Lemkin wrote, "we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group… Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group."[37]

In a subsequent 1946 article,[38] Lemkin expanded the meaning of genocide to include racial and religious groups, and he then lobbied the delegates at the first UN General Assembly to de-

clare genocide as a crime under international law, which it did in a resolution adopted unanimously on December 11, 1946.[39]

Two years later, on December 9, 1948, the General Assembly adopted the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Article II of the Convention provides that "genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

A Killing members of the group;
B Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
C Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
D Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
E Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."[40]

This wording, which also appears in the respective statutes of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda,[41] and the International Criminal Court (ICC),[42] is the only relevant definition of genocide under international law.

For the next four decades, genocide as a criminal cause of action remained largely an abstraction. On May 25, 1993, however, in response to reports of the atrocities that were being

openly perpetrated in the Balkans, the UN Security Council formally established "an international tribunal for the sole purpose of prosecuting persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian laws committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia" since 1991.[43] This would become the first international criminal tribunal since the IMT at Nuremberg. In the same resolution, the Security Council adopted a report of the UN Secretary-General that included Genocide as a separate cause of action in the jurisdictional framework for the ICTY, alongside Crimes against Humanity, war crimes, and violations of the Geneva Conventions.[44]

The ICTY Statute uses the same definition of genocide as does the Genocide Convention. The same wording, which is cited above, also appears in the respective statutes of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and the International Criminal Court (ICC). It is the only relevant definition of genocide under international law.

Accordingly, I must respectfully disagree with Professor Steven T. Katz who has written that genocide must be defined as the "destruction of all human beings who belong to a particular ethnic, national or religious group without exception."[45] As will be discussed more fully below, an intent to destroy part of a protected group as such clearly satisfies the requirements of the Convention. Katz made essentially the same point in his book, *The Holocaust in Historical Context, Vol. 1,* where he also sought to expand the definition of genocide to incorporate attempts "to murder in its totality any… political, social, gender

or economic group."[46] While intellectually provocative, that argument is also legally irrelevant. To adapt a popular contemporary expression, the legal definition of genocide as set forth in the Genocide Convention is what it is – not less and not more.

At the same time, incidentally, I firmly believe that genocide is no more heinous a crime than crimes against humanity as defined in the IMT Charter. Crimes against humanity, including murder, extermination, enslavement, rape, and torture committed against civilian populations, are set forth as a separate criminal cause of action in the ICTY, ICTR and ICC Statutes, with no suggestion that they are any less gruesome, any less barbaric, or any less evil than genocide. Mass killings, mass rapes, and exterminations are no less monstrous because they happen not to meet the legal definition of genocide.

Specifically, the fact that Mladić – like Karadžić before him – was convicted of extermination rather than genocide for the mass killings in the various municipalities other than Srebrenica in no way lessens his guilt or somehow makes him a less odious creature.

I once wrote that the Holocaust stood alone in time as an aberration of history.[47] I stand by that statement to the extent that it reflects the transnational and multinational scope of the Hitlerian "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Never before – and certainly not since – were millions of men, women, and children belonging to a given ethnic, national or religious group transported from countries across an entire continent to death

camps equipped with gas chambers and crematoria. Never before – and certainly not since – was the machinery of annihilation as vast and as multi-faceted as it was in the Third Reich and throughout Nazi-occupied Europe between June 1941, when mass killings of Jews began after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, and May 8, 1945 – V-E Day – when World War II in Europe came to an end.

That does not mean, however, and should never be interpreted as implying, that other genocides and crimes against humanity are of any lesser severity. Every genocide is an equally heinous crime, whether the victims are Jews, Armenians, Tutsis, Bosniaks, Yezidis, Rohingya, or members of any other protected group. The fact that the chosen instrument of death is a machete or machine gun rather than a gas chamber does not make an atrocity or series of atrocities any less atrocious. Nor does the fact that a genocide lasted months rather than years, as in Rwanda, or days rather than months, as at Srebrenica, make its perpetration any less reprehensible. It is the underlying nature of the crime – the intent to destroy a designated group as such – that makes every genocide, and every comparable crime against humanity for that matter, a crime that shocks our consciousness. Engaging in comparative suffering is a counter-productive and morally repugnant exercise.

In a March 2004 talk at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on genocide in international law, the noted interna-

tional criminal and human rights law scholar William Schabas squarely confronted the core issue that has concerned many with respect to Srebrenica – namely, how the killing of less than 8,000 could be considered a genocide. The wholesale murder of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 million Tutsis was, in his words "a really clear cut case of genocide." On the other hand, and, I might add, understandably, Schabas was bothered by what he called "micro-genocide," that is, again in his words, "a really horrendous massacre but it's not on the scale of Rwanda or the Holocaust."[48]

The fact, however, is that the scale of a possible genocide is not determinative. Nehemiah Robinson, the director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress who to this day is recognized as one of the leading authorities on the Genocide Convention, wrote in his 1960 Commentary on the Convention (a somewhat modified version of a monograph he had first published in 1949) that "the intent to destroy a multitude of persons of the same group because of their belonging to this group, must be classified as genocide even if these persons constitute only part of a group either within a country or within a region or within a single community, provided the number is substantial… It will be up to the courts to decide in each case whether the number was sufficiently large."[49]

In other words, there are no arbitrary or objective parameters by which to determine whether a given atrocity is sufficiently large in scale to qualify as a genocide. Rather, the courts must assess each situation separately and, to at least some extent, subjectively.

The ICTY has done so repeatedly, beginning with its 2001 trial judgment in *Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić,*[50] which was affirmed by the Appeals Chamber in 2004.[51]

The Krstić Appeals Chamber unequivocally held that the number of victims was not a determinative factor in concluding whether or not a genocide had occurred:

> *The numeric size of the targeted part of the group is the necessary and important starting point, though not in all cases the ending point of the inquiry. The number of individuals targeted should be evaluated not only in absolute terms, but also in relation to the overall size of the entire group. In addition to the numeric size of the targeted portion, its prominence within the group can be a useful consideration. If a specific part of the group is emblematic of the overall group, or is essential to its survival, that may support a finding that the part qualifies as substantial …*[52]

According to the Appeals Chamber in *Krstić,*

> *Srebrenica was important due to its prominence in the eyes of both the Bosnian Muslims and the international community. The town of Srebrenica was the most visible of the "safe areas" established by the UN Security Council in Bosnia. By 1995 it had received significant attention in the international media. In its resolution declaring Srebrenica a safe area, the Security Council announced that it 'should be free from armed attack or any other*

hostile act.' This guarantee of protection was re-affirmed by the commander of the UN Protection Force in Bosnia (UNPROFOR) and reinforced with the deployment of UN troops. The elimination of the Muslim population of Srebrenica, despite the assurances given by the international community, would serve as a potent example to all Bosnian Muslims of their vulnerability and defenselessness in the face of Serb military forces. The fate of the Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica would be emblematic of that of all Bosnian Muslims.[53]

The *Krstić* Appeals Chamber went on to hold that in reaching the conclusion that a genocide had taken place, the Trial Chamber had been entitled to consider the "long-term impact that the elimination of seven to eight thousand men from Srebrenica would have on the survival of that community."[54] The Appeals Chamber further affirmed the Trial Chamber's finding that:

Given the patriarchal character of the Bosnian Muslim society in Srebrenica, the destruction of such a sizeable number of men would 'inevitably result in the physical disappearance of the Bosnian Muslim population at Srebrenica.' Evidence introduced at trial supported this finding, by showing that, with the majority of the men killed officially listed as missing, their spouses are unable to remarry and, consequently, to have new children. The physical destruction of the men therefore had severe procreative implications for the Srebrenica Muslim community, potentially consigning the community to extinction.[55]

"This," the *Krstić* Appeals Chamber concluded, "is the type of physical destruction the Genocide Convention is designed to prevent."[56] The *Krstić* Appeals Chamber also affirmed the Trial Chamber's consideration of the non-lethal elements of the Srebrenica massacre. It concluded, for example, that that the "forcible transfer" of the women, children and elderly from Srebrenica could be considered "an additional means by which to ensure the physical destruction of the Bosnian Muslim community in Srebrenica. The transfer completed the removal of all Bosnian Muslims from Srebrenica, thereby eliminating even the residual possibility that the Muslim community in the area could reconstitute itself."[57]

In 2007, in its judgment in a proceeding brought by Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro, the ICJ adopted the ICTY's conclusion in *Krstić* and concluded that "the acts committed at Srebrenica… were committed with the specific intent to destroy in part the group of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina as such; and accordingly that these were acts of genocide, committed by members of the VRS [that is, the Republika Srpska forces] in and around Srebrenica from about 13 July 1995."[58]

In 2010, in holding yet again that a genocide had been perpetrated at Srebrenica, the ICTY Trial Chamber in *Prosecutor v. Popović, Beara, et al* listed the underlying acts that supported this finding. In addition to "killing members of the group" (Article II (a) of the Genocide Convention and Article 4 (2) (a) of the ICTY Charter), the Trial Chamber found that the killing op-

eration at Srebrenica also "inflicted serious bodily and mental harm on the Muslims of Eastern Bosnia," both on those who were ultimately killed and those who survived the killing operation, as well as on the surviving family members and loved ones of those killed (Article II (b) of the Genocide Convention and Article 4 (2) (b) of the ICTY Charter).[59] In January 2015, The ICTY Appeals Chamber affirmed the Trial Chamber's Popović judgment.[60]

It must also be noted that in its April 2015 Judgment in *Prosecutor v. Zdravko Tolimir,* yet another ICTY Appeals Panel reaffirmed – in my opinion decisively and unambiguously – that "the killing of at least 5,749 Bosnian Muslim men from Srebrenica" constituted a genocidal actus reus, perpetrated with the requisite genocidal intent.[61] The Appeals Panel in *Tolimir* also affirmed the Trial Chamber's holdings that (a) the infliction of serious bodily or mental harm on these Muslim men and boys prior to their being executed constituted a separate act of genocide; and (b) that the "the suffering of the women, children, and elderly forcibly transferred from Srebrenica amounted to serious mental harm under Article 4 of the [ICTY] statute"[62] – that is to say, one of the acts constituting genocide under both the ICTY Charter and the Genocide Convention.

With respect to the deportation of the Bosnian Muslim women, children and elderly of Srebrenica, the Appeals Chamber in *Tolimir* stated that, "serious mental harm need not result from acts causing permanent or irremediable mental impairment. It suffices that the harmful conduct caused grave and long-term

disadvantage to the ability of the members of the protected group to lead a normal and constructive life so as to threaten the physical destruction of the group in whole or in part."[63]

In the same vein, the March 2016 four-volume, Karadžić Judgment listed the factors underlying the Trial Chamber's genocide conviction, including:

- Bosnian Muslims constituted a protected group for purposes of Article 4 of the Statute [the Genocide Article].[64]
- At least 5,115 Bosnian Muslim males were killed by Bosnian Serb forces, and these Bosnian Muslim males were members of the protected group for purposes of Article 4 (2) (a) of the Statute.[65]
- The "suffering endured" by these Bosnian Muslim males "in the final days and hours before they were killed by Bosnian Serb forces constituted serious bodily or mental harm."[66]
- "The Bosnian Serb forces caused serious bodily and mental harm to the Bosnian Muslim males who managed to survive the killings and lived to testify," and further that in addition to the aforementioned serious bodily or mental harm suffered by these surviving Bosnian Muslim males, "their respective close encounters with death have had long-lasting effects on their respective abilities to lead normal and constructive lives."[67]
- The "mental harm" caused "as a result of the killing of the men and boys and the forcible removal of the remainder of Bosnian Muslims has had long-lasting effects on the

respective abilities of the surviving women, children, and some elderly men to live normal and constructive lives."[68]

- The "only reasonable inference" to be drawn from the killing of the Bosnian Muslim men and boys of Srebrenica "is that members of the Bosnian Serb Forces orchestrating this operation intended to destroy the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica as such."[69]
- The Republika Srpska forces "must have been aware of the detrimental impact that the eradication of multiple generations of men would have on the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica in that the killing of all able-bodied males while forcibly removing the remainder of the population would have severe procreative implications for the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica and thus result in their physical extinction."[70]
- Even though "the Bosnian Muslim population in Srebrenica constituted a numerically small percentage of the Bosnian Muslim population, the enclave's seizure was of particular strategic importance due to its geographic proximity to Serbia, its symbolic stature as a refuge for Bosnian Muslims, and the fact that its elimination despite its status as a safe area would be demonstrative of the potential fate of all Bosnian Muslims." Accordingly, the Karadžić Trial Chamber found that "the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica constituted a substantial part of the Bosnian Muslim population."[71]

The *Mladić* Trial Chamber followed suit in convicting the erstwhile Republika Srpska general of genocide and sentencing

him to life imprisonment for his crimes. As in the Karadžić judgment, the *Mladić* Trial Chamber found that the Bosnian Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina constituted a protected class within the meaning of the ICTY's statute.[72] Among the bases for Mladić's conviction were findings that Republika Srpska units terrorized and abused the Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica;[73] "that these acts constituted cruel and/or inhumane treatment;"[74] and that "the suffering endured by the Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica in the period before they were killed, was intense, prolonged, and serious. Many spent their last moments in a state of desperation."[75] The Trial Chamber concluded:

> *that thousands of Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica were subjected to serious bodily or mental harm which included: threats of death or treatment which brought them to the point of death or suicide; knowledge, in many cases, of impending death due to the terrible manner in which they were treated prior to being killed; and long-lasting physical and mental damage. The harm inflicted upon the victims by the perpetrators preceded the suffering which was inherently part of the acts of killing. The Trial Chamber, therefore, finds that the serious bodily or mental harm suffered by thousands of Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica contributed to the destruction of the targeted group as a result of actions of the physical perpetrators.*[76]

The *Mladić* Trial Chamber also explained why the Bosnian Muslims of Srebrenica met the substantiality threshold for a finding

of genocide despite the fact that they "formed less than two per cent of the Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole."[77] The Trial Chamber made clear "that in determining the substantiality of the group, numerical size of the part in absolute terms is one factor among many."[78] Among other factors to be taken into account are the "numerical size of the part in relation to the overall size of the group; the prominence of the part of the group within the larger whole and whether it is emblematic of the overall group or essential to its survival; the area of the perpetrators' activity and control; and the perpetrators' potential reach."[79]

The Trial Chamber also focused on another element in making its substantiality analysis: the defendant's own statements (already referred to above[80]) with respect to Srebrenica:

> *Mladić stated in an interview published in 1994, that Srebrenica was a large 'Islamic and Turkish' stronghold until the war started, and that although they had been the majority population there, the heritage did not belong to the 'Turks'. He declared that the Drina was a synonym of domination over the Serbs, dating from the time of the powerful Turkish empire. Mladić demanded that a representative of a humanitarian organization film the area in Srebrenica and said 'Let our Serbs see what we have done to them, how we took care of the Turks'. Mladić also said that if the Dutch had not been there to protect the Bosnian Muslims, 'they would have disappeared from this area a long time ago'. Upon Mladić's arrival in Srebrenica*

on 11 July 1995, he said: 'Here we are, on 11 July 1995, in Serb Srebrenica. On the eve of yet great Serb holiday, we give this town to the Serb people as a gift. Finally, after the [R]ebellion against the Dahis, the time has come to take revenge on the Turks in this region'.[81]

In finding substantiality, the *Mladić* Trial Chamber considered the joint impact of

the murder of many thousands of Bosnian-Muslim males, the destruction of political or religious monuments and homes, and the forcible transfer of Bosnian-Muslims women, children and the elderly. The physical perpetrators of these acts carried them out knowing that they would be demonstrative of the ultimate fate that awaited Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This demonstrative effect would be due to the symbolic impact of the murder of Bosnian Muslims in a designated safe area, the destruction of a number of religious buildings and Bosnian-Muslim homes in the region, and the forcible transfer of all or substantially all of the remaining Bosnian-Muslim population.[82]

The Trial Chamber went on to observe that "this symbolic impact" was especially significant in light of the importance the Republika Srpska forces gave to controlling " this municipality in what was then one of the few remaining predominantly Bosnian-Muslim populated territories in the area claimed as the Bosnian-Serb Republic.[83]

In light of the foregoing, the Trial Chamber finds that the enclave of Srebrenica was of significant strategic importance to the Bosnian-Serb leadership during the conflict because the majority Bosnian-Muslim population of this region made it difficult for them to claim the land as inherently Serb. The Bosnian-Serb leadership, in particular, accorded Srebrenica importance as it was in close geographical proximity to Serbia and, therefore, was required for maintaining a Serb-populated border area contiguous with Serbia. During the war, Srebrenica also became a refuge to Bosnian Muslims from the region especially when it was designated a UN safe area. The Trial Chamber is, therefore, satisfied that the Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica constituted a substantial part of the Bosnian Muslim population of Bosnia-Herzegovina.[84]

As Nehemiah Robinson correctly noted, once the term genocide became a legal term, its interpretation became a matter for the courts,[85] and a succession of courts have held clearly and unambiguously that a genocide was perpetrated at Srebrenica. It is disingenuous at best for anyone to maintain otherwise.

Speaking at the site of the Nazi concentration camp of Buchenwald in Germany in 2009, President Barack Obama called denial of the Holocaust "baseless, ignorant and hateful."[86] Denial of the Srebrenica genocide is equally "baseless, ignorant and hateful."

Like Holocaust denial, denial of the Srebrenica genocide cannot be allowed to be portrayed as a legitimate intellectual position.

Numerous countries, Germany foremost among them, have criminalized Holocaust denial. At the very least, those who deny the Srebrenica genocide and glorify its perpetrators need to be exposed, publicly condemned, and ostracized. The victims of Srebrenica and their families deserve no less.

Pope Benedict XVI has condemned Holocaust denial as "intolerable and altogether unacceptable."[87] As a moral imperative, the international community must follow suit and once and for all repudiate Srebrenica genocide denial as "intolerable and altogether unacceptable."

In a video message marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, United Nations Secretary General António Guterres described the mass killings as "the worst atrocity crime on European soil since the Second World War." Calling on "everyone in the region and beyond to counter hate speech and the rhetoric of division and narratives of mistrust and fear," Guterres declared that, "We cannot let up in working towards genuine reconciliation."[88]

I fully agree with Secretary-General Guterres that reconciliation is essential in order for countries and peoples to move on after genocides and other crimes against humanity. But any genuine reconciliation must be rooted in truth, in a common understanding of the historical facts.

German-Jewish reconciliation in the aftermath of the Holocaust has only been possible because the German government

and most of German civil society has acknowledged and accepted German responsibility for the brutal and systematic annihilation of six million Jews.

Any constructive post-Holocaust dialogue was and is predicated on German recognition and acceptance of the enormity of the crime that was committed by Nazi Germany, without any excuses or self-serving rationalizations on behalf of the perpetrators.

Memorial sites at places like the erstwhile Nazi concentration camps of Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau under the auspices of the German federal and state governments educate young Germans and all those who visit them about their history. In Germany, Holocaust denial is a criminal offense.

There will not be, there cannot be, any reconciliation in the aftermath of the Srebrenica genocide and all the other atrocities perpetrated at the direction of Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić until the political and intellectual leadership of Republika Srpska as well as the Serbian political and intellectual establishment generally educate the Serbian youth and Serbian civil society as a whole that Srebrenica was a genocide perpetrated by Bosnian Serbs.

Simply put, Republika Srpska politicians and their international enablers cannot be allowed to continue denying the Srebrenica genocide with impunity, or to try shamelessly to shift the blame to the victims.

It must be made absolutely clear to the politicians involved that they cannot and will not become accepted parts of the international community unless and until they own up openly and unequivocally to the darkest chapter of their history.

Ultimately, however, and perhaps equally important, there is also a moral consideration – a moral imperative, as it were – that compels international recognition of the Srebrenica massacre as a genocide.

On the night of August 3-4, 1943, my brother, my mother's son, was murdered in one of the Birkenau gas chambers together with his father and his – our – grandparents.

I cannot in good conscience condemn the perpetrators of the genocide in which my brother and my grandparents perished unless I also condemn the perpetrators of all other acts of genocide, including the genocide that took place at Srebrenica.

I cannot in good conscience mourn my brother as a victim of genocide unless I similarly mourn all other victims of genocide, including the victims at Srebrenica.

In her paper for my class on the law of genocide and World War II war crimes trials at Cornell Law School, Adisada Dudic (now Adisada Dudic Hoque), wrote:

My home country is destroyed, my family members are scattered all over the world, thousands of Bosnian women and girls were raped and ravaged, thousands of Bosnian men and boys were tortured in concentration camps and buried in mass graves, and so many of my people were slaughtered by an enemy hand that was out to get every single person that self-identified as a Bosnian Muslim.

It is unconscionable and reprehensible for anyone to tell Adisada that the horrors to which her fellow Bosnian Muslims – including members of her own family – were subjected at Srebrenica did not constitute a genocide, just as it is unconscionable and reprehensible for anyone to deny the genocide in which my brother, my grandparents, and millions of other European Jews were annihilated. Refusing to call a genocide a genocide belittles its victims' agony.

Just as we remember and commemorate the Holocaust as a genocide, the dead of other genocides, including the Srebrenica Genocide, deserve the dignity and justice of having the enormity of the crimes that took their lives duly recognized and acknowledged by the international community.

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DEALING WITH SPEECH THAT ANNIHILATES: THE VIOLENCE OF GENOCIDE DENIAL AND ITS POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The chapter investigates the role denial plays in the process of genocide and it addresses the violence that genocide denial inflicts. This understanding, regarding how denial relates to genocidal violence, has implications for strategies that are used to address the problem of genocide denial, notably criminalisation and education. The analysis reflects on these policy implications while discussing the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches.

INTRODUCTION

Although genocides constitute unique historical events, comparative research indicates that such episodes of mass violence share certain characteristics. One significant common feature is that the genocidal violence is being denied. Those involved in the orchestration and perpetration of genocide often deny their crimes, but also actors that are not implicated in the violence can engage in denial because they support the ideological causes of the perpetrators. Other actors end up colluding in denialist practices because for them the reality of genocide is somehow too threatening to acknowledge. Genocide denial takes many forms, ranging from blatant negations of historical facts to complex interpretative and implicatory denials that involve the reinterpretation of historical events in an attempt to obscure the true nature of the violence and its implications. Such denials attack the victims and incite hatred and violence. Although policies addressing genocide denial differ among states, they do often revolve around criminalisation and education. Much has already been written on these particular policies and the aim is not to repeat that here. Instead, this contribution aims to further those discussions by reflecting on aspects that have received less attention. The analysis first discusses how, within the field of genocide studies, scholars have come to understand the phenomenon of genocide denial and the role it plays in the process of genocide. This understanding, regarding how denial relates to genocidal violence, has implications for the policies of criminalisation and education. The last sections of the analysis reflect on these implications.[1]

GENOCIDE DENIAL

Denial is a mechanism used by actors to defend themselves against realities that are somehow too threatening or too confronting to acknowledge.[2] Cohen, however, observed that denial is not only a coping mechanism that is helpful to those who suffer, it is also indispensable to those who cause suffering and it plays a crucial role in the perpetration of violent crimes, including genocide.[3] In fact, the role of denial in the perpetration of genocide is so pervasive that according to Nichanian 'the essence of genocide is denial'.[4] For perpetrators, denial serves multiple purposes related to the initiation, continuation, and finalisation of genocide. To overcome psychological and normative barriers to violent behaviour, perpetrators deny the humanity of their victims thereby neutralising the inhibitions against violence enabling them to victimise other human beings. Denial also enables perpetrators to cope with the negative personal and social repercussions of their criminal behaviour, which, if done successfully, facilitates the continuation of violence.[5] In addition to enabling the initial perpetration of acts of genocide and their subsequent re-perpetration, denial is also explicitly recognised by scholars as the primary mechanism operating during the last stage of genocide.[6] After exterminating the victims, the perpetrators seek to destroy the history and memory of the violence they perpetrated.[7] Elie Wiesel therefore noted that genocide entails a 'double killing.'[8] In contrast to the above described denial that operated earlier in the process of genocide and which facilitated other acts of genocide, genocide denial operating at the last stage of genocide constitutes

an act of genocidal violence in itself because it finalises the genocidal process. That genocide denial is the last step in the process of genocide can be explained with reference to the specific goal that genocide aims to achieve, which is annihilation.[9] Annihilation reduces a people to nothing, rendering them non-existent.[10] This requires that the manifestations of violence are destroyed so that nothing reminds us of the victims and the means by which they were victimised. Ultimately, in addition to the victims, the event of genocide itself is also attacked and it is genocide denial that performs this last action.[11] Vidal-Naquet therefore described genocide deniers as 'assassins of memory'.[12] Douglas highlights that genocide denial is 'an invention of the perpetrators themselves' and not of post-war genocide ideologues or racists.[13] According to Douglas "denial must […] be understood not simply as an attempt to paper over atrocity post hoc; rather, it is an act fully consonant with the original methods of the perpetrators. […] *[D]enial [is] a means of performing genocide."*[14] Genocide denial is thus inherently linked to the genocidal violence and perpetuates the crime.[15] Smith, Markusen and Lifton conclude that due to its intrinsic role in the process of perpetration, genocide denial ought to be seen as a 'contribution to the genocidal violence in its own right.'[16] Denial thus constitutes a direct existential threat to victims. It kills the truth and makes history unintelligible, thereby finalising the process of genocidal annihilation while those who suffer are denied their status as victims.[17] The profound implication is that as long as there is denial, the genocidal process continues and denial thus causes the dynamics of continued victimisation.[18] This makes genocide denial a pressing con-

temporary issue because unlike other stages in the genocidal process (persecution, extermination, etc.) that happened in the past, denial of genocide is a present manifestation of the genocidal violence.

Cohen notes that to counter denial one could follow an educational approach that raises awareness by influencing the 'hearts and minds' of people. The second approach concerns legal compulsion through criminalisation. In that case the normative and coercive power of law is used to influence actions and (en)force acknowledgement.[19] The following parts address these strategies while reflecting on several policy implications that follow from the analysis above.

CRIMINALISATION

A uniform approach to criminalising genocide denial does not exist. When taking stock of laws that countries have adopted, roughly four approaches to the criminalisation of genocide denial can be distinguished. Firstly, genocide denial has been criminalised by states as part of a broader legislative effort to prevent reperpetration and resurgence of genocide ideology. For instance, in Germany, denial legislation is one element of a broader legal strategy to tackle and prevent Neo-Nazism.[20] Secondly, in certain countries genocide denial is illegal, because they have criminalised questioning the historical existence of certain international crimes. In France, it is a criminal offence to dispute the existence of crimes against humanity as defined by the charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal. It is also not

allowed to justify and approve of these crimes or to vindicate the perpetrators.[21] Thirdly, there are countries that have generally criminalised genocide denial. Rwanda has criminalised the denial, coarse minimisation or justification of genocide.[22] Fourthly, genocide denial can fall within the scope of legislation that criminalises discrimination, incitement to hatred and violence. This is the case in the Netherlands.[23] Criminalisation of genocide denial can thus occur in specific legislation or via general hate speech legislation and it can concern a specific genocide or genocidal crimes more generally. Legislation can also cover different acts deemed problematic in terms of denial, ranging from negation, minimisation, and trivialisation to the justification and approval of genocide.

the main rationale underlying criminalisation is the prevention of unwanted or harmful effects. Denial is criminalised because it incites intolerance, hatred or (re)new(ed) violence, and criminal justice is thus used as a means to intervene before the actual harm is done. However, as Douglas notes, the problem is that genocide denial does not always involve obvious calls for hate, nor do deniers always straightforwardly attack the dignity of the victims.[24] Genocide denial can involve less emotional or subjective statements and instead it is couched in more objective and even pseudo-scientific terms. Because such 'bare denial' does not involve overt hate speech, strictly it would fall outside the legislative scope, however, it is brought within the reach of criminalisation by being conceived as intrinsically hostile and discriminatory and thus as a virulent form of hate speech that incites hatred and violence.[25] Hence, instead of

criminalising genocide denial as an instance of genocidal violence, it is mostly criminalised because it incites. The previous analysis, however, showed that within the process of genocide, denial is a violent genocidal act in itself. In that case it does not facilitate violence, but rather constitutes violence in the moment it is communicated. Therefore, dealing with genocide denial not only concerns the prevention of future violence, but also the halting of the ongoing genocidal processes, because denial is the continuation of genocide, only now by other means.[26] Additionally, if denial is seen as being constitutive of violence, one could criminalise 'bare denial' for the violence that it inflicts, instead of having to bring it within the scope of legislation by conceptualising it as a camouflaged form of hate speech. That genocide denial is often not seen as a violent act in itself is probably closely related to how we generally construct the relationship between violence and language. The role of language is often perceived as facilitative to physical violence. It is argued that through blaming, vilifying, dehumanising, denying, etc., human relations are reconstructed to such a negative extent that it makes victimisation possible.[27] As Garfield notes, the idea is that 'violent speech begets violent behaviour.'[28] From that perspective, denial is indeed mainly problematic because it incites hatred and violent behaviour, but this focus on the harmful effects of denial obscures the previously discussed insight that denial can be violent in and of itself. This perception that language is facilitative to violence, however, seems to be deeply ingrained in our society, as the saying 'sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me' indicates.[29]

How seriously genocide denial is taken and which genocide(s) is (are) addressed in legislation depends on the situational factors regarding the role genocide played and still plays in a society. As Lipstadt notes: "The swastika or denial of the Holocaust has a different resonance in Atlanta than it does in Berlin or Vienna."[30] However, if you acknowledge genocide denial's intrinsic potential to do violence, limitations remain hard to justify, because in that case all denial is harmful no matter when, where, or regarding what genocide. Moreover, in our modern globalised world, denial doesn't stop at regional or state borders. Due to the internet and new social media, deniers reach international audiences. These developments turn genocide denial into a collective problem, that is not limited to states or regions where a certain genocide has been perpetrated. Lastly, genocides result in diaspora communities across the globe. Many Tutsi, for instance, fled the genocidal violence in Rwanda in 1994 and ended up in Europe, but in many countries denying the genocide against the Tutsi is not criminalised nor does it otherwise receive much attention. During interviews the author conducted in Rwanda and the Netherlands, the interviewees noted that the West has a double standard. They explained that people are not allowed to deny the Holocaust, but you can deny the genocide against the Tutsi without repercussion which causes harm to local victims and their communities

Even if the above-mentioned aspects are addressed, serious downsides to criminalisation remain. A main rationale underlying criminalisation is that the threat of punishment might prevent actors from voicing their denial in public as once they

do, it would allow for their prosecution. The problem with that approach is that it probably does not lead to a change in beliefs. The coercive nature of criminal justice is likely to create backlash because prosecution can turn deniers into martyrs, while also providing them with a platform. Instead of uprooting their denial, the chances are that they see themselves affirmed in their beliefs. In addition, criminalisation can have a so called chilling effect on how people express themselves because it limits freedom of speech and in more extreme cases it can be abused by authorities to silence people. Furthermore, even when legislation is precise, having it encompass all possible forms of denial would be a challenge given the dynamic nature of the phenomenon. Despite these downsides, criminalisation or judicial notice of genocide can be a powerful symbolic acknowledgement. It confirms historical facts as common knowledge and it is an authoritative way to communicate that certain behaviour is not tolerated, while also confirming important values and communicating solidarity with the victims. The question is whether criminal law should be used for such a purpose, and one could argue that judges are not historians and therefore not most suited to rule on historical facts.

EDUCATION

Another major downside of criminalisation is that it does not increase vulnerable audiences' capability against denial, nor does it address all behaviour that is relevant in terms of genocide denialism. The denial dynamics rely not only on the hardcore denial of perpetrators or those who ideologically align with

them. Denial is also enabled and facilitated (unintentionally) by people's ignorance, indifference, lack of understanding, and erosion of memory.[31] The problem is that these mechanisms cause a lacuna in knowledge and awareness. To counter such denial, criminalisation is not constructive. Instead, policies should focus on gathering historical knowledge and its public acknowledgement. Knowledge of historical facts is however not enough to curb denial. Ideally, awareness should be raised on how such historical facts are actively denied and how this is crucial to genocidal processes. Dealing with denial thus requires a critical understanding of denial and its role in genocide so that audiences can recognise the often complex denial rhetoric for what it really is. A common misunderstanding is that denial only concerns the negation of historical facts, but denial is much more insidious and it often involves a reinterpretation of the events, the denialist nature of which is camouflaged by using journalistic or scholarly jargon and appeal.[32] Education that creates critical awareness about the forms and strategies of denial makes people less vulnerable to such deceptive rhetoric.

Genocide museums are probably the most comprehensive and significant educational institutions in this context because they aim to engage visitors in a meaningful learning experience. Genocide museums have certain central features.[33] At the heart of a museum is a permanent exhibition that explains what happened and how, reflecting on the role of different actors, such as perpetrators and victims, but also bystanders and rescuers. It does this by documenting the history of genocide

often through a (chronological) narrative that is substantiated by historical artefacts, photographs, art, and film footage, etc. In addition, museums tend to house smaller exhibitions that address more in-depth aspects and there is also often space for travelling or temporary exhibitions. Virtual or digital exhibitions that complement the in-house exhibitions are made available via the internet. The museum site itself is also used for memorialisation and commemoration and it is constructed to perpetuate the memory of the victims and fight against oblivion. Museums can be located at sites at which crimes were perpetrated, but they can also be established at locations that are symbolically relevant and meaningful for other reasons. Lastly, in addition to the materials displayed, museums bring together materials in repositories and archives with the dual aim to preserve materials, but also to make them accessible for educational and research purposes.

The overview makes clear that genocide museums develop educational commemorative approaches to raising awareness among their audiences.[34] Developing such an approach requires museums to tackle serious challenges. There are the known problems of representation and pedagogy as Ellsworth observed: "Teaching and representing such traumatic histories brings educators up against the limits of our theories and practices concerning pedagogy."[35] How to grasp the reality of such events and subsequently render them meaningful to visitors? In doing so, museums do not simply transmit historical knowledge, but they attempt to achieve an educational transformative experience, through which people develop a

critical understanding that in turn comes to inform their perceptions and actions.[36] However, in order to be able to deal with denial, that transformative experience might need to be further extended.

Through their exhibitions, genocide museums make the historical complexity of genocidal perpetration and victimisation intelligible to audiences by explaining how the genocide was perpetrated and how it affected the victims. Exhibitions address the different elements of and stages in the genocidal process, ranging from the initial planning and organisation to the processes of social, cultural, and economic marginalisation and eventually the extermination of the victims. Although denial is crucial to the perpetration and finalisation of genocide, museums often do not address this stage of the genocidal process in their exhibitions. That does not mean that genocide museums are neglecting the problem of genocide denial altogether. Educating people on these historical events and how they came about is crucial when addressing ignorance and fighting denial. As Cole notes, visitors are confronted with 'unbelievable' graphic imagery of the human remains of mass extermination and they encounter 'first hand evidence' of what happened, which makes the denial of the crimes more difficult.[37] The problem of denial is also addressed in lectures that take place or the issue is addressed by providing information through the museum website and it features in digital exhibitions, information leaflets, webinars or teaching portfolios. However, a comprehensive strategy against denial would ideally require that this final stage is addressed not in the "mar-

gins" by the abovementioned means, but as an insightful part of the exhibition itself. As Huttenbach concluded "Denial has become an integral part of genocide; not to take this aspect into consideration is to fail to comprehend a major component of the dynamics of extermination."[38]

CONCLUSION

Genocide denial is a pressing contemporary issue because, unlike other stages in the genocidal process that happened in the past, denial of genocide is a present manifestation of the genocidal violence affecting victims today. Due to denial, genocide is thus a continuous crime and not "simply" a past historic event. Although genocide denial can incite hatred and facilitate violence, it also constitutes violence in the moment it is communicated due to the fact that it performs an act that is crucial to the process of genocidal annihilation. Such an understanding of denial and its role in genocide has policy implications. It was noted that criminalisation mainly focus on genocide denial as a facilitator of hatred and violence and often overlook that it can be violent in itself. Dealing with genocide denial not only concerns the prevention of future harm, it is also about addressing the ongoing genocidal processes. Although certain genocides are more relevant given local contexts, when criminalising genocide denial, we should be wary of double standards that ultimately are discriminatory towards other genocides and victims. In relation to education, it was noted that museums, which are the most relevant educational institutions in this context, tend to "overlook" genocide denial

as an intrinsic part of genocide in their exhibitions. To enhance the critical awareness of their audiences on this issue, museums could address denial as an integral part of genocide in their exhibitions which would require that audiences are informed about what genocide denial entails, its operation in genocide, and how it affects victims. Also in this context, the aforementioned matter of double standards can be an issue and inclusiveness can be achieved by adding comparative elements to study materials and exhibitions, which often happens already. Overall, the discussion shows that policies of criminalisation and education cover different ground in terms of actors, cases and time. Criminalisation is more reactionary and backward looking, while education is more forward looking and focuses on prevention. Therefore, the policies are complementary because they address different aspects of the multifaceted problem of genocide denial.

Policies like criminalisation and education require not only an intimate understanding of perpetration, but also of victimisation. In order to criminalise behaviour, the harm caused must be clear. Also, in transformative educational approaches, conveying the experiences of the victims is crucial. It allows audiences to empathise and to become aware of the deeply problematic effects of genocide. Although knowledge regarding victimisation is important, research on genocide denial seems to have often overlooked the experiences of victims. Much research addresses how genocide denial is perpetrated and this extensive comprehension of perpetration stands in stark contrast to the lack of a deeper understanding about what

genocide denial does to victims who are targeted by it. Scholars generally argue that genocide denial is harmful and violent, but there is little detailed empirical knowledge about how it affects individual victims and their communities directly and transgenerationally. There are exceptions such as the work of Charny,[39] Alayarian[40] and several others, but compared to the volume of material available on how actors engage in denial, relatively few studies focus on the violence and harm involved. It would therefore be of great value if research could pay closer attention to the violence involved in genocide denial and how it affects victims. To date, most research on genocide denial concerns the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust. The denial of other genocides such as the genocide against the Tutsi or the Srebrenica genocide has received far less attention. To address this lacuna, more in-depth research on the denial of these and other genocides is required.

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ENDNOTES

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SREBRENICA THE DAY AFTER: PROLONGED LIFE OF A CRIME

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ABSTRACT

The Srebrenica crime gained several dimensions in the last 25 years: the legal qualification of genocide, The Hague judgments and life sentences, established facts, a memorial, survivors' testimonies. Still, except on July 11, every day in this small town is 'the day after': post-genocidal, empty and contested. The continuation of life in trauma and negation of an enormous crime thus prolong the agony of victims, survivors and their families. Transgenerational transfer of divided memory normalises the climate of impunity, atomised truths which habituate between two opposite memory politics and fragile personal, alternative narratives. The shaping of collective memory thus occurs between the denial and facts about the Srebrenica genocide, preventing all attempts of the criminal law and symbolic reparations to come down to the Srebrenica soil. The absence of legislation which would prohibit the negation and denial of committed crimes, as well as the glorification of the crime and war criminals, makes it impossible to stop such practice. In overcoming the past, in the case of Srebrenica, it is necessary to understand that empathy and readiness to call genocide by its name will not come simply and naturally, and that the ethnically divided society of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have a political, collective, or systematic commitment to peace building outside the exclusive ethnical narratives about the past.

INTRODUCTION

July 1995 has irreversibly shaped the war and post-war life in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The crimes committed in Srebrenica in the last year of the armed conflict in BiH are the central point of collective memory – either due to the magnitude and cruelty of the crime, or to the controversies surrounding responsibility, qualification of the crime and number of victims. Thus this crime – genocide as established by the judgments of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and International Court of Justice, and other competent institutions – continues to live. The post-genocide period is marked by the battle for truth and recognition of the crime, and its simultaneous negation.

According to the 1991 census, Srebrenica had 36,666 inhabitants, of whom 75% Bosniaks, 23% Serbs and 2% others.[1] During the war, more than 10,000 inhabitants of the Srebrenica municipality were killed, and more than 18.500 were expelled. The majority of the murdered, expelled and displaced were Bosniaks.[2] Today, Srebrenica has 13,409 inhabitants, including 54% Bosniaks, 45% Serbs, 0.1% Croats and 1% others. These data show that Srebrenica lost 23,257 (63%) inhabitants, 20,324 of whom Bosniaks. Changes in the ethnic composition of the settlements show that five Bosniak settlements (18.10 km2) became Serbian.[3]

"The first mass return to Srebrenica was the return of the dead. It happened on 31 March 2003, with the burial of

602 exhumed and identified victims, whose remains were found in around 100 mass graves between Srebrenica and Kladanj."[4]

As a provisional working body of the Government of Republika Srpska (RS Government), the *Commission for Investigation of the Events in and around Srebrenica between July 10 and July 19 1995* (the Commission) was set up by the decision of the RS Government in 2003. The Commission had jurisdiction to take 'all investigative and other actions in order to establish complete truth on the events in and around Srebrenica in the period between 10 and 19 July 1995, for the purpose of achieving lasting peace and building trust in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Izvještaj o Srebrenici 2004). The same year, the Commission published 'Annex to the Report of 11 June 2004 on the events in and around Srebrenica in the period between 10 and 19 July 1995'. In the Annex, it is stated that, according to their findings, the number of persons killed in the Srebrenica massacre amounts to 7000 up to 8000.[5] The RS Government accepted the Commission's Report in entirety and adopted the conclusions stating, *inter alia,* that the Government 'empathises with the pain of relatives of the murdered inhabitants of Srebrenica, and is genuinely sorry and apologises for the tragedy that happened to them'. Seven years after the publication of the Commission's findings, a Netherlands-based organisation 'Historical Project Srebrenica', funded, among others, by the RS Government, found that the 'Commission's report represents a unique monument to the betrayal, cowardice, meanness, half-heartedness and dishonour of Serbian politicians.'[6]

Before the Commission, in 2002, the Republika Srpska Documentation Centre for War Crime Research, together with the RS Office for Relations with ICTY, published 'Report about Srebrenica Case', calling the committed atrocities 'an alleged massacre', disputing the number of murdered Bosniaks and their status at the time of death (armed soldiers, not civilians). The Report was condemned by the United Nations and International Crisis Group as a case of historical revisionism. However, today we witness the continuation of this relativisation and denial over the whole post-war period.

The Commission's 2004 Report was annulled in 2004. Milorad Dodik, President of RS at that time (at the time of writing this paper, he is a member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina) said that the document contained 'false data' and that it had been created under pressure of the then High Representative for BiH with the aim of 'satanising Serbs.'[7] In 2019, the RS Government appointed new members of the Commission for Investigating the Suffering of all Peoples in the Srebrenica Region in the Period from 1992 to1995. According to Dodik, the goal of the new Commission is to finally establish the truth about the events in the region of Srebrenica between 1992 and 1995.[8] The setting up of this Commission actually represents an attempt to revise established truth, and as stated in an open letter of international academics, 'it represents the culmination of more than a decade of genocide denial and historical revisionism by the RS Government'.[9]

Between 1995, 2004, 2018 and 2020,[10] judgments were passed in relation to the Srebrenica atrocities: more than 50 persons were convicted of these crimes by international and national courts (26 persons before ICTY, including 13 judgments for genocide). Radislav Krstić was the first person convicted by the ICTY for genocide[11], while Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić were indicted on July 25 1995 for genocide and crimes against humanity against Bosniaks and Croats in the war in BiH. The first-instance judgment with regard to the qualification of genocide was affirmed by the appellate judgment[12] and justified with the fact that the elimination of men in Srebrenica had as its ultimate goal the disappearance of Bosniak population from Eastern Bosnia, and represented an indirect threat and trauma for the Bosniak people as a whole.[13] General Krstić was the first person convicted for the act of genocide in Europe after the Nurnberg process.[14]

With regard to the established facts, the crimes committed in Srebrenica were given legal qualifications - convictions and acquittals were rendered, a commemorative practice has been established[15], those murdered and disappeared have been identified,[16] (mass) graves have been discovered[17] while more than 1000 persons are still missing. However, the question of facing the crimes remains open, as well as bringing The Hague facts to the Srebrenica reality and giving victims access to symbolic reparations and the acknowledgment of their suffering. Instead, we have the denial of the crime (either of its qualification as genocide or its magnitude), which is instrumetalised and institutionalised, and aimed to mobilise

one ethnic group. With the passage of time, this narrative of crime denial and glorification of convicted war criminals grows into a mythological interpretation of the past, which is being deeply imbedded in collective memory in order to preserve the narrative of resistance to the collective guilt of Serbian people ('satanisation of Serbs') in BiH. Not a word here about the victims, consequences of the genocide, the diluting of fragile peace attempts. Thus the dehumanisation of the 1990s continues. How to live after the crime?

LIFE IN THE POLITICS OF DENIAL

According to the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH of November 1995, Srebrenica is located in the entity of Republika Srpska. The data on the structure and population after the war was presented earlier in the text. However, the numbers themselves cannot sufficiently illustrate how painful and difficult is the process of re-establishing co-existence in this town. This is particularly contributed to by continuous genocide denial, not only in Srebrenica, but also by the political elites of RS, who see Banja Luka as their centre. It did not take long after the local elections in 2020 for the newly-elected Mayor of Banja Luka, Draško Stanivuković, to repeat the central point of the nationalist politics and negate the genocide in Srebrenica, claiming that 'that issue' had been politicised and that he did not recognise ICTY judgments.[18] Speaking about co-existence, we have to bear in mind that we are talking about ethnic groups and political communities whose identities today are to a significant extent shaped by the crime.[19]

This is exactly where one of the key issues of the relativisation and negation of the genocide in Srebrenica lies: how to make judgments and facts an integral part of history and memory? The discontinuation between criminal justice and the process of dealing with the past in BiH is obvious, and it can be seen how complex and contradictory the processes of creating collective memory of the war of the 1990s are on the example of Srebrenica. The ICTY can punish the perpetrators of war crimes, which leads to the individualisation of guilt, but this is only the first step to peace and reconciliation. However, what the ICTY lacks in this case is social legitimacy;[20] the conclusions established by the judgments have not been accepted or imposed, while the international community also failed to react. This results in convicted war criminals being glorified as heroes, with the absence of any form of catharsis, while the ICTY is being delegitimised in the eyes of the public.[21]

"The situation with remembrance in the post-war BiH might not be so complicated if the official memory politics were not functioning so well."[22]

The negation of the genocide, as well as of other war crimes, is widespread in public discourse. Negation or minimisation are visible at different places of political action. As a result, they are imprinted in many aspects of daily life in the divided communities in BiH: Ratko Mladić's mural in Nevesinje; naming students' dormitory in Pale after Radovan Karadžić; decorating him; the rehabilitation of the crime; displaying photos of convicted war criminals in public events; the founding of

associations and organisations named after war criminals; the existence and legal operation of fascist organisations; the gatherings of support for convicted war criminals and a very direct negation of the crime.[23] Narratives about 'the Srebrenica myth' are accompanied with the production of materials thoroughly addressing its 'deconstruction' (including publications by Milan Lukić, Biljana Plavšić, Vojislav Šešelj). In Srebrenica, in 2020 alone, we had the following: the celebration of July 11 as 'the day of victory and liberation of Srebrenica' (Association 'Eastern Alternative' from Bratunac); traditional celebration of Ratko Mladić's birthday by placing posters with his image in Srebrenica with a message that the genocide did not happen; playing Chetnik songs and firing guns near the Srebrenica Memorial Centre where the genocide victims are buried.

"Post-genocidal societies are societies which are deeply, most deeply deformed by the rule of terror."[24]

Here, the culture and politics of denial become 'bearing patterns of joint life, producing destructive moral and practical/political consequences".[25] In the political discourse, genocide negation and glorification of war criminals has been lowered and sustained at the local, daily level. A divided community, divided state, collectivisation of negation through educational and other institutional mechanisms have made the citizens live those fictions, preventing understanding and empathy in suffering and pain of others.[26] What about the survivors, returnees, victims?

For the victims, their families and survivors, negation restores the pain, because not only does it attempt to deny their suffering from the past, but it also targets the living memory of the trauma, while negation is a form of humiliation, especially when it comes or is transferred from the top of society.[27] The politics of denial[28] is not localised in Srebrenica alone, but it is least addressed there. Every July 12 is painful, when the returnees return to re-living the denial of suffering, brutal political manipulation with the genocide, and fear. Dealing with the past in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the previous 25 years failed to include critical memory, leaving entire generations to grow up on ethnicised interpretations of the past. In contrast, this process needs a serious systemic approach and should be based on victims' moral right to the truth and justice, including recognition of the crime and suffering they were exposed to.[29]

> *"(...) Denial is an inextricable part of genocide. It allows both perpetrators and bystanders to exculpate themselves from feelings of guilt by excluding the victims from their own moral universe, in which right and wrong, crime and punishment, are clearly defined."30*

According to Bugarel, the stubborn refusal to face the Srebrenica crime by both the politicians responsible, and the regular citizens can be explained by fearing possible institutional consequences of the recognition of the crime, difficulty to admit one's own political or moral responsibility, or feeling that the international community does not attribute equal

value to all the victims and all sufferings. This primarily leaves Serbian people the captives of attitudes and myths produced over the years.[31]

HOW IS SREBRENICA WRITTEN IN THE LAW?

Factual approach to the Srebrenica genocide is a challenge not only for BiH, but for Serbia, as well. The negation of the crime, as well as support to ethno-national politics within BiH are closely linked to the political elites in Serbia sharing the same political ideology. Hence, how to revive the facts in post-conflict societies whose politics is derived directly from their negation?

"Reconciliation means rejecting denial of genocide and war crimes, as well as efforts to glorify convicted war criminals. It also means recognising the suffering of all victims and not attributing collective guilt"[32]

Having in mind the omnipresence of negating, disputing, minimising the genocide and other war crimes, as well as the glorification of war criminals which takes place in both countries without disturbance and punishment, it is necessary to think about the need for legal regulation that would be another (currently non-existent) instrument in the fight for genuine building of peace in the region.

In 2016 the Parliament of Serbia adopted the amendments to the Criminal Code and introduced a new offence, punishing

the denial of genocide and war crimes. Article 387(5) of the Criminal Code prohibits public approval, denial or significant minimisation of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes committed against a group of persons or a member of the group designated on the grounds of their race, colour of skin, religion, origin, state, national or ethnic affiliation. However, there are two important restrictions. Firstly, the law only includes offences committed in the manner that may lead to violence or inciting hatred towards such a group. Secondly – and this is a more serious restriction – it refers only to the crimes determined by a court in Serbia and the International Criminal Court. This means that the judgments of the ICTY and International Court of Justice are excluded from this prohibition. Therefore, the denial of the Srebrenica genocide in Serbia is – legal.[33] The crimes which occurred in the past, and especially the qualification of genocide, represent a meeting place for political manipulation, the ignoring of historical facts, and arbitrary and unfounded positions on legal qualification.[34]

In BiH, at the state level, two initiatives have been made to pass a law prohibiting the negation of genocide, Holocaust and other war crimes. The first one was made in 2011, and the second one in 2016. The proposals have not been adopted. Both times, they failed to obtain necessary support from both entities, because of the votes of the RS delegates. Additionally, amendments and supplements to the Criminal Law of BiH have been proposed three times at the state level in order to enable prosecuting the cases of genocide and war crimes negation. These proposals have not been accepted either. The criminal

legislation of BiH and RS do not contain the prohibition of negation of genocide or other war crimes, while in the Federation BiH, there is a provision prohibiting the negation or justification of genocide in a manner that incites hatred ('ethnic, racial or religious hatred, division or intolerance'); however, it is set out as a conditional clause (like in the Criminal Code of Serbia).

Legislative regulation of this issue in both countries should include the prohibition of negation, minimisation, public approval, glorification and serious diminishing of genocide, Holocaust, crimes against humanity and war crimes against civilian population, if thus qualified by final and enforceable judgments of international and domestic courts. There is clearly no political will for passing such regulations. Still, the request to pass the law or the provisions of the criminal legislation which would regulate this field in the manner of prohibiting negation and glorification of war crimes and war criminals, including all previously defined forms of these acts, should not be abandoned. Our societies are not capable of independently choosing empathy and critical culture of memory and responsibility, instead promoting the culture of impunity for committed crimes. Hence, along all other efforts that should include education, culture, religious communities and media, legislation should also be introduced in order to stop the practice of denying crimes and victims.

In that respect, BiH also has a theoretical possibility of intervention by the Office of High Representative (OHR), i.e. the OHR can impose such type of law. On several occasions, the

OHR has expressed readiness to impose the law which would prohibit the negation, denial, and glorification of genocide and war crimes, but this has not happened yet. At the last meeting in 2020, the Peace Implementation Council called on political leaders to live up to their commitment to publicly honour all victims of the war and cease rhetoric that would thwart reconciliation efforts, including the glorification of war criminals, genocide denial and historical revisionism.

Regardless of the manner of adopting/imposing this type of legislation, while considering potential models of regulation to ban the negation (denial), minimisation, justification or condonation of genocide, Holocaust, crimes against humanity or war crimes, it is important to observe four segments: *what is prohibited* (legal qualification of prohibited acts); *by what legal act* (separate law or amendments to the criminal legislation); *at what level* (state or entity), and *penalty.* Adopting such legislation would end the culture of impunity, i.e., that those responsible for war crimes be punished without manipulation. Legislative regulation should prevent the continuation of flammable rhetoric and the deepening of divisions in BiH.[35] Adjudicated crimes, including but not limited to the Srebrenica genocide, must be acknowledged in public space regardless of which side committed it.

CONCLUSION

"To move forward may require first looking back and reconsidering how we tell the story of the violent past"[36]

Work on peace building in BiH has no alternative. Srebrenica in that context is a remarkable example of dysfunctionality of the political system and absence of sufficient social responsibility necessary for the dealing with difficult past to happen. At the same time, the conflict about the hardest word in BiH – genocide - often surpasses many other war crimes committed by all sides. The fact that these are still current topics in our societies speaks of the extent of failure of fragmented, interrupted peace building and transitional justice mechanisms, because peace building requires the overcoming of instrumental nationalist narratives which relativise crimes and their legacy.[37] Today, 25 years after the end of the war, violence produces new microdynamics of nationalism which on its part continues long after the killing has stopped.[38]

Judicially-established facts must become part of social and political reality. Selective recognition of court decisions, i.e., refusal to accept them, is an expression of disrespect for the judicial system and rule of law in general; this leads to distorted values, giving them social position and significance, thus at the same time gravely violating all democratic processes in the state.[39] The society and state most certainly have to find a way to affirm the values and institutions which will work on removing the causes of the conflict. Also, it is clear that

both war and peace were happening here under the mediation of international community. We should also look in that direction when trying to consider the recommendations for the future. Legislation which bans negation, minimising, public condonation and glorification of genocide, Holocaust, crimes against humanity and war crimes is an important step towards more responsible attitude in peace building. At the same time, shameful attitude towards victims and survivors must stop if there is at least minimum commitment to positive peace in BiH.

"We need to be able to believe our societies can be just even as they produce swathes of injustice."[40]

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II

POLICY

WHY DIDN'T WE…

Veran Matić
President of the Board of Directors of B92 Fund, Serbia

ABSTRACT

A comment on the issues of (personal) responsibility, the truth about the wars of the last decade of the 20th Century in the Balkans, and the reconciliation of peoples who used to live in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by a person who has been an active anti-war journalist and activist from the very beginning of the conflicts in the Balkans until this very day. From being an editor of the B92 Radio and managing its numerous peace and humanitarian actions, through presiding over the B92 Fund Board of Directors and strategic management of its activities in the area of human rights, to the volunteer work on discovering the final resting place of a large number of the disappeared in the conflict between Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s in the capacity of Special Envoy of the President of the Republic of Serbia for resolving the issue of missing persons with the Republic of Croatia, for 30 years Veran Matić has had particular insight in the issues of dealing with the crimes committed in our name.

INSTEAD OF INTRODUCTION

The manifestations of my engagement and the engagement of the organisations I have worked or am still working with on the issues of dealing with the war crimes have been changing over time due to various circumstances, but my genuine driver remained the same – the antiwar search for truth, justice and comfort for all those innocent people killed in our unfortunate wars. Professional and objective reporting about the conflicts on the territories of the former state brought plenty of problems to Radio B92, not only by Slobodan Milošević's regime, but also by a large number of citizens of Serbia who did not want to believe the facts. On the other hand, the people at Radio B92 could not "only" pass the information; the suffering was so enormous that we engaged several times to help the victims, as well as to initiate a discussion in society about coexistence after such traumatic events. "Truth, Responsibility and Reconciliation" was an umbrella term for a series of radio and TV shows we produced, the documentaries we either made ourselves or bought for broadcast, conferences on reconciliation we organised with participants from more than 60 countries, books, research projects, case studies about peoples who somehow managed to continue living together after horrible crimes. Now I am trying to help in a bilateral attempt to find out what had happened to the missing persons in the 1990s wars, so that their families can find some peace. But of all the wounds that were opened during these years, for me, Srebrenica is still the most painful one.

There are some questions or events in one's life which are always recurring and causing the same reactions. Some sort of guilty conscience and a need for new reconsiderations. A few days after the beginning of the huge exodus of Serbs from Croatia following the Operation Storm,[1] on the premises of Radio B92 at the Youth Centre, we organised a great humanitarian action for the refugees from the convoy stretching from Belgrade to beyond Banja Luka who needed food, medicines, hygiene products, fuel… Literally, all the employees worked day and night. Dozens of volunteers, activists and numerous citizens joined in to help the situation when the Milošević regime tried to conceal this tragedy, redirect the collection of aid outside the city centre, and redirect the advancing refugee convoy at the outskirts of Belgrade towards Kosovo and Vojvodina.

In that adrenaline-fuelled atmosphere, full of empathy and worry, Adriana Van Heteren, a Dutch who came to Belgrade to help us with her personal skills and knowledge both as a professional and an activist, asked me a bit bemusedly: "Why didn't you organise something like this for the exodus from Srebrenica?" Her question comes back to me often, not only at the time of anniversary of that horrible crime.

Back then, I gave her a rather rational answer about what had really happened: we did not immediately have information about the scope of the crime, like many others, not only here, but in the world, too. We were broadcasting all the incoming

news instantaneously. At the same time, other battles were raging, preventing possible greater engagement on a daily basis. The presence of our reporters on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was minimal; they mostly worked as fixers for foreign correspondents. The entirety of what our colleagues from around the world were witnessing on the spot was broadcast in our programme as well.

These days, with the help of Dušan Mašić's book "Talasanje Srbije" *(Making Waves in Serbia),*[2] I have been reminiscing about this, based on the testimonies of others who worked at Radio B92 at that time, who confirmed that we were releasing literally everything we were able to obtain.

Nevertheless, Adriana's question still bothers me.

I think this is not only the question about whether we could have done more to help them as refugees, but is much broader and touches upon the dilemma of whether we could have somehow prevented the crimes and done something to diminish the suffering of people from Srebrenica? Could we have done more to make the citizens of Serbia realise the undeniable truth about the genocide, as it was qualified by the International Court of Justice, and to accept court judgments on the individual guilt of the perpetrators.

Until the bombing of Serbia in 1999, our focus had strongly been on ensuring the conditions for a peaceful change of government, while fighting against persistent attempts of the then

regime to destroy independent and professional media. Radio B92 and the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM), which were reporting about the preparations for the new war in Kosovo on a daily basis, were also among them.

And then came the bombing of Serbia. Right after the issuance of the bombing order, I was arrested and detained in the detention unit of the police headquarters which had already been evacuated. And the feeling of guilt emerged again, how we could not have prevented that horror, i.e. the crimes in Kosovo and the suffering the civilians would endure in the bombing.

During my stay in Montenegro after the assassination of Slavko Ćuruvija[3], I initiated a debate on my own sense of guilt and responsibility with Aryeh Neier who at the time managed the Open Society Foundation, and Human Rights Watch before that, and who had had vast experience in the area of transitional justice.

In the next couple of years, we organised two large international conferences on dealing with the past, where we could hear testimonies of actors of different truth and reconciliation commissions, from South Africa to Argentina. We published dozens of books, studies, articles, research, and it seemed to us that, based on the experiences from the world, the path that should be taken was clear. It included establishing the truth and responsibility, with a clear simultaneous process of reconciliation, while at the same time dismantling the cultural model which had led to the crime, and replacing it with a new

one, based on the culture of peace and reconciliation, reverence for the victims, educational models founded on facts and common factographic denominators, as well as the court proceedings aimed at ensuring justice for the perpetrators, together with assuming responsibility for the (non)action of the previous governments and social and political elites.

Although one would say that this was becoming clear and visible, nothing was really put into practice. In view of the activities of numerous organisations in Serbia – the Humanitarian Law Centre, Open Society Foundation, Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Cultural Centre Rex, numerous associations and individuals, especially the media outlets of the B92 company, the reformist Prime Minister and Government, it may seem that we had all the necessary ingredients, in great quantities, even.

However, there were practically no significant changes in reality. We could not reach the point of reversal.

The B92 programmes at the time were to a great extent connected with the topic of dealing with the past, and a special moment in the first half of 2001 was when we aired the BBC's documentary "A Cry from the Grave" about Srebrenica. This was the first, strong, comprehensive, undeniable document about the crime which would subsequently be defined as genocide by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, as well as by the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in individual judgments against persons who participated in the commission of this horrible crime.

When I saw the documentary, I had a feeling that we had crucial evidence, a comprehensive picture of the crime from credible sources. I had at least a partial answer to Adriana's question. Six years later. It lacked, though, the part relating to empathy and proactive, direct action. We aired the film in prime time. Back then, our TV signal covered only Belgrade, but the documentary was rebroadcast by the ANEM members across Serbia.

And then – silence. There were no reactions after the premiere – neither praise nor protest. We decided to rerun the film immediately and the reactions came only after the third rerun. The negative ones prevailed. As they were coming in, I was writing about them. The article was titled "Odbacivanje istine" *(Rejecting the Truth).*[4] I have nothing to add today, although 20 years have passed, except maybe to redefine it – "Rejection of the clearly established facts, through revision, negation and refusal to face the reality". I quote some parts of this article from May 2001:

"I would have thrown something at my TV set, but my wife wouldn't let me" – reaction of a viewer of the TV documentary "A Cry from the Grave".

"If it was really like this, then the only thing left for me is to take a gun and kill myself!" This is one of the reactions to the series "Truth, Responsibility, Reconciliation" launched by TV B92, after the first two episodes which discussed the crime against several thousands of inhabitants of Srebrenica in 1995.

Before uttering this sentence, the viewer from Serbia had protested for a long time against the airing of such a programme. In a very civilised manner, he had said that all of these had been about propaganda, defamation of Serbs who are chivalrous people, etc. When asked about why he was against showing some other version of the event different from the one he had had the opportunity to see up until then, i.e., the version promoted by Milošević's war machinery – he said that he could not have handled such truth.

And his was not the only case. A large number of viewers have claimed the same. The BBC's programme "A Cry from the Grave" shocked even those who knew what had happened in Bosnia. During the airing of the programme in prime time, I simultaneously watched what was being broadcast on other channels and saw that one of them was airing a South American soap popular with the audience for its saccharine story line; "Chicago Hope" was on the other, a series bringing dramatic stories from a US hospital to Serbian homes every night. When I switched to that channel, the doctors were opening the chest of a patient and, in a scene full of blood, massaged the heart that stopped beating. Watching such scenes obviously does not cause disgust or uneasiness. Watching corpses and body parts of people killed around Srebrenica certainly causes it, despite the fact that human remains lost any personal character.

Once I watched a documentary on the French ARTE channel in which the Allies' officers, I think in Dachau, after the liberation

of the concentration camp, asked the neighbouring citizens whether they knew what was going on in the camp. Having given negative answer, all citizens were walked through the camp overfilled with corpses. One can often hear that such therapy did not bring positive results and that reconsideration of their own Nazi past really started only 20 years after World War II, at a moment when a big American soap opera appeared on the programmes of the German TV stations. It is also indisputable that the arrest and trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem contributed to the comprehension of the enormity of the Holocaust much more than the numerous debates about denazification organised before that. It also contributed to understanding the "banality of evil", as Hannah Arendt put it.

Neither then nor now would I want to compare the crimes of World War II and the Holocaust itself with the crimes of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, but only to identify some universal situations. A statement by a "teacher from Pirot" from the beginning of the text reminded me of the note by Primo Levi, who survived the Holocaust, from the book "The Drowned and the Saved"[5] about a cynical warning one SS officers made: "However this war may end, we have won the war against you; none of you will be left to bear witness, but even if some of you survive, the world will not believe him (…) people will say that the events you describe are too monstrous to be believed (…) We will be the ones to dictate the history of the Lagers."

I mention this because today, 26 years after the crime, we are living in negationism, revisionism, while those accused of war crimes or the crime of genocide before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina are on the loose in Serbia. Not to mention numerous other participants in the cruel killings of more than 8000 Bosniaks in just a couple of days.

I had the opportunity to see the exhumations of mass graves, which are still being discovered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to see evidence of the identification of bodies the parts of which were found in five different mass graves at 100km distance from one another, which clearly speaks of the machinery of evil. And to be in the company of those who had lost their loved ones in only a few days, with only tiny fragments of the bodies found, still waiting for more remains to be discovered for the burial to make sense, as well as those who still do not know where the remains of their loved ones were buried.

I do not know what is the usual, normal reaction, but personally I feel very upset, sad and I have the need to apologise to all those who were forced to go through this suffering. Which is what I regularly do to express my sympathy with their pain, at all times - not only when I meet them.

Being upset is something undesirable, unliked, but still inevitable when it comes to facing the facts in difficult moments. Something that can be overcome, resolved. Especially when it concerns the position of a "spectator". "Being upset must

precede reconciliation", Žarko Puhovski said something like that at one of the conferences in 2000-2001.

Although the international community often insists on dealing with the past, it also prevents it at the same time. Heni Erceg, the Feral Tribune editor, mentioned an illustrative example in an article in 2015: "An excellent example of the cynicism of the whole Srebrenica story, the false guilt, resolutions, of the parroting about responsibility, all this in front of the graves of people of Srebrenica, was demonstrated where else but at another conference about Srebrenica recently held in The Hague. The international creators of the Srebrenica tragedy gathered there, the office-dwelling participants of the massacre, while Hasan Nuhanović had also been invited, an interpreter to those whose task was to "Protect the UN Safety Area", witness of the genocide. But right before the conference, they called him and told him not to come, that he was not welcome, because "some people would feel uncomfortable in his presence". Maybe because his father, mother and brother were killed in Srebrenica, or because Nuhanović is a bitter witness to how the then Resolution on Srebrenica dissolved in blood…"[6]

"Stabilocracy" has a dismal impact on dealing with the past, something similar to the impact of the "Cold War" on dealing with the crimes of World War II.

In Croatia, the process of well-founded dealing with the past started last year through joint commemorations. Namely, a space for a "non-dogmatic approach" has been opened, al-

lowing for a possibility of different interpretations of certain historical events, for respecting different approaches which are not diametrically opposite, and do not represent negationism and revisionism. It is led by the younger generation politicians whose families' members were also killed. This is not an experiment any longer, this is the politics of both the governing party in Croatia and the leading party of Serbs in Croatia. I attended almost all of the events. I wanted to offer my full support, and the reactions in Croatia were more positive than negative, while in Serbia it seems to be the opposite. My symbolic kneeling at Ovčara in Vukovar created a coalition that was opposed to what I did, which I find inexplicable and odd. It united those who are comrades-in-arms in the authentic processes of dealing with the past with those negating the crime.

Boris Milošević, Deputy Prime Minister of the Croatian Government in charge of social affairs and human rights, Anja Šimpraga, as well as numerous other representatives of the new generation of Serbs in Croatia are the central force in the process of normalisation through joint commemorations of important events of the 1990s wars. This is an enormous burden which has claimed new victims, but it is the only possible path.

I am involved in the problem of missing persons of both Croatia and Serbia. And I constantly feel the politics distancing itself from the needs of victims, from perceptions that unease may aggravate current political processes… I have recently witnessed a situation where the citizens of a small town did not want to have a meeting of the two sides expressing their regret

held in their town, because that would once again upset and polarise the local community that has managed to find at least some kind of coexistence, and even fuel possible conflicts.

Last year, I wanted to be in Srebrenica. Between my personal engagement and the possibility to represent the state's attitude towards this crime, the circumstances concerning the outbreak of coronavirus blocked the way, as well as the absence of interstate co-ordination, late reactions… In any event, while talking with the former Mayor of Srebrenica Ćamil Duraković the day before the commemoration, I got some information I should have probably known earlier. Namely, for the organisers, victims' families, and Bosniak part of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidency, representatives of the countries which deny the Srebrenica genocide are not welcome at commemorations. Ćamil, who currently does not have an official title in the organisation of the commemoration, told me: "You can visit me at my home" … For me, this was the moment of ultimate shame, but also of ultimate honour that can be offered only by someone going through the hell of a crime committed against their own family and who, in spite of that, earnestly wishes for both sides to take a step forward towards reconciliation.

Two years ago I attended the commemoration, and this is when I found out that Ćamil was unemployed after finishing his term as the Mayor of Srebrenica, during which he managed to create a bridge of co-operation - co-existence, in Srebrenica as well as with the Government of Serbia which made a

donation of several million euros towards the normalisation of life in Srebrenica. He is probably still unemployed. And this, in addition to the example of Hasan Nuhanović, is the most striking illustration of the current state of affairs when it comes to the perception of evil committed in Srebrenica.

At the same time, it is an overview vital for understanding the political future of this issue, co-operation in the region, and dealing with the past.

I believe that, like in Croatia, new forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina can find a mechanism, projects, space for certain gestures the making of which would contribute to erasing stereotypes and creating the atmosphere of the unacceptability of justifying the crimes, negationism of the evil… It would be good to start the process which would harbinger such reality.

Mira Furlan died at the beginning of 2021. A symbol of universal values, of suffering connected with the disintegration of Yugoslavia and all the crimes committed, among others, against her, as well. After her death, some institutions in Croatia, representatives of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb and the Globus weekly decided to apologise to her for the evil inflicted on her by persecuting her, taking her job and her flat away… Too late... Since she could no longer personally acknowledge this apology. Such situations are numerous, the witnesses, the victims passing away… It seems as if many believe that this will solve everything. By natural causes.

It will not. It will only get worse.

For this reason, joint commemorations are very important today, even concerning different interpretations of the same, tragic events. Today in Croatia this process also strongly supports the actions of solidarity relating to the earthquake in Banija, where Serbs and Croats live. Promoting the co-existence through joint commemorations seeps down to uniting in solidarity, as well.

I could list many negative examples, but I do not think this would be helpful in articles such as this one.

For me, there are the victims' families and there is me. And the attitude towards the crime.

Whenever I see the mothers of Srebrenica, and the victims' relatives, I genuinely need to express my condolences as if someone close to me had been killed. Likewise, if I am not allowed to, I feel an intrinsic obligation-need to find a way to do that.

I implore the mothers of Srebrenica to understand that in Serbia, we do understand the volume of the atrocities committed and that we do accept the judgments of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. We have a range of organisations dealing with this topic. If I were allowed to attend this year's

commemoration, I would use the opportunity to kiss the hand of Munira Subašić and express my sympathy for the loss of all those murdered and missing.

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

In his memoirs, Simon Wiesenthal speaks of a dinner he had attended at the home of a Mauthausen survivor.[7] He had become a very wealthy jeweller. He told Wiesenthal: "You could have become a millionaire if you had gone to Israel and returned to architecture. We should let go of the past and turn to the future. Life goes on." Wiesenthal replied: "When we come to the other world, we will meet millions of people who died in the concentration camps. When they ask us 'What have you done?', there will be many answers. You will tell them: 'I became a jeweller'. Another will say: 'I built houses'. Another will say: 'I smuggled coffee and cigarettes.' But I will say: 'I didn't forget you.'"

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TOWARDS RECOGNISING SREBRENICA GENOCIDE: INITIATIVES AND ABERRATIONS OF SERBIAN SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

The Srebrenica genocide is the culmination of war crimes in the Western Balkans in the late 20th Century. A quarter-century later, establishing and recognising the truth about the worst mass crime after World War II in Europe still struggles to get through to the Serbian society. Even the Serbian government led by Zoran Đinđić, which most of all advocated the resolving of the problems in the region, was obstructed by the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Vojislav Koštunica and his party, which was part of the governing coalition at the republican level, as well.

The assassination of Prime Minister only two years into his term stopped the implementation of transitional justice. Since then, the fight of nationalist majority against civic minority, i.e. marginalisation of those who persist in their attempts to confront the newly-emerged political situation has been present for nearly two decades. Serbian society has still not eradicated the ideology that led to the genocide, because political parties which constitute the majority today, both in the government and opposition, and supported by military, police, church and media structures, permanently maintain the ideology rooted in war politics.

In this paper, I have tried to sum up the most important initiatives taken in order to clarify and recognise the truth about the Srebrenica genocide which, unfortunately, is still not accepted in Serbia. These initiatives were most often taken on the occasion of commemorating the anniversaries of mass killing of Bosniaks in Srebrenica. Also, these activities, from submitting numerous declarations for the Parliament to adopt (2005-2019) to the actions of civil society aimed at encouraging the public to reflect, were also prompted by the decisions of international bodies.

INTRODUCTION

Dealing with the past is an essential value according to which the progress of a society in accepting civilised norms and standards can be measured. One cannot and must not run away from this process. For this reason, any attempt taken to that end is healing.

The Srebrenica genocide is the culmination of war crimes in the Western Balkans in the late 20th Century. Within the UN Protected Zone, 8,372 Bosniak men, including boys, from 13 municipalities of the Podrinje Region were massacred during the several days of July 1995. More than 25,000 people were expelled. Many of them return only once a year. Every year on 11 July, they attend the commemoration of victims and bury newly-found remains. Year in, year out. More than 25 years have passed, but bodies of all those murdered have not been found yet.

However, establishing and recognising the truth about this worst mass crime after World War II in Europe struggles to find its way into Serbian society.

What is the attitude of the Serbian society towards the Srebrenica genocide? The majority is involved in relativisation, including all those who have no attitude, because that is relativisation of sort, as well. Retrograde forces that created the disgusting ideology of the 1990s, nowadays soften the Greater-Serbia rhet-

oric only declaratively, out of inertia or when needed. However, emerging conservative forces negate the genocide even more forcefully. They are very aggressive and not in the least harmless in the defence and interpretation of 'their truth', in spite of established historical facts and judgments of international and domestic courts.

The vitality of such ideology is rooted in the constant of denial, negation, and relativisation of established facts. It is manifested in two forms. On the one hand, there is contestation – diminishing the number of victims, presenting a thesis that others committed crimes too while at the same time abusing the victimisation suffered, presenting arrests and extradition of war criminals to The Hague Tribunal only as our obligation, but not as an ethical need, glorification and public promotion of such war criminals. On the other, there is permanent marginalisation and attacks on the attempts to openly discuss and publicly condemn the Srebrenica genocide. The slogan "Nož, žica, Srebrenica" *(Knife, Wire, Srebrenica)* was freely displayed even at football stadiums, while the issue of Srebrenica has always been met with hostility in the parliament.

The arrests and extraditions of criminals to The Hague Tribunal were followed by riots and protests by a portion of opposition and nationalist movements. On the other hand, governing structures, with support of pro-government media, were creating tension, presenting these moves as the result of pressure from international community, while avoiding to perceive the size and consequences of criminal politics.

With regard to domestic judiciary, only two convictions have been issued so far, but not for genocide.[1] The position of international courts qualifying these mass atrocities as genocide has not been accepted in Serbia yet.

In relation to Republika Srpska, the governing structures continuously nurture paternalistic relation, while covering up the facts that the most monstrous of crimes in Europe after World War II was committed by the Republika Srpska Army on that very territory. The positions of the 'elite' and Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) are dominantly promoted, supporting and sustaining such milieu. At international level, relativisation and negation are encouraged by those who find instability in the Balkans convenient.[2]

In such circumstances, it is very difficult to achieve stronger social potential to at least strike back at the deeply rooted nationalism and lack of ethics. It is necessary to raise awareness of the need to unmask and clearly condemn the still vital politics of Greater Serbia.

Observed chronologically, the most significant steps were taken during the first democratic government of Serbia led by Zoran Đinđić. A space was opened for visible activity of civil society, intellectuals and several smaller political parties,[3] who were actors of anti-war politics of the 1990s and promoters of necessity of dealing with the past. A special system for pros-

ecuting those who committed war crimes was established by adopting the Law on Organisation and Jurisdiction of State Authorities in War Crimes Proceedings.

Several months after forming the Government of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević was extradited to The Hague Tribunal on 28 June 2001. On 11 July, BBC's shocking documentary 'A Cry from the Grave' about ethnical cleansing in Srebrenica was aired in prime time at the state television. Seen as the attack and continuation of international conspiracy against Serbia, both events caused strong resistance, both in the public and institutions. Such resistance did not come only from defeated forces, but also from the partner from governing coalition – Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) whose president Vojislav Koštunica was at the same time President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).

The President of the FRY, who had said as early as 1999 while he had still been in opposition that The Hague Tribunal was 'political and not legal institution,'[4] and in 2000, just before the presidential elections, had said that co-operation with this Tribunal was the least of his concerns,[5] was preventing any attempts of dealing with the past. Thus, he formed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and appointed its members without public debate, so its prominent members, such as professors Latinka Perović and Vojin Dimitrijević refused to take part in its work. The Commission, whose work the President trivialised in his every statement,[6] did not hold any public hearings. It was dismissed as early as 2003.

With the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić two years into his term, in a conspiracy action and under the title 'Stop to The Hague', the reconciliation processes were halted. After early elections, President of the FRY Vojislav Koštunica became the Prime Minister of Serbia. This was the beginning of the end of the transitional justice policy.

From that moment on, keeping silent and covering up the crimes further evolved not only into open negation, but also glorification of war crimes – from placing posters with the photos of Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić, through wearing T-shirts with their images even in the Parliament, to chanting 'Knife, Wire, Srebrenica' at sports stadiums.

The fight of the nationalist majority against civic minority, that is, the marginalisation of those who persist in their attempts to confront the newly-emerged political situation has been here for nearly two decades.

Prior to the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in 2005, Žarko Korać (SDU) and I (GSS), acting on behalf of eight non-governmental organisations,[7] proposed that the Serbian Parliament adopt the 'Declaration on the state of Serbia's obligation to undertake all measures aimed at protecting the rights of the victims of war crimes, particularly the rights of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide.'[8]

The text of the Declaration stated: "The National Assembly of Serbia condemns the genocide in Srebrenica and honestly regrets all the victims of Srebrenica. On this occasion, it extends its apologies to all members of the victims' families because in 1995 Serbia failed to do all it could to prevent the genocide in Srebrenica". It was demanded from the state: "to candidly address the victims and their community, and confess that the crime of genocide has been committed on our behalf, and thus legitimately and morally demonstrate that it distances itself from the crime."

It is stated that: "any genocide denial or support of genocide has the character of complicity in the crime, given that prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide mirrors the conscience of humankind".

It is concluded that: "genocide must not be glorified, negated, or sunk into oblivion", and that "facing the past implies institutionalisation, as well as mechanisms and processes Serbia is obliged to adopt and apply". And that "the Republic of Serbia commits itself to expose and punish any ideological justification of crime, to open up avenues for citizens to renounce the compromised value judgments, and to ban the instruments, actors and consequences of mass violence from public and social life". Also, Serbia is "to take all measures so as to firmly place the issue of responsibility for crimes on social and political agenda".

This declaration was removed from the agenda and the Serbian parliament subsequently tried to phrase the text of a new

declaration. After the remaining 248 MPs came to the consensus that the draft document should condemn all crimes, and especially those committed on the territories of Srebrenica and Bratunac, the Democratic Party (DS), Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and DSS submitted their separate proposals. The agreement was not reached.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the genocide, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia published in its 'Svedočanstva' *(Testimonies)* edition, a book prepared by Sonja Biserko 'Srebrenica: od poricanja do priznanja' *(Srebrenica: from Denial to Confession).*[9] This is still the most systematic endeavour to collect and thoroughly comment on numerous documents.

Unfortunately, a panel organised by the pro-fascist organisations at the Law School of (state) Belgrade University attracted much more public attention. The Law School only insisted on changing the title of the panel ('Ten Years of the Liberation of Srebrenica'), but not its contents. The panellists agreed that no crime had been committed in Srebrenica, but that "soldiers of the Muslim Army, sacrificed by Alija Izetbegović in order to provoke foreign military intervention, were killed". The panel caused both verbal and physical fights between fascist and civic audiences.

On the tenth anniversary of the genocide on 11 July 2005, before the commemoration, attended for the first time by Boris Tadić, Serbian President at that time, a gathering was held at

the Memorial Centre Srebrenica-Potočari, where many dignitaries spoke, include Joseph Borrell, the then President of the European Parliament.

As the president of the GSS, I also had the opportunity to address more than 50 delegations and numerous ministers of foreign affairs. Expressing my deepest regrets and apologies to the victims and for the suffering caused by the criminal politics pursued on our behalf, I said the following:

> *"Of all the crimes on the territory of the former state, only one was qualified by the court judgment as the gravest possible one. As genocide. The one in Srebrenica. Facing that fact is not easy, but all the more so it is necessary and needed. It is essential above all because of the victims, because they have the right never to be forgotten. It is also the victims' right for the perpetrators to be punished. However, the condemnation of the crime, and even more of the politics that had led to the crime, is also necessary because of the future generations, because of the future of our children. My people are not collectively responsible for the atrocities that occurred here in July 1995. This was the act of individuals or a group qualified by The Hague indictment as 'joint criminal enterprise'. Regardless of the fact that these were the most senior state officials, I assert that they were not given the mandate by the citizens of Serbia to commit crimes. Even by those who voted for them. After all, 'a criminal enterprise' or 'a gang' can be formed by anyone, including a chief of state. It is still a gang.*

However, one cannot escape the responsibility for condemning the crime, criminals and the politics of crime. The only other possibility is for our generations to shift that responsibility onto the future ones, those yet to come, who will have nothing to do with the misdeeds we witnessed. In my opinion, it would be rather cowardly.

This obligation should be fulfilled by us, because those who had committed crimes on our behalf would like nothing more than to leave responsibility and penitence to our children. Thus they would escape responsibility while they are alive, and at the same time they would manage to pass it onto the entire nation in the future. This is their real intention, since today they have only one goal. To escape responsibility. I do not mean the criminals primarily. They are already being held responsible and they are yet to be. Including the one most responsible for Srebrenica."

I stressed that citizens were also responsible for condemning Milošević's nomenclature of crime.

"That bill is ours to pay, because those who committed the crime on our behalf will most certainly not do it. This is where our collective responsibility lies – in condemning the politics of crime and dealing with the past which is an essential civilisational value the unification of Europe is based on.

When the majority of our citizens realise that the politics of respect for human rights is first of all in their own inter-

est and in the interest of those yet to come, such future will commence in these regions, too."

More than 600 journalists attended the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the genocide. The whole world was urged to think and to condemn. In Serbia, however, that event was also relativised.[10] Only one daily in Serbia *(Danas)* and one electronic media outlet (B92) reported that this international gathering had occurred. Although without mentioning the dignitaries who attended or quoting any of the speakers, except quoting a few sentences from my address. It would turn out to be the only speech of a politician from Serbia ever made at the place of suffering of the Srebrenica victims.

Another important moment in the transitional justice came two years later. In the judgment rendered by the International Court of Justice in 2007, in the proceedings instituted by Bosnia and Hercegovina against Serbia and Montenegro, it was established that Serbia was not responsible for the commission or complicity in genocide. Under this judgment, Serbia has become the first and only country in the history of humankind found responsible for violating the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The outcome of the judgment was triumphantly commented on by the Serbian public. It was interpreted as victory and a relief. The established responsibility for not preventing and not punishing the crime was completely neglected and left in the background.

The judgment also inspired new attempts with regard to the institutional debate and condemnation. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) organised the collection of citizens' signatures in order to put the Declaration on Srebrenica on the agenda of the National Assembly. The 'Motion of the Declaration on Obligations of the State Authorities of the Republic of Serbia and Implementation of the Decisions of the International Court of Justice' was submitted, demanding that Serbia 'clearly condemn any denial of the genocide in Srebrenica' through its legal system and actions of state authorities. After that, the LSV and Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (SVM) submitted their own motion, also demanding that Serbia 'pay respect to the Srebrenica victims and learn a lasting lesson about the fatal consequences of non-critical patriotism'. The majority of MPs refused to put these documents on the agenda.

Following the decision of the European Parliament in 2009 to publicly declare July 11 the European Day of remembrance for the victims of the massacre in Srebrenica,[11] the above-mentioned parties once again submitted, this time jointly, a Motion of the Declaration on Srebrenica. It was rejected, too.

Stating our attitudes with regard to Srebrenica and Kosovo resulted in physical attacks at that time, as well. Eight local offices of the LDP were demolished, while the party headquarters in Belgrade were set on fire twice. The attacks on the party leaders in the media also intensified.

Finally, in 2010, ten years after the changes of 5 October and 15 years since the genocide, the Serbian Parliament adopted a declaration proposed by the governing coalition led by the DS, party of the head of state Boris Tadić. The Declaration condemns the crime committed in the manner established by the International Court of Justice, without mentioning the word 'genocide'.

The opposition parties, those who had participated in warmongering politics, were against it, but also the LDP, which was the only party against the declaration without the qualification of genocide. "By having a clear attitude towards the genocide in Srebrenica, we do not only affirm our European orientation, but also prove the humanity of Serbia that has been disputed so far because of the crime and silence. The issues of war crimes and Serbia's attitude towards them must not be resolved at the parties' flea market" (LDP President Čedomir Jovanović, National Assembly of Serbia).

The debate unmasked the depth of Serbian frustration, especially in relation to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was evident that the Declaration was adopted with narrow majority under pressure of the international community, and not out of wish for honest reconciliation and admitting mistakes from the past. This is proven by the fact that, in addition to this declaration, another one was passed a few months later, condemning crimes committed against Serbian people and citizens of Serbia. The first one was for 'external', and the second one for 'internal' use.

And in the years to come, every anniversary was marked by tensions between the majority relativising or negating the genocide, and several civic parties and non-governmental organisations demanding that July 11 be declared the Day of Remembrance for the victims of the Srebrenica genocide.

With the change of government in 2012, these tensions have intensified. Because, as opposed to the former President of Serbia Boris Tadić, who apologised and paid respect to the victims in Srebrenica twice, but never used the word "genocide", his successor Tomislav Nikolić did apologise to the victims, at the same time directly denying the genocide.

Current President Aleksandar Vučić as Serbian Prime Minister was booed and chased away with stones at the commemoration in Srebrenica in 2015, which was a response to his warmongering and Radical past.

The last attempt made at the National Assembly to strongly condemn genocide and any denial of the genocide, and to declare 11 July the Day of Remembrance of the genocide in Srebrenica, expressing compassion to all victims, was made in 2016 by 11 MPs[12] from the LDP, Party of Democratic Action, LSV and Green Party. This motion to put the resolution on the agenda was rejected, too.

The level of unanimity in the National Assembly of Serbia has never been higher than it is today. All the while, the state officials, especially President and Prime Minister, decidedly continue negating the Srebrenica genocide.

CONCLUSION

A quarter-century has passed since the Srebrenica genocide, and the Serbian society still avoids facing the reality. As if it can be escaped from.

An apology for the crime in Srebrenica, presence of officials at the commemorations, and adoption of the declarations that equalise war crimes are not enough. Nor is it honest.

The first real step in comprehending the truth and accepting responsibility in Serbia will come once the state calls the massacre in Srebrenica by its real name – genocide. And then starts defending that truth. When state authorities become more responsible towards grave violation of human rights. When glorification and public promotion of criminals become prohibited. When genocide negation becomes prohibited. When the role of its inspirers be reconsidered and they, after all those years, enjoy no status, but be put to shame. And finally, when school curricula contain historical facts from our recent past, and condemnation of the politics that caused the crimes, amongst which the one in Srebrenica is the largest one. Only then can we become a humane society.

What is encouraging for now is that, thanks to the civil society, certain intellectuals and civic political parties, despite being in minority, the continuity has been sustained in the fight for a modern state with functional rule of law and democracy. Such continuity has also produced support from young peo-

ple who, I am sure of it, will not give up the fight. Just as the courageous and engaged individuals do not give up. The most recent example is the play 'Srebrenica. When we the killed rise up', which primarily deals with the responsibility of 'academics, poets and spiritual leaders of the genocide'.[13]

Stronger support should be ensured for civic parties, non-governmental organisations and the few individuals fighting for transitional justice. Especially regarding better consolidation so that they could be more efficient in acting against the politics of avoiding responsibility and manipulation of facts. Only in this way could the current politics towards the region change, especially with regard to the functionality of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Otherwise, we will remain prisoners in the conspiracy of silence and denial.

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ENDNOTES

1 Five life sentences and 700 years of imprisonment were rendered by The Hague Tribunal and courts in the region for genocide, crimes against humanity and other crimes committed in Srebrenica.

2 The adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution on Srebrenica condemning the July 1995 genocide, proposed by the UK and supported by the USA and EU countries, was vetoed by Russia. Ten countries voted for it and four abstained, including China.

3 I have in mind in particular the then Civic Alliance of Serbia (GSS), the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina (LSV) and Social-Democratic Union (SDU).

4 "The Tribunal in The Hague is a political and not legal institution which serves US interests and intends to prosecute everyone but the Americans. The Hague Tribunal is a means of blackmail and pressure for fulfilling the US will" (Vojislav Koštunica in *Politika,* 31 May 1999).

5 *NIN,* 21 September, 2000.

6 "Can we really make that Copernican shift of our miserable history" (Vojislav Koštunica, opening of the international conference 'In Search for Truth and Responsibility – Towards A Democratic Future', Belgrade, May 2001).

7 Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Civic Initiatives, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Women in Black, Belgrade Circle, Humanitarian Law Centre and Youth Initiative for Human Rights.

8 Available at http://www.hlc-rdc.org/?p=12849&lang=de.

9 The whole book available in Serbian at: https://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/Svedocanstva%2022.pdf.

10 Media paid almost equal attention to the event held one day later in Bratunac dedicated to the commemoration of Serbian victims titled 'St. Peter Days of Srebrenica in the Memory of the Serbs killed in the seven municipalities of Podrinje and Birač'.

11 "Only Nataša Mićić *(of all the respondents – author's note),* Vice Presdient of the Liberal Democratic Party of Serbia, clealry supported the EP's Resolution on Srebrenica without a 'but', considering that it is 'sad that the EP adopted this resolution before Serbia did', resolution 'related to the responsibility for the genocide in Srebrenica', and that 'it is negative that here (in Serbia) there is no awareness about a need for us to condemn it institutionally through the parliament." (*Politika,* 12 July 2009).

12 Sulejman Ugljanin, Enis Imamović, Čedomir Jovanović, Žarko Korać, Nataša Mićić, Nenad Milić, Nenad Čanak, Goran Čabradi, Olena Papuga, Marinika Tepić, and Nada Lazić.
13 Author Zlatko Paković and producer Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia.

III

CIVIL SOCIETY

VOICES OF SURVIVORS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MEMORY

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ABSTRACT

Preserving the voices of those who have survived mass atrocities and genocide is now recognized as an important and significant method of documenting history, while also providing survivors with an outlet to tell their personal stories. There are numerous approaches to obtaining and preserving these narratives. Those who have the opportunity to share their experiences sometimes choose to participate and sometimes do not. Reasons for each decision are presented through the words of Srebrenica genocide survivors. The goals of preserving these narratives are discussed within the context of recognizing that sharing personal stories can be healing as well as traumatizing. In addition to oral history projects, the institutionalization of memory is examined through the existence of memorials. The purpose of memorials is explored along with the complexity of establishing, designing and administering them. A particular focus is on the Srebrenica Memorial Centre with its history, the evolution of its mission, and its current services and projects.

INTRODUCTION

On the outside wall near the entrance to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington, D.C., an inscription is etched into the stone wall which reads:

> *"The things I saw beggar description. … The visual evidence and the verbal testimony of starvation, cruelty and bestiality were so overpowering as to leave me a bit sick … I made the visit deliberately, in order to be in a position to give first-hand evidence of these things if ever, in the future, there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to 'propaganda'."*[1]

This quote was originally written in 1945 by Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of the Allied forces in Western Europe during World War II, who led the invasion of Nazi-occupied Europe. He cabled this to General Marshall, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington, D.C., following the liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camp Ohrdruf, a subcamp of Buchenwald. He was sickened by what he saw, and was concerned that in the future there might be those who denied that these atrocities had actually happened. He took the unusual step of requesting that General Marshall bring members of the U.S. Congress and prominent journalists to the liberated camps so that they could bear witness to the awful truth about Nazi atrocities.[2]

Almost 50 years later, in July 1995, more than 8,000 Muslim men and boys were executed in Srebrenica, the first geno-

cide on European soil since the Holocaust. It is estimated that over 100,000 people were killed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and over 2.2 million people were displaced, which amounted to almost half of the population. Thousands of women were raped in systematic attacks. It was the most devastating conflict in Europe since the end of World War II.[3]

The institutionalization of memory and the task of sharing stories of these horrendous events has fallen to those who survived and to those who can bear witness. Many cultures around the world have rich traditions of storytelling which are now often referred to as personal narratives or oral histories. Much of history is known because of stories that have been passed down from generation to generation. The same is true with preserving voices and experiences from war and genocide.

At the end of WWII General Eisenhower, in bearing witness, made it his mission to not only tell the story of the concentration camps but to ensure that there were many others who could do the same. It was not until much later that Holocaust survivors began to tell their stories of survival and also stories of those who perished.

In 1979, more than 30 years after the end of WWII, the first official effort began to collect and record stories of Holocaust witnesses and survivors. A grassroots organization, the Holocaust Survivors Film Project, began videotaping survivors and later donated their collection of testimonies to Yale University. The collection grew and is now available to researchers, edu-

cators, and the general public.[4]

There are certain criteria that must be met to meet the formal definition of "oral history".[5] For the purpose of this paper however, oral history, personal narrative, personal testimonies, and storytelling are used interchangeably.

Was it the development of official oral history programs that prompted Holocaust survivors to begin talking about their experiences or was it something else? Perhaps enough time needs to pass before it feels possible or safe for survivors to tell their stories. People must be ready to talk and society must be ready to listen. In recent decades, there has been an increasing academic interest in the study of the memorialization of catastrophes, war, monuments, and connections between death and remembrance. There has also been increased interest in the link between memory and trauma.

When WWII survivors were aging and began dying it became clear that the time had come to preserve their stories. Additionally, subsequent genocides were occurring and the importance of sharing experiences began to be recognized.

The first organized effort to collect stories from Holocaust survivors began around 30 years after the end of WWII. It has now been 25 years since the Srebrenica genocide, so it is a similar period of time that has passed before any organized, official programs to preserve personal stories have been created.

Whether survivor voices are preserved through a formal protocol or through more informal sharing, people need to be ready before they can tell their stories. This is easier for some than for others, and there are those who may never be ready to have their voices heard.

Survivors describe why it is too difficult for them to share their stories. There are several reasons, including: It gives them nightmares; They are afraid to open the "unknown box" that might explode; It would possibly harm them emotionally and be too painful; They want to forget, to have a new life, and think they can erase what happened; They think they have nothing to add because everything has already been said; They assume their story would not make any difference and would not change anything; They don't think anyone would be interested; They wonder why anyone would care since they did not care back in 1995.[6]

Specific survivors shared the following:

> *"The man is what he remembers, and the memories of the surviving Bosniaks[7] are what is explained in Dante's Inferno, a journey through hell. The dead don't tell a story, the focus is on the survivors to tell the truth about the hell they went through. Every memory of suffering is dug into old wounds because we all carry heavy scars that painfully remind us of our suffering and the suffering of our loved ones. Nightmares are terrible and would be worse if we tell the story. If we speak of genocide, we bring a*

bigger nightmare into our already nightmarish dreams. I am afraid that the descendants of Bosniaks will wake up scared and sweaty from the consequences of fleeing from Serbs who wanted to kill us and our families. Many are looking for our stories, but few are offering support to survivors."[8]

Another survivor shared her hesitation to talk about her experiences.

"I can't speak about it because I would be overwhelmed by emotions. I would get stuck and I wouldn't be able to move on. I always ran away from the cameras. It is easier for those who speak in public from the very beginning. They are used to it. When my son graduated with his master's degree during the presentation I took tranquilizers. I was very nervous. It's hard to talk about a painful past. Soon will be the anniversary of the death of my husband who was killed in the war."[9]

While it is too difficult for many survivors to tell their stories, there are others who have decided that they are now able to talk about their experiences and to share the stories of those who did not survive. As a group, survivors tell their stories because: It felt like a shadow of traumatic memory was following them where ever they went and they wanted to address it; They feel like they owe it to people who were killed; They believe they survived in order to tell the story of those who didn't survive; The world needs to know because it can hap-

pen again; Future generations need to learn what happened to avoid having the same destiny; They want to contribute toward justice.[10]

Specific survivors who are ready to tell their stories shared the following:

> *"We all have difficult and traumatic stories. We need to talk because the years go by. People forget, people don't read much. Some want to forget everything. I prefer to write than to speak. We need to talk because of the younger generations who need to know what happened. The great-power ideologies of our neighbors are still alive and have not been defeated. There is a danger of repeating history."*[11]

Another survivor shared thoughts on the reasons why he is able to share his story:

> *"After the first Peace March[12] in which I participated, I felt great relief. It was hard for me when I passed some places that I remember from the Death March. Before that, visiting some places was difficult but later it was easier. When I first told my story I felt great relief. I talked to others about my experience in hopes that they would decide to tell their stories too. For those who are hesitant to tell their story, they think it's easier for survivors to speak only with other survivors, thinking that those who did not survive would not be able to understand it all.*

They worry that they won't be able to explain everything that happened to them."[13]

Recognizing the significance of preserving narratives and wanting the important voices of survivors to reach a broader audience, the authors recently published a book entitled, Voices from *Srebrenica: Survivor Narratives of the Bosnian Genocide.*[14] The book provides a factual narrative of the region, the war, and the genocide as well as the aftermath, including psychological ramifications of cumulative trauma. The key part of the book includes personal narratives from survivors of the primary execution sites as well as Death March survivors who were hunted for six days and nights in the woods while attempting to escape the genocide. Additionally, personal narratives of women who survived illustrate the horrendous events of the war as well as their resilience. Also featured are the perspectives of human rights activists from Serbia. Elevating the voices of survivors was the most important goal of this book.

Hasan Hasanović, co-author of this article and a survivor of the genocide, has devoted his life to making sure that his voice can be used to educate people from all over the world about the genocide. He shares the judicially-established facts as well as his personal story. He candidly discusses his story of survival, including his subsequent journey of dealing with intense trauma. He has told his story several times a day for many years in his job at the Srebrenica Memorial Centre where he has worked since 2009. He credits this with having reached a comfort level in speaking to individuals, groups, communities

and large gatherings of people at universities, Houses of Parliament, and other settings.[15]

There are several well-known, structured programs that gather personal testimonies, primarily from Holocaust survivors. Some of the most prolific collectors of these narratives are the USHMM and the USC Shoah Foundation's Institute for Visual History and Education. The mission of the USHMM, which focuses on the Holocaust, contains the language " to advance and disseminate knowledge about this unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered; and to encourage visitors to reflect upon... their own responsibilities..."[16] The Shoah Foundation's mission includes the goal to "develop empathy, understanding, and respect through testimony."[17]

Sharing personal stories, whether in a spontaneous, unstructured way or as part of a formal oral history project, is an essential part of elevating voices of those who survived and those who did not, toward the goal of preserving memories. Additionally, the establishment of memorials also serves an important purpose in institutionalizing memory.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MEMORY AND OFFICIAL MEMORIALS

The importance of memorials cannot be overstated, nor can the complexity of establishing, designing and administering them. The process is always intricate, especially when the memorial is in honor of a relatively recent event, or an event that

is controversial. Ibreck writes that "the memory of genocide is being preserved in an array of institutions and rituals in Rwanda, at a time when the consequences of the atrocities in 1994 still affect survivors and shape social and political relations."[18] Others have discussed the conceptualization of memorials as either "tools of politics and nationalism, or as expressions of mourning."[19]

Official memorials are established most often to commemorate various types of great loss, including natural disasters, terrorist attacks, wars, or genocide. Most are designed carefully and they are intended to be permanent. They need to be looked at as much more complicated than just a monument or a place of remembrance.

> *"A main question is the role of memorials in post-conflict reconciliation: do memorials foster reconciliation or do they prolong divisions and resentment? The answer that has emerged. . .is that memorials are not primarily about reconciliation although, after time they can be used for that purpose."*[20]

The contested meaning of monuments or memorials made it challenging during the early efforts to establish the Srebrenica Memorial Centre, as essential questions needed to be addressed.

> *"It is important to understand that monuments represent one way. . . to shape future generations' understanding of*

history. Memorials reflect the ideas and values that a society believes should be remembered and/or honored. Therefore, the process of creating. . . memorials can be a battleground where competing perceptions and profoundly different memories struggle to control the interpretation of history."[21]

Defining the purpose of a memorial and decisions around preserving important voices of survivors were at the forefront of the establishment of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre and continue to be topics of discussion. Bosnia remains a very divided society and has been called the most complicated governmental structure in the world.[22] This governmental structure, established by the Dayton Peace Agreement which ended the war, has institutionalized a culture of denial which makes it even more important that voices of survivors be heard and preserved.

With the creation of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP)[23] in 1996, it became possible to begin identifying remains found in the mass graves. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)[24], which had been trying war crimes cases starting in 1993, began to increase its operations. Through the work of the ICTY, the facts about Srebrenica were being judicially established and the momentum for the creation of an official memorial was growing.

The Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide, commonly known as The Srebrenica Memorial Centre, was established in 2000 by a decision of the High Representative[25] for Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was

no apparent effort on the part of the international community to establish an official memorial so the task fell to the survivors. The Women's Associations that had organized themselves after the genocide were the primary force behind advocating for the establishment of a memorial. They rejected a site that was initially proposed and insisted that the location be in Srebrenica which was the last place that most survivors saw their family members who were subsequently executed. They felt strongly that a memorial that could institutionalize their memories needed to be located in the place where they had lived under siege during the war and where the genocide occurred. They wanted a central site to bury their loved ones with dignity. Families of the victims also wanted a place where the truth would be told, including the failure of the international community.

Initially the Memorial focused on burials and commemorations, with the first burial service being held in 2003. It provided a central place for grieving and a small place for visitors to learn factual information about the genocide by reading a few personal narratives and watching a documentary film. The curators also provided facts and shared some of their own stories.

Over time, the annual July 11th burial and memorial service grew and attracted international press and dignitaries from around the world. Because of the international attention more people globally began to learn about the Srebrenica genocide.

The Srebrenica Memorial Centre, which hosts approximately 120,000 annual visitors, has grown exponentially in physical

space and mission. Now, in addition to the annual July 11th event, it has developed numerous projects designed to institutionalize memory, elevate voices of survivors, and provide education locally and internationally. Some of these projects include:

Commemorations and burials
Annual July 11th burial and memorial service
Reading for Srebrenica[26]
Annual *Peace March*[27]
Annual July 13th event[28]

Educational programs and materials
Educational materials and tours for visitors[29]
Online classes and presentations[30]
Srebrenica Genocide Denial Report 2020[31]
12 Days of Remembrance[32]
British Project[33]
Library[34]

Research
Killed Before the Fall of Srebrenica[35]

Personal-Artifacts and Oral History Projects
Collection Project[36]
Lives Behind The Fields of Death[37]
Children's Experiences During the Srebrenica Genocide[38]
Procuring audio and video recordings[39]

Since the first burials in 2003, the Srebrenica Memorial Centre has continued to evolve and is now entering a new phase of partnerships, and more complex projects of remembrance and education. In addition to university partnerships, there are

other organizations dedicated to educating the public about the Srebrenica Genocide. One of the largest and most active is Remembering Srebrenica, a British charitable initiative, that provides extensive education to raise awareness about the genocide throughout the UK, organizes commemorative events, and sponsors frequent visits to Srebrenica for people to learn directly from survivors. In Belgrade, Women in Black[40] play an active role in educating people in Serbia about the genocide and also provide support for Bosnian women who survived the war.

In 2020, the EU Parliament passed a resolution "declaring July 11 as European Commemorative Day for the Victims of Srebrenica."[41] This resolution elevated the anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide to an official day of commemoration across the EU. It was in stark contrast to the Russian veto of a UN Security Council resolution in 2015 which would have recognized the Srebrenica massacre as "genocide."[42]

When survivors are sometimes faced with ridicule and denial, it becomes extraordinarily difficult for them to decide to share their experiences or to participate in oral history projects. Positive actions like the EU resolution are crucial in combatting the pervasive denial and revisionist history that is rampant, particularly in the Republika Srpska entity in Bosnia, where Srebrenica is located.

CONCLUSION

The more active, visible role of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre is creating deeper trust among survivors who are now seeing that the Memorial is adept at institutionalizing and preserving memory, of educating a broader public about the genocide, and of safely documenting their personal stories which are such valuable treasures. Additionally, the positive work that is being done by organizations such as the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia is crucial in the effort to institutionalize the voices and memories of those impacted by the Srebrenica genocide.

The perpetrators of the genocide did not win, in that those who survived have begun to make their voices heard. The narrative of Srebrenica belongs to them. The Memorial Centre will continue to ensure that their memories and those of their loved ones are safely preserved and made available worldwide.

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25 High Representative, appointed by UN Security Council, oversees the Office of the High Representative, an adhoc institution responsible for overseeing implementation of civilian aspects of the Dayton Agreement.
26 Video message of 150 public figures reading names of genocide victims.
27 3-day international event retracing Death March route.
28 Women's Associations visit and memorialize execution sites.
29 In person and online.
30 Available to universities and organizations globally.
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33 A series of projects including the creation of educational curricula for BiH and abroad.
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35 Investigate and determine number and identity of victims killed April 92 -July 95 in Srebrenica.
36 Collecting and preserving donated personal items of genocide victims for exhibitions.
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GENOCIDE DENIAL AS THE STATE POLICY: MEMORY OF THE 1990S WARS IN SERBIA SINCE THE FALL OF SLOBODAN MILOŠEVIĆ

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the interpretation of the genocide in Srebrenica in the context of official politics of memory of the 1990s wars in Serbia since the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000. The paper looks at the negation of the Srebrenica genocide as a continuous characteristic of the politics of memory in Serbia in this period, while the changes in the dominant discourses about the genocide and the broader context of the armed conflicts of the 1990s concern only their articulation. In the first decade following the overthrow of the Milošević regime, there was no clear central narrative about the wars of the 1990s and official memory politics did not focus on building such a master narrative. Since the Serbian Progressive Party and its coalition partners came into power in 2012, a commemorative master narrative has emerged and the 1990s wars consolidated as the key point of the politics of memory. The denial of the genocide in Srebrenica and distortion of the facts about the 1990s wars have become an open state policy. The paper represents the analysis of paradigms in the official memory politics, and of public and dominant discourses about the genocide and the 1990s wars.

INTRODUCTION

In July 2020, many media outlets in Serbia reported about the fifth anniversary of the assassination attempt on President of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić.[1] The alleged assassination attempt took place in 2015 when Vučić attended the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide at the Memorial Centre in Potočari. Some of the attendants attacked Vučić with rocks and bottles, and he had to be removed from the commemoration. Every year, state officials and tabloids in Serbia remind the public about the anniversary of this event and the absence of justice for President Vučić. Even the rare reports about the commemoration in Potočari in 2020 focused on the attack on Vučić in their headlines.[2]

Instead of reporting about the 25th anniversary of genocide and paying attention to the genocide victims and their families, numerous media in Serbia shifted the attention to the alleged assassination attempt. In this way, Aleksandar Vučić has stolen 11 July from the genocide victims and become the central victim that should be remembered on that day in Serbia. The state officials from the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) and its coalition partners demanded truth and justice, accusing the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina of not resolving the case. Since 2015, the state actors and media close to the SNS regime have made an inversion of the memory of 11 July, transforming it from marking the beginning of the Srebrenica genocide into the day of victimisation of the President of Serbia.

It is more surprising that Aleksandar Vučić attended the commemoration of the anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide than that his presence made many people angry. Namely, only nine days after the fall of Srebrenica in July 1995, Vučić, at that time Member of Parliament of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) gave a speech at the National Assembly in which he supported the threat made by the Party President Vojislav Šešelj that for every murdered Serb, a hundred Muslims were to be killed. Vučić stated that Šešelj's threat was the proof of "great freedom-loving tradition of the SRS."[3] Although he said that there were many things he had said in the past which he would not repeat today, the fact is that Aleksandar Vučić has not distanced himself very far from the politics he advocated during the 1990s.

The continuity in society and politics in Serbia between the 1990s and the present is evident also in the official politics of memory, the discourses of which resemble the nationalist mobilisation during the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. The hegemony of such discourses in Serbia today is not surprising as many current state actors were involved in the war mobilisation as members of the SRS or Slobodan Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).[4] The dominant narratives about the 1990s wars have been built on a dichotomic image of heroism of the Serbian armed forces and innocence and suffering of the Serbian victims, which dominated Serbian media during the wars as well. Such a binary and narrow perspective does not leave room for a reflection on the war crimes committed by the Serbian military, police, or paramilitary forces, and for the recognition of non-Serbian victims. The

recognition of the Srebrenica genocide is not compatible with such a commemorative master narrative,[5] and there is a political consensus surrounding the genocide denial and negation, and the distortion of the facts about it.

This paper analyses the interpretation, i.e., the denial of the Srebrenica genocide in the context of the official memory politics in Serbia since 2000. In this paper, the politics of memory, in German scholarly literature also termed history politics *(Geschichtspolitik),* is understood as a sphere in which different actors use history for their interests and political purposes.[6] Although state actors are not the only who instrumentalise the past for the needs of the present, they are incomparable regarding the power and resources they invest in this sphere.[7] In that respect, state institutions and officials, political parties, and other elites overpower different groups of society, they have a larger reach, as well as the authority and power to limit opposing efforts. For this reason, official memory politics still represent a natural choice and valuable topic of historical memory research.[8] The question of memory politics is not whether a historical image promoted by the state is accurate, but how and by whom, and with what intentions and what consequences does a historical experience appear in the public sphere and becomes politically relevant.[9]

MEMORY POLITICS AFTER THE FALL OF MILOŠEVIĆ

When it comes to the memory of the 1990s wars, the return of nationalism and patriotic narratives of victimisation, accom-

panied by political pragmatism, is a particular characteristic of the period after the SNS' coming into power in 2012.[10] The wars of the 1990s did not play a key role in the official memory politics of the previous government led by the Democratic Party (DS), but there was also no political will for dealing with the past and overcoming the legacies of Slobodan Milošević's rule, either.[11] Immediately after the overthrow of Milošević, the new state authorities had a unique opportunity to separate themselves from the previous regime and establish new national discourses, institutions, and politics that would depart from and overcome the violent past and legacies of the 1990s wars.[12] It did not happen.

In the first decade following the fall of Milošević, there were several missed opportunities to recognise the Srebrenica genocide. Some state initiatives and attempts which seemingly could have been positive steps, such as Vojislav Koštunica's 2001 Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, were actually doomed to fail.[13] The opportunity to recognise genocide and other war crimes came in 2005, when a video recording of the execution of six Bosniaks by the paramilitary formation 'Scorpions' appeared, followed by media attention and debates. However, political and social actors in the power positions in Serbia continued to firmly advocate the claim that Serbia had no role in the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina nor did it have anything to do with paramilitary formations such as 'Scorpions'. Another dominant narrative in the service of the relativisation of the Srebrenica genocide is the diminishing of its dimensions and significance by claiming that all sides in the

war had committed crimes, naturally shifting the focus to the crimes against Serbian civilians.[14]

In March 2010, the National Assembly of Serbia passed the Declaration on Srebrenica which 'strongly condemns the crime against the Bosniak population of Srebrenica in July 1995.'[15] The Declaration does not mention the word 'genocide'. Also, the Declaration, in its last paragraph, still focuses on the Serbian victims and relativises the Srebrenica genocide, expressing the expectation that other states would also condemn crimes 'against the Serbian people, as well as extend condolences and apologies to the families of the Serbian victims'.[16] It is also important to mention that the SPS was fully rehabilitated already during the very first decade following Milošević's ousting, and it became one of the strongest political parties in Serbia, having reconciled with the DS.[17]

MILITARISATION AND INDUSTRY OF MEMORY

Since 2012, the attitude towards the armed conflicts that accompanied the disintegration of Yugoslavia has dramatically changed. While the 1990s wars did not play a vital role in the official memory politics during the previous government, the memory of them became a central source of legitimacy and political identity of the regime led by the SNS. As opposed to different attitudes and interpretations of the war events in the 2000s, the state officials and institutions have invested serious efforts into the building and promotion of a unifying and central master narrative of the wars since 2012. A pre-

vailing image of the past is based on the above-mentioned binary interpretation of the 1990s wars through the prism of the Serbian heroism and suffering. All efforts in the sphere of memory politics serve to affirm that image, which implies the distortion and negation of all established facts about the wars which do not fit the interpretation of the Serbian nation as heroes or innocent victims.

The militarisation of the memory of the 1990s wars and of the entire history in Serbia is manifold. First, the memory politics focuses exclusively on the crimes and victims or the newly-constituted myths such as the battles of Košare and Paštrik that took place during the war in Kosovo. The aspects of the 1990s with a peace message that could contribute to the building of the sustainable peace and reconciliation, such as anti-war activism or individual acts of tolerance, helping others, or efforts to stop the violence are absent from the dominant narratives.[18] Secondly, the essence of the politics of memory lies in the glorification of the Serbian army, its strength, and the bravery of its soldiers and commanders and it includes the public promotion and support of war criminals. Finally, the militarised memory politics in Serbia also involves the militarisation of commemorative practices with the Serbian Army and Ministry of Defence as the main mnemonic actors. Many anniversaries are commemorated through military parades, showcasing the strength of the Serbian Army and its new equipment, while the Ministry of Defence is also very active in publishing and museum exhibitions.[19]

An all-encompassing state industry of memory where memory serves as a strategic resource and a sign and product of political power is behind the construction of the master narratives and new myths about the 1990s wars.[20] Various bottom-up initiatives, although numerous, cannot compete with this industry.[21] The period since 2012 has seen the emergence of central manifestations as dominant commemorative practices related to the anniversaries of events of the 1990s wars. They often tour or take place simultaneously in several locations, and are broadcast live on the Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) and YouTube, becoming available to everyone for the first time. With the support of state institutions and the public broadcaster, a film industry about the events of the 1990s has emerged, as well. The central topic of the memory industry is above all the war in Kosovo, including the 1999 NATO bombing of the FR Yugoslavia, as well as the military and police operation Storm which ended the war in Croatia in 1995. The actors of memory politics use these events to create new myths of heroism, courage and suffering of the Serbian people. It is important to emphasise that the political leadership of Republika Srpska is an especially important partner in the politics and industry of memory, with Milorad Dodik attending and speaking at the most important commemorative events.

The official politics of memory in Serbia is a social and political context which not only enables, but also encourages and promotes open denial of the genocide in Srebrenica. The recognition of the crimes against non-Serb victims is entirely missing in the hegemonic discourses. When not invisible, the victims of

Serbian forces such as the victims of the Srebrenica genocide are instrumentalised in the narrative about the commitment to reconciliation and respect for other victims which Aleksandar Vučić personally promotes, at the same time glorifying the role of the Serbian forces in the 1990s wars.

THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF SERBIAN MEMORY POLITICS

No government in Serbia since the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000 has officially recognised what had happened in Srebrenica and its surroundings in July 1995 as an act of genocide. There is no indication that the recognition of the genocide may be expected in the current political constellation. The official position of the Serbian government has always been the genocide denial. In the case of Serbia, the genocide denial does not imply the denial that the crimes were committed and that Bosniak men and boys were killed. It is rather about the open refusal to call these crimes their genuine and judicially confirmed name. Instead, the phrases such as 'crime' and 'horrible crime' are used. Another important element of the denial of the Srebrenica genocide is the negation of any responsibility of Serbia and the externalisation of guilt that arises from it. Thus, for example, the secondary school history textbook from 2010 calls the genocide in Srebrenica a war crime and crime against humanity committed against civilians and soldiers by the Army of the Republika Srpska together with paramilitary units. The authors of this textbook, published by the state-funded textbook publisher Zavod za udžbenike, further

state that 'the ICTY has qualified this crime as genocide, but has not linked Serbia with this event.'[22]

In Serbian society, genocide denial is not a new phenomenon related exclusively to the period of the SNS rule, which is marked by the decline of democracy, the rise of authoritarian tendencies, and populism.[23] What is new is the blunt openness in war crimes denial with the simultaneous promotion of the narrative that Serbia is extending a hand of reconciliation across the region. The narrative of the commitment to reconciliation is also the reason why Aleksandar Vučić went to Potočari in 2015, while he denied the genocide at the same time, as he still does today.

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SREBRENICA WARNING TO HUMANITY

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ABSTRACT

The Srebrenica genocide is a traumatic point for Belgrade and all attempts to negate and minimise this crime are futile. This article discusses the responsibility of elites which were involved in planning and creating the atmosphere of evil, while today systematically participate in creating the narrative which denies the responsibility of Belgrade and suggests not only that the crime in Srebrenica was in response to the crimes committed by Bosniaks, but also that Serbs are the greatest victims. Such a narrative qualifies the war in Bosnia as the liberation of Serbs. In spite of numerous ICTY judgments and ICJ's position, the state of Serbia keeps insisting on the interpretation which deepens the tensions between Serbs and Bosniaks. Efforts by international community have not contributed to overcoming the recent past and it is not certain when Serbia will abandon its aspirations towards Bosnia. Srebrenica was a moral collapse of international community which to a large extent discredited its efforts. The Dayton Agreement has further cemented ethnic division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. An opinion is ripening in the West that it is necessary to make an effort to finally end the 'unfinished business' and create conditions that would ensure a functioning state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In that respect, the genocide in Srebrenica has been a permanent reminder of the necessity to fix injustice inflicted upon Bosnia and its people, especially Bosniaks.

INTRODUCTION

It is not possible to understand Srebrenica without understanding Serbian national project that has not been abandoned yet, but is currently phrased as 'Serbian world'. The trial of Slobodan Milošević before The Hague Tribunal revealed not only the role of Milošević, Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), Ministry of the Interior and media, but also of the Serbian elites (intellectual elites from academic and cultural circles) which had a decisive role in the preparation of atmosphere and the conditioning of Serbian people for what was happening during the 1990s. One should not forget how astonished Europe and the whole world were that 'a genocide could have happened in the midst of civilisation', in Europe. Victims' testimonies before the ICTY, and later before national courts, were shocking, because the executioners knew their victims very well, but were still capable of doing what they had done. In spite of the fact that those most responsible for the crimes in Bosnia have been convicted, they are now national heroes who sacrificed themselves for the national interest.

The scenography and narrative of war have not changed significantly to date. The remnants of war, primarily mental ones, are still visible. It is not possible to erase them from the memories of either the victims or the executioners. Republika Srpska (RS) is the symbol of that crime and it will not recover until facing it.

The wars of the 1990s were the first serious crisis on European soil after World War II, and such great interest of politicians, media, analysts, especially European ones, is actually understandable in that respect. The problem is not the disintegration of Yugoslavia in itself, but the brutality of such disintegration. At that time, there were many theories about who started the war, but all sides in the conflict were mainly treated as equally responsible. The Hague Trials gradually identified the essence – Serbian imperialistic aspirations. The Prosecutor in Milošević's case realised that Milošević alone would not be able to start such a war. He realised that the role of the Serbian elite should be examined, and for this reason he commissioned a report on that topic. The report was written by Audrey Budding, who also testified before the court, but when it came to Belgrade, she was also exposed to horrible threats, contestation and disqualification.

How was it possible for people who were practically neighbours until the day before, to become executioners and victims overnight? Emir Suljagić, a young man from Srebrenica, now a writer and politician, explained in his 'Letter to a Serbian friend': "What is terrifying in that crime, at moments even more than its very dimension, is its nature, closeness between the murderers and victims".[1] The ideological dehumanisation of victims has its very aim in committing the crime without conscience, while the mass atrocities /against them/ deny that they are also human beings.

The demonisation of the enemy lasted for a long time. First, all negative stereotypes about the others were revived, and

then a campaign was launched, focusing on the Serbian people being in danger, followed by conspiracy theories which only substantiated theses against 'the others' that had already been expressed. The demonisation of the enemy is a part of the proven method of first dehumanising and then destroying a person. Many Serbian scholars and academics offered their support in order to legitimise the propaganda deployed through Serbian mainstream media. Hence, they participated in creating the atmosphere which stirred Serbian people to evil. Today they deny to have taken part in such campaigns, as they consider themselves idealists, patriots, moralists involved in great historical plays.

It is interesting that the leading Serbian elite which participated in planning and creating the atmosphere of evil cancelled all other individuals and groups. Hence, all those academics (Ćosić, Marković, Ekmečić, Tadić, Isaković, Bećković, and many others), all of them live(d) in some alternative world, calling on human values, but essentially participating in the annulment of awareness, morality, sense of responsibility and reality.

Ethnic cleansing, genocide and destruction of cultural heritage of Muslims/Bosniaks were not possible without comprehensive planning. The systematicity and speed at which the crimes were committed in Bosnia – from March till September 1992 – indicate that everything was well-planned in advance. In 1991, the Vreme weekly published an article about the RAM[2] plan, prepared by the Army, which was later discussed at the Hague Tribunal. Serbian radical nationalism also had a mobilising role.

Everybody was disregarding it, while Milorad Ekmečić, one of the main ideologues of the Bosnian war, said: "I wouldn't call this serious, this story about the RAM plan".[3]

The climax of the evil that occurred in Bosnia is certainly the Srebrenica genocide. The context of this crime, individually the largest and most monstrous crime committed during the Yugoslav wars 1991-1999, is a warning to the humankind of the necessity of being always ready to recognise the politics which plans such crimes. They never happen overnight.

The crime in Srebrenica took place four full years after the beginning of war on the territory of former Yugoslavia. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was genocidal from its beginning in 1992 because the politics of official Belgrade implied ethnic cleansing. It aimed, through various forms of violence and intimidation, i.e., terror, at expelling Bosniaks from the territories they had lived on for centuries, primarily those around the Drina river, in order to create ethnically clean Serbian territories. Ethnic cleansing is not invented by Serbs. However, what is disturbing is the fact that it happened, in spite of all information that were available about mass murders, abuse, destruction of cultural heritage, looting of private property, massive forcible transfers of people, etc.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, UN Special Rapporteur, warned in his report as early as in 1992, that ethnic cleansing was the objective of the war, not its consequence. Further, genocide is quite a complex process which has its beginning, structured course

and end, which usually comes after fierce external intervention. As early as in 1993, while reporting about the situation in Srebrenica at the UN Security Council, Ambassador Diego Arria came up with the qualification of a 'slow-motion genocide'. The question arises: how was Srebrenica possible at all? On the one hand, the answer lies in the international community's failure to act, although, pursuant to the 1949 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, it was obliged to do so, i.e., to 'prevent and punish' it. Unfortunately, Western governments were avoiding calling the crime by its real name – genocide - in order to avoid their obligations arising from the Convention, which ultimately included intervention. On the other hand, Serbian forces, encouraged by the hesitation of international community, were implementing their criminal politics without being punished. Quite the opposite - at that time, the Contact Group was trying to persuade parties in the conflict to agree to the ethnic division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which subsequently happened in Dayton.

Right before the fall of Srebrenica (3 July 1995) Jean Baudrillard published an article in the Liberation, saying: "By accusing Serbs of being 'dangerous psychopaths', we imagine that we have localised evil without any doubt in the purity of our democratic motives. We believe that we have done our job by labelling Serbs as evil, but not as enemies as well. And this is for good reason, because in the global battlefield, we, Westerners, Europeans, we fight the same enemy as they do – Islam, Muslims".[4]

The Srebrenica Genocide was part of the Serbian strategy which considered Srebrenica, together with Žepa and Goražde, to be 'a Muslim corridor' (the so-called 'green transversal') connecting Sarajevo and Turkey via Sandžak, Albania, and Kosovo. According to their interpretation, this was a particular danger for the whole of Europe and therefore Ratko Mladić set his sights on Srebrenica ever since 1992. Such interpretation of the war is still present in Serbia. It has been even more insisted on after the committed crimes and their monstrosity were revealed in The Hague.

The Hague Tribunal is the first international court established 40 years after WWII and first in general with jurisdiction to punish genocide. However, during the events in Srebrenica, as a new institution, it was not in position to prevent such a finale of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina or even prevent later similar scenario in Kosovo. Only the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina instituted, as early as in 1993, the proceedings against Yugoslavia, i.e., Serbia and Montenegro, before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Serbia was acquitted of responsibility for genocide, but was found responsible for its failure to prevent the genocide in Srebrenica. Belgrade put enormous energy and mobilised the entire legal elite of Serbia to prevent the qualification of genocide in any way possible.

What had happened in Srebrenica brought the credibility of the proclaimed democratic and moral values of the Western countries into question. International forces responsible for protecting Srebrenica as the UN Safe Area simply surrendered the

town to the Serbian forces led by Ratko Mladic. The Dutch battalion which was protecting Srebrenica and Žepa was watching, with no reaction, the army of Bosnian Serbs conquering the Safe Area – Srebrenica and Žepa, and then, while the whole world was watching, killing nearly 10,000 male civilians in cold blood, indiscriminately of their age.

From the moral point of view, Srebrenica was a turning point in the Bosnian war, but at the same time a symbol of indifference and ignorance of the Western countries. The genocide in Srebrenica came after the genocide in Rwanda, with around one million people killed, which international community ignored, as well. For this reason, Srebrenica provoked serious moral dilemmas everywhere in the world, except in Serbia. Srebrenica was a symbol of failure and inefficiency of Clinton's administration at foreign policy level, as well.

Srebrenica is a point where the Western civilisation 'snapped', and which forced it to return to its original values. The values of anti-fascism which still make the basis of the Western civilisation. Those responsible for the crime of genocide in Srebrenica, including General Ratko Mladić as the most responsible executioner, were convicted, as well. Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić as the inspirers and organisers ended before The Hague Tribunal. Karadžić was convicted to the imprisonment of 40 years, while Mladić's trial is still underway. The process of dealing with what had happened has been initiated in the whole world. Even the government of Republika Srpska prepared, under pressure, their own report about the crime in Sre-

brenica. Also under international pressure, it even recognised the number of casualties and at least formally apologised (Milorad Dodik later renounced that report and inspired the denial of the genocide in the most vulgar and shameless way).

Serbia has stayed outside of this process. The number of the disappeared and murdered is still being denied. And not only that. It is claimed that these were not civilians, but soldiers dressed up as civilians, and that this was not genocide but 'horrible crimes'. Namely, Srebrenica is a nightmare for Belgrade, because there is so much evidence and so many judgements for the Srebrenica genocide. The entire legal elite has been engaged to systematically deny and trivialise the work of The Hague Tribunal. Current government has deepened the denial and negation of responsibility so much that it has become a dominant narrative now.

Still, there are individuals, groups and organisations in Serbia who consider Srebrenica to be their own responsibility and their own shame. These are people who do not miss any opportunity to be heard, to mark or react whenever the topics of Srebrenica and this crime appear. Historian Latinka Perović said: "(...) Healing requires multiple efforts. This will be the topic of various sciences and arts. But every one of us, contemporaries of this biblical tragedy, must accept responsibility for the crime as their own moral imperative. This will not be compensation for innocent victims, but it will be an important pledge for our own future".[5]

A number of civil society organisations such as the Humanitarian Law Centre, Women in Black, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Youth Initiative for Human Rights, and numerous individuals and media have not missed the opportunity to confront the prevailing trend of denying responsibility. Numerous books, documentaries, and articles have been produced indicating that a part of society, although a smaller one, still was not morally indifferent. All these people and organisations have been labelled as traitors and demonised in the Serbian society, but the impression of their activity remains as some other possibility, as a value that will be an important strongpoint for the generations to come.

CONCLUSION

The war in Bosnia was stopped, the Dayton Agreement brought peace. It took more than a decade for those responsible to be brought before The Hague Tribunal which left ample documentation and testimonies about what had happened in Bosnia. Still, it cannot be said that Bosnia has taken the right path. Because the Dayton Agreement imposed a solution which makes Bosnia permanently a dysfunctional state. Ethnic division sanctioned by the Dayton Agreement is in contrast to the values upheld by contemporary Europe.

Milošević was extradited to The Hague where he died (2006), but nationalism has been to a certain extent further radicalised because his political followers (Šešelj, Vučić, Nikolic, Dačić, and others) present it as the only idea still dreaming of libera-

tion and uniting. The Bosnian war, as Ćosić qualified it, is the 'Serbian liberation war', while Republika Srpska is a war trophy that will not be given up on easily.

The Dayton Agreement created a non-functional state in which nationalists obtained what they wanted – a monopoly over their communities. Thus, Bosnia has become an ugly mirror of the impotence of the European Union which was incapable of designing *nation building* of a multi-ethnic and plural state.

For this reason, Bosnia is not a Bosnian or regional issue any longer, but primarily a European or even global issue. It can be said that nowadays, the EU and USA have a consensus that 'the unfinished business' in the Balkans should be finished, primarily in Bosnia. Joe Biden's victory at the US election and numerous statements and panels, as well as the hearing at the Congress, indicate that a new approach to the Balkans is to come, the approach which is not so much new as it is determined to finally put an end to nationalists who have drawn the whole region to the edge of abyss.

The success of such expectations will certainly be affected by the turbulent developments in Europe and the USA indicating the crisis of the Western democratic model, its insufficiencies, mass migration, terrorism and other challenges of contemporary world which require answers. Such new challenges may very well be those to resolve the Bosnian issue based on proper values.

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2 RAM was a military plan developed in 1990 for the purpose of organising Serbs outside Serbia, consolidation of control over the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and preparation of weapons and ammunition in an attempt to establish a country in which 'all Serbs with their territories would live together in one state'.

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IV

ART

DEATH AND A GIRL

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I examine, based on my own experience, artistic practices and artivism with regard to the attitude towards genocide. In the introduction I shall explain my experience of a "camp inmate" in besieged Sarajevo, reflections on the life and death in war circumstances. Next, I talk about how far or near was the need to express it all through art immediately while it was happening, or to address the war from a time distance. The end of the paper brings a logical thought, that every victim of crime needs closure through recognition or apology.

INTRODUCTION

A relationship between an artist and reality is always personal. When war, death, destruction and despair put your dreams of the future on hold, then the way you cope with such sudden horror is completely unpredictable and personal. For me, those hypersensitive ones who have the need to articulate that internal echo through art, they are the true authors.

How was I to feel on that 2 May 1992, a 26-year old girl at the time, enthralled by dreams of a future as a film director, with a house I was building at that moment to be the oasis of creative peace? On that day, my long-awaited home was destroyed by the first mortar round; the tank rounds that came next ruined the surrounding walls, new windows were crashed by detonations, and the handfuls of sniper bullets found me on the floor of my imaginary living room. Were my feelings at that moment supposed to be that of an author or as a human being who subconsciously knew that nothing was going to be the same again, while still thinking that everything was going to end the very next day, next month, before summer for sure, because you have never skipped a seaside holiday before and you are not about to start skipping it now.

At the beginning of the year, as a young director, after a couple of successful short films, I was awarded funds for producing my debut feature film "Vukojedina" by the SIZ (self-managing

community of interest) for cinematography. It was March 1992 and life seemed fantastic. Now when I am thinking of what that script was about, it seems as if the author's circle is slowly closing. It was the adaptation of Derviš Sušić's novel "The Imam of Fear" *(Hodža strah),* which dealt with the period of the Ottoman occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the rebellion of the local population of a mountain village against the occupier. The reason I wanted to make that film was because it was a story about justice, which is slow, but sure. At the time, I was experiencing that story from a reader's perspective, but then, on April 6 1992, life put me into the role of the participant. Instead of a housewarming party, a four-year agony of the siege of my town and me as a person and author began. 1423 days of trying to survive physically, but even more mentally. The reality is more creative than anything I can imagine as the author. Every day is the same, I go fetch some water, I chop wood, I light a fire in the wood-burning furnace to make coffee, it takes forever for water to boil, I sit in the basement of the house thinking I am better protected from grenades there. What an illusion, our lives are a constant Russian roulette game and we are only surviving thanks to humanitarian aid, so as we can continue our existence as the moving targets. I defy the destiny by walking my dog, my war comrade, around the destroyed city, I organise candle-lit parties with friends who have survived, we sing, play the piano, drink sticky liqueurs or beer from canisters, the only drink that can still be bought in the besieged city. It tastes muddy, but we pretend that it is delicious and that we are well. We defy the barbarians on the hill by laughing, because we are only in our twenties. We are

neither children nor adults. The majority of others have left the town. The family is dissipating. My production company no longer exists, there are no film cameras, no 35mm tapes, everything that we used to have is now irrelevant. I do not know whether I will ever be film director again…

I become a mother under mortar fire, and I am now living for another, more important being. I am not important any more, and neither are my dreams. What is important is that I have left something behind me, to grow, to witness my existence, in case I die, or lose my legs, or get crippled by the snipers or grenades. I want proof that I am alive, that I have lived. Is my child my artwork masterpiece? The cry of defiance representing the only thing I can do or know how to create at that moment? I don't know, keeping it hidden from myself, I hope that if I survive, if I stay normal, maybe I would make some films again, the way I know how to, the way I want to. The reality looks so cruelly brutal now that I feel weak against it. Isn't a new film unfolding every day through the window, in the streets? Where has the artist in me gone? I torture myself with questions, while my child is growing up, happy, unaware of the horrors around him. Am I a good mother at least? The questions remain unanswered.

And then, all of a sudden, they say – the war is over. I look through that same window and see the destroyed city, our destroyed souls, and I don't know how to go on. While the injustice and disappointment that the sacrifice might be in vain keeps silently destroying my soul. With a feeling of helpless-

ness to change my being persistently defiant for which none of us got justice after war, I keep on living in hope that truth will be loudly acknowledged sooner or later, and that all those who were brutally killing us will be punished.

My first two professional short films *Idea* (1988) and *Man "S"* (1990) were designed as documentaries. The first one about the Red Cross kitchen and people who were hungry and uncared for after all back then, during those "good" times. The *Man "S"* was supposed to be about the retouching of history in our "totalitarian" system. Doing the research for both films, I felt the author's responsibility and a sort of awe towards the people who were the genuine participants. In that moral dilemma regarding "manipulation" with the material for the purpose of the better outcome of the film, I decided to make both films as short fiction. The responsibility towards the documentary material, artefacts, and real living people – participants of the film made me turn to fiction film, in which I can be free to tell the story I want to tell. Then I thought that it was much more difficult to make documentaries than fiction. At least with regard to the material I dealt with. Fiction allows for artistic freedom and the responsibility rests solely with the author. In documentaries, it is not as demanding to think about the camera, editing, directing, as it is important to put everything into a story which would not manipulate those participating in it. I was young, but I felt a sort of awe towards the people whose stories I wanted to capture on film. And at that moment I did not know how to overcome that fear and tell a fair story. I obviously had to mature as an author and a human being,

I was to survive what I survived living in Sarajevo from the moment of being born until today. That life has made me into the author I am today.

In 1996, the siege was over, we got electricity, running water, gas, we could travel, go to the seaside… we could do whatever we wanted, but now we didn't know what to do. While we were being bombarded for four years, hungry, wounded, killed, while we were watching all the injustice that was happening to us, the world moved one. Nobody was waiting for us. New movies were being made, festivals were taking place, TV stations were making new programmes, computers became the new basic living means, and we were supposed to catch up on everything we had lost sitting hungry and frozen in the darkness of a basement. We who had not left Sarajevo during the siege, who had no privileges, we were the ones who lost years and years of everything that was normal for the rest of the world. We were still using a typing machine…

From the position of a victim, we had to overcome that limitation and return to the eye of the beholder/author. It was not easy for me. I felt fed up with the continuous stories about the shells, the killed, the killings – negative propaganda left its traces in all of us. We felt powerless, and that our scream of truth was not being heard. I felt blocked to write about the war, because it was still fresh in my veins, in the veins of my child. Too close, we could not get rid of it, because everything around us still smelled of war.

The feeling of powerlessness when we learnt about Srebrenica was horrible. We were captured inside the Sarajevo hell ourselves, but we were listening to the cries of people from Žepa and Srebrenica via radio amateurs. Although under shells ourselves, we felt that what was going on there was some special sort of horror, something worse that what was happening to us, worse than the life we were living or could have imagined. Because, at least, no one came to our doors to slaughter and kill us. For the criminals in the hills, we were faceless and nameless targets. But Srebrenica and Žepa were disarmed, left to the UN which disappointed us so many times. Fear and foreboding were creeping up on us who were still hoping that the World would not allow it. It was horrifying finding out about the dimensions of the crime every day. It was only when the war was over that it was possible to see the whole horror and realise what was going on in Eastern Bosnia. History repeats itself there fatefully.

So how does one make a movie about the war? I was living in peace, but the war was never really over. I felt small and powerless in it. I was slowly rebuilding my life, continuing my work on state television, making children's programmes, programmes about ballet, literature, classical music. Anything as far away from suffering as possible.

And then I was invited to film an exhibition by the genius painter Edo Murtić in the ruined City Hall. In the building we saw in flames during the war, the burnt pages of the National Library's books falling onto my roof and into my backyard. I accepted

Photo no. 1.
From the film
"Exhibition"

believing that it was just another film about art. During the filming, I got to know Edo Murtić's works, never previously exhibited, about the destruction of Dubrovnik in 1991. These were the drawings showing the painter's view of the suffering and victimisation of his people. The context of location added to the monumentality of the exhibition. The scorched City Hall could not have been a better place for such an exhibition, so *Exhibition* became my first documentary. This documentary emerged intuitively somehow; as an author I felt how I should put the material into a whole and depart from the expected TV story. The documentary was presented at the Festival de Cannes Short Film Corner in 2009. This gave me the confidence to believe that I could be a documentarist, although fiction films were my preoccupation for years.

This was a film made 13 years after the end of war, at a time when I was feeling well, working a lot, preparing my debut feature; the war seemed far away in those years.

And then, in the summer of 2010, on a beautiful sunny day in the city, I was sitting with my husband and producer Alem Babić in one of Sarajevo's bistros. We were talking about going to the seaside, life was looking promising as if nothing could ruin it, we were going on a well-deserved holiday. On the radio playing at the bistro, we heard a call from the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina looking for volunteers who would join the Institute teams in search and excavation of human remains on the banks of the drained lake of Perućac. The dam on the Drina River broke down, the tur-

Photo no. 2.
From the film
"Exhibition"

Photo no. 3. From the documentary "A Day on the Drina"

bine stopped working and in order to fix it, it was necessary to dry out the artificial lake of Perućac. When the water started flowing out, human bones appeared from the mud. Hundreds of human body parts were collected in a large action which took place on the lake in July and August of 2010. Volunteers were coming and digging through the mud with their bare hands, searching for their loved ones who were killed in Višegrad in 1992-1995. These were the remains of the killed Bosniaks of Podrinje. Families had been in agony for years, not knowing where their missing members were. They were gone, they couldn't even be buried. As someone who survived the war in Sarajevo, but without losing my loved ones, I was constantly listening to the appeals from the survivors from Srebrenica and the whole of Eastern Bosnia, from Mostar and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the places of mass graves to be revealed so that the dead could find their peace.

Ines Tanović

Unfortunately, in all these years after the war there were few people among the aggressors who revealed the locations of mass graves in order to help those brutally killed to find peace at least in death.

Listening to that call to come and help at lake Perućac, because Serbia was doing everything to fix the dam as soon as possible in order for all those bones to return under the water thus concealing the crime once again, I said out loud that I had to film that. That I had to record it for it to be known and documented. Alem accepted my proposal and together we made arrangements to go to the lake immediately, the next day, along with an expert forensic team, volunteers, and the police to protect those people from possible attacks. The region is deeply in Republika Srpska, on the border with Serbia. None of us felt comfortable. We hardly found a cameraman

Photo no. 4. From the documentary "A Day on the Drina"

because it was holiday season. The three of us, a small crew, determined to record everything we found in the field, set off at dawn, following the convoy. It was for the first time after the war that I crossed the entity line. An imaginary line that was destroying our society, morally and physically. I put the cameraman in the volunteers' bus in order to preserve every moment of that trip. When we arrived after the long descent to the river bank, there was mud, yellow ribbons, forensic flags scattered on the sandy bank. A hot summer's day. The month of Ramadan. Many people were fasting, they did not eat or drink before the sunset. I thought they were going to faint in high temperatures, but they were all working passionately. My role as the director was completely unnecessary there. The story was unfolding itself. I walked kilometres up and down by the river with a cameraman in order to record as much as possible. And I saw human remains for the first time. In spite of the fact that I had been in the war, I had never seen a dead person. This was a shock to me as a human being, but as an author, I was satisfied to have obtained such great shots. It was paradoxical that the more the dead people, the better it would be for the film. You ask yourself, how could one react that way? For me it was important that the film spoke on behalf of those murdered people, told their story, and showed the truth. After the whole day of shooting, we returned to Sarajevo with a plan to go again and complete the material. A few days later we learnt that we were not allowed to go any more, because we, as a crew, were a threat to the forensic team. The presence of cameras and the fact that we were documenting and recording what had happened caused reactions from the

Serbian side so it was decided not to let us come again. The material we shot that day stayed in editing for months, because I thought I could not make anything out of it, not even a TV story. After some time, Alem said that it was a pity that the material stayed unused and that it would be good to look at it and make something from it. We edited the film in a very short time because there wasn't much material. However, with a few dramaturgical interventions, this, at first glance archival material, turned into a 17-minute film in the editing. When I watched it as a whole for the first time, I was overwhelmed by emotions, and I was crying like any other viewer upset with what I was seeing. It is strange that, when you are the author, during the filming you only care about getting the best shot, and when you see that same material as a finished film, only then you see it with narrative distance. You see it as a wholeness which has a story. The film had many festival premiers and received awards, was declared a masterpiece, but for me, the most important of all is that there is a mark left for future generations about what had happened and what the real truth was, because the camera does not lie…

The film *Living Monument* was created differently – as a response to a designated topic. In 2013, producer Amra Bakšić Čamo asked me if I wanted to participate as an author in a documentary series made by the Pro.ba production company for a foreign fund. She told me that all more attractive topics had already been assigned, and that the only topic which remained was "The Monument". I was thinking about several different angles from which this topic could be addressed.

Photo no. 5. From the documentary "A Day on the Drina"

Photo no. 6. From the documentary "A Day on the Drina"

One of them was to film the known, but unmarked places of suffering from the previous war, which should be memorialised; another was to film the forgotten monuments from the previous system and how they are interpreted today. The

third approach prevailed, because it was different from what was expected – I addressed the very concept of monument. For me, it is not a structure, a physical object, but the contents giving such a monument a reason to exist. Genuine contents

Photo no. 7. From the film "Living Monument"

Photo no. 8. From the film "Living Monument"

are actually stories, testimonies of people. This is how the concept for the documentary *Living Monument* emerged. During the research, I was looking for the victims of crimes from the previous war, but from different categories – people who survived prison camps, those who lost their children, the women who were raped, and the Srebrenica survivors. I did not include the names of any of the victims because I wanted to get clear stories of the suffering of people whose nationality was not written all over their faces. Suffering is universal, crime is unforgivable regardless of who committed it. This is how I created the film which is a virtual monument to all the war victims built by the testimonies of those who suffered.

CONCLUSION

My documentaries have been created out of internal urge to bear witness of pure unadulterated emotions and to record them. Testimonies should be filmed while the participants are alive, and this is more powerful than any fictional, staged event. I often wondered as to why I would be making fiction films with war theme when artefacts are all around us, we see everything, we hear everything, as long as we want to acknowledge it. That is why it should be filmed, documented, and maybe once someone from the other side will hear and see it. This is a holy duty of an author, to be honest and deal with important topics. Documentaries are the genre which perhaps speaks about the war in the best and most honest way, because the victims are still alive, and their testimonies are more authentic than any interpretation of the same event."

Photo no. 9. From the film "Living Monument

And while I was making these documentaries, I was preparing my fiction films which addressed only the present moment, because I thought that I was a witness of the society who, twenty years after the war, still felt captured by its consequences. I felt I had the right to talk about that because I have been through it myself.

I am writing a new script, my third. Thirty years after the beginning of the war, what tortures me most is the recognition of crime, how many years are we going to deal with the past and with what had actually happened… How to achieve reconciliation… We know what happened, now we have to work on what comes after, on recognising what happened, and after all that, on an apology…

What does an apology mean for a victim – in my opinion, it is the only possible closure.

My films are my way to facilitate this search of theirs, ours, the society's, though documentaries or fiction, as a human being and as an author…

Photographs from documentaries:

Izložba / Exibition.
Jedan dan na Drini / A Day on the Drina.
Živi spomenik / Living Monument.

ROLE OF MUSEUMS IN DOCUMENTING AND PREVENTING GENOCIDE DENIAL

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Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dedicated to Lejla Hairlahović Hušić

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the issue of the contribution made by museums and cultural institutions to the processes of dealing with the past, i.e. the documentation of genocide and prevention of genocide denial. In the introduction, it discusses a need for museums to deal with this topic and explains regional context which is to be the focus of the paper.

Further, the paper provides an overview of the work of museums documenting genocide in the world, such as those focused on Holocaust or genocides in Cambodia or Rwanda, as well as the overview of institutions involved in documenting and presenting the Srebrenica genocide.

In the main body of text, the paper presents the work of the War Childhood Museum in documenting the genocide in Srebrenica from children's perspective. In addition to the information about the results of collaboration with the Srebrenica Memorial Centre, some of collected testimonies and materials from the archives of the War Childhood Museum are presented, as well.

INTRODUCTION

"The 21st Century museums are more obliged than ever to promote equality and human rights… Dozens of thousands of museums around the world admit millions of visitors every day, and hence play an important role in informing, educating and changing society… Since they are among the most trusted institutions, museums must use that fact to affirm their position of leading educators about human rights and equality."[1]

New trends in the museum industry point to a much more active social role of museums: museums will no longer only record the past, but they will be actively responding to the problems of the present and challenges brought by the future. In that context, museums dedicated to or partially involved in the documentation of genocide also have a responsibility and obligation to work proactively on preventing the negation of genocide and crimes they documented.

Deep polarisation of historiography and normalisation of ethno-nationalism have prevented critical dealing with the recent past in the countries of former Yugoslavia. In the post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, dealing with the past has been replaced with historical revisionism and selective ethnocentric approach to the interpretation of the past war (1992-1995).

Reluctance to deal with the past in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina is most obvious in deviant interpretations, and quite often open negation of war crimes that occurred in Srebrenica. The

crimes committed in July 1995 under the leadership of the Army of Republika Srpska were aimed at the persecution and mass murders of Bosniak population; by their magnitude, they were the largest in Europe after World War II. In 2004, the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) qualified the crimes in Srebrenica as *genocide,* which is defined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) as 'intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group'. This judgment was at the same time the first judgment for genocide in Europe after World War II.

MUSEUMS' CONTRIBUTION TO DOCUMENTING GENOCIDE AND PREVENTING GENOCIDE NEGATION

While The Hague Tribunal was dealing with criminal prosecution of the organisers and perpetrators of war crimes, the former Yugoslavia countries have had the responsibility to bring forth a new self-critical historical thought which will actively deal with collective memory and constructive dialogue on the violent past. In that respect, the ICTY is 'methadone and not a lasting solution, because the past war was not an event, but rather an explosion of structures whose irrationality should be hindered by active preservation of remembrance'.[2] Recognising responsibility, and change in the memory culture represent the first steps in developing a new system of values in which cognition of the past 'would inform, and not justify the interests of the present'.[3] In the context of tense debates about the past, the question arises whether active memory and warning about the past are constructive.

Besides state and international mechanisms for dealing with the past, such as courts and reconciliation commissions, the countries in transitional justice need institutions that will bring the ideas of reconciliation and pluralism in the public space of confronting historical narratives. Such need opens the question of the potential of cultural institutions, especially museums, as the instruments of active memory and self-reflection, which are necessary elements in the process of reconciliation after a conflict ends.

After World War II, the world cultural scene witnessed global proliferation of memorial museums as transcultural forms of dealing with the past.[4] The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington DC was founded as a 'living memorial' and experiential narrative museum which tells the story and aims to build emotional relation with visitors.[5] The very central role of the narrative and the secondary role of material exhibits is what distinguishes the USHMM from a traditional historical museum. Furthermore, today the USHMM is one of the major research centers specialised in the Holocaust. As opposed to the traditional concept of the role of a museum, in addition to memorialisation and production of exhibitions, the USHMM also participates in asking difficult questions, as well as being among the leaders of new research about the Holocaust.[6]

The same applies to the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh dedicated to the victims of genocide in Cambodia, and the Chilean Museum of Memory and Human Rights dedicated to the victims of military dictatorship. Six years before

establishing the Chilean memorial, Kigali Genocide Memorial was opened, dedicated to the victims of genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Following successful practices of their predecessors, the mission of the museum in Kigali is to support the survivors, prevent genocide and document material evidence and personal testimonies of the survivors.

The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, which also operates as a museum, presents personal experience of Anne Frank, thus testifying about the victims of Nazism. In addition to displaying authentic material legacy of the Frank family and their friends, the Anne Frank House is also actively involved in research in the area of history and humanities, as well as education activities about anti-Semitism, negative stereotypes, discrimination and human rights.

In the context of Western Balkans, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Srebrenica Memorial Centre (SMC) works on the awareness raising about the Srebrenica genocide, at the same time promoting reconciliation, tolerance and interethnic and interfaith dialogue. The Memorial consists of two components: the place where remains of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide are buried, and former Battery Factory, which served as the headquarters of the UN battalion, and is currently the location of the Memorial Room, multimedia room, documentation centre, and other museum contents.

Along with the efforts of the Srebrenica Memorial Centre, the memory of the genocide is simultaneously preserved at

the Gallery 11/07/1995 in Sarajevo, where the visitors can see the photos by the founder of the Gallery, Tarik Samarah, and learn the facts about the Srebrenica genocide. The War Childhood Museum (WCM) in Sarajevo has also implemented a project 'Children and Genocide', documenting and presenting the experiences of people whose childhood was affected by the Srebrenica genocide, in co-operation with the Srebrenica Memorial Centre.

All these museums, through their proactive and socially responsible work, rise above individual and local commemorative practices. They are not only the museums dedicated to victims and survivors, but also have an important socio-political and international role of transferring historical knowledge into the public space.[7] When a personal memory is shifted from the individual to institutional level, it becomes an important tool in the fight against not only the politics of oblivion, but also historical revisionism.

EFFORTS OF THE WAR CHILDHOOD MUSEUM IN DOCUMENTING AND PREVENTING GENOCIDE NEGATION

The complex reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina and political culture which often encourages instrumentalisation and banalisation of historical memory have presented many challenges to museums as cultural institutions. The idea to establish a museum that would act towards reconciliation and deal with the remembrance without declaring absolute authority over it,

in such political climate, has attracted great public attention when it was announced in 2015 that activities relating to the establishment of the War Childhood Museum in Sarajevo were underway.

The War Childhood Museum resulted from seven years of research into collective experience of growing up in the war. In June 2010, the author of the project invited, via a website, people who spent their childhood or part of their childhood in the 1992-1995 war to get in touch and give a short answer to the question "What does childhood in war mean to you?" The idea quickly spread over social networks, and in only three months more than 1500 people from 38 countries got involved in the project. As a result of the project, a book 'Childhood in War' was published in 2013, containing 1030 short recollections from the same number of people. The official opening of the Museum in January 2017 was preceded by the book's being published in several foreign languages, and having several temporary exhibitions. The first exhibition held at the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina attracted more than 4000 visitors in only ten days, and confirmed the need for a permanent exhibition in Sarajevo. At this exhibition, a part of the collection of personal items and stories of people whose childhood was marked by the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was displayed for the first time.

The Museum's permanent exhibition was opened in Sarajevo in January 2017; one year later, the Museum was awarded the Council of Europe Museum Prize for 2018 as the European

Museum of the Year. As the first museum in the world dealing exclusively with the topic of growing up in the war, the War Childhood Museum's mission is to continuously and in accordance with the highest standards document and digitalise materials related to growing up in war, and present them through exhibitions and various media channels, in order to educate a broad audience on this experience.

The work of the War Childhood Museum has so far shown that its exhibition, research and educational activities reach out to different people equally, regardless of their age, gender, political, national or other differences. Unlike the one-sided political rhetoric based on divisions, the War Childhood Museum has been contributing, through its deeply anti-war message, to the strengthening of mutual understanding.

At an individual level, the Museum seeks to help individuals overcome their post-traumatic experiences and prevent the traumatisation of others. At a collective level, the Museum contributes to enhancing mutual understanding with the aim of supporting personal and social development. In the Bosnian and Herzegovinian context of post-conflict research, it represents the first extensive qualitative research endeavour in documenting childhood marked by armed conflict. In addition to its role in the field of research, and in the process of building and promoting peace, other roles the War Child Museum plays in society have been positively assessed, including the promotion of social entrepreneurship, and promotion of excellence in museum activities.

For the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, the War Childhood Museum and the Srebrenica Memorial Centre worked together from 2019 on a documentation and research project of collecting testimonies and personal memories of those who survived the genocide in Srebrenica as children. A joint collection of the two institutions was formed, and this was the first collection focused on the experiences of persons who survived the genocide in Srebrenica as children.

The process of documenting personal memories included video documenting of testimonies by the method of oral history. Oral history is a qualitative method in ethnology, archival science, and other humanities, used for collecting data based on personal memories about a certain event or period. It has proven especially useful in the context of transitional justice societies, where it often acts simultaneously with official historical sources as an important means for facilitating dialogue on the past.

In early 2020, the results of the first phase of documenting the experiences of children during the genocide in Srebrenica were presented. The project included more than 100 participants who shared their personal stories in front of the camera on the premises of the Museum, while some of them also donated rare personal artefacts which illustrate some of their memories to the Museum. It is important to stress that the process of evoking memories of traumatic experiences of surviving war crimes is an extremely difficult and exhausting task, not only for those who remember, but also for those documenting such memories. Therefore, the War Childhood Museum has,

as part of its methodology, a set of policies and procedures for the protection of both participants, as well as researchers and team members. In some projects and activities, including this one, the entire process has been supervised by psychologists who actively participated in order to additionally protect the participants and researchers.

Lejla Hairlahović Hušić, a long-time researcher for the War Childhood Museum and a PhD student in cultural anthropology, had the main role in this project. Lejla led the research team which, with its knowledge and ethical and emphatic approach, offered the participants not only the opportunity to share their stories, but also a support system and a sense of trust.

Muška Begić is one of the participants in the project, who survived the genocide in Srebrenica as a 15-year old girl.

Photo no. 1. Muška Begić, participant of the joint WCM-SMC project

"That day of the fall of Srebrenica, I had no idea that so many people lived or could fit into Srebrenica, because all men were passing by where my house was, they were walking along that river, and us, civilians, women, children, the elderly, we were going towards Potočari. The shells were falling from one side to the other. I wasn't crying. My cousin, I keep saying to this day, I'm sad because I don't know if he put on those socks. They lived in the upper part of Srebrenica. A day earlier they came to our house because the Serbian soldiers already started entering there. I washed the socks for him and put them in front of the house. I never found out whether he put these socks on or not. Two neighbour's girls were also there, they were always at my place. The older one was standing at the balcony, and the father hugged and kissed the younger one. Then the one standing on the balcony asked 'Daddy, aren't you going to kiss me too?' It's only then that I started crying and it seems to me that I never stopped until we crossed to the free territory."

Almasa Salihović was nine when she was forced, together with her mother and other civilians, to leave the UN base in Potočari by bus.

"At one point the bus stopped and a soldier came in, in the back, where we were sitting. He was huge, tall, at least from my perspective of a child. He wasn't wearing a shirt. He only had camouflage trousers, that military uniform. He carried a big rifle in one hand and a military

Photo no. 2. Almasa Salihović, participant of the joint WCM-SMC project

knife in the other, and he started shouting that if we had any money, gold, silver, we must give it to him; otherwise if he stopped us for the second time and found any of these, he would cut parts of our bodies, ears, fingers if he found rings. And I know that at that moment I simply imagined that there was nobody there, that I was the only one in that bus. I forgot that mother was there next to me, that everybody was around me. I only stood up and started shouting. I was carrying a doll in my hand, the doll was missing an eye. I started shouting and yelling that I only had a doll. 'Take my doll, I have nothing else. Here's my doll'. And I felt such trembling in my legs, the kind of fear I've never felt again in my life.

I am happy to be here today, to pour at least a part of myself into this, and I would like as many people as possible

sharing their memories in this way, for them to remain, because there's so much negation today, so many twisting of the facts, fabrications of some new stories, lies. As much as people may think it's not important, that there's plenty of material and plenty of stories – it is never plenty enough as it should be - whether to say or to warn so that such things would absolutely never happen again. And these should not only be empty words. I think that any action of saving any stories, any memories, is very important for future generations, as well, especially because we are witnessing that if these present generations of youth grow up on lies or fabrications, it can only provoke an avalanche of new violence, so that such things could happen again."

One of the important goals of the project was also to promote research activity on the topic of genocide from children's perspective. This extensive documentation and research project has not only been a contribution to the documentation of the genocide in Srebrenica, but also to the documentation of genocide from the perspective of children globally. All project participants contributed to the creation of this archive with their individual, personal memories, thus expressing resistance to the politics of oblivion, relativisation and negation. From the previous quotation it is clear that the participants themselves recognise this and that this was one of the motives that prompted them get involved in the project.

Aiming to present and bring documented material closer to a broader audience, in the second phase of the project the War

Childhood Museum co-operated with the author and photographer Debra Barraud who stands behind the Humans of Amsterdam platform – one of the best known digital platforms for presenting personal narratives in Europe. A global online campaign titled *#ChildrenAndGenocide* was produced featuring portraits, personal narratives and exhibits of fourteen persons whose childhood was marked by the genocide in Srebrenica. The team of the War Childhood Museum, together with Debra Barraud, travelled around the towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina and met again with some of the participants who had recorded their video testimonies earlier within the research project with the Memorial Centre Srebrenica. Some of them had already donated some personal items of great significance for them and their families to the museum. One of such artefacts is the

Photo no. 3. Elvis Muminović, participant of the #ChildrenAndGenocide campaign

pillow case Elvis Muminović donated to the archive of the War Childhood Museum. During the genocide in Srebrenica, Elvis lost his sister Enesa and a long search for her remains was marked by the pillowcase they were keeping as a present for Enesa when she returned.

> *"Years went by with no information about what had happened to Enesa and Sadif. My mother kept the linen in a plastic bag under her bed. From time to time, she'd take it out of the bag to wash it. After having it washed, she would carefully iron it, fold it and put it back to the plastic bag. We were still hoping until 2002 when we received a call from the Missing Persons Institute. They found a body in the forest, and DNA analysis confirmed the match. My mother and I had to come to the morgue to identify the remains. When we arrived, an Institute employee suggested that it would be better if the mother didn't go in, so I went in alone. They had found all her bones, and on the table, there was a peace of red fabric and some leather material. The doctor asked me if that were the clothes Enesa had worn on the day she left Srebrenica. I said I didn't know as I hadn't seen Enesa for years. I asked mother what Enesa had been wearing on the day she left. Mother said: 'A red dress and a leather jacket.' I said: 'Mum, it's Enesa.' She started crying. Mum never stopped hoping until the last moment."*

The campaign *#ChildrenAndGenocide* was presented to the audiences around the world on 6 July 2020 on Facebook, Ins-

tagram and Twitter. In less than 24 hours it reached more than one million social networks' users. In July 2020, published personal stories and portraits were seen by more than 11 million people from the whole world, who reacted to them more than 300,000 times.

After the online campaign attracted large public interest, personal stories and portrait photos were also presented at the pop-up exhibition in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the Children's Square in Sarajevo. After Sarajevo, the exhibition was presented at the Sergels Square in Stockholm.

In both phases of the project, the participants were continually showing remarkable awareness of the importance of documenting personal stories in the context of peace building, as well as their dedication to contribute to the prevention

Photo no. 4. Mirnes Zahirović, participant of the joint WCM-SMC project

of crimes with their testimonies. Their emphasis on the need to prevent potential future conflicts speaks of the fact that their memory of the past is always closely connected to the vision of the future and their 'never again' actually 'becomes an imperative of remembrance and not purely a lesson about the past',[8] which affirms active remembrance as an important segment of building and promoting peace.

> *"I would like to say to my generation that we should make a greater effort to foster historical memory. We must never forget, and neither must our children and our descendants, about what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, and especially about what happened in Srebrenica. It is our duty to develop awareness about that and never forget. Of course, always recognising and respecting proper values of other people, other ethnic groups, too, without any intention to label anyone only for belonging to a certain ethnic group or people".*

Many of the participants also reflected on the deep connection with the survivors of other genocides in the world. One of them is Irvin Mujičić, who, encouraged by the personal story of a man who survived Holocaust, returned to Srebrenica after he had been forced to leave his home town in July 1995.

> *"It meant a lot to me when I started working on World War II and the Holocaust. I met a special man then. He is now 95 and he gave me strength to return to Srebrenica. He survived 11 camps. He was captured with his family*

Photo no. 5.
Irvin Mujičić,
participant of
the joint WCM-
SMC project

near Paris. His family were in the circus business. They had their horses, caravans, travelled the whole of France, had their own circus and film shows. He was an acrobat in that circus. He was 14 at the time. And he managed to escape. As the whole family remained inside, he dug a tunnel and every night he would bring some food and take one person with him through that tunnel. Until one night when he was at the window and felt a gun. Then the second camp, the third camp, and the last camp ensued. And I associate this very much with some stories from Srebrenica, about how people were hiding on beech trees. Four of them escaped. The search for them started immediately, Germans, SS. They would climb the beech tree, while those searching for them couldn't find them. Then he returned to Paris on foot and joined partisans. To make his story even more interesting, after

World War II he decided to buy land where he and his family were arrested in 1942. He bought that land, and today he has 16 sons and 45 grandchildren. He keeps 13 ponies and has 12 horses. This gave me strength to return to Srebrenica. He gave me strength to look at my life from another perspective. And to simply return home, return to life at home because this type of aggression, the philosophy of nationalism, seeks to kill life and coexistence."

CONCLUSION

By documenting and presenting personal narratives of survivors with dignity and integrity, museums become safe space for preserving memory, as well as the dialogue about the past and the future. The potential of personal narratives to open such a dialogue and build empathy does not exclude or diminish the role of the museums dealing with documentation and presentation of historical facts. Quite the opposite, the presentation of a lived experience is an additional segment in the very documentation of crime, while museums and museum activities dedicated to the documentation and presentation of a lived experience are complementary to those exclusively or dominantly dealing with historical facts.

The work of the War Childhood Museum demonstrates a range of positive effects of the existence of a platform through which the survivors can share their experiences. Many of them use this platform to send strong messages of

peace, while the very fact that they are able to share their stories, and that they will be heard by a broad audience may empower them and help them cope with their own past.

Museums, as highly credible, trustworthy institutions, have an important role in society. Still, while in the context of documentation of genocide they may play one of the key roles, museums, regardless of their scope and resources, cannot fight against genocide denial alone. Such a fight was always and will always have to be led by the decision-makers, i.e., official politics. In societies like the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where some of the most influential politicians encourage and actively participate in genocide negation, museums will not be able to make much of a change, but they can and have to light the road and direction in which society should go.

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4 Amy Sodaro. *Exhibiting Atrocity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2018), p. 111.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
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THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE: 'THE INQUISITION OF FALSE PEOPLE, FALSE FAITH'

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ABSTRACT

The article disputes the thesis of the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro being 'uninformed' about what was going on in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the war crimes and the Srebrenica genocide. The author examines the operation of war propaganda and the silent, but permanent support of the Serbia and Montenegro middle class in the expansionist state project in the name of which the genocide was committed. The author emphasises the propaganda matrix of the nationalist approach to the genocide: the relativisation, followed by the normalisation of the crime, and finally treating victims with ridicule, their posthumous dehumanisation.

My claim is very simple and very uncomfortable: we knew.

Not only did we know that something had happened, but we also knew it was going to happen. Namely, the Srebrenica genocide was not an isolated incident or departure from the matrix according to which the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was unfolding. Srebrenica was a crescendo of a carefully planned and executed criminal enterprise; it was in Srebrenica where this criminal enterprise was carried out in the most detailed and complete manner. In somewhat different, so to speak – laboratory conditions, without (belated and too weak) pressure from the great powers, the entire Bosnia would have been – Srebrenica.

We did not know, they say. When they got out to the streets and lined up to see off the tanks heading to the battlefield, the same way they used to welcome the Relay of Youth on Tito's birthday, they did not know these tanks would be destroying and killing there? They were throwing flowers at those tanks because they were unaware of what tanks do in the war? Or they knew perfectly well – of course they did – where and with what task the armoured death was heading, and for that very reason, they were seeing it off with flowers?

When the Serbian forces committed the massacre at the Markale Market in Sarajevo, 'experts' in the breaking news organised by Milošević's television were gathered to prove not only that Karadžić's army did not, but that it even could not have committed this crime. Indeed, how could they have? Sa-

rajevo was kept under siege for years; half a million projectiles were fired on the besieged city - 3,777 on 22 July 1993 alone.[1] This shelling, which was by no means a secret for the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, yet they did not protest against it - with the exception of few media outlets and individuals, had the same goal as any town shelling in history: to kill as many people and destroy as many buildings as possible. But the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro were invited to see the Markale massacre as an insult to their national honour. Who, us? – What do you take us for, some kind of criminals? A TV 'expert' panel concluded that the Bosniaks had fired a shell at Markale, killing themselves only to spite the Serbian troops in order to provoke international response. Half a million of projectiles was not enough: just one more was necessary to prove the crime of shelling the city?

The most efficient propaganda is the one knocking on an open door. Simply, among all 'truths', people will choose the one they already believe in. Hence, the propaganda confirming an opinion is far more likely to be successful then the one aimed at changing popular opinion. Even more likely to be successful is the propaganda which practically affirms prejudice, fear and hatred, the propaganda which provides them with an excuse and a 'higher reason'.

It is wrong to assume that for successful propaganda it is necessary to hide the fact that it is propaganda. The example of Serbia and Montenegro and the propaganda there during the war in Bosnia (as well as during the wars in Croatia and Koso-

vo) testifies as to how a campaign of lies broadly recognised as a campaign of lies can also be quite successful. Citizens take an active part in such a campaign: they are not victims, they are not manipulated; they are accomplices. Complicity ensures the citizens' active status – equally during the campaign and upon its formal ending. Citizens will simply continue to indefinitely repeat the propaganda matrix – because it is their defence. The following is at issue: while the crime continues, we lie so that it can happen. After the crime has been committed, we lie because thus we defend our innocence, claiming not only that we did not take part in the crime whatsoever, but also that we had no knowledge about it.

However: we knew, as I said.

In the summer of 1992, the sanctions were imposed against Milošević's Yugoslavia. Soon, Yugoslavia became one of the darkest places in this world already too reminiscent of a black hole itself. An average wage of a couple of Deutschmarks. The Central Bank in Belgrade printing money day and night. In the end we had a banknote of 500 billion dinars, its value equal to a square of toilet paper. In addition to being a war crimes machine, that Yugoslavia will also be remembered for the worst case of hyperinflation in the world history.

In *Financial Times,* Geoff Dyer published an article titled 'Sanctions: War by Other Means'. Writing about the sanctions against Russia (it is good that such a reputable paper reported about this, otherwise the Russians would not have noticed that

they were under sanctions – that is how severely they were affected by the punitive measures from the West), he claims that at one moment "… the Clinton administration started to introduce 'smart sanctions' – measures targeted against specific individuals or entities, rather than entire populations." And he continues that such 'smart sanctions' had been imposed against Serbia, too.[2]

Still, as our people say – it is not for whom it was meant, but for whom it was destined: these sanctions harmed a whole population; more or less everybody, except for the very 'individuals or entities' they targeted.

People were spending their life savings to buy food for their families in empty supermarkets and on the black market. Since the vast majority of them voted for Milošević and were ready to suffer and starve so that the war in Bosnia could last till final victory, I have no empathy whatsoever for their poverty. I am only sorry that they had not sold their homes for food, as well, and then voted for Milošević as homeless persons.

Supporting the war in Bosnia, the Serbia and Montenegro middle class consented to their own destruction: first through sanctions, then through transition. In the year of 1993 there was no price (the then high-rank politician Branko Kostić stated that we would eat roots if necessary[3]) an average citizen of Serbia and Montenegro was unwilling to pay just to have as many Muslims in Bosnia as possible killed.

However, the whole story with the sanctions had yet another dimension: the Serbian-Montenegrin middle class was vanishing before the very eyes of those who had not been blinded by fascism. Along with the middle class, its morals were gone, too; the morals also known as civic decency. Economic collapse was not the one to cause ethical collapse: it was the other way round.

At the same time, the dark elite of black marketers, criminals, and state officials close to Milošević and his Montenegrin allies, those targeted by the 'smart sanctions', were becoming increasingly wealthy. The money of the impoverished middle class ended in their pockets.

Pressed by the sanctions, the Serbian and Montenegrin industry staggered for a short while, and then collapsed. Those targeted by the 'smart sanctions' bought the closed factories, hotels, run-down banks, and retailers for next to nothing. This is how hard they were hit by the punitive measures of the 'international community'.

Middle class was a collateral victim of sanctions against the Milošević regime. The sanctions gave birth to a new elite soaked in blood, and brought about additional social injustice. The sanctions were one of the key factors for establishing the local type of capitalism. They helped Milošević in implementing the politics of national homogenisation. The tyrant pointed his finger at an external enemy and their conspiracy against 'our nation'. This essentially prolonged the life of the regime.

Because, as we very well know, a good enemy is everything a tyrant needs for a long and dark rule.

For four years, 'our Orthodox ones' were burning, killing and ethnically cleansing Bosnia, to ultimately commit genocide in Srebrenica. Milošević's Yugoslavia was sending not only weapons and people with weapons to Bosnia, but also money. Large amounts of money. Although the population experienced terrible impoverishment, this period passed practically without social unrest. Why were the workers imitating muses and kept silent while canons were talking? Why were the large Belgrade rallies of the time nationalist and not anti-war? Why were they led by nationalist and not by the courageous anti-war and anti-nationalist elite of Serbia of the time? Why was even Zoran Đinđić[4] roasting an ox in Pale with the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, thus giving them support? Why did the Serbian opposition, with several exceptions, challenge the manner in which Milošević was managing 'our cause', but not 'our cause' itself?

Because the citizens of Yugoslavia understood very well that by enduring, they were actually doing their so-called 'patriotic duty', and agreed to pay their share for achieving Serbian war goals in Bosnia.

The fact that the sanctions work for and not against the tycoons and totalitarian leaders is a whole other story. On top of everything: they help establish an economic system causing the so-called 'ordinary citizens' suffer for decades, long after

the ruler had decomposed, buried deep in the ground, with not one even person remembering the gallows he hanged from. Or should I say: the citizens will be paying the price of their complicity for decades.

The paradox of sanctions is the following: The West introduces them to foster 'democratisation'. In practice, they lead to the destruction of the middle class and push the country even further away from 'democratisation and reforms' – this is what we saw clearly in Milošević's Yugoslavia. Milošević lasted for another nine years after the sanctions had been introduced, and the tycoons who emerged from the sanctions are still here today, in both Montenegro and Serbia. Nationalism as the dominating social force is still present today, as well. This is inevitable, because nationalist conspiracy is perfect: it still includes the executioners, the propagandists, and the harbourers. I say harbourers because the point up to which it was possible to observe oneself as a victim of criminal propaganda is far behind us: the moment we decided, in spite of the genocide being documented and adjudicated, to keep denying it, we have become the harbourers.

The conspiracy matrix is maintained, regardless of the fact that one part of the conspirators is still robbing the other part of the conspirators, the same as they used to do on the first day of their joint enterprise. For the conspiracy to be broken, it is necessary to admit one's own role in it, and consequently one's own responsibility. Clearly: not the guilt. Clearly: I do not advocate the idea of collective guilt. However, I claim that

the process of the so-called 'dealing with the past' is doomed if one question is not posed and an honest answer to that question given, as it has been the case so far. Every citizen of the then Milošević's Yugoslavia owes that question and that answer to both themselves and to the victims of Srebrenica: what did I personally do for Srebrenica not to happen? What delusions and actions of mine made the politics and ideology leading to the genocide possible?

Paradoxically, the conspirers themselves hide behind the idea of collective responsibility. They are those who keep repeating that 'the verdict to Karadžić/Mladić is a verdict to all Serbs', although The Hague Tribunal, which decides on verdicts, claims otherwise: that these are the verdicts against individuals and not against a collective whatsoever. The conspirers are those insisting that the verdict on the Srebrenica genocide is the verdict against 'all Serbs'.

Denial is the first line of defence of the crime. Obviously, it cannot last long, and especially not forever. Once the crime has been documented and adjudicated, when the so-called fact pattern has been established, the defence of the crime withdraws to reserve position, shooting more deadly ammunition from there: first by relativising, then by normalising the crime, and finally by sadistically mocking and ridiculing the victims of the crime.

Is there a better example for this then Milomir Marić and his 'Happy' TV with national coverage, whose programme is

broadcast in neighbouring countries, too? On this TV station, the convicted war criminal Vojislav Šešelj (ten years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity) mocks the victims of crime, successfully assisted by Marić. According to Marić, Srebrenica never happened, and especially not as genocide; concentration camps for Bosniaks around Prijedor were of 'open type', the prisoners could leave and return 'whenever they wanted', while the Serbian Army put the prisoners in camps in order to protect them 'from being killed'; starved, exhausted prisoners 'suffered from tuberculosis' and were cured at the camp…

Naturally, the victims are also ridiculed by the football supporters' groups. During the war, these groups were linked to the paramilitary units which committed monstrous war crimes, only to become recruited soldiers of criminal gangs after the war. The banners with 'Knife, Wire, Srebrenica' *(Nož, žica, Srebrenica)* and 'Hey, Pazar, new Vukovar, hey Sjenica, new Srebrenica' *(Oj Pazaru, novi Vukovaru, oj Sjenice, nova Srebrenice)* have become usual. Hence, we have a claim that genocide did not occur in Srebrenica on one side, and a threat of repeating Srebrenica on the other. How to repeat it if it never happened? Here, we are dealing with nationalist feeling so untouchable and superior that it openly threatens with the repetition of its worst crimes.

Faced with the state of facts, the defence of the crime resorts, as we said, to its relativisation: insisting on 'historical context', comparing it with 'crimes committed against us' (for example: what is Srebrenica compared to Jasenovac?)… In short, what

is offered is a new interpretation of facts so that such interpretations become new facts.

Form that position, i.e. the position of power, follows an open request not to talk about Srebrenica any longer. After the Bosniak Party in Montenegro requested that their motion of the resolution clearly condemning the Srebrenica genocide be put on the parliamentary agenda, the new parliamentary majority routinely rejected the discussion and consequently the resolution. The Bosniak Party is accused of 'instrumentalisation' of Srebrenica and invited by several members of governing majority not to raise national tensions in Montenegro by insisting on Srebrenica. At the same time, an MP who determinedly denies the Srebrenica genocide has been appointed head of the Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights. Therefore, the facts are known – but obviously the facts are not binding. The facts are simply powerless in conflict with intact ideology.

Two and a half decades after the Srebrenica genocide, the same ideology (and political groups gathered around this ideology) which led to the genocide is in power in both Serbia and Montenegro. With each following year, the facts will be more powerless before that governing ideology.

Unfortunately, the representatives of the international community also had their part in the normalisation of the ideology which plays around with the genocide and mocks it. When the Serbian Orthodox Church Metropolitan of Montenegro Amfilohije Radović died, the US Ambassador to this country Judy

Rising Reinke called Amfilohije 'dear Metropolitan' in a twitter message.

He, the 'dear Metropolitan' compared Radovan Karadžić's mother at her funeral with the Mother of Jugović, because she had raised Radovan 'to live and die by the holy principles of Christian ethics'.[5]

This is what the 'dear Metropolitan' said about Srebrenica: "The issue of this Srebrenica business is a big wound. If Tomislav Nikolić, President of Serbia, says that he is already kneeling in front of Srebrenica, what are we to do with Bratunac, with the thousands murdered before that? What shall we do with what was happening in these same areas, not so long ago, from 1941 to 1945. How many families were killed and destroyed there by various Hanjar Divisions and various Independent State of Croatia units. Now you suddenly take charge of a myth they created of Srebrenica. And Srebrenica now becomes something bigger then Dahau and Auschwitz… By forcing this accident, and what had happened in Srebrenica was indeed an accident, they are actually preparing us for a future of new massacres and new hatred."[6]

Talking about historically disputable 'the inquisition of the Turkicized', actually meaning the killing of Muslims in Montenegro lauded in Njegoš's 'The Mountain Wreath', which served the Serbian nationalism as 'a historical and cultural model for the Srebrenica genocide (not at all by accident, Ratko Mladić, following the entry of his troops in Srebrenica said that the time

had come to 'revenge' against Turks in that area, directly accounting the 'the inquisition of the Turkicized'), Amfilohije said: "Many still object to how Bishop Danilo could have done it. It is true that killing people is awful, but spiritual death is even more awful, spread around by those false people with false faith. For this reason, thanks to this sacrifice, Bishop Danilo saved Montenegro. If this had not happened, there would not have been an Orthodox ear in Montenegro, and this should be kept in mind."[7] According to Amfilohije, this is preventative genocide. After all, those who suffered were barely people: they were 'false people with false faith'. Therefore, crime against them is - barely a crime. If it is crime at all, because their extermination, according to Amfilohije, was necessary to save the country. Saying these words years after Srebrenica, Amfilohije unequivocally and without naming it, commented on exactly that genocide.

It was the 'dear Metropolitan', as one of the key figures of militant Serbian nationalism of the late 20th and early 21st century, who summarised a whole range of defence strategies of the crime discussed in this article: from using the word 'accident' instead of genocide, to pseudo-historical re-contextualisation of genocide, and the promotion of war criminals as the fighters for 'Christian values'.

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4 In summer 1995, Đinđić gave an interview for Kozarski vijesnik. In that interview, Đinđić appeared as a hard-boiled nationalist, presenting himself as more determined than Milošević himself in defending the so-called national interests and so-called Serbian territories. He calls Bosnia and Herzegovina a 'Muslim state' in which 'Serbs don't want to live'. Criticising Milošević for announcing possible recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, accusing him of unprincipled 'sale' and bargaining, Đinđić saw Republika Srpska as a state and said: "I hope that these problems are still not too deep to be able to prevent what is historical justice and intention to create a state on the Serbian ethnic territories. I am positive that there are both external and internal conditions for the RS to be definitively constituted as a state…" ("TAKO JE GOVORIO ĐINĐIĆ 1995.: 'Srbi iz bivše BiH ne žele da žive u muslimanskoj državi i imaju pravo da ratuju'", *Slobodna Bosna,* 12 March 2017, https://www.slobodna-bosna.ba/vijest/48018/tako_je_govorio_djindjic_1995_srbi_iz_bivse_bih_ne_zele_da_zive_u_muslimanskoj_drzavi_i_imaju_pravo_da_ratuju.html).

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TWO WITNESSES OF SREBRENICA ABOUT BOOKS *THE LAST REFUGE* BY HASAN NUHANOVIĆ AND *POSTCARDS FROM THE GRAVE* BY EMIR SULJAGIĆ

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The function of the writer is to act in such a way that nobody can be ignorant of the world
and that nobody may say he is innocent of what it's all about.
Jean-Paul Sartre

Some terrible years,
I tell you, have passed, and today: more of the dead
I think, than of the living. Closer to me are the dead, they are my clan, they are my kin.
Abdulah Sidran

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the books *The Last Refuge* by Hasan Nuhanović and *Postcards from the Grave* by Emir Suljagić. Starting from the main features of memory and remembrance as these phenomena are understood by Jan and Aleida Assmann, the example of the two books of testimonies about the Srebrenica genocide shows to what extent family constitutes an existential basis and framework for memory. It then highlights the fact that the social aspect of memory of both authors is significantly determined by the phenomenon of famine in the Srebrenica enclave. The impossibility to contextualise one's own position of a witness with regard to mainstream social values is, in Hasan Nuhanović's and Emir Suljagić's books, somehow replaced with 'the archives of culture', which also include the images of the world of changed proportions. In spite of the differences in the perspective of memory, both books prove to be authors' valuable contribution to the memory culture, which is primarily based on the relationship with the dead.

Mikhail Bakhtin in his article 'The Witness and The Judge' links the role of the witness and its importance to the question of the entire existence, writing that the entire existence, even when the witness sees and learns at least a tiny part of it, changes radically, because it is simply not any longer the existence it used to be without referring to the witness. Bakhtin elevates this issue nearly to the level of a metaphysical principle and writes the following about it:

> *When consciousness appeared in the world (in existence) and, perhaps, when biological life appeared (perhaps not only animals, but trees and grass also witness and judge), the world (existence) changed radically. A stone is still stony and the sun is still sunny, but the event of existence as a whole (unfinalized) becomes completely different because a new and major character in this event appears for the first time on the scene of earthly existence - the witness and the judge. And the sun, while remaining physically the same, has changed because it has begun to be cognized by the witness and the judge.*[1]

There are hardly better words to describe the importance of witness' role in certain almost incomprehensible historical events. The Srebrenica genocide is certainly such an event, which still has not been given a symbolic scope it deserves. Hence, it is perhaps important to bring attention to two books of testimonies, whose authors, choosing between the roles of the witness and of the judge, have chosen to testify. These books are *The Last Refuge – A True Story of War, Survival and*

Life (Zbijeg – Put u Srebrenicu) by Hasan Nuhanović and *Postcards from the Grave (Razglednica iz groba. Svjedočanstvo)* by Emir Suljagić. The authors of these books decided to engage as witnesses after the fall of Srebrenica in other ways, too: Hasan Nuhanović sued the UNPROFOR Dutch Battalion, while Emir Suljagić reported from the ICTY trials for many years.

Both these and some other testimonies about Srebrenica emphasise, a bit paradoxically, an idea built in the foundations of modern European culture, which seems to have undergone its horrible ironic shift in the sad 20th century. Namely, until the Renaissance, 'self' in literature is pure convention - it is not associated with author's civic person, nor can the events described in a book be associated with personal perceptions of the person writing about them. The case of Francesco Petrarch as the first author who introduced his personal, private perceptions into the purview of literary considerations warns of this. In his book *Modern Philosophy of Man,* Bogdan Suchodolski writes that Petrarch breaks the rules regarding the personal perceptions of an individual, but at the same time this raises the question of relationship between a man expressing himself through speech, and language conventions to which every speaker is subjected. With regard to Petrarch's sonnets, Suchodolski says that determination of a man as a being who speaks is true, though incomplete, because relevant anthropological problems start only where 'the word lies to the thoughts', at the same time creating those thoughts.[2]

Having in mind that this idea of the importance of private perceptions in European culture is followed by the constitution

of the idea of a person as an unrepeatable individual proud of being different from other people, there is some horrifying irony in reading the testimonies of people who survived the Holocaust, concentration camps, genocide… Because, in accordance with such classification of a person and how this phenomenon is seen in the Western culture from the Renaissance to the 20th century, perhaps it is our duty to reflect on the horrible mark of the end of a modern era, taking into account the very testimonies of those who survived the act of erasing singularity and unrepeatable individuality on European soil in the late 20th century, those who survived the attempt of reducing all people to one collective identity which 'should be exterminated'. What saved Hasan Nuhanović and Emir Suljagić is their knowledge of the English language and serving as the UN interpreters in Srebrenica; the fact that nearly nine thousand people were killed in the so-called UN Safe Area shows to what extent a radical image of individualistic culture is accompanied by the absence of order and of empathy for the specific members of a certain group.

The very nature of human memory reminds us of the relationship between a remembering individual and a group. Jan Assmann wrote valuable pages on this topic in his book *Cultural Memory (Kulturno pamćenje),* as well as Aleida Assmann in her book *Long Shadow of the Past (Duga senka prošlosti).* As a reminder, the Assmanns differentiate memory as a subjective, individual, psychological phenomenon, and remembrance as a phenomenon shaped collectively. Jan Assmann starts with the thesis that neither language nor the ability to communicate

with another human being are developed from within, from oneself, but through interchange with others, with circular and feedback interplay between interior and exterior.[3] Aleida Assmann starts her book *Long Shadow of the Past* by stating that people as individuals are indivisible, but not self-sufficient identities; every 'I' is connected with a 'we', which provides the 'I' with important bases of its own identity.[4] Writing about individual memory, Aleida Assmann says that memories are built and strengthened only in communication, in linguistic exchange with other people,[5] and emphasises the power of memory as something that makes human beings what they are, showing that biographical memories are necessary as the material out of which experiences and relations, and primarily one's own identity, are built. Not least important is her observation that an individual's memory includes much more than what is contained in the repository of unreplaceable personal experiences, because individual and collective memory are always intersected in an individual. Some important ideas and conclusions made and elaborated by Jan and Aleida Assmann get their confirmation in Nuhanović's and Suljagić's books of the memories about the events in Srebrenica.

The books *The Last Refugee* and *Postcards from the Grave* are first of all testimonies which have family as their setting. Aleida Assmann says that family is an existential basis which we can shape differently, but we cannot dispose of it according to our own will, and that it is a paradigmatic union incorporating its dead, even if it breaks against that task over and over again.[6] Unlike the usual family framework, where the memory

of the dead members lasts for three generations, i.e. about 75 years, it is clear that testimonies about the disappearance of thousands and thousands of families have the very function of trying to 'slow down' a horrific rhythm of death – i.e. 'accelerated' time of oblivion. For this reason, both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's perspectives are significantly determined by family as the memory framework.

Nuhanović's entire book is in a way a testimony about the life of a family in extraordinary conditions, about the life which ends with Hasan's search for his dead father, mother, and brother who were killed and thrown into mass graves after the Army of Republika Srpska conquered Srebrenica. The time frame of Nuhanović's *The Last Refuge* thematises his separation from the family, which is first treated as physical, but ends as something that should be a metaphysical fact. At the beginning of his book, Nuhanović remembers his military service in the Yugoslav People's Army in 1988, continues to describe the events from the student dorm in Sarajevo in the summer of 1992, and ends with the last sentence of the book: "Ten long years would pass before I could finally bury my father at the Potočari Memorial. A further five years were needed before I could lay the remains of my mother and brother to rest."[7]

Suljagić shapes his book of testimonies in a similar manner. At the beginning, he says that in 1992, he and his father left their village and entered deserted Srebrenica, while his mother and sister were staying at the relatives' in a village nearby. The introductory part about his escape from his home together with

his father Suljagić ends with the following paragraph:

> *None of my companions on that journey is alive. Juso, with whom I left home, died in July 1995 near free territory, in a group that was trying to get through from Srebrenica to Tuzla on foot. Nihad, who brought me to Srebrenica, did not survive July 1995. My father returned home and died in his garden in December 1992.*[8]

In the last chapter of his book, Suljagić says that he would like to write a story about everyone he knew in Srebrenica, but that this is, of course, impossible. For this reason, in the ending, he wrote three stories as a reflection of what had happened. Having entitled these stories according to the numbers of grave plots in Potočari in which the people he writes about were buried, he says: "I wanted to tell you a story behind those numbers, write that those numbers had families, sisters, brothers, and girlfriends…"[9]

Taking into account the fact that the family makes the existential basis and framework for memory, it is not by accident that in both books family relations are also decisive for defining personal positions of the authors of the testimony, i.e. for their growing up, which is something *The Last Refuge* and *Postcards from the Grave* also talk about in their own way. For example, Nuhanović writes at one point:

> *Running away from slaughter we had reached the borders of Bosnia. There was nowhere else to go. My father*

remembered passing this way thirty years ago. He had walked half a day from Stoborani to Luka, but he didn't remember the path. He seemed a little disorientated, so I took the lead, a rare moment when my father left the final word to me.[10]

On the other hand, Suljagić links his growing up with parting from his mother and sister. After the death of his father, he managed to convince them to leave Srebrenica in a truck in March 1993 and go to the safe territory. This is what he writes about their separation:

The streets are slippery, frozen, and walking is difficult. Tears are gushing from my eyes and bothering me. I do not dare to raise my head and wipe them away, I am on my own for the first time in my life, this is the first day of my adult life, I am scared someone may see me. The tears filling my eyes start to hamper my view and after a couple of steps I fall over onto hard ice. I reach home, a home that is not mine anyway. I do not greet anyone, the house is empty, there is no one to greet anyway. I throw myself onto the sofa I use for sleeping, a sofa of an indeterminate colour bought with money earned 'during temporary work abroad', money earned in the late seventies on some building site in Libya or Germany. Well, that is the kind of sofa onto which I throw myself full length and start crying, choking with tears.[11]

It is interesting how Nuhanović links his change caused by the war with the family as the frame, but at the same time with

the biggest problem faced by the people under siege in the Srebrenica enclave during the first years, and that was famine. Writing about how a meal for the four of them consisted only of corn bread the size of 15-20 cm, he says that once mother cut the bread into four pieces and it seemed to him that the brother got a bigger part. Then came the reaction:

> *– What is this – I shouted! Why is my piece smaller? Father was looking at me, stunned. Brother was silent.*
>
> *Mother started crying, pushed away her piece and said: - I won't eat anything.*
>
> *Then father stood up from his chair and I ran away from the room and stormed into the bathroom. I looked at my reflection in the mirror. Nothing is left of me – I thought. Only bones, my eyes sunken. I had lost some 25 kilos. Father had lost 40. What is going on with me? I am inches away from grabbing the food from my parents and my brother. I think I am already insane.*[12]

Both authors dedicate large parts of their memories to searching for food as a decisive feature of life in the besieged enclave. Suljagić says that by July 1992, hunger "had become the central factor in the life of every inhabitant of the enclave"[13] and adds:

> *In summer the days got longer, too long, and sunset was not a call to supper. The most difficult time was the af-*

ternoon. Hunger would then turn into a pain, similar to a stomach cramp, a pain that could not be banished. In Sarajevo after the war I met a young man from Foča who had spent the war in Goražde, which had also been besieged for three years. Together we calculated quite accurately that during those years we had got fewer calories per day than the prisoners in Stalin's gulags.[14]

Aleida Assmann says that individual memory is always socially grounded.[15] This social memory framework in both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's books dominantly consists of famine. Calling death and hunger his companions and friends,[16] Nuhanović in several places indicates a radical break with social norms, and warns of tacit agreement that all conventions, which as a cultural product originate from 'table manners', stop being valid in the besieged enclave. For example, in one episode, he says that the meal had the form of a large bowl of soup and pieces of bread being placed in front of ten adults. They would all eat at the same time, trying to grab as much as possible with the spoon. About the transformation of values, Nuhanović writes:

This fight was real – we were all aware of it although we never spoke about it. This kind of struggle had imposed itself on all of us as some kind of natural law – the law of survival. There was no bitterness between us; you could only be bitter at yourself. There were no allies in this kind of struggle. In a few months even the four of us would compete against one another. It's not as though we were

able to pinpoint what was happening. A silent imperceptible force was trying to break the unbreakable bonds between father and son, between two brothers, between mother and son. With every passing day, week and month I felt more like an animal and less like a human being. Hunger and the self-preservation instinct had made me become someone else, something else.[17]

Emir Suljagić also lists a whole catalogue of implications deriving from hunger as a basic determinant of the life in the Srebrenica enclave. What follows is an illustrative quotation from his books about the manner in which victims were first dehumanised precisely by exposing them to hunger. Suljagić writes about that the following:

It was already the sixth month of the siege; we were at the edge of our endurance, pushing back limits that the day before we had considered as final. We woke up miserable, in cold rooms with window-panes made out of plastic bags in windows covered by split logs protecting us against shell shrapnel. We woke up exhausted and lice-ridden, without the desire and most often without even the strength to move, without families, alone and abandoned, humiliated, our past violated and our future slaughtered, our present defeated and defeating. And something snapped.[18]

Both Hasan Nuhanović's *The Last Refuge* and Emir Suljagić's *Postcards from the Grave* painfully demonstrate to what extent

insisting on physical aspect of human existence protects the testimony about such existence from ideologisaton. Namely, European literature teaches us that the human body always concretises, thus being absent in the forms which deal with the ideal or idealist principles of existence, or it is present only as a symbolic body. For example, Nuhanović's description of how the fear of air attacks looked like, with people running to the lavatory and colliding at the door during breaks, falls within the thematising of the body. There, he says: "During the breaks we had to run to the latrine. As soon as you entered someone would come banging impatiently at the door."[19] At one point, Suljagić writes about the "fragile and transitory age when we were still discovering ourselves and revealing ourselves to others. At that age we form our first opinions, the first feelings start budding within us, and the world becomes more sensual than hitherto."[20] However, writing about hunger as something that significantly determines the existence in the Srebrenica enclave, both Nuhanović and Suljagić significantly deideologise one aspect of war, mentioning the episodes worthy of the so-called epic fantasy.

Namely, Suljagić writes that because of the famine, the number of civilians accompanying military actions gradually rose, and by the end of the first war year the number of civilians largely surpassed the number of soldiers. About this 'hungriest army in the world', Suljagić says:

> *They would patiently wait for the first bunker to fall or for the first Serb soldiers to start running away. And then they*

would run after them, sometimes even during the battle, screaming, banging on pots and pans, basically making a blood-chilling racket. From a thousand throats would resound 'Allahu-ekber', and that scream would not only scare the Serbs but also create the impression of numerical superiority. These civilians perished in even greater numbers than soldiers. Women wanting to grab an extra piece of food ended up running into crossfire; children sought shelter from airplane bombs under trees: unarmed men ran into gun barrels.[21]

Nuhanović also writes about these actions. At one place, he says: "Imagine the scene. A human being breaks into a house to fill a sack with packs of meat from a freezer while, outside, flesh is flying through the air and blood is gushing from severed limbs."[22] He also mentions two statements by Serbian civilians about these attacks. Allegedly, an elderly man, asked by the journalists about what had been the worst for him, said that the worst were the special units attacking with their bare hands, those carrying only rucksacks on their backs and jumping in through the windows.[23] Nuhanović also says that an older woman called in the programme of a radio station in Milići, begging for the convoy of the Muslims to be allowed to pass, because if they do not get food, "they will kill us all."[24]

In several places both Nuhanović and Suljagić recognise the powerlessness of the language as a social phenomenon, especially in cases when they are trying to explain to themselves their social and economic status during their stay in the be-

sieged Srebrenica enclave. For example, Nuhanović writes in one place:

> *I struggled to define what I was or my family were. Were we refugees? Stragglers? Foragers? Fugitives? All we had done for months was to look for places to stay, for food, water and firewood without being killed or freezing to death.*[25]

Suljagić writes that people were learning quickly that "our upbringing and intelligence, our values were not worth a row of beans, so we had started to content ourselves with scrapes, since we could get nothing else, while staying true to ourselves and not losing out identities."[26] He then adds:

> *The Serbs around the enclave were the masters of our future. We were taken way back into the past and we knew that the future was not ours, that even if we survived we would live lives which had nothing in common with us. We were growing up in torn jumpers, stolen shoes, trousers acquired from the plunder of a village not yet burnt down. We lived on borrowed time, gnawed by rotten teeth, off charity bread… and all of it in vain. We were equally irrelevant to everyone.*[27]

Jan Assmann writes that the past only comes into being insofar as we refer to it; it is not given to us naturally, but it is a cultural achievement.[28] Aleida Assmann says that with our memory, in which remembrance and imagined presentations

are intersected, we are always indeed connected to two external storages of tales and images from the media and cultural archives.[29] Exactly these important aspects of memory are shown in both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's books as vital in the situations when the possibility of speech does not exist any longer in relation to any agreed social values. For this reason, in Nuhanović's book we can find attempts to use films to explain the remembered world *(Indiana Jones, Mad Max, The Day After…),* while Suljagić uses a series of highly articulated descriptions of the 'archives of culture', such as the description of a cinema in Srebrenica, or of the only Srebrenica newspapers.

The treatment of the past as a cultural accomplishment also includes many images offered by Nuhanović and Suljagić in their testimonies, which could be associated with the world of distorted proportions, as a poetic principle also recognised in Russian formalism. A series of images offered by Nuhanović and Suljagić nearly have a function of artistic process as understood by Russian formalists, who claimed that the role of art is to de-automatise perception and that defamiliarization serves for seeing things and not for recognising them. Among such images are, for example, a series of statements about the change in the trading system, about matches and cigarettes as currencies for which food could be purchased, as well as Nuhanović's episode in which he puts on new Levi's 501, but nobody notices that, because everybody notices that he found mining boots in the basement of the house. In Nuhanović's book, we find the image that could work as some kind of reali-

sation of one of the utopian images of the medieval Cockaigne in a Srebrenica manner. After having failed to find the night before, together with his brother, any of the food parcels the humanitarian aid aircraft were dropping around Srebrenica, his brother wakes up Nuhanović the morning after telling him to come outside. Nuhanović further writes:

> *I stepped outside to a wonderful sight. The thirty centimetres of snow on the roofs of the neighbouring houses were full of holes where the packs that had clearly fallen on them and then slid down the tiles leaving a trail in the snow. Those had already been picked up, but some were still up there. My mother appeared from the garden, smiling, presenting an armful of packs she'd gathered.*[30]

On the other hand, as one of the images of the world of distorted proportions, Suljagić presents us with the image of complete absence of empathy of the most responsible Dutch officers towards the Srebrenica civilians. Namely, they added Hasan's brother Braco to the list of UN staff, thus trying to save him from death. Robert Franken, Deputy Commander of the Dutchbat in Srebrenica, refused to believe the story that Braco worked for them. He looked at the list of names UNPROFOR is obliged to protect and then crossed out Braco's name; he did that with a pink marker. Suljagić regrets not putting his name somewhere in the middle of the list, because maybe then Franken would not have noticed it, and then adds: "He would have been alive and I would not remember that sharp stroke of the marker pen, that short pink line beneath which a name

showed through, and I would not have this feeling that I have involuntarily participated in someone's death in such an ugly, forced and indirect manner."[31]

This episode about letting Nuhanović's brother die testifies in a concise manner to another characteristic of memory discussed by Aleida Assman in her book.[32] She says that memories are perspectival and thanks to their life history, every individual has their own place with specific perceptual position. In the case of the two books discussed in this article, it could be shown to what extent education can also determine someone's perspective of memory. For example, a detailed analysis would show to what extent education determined the perception of the enclosure of the Srebrenica enclave in the testimonies of Hasan Nuhanović and Emir Suljagić. Before the war, Nuhanović studied mechanical engineering, and therefore his perception of space in *The Last Refuge* is a kind of construction of the 'coordinate system' of famine. On the other hand, Emir Suljagić as a journalist significantly marked the space of the enclave also with his courageous conclusions about the corruptness of Bosniak authorities in Srebrenica, saying that he felt its tribal nature on his own skin.[33] Yet, as detailed this analysis of differences both regarding the spatial and all other aspects of the books *The Last Refugee* by Hasan Nuhanović and *Postcards from the Grace* by Emir Suljagić can be, in the end these books would prove to be the valuable contributions of these authors to cultural memory, especially because their similar attitude to Srebrenica at the moment of remembering, Nuhanović writes about his first visit to Srebrenica after the war, in March 1996:

On that day, without knowing, twice we went past the mass graves in which the bodies of my brother, father, and mother were. I didn't know where they were killed or how. Were they killed together, on the same day? I knew nothing, but I wanted to find out everything. Every detail.[34]

Suljagić visited Srebrenica for the first time after the war in June 1999. This is what he wrote about this journey:

On my way back I realized that a journey to Srebrenica is not a journey through space but through time, a time-leap backwards, a trip to the last enclave of Balkan Nazism. I was thinking that Srebrenica is out 'little' Treblinka, a four-hour ride from Sarajevo and a little less from Tuzla. And at one moment as I was crossing the main town square, engaged in a struggle with emotions flooding over me, I caught myself tiptoeing. The feeling that I was walking over the corpses of my loved ones was so strong that I could physically feel it.[35]

Such reference to the space of Srebrenica indicates both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's fundamental motive for writing these books. According to Jan Assman, memories of the dead are the origin and the centre of what memory culture should be. Treating memory culture as referring to the past, which comes from our becoming aware of the distinction between *yesterday* and *today,* Assmann says that death is the primal experience of that distinction, whereas memories of the dead are the primal form of cultural memory.[36] This

aspect determines to such a great extent both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's memories that it could be said that they do not write their books as those who are living. But as those who survived.

The title of the Jorge Semprun's book maybe speaks best about the very act of articulating horrifying personal experiences. In this book, the great writer only manages to describe his experience of being in the concentration camp Buchenwald several decades later. The book, in which he writes about the attempt of forgetting and the failure of such an attempt has an indicative title: *Literature or Life.*[37] In his renowned book *Typical Forms of Novels (Tipične forme romana),* Franz Stanzel writes that in the type of first person narrative, the so-called autobiographical narrator, there is always tension between narrator's 'I' and former 'I'; narrator's 'I' has internally matured and gained new knowledge from the time of their perceptions that make the contents of the story.[38] The absence of such knowledge and the impossibility to stop searching for them in both Nuhanović's and Suljagić's books indicate to what extent this Semprun's dilemma signifes their memory of survived horrors, too, for which reason such memories are even more important for us, especially because they tell us about the state of a human being in extraordinary conditions. Therefore, perhaps it makes sense here in the end to emphasise the importance of memory and testimonies such as Nuhanović's and Suljagić's. As Danilo Kiš said about Karlo Štajner's book *7000 Days in Siberia:* "If we had more luck, instead of a vast amount of paperbacks, huge novels and tiny

ones, today we would have a rich memoire literature, a branch of literature which we, as it were, turned into wastepaper, we turned vast experiences and bloody days of history into pulp novels, historical reality has transformed into a puppet show, a wax museum, a panopticon."[39]

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29 Aleida Assmann, *supra n.* 4, p. 168.
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32 Aleida Assmann, *supra n.* 4, p. 23.
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NERAZUMLJIVO

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Jedan u nizu izazova s kojima se suočio Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) u većini procesa jeste interpretacija dokaznog materijala. Naime, često su prevodioci morali da se oslone na svoj sopstveni interpretativni aparat tokom transkribovanja pojedinih zvučnih zapisa. Bilo je i situacija kada se tokom transkribovanja audio materijala presretnutih telefonskih razgovora nije moglo do kraja razaznati o čemu se tačno govori. Tako je u transkriptima svaki deo koji prevodioci nisu mogli razumeti označen sa "nerazumljivo" (undiscernible). No, ovo je samo prvi sloj interpretacije dokaznog materijala. Nakon što bi se napravio transkript audio snimka, čitav materijal bi morao biti preveden na strani jezik, što je takođe podrazumevalo brojne nedoumice oko značenja onoga što se prevodi.

Serija crteža koja sledi zasnovana je na jednom sudskom dokumentu korišćenom u procesu protiv Ratka Mladića pred MKSJ-em. U pitanju je serija presretnutih razgovora koje je Mladić vodio sa raznim sagovornicima (Milošević, Karadžić i drugi), a koji se tiču ratnih dešavanja tokom '90-ih u BiH. Dokument je preveden na engleski jezik, jer je kao takav predstavljao zvaničan sudski dokazni materijal. Ima 34 stranice. Tako se i ova serija crteža sastoji od 34 crteža rađenih tušem na papiru. Format svakog crteža u originalu je 30 x 40 cm.

UNDISCERNIBLE

Vladimir Miladinović
Visual artist, Serbia

One of the many challenges the International Criminal Tribunal (ICTY) was faced with in the majority of proceedings was the interpretation of evidence. Namely, the interpreters often had to rely on their own interpretative apparatus during the process of transcribing certain audio recordings. There were situations where, during the transcribing of the audio materials of the intercepted phone calls, it could not be discerned completely as to what the recording was about. Thus every part of the transcriptions where the interpreters were unable to understand was labelled as "undiscernible". However, this was only the top layer of the evidence interpretation. Upon finishing the transcription of the audio recording, the whole material would then have to be translated into another language, which would also imply various qualms about the meaning of the translation.

The following series of drawings is based on a court document used in the proceedings against Ratko Mladić before ICTY. They represent a sequence of the intercepted conversations Ratko Mladić had had with various interlocutors (Milošević, Karadžić, etc.), concerning the events of the 1990s war in BiH. The document was translated into English, for that was the only way for it to represent an official court evidence. It is 34 pages long. Likewise, the series of drawings consists of 34 ink drawings on paper. The format of each original drawing is 30 x 40 cm.

BCS Transcript T001-2499-T001-2499

Side A

Time	Speaker	Transcript
00:00:01 00:00:11	Ratko MLADIĆ[1]	Conversation with /undiscernible/ ? MILOŠEVIĆ/. /undiscernible/ ? in 1994/.
00:00:32	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker B	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ[2]	? M-hm. There is, there is, /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker C	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	? I take a little Bemadin. / Blood pressure / is a little elevated, just a little. I have Bemadine to lower it. /undiscernible/ How you doing, brother?
	Unknown Speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/. Can it be done. Where are you now? What are you now?
	Unknown speaker D	/Undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/Undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	? Yes. /
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Go ahead
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Go ahead /undiscernible/ ? to talk to me and then we will talk. /
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. Derventa... Then, in that period /undiscernible/ for some reasons that are /undiscernible/ in this period. /undiscernible/ and now, there is one part /undiscernible/ ... findings that are very /undiscernible/ /undiscernible/ to whom, is it, I mean... Maybe it would be best if they said /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Here ... to TOLIMIR.
	Unknown speaker D	Because he was at one meeting with / ? the president / /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. I don't know how much You... how much have you been told so far. That is on one, another that is so /undiscernible/, that is so /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/. I don't /undiscernible/ wait, he is not to blame, not to blame. I see no reason to blame him is this guy asked him to. If he asked him to.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible / asked/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Firstly! - let me tell you /undiscernible/...
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	... I don't know much about it. But I would like to know, because I know, the President told me that they are, this special service o SDS, he said so, special: special security service of SDS.
	Unknown speaker D	/Undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What were they actually? / ? What've you discovered? /

Vladimir Miladinović

1 Based on the tone of voice and elocution, it can be concluded that the speaker is Ratko MLADIĆ
2 Based on the tone of voice and elocution, it can be concluded that the speaker is Ratko MLADIĆ.

Time	Speaker	Transcript
	Unknown speaker D	Well, nothing. They were some /undiscernible/? formal /group. /undiscernible/... then after the /undiscernible/ Arabs /undiscernible/, while it did not start yet, the war was not raging yet...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum...
	Unknown speaker D	... now has a much worse position /undiscernible/ in the SDS /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who?
	Unknown speaker D	Brana /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What? ? administration ?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. And how they cosied up to him
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Aha.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. How they cosied up to him in a way, like /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Aha.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. /undiscernible/ then just, in a way, verified, or taken over /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/... to put themselves to the disposition /undiscernible. to the service of Public Safety /undiscernible/. However, /undiscernible/ they interpreted the command of availability in their own way. /undiscernible/. The have /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ What was /undiscernible/ and stands, is documented /undiscernible/. You can imagine how much /undiscernible/ is there. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ is proving and has been proved /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	yes. /undiscernible/ What is difficult to prove, and there are good /undiscernible/ is the cooperation with /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Married/
	Unknown speaker D	/? Married/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum. /? Is he Croatian? /
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ his wife is Croatian /undiscernible and his mother is /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, is his mother Croatian?
	Unknown speaker D	No. /undiscernible/ I must check with /undiscernible/. His father died /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who was his father? / Croatian?
	Unknown speaker D	/? No, Serbian/.

	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Serbian/. And where does his mother live, and /? wife/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Like family/undiscernible/. U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/? Now you can see//undiscernible/he is one of /? those// undiscernible/complete structure /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	To whom/? RACKU/or/undiscernible/marriage? Who is the third? /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	To whom /undiscernible/.
	Unknown Speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You don't say?
	Unknown Speaker D	/? Well, yes.//undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is he /undiscernible/? I've never heard of him
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker	/Undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker.	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum. Who were the heads of centres, /? do you know/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Is he Serbian, what's he?/
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? And an executive Manager./
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum. What's his name?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Did he perform any function/undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	Well, he was, that is/undiscernible/for security /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	That /? RUZAJIĆ/.
	Unknown speaker D	Well, yes. Well/undiscernible/to be killed /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/so/? that/several times after /undiscernible/meetings/? he would disappear. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. ...an issue that we should address.../undiscernible/brothers/? but/Dragan is especially interesting.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Dragan/? TOPIĆ/?
	Unknown speaker D	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is that?
	Unknown speaker D	He is /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.

	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum, Police?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What is his name?
	Unknown speaker D	Dragan/?TADIĆ/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Dragan/?TADIĆ/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/mixed brother.. mixed nationality. She could not have /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	..who was allready before the war/undiscernible/ /?general/who was pushed by/?DANILOVIĆ/ /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum.
	Unknown speaker D	..was his favourite /undiscernible/. When war begin, /?that was April, May/he got out as a/undiscernible/, and people saw that, wherever he appeared—and those were/undiscernible/command spots, /? connections/, artilery, etc. After his departure /undiscernible/very precise.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	Shall we /undiscernible/, him, so he does not get arrested/undiscernible/.... on the coded map /undiscernible/ coordinates, that were aligned with that /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	... and find/undiscernible/the guy/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	...and find/undiscernible/the guy/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	.../?think/that he does something there/?but I didnt know what that was.I/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. ... now I can/?declare myself/ the first time.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum..
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. .. in the battle field, /undiscernible/ troops, combined with our troops /undiscernible/...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What is the name of that /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	Undiscernible/.

	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undescernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who? That?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ /?SIMILOVIĆ/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?SIMILOVIĆ/, aha.
	Unknown speaker D	So I don't know what he did about /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ However, I mean, that was saved. /undiscernible/ copies, /? I did then, give it there to him/ /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/. ... /? It was supposed to/ if you ask me, they should check it out, work it, check the stalls...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	... /Undiscernible/ but it is interesting /undiscernible/ then he gives/ him a job/ so that he works for a while/ undiscernible/ after that he insists, stubbornly pushes that Gaja/ undiscernible/. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Where is that TADIĆ now?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ But he is here, he is accessible.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You should have picked him up.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And in the new one, who/? was/ your boss?
	Unknown speaker D	In the new one, he was, at that time... he was supposed to be the one /undiscernible/ there is a number of people they simply have chosen, hired. /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is he? /undiscernible/? KUPNER/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum.
	Unknown speaker D	It is not going to happen, /? that compromise/ /undiscernible/ but there is room/? for some other /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U hum. /? Who are all these /undiscernible/ ? /
	Unknown speaker D	Let's say, one /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/Undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/Undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. ... clean-up/ undiscernible/ we should do it here, on the locale /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.

	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/... it is such a set/undiscernible/that /undiscernible/and that it is, I mean, /undiscernible
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. He works at the jail.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/jail?/
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What is he doing there in jail? In military jail?
	Unknown speaker D	I do not know which one.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Or in Batajnica
	Unknown speaker D	In jail, he works in jail there /undiscernible/, how the is/?permissible/ I have no idea.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?That veterinarian is there?/
	Unknown speaker D	/?Yes, /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ had the positions ever since /undiscernible/ Ministry ordinance/undiscernible/ // left there, will then see/undiscernible/ fictious processing, /undiscernible/ then to cover it, too..
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	...to lead, either in the military police, or in /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What did he need?
	Unknown Speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who financed them?
	Unknown speaker D	/?For/ financing was/? SERBIA/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?Predominantly, it is ??/
	Unknown speaker D	It looks as/undiscernible/as far as I've/?seen/And I doubt that it, I mean, could have that over there were some donations, which led up to... again to that solution /?prewar/ but maybe there way, /I mean, because I know how much it/undiscernible/. Maybe there was.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?Female Croatian?/
	Unknown speaker D	Yes /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?On one occasion he told me?/ "95 he saw Subotica // undiscernible/ president that they /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker D	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You should ask him how many times, how often?? did he come/
	Unknown speaker D	/?Well, I do not know// undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I know for sure that once thirty thousand Deutschmarks were given to them /undiscernible// ?now/ there was disagreement with the president/undiscernible/ /undiscernible he did tell me then that /undiscernible/ and we gave him information that they were working against/?...

	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes, because I wanted him to...
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Because I wanted to arrest him in Doboj but /?ZALIĆ/ did not allow me. /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker D	Mhm
	Ratko MLADIĆ	... and he drove us around in some expensive car there. I made a mistake not arresting him then.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Now I am interested in his connection to all, and in structures, particularly military.
	Unknown speaker D	I am /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	He established a whole network.
	Unknown speaker D	/? Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I really know. I was told by Bogdan Subotić that it was thirty or fifty thousand Deutschmarks. I believe it was thirty thousand Deutschmarks – /undiscernible/ given once or maybe more than once in '92 or '93. /undiscernible/ was administer.
	Unknown speaker D	M-hmm
	Ratko MLADIĆ	He has /? these/ papers that he has to have somewhere /? there/. You should ask /? Subotić/.
	Unknown speaker D	Well, okay, next to us /undiscernible/ I mean, /? are we working with him/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You need to pressure /? that one/ they know. /? Mamma... /
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Firstly I do not believe that /? LADIĆ/ is the main boss. Who is, who in my opinion is the main boss?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. It is not him, not him /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is the main one in there, in Republika Srpska.
	Unknown speaker D	Only him. To all of them /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You are wrong.
	Unknown speaker D	It's possible. No...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who were they for, who was their patron. /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You need to ask them /undiscernible the guy who was their /? first? commander.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who was their man, and first /commander; /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. I do not know / /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I have heard that last name /? but I do not know /? him/.
	Unknown speaker D	He was /undiscernible/, and then there was /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hmm.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. There were attempts to, to /undiscernible/ /? divert / /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Did he not remove /? some of them/ /undiscernible/. There / /undiscernible/ /? between Vasić and Drina? or did you find out /undiscernible/? They

		had connections, on both sides/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/... lets say, making some kind of a /?deal/ /undiscernible/ /undiscernible they did have /undiscernible/with us./undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who did they have?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/in Banja Luka, /?Sonne RADULOVIĆ/ /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	RADULOVIĆ, I do not know who that is.
	Unknown speaker D	/?RADULOVIĆ Predrag/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And who are the two operatives?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And did you deliver the documentation to him?
	Unknown speaker D	/?It is//?undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ hold that time!...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum
	Unknown speaker D	... but in reality they gave the most/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	How many people did they/undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum. What was their role in this/undiscernible/ operation /undiscernible/ '93? Or rather, /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	Well, something is/undiscernible/ However, before some of that/?tear/ did that and they/undiscernible/ they would try there to/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ would have been the mainstay there. KARADŽIĆ had with him a horrible /undiscernible/in front of me and you/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/?I/?TALIĆ
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/. If he would/? see the development/ of events/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What do you mean,/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	He was, he was/?also a/all undiscernible/. /undiscernible/ was made available, as if to help them
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And what was he/?from Tuzla//undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker E	Mister General, Sir, General MILOVANOVIĆ is looking for you, and General TOLIMIR is speaking with /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	One moment, excuse me.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.

	Ratko MLADIĆ	Remember where you are at. /What's up?// 36 50 57:28 Pause// /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	Wow.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/, well sir/ undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/on Saturday /The/ got turned /undiscernible/since 12th of September /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I do not know now for this /?available/ but it needs to be /undiscernible/September /undiscernible/for sake of the history of Serbian people and honest people...
	Unknown speaker D	That is in /undiscernible/?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	... which were // sealed there /.
	Unknown speaker D	/? I thought/ /I mean, some priorities /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible...
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ to keep it within the law /undiscernible/ so that it does not /undiscernible/, and this is, I mean, /? the material/ completed by the national commission work, from /undiscernible/ the period /undiscernible/ stands as found with them, at disposal, so that it /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What is /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	Well, /undiscernible/ legal questions or regarding standards and such. Yes, he didn't even have /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	It is possible that he /? gave it away /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	That's my assumption. Now we need to see /? where/ his closeness with the president comes from. /undiscernible/ you do not remember – maybe you weren't then /undiscernible/ – directly, I mean, in September. He was the main player; you understand, like, he pulled all strings from the background.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/, he is, he is, I mean, /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, this is what you should // absolutely /. I would be interested in the exact, I mean, target and task of operations // logistically/ /undiscernible/ to see what it is, who does it belong to, even if... I don't know, you should not spare there, even ? not/ the authorities. It has to be /undiscernible/ you have to /undiscernible/ // work on you better and /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ the ~~will go~~ the state of affairs is as follows if they were involved then /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Which/ /PREZIMONIĆ // undiscernible/ ?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ he was, as in that moment, by chance /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	... and at the moment they have there his // testimony/ – /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	U-hum.

	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ /undiscernible/ further show that /undiscernible/ to me they cannot/ undiscernible/, and it is known that he previously said/ undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Did you interrogate him in connection/? with that/?
	Unknown speaker D	... Just a question, it // generally/...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Did you interrogate him in connection with that?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/, // it was/ but it was only lightly handled, you know lightly/ undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/? Furthermore, when it is regarding death// undiscernible/ for two days, then after that a report/ undiscernible/ blackened God knows what, /? everything/ is/ of/ fear/ undiscernible/ but, as-ded from Corvetta and/ undiscernible/ status, main aspect is /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Is that for your brother?
	Unknown speaker D	/? Relative./
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum Relative, right?
	Unknown speaker D	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes, it is... M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ indications.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	Was it accidentally/ undiscernible/ made such a report/ undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	As we will/ undiscernible/ that conflict, or rather /undiscernible./ /? How should/ / put it: what is for sure, what is argued about/ / ? and believed/, that is for this /undiscernible/ which has enough elements /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	But, this, now, according to archives, has, has /undiscernible/ as well for intelligence forces, as for undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Now, I was something, I mean... / have the utmost confidence in you and I look at you as a man, fellow fighter, honest and brave.. because there were some indications... I want to openly talk about some things.. I am interested, now after it was... I have information, upon which RAŽ.. RATIĆ was murdered-trying to escape in the region of Doboj, arrests were made, is he alive or dead?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	For sure? Great. / Then/ he needs to talk. As second, I am interested, I mean, did you find out about their whole structure? Who are all the persons that were in that/ undiscernible/? / ? Why/ did you to me RADIĆ. RAŽIĆ and Boro, / ? that / MARIĆ?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ board of directors.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/ ? Who was that? /
	Unknown speaker D	Board of directors/ Undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What JERKOVIĆ?
	Unknown speaker D	JERKOVIĆ Miroslav, he is, technical personal he is

		/undiscernible/ and all the, and simply they nourish this /undiscernible/ so he then /undiscernible/ to make money.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is there in that network ~~with those~~ ? Of these names?
	Unknown speaker 0	/? That is the core/ management...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Unknown speaker 0	... but the collaborating network w/ undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Is there someone else in the core management?
	Unknown speaker 0	Is that management are /undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And only these four?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker 0	There is no doubt about that.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Wasn't there another list, a broader one? /undiscernible/ What was that /undiscernible /.
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who are the liquidators /undiscernible /?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible / BORIĆ /? Ratko /undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What is that, Tomo, ? Ratko?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? BORIĆ /? Ratko.
	Unknown speaker 0	But /undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Was he arrested?
	Unknown speaker 0	/? Yes, yes, // undiscernible / But, /undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? The fighters /?
	Unknown speaker 0	/? His mother /visited him /? on our areas there / he was /? transferred // undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Is he a Croat or a Serb?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible / Serb.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum. Go on, who else...
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible / [redacted]
	Ratko MLADIĆ	... who were the other liquidators?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /... Goran /undiscernible /, beard /undiscernible /...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible /.
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible /.
	Unknown speaker 0	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible / And there was some, I mean deformation of liberty...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible /.
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible /.
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	There should be, I mean... what do they say? Did they confess something at interrogation?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? No, no /..., really?
	Unknown speaker 0	/undiscernible /.

	Ratko MLADIĆ	These arrested people, did they confess something?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Nothing? Where did they torture people?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ And then he did, after that /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	How did they, /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	I don't know. Does it, fit /? legal/... I did not /undiscernible/ yes, yes we can at /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You do not have any/? parts. /no, no, not that...
	Unknown speaker D	No problem/? not/ /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You have to give there 100%, I mean, cooperate.
	Unknown speaker D	Tomorrow they will, I mean, say that /? Serbs/ /undiscernible/?.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	That's it, we need names.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	We cannot do something without names.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Ask/ /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker D	/? I think it is/, /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	/? undiscernible/ /? who/ knows what they wrote /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum. And what did... how did this BABIĆ get into the hierarchy? They... crisis headquarters /undiscernible/ 93?
	Unknown speaker D	That one member of people /undiscernible/. And that /undiscernible/ he was/? too gets it/ steps, in which direction it leads, slowly he/? gets out/ /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum.
	Unknown speaker D	And one of them is Goran /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/ he was/? too/ in the military police then later/? worked with us/ /undiscernible/ Love that /? everything slowly fits/ gathers, into one/? mosaic/ /undiscernible/. He died there on the war zone.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Was there/ with them in management JAN, /? BEFAN/ journalist? /? He who/ became the president of the municipality/ /undiscernible/?
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/ There are/ undiscernible/ people /undiscernible/ who were simply/ undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hum. What's up with/? SIVILOVIĆ?
	Unknown speaker D	This part is to/ undiscernible/ for him, that he is /undiscernible/, before the war/ undiscernible/. He

		was there when they /undiscernible/? ...name, in cooperation with /undiscernible/. Does that /?kind/ of collaboration dates, /undiscernible/? of course, is there then, there is/ the defence minister /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ that they place themselves into /undiscernible/ of military police and then...
	Unknown speaker C	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	He is already very much favoured by the president. I do not know on which grounds it is based. It needs finding out. They would not, they would not elect without him.
	Unknown speaker D	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes?
	Unknown speaker E	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker A	I beg your pardon?
	Unknown speaker B	Rajko?
	Unknown speaker A	Yes.
	Unknown speaker B	/? KOVAČEVIĆ/ here.
	Unknown speaker A	... /?hours/
	Unknown speaker B	Two and a half, three are needed.
	Unknown speaker A	You don't need that much.
	Unknown speaker B	I beg your pardon?
	Unknown speaker A	You don't need that much.
	Unknown speaker B	/? On Pardonić/ you said?
	Unknown speaker A	I did.
	Unknown speaker B	Okay, here I go right now, let's go.
	Unknown speaker A	All right. /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker A	... after morning hours up there on, er...
	Unknown speaker B	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker A	... I caught that, Renata.
	Unknown speaker B	Renata the German?
	Unknown speaker B	Yes, she came.
	Unknown speaker B	All right.
	Unknown speaker A	I beg of you, you tidy the place up and account the time.
	Unknown speaker B	C'mon, she's there with you?
	Unknown speaker A	Yes, the whole day, whenever you please.
	Unknown speaker B	So listen.
	Unknown speaker A	Me?
	Unknown speaker B	Do you want to take her?
	Unknown speaker A	Well, I can come with her, I you want.
	Unknown speaker B	Well come, damn it, then come. Or, I mean, when you get to Duga there on that place, there we will talk.
	Unknown speaker A	But where...?
	Unknown speaker B	At ŠUKIĆ, the General's office.
	Unknown speaker A	Hey, is that there on Han Pijesak?

	Unknown speaker B	Yes.
	Unknown speaker A	And when it would suit you?
	Unknown speaker B	Whenever you like, when you come and from there you call, I will come.
	Unknown speaker A	Okay, I will be there, say, at 77.
	Unknown speaker B	Until 777
	Unknown speaker A	Yes
	Unknown speaker B	Okay, then be there.
	Unknown speaker A	Okay.
	Unknown speaker B	Don't until 77 please come at 72.
	Unknown speaker A	At twelve? All right. Listen.
	Unknown speaker B	Hey?
	Unknown speaker A	This is the largest political magazine in the world, a million and a half circulation.
	Unknown speaker B	Which one?
	Unknown speaker A	Mr. Spiegel, that one.
	Unknown speaker B	Screw Spiegel, that some underground, I mean...
	Unknown speaker A	Well, it is okay that you say something in connection with these military factories, where the others are and such.
	Unknown speaker B	All right
	Unknown speaker A	/indiscernible/
	Unknown speaker B	Okay, you will be there and I will suggest it.
	Unknown speaker A	I will not suggest anything.
	Unknown speaker B	But tell her she can come and do the interview under the condition that every single word I utter to her question will get published.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, okay.
	Unknown speaker B	No description is allowed.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, alright.
	Unknown speaker B	Or her interpretation. Well, direct question, she may ask whatever she wants...
	Unknown speaker A	Yes
	Unknown speaker B	... but directly what I utter into her sense, that has... and that need to be authorized.
	Unknown speaker A	That is the condition, it is
	Unknown speaker B	That's right.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	Additionally, it should get paid through the press, you understand, a certain sum, and some help... some /man and a man and/? request/.
	Unknown speaker A	Right here?
	Unknown speaker B	Not with us/ where you give at dam it. She shall give it to you, if nothing else.
	Unknown speaker A	Okay, okay... Right.
	Unknown speaker B	Okay, be well.
	Unknown speaker A	It would be a good deed, not and.
	Unknown speaker B	Ha, ha, ha. Okay, A.G.A, see you.
	Unknown speaker A	Be well.
00:55:73	Unknown speaker B	Bye.
00:56:14	Unknown speaker A	What's up, old man?

	Unknown speaker B	Screw it/undiscernible/ he is just messing with us. Killing me.
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker B	See, I come here, here I am, write down the number where I am at, please.
	Unknown speaker A	Just a minute. Go ahead.
	Unknown speaker B	057.
	Unknown speaker A	Me.
	Unknown speaker B	28168.
	Unknown speaker A	Why...?
	Unknown speaker B	68.
	Unknown speaker A	M-hm.
	Unknown speaker B	They agreed. I went only to be told where he is, what how and to whom I shall report and the whole night I wait like a fool. He does not call me, hundred messages I left in the house and on the pager and he does not call. I don't know what to do/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker A	To hell with it!
	Unknown speaker B	That is really ridiculous. I, I was so mad. If I'd seen him last night, I'd killed him on the spot.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, fuck it. I spoke to the chief an hour ago. He said it's all good, what we said.
	Unknown speaker B	Me, all good. It is all good /undiscernible/, only maybe, I mean, I went there, passed by in a regular car, you know.
	Unknown speaker A	Me.
	Unknown speaker B	/?/ watch the road/ - all alive, brother, all alive.
	Unknown speaker A	Is that there where I went?
	Unknown speaker B	It is there, but it seems as if it will be a slight problem relocating it into regular vans. That's no problem at all. I secured all that.
	Unknown speaker A	Come on.
	Unknown speaker B	Well, someone for there, will break out in time by itself.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, I believe so.
	Unknown speaker B	There. And the dude is not calling, he does not give a fuck one bit. He went to SONIC yesterday, just to finish, yes, to approve the passage.
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/ just mention/ the title/.
	Unknown speaker B	Me.
	Unknown speaker A	You know?
	Unknown speaker B	Me.
	Unknown speaker A	Those shiptan there/? Guys/.
	Unknown speaker B	Me.
	Unknown speaker A	/? Refer to him you know, address it somehow. If you can manage somehow, if you have any pind-ums...
	Unknown speaker B	My uncle is a relative, my own uncle is a general. That's his number where I am at.
	Unknown speaker A	Aha.
	Unknown speaker B	He is a general there.
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker B	TESONIC.
	Unknown speaker A	Aha okay.

	Unknown speaker B	/?I don't know/, boss.
	Unknown speaker A	Okay, okay then.
	Unknown speaker B	/?You know/.
	Unknown speaker A	Okay, then you/?watch out for them coppers.\
	Unknown speaker B	Yeah,\know/. /undscernible/ times the Czech controlled my /undscernible/. Took out everything, removed the tire, everything.
	Unknown speaker A	\know, that's why I'm saying, you know. /?Just step away. /let them, if anybody can/undscernible/.
	Unknown speaker B	\know \will /undscernible/ hide in that...
	Unknown speaker A	Me, me.
	Unknown speaker B	\will hide. \need to hide but/undscernible/but \only need, \ mainly, a part, why does he not call me /undscernible/ /?why does he/ make me a fool, fucking hell.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, fuck everything!
	Unknown speaker C	Why does he make me look like a fool? Please you call /?Eira/because I do not know... I know where he is but \cannot reach him.
	Unknown speaker A	\know \know
	Unknown speaker B	Please Call him right away and tell him what's up. That he failed, this guy, did not crack the passage that I am there, that all is loaded, that all is ready/?/or/not.
	Unknown speaker A	All right
	Unknown speaker B	Well, there
	Unknown speaker A	\will. You know what, \cannot. he is... \spoke an hour ago if... \call now if he did not leave.
	Unknown speaker B	All right.
	Unknown speaker A	If he is gone, \can reach him in the afternoon the earliest.
	Unknown speaker B	Please reach him, that he knows. Tonight \will be there.
	Unknown speaker A	All right. \will...
	Unknown speaker B	/undscernible/... after seven hours, or after midnight /undscernible/
	Unknown speaker A	All right
	Unknown speaker B	There.
	Unknown speaker A	\agreed with him around four.
	Unknown speaker B	/undscernible/
	Unknown speaker A	/undscernible/ to speak, you know, if... \will try now, if he is not gone.
	Unknown speaker B	Okay, talk to you later.
00:59:27	Unknown speaker A	There, alright mate, be well.
00:59:50	Unknown speaker A	/undscernible/. /?Neal/ master president, \am ashamed /undscernible/ in front of my commander that my /undscernible/ /?has no flat/.
	Unknown speaker B	\am working on that in Belgrade.
	Unknown speaker A	Please /undscernible/.
00:59:43	Unknown speaker C	He is asking for a loan approval.
00:59:43	Unknown speaker A	/undscernible/ where he is.
	Unknown speaker B	Did Cica call?

	Unknown speaker A	I beg your pardon?
	Unknown speaker B	Did Ciza call?
	Unknown speaker A	No
	Unknown speaker B	No. I am on the hill.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	Vlado knows, what's up.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	I am on the hill, working, or? Mama/ They are in the lorry.. UNPROFOR's lorries. Have Vlado call me, he knows the number where I am at.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	And also, if he can contact Mama, let him do the talk, that Mama is right at the agreed place at the agreed time.
	Unknown speaker A	Alright, okay.
	Unknown speaker B	Well, there you do not know when Vlado will be there, so that I can call?
	Unknown speaker A	I don't know nothing. He did not call, he left, told he will be back, but he did not come back.
	Unknown speaker B	I am not in the range of my, I mean...
	Unknown speaker A	Pager, okay.
	Unknown speaker B	I am not in his range and /undiscernible/ him to call me.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	There.
	Unknown speaker A	All right.
	Unknown speaker B	I am on the hill, he knows where.
	Unknown speaker A	Alright, okay.
	Unknown speaker B	I will call in about an hour and a half.
	Unknown speaker A	Alright, okay.
	Unknown speaker B	Bye.
01:00:45	Unknown speaker A	Take care.
01:00:49	Unknown speaker A	... in, in our hands, that is under control, so that the situation has considerably changed, even when compared to yesterday. Although yesterday /I was/ very good. Well, there it is, just reporting to you.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What has changed? You did not say a thing, I have no idea where you were today, where yesterday. That's good if it's like that, and what has essentially changed!
	Unknown Speaker A	Essentially changed is, as first: today they attacked the whole day /Trostok/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
01:01:33	Unknown speaker A	/? Trovenc/ is fortified, saved, kept and attacks repelled. And further, up there /? Buzovic/ was penetrated and we have conditions now to launch guided missiles and destroy the armour, which is down in, in...

Page B

Time	Speaker	Transcript
00:00:02	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/ stopped there on that location and go /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker B	Other side. Other side.

Vladimir Miladinović

	Unknown speaker	/undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker C	Yes.
	Unknown speaker D	To continue /undiscernible/ between military and /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Which is...
	Unknown speaker D	That's for right now.
	Unknown speaker E	That is their task and /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker D	What is the task? /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	But it is very, very, I mean, see, true.
	Unknown speaker F	/undiscernible/ Radovan did have /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	But, we should see now, how, I mean, where to check it out /undiscernible/. Yeah that, but not through someone else. I do not know if you /undiscernible/ that they did not /undiscernible/.
	Unknown speaker	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	That needs...
	Unknown speaker G	Okay, but I was unable to /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes, yes. But, please, I mean, this particularly /? these circumstances/ all about it..
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/ he is really something special /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Because, listen, there is no big danger if they were the top of the intelligence pyramid...
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	... You should find out who remained at the top.
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And how far it penetrated.
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/, TOLIMIR /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Mhm. There is a top.
	Unknown speaker G	/undiscernible/ that's there /undiscernible/ but. something, like that /undiscernible/ particularly this /undiscernible/
	Andrija°	And I have to say that is good /undiscernible/ Particularly their? excellent /activities in the field /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Mhm. Now we should see who was active, only you or only /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? At some point Radovan had limitless confidence? he had limitless confidence even outside /undiscernible/ and every other intelligence was forwarded to SUBOTIĆ, who has no love for or with anyone in the military. He is actively working against us. SUBOTIĆ, is now in Jajce, /undiscernible/ openly spoke to people /undiscernible/ removed, need to retreat /undiscernible/. Someone need to answer for this. These are huge, big things. And this at Kozara and Banac is not a result of any military dominance of

		Mayhem or military weaknesses of Serbs. That's obstruction. I am using the weakest word for now.
	Andrija	Well, see, the thing that /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ Kupres
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Then the other does not jump. From there...those are various schemes. According to some reports, you know, one person has /undiscernible/ first in the leadership of the party same, in leadership of some organs of government...
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ sketched out this /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ the one who came up with that, he also created a great scheme /undiscernible/ developed through them /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ you as a honest man and patriot cannot say by no means that they are the top. Not until you are sure a million per cent. They are just next to the top. They are just next to the top. And now tell me, they have been for a time, I have two /undiscernible/... for some time they were a connection, connected to KARADŽIĆ, probably through SUBOTIĆ. And for a while they were connected through other people? Who are these people? Who is that other top, who were they connected to?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ yes they were /undiscernible/ yes for sure / undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ I know to put you back. /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ they had some of their own /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ In September of ninety-three, some stuff you want to connect, the puzzle must fit. In the end it has to be /undiscernible/ At that assembly, the decision was made that then we go /undiscernible/ Krajišnik and me to Banja Luka. Me and KARADŽIĆ went. That connection is awesome between KRAJIŠNIK and /undiscernible/ the whole time. Even then there were attempts to get rid of KARADŽIĆ and MLADIĆ
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ Now we need to clear this up. When and in which period were they closer to him? ...KARADŽIĆ...when they were closer to KRAJIŠNIK, how close was he to TALIĆ? /undiscernible/ because I want to clear up /undiscernible/ in that way?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes, they made that up. That's all /undiscernible/?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	See, let me tell you. Firstly, I think, see, maybe I am a suspicious fellow and want to have things clear up. I would want to nobody... See, I do not want that someone who is innocent answers for it, but all with

		ones need to answer for it. All the dirty stuff needs to get out in the open. And there is no importance in any authority. Everybody needs to face the law. /undiscernible/ First, I do not accept that only those four and the one who was responsible for operations. If they were /undiscernible/, Could have been formal.
	Andrija	Yes, yes, they were formally there /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Secondly, no, it was not only their room /undiscernible/ Thirdly, it is indicative, such closeness, introduction, and
		/undiscernible/ with KARADŽIĆ on September '93. I am only aware, what my eyes have seen. Secondly, it is indicative the knowledge about Guga LAZAREVIĆ, down to the guy who was a doctor, the guy, what's his face... ŽUGIĆ. KARADŽIĆ knew them all. Thirdly, it is indicative that he knew all the names. And but name, of that Siv guy, through foundations, all the others. KARADŽIĆ had also phone numbers he knew. I, I was following these two-three days. In Prijedor, he was constantly in contact with them. From RADIĆ A and others, he knew it all. According to that, he was either completely occupied by them, and the whole time SUKOVIĆ Bogdan was in there and coordinated the whole action. Even from MUP people who were just like that. Next is ZUPLJANIN Stojan and his role and place in all of that.
	Andrija	They first /undiscernible/ had /undiscernible/ I mean, cooperation, because /undiscernible/ Later they turned on him /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Next is Mico MLADENOVIĆ What was he for them? What was his role?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Was he in /undiscernible/?
	Andrija	In that conflict, they were /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	When?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ Is that not covering up traces /undiscernible/? /undiscernible/ He was completely within these line in september '93. Because the one for whom he /undiscernible/ worked, he first went there to propose. How did he get there, in Prijedor? Where does his closeness and knowledge of all come from?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And he went as /undiscernible/ worked in security, and in fact he was involved as /undiscernible/, only to become the director of "Glas". These are all great scams. Many lost there /undiscernible/. There are plenty of them. How could KUPRESANIN /undiscernible/?
	Andrija	He was then biggest /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I have information that they /undiscernible/ after the assembly in /undiscernible/ had a meeting? That... where it was organised.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ that they, I mean, processed it /undiscernible/

Ratko MLADIĆ	It is possible that I cut that off for them, with my outburst and going to Banja Luka, that I messed up all of their calculations. Even Radovan KARADŽIĆ is not clean, regarding this /undiscernible/ Well, check that out. Because, my brother, I have such a role, I apply even when I share. /undiscernible/ hidden. It is about the people. Only they count. We are all marginal. Please that September '93 you need to check that out properly. Need that I am interested in. Did you find out anything about
	/undiscernible/ against whom/ undiscernible/ in Serbian organs, in the military, in MUP and so on. Because, they confess. Which is...
Andrija	They did not have there...
Ratko MLADIĆ	Which is? With with whom they had...
Andrija	During the war/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Because that RADIĆ was, /undiscernible/ coming to see PANIĆ, the general. He came to see him, whenever he wanted.
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Who?
Andrija	/undiscernible/, MILIBARIĆ /undiscernible/.
Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is that MILIBARI?
Andrija	He was /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	I do not know who that is.
Andrija	But I do know /undiscernible/ An old fellow, who was /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Who held in MUP /undiscernible/? /undiscernible/ what they say!
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Tell me truely, /undiscernible/ what do you know?
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Who is he /undiscernible/?
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	What?
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	How can I /undiscernible/
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Mhm. Frenne. I heard about a France but I have no idea who.
Andrija	But I think they did not even /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ because, I mean you know, or did /undiscernible/, shoot!
Andrija	Well I can be uninformed.
Ratko MLADIĆ	Go question them, brother. They /undiscernible/
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Kosta NIKOLIĆ/ protects them?
Andrija	Yes. And until they left /undiscernible/.
Ratko MLADIĆ	Who else was there?
Andrija	/undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	/coughing/ next, did they do /undiscernible/ outside of the Republika Srpska territory?

	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	They did
	Andrija	It would be good if now there/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, this is what you need to document /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/one information/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Ask, brother. Ask.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/have that.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I never was 2nd/undiscernible/Krajina. It is about that.
	Andrija	Is this the one who/undiscernible/the one who asked for /undiscernible/?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	And, available, which is most important, available. /undiscernible/let us tell who it is /undiscernible/because of/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You should see based on whose command /undiscernible/. They did not do this on their own account. Therefore, you did not, not even half of the bulk is visible, much less the whole pyramid.
	Andrija	I hope it will be/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I don't know. I do not know who is leading that for him and how. And I do not want to get involved, but do you have anything to/undiscernible/. And now, will you have the courage to see this through until the very end, which is/undiscernible/. That's a different story
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	According to what you told me, you know the way it looks/undiscernible/you know a lot less than I assume you said. You know a lot more than I assume. I assume that you know more than you admit to.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Maybe, you may not have access to all /undiscernible/
	Andrija	I assume that/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Maybe you have no access to facts/undiscernible/
	Andrija	I allow for it to be as such, because...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I mean...
	Andrija	... I speak/undiscernible/in Croatia/undiscernible 2nd I know well/undiscernible/all of the rest I speak about before...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Andrija as fast you cannot touch your interest in these five in RADIĆ, SACIĆ, in MARIĆ and in /undiscernible/
	Andrija	JERKOVIĆ
	Ratko MLADIĆ	JERKOVIĆ That's the wider circle. Second, they are not the head of it. This they also/undiscernible/, as I see it /undiscernible/heads to lead towards a pyramid, Serbian, in Republika Srpska. We need to define the group, or people, or individuals, or units, which was the iniciator of all of this. And then from there follow where it goes. It does not go only towards Croatia, nor to

		/undiscernible/ It does not go to Serbia either, because Serbia /undiscernible/ is there. We need to find out who the relays are in Serbia, who the relays are in Croatia, who the relays are in Krajina, who the relays are in Italy, who the relays are in Krajina, who down to the gods of war. All of this is led from the same centre, from which, from which the lead goes /undiscernible/.
	Andrija	I understand.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	They are only a small /undiscernible/ who moved and /undiscernible/ in Banja Luka. And it is a question if they did /undiscernible/ That is, number one, next is number two. We shall find out if this was deliberately closed down, and something new established, so that with this small one, as little as possible of the new one, /// certain agencies and /individuals/ undiscernible/ and that this
		new continues /undiscernible/ Do you already have TOLIMIR /undiscernible/ Corpus, it was only renamed. That means, only that they were small. /undiscernible/ and that must mean, that this second /undiscernible/ if this one was on its own, the three of them were /undiscernible/. And is the first one now cut down, were those renamed or continued differently /undiscernible/? It just does not fit. There are people who fell in there by misfortune, they are honest and upright. Even /undiscernible/ it must /undiscernible/ as honest and naive /undiscernible/; it must mean something. Did you understand me? Do not understand this as my directing you towards KARADŽIĆ, because if I wanted to him, if I wanted to do him harm and if I wanted bad things, I could have done something that way long ago. Did you understand me? But your and mine and all of us have the task to protect the president, that we protect the leadership in politics. So that we do not stray. Did you understand me?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Around KARADŽIĆ? Completely /undiscernible/ and I cannot, you shall secure that there and you shall /undiscernible/. It is utterly suspicious as first /undiscernible/. And as second /undiscernible/.
00:23:06	/end of conversation	
00:23:19	Ratko MLADIĆ	I beg your pardon. Go ahead /undiscernible/.
	General TOLIMIR	Mister general, sir, I am now /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	General TOLIMIR	And I /undiscernible/ for the first /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/ ten /undiscernible/ litres in Sarajevo and five and a half in Zepa.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.

	General TOLIMIR	I will do this tonight for then, naturally, /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes.
	General TOLIMIR	Because we/undiscernible/, but I told him that the next /undiscernible/ if the meeting takes longer.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	It is alright, leave it to him even after the meeting
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/ because already seven days passed. I ask you to accept this to go, and you later decide /undiscernible/ drugs /undiscernible/ promised and agreed to. We do not have /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	But what /undiscernible/? Alright, it's all okay. You do not have to explain. What is going to happen if this guy does not sign the agreement tomorrow?
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	TOLIMIR, next time do not promise and for now, I will protect you now, because I do not want...
The speaker on the tape is identified as TOLIMIR, by Ratko MLADIĆ		
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right. I do not want to compromise you and if you, promised it, then fulfill 126 tons, allow to enter Sarajevo five tons, even six, however much you said, in Sre... in Zepa, five and a half in Zepa. Call BORBEVIĆ, have him call me and get it approved.
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, next. Does I hear that?
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes. Well, if he does, then let BORBEVIĆ approve it. Sign, approve and tomorrow BORBEVIĆ is immediately to report, if the agreement is signed or not. And to tell them if they do not sign the agreement tomorrow, to stop sending supply orders for units and food and not for fuel by far.
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right. Agreed. Agreed.
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Alright, brother.
	General TOLIMIR	Thanks.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Bye!
	General TOLIMIR	/undiscernible/
00:25:45	/end of conversation/	
00:25:48	Ratko MLADIĆ	Because the phone rang
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What they are not alone? Maybe they are, /undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/? Brother/, I think that there is no logic whatsoever, and commonsense would not permit that an armistice does off that it does not get supplies for the third year. But why? /undiscernible/ someone /undiscernible/ to get rid of this people. If they can make a state out of that, then /undiscernible/ army. Is that so? What do we get? Why is that? /undiscernible/ big stuff. I believe

		that... I do not want to doubt that, I mean, that it is being done righteously and fair, people who give out, but they need to talk. That they had /undiscernible/ written a gossip chronicle, what he wrote, computer, he gossiped so much about you and me, why you and me, wrote me less and we verse, this is only a marginal thing. There are strategic questions, which need to /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/ I was there - me and TOLIMIR and ĆVERO, when RAŽIĆ got KARADŽIĆ's signature. RAŽIĆ brought him the paper /undiscernible/ on January. At that time we were against it. TOLIMIR suggested that an advisory board for national security be formed, where the MUP chief, the leader of the military intelligence and so on, the state president and so on /undiscernible/ That was rejected, and that /undiscernible/. He then came with a chopper here. I do not know under which circumstances, and how MILOŠEVIĆ gave it to him. We will find it out. But for a while he was kicking the door open - and RAŽIĆ and RADIĆ, at President's
		and /undiscernible/. He came there two-three times and I distanced myself from that. When I saw that it went into paramilitary, para-agencies, I said to Radovan: "I am not wanting with such people. We will create our own army, our own national security agency, national security, military security. Party agencies I do not care about."
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	The whole time they were against me.
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/ impossible /undiscernible/ what this /undiscernible/ reminded me of. Because, really, I would not a second year? war /as whole, as if this is war. Because as such it /undiscernible/ was
	Ratko MLADIĆ	There.
	Unknown speaker A	But then, when in '93 /undiscernible/ Alone he went to this or that /undiscernible/ What I have this /undiscernible/
00:29:34	/end of conversation/	
00:29:36	Ratko MLADIĆ	Mane?
	Mane	Yes!
		The rest of the conversation was not recorded/
00:29:44	Ratko MLADIĆ	Okay, leave him be, I will answer him regarding tomorrow. Bye him.
	Andrija	This I mean, as responsibility of /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ We'll bring a question, for answering. I deal with you as with my own brother /undiscernible/. /undiscernible/ last year, "Typhoon" happened, the step over which there needs to be accountability set with the military. This year isn't "Typhoon" in September? '95? Isn't now "Typhoon" which needs to create a split and sever the national and public securities? And seventh, did you do enough

		That /undiscernible/ Tomo KOVAČEVIĆ /undiscernible/? Was there done enough, should not the national security have been /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ general.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who? /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ for himself /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ what is the role of Dragan /undiscernible/ in the whole thing?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Unknown speaker C	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	M-hm.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	That's how it is.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Did this order help you any and /undiscernible/ in leadership /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Trust me /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	How far /undiscernible/ I ask, /undiscernible/ what is the relationship of Tomo KOVAČ and /undiscernible/?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ this your current minister /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ Typhoon
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	They were not the last /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ this my minister.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ not at all!
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ money /undiscernible/ to me /undiscernible/ information and misinformation /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	In that sense /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	There are many question marks. Many of these

		questions. I mean, when I were to order /undiscernible/individuals/undiscernible/ on municipalities, these to me/undiscernible/should be verified.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/question
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Criminalization of individuals. Broad spectrum of activities was done by that network. These six. Very broad. This is what I need to ask you for. That I /undiscernible/you these my questions, that I interrogate you. I just want to draw your attention to, I mean, a few things. It would be good that you talk to TOLIMIR a lot tomorrow. You should find time these days, while you are here, in this area and that you agree upon who to proceed here with this. We will check out everything we get from you regarding the military, through/undiscernible/because, there were people who were blackmailed, there were people who were deliberately done/for money/, you know/
	Andrija	Yes. There are also those who came as...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	There are people who are honest/undiscernible/and such. I did point out some to our agency and divulged certain activities.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You mean regarding his constant companion?
	Andrija	That one.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/just for laughs. I said immediately that they have/undiscernible/stupid. Because, I mean, see, huh, I mean, it is hard in the police in peace, much harder during the war. In security structures even worse. It does not mean that/undiscernible/but I only wanted to prove it. They swore to me he is clean, I only wanted to prove to them that he is a warmaker. And from that moment I did not even think about it and when I called I disarmed them all, even him. He was ready to give him everything. But he is an honest man, in essence.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Because they did have many with papers. Next we have to find the connection from RADICA and that profit managing part of the Serbian people. That closeness. I do not know what the role of that /undiscernible/and president and those two generals /undiscernible/and TALIC. How did he help the military, how did he give I barely managed to /undiscernible/he did not give money. He just gave way what is mine and yours and from others, through price/undiscernible/
	Andrija	Well, he is not giving back through taxes...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	If he were giving back through taxes, we would have gotten ten-fold this much.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	No, no, this, this is/undiscernible/a million percent
	Andrija	It is not him alone/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, leave him he

	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Hm. I do not believe it.
	Andrija	Yes, /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What's up with that Momo ĐUKIĆ? The big-nosed fellow?
	Andrija	He has no nose /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You immediately say "no he does not" with you nobody. You do not question anybody
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What about that little, that other ĐUKIĆ, the one who played crazy and got here person.
	Unknown Speaker	No /undiscernible/ Is there another /undiscernible/?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What was, did they drag Vito POPOVIĆ into it?
	Andrija	They /undiscernible/ first they /undiscernible/ danced around, but then they smeared him /undiscernible/ and there too much /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	But tell me, I mean...
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ Aha. Tell me about this, KALAGIĆ?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Can you, can you do me /undiscernible/, I mean, give me what is written in the computer about military personel, from me then continued?
	Andrija	Well, see, I mean, I can /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ don't tell me anything. Tell me everything. Either give me all of it, or nothing. Give me all, so that security service can start somewhere. /undiscernible/
	Andrija	I need to be honest /undiscernible/ I can autonomously /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Who can?
	Andrija	The stuff regarding you /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	This you need to give me! Give it to me personally! Give it all to me, so that I can continue /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And you, do not erase anything on computers, leave it.
	Andrija	No no no, I can't erase anything /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, I want you to give me, about me it would be good for my people here with me as well, who are leaders. That we analyse us through the prism of RADIĆ. See it with his own eyes.
	Andrija	Well, I want you to /undiscernible/ I mean, he wont to it, if it would have made any tension.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	No matter how much it is, no matter how comfortable or uncomfortable it makes you. I know that they have written about me all the worst stuff possible. I mean, did and wrote. All right. But we then, let me tell you /undiscernible/ In this matter you are way too dead up. But we need to open up to each other completely
	Andrija	No no, this, this, if I were, I would not. I would not come if I were /undiscernible/

Vladimir Miladinović

	Ratko MLADIĆ	Andrija...
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	...It's all okay.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ I need some things, to show you /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	We knew about it all. I know it all.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	We followed. I know it all already. They were same /undiscernible/ leaders, who did... I knew that is going to happen properly /undiscernible/. But it would be good if the data could maximally be shared with our security services and that "Typhoon" fully develops.
	Andrija	This is exactly what I...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	First we unfold it, then we see how far it branched out, horizontally, downwards, vertically. Into what this "Typhoon" did grow. The head of the Hydra needs to be found.
	Andrija	Now I need to ask...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Yes?
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ second time /undiscernibe/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	You will do that.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I don't know. That you... I mean, I will see, fuck it, I cannot... we that, we are working on that. The head of the Hydra needs to be found. Because the head of the Hydra has ties with America. Did you understand me?
		The head of the Hydra.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I have no idea what that is, I am not entering into that /undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ I, to be honest, believe that he is more for you, and we are less for him. We did not a single one of you on MUP, not a single one did I work as shallowly, which I may say that I have met you several times... you have the knowhow for working on the MUP, I see that you are an honest and nice man, I see you paid a big price this war and yu family casualties and such. I don't have any reservations /undiscernible/ on you, maximum trust.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	But we have to, brother, find and gather strength...
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	...the chale that was created between MUP and the military particularly military intelligence, which was deliberately pushed aside and suffocated from the top of the tops, that was managed and that we clean up as well as in national security and in MUP and in military, as all Lauk /undiscernible/ that it is genes. Essential. Faith of people /undiscernible/ in politics and in economy and trade and military and MUP and everywhere else. The question here is, my friend, who up there darkness up and what and through whom is which person speaking. Our borders, for us are of state

	Some are humanitarian, there and that ministries and so on /undiscernible/. But you, policeman, have some desk glasses and do not look around you at all, in regards to the leadership. There is all kind around here /? Secretaries/ and whatnot. There and those not to /undiscernible/
Andrija	Not /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ I know to whom the people will address to, Andrija, I mean...
Andrija	... bad /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	... bad things. He will not mention RADIĆ and RAČIĆ... There will not be any RADIĆ and RAČIĆ. There don't too. He will not RAD... RADIĆ and RAČIĆ. There were rapes, there were killings, there were bombs set, there were people hit with automobiles, there were shootings of people, there were extortions /undiscernible/. This stuff is still there and not only there. This stuff you can find in Pale and in Sarajevo and Tuzla. Terror. If we continue like that, not to confront all that, the people are not like people in a civilized society and illiterate, as it was during the Battle of Kosovo. The people know all that, better than us. People write it down. Literate folks. They get to the stores, proclaim, write down... We are obstructed, ma ni Operation "Ring 93" was sabotaged. Instead that we enter into Teočanj and Maslaja, right? Not only that "Tuna" did not enter into Teslić and Doboj, right? /undiscernible/ we could have if we wanted to. Obstruction. We were obstructed for this operation in Olovo, "Ring 93". Instead of entering into Olovo, we were unable to
	conquer one hill. We did, thereafter. /undiscernible/ we conquered that Jasen also, which was ten times larger than Korijuša and /undiscernible/ in which there was a whole section of "Tuna".
Andrija	Yes
Ratko MLADIĆ	Obstruction. That obstruction was, now during the operation "Ring 93". Well, the fighters signed on to me, they wrote a letter with name, surname and the names of thieves that need to be arrested and you just let us do it and say /undiscernible/ anything /undiscernible/ during war. But we aren't going to fight for this gang /undiscernible/ This is not serious. Someone thinks he can obstruct the military, so he do good to himself. Leave Hell! If it happens that military fallen, all due will go to Hell. Then I did have /undiscernible/ in Kupres /undiscernible/? Do we have political leadership? Do we have party leadership? Do we have MUP? Do we have the military? Do we have Kupres? No, all is gone.
Andrija	By far /undiscernible/ they say /undiscernible/
Ratko MLADIĆ	Party wise it is, tactical it is not. Next, let me ask something about our, these, persons. Do you have about this? VELIBOR OVIĆ, what is your opinion?
Andrija	/undiscernible/ no coverage, /undiscernible/

	Ratko MLADIĆ	He also was... he was also in joined bed with "Turkish female" up until the war. The question is now if he is divorced from her or not. And question is how did he get there, to be night there. He was in peace and now in war. And the question is, where does all this that by KARADŽIĆ into him come from? Does he not see some things? Does he not see...
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ on Ozren/ undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Come on, not only Ozren, it was not only Ozren. He was also in Novom a few days ago, I know it all.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	He was in Novom, while I was in /undiscernible/, man. I know what he is doing. Where does that lead to? Secondly, I was... or there is some blindness with Radovan, or he surrounds himself with people, you know, which... which should not approach him, much less be his advisors.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	He is in MUP, he directly, he has unlimited trust in Danilo VESELINOVIĆ. More than into the whole MUP. Can Danilo VESELINOVIĆ be the person who will advise him? In MUP. Can he /undiscernible/ TINTOR- if he is KRAJIŠNIK's godfather, that he advices him in all state bussiness, about interior affairs, about commerce, about military, everything. Well, if I am creating a country where idiots like /undiscernible/ TINTOR and Danilo VESELINOVIĆ will be leaders of the political life, then I pss on such a country!
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	We shall see/ undiscernible/ we need/ undiscernible/ No, no, no, you are right!
	Andrija	It is possible.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	We shall see with what and what they are pushing in here. How do they buy authority. With what did he purchase this /undiscernible/? What results? What fright did he lead? This would be the same, as if I would now put my cousin Marko MARIĆ in blue uniform and say: "Andrija, you /undiscernible/ You know nothing" /undiscernible/ you need to answer many questions, my friend, and security service in the military as well. Many questions.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ with arguments. Arguments
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Nice, my friend, first put yourself under a microscope, then me, then everybody else.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/ with arguments. Within the institutions, do that
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, there. Well, there, my friend. Because people and their forte are above our lives. But this is not easy. Do as I say. I do not have the right to ask of you or demand, but I ask you to do this properly. You just opened a stinky barrel for me, unless it is a whole pool! And that /undiscernible/ over Andrija
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, there, my friend. Let's go, so that you can sleep

		lot a bit /undiscernible/ fax.
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	And please, when can I expect you to bring me this
	Andrija	Well I will bring you /undiscernible/.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Only personally, only me personally. And in future, regarding these questions you have, either come yourself, or /undiscernible/ Whatever you /undiscernible/ from military, personally to me. And I tell you as such. If you ask me, all you say to me personally, say /undiscernible/, that you can /undescernible/.
	Andrija	Alright, regarding further work, I have nothing to say /undiscernible/...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Feel free to give me all that. Well, there. Photocopies. Do not give to anybody else. And then I will, I mean see, or rather consult with Tosa, that I confront them in a phrase, I mean, interrogation. That I also talk with them for a bit, in your presence, or someone else. Did you understand me, my friend? In the name of the people these idiots need to be properly squeezed. Squeezed properly.
	Andrija	Well, yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I wish you all the best! See you in the morning, come for a cup of coffee. Rajko take him now that he can sleep, down at /undiscernible/
	Andrija	I think that it is, it is /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/
	Andrija	/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	/undiscernible/ be well! Good night!
00:57:09	/end of conversation/	
00:57:11	Ratko MLADIĆ	Now I will follow here at Ilan Pijesac, if somebody, but they don't, who has so much money, freezing hell. Privately, no body.
	Unknown Speaker A	Do you have what we talked about? That I /undiscernible/ dash to Zvornik, and bring it here?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Well, I don't know. I'll see. With me, in my treasury if there is... I do not believe we have that much. If there is some, I will give what is there.
	Unknown speaker A	I, if you could activate what we spoke about the last time, I would send in the morning /undiscernible/ and STAJIĆ into Zvornik, to pick it up.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Come on, if you find that KOVAČEVIĆ then we will see something, lace it, and we'll pick it up tomorrow.
	Unknown speaker A	I...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	If we do have it, but I do not believe that there /undiscernible/. I do not know the state of things here.
	Unknown speaker A	Yes, yes, yes, yes. Just today I released some five hundred thousand indicating for "Pro partizan" that we re-open the process of transit of produce.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Alright, brother. Fine, see you. Look at that. Maybe KOVAČEVIĆ sent it with someone, damn it. Did he have an accident, or...
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/ No he was shot /undiscernible/ or two with me, I mean...

	Ratko MLADIĆ	either brave down or... Well, I do not believe that, KOVAČEVIĆ is responsible. I do not believe that he would, I mean, forget about such a thing. Please have a look and let me know!
	Unknown speaker A	Tonight, or?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Call me in the evening, that I see, or KOVAČEVIĆ can let me know, so that I see what I will do, we will resolve this somehow. I will see here in Han Pijesak, maybe someone has some /undiscernible/ some company, or...
	Unknown speaker A	I'll call again!
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Right. Take care!
00:58:32	/end of conversation/	
00:58:33	Ratko MLADIĆ	Hallo!
	Mane	Yes?
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Mane, speak!
	Mane	I got information pertaining the situation /undiscernible/ from me.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Mane	I am not agreeing with the suggestion from the first one over there.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I sent him something similar. Great, you should not speak on this line. We are on level. /undiscernible
	Mane	Let it go in the area.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	No, no, no. Nothing is as critical. This is all good down there, under control, no worries. Just you do your job
	Mane	All right!
	Ratko MLADIĆ	No worries. I told him as well like that, it is much better situation than he had feared in the beginning. He feared some endangering. Presented violent situation, received re-enforcements and it will all be settled. You just do your job there
		and do not burden yourself with anything else.
	Mane	/undiscernible/ hum.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Okay, okay! You just do there your job and see, I mean, use forces economically.
	Mane	Understood!
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Bye and good luck!
00:59:33	/end of conversation/	
00:59:34	Ratko MLADIĆ	It's 22:30. /undiscernible/, where the fuck you've been!
	Unknown speaker A	Here am I at Vlasenica, I just got here, generale, sir.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	What did you do? Did you do anything?
	Unknown speaker A	Well, yes, I brought it up, I mean, there we definitively did them /undiscernible/ we took it, /undiscernible/ I believe that tomorrow this line will be back, without any big problems, I mean what /undiscernible/ next to Bijelović.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Unknown speaker A	/undiscernible/ have /undiscernible/ taken, and we were successful /undiscernible/ was an exceptionally strong attack today, that lasted for ten to fifteen ho
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Where am on /undiscernible/?

	Unknown speaker A	Toward/undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Unknown speaker A	There was a hard fight, I mean, and they broke through two places then, they managed to return, stabilize and I think, by all estimates,– those who were up, mean were /undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Is that so?
	Unknown speaker A	Yes, yes. For example I, I/undiscernible/ the battalion attacked, you couldn't see a soldiers without a helmet and without, I mean, without the armored vest.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	By the Turks?
	Unknown speaker A	Yes.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Aha. All right. Did our guys kill that?
	Unknown speaker A	They have killed a lot, a lot I think. They have killed lot...by all accounts undiscernible/
	Ratko MLADIĆ	All right.
	Unknown speaker A	Well, that is the way it is, I mean/undiscernible/ Tonight/undescernible/ something to eat and then will go up there.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Great! Has MILOŠEVIĆ arrived?
	Unknown speaker A	Yes.
	MILOŠEVIĆ	I'm here, I'm here.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Where are you boss? Congratulations!
	MILOŠEVIĆ	Please, go ahead, General!
	Ratko MLADIĆ	I want to congratulate you!
	MILOŠEVIĆ	Thanks! Well, it was a little critical, as if something is not...
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Listen Miša...
	MILOŠEVIĆ	/Undiscernible/ said..
The speaker on the tape is identified as Milošević, by Ratko Mladić.		
	Ratko MLADIĆ	...please don't hold it against me. Look, let me tell you, you don't know how this for me, I have problems in Kupres. My voice is all gone, see. I'm on the phone the whole day long, talking. I don't know how to help you, I would gladly take a gun and go at the front of the line.
	MILOŠEVIĆ	Great! I understand you well.
	Ratko MLADIĆ	Please don't, if I even do it sometimes, it's not due to bad intentions, I do it to encourage you, to instigate things...
01:01:39	/End of recording/	

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