

CONFERENCE PROGRAM AND BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Conference on International
Law, Politics, and Memory

30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE

July 8, Tuesday, 2025

Venue: Balkan Studies Foundation

Organizing Committee

Dr. Sevba Abdula, Balkan Studies Foundation (North Macedonia) | **Assist. Prof. Dr. Hasan Basri Bülbul**, Boğaziçi University (Türkiye) |
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bujamin Bela, Mother Teresa Univeristy (North Macedonia) | **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tahir Kılavuz**, Marmara University (Türkiye)
| **Prof. Dr. Mehmet Bulut**, Zaim University (Türkiye) | **Dr. Sedad Bešlija**, University of Sarajevo Institute of History (Bosnia-Herzegovina) |
Hanife Etem, Balkan Studies Foundation (North Macedonia) | **Elif R. Nazim**, Balkan Studies Foundation (North Macedonia)

Organizing Institution

Balkan Studies Foundation | University of Sarajevo Institute of History | İSAR Research Center
| University of Sarajevo- Institute for Research on Crimes Against Humanity and International Law | WOLAS | ADAM

Scientific Committee

Prof. Dr. Ali Emrah Bozbayındır (Türkiye) | **Prof. Dr. Admir Mulaosmanović** (Bosnia-Herzegovina) |
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Hamdi Topal (Türkiye) | **Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacisalioglu** (Germany) | **Prof. Dr. Berdal Aral** (Türkiye) |
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Osman Kuşakçı (Türkiye) | **Dr. Polona Florijančič** (Slovenia) | **Dr. Luigi Daniele** (United Kingdom) |
Dr. Andre Maria Pellicioni (Italy) | **Dr. Jasmin Medić** (Bosnia-Herzegovina) | **Dr. Mumaer Džananović** (Bosnia-Herzegovina) |
Dr. Hikmet Karčić (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Graphic Design

Seyfullah Bayram

Contact

Makedonsko Kosovska Brigada No: 32 1A, Cair – Skopje, North Macedonia
balkanfoundation.com | info@balkanfoundation.com

PROGRAM / BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL LAW, POLITICS, AND MEMORY:
30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE**

JULY 8, 2025 | BALKAN STUDIES FOUNDATION | 10:00-17:30

CONTENTS

Program	7
Speakers	9
Abstracts	18
 Genocide Denial in Srebrenica: Whither now reconciliation?	 19
<i>Prof. Dr. Satvinder Juss</i>	
 Denial of Genocide Against Bosniaks in Srebrenica: From Concealing Mortal Remains to the UN Resolution on Genocide	 20
<i>Dr. Muamer Džananović</i>	
 Remembering the Forgotten Expulsions of Muslims from the Balkans (1680s-1860s)	 21
<i>Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalıhoğlu</i>	
 Perception of the Srebrenica genocide in the Croatian daily press	 22
<i>Prof. Dr. Emina Berbić Kolar</i>	
 Legal Dilemmas of the UN's Responsibility for the Srebrenica Genocide	 23
<i>Assist. Prof. Dr. Muhammet Celal Kul</i>	
 Traces of the Genocide of Srebrenica in Literature: Testimony, Memory and Narrative	 24
<i>Dr. İlhan Süzgün</i>	

Admissions of Guilt for the Srebrenica Genocide and their Importance in Confronting the Past	25
<i>Dr. Jasmin Medić</i>	
Bosnia-Herzegovina War and Srebrenica Massacre in Bulgarian Foreign Policy (1992-1995)	26
<i>Dr. Mustafa Işık</i>	
The Evolution and Application of the Joint Criminal Enterprise (JCE) Doctrine: From the Tadić Judgment to the Srebrenica Cases	27
<i>Sümeyye Koman</i>	
In Service of Evil: Instrumentalization of the Public Administration in Republika Srpska in Denying, Minimizing, and Glorifying the Srebrenica Genocide	28
<i>Harun Išerić</i>	
The Turkish Media's Reaction to the Srebrenica Massacre (1995): Media Discourse and Political Approach	29
<i>Agon Krasniqi</i>	
Between Faith and Survival: The Political Landscape of Srebrenica (1988-1992)	30
<i>Meldin Kešetović</i>	



The **Balkan Studies Foundation** is the continuation of the Fettah Efendi Education and Thought Association, which was founded in September 2016 by young academicians, students, and young businessmen based in Skopje. It has been reorganized under a different institutional framework due to the expansion of activities carried out under the association's umbrella and the necessity of including all of the Balkans. Between 2016 and 2022, it conducted thousands of educational activities and undertook significant research and publication endeavors. Since September 2022, it has continued its activities through research centers, training centers, and publishing houses under the name of the Balkan Studies Foundation.



Univerzitet u Sarajevu
Institut za historiju

The **University of Sarajevo Institute of History** is a prominent research institution dedicated to the study and analysis of historical processes, particularly focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the broader Balkan region. The institute conducts interdisciplinary research on political, social, cultural, and economic history, with an emphasis on understanding historical developments within regional and global contexts. It also publishes scholarly works, organizes conferences, and collaborates with international institutions to promote historical research and education.



İSAR
Araştırma Merkezi

The **ISAR Research Center**, established in 2020 under the Abdullah Tivnikli Foundation, is a distinguished academic institution committed to advancing intellectual inquiry and knowledge production both within Turkey and internationally. The Center actively engages with contemporary academic debates, fostering interdisciplinary research across social sciences, humanities, and classical Islamic studies. With a project-based approach, ISAR convenes expert teams to explore pressing scholarly questions and contribute meaningfully to scientific, cultural, and public discourse. ISAR hosts a range of activities including focused working groups, workshops, national and international symposiums, and seminars. It also emphasizes the development of analytical skills through reading groups and offers training in digital research tools such as AI-powered platforms. The Center's extensive library supports research in Islamic sciences, Ottoman studies, modern Western thought, and social sciences, providing invaluable resources for scholars worldwide. Located in Üsküdar, Istanbul, ISAR is dedicated to nurturing an inclusive and dynamic research environment, welcoming both emerging and established academics. Through its innovative programs and commitment to rigorous scholarship, ISAR contributes significantly to the advancement of knowledge and the enrichment of academic dialogue.



Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law from Sarajevo is a public scientific institution engaged in analysis of crimes against peace, crime of genocide, and other grave breaches of international law from the historical, legal, sociological, criminology, economic, demographic, psychological, political, cultural, medical, environmental, and other aspects of relevance for the complete research of crimes.

The Institute was established on 4 September 1992 based on Law Decree of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Official Gazette of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 16/92), ratified at the Parliament of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 1 June 1994 (Official Gazette of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, No. 13/94). The Seat of the Institute is in Sarajevo. The Institute is a member of the Sarajevo University.



Worldwide Lawyers Association (WOLAS) was established by lawyers and academics working in Türkiye, with the aim of conducting activities in the international arena. It is open to individuals who advocate for rights, and its main focus is advocating for rights. Protecting the rights of individuals against both major and minor authorities is one of the association's primary objectives. In pursuit of this goal, WOLAS adopts an approach that constantly questions the assumptions and blind spots in the understanding of human rights, renewing them with a demand for a more holistic and inclusive concept of justice. As an Istanbul-based organisation, WOLAS is dedicated to conducting a rights-based struggle to promote justice. Their mission includes raising awareness among all relevant circles, providing necessary training to take a stance and fight against rights violations, and fostering organised mobilisation.



The primary goal of the **ADAM** is to build the necessary infrastructure to cultivate the ideal individual for our time across all fields, with a focus on solidarity and cooperation to achieve this aim. ADAM seeks to enhance the quality of human resources by supporting their academic, social, and cultural development. The institution prioritizes educational, research, and project activities within a framework of human consciousness and conscience, aiming to transform the collective wisdom and historical richness of our region into a synergistic force, fostering a “community of intellectuals” dedicated to advancing beauty and excellence in every domain.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

July 8, 2025, Tuesday, Balkan Studies Foundation

10:00-10:15, Opening Remarks

10:15-10:30, Honorary Speech | Mr. Afrim Gashi, President of the Assembly of the Republic of North Macedonia

10:30-11:15, Keynote Speech | Prof. Dr. Satvinder Juss, *Genocide Denial in Srebrenica: Whither now reconciliation?*, United Kingdom

11:30-12:45, Session 1: The Struggle for Truth, Justice, and Confronting the Past | Moderator: Assist. Prof. Dr. Hasan Basri Bülbül

Dr. Muamer Džananović	Denial of Genocide Against Bosniaks in Srebrenica: From Concealing Mortal Remains to the UN Resolution on Genocide	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Assist. Prof. Dr. Muhammet Celal Kul	Legal Dilemmas of the UN's Responsibility for the Srebrenica Genocide	Türkiye
Dr. Jasmin Medić	Admissions of Guilt for the Srebrenica Genocide and Their Importance in Confronting the Past	Bosnia-Herzegovina

14:30-16:00, Session 2: Genocide, Memory, and Historiography | Moderator: Dr. Muamer Džananović

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalıoğlu	Remembering the Forgotten Expulsions of Muslims from the Balkans (1680s-1860s)	Türkiye
Dr. İlhan Süzgün	Traces of the Genocide of Srebrenica in Literature: Testimony, Memory and Narrative	Türkiye
Meldin Kešetović	Between Faith and Survival: The Political Landscape of Srebrenica (1988-1992)	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Harun Išerić	In Service of Evil: Instrumentalization of the Public Administration in Republika Srpska in Denying, Minimizing, and Glorifying the Srebrenica Genocide	Bosnia-Herzegovina

16:15-17:45, Session 3: Media Narratives and Foreign Policy Responses | Moderator: Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalıoğlu

Prof. Dr. Emina Berbić Kolar	Perception of the Srebrenica Genocide in the Croatian Daily Press	Croatia
Agon Krasniqi	The Turkish Media's Reaction to the Srebrenica Massacre (1995): Media Discourse and Political Approach	Kosovo
Sümeyye Koman	The Evolution and Application of the Joint Criminal Enterprise (JCE) Doctrine: From the Tadić Judgment to the Srebrenica Cases	Türkiye
Dr. Mustafa Işık	Bosnia-Herzegovina War and Srebrenica Massacre in Bulgarian Foreign Policy (1992-1995)	Bulgaria

SPEAKERS



Prof. Dr. Satvinder Juss

Satvinder Juss has been a Professor of Law at King's College London since 2008 and serves as a Deputy Judge of the Upper Tribunal. He completed his PhD in Law at Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1986 and was a Harkness Fellow at Harvard Law School in 1996. His career began as a Fellow and College Lecturer at Emmanuel College, Cambridge from 1985 to 1988. He was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn in 1989 and became a Bencher in 2021. Since 1989, he has been practicing as a barrister and completed his pupillage at 4-5 Gray's Inn Square in 1990. From 1991 to 1993, he was a Law Lecturer at the University of Wales College, Cardiff, and in 1997, he was a Human Rights Fellow at Harvard University. He served as a Visiting Professor of Law at Indiana University, Bloomington in 1998. From 1998 to 2001, he was a Certified Lecturer for the Law Society of England and Wales and a Consultant at the College of Law. He joined King's College London as a Lecturer in Law in 2000, became a Reader in Law in 2003, and was appointed Professor of Law in 2008. He has also been a Visiting Fellow at Georgetown University (1996-97), the Alice Tay Lecturer at the Australian National University in 2013, and delivered the Annual Human Rights Lecture at the New Zealand Centre of Human Rights in 2014. He has advocated for the Government of Wales as a member of Panel A from 2012 to 2016 and for the Equality and Human Rights Commission of England and Wales since 2015. He has been a member of the Council and Migration Commissioner for the RSA since 2004 and a Life Member and Council Member of the Indian Council of Arbitration since 2010. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA).



Dr. Muamer Džananović

Dr. Muamer Džananović graduated in 2009 from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo, earning the title of Professor of Philosophy and Sociology. He obtained his master's degree in 2014 at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, earning the title of Master of Sociology. In 2019, he earned his PhD in the field of genocide sociology at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, obtaining the title of Doctor of Sociological Sciences.

Since October 1, 2009, he has been employed at the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo, where since September 22, 2024, he has been serving as the director of the Institute.

To date, he has published numerous authored and co-authored books and monographs, several reports, exhibitions, and over thirty scientific papers in the field of research on war crimes and genocide. He has participated in numerous domestic and international scientific conferences, panel discussions, and gatherings. He has also been a member of organizational and scientific committees of many conferences and scientific meetings, as well as the chief and responsible editor and editorial board member of several journals. He is engaged in numerous domestic and international scientific projects. He has reviewed, edited, and promoted dozens of books and collections of papers. Throughout his career, he has made a significant contribution to the production of several documentary films related to the activities of the Institute for Research of Crimes. He was elected to the academic-teaching title of Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Tuzla. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Council of Bosniak Intellectuals. He is also a member of several international associations and organizations.



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalihoğlu was born in Tonya, Trabzon, Turkey. He studied Turkish History at Ankara University and the History of Eastern and Southeastern Europe in Munich, Germany. He completed his master's thesis on The Image of Greece in Turkey (Türk Ansiklopedisi) and earned his PhD with a dissertation on The Young Turks and the Macedonian Question. He has participated in several research projects in Germany, including Southeast European Toponymies and Comparison of Empires, and led the project The Image of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in Contemporary History Textbooks in the Balkan and Black Sea Countries in Turkey. Prof. Hacısalihoğlu is the founding director of the Center for Balkan and Black Sea Studies (BALKAR) at Yıldız Technical University in Istanbul. His primary research interests include the history of the Balkans in the 19th and 20th centuries, Russia, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea region—particularly the history of notables (ayans) in the Black Sea area. He has published books, edited volumes, and numerous articles on a wide range of topics related to the Ottoman Empire, Balkan history, and the Black Sea region.



Prof. Dr. Emina Berbić Kolar

Prof. Dr. Emina Berbić Kolar (b. October 24, 1976, Slavonski Brod, Croatia) is a distinguished linguist and full professor in Croatian language and literature at the Faculty of Education, University of J.J. Strossmayer in Osijek. She completed her undergraduate degree in Croatian Language and Literature in 2000 and continued postgraduate studies at Osijek's Faculty of Philosophy. In 2006, she earned an M.Sc. with a thesis on Posavina dialects near Slavonski Brod, and in 2009 obtained her Ph.D. for research on Slavonian dialects around Brod.

Dr. Berbić Kolar has held progressively senior academic roles: assistant (from 2008), rising to vice-dean, and now serves as Dean and full Professor at the Teacher Training Faculty in Osijek (FO-OZOS). She has also taught at Trakya University (Turkey) and participates in Erasmus exchanges.

An expert in dialectology, sociolinguistics, media literacy, and intangible cultural heritage, she has authored over 100 scholarly and professional papers, co-authored six books including *Sičanske riči* (2014) and led the doctoral program "Educational Sciences and Perspectives of Education" (2020–2022).



Her research focuses on Slavonian dialects, including the protected “Siće” and “Stari Perkovci” dialects, for which she conducted extensive field studies, lexicographic analysis, digitization projects, and educational outreach throughout Eastern Croatia. She has been a lead researcher and speaker on intangible linguistic heritage at international conferences and roundtables, including forums in Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro.

As a dean, educator, and scholar, Prof. Berbić Kolar champions the integration of linguistic tradition, multimedia education, and cultural heritage preservation in teacher training, shaping both regional identity and global scholarship.



Assist. Prof. Dr. Muhammet Celal Kul

Assistant Professor Dr. Muhammet Celal Kul, PhD, teaches international law at Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University, where he is the head of the department of international law. Dr Kul is also a member of the board of executives at WOLAS and a freelance writer for the news site Karadeniz Havadis. He authored books titled “Status of Forces Agreements in International Law,” “Exploring the Anatomy of the Syrian Armed Conflicts,” and “The International Criminal Court and the International Crime of Aggression.” Dr. Kul’s many scientific papers and proceedings are available in national and international scientific journals, published in peer-reviewed journals of law. With a wide range of interests such as international treaty law, humanitarian law, international criminal law, and public law, Dr. Kul is a versatile, open-minded person who develops ideas on both law and social issues. Speaking English and French, Dr. Kul has taught at various universities, including Yalova University, Istanbul Medipol University, and Ibn Haldun University, since 2019. Dr. Kul’s educational history is as follows: LLB Istanbul University; LLM Galatasaray University; LLM The University of Nottingham; PhD Marmara University.



Dr. İlhan Süzgün

He graduated from Trakya University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature in 2010. In 2013, he completed his master's degree at the same university with his study on the children's magazine Resimli Dünya published in Ottoman Turkish in the early years of the Republic. In 2024, he received the title of doctor with his thesis titled Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar from Forgetting to Canon.

Between 2013-2020, he taught critical reading and writing courses at İstanbul Şehir University. Süzgün's academic interests include literary canon, literary sociology and literary production. His works have been published in various national and international journals and edited books.



Dr. Jasmin Medić

Jasmin Medić was born on October 19, 1986, in Prijedor. He earned his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees at the Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo.

He is the author of one, co-author of two scholarly monographs and one study, as well as the co-author of a history textbook for primary and secondary schools in the Sarajevo Canton. In addition, he has authored 22 academic and professional articles and nine reviews published in indexed journals in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany, Croatia, and Montenegro, focusing on modern and contemporary history, genocide, crimes against humanity, and victimology.

He has participated in 40 international academic conferences and other scholarly gatherings, including roundtable discussions, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad.

He currently holds the position of Senior Research Associate in Modern History at the Institute of History, University of Sarajevo, and serves as a professor of the courses History of Wars and Military History at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo.



Dr. Mustafa Işık

Dr. Mustafa Işık born in 1989 in Kardzhali, Bulgaria, and migrated to Türkiye in the same year. He received his undergraduate degrees in 2014 from Anadolu University (Department of International Relations) and Sakarya University (Department of Turkish Language and Literature).

He completed his MA in International Relations at Sakarya University in 2016 with a thesis titled “Last Great Migration from the Balkans to Turkey as the Outgoing 1989 Migration Process.”

He earned his Ph.D. from the same department in 2024 with a dissertation titled “Transformation of Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Balkans in the Context of Neoclassical Realism (The Case of Bulgaria).”

His research interests include foreign policy analysis, Balkan politics, minority issues, and cultural diplomacy.



Sümeyye Koman

Sümeyye Koman (b. 1996, Istanbul) graduated from the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University in 2020. She completed her LL.M. in Law of War and Armed Conflict at the National Defence University with a thesis entitled “Environmental Protection in International Law and the Crime of Ecocide under the Rome Statute.”

She is currently pursuing a PhD in Public Law at the Institute of Social Sciences, Istanbul University, and serves as a research assistant in the Department of International Law, Faculty of Law, Istanbul Medeniyet University. Before entering academia, Ms. Koman worked in civil society as a project and external relations specialist, managing national and international initiatives and representing the Republic of Türkiye in the W20 (Women 20) engagement group during several G20 presidencies. She is fluent in English and has intermediate proficiency in German.



Harun Išerić

Harun Išerić (b. 1993) is a Senior Teaching and Research Assistant at the Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. at the same faculty, focusing his dissertation on the role of courts in achieving environmental justice.

His academic and research interests lie in constitutional and human rights law, with a particular emphasis on constitutional judiciary, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), comparative administrative law and procedure, environmental law, elections, media, and transitional justice. His specific areas of focus include freedom of expression and genocide denial, the role of public administration in the final stages of genocide, and administrative reform as a component of post-conflict reparation processes.

Harun was awarded the ReThink.CEE Fellowship (2022-2023) by the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Sakharov Fellowship by the European Parliament in 2023. He is a co-founder of the Media Law School, organized in cooperation with the Faculty of Law Sarajevo, the EU Delegation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the OSCE.

From 2018 to 2020, he served as Director of the Legal Clinic in Human Rights Law. In 2023, he was appointed by the State Central Election Commission to the Municipal Election Commission of Sarajevo for a seven-year term (2023-2030). That same year, he was appointed as a member of the Constitutional Affairs Council of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (for member Dr. Denis Bećirović). He also served as a member of the Complaints Commission of the Press and Online Media Council in BiH (2021-2025).



Agon Krasniqi

Agon Krasniqi, born on September 12, 2001, completed his Bachelor's and Master's studies at the University of Pristina, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History. He is currently pursuing his PhD studies at Uludağ University in Bursa, Turkey. As a scientific researcher, he has participated in various national and international conferences and has published articles in both local and international scientific journals.



Meldin Kešetović

Meldin Kešetović (b. 2002, Tuzla) is a historian focused on post-WWII Bosnian history, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, microhistory, and the history of Srebrenica. He holds a BA in History from the University of Sarajevo, where he is currently pursuing his MA. He has written several papers and book reviews, is a correspondent for Balkan Diskurs and was recently a curator at the Museum of the Siege of Sarajevo and the Museum of Crimes Against Humanity. He has participated in conferences and delivered lectures in Bosnia, the wider region, and across Europe.

ABSTRACTS



Genocide Denial in Srebrenica: Whither now reconciliation?

Prof. Dr. Satvinder Juss

King's College London

Abstract: Despite the ICJ's landmark judgment in *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* in February 2007 that “the acts committed at Srebrenica ... were committed with the specific intent to destroy in part the group of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina as such; and accordingly that these were acts of genocide” there has been a dramatic rise in incidents of genocide denial over the last year. This is notwithstanding the adoption of legislation criminalising such rhetoric. Yet, prosecutions have markedly declined. What hope now then of reconciliation in this troubled land? This presentation will consider the problems and prospects on the road to lasting peace.

Keywords: Genocide, Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina



Denial of Genocide Against Bosniaks in Srebrenica: From Concealing Mortal Remains to the UN Resolution on Genocide

Dr. Muamer Džananović

Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law

Abstract: The denial of genocide in Srebrenica began immediately after the commission of the crime, through the systematic concealment of evidence, with mass graves serving as crucial proof. These graves are not only physical evidence of the crime but also an element of the state's policy of concealment, which persisted during and after the war. The discovery of mass graves across Bosnia and Herzegovina, containing the mortal remains of genocide victims, clearly indicates the existence of institutional efforts aimed at hiding and downplaying the true nature of the crime. Even today, more than a thousand genocide victims are considered missing.

The denial of genocide continues at various levels, from local to international, and remains a serious problem that threatens the process of peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. One of the most explicit indicators of this ongoing genocide denial is the response to the adoption of the UN General Assembly Resolution, which on May 23, 2024, declared July 11 as International Day of Remembrance for the Genocide in Srebrenica. By adopting this Resolution, the international community clearly affirms the unquestionable nature of the Srebrenica genocide and the need to honor the victims.

Despite international court rulings, scientific evidence, and the adoption of the Resolution, political leaders of Serbia and the Bosnian entity of Republika Srpska continue to deny the genocide. Amendments to the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which criminalize genocide denial, have not yielded the desired results, nor have they stopped the deniers. Political strategies that deny genocide not only hinder justice for the victims but also have long-term political consequences for the future of the region. Ignoring international court rulings, glorifying war criminals, and resisting efforts to establish a foundation for lasting peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicate the continuation of genocide denial policies. Without serious confrontation with the past and acknowledgment of the truth about Srebrenica, the process of reconciliation in the region will remain blocked.

Keywords: Srebrenica genocide, transitional justice, peacebuilding in Bosnia



Remembering the Forgotten Expulsions of Muslims from the Balkans (1680s–1860s)

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Hacısalıhoğlu

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Abstract: This paper explores the largely neglected history of the expulsions, massacres, and coerced migrations of Muslims from Southeastern Europe between the late 17th and mid-19th centuries. While significant scholarly focus has been given to the 1877–78 Russo-Ottoman War and the 1992–1995 Bosnian genocide, the earlier waves of Muslim displacement following the Ottoman military defeats—particularly in Hungary, the Danube region, Greece, and Serbia—remain under-researched and scarcely acknowledged in both local and international historiography.

The paper outlines how the perception of Muslims as foreign occupiers in emerging Balkan nation-states laid the ideological groundwork for their removal, often through violent means. These acts were not solely military outcomes but rooted in nationalist agendas and the reinterpretation of Muslims as obstacles to national homogeneity. Early examples include the ethnic cleansing in Hungary after 1683, and the forced migration and massacre of Muslims during the Greek War of Independence and the Serbian uprisings.

Historiography long ignored these events due to a Eurocentric bias and a reluctance to equate the sufferings of Muslims with other recognized instances of ethnic cleansing. A turning point came in the 1990s with works by Western scholars like Justin McCarthy and Noel Malcolm, and later by Bosniak and Turkish researchers. Still, research remains sparse, especially concerning the pre-1860 period.

The paper also discusses how the memory of these expulsions has been culturally suppressed. Memorial practices in Hungary, Serbia, and Greece often exclude Muslim narratives, even in museums, textbooks, and urban toponymy. While some architectural studies acknowledge Ottoman heritage, broader public memory remains silent. This research calls for comprehensive historiographical and memorial work to address this persistent gap and reassess the historical narrative surrounding Muslim populations in the Balkans.

Keywords: Muslim displacement, Balkan nationalism, ethnic cleansing, historiographical bias



Perception of the Srebrenica genocide in the Croatian daily press

Prof. Dr. Emina Berbić Kolar

Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek

Abstract: The paper will present the manner of reporting and describing the Srebrenica genocide in the Croatian daily press (Jutarnji list and Večernji list). On the basis of linguistic constructions and ways of reporting and the creation of media perception, it will be concluded about the influence and importance of daily newspapers in the Republic of Croatia on the creation of the perception of crimes committed in Srebrenica against the non-Serb population, especially against Bosniaks. The aim of this paper is to point out the power of words and linguistic expression in such difficult situations, such as the genocide committed in Srebrenica. The power of the media is extremely great, as well as the media influence on the creation of perception in an ordinary person who is not part of the events and who belongs to other cultures and is sometimes colored by prejudice and disbelief towards events that deserve general condemnation. The methodology of the paper will be focused on the analysis of texts published in Jutarnji and Večernji list in the week (July 13 to 19), which is marked by the memory of the unpleasant events of 1995. The method of reporting in the period from 1995 to 2025 will be monitored. Frequent linguistic structures and titles will be singled out as carriers of basic linguistic messages that shape the opinion of an ordinary person, a citizen, in the Republic of Croatia. The analysed linguistic corpus will provide recommendations for further research into the linguistic, media and cultural impact on the shaping of linguistic and extralinguistic reality.

Keywords: Srebrenica, Croatian daily press, Genocide



Legal Dilemmas of the UN's Responsibility for the Srebrenica Genocide

Assist. Prof. Dr. Muhammet Celal Kul

Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University

Abstract: The Srebrenica genocide, perpetrated in July 1995 amidst the Bosnian War, remains one of the most egregious atrocities in post-World War II Europe. Over 8,000 Bosnian men and boys were systematically executed in a designated “safe area” under the ostensible protection of the United Nations. This tragic failure raises profound legal and moral questions concerning the responsibility of the United Nations under international law. Despite the structural immunity generally afforded to the UN under Article 105 of the UN Charter and the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, legal doctrine and case law have exposed the porousness of this immunity in situations of grave international crimes. The doctrine of “effective control”, as applied in cases involving international organizations, challenges the UN’s insulation from legal accountability by evaluating the factual authority exercised by peacekeeping contingents. Furthermore, the International Law Commission’s Draft Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations (DARIO) provides a normative framework for attributing conduct and establishing international responsibility. In the Srebrenica context, the UN’s operational decisions, delayed intervention, and its failure to authorize the robust protection of civilians have been scrutinized as omissions that may engage international legal responsibility. Although no formal legal tribunal has adjudicated the UN’s responsibility, this failure of the UN has catalyzed a normative shift in the understanding of international organizations’ accountability, affirming that legal personality must be tempered by responsibility. This evolving discourse underscores the imperative of reconciling the UN’s functional independence with its obligations under jus cogens norms and international humanitarian law.

Keywords: Srebrenica genocide, responsibility of the UN, immunity of the UN, jus cogens norms, massacre



Traces of the Genocide of Srebrenica in Literature: Testimony, Memory and Narrative

Dr. İlhan Süzgün

Independent Researcher

Abstract: At the end of the 20th century, in the centre of Europe, the Srebrenica Genocide was one of the greatest tests of the modern world in terms of human rights and international law, yet it was engraved in history as a shameful tragedy. This event has been discussed not only in war crimes tribunals but also in many fields such as politics, law, media, culture and art, and has become an important element of collective memory, which is a set of shared consciousness and narratives about how a community remembers and makes sense of the past. Literature, which plays an important role in the construction and transmission of collective memory, could not remain indifferent to this tragedy and made the traces of the genocide in individual and collective memory visible through memoirs, novels, stories and poems. By tracing the traces of the Srebrenica Genocide in literature, this article aims to address how literature witnessed this tragedy, how the boundary between testimony and fiction was shaped, and how literature constructs the genocide in collective memory. It will also analyse how literature remembers traumatic events, which events it highlights and how it interprets them, and how they are transformed into social memory. In this context, Hasan Nuhanović's *Last Refuge* and Emir Suljagić's *Postcard in the Grave* will be analysed to understand the process of transformation of individual memory into collective narrative. In contrast, fictional works such as Nermina Kurspahić's *Scream* and Alexandra Cavelius' *Leyla* will be analysed for how they deal with literary representations of the genocide. By comparing testimonial texts and fictional works on Srebrenica, the article will try to show that literature is not only a fiction, but also a field that makes sense of the past by becoming a collective memory.

Keywords: Srebrenica Genocide, Collective Memory, Literature, Testimony, Narrative



Admissions of Guilt for the Srebrenica Genocide and their Importance in Confronting the Past

Dr. Jasmin Medić

University of Sarajevo - Institute for History

Abstract: Immediately after the commencement of operations by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Dražen Erdemović, a member of the 10th Sabotage Detachment of the Army of the Republic of Srpska, confessed to his involvement in the crimes committed against Bosniaks in July 1995. Several years later, Momir Nikolić (assistant commander for security and intelligence affairs of the Bratunac Brigade of the Army of the Republic of Srpska) and Dragan Obrenović (chief of staff of the 1st Zvornik Infantry Brigade of the Drina Corps of the Army of the Republic of Srpska) also pleaded guilty. All three were sentenced to prison after entering into a plea agreement with the prosecution.

Although he did not admit guilt during his trial, Radislav Krstić, their superior and the chief of staff of the Drina Corps of the Army of the Republic of Srpska—who was the first person convicted of genocide by the ICTY—expressed remorse on several occasions during his sentence for the crimes committed within the jurisdiction of his corps, and acknowledged his participation in the genocide.

This analysis will examine the confessions of guilt made by the four individuals mentioned, and will present the findings on the following questions: Were the confessions a reflection of sincere remorse, or merely a strategy to avoid a harsher sentence? How did the confessions influence the process of reconciliation and confronting the past in the RS entity, and what significance do they hold in the fight against revisionism and genocide denial?

Keywords: Srebrenica, Genocide, ICTY, Bosnia



Bosnia-Herzegovina War and Srebrenica Massacre in Bulgarian Foreign Policy (1992-1995)

Dr. Mustafa Işık

Independent Researcher

Abstract: One of the greatest humanitarian tragedies in post-World War II Europe occurred in Srebrenica during the Bosnia-Herzegovina War (1992-1995). This humanitarian crisis drew the attention of the world community to the Balkans. The Balkan countries, with their ethnic and religious diversity, waited for global actors to step in to overcome this crisis and the ongoing conflicts. During the disintegration process of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria supported the UN and EU policies in line with the integration process with the West, even though it officially adopted a neutral stance throughout the war. Bulgaria complied with the embargoes imposed by the UN and at the same time undertook diplomatic and humanitarian aid initiatives, taking into account the impact of the instability in the region on its own security. It has pursued policies to prevent the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina from turning into a regional crisis in an ethnic and religious context, but it has also adopted a critical attitude towards global actors. In the aftermath of the Srebrenica Massacre, Bulgaria emphasised the supremacy of international law by supporting UN and NATO peace missions. However, the then ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party adopted a balanced discourse in order to avoid direct tensions with Serbia. In this process, President Jelyu Jeleu pursued a policy in line with the Western alliance. The Bulgarian press of the period generally adopted a Western perspective in its coverage of the massacre and the course of the war, but used a cautious language due to historical ties and economic interests. After the war, Bulgaria strengthened its political and economic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina and adopted policies towards regional stability within the scope of NATO and EU membership processes. This study analyses Bulgaria's foreign policy stance towards the Bosnian War and the Srebrenica Massacre and examines the country's positioning in the international system. In addition, the attitude of the political parties in Bulgaria and the way the media covered the events will also be evaluated. In conclusion, it can be said that Bulgarian foreign policy in this process tried to strike a balance between realpolitik and normative values.

Keywords: Bulgarian Press, Foreign Policy, Bosnia-Herzegovina War, Srebrenica, Genocide



The Evolution and Application of the Joint Criminal Enterprise (JCE) Doctrine: From the Tadić Judgment to the Srebrenica Cases

Sümeyye Koman

PhD Student & Research Assistant

Research Assistant in Istanbul Medeniyet University Faculty of Law

Abstract: One of the most serious violations of international law in contemporary history, the Srebrenica Genocide led to significant legal advancements at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Among the various legal doctrines applied to prosecute those responsible, Joint Criminal Enterprise (JCE) played a critical role in attributing liability to military and political leaders involved in the atrocities. This paper examines JCE – a pivotal mode of liability in international criminal law. The first part traces the doctrine's historical emergence, legal foundations and constituent elements, offering a detailed typological assessment of the three categories crystallised in *Prosecutor v. Tadić* (JCE I, JCE II and JCE III).

The second part evaluates the doctrine's practical application through the Srebrenica proceedings. It analyses the ICTY's judgments against Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić, Zdravko Tolimir, Vujadin Popović and Ljubiša Beara, elucidating how these defendants were held responsible under JCE I and JCE III.

The final part critiques the doctrine and considers the International Criminal Court's stance. Particular attention is paid to controversies surrounding the extension of JCE to crimes requiring a special intent (*dolus specialis*), the expansive interpretation of the *mens rea* element and the doctrine's status in customary international law. The study also compares Article 25(3)(d) of the Rome Statute with the JCE doctrine developed by the ICTY, concluding that while the provisions are not fully congruent, they share notable commonalities.

Keywords: Joint Criminal Enterprise, International Criminal Law, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia



In Service of Evil: Instrumentalization of the Public Administration in Republika Srpska in Denying, Minimizing, and Glorifying the Srebrenica Genocide

Harun Išerić

PhD Student - University of Sarajevo

Abstract: This paper examines how the government of Republika Srpska has instrumentalized public administration to deny, minimize, and glorify the Srebrenica genocide. In this context, we will explore the administration's role in denial as the final stage of genocide, as well as triumphalism, which has been suggested as a new final phase of genocide based on the Bosnian experience. One specific public institution stands out in this framework: the Republican Center for Research on War, War Crimes, and the Search for Missing Persons. The activities of this institution have focused on the following:

Proving that the number of victims of the Srebrenica genocide is smaller than argued by the ICTY. Arguing that the Memorial Center in Potočari also contains the remains of people killed during the armed conflicts between the two armies. Alleging discriminatory treatment of the Court of BiH, the Prosecutor's Office of BiH, and the Institute for Missing Persons of BiH towards victims/accused persons from the Serbian population, with the ultimate aim of bringing balance between perpetrators and victims based on ethnicity.

This paper explores how the Center's activities—which are officially described as ethnically neutral—are, in practice, oriented toward Serbian interests. These activities contradict the standards of professional, neutral, and impartial administration, especially in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Further issues raised include the Center's influence over judicial proceedings and public statements, which ultimately exert pressure on the Court of BiH, jeopardizing its independence in war crimes cases. Finally, considering the criminal ban on genocide denial enacted three years ago, the paper explores how the Center has found ways to bypass legal restrictions on language that constitutes a crime while continuing to persistently deny the genocide.

Keywords: Public administration, Genocide, Denial, Minimalization, Glorification



The Turkish Media's Reaction to the Srebrenica Massacre (1995): Media Discourse and Political Approach

Agon Krasniqi

PhD Student – Bursa Uludağ University

Abstract: The Srebrenica Massacre in July 1995, carried out by Bosnian Serb forces, received extensive coverage in the Turkish media, which framed the event as a humanitarian tragedy and a failure of the international community. Leading newspapers such as Hürriyet, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, Sabah, and Zaman harshly criticized the role of the United Nations and Dutch forces, portraying the surrender of the enclave as the abandonment of the Bosniak people. News reports and television broadcasts emphasized the historical and cultural ties between Turkey and Bosnia, depicting the massacre as a threat to the Muslim identity of the region. While the Turkish government engaged in humanitarian aid efforts and supported international diplomacy, the media discourse fueled strong social and political reactions within Turkey. This study examines how the Turkish media covered the Srebrenica Massacre, utilizing archival sources and discourse analysis of press reports from the period.

Keywords: Srebrenica, 1995, Turkish media, Genocide, Media Discourse, Bosnia, Turkish Politics, Journalism, International Relations, Balkan History



Between Faith and Survival: The Political Landscape of Srebrenica (1988–1992)

Meldin Kešetović

Master Student - University of Sarajevo

Abstract: This paper analyzes the political landscape of Srebrenica between 1990 and 1992, a period marked by institutional breakdown, the rise of nationalist discourse, and the erosion of interethnic trust. Through an interdisciplinary use of archival materials, local newspapers, and personal testimonies, the study traces how Srebrenica's local political scene reflected broader republican and federal disintegration processes. Special attention is given to the fragmentation of local governance, the spread of fear through propaganda and militarized rhetoric, and the collapse of civil order in the lead-up to the town's first occupation in April 1992. By shifting focus from a strictly national narrative to a localized reading of crisis, the research emphasizes the importance of bottom-up perspectives in understanding the conditions that preceded the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The case of Srebrenica reveals how political abandonment, fear, and improvised authority shaped a space caught between retreating institutions and approaching violence.

Keywords: Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, nationalism, propaganda, SDA, SDS, Yugoslav disintegration.



-  balkanfoundation.com
-  info@balkanfoundation.com
-  facebook.com/balkanfound
-  twitter.com/balkanfound
-  instagram.com/balkanfound