

Naša **priča**, naše **obećanje**.  
Our **story**, our **promise**.

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MEMORIJALNI  
CENTAR  
**SREBRENICA**

MEMORIAL  
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**SREBRENICA**

| **30**





MEMORIJALNI  
CENTAR  
**SREBRENICA**

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**11.07.1995. – 11.07.2025.**

**Genocid. Tri decenije kasnije. Naša priča.**  
Genocide. Three decades later. Our story.

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*Poštovani posjetioc i prijatelji Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica,*

*Sa osjećajem ponosa i odgovornosti, dijelimo s Vama ovu publikaciju povodom obilježavanja 30. godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici. Tri decenije nakon počinjenog genocida, naša obaveza da čuvamo istinu i sjećanje postaje još značajnija.*

*Ova publikacija donosi ključne informacije o historijskom kontekstu rata protiv Bosne i Hercegovine, padu zaštićene enklave Srebrenica i genocidu počinjenom u zoni koju su Ujedinjene nacije proglašile sigurnom. Sadržaj se bavi i sistemskim negiranjem i zataškavanjem zločina koje je počinila vojska bosanskih Srba, odgovornošću pojedinaca koji su osuđeni pravosnažnim presudama za genocid, svjedočanstvima onih koji su preživjeli, te ulogom Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica danas – kao i vizijom našeg daljnog rada i planovima za budućnost.*

*Naša misija ostaje jasna: čuvati historijsku istinu, njegovati sjećanje na žrtve i graditi prostor za obrazovanje i dijalog. Pozivamo Vas da budete dio te misije–svojim znanjem, solidarnošću i djelovanjem.*

*Dear visitors and friends of the Srebrenica Memorial Center,*

*It is with a deep sense of pride and responsibility that we share with you this publication marking the 30th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. Three decades after the genocide, our duty to preserve the truth and memory is becoming ever more significant.*

*This publication contains key information about the historical context of the war against Bosnia and Herzegovina, the fall of the enclave, and the genocide that subsequently took place in the United Nations-designated “safe area” of Srebrenica. It also addresses the systematic denial and cover-up of the crimes committed by both the Bosnian Serb army and by individual perpetrators. It also includes the testimonies of survivors and updates on the Memorial Centre’s current work, and future plans.*

*Our mission remains clear: to safeguard historical truth, honour the memory of the victims, and create a space for education and dialogue. We invite you to be part of this mission—with your knowledge, your solidarity, and your actions.*

## HISTORIJSKI KONTEKST

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

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Socijalistička Republika Bosna i Hercegovina bila je jedna od šest konstitutivnih republika bivše Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije (SFRJ), te je istovremeno bila i najraznovrsnija u etničkom i vjerskom smislu. Prema posljednjem popisu stanovništva prije rata, provedenom 1991. godine, u Bosni i Hercegovini je živjelo približno 43% Bošnjaka (Muslimana), 31% Srba, 17% Hrvata, dok se preostalih 8% stanovništva identificiralo kao Jugoslaveni ili pripadnici drugih manjinskih grupa.

Nakon što je 1991. godine započeo raspad SFRJ, Bosna i Hercegovina je, u skladu s domaćim i međunarodnim pravom provela referendum o nezavisnosti 29.2. i 1.3.1992. godine. Većina glasača izjasnila se za suverenu i međunarodno priznatu državu. Međutim, političko rukovodstvo Srpske demokratske stranke (SDS), predvođeno Radovanom Karadžićem, odbacilo je rezultate referenduma. Uz vitalnu političku i vojnu podršku vlasti Srbije i JNA, proglašena je tzv. „Republika srpskog naroda u BiH“, koja je kasnije preimenovana u Republiku Srpsku. Time su stvoreni uslovi za početak rata protiv međunarodno priznate države Republike Bosne i Hercegovine.

The Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the six constituent republics of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), and it was simultaneously the most ethnically and religiously diverse. According to the last census before the war, conducted in 1991, approximately 43% of Bosnia and Herzegovina's population identified as Bosniaks (Muslims), 31% as Serbs, and 17% as Croats, while the remaining 8% identified as Yugoslavs or members of other minority groups.

After the disintegration of the SFRY began in 1991, Bosnia and Herzegovina held a referendum on independence on 29 February and 1 March 1992, in accordance with domestic and international law. The majority of voters opted to live in a sovereign and internationally recognised state. However, Bosnian Serbs and their political leadership of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS), led by Radovan Karadžić, rejected the results of the referendum. With crucial political and military support from the Serbian government and the JNA, the so-called “Republic of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina” was proclaimed, later renamed the Republika Srpska. These developments laid the groundwork for the war against the internationally recognised state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Samoproglašena „Republika srpskog naroda u BiH“, pod političkim i vojnim vodstvom Radovana Karadžića, a uz podršku režima Slobodana Miloševića u Srbiji i tadašnje JNA, započela je oružane operacije protiv nesrpskog civilnog stanovništva Republike Bosne i Hercegovine u proljeće 1992. godine.

Politička strategija i vojne aktivnosti bile su usmjerenе ka stvaranju teritorijalne kontrole putem prisilnog uklanjanja bošnjačkog i hrvatskog stanovništva s određenih područja. Cilj ovakvih postupaka bio je uspostavljanje etnički homogenih prostora, često u skladu s konceptom tzv. „Velike Srbije“. Ove aktivnosti uključivale su masovna protjerivanja, sistematska ubistva civila, seksualno nasilje, uništavanje vjerskih objekata, razaranje kulturne baštine i druge zločine protiv čovječnosti.

The self-proclaimed “Serb Republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” under the political and military leadership of Radovan Karadžić supported by the regime of Slobodan Milošević in Serbia the JNA, initiated military operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the spring of 1992. This conflict escalated into the most devastating war on European soil since the Second World War, lasting until November 1995.

The Bosnian Serb's joint political and military strategies were, using brutal military force supplied by the JNA and other militias, directed towards establishing territorial control by forcibly removing Bosniak and Croat populations from specific areas. The aim of these actions was to create ethnically homogeneous territories, thus realising the long-term nationalist goal of creating a “Greater Serbia”. These operations involved mass expulsions, systematic killings of civilians, sexual violence, the destruction of religious sites, the devastation of cultural heritage, and other crimes against humanity.

# HISTORIJA SREBRENICE

## HISTORY OF SREBRENICA

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Srebrenica je gradić u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni i Hercegovini, smješten u dolini rijeke Drine, uz granicu s općinama Bratunac, Vlasenica, Han Pijesak, Rogatica i Višegrad. Njena historija seže duboko u antičko doba, kada je ovo područje bilo dio rimskih trgovačkih i rudarskih puteva. Arheološki nalazi u naseljima Gradina, Skelani i Klotjevac svjedoče o ranom značaju regije.

U blizini Srebrenice nalazio se rimski rudarski centar Domavia, poznat po rudarenju srebra, zbog čega je naselje dobilo status kolonije. U trećem stoljeću Domavia je brojao blizu 30.000 stanovnika, što ga je svrstalo među veća naselja u tadašnjoj Evropi.

U pisanim izvorima Srebrenica se prvi put spominje 1352. godine, u kontekstu srednjovjekovne bosanske države. Početkom 15. stoljeća grad je doživio ekonomski i politički procvat, zahvaljujući ruderstvu, a onda i razvoju kovnice novca i aktivnim trgovačkim vezama s Dubrovačkom Republikom, koja je imala koloniju u njegovoj okolini. Upravo tada stižu i prvi franjevci, čime počinje tradicija koja se nastavlja kroz ime franjevačke provincije „Bosna Srebrena“.

Srebrenica is a small town in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, located in the Drina River valley, close to the Serbian border. Its history stretches back to ancient times, when the area formed part of Roman trade and mining routes. Archaeological findings in the nearby settlements of Gradina, Skelani, and Klotjevac bear witness to the region's early significance.

Near Srebrenica was the Roman mining center of Domavia, from where silver was extracted. The mine's success elevated the settlement's status to that of a colony. By the third century, Domavia had nearly 30,000 inhabitants, making it one of the larger settlements in Europe at the time.

Srebrenica is first mentioned in written sources in 1352, within the context of the medieval Bosnian state. In the early 15th century, the town experienced economic and political flourishing, thanks to mining, the development of a mint, and active trade relations with the Republic of Dubrovnik which had established a colony in its vicinity. It was during this period that the first Franciscans arrived, marking the beginning of a tradition that continues through the Franciscan Province "Bosna Srebrena" (Silver Bosnia).



Nakon pada srednjovjekovne Bosne i dolaska Osmanlija, Srebrenica ostaje važan trgovачki i zanatski centar. Putopisac Evlija Čelebija je u 17. stoljeću zapisao da je grad imao oko 800 kuća, šest džamija i 70 zanatskih radnji. Raspadom Osmanskog carstva u 19. stoljeću dolazi do progona muslimanskog stanovništva iz Kneževine Srbije, naročito iz zapadnih krajeva, koje se naseljava u istočnu Bosnu, uključujući srebrenički kraj. Ova migracija značajno je oblikovala demografsku strukturu regije koja će, nažalost, postati jedno od ključnih mesta stradanja u savremenoj historiji BiH.

Following the fall of the medieval Bosnian state and the arrival of the Ottomans, Srebrenica remained an important centre for trade and craftsmanship. The 17th-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi recorded that the town had around 800 houses, six mosques, and 70 artisan workshops. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century came the expulsion of Muslims from the Principality of Serbia—especially from its western regions—many of whom settled in eastern Bosnia, including the Srebrenica area. This migration significantly shaped the demographic structure of the region, which would, tragically, become one of the central sites of suffering in the modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Tokom Prvog i Drugog svjetskog rata, Srebrenica je pretrpjela značajna razaranja, a lokalno stanovništvo bilo je izloženo zločinima, zbjegovima i represiji.

U periodu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, Srebrenica doživljava značajan ekonomski i infrastrukturni razvoj. Zahvaljujući rudarskoj i industrijskoj aktivnosti, posebno eksploataciji cinka, olova i srebra, grad postaje jedan od ključnih centara privrednog rasta u istočnoj Bosni.

Prema posljednjem popisu stanovništva prije rata, provedenom 1991. godine, općina Srebrenica je imala ukupno 36.666 stanovnika raspoređenih u 81 naselju. Etnički sastav bio je sljedeći: Bošnjaci (Muslimani) činili su 75,19% stanovništva (27.572 osobe), Srbi 22,67% (8.315), Hrvati 0,10% (38), dok se 1,03% (380 osoba) izjasnilo kao Jugoslaveni ili pripadnici drugih identiteta.

Ova demografska slika svjedoči o višestoljetnom suživotu i multietničkom karakteru regije, koji će između 1992. i 1995. biti brutalno narušen.

During the First and Second World Wars, Srebrenica suffered significantly. The local population was subjected to violence, displacement, repression and large-scale damage to property.

In the post-Second World War period, Srebrenica experienced notable economic and infrastructural development. Thanks to its mining and industrial activity—particularly the extraction of zinc, lead, and silver—the town became one of the key centers of economic growth in eastern Bosnia.

According to the last pre-war census conducted in 1991, the municipality of Srebrenica had a total population of 36,666 people, distributed across 81 settlements. The ethnic composition was as follows: Bosniaks (Muslims) made up 75.19% of the population (27,572 people), Serbs 22.67% (8,315), Croats 0.10% (38), while 1.03% (380 people) identified as Yugoslavs or other identities.

This demographic profile reflects the centuries-long coexistence and multi-ethnic character of the region—an identity that would be brutally shattered between 1992 and 1995.

## SREBRENICA OD APRILA 1992. DO PROGLAŠENJA “ZAŠTIĆENOГ PODRUČJA”

### SREBRENICA FROM APRIL 1992 TO THE DECLARATION OF A “SAFE AREA” (APRIL 1993)

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U aprilu 1992. godine, jedinice Novosadskog korpusa JNA, zajedno sa formacijama pod kontrolom tajne službe Republike Srbije, bez otpora preuzimaju kontrolu u Srebrenici. U tom trenutku, u gradu je ostalo svega nekoliko stotina njegovih predratnih stanovnika. Tokom dvadesetak dana pod srpskom kontrolom, zabilježeni su brojni slučajevi pljačke, ubistava i zločina protiv bošnjačkih civila.

Krajem aprila lokalno bošnjačko stanovništvo počinje pružati otpor, uglavnom putem malih i nepovezanih dobrovoljačkih grupa jedinicama JNA, policijskim jedinicama iz Srbije i i lokalnoj srpskoj policiji. U maju 1992. godine, u selu Bajramovići, održan je sastanak svih dotad nepovezanih naoružanih grupa, čime je formiran Štab Teritorijalne odbrane Srebrenice. Kao rezultat organizovanog otpora, srpske snage se povlače iz grada, te prilikom povlačenja ubijaju veći broj civila nesrpske nacionalnosti. U mjesecima koji su uslijedili, malobrojne grupe dobrovoljaca postaju prvo Teritorijalna odbrana, a potom Armija Republike BiH, slabo naoružana i bez adekvatnog oficirskog kadra.

Usprkos UN-ovom embargu na oružje, koji je osigurao premoć JNA i srpskih snaga, Srebrenica se uspijeva odbraniti od brojnih i intenzivnih napada vojske bosanskih Srba. Jedan od najtežih zločina u tom periodu srpske snage su počinile 12. aprila 1993. godine, kada je prilikom granatiranja školskog igrališta u centru grada ubijeno 74, a ranjeno više od 100 civila, mahom djece i omladine. Zbog sve ozbiljnije humanitarne krize i sigurnosne prijetnje, Vijeće sigurnosti Ujedinjenih nacija je 16. aprila 1993. usvojilo Rezoluciju 819, kojom se Srebrenica proglašava UN-ovim „sigurnim područjem“.

In April 1992, units of the Novi Sad Corps of the JNA, together with formations under the control of the Serbian Republic's secret services, took control of Srebrenica without resistance. At that time, only a few hundred of the town's pre-war residents remained. During the first twenty days of Serbian control, numerous cases of looting, killings, and crimes against Bosniak civilians were recorded.

By the end of April, the local Bosniak population began to resist, primarily through small and uncoordinated volunteer groups opposing the JNA units, Serbian police forces, Bosnian Serb police. In May 1992, a meeting was held in the village of Bajramovići, bringing together all previously uncoordinated armed groups, leading to the formation of the Territorial Defense Headquarters of Srebrenica. As a result of the organized resistance, Serb forces withdrew from the town, killing a large number of non-Serb civilians during their retreat.

In the following months, the small volunteer units evolved first into the Territorial Defense and later into the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, poorly armed and lacking formal officer ranks.

Despite the UN-imposed arms embargo, which gave a clear advantage to the JNA and Serb forces, Srebrenica managed to resist numerous, intense attacks by the Bosnian Serb army. One of the worst atrocities during this period occurred on April 12, 1993, when Serb forces shelled a school playground in the center of town, killing 74 and injuring more than 100 civilians—mostly children and youth. Due to the worsening humanitarian crisis and growing security threat, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993, declaring Srebrenica a UN “safe area.”



Nezavisno od Vijeća sigurnosti, komandanti UN snaga na terenu, generali Stefan Wahlgren i Philippe Morillon, „posreduju“ u dogovoru o razoružanju Srebrenice, koji se definije na sastanku u Beogradu 9. aprila 1993. godine. Konačan sporazum o demilitarizaciji potpisana je 8. maja 1993. godine. Dva dana nakon što je Srebrenica proglašena „zaštićenim područjem“ od strane UN-a, u grad ulazi prvi kanadski kontingent UNPROFOR-a kako bi posredovao u uspostavljanju prekida vatre i nadgledao demilitarizaciju branitelja Srebrenice.

Independent of the UN Security Council, UN field commanders, Generals Stefan Wahlgren and Philippe Morillon, “mediated” an agreement on the disarmament of Srebrenica, which was outlined at a meeting in Belgrade on April 9, 1993. The final demilitarization agreement was signed on May 8, 1993. Two days after Srebrenica was declared a UN “safe area,” the first Canadian UNPROFOR contingent entered the town to help establish a ceasefire and monitor the demilitarization of Srebrenica’s defenders.



U proljeće 1994. godine, Generalstab Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS) jednostrano je prekinuo primirje i izdao naredbu Drinskom korpusu da izvrši vojno smanjenje srebreničke enklave na samo urbano područje grada. Time je započela intenzivna i sistemska kampanja vojnog pritiska, koja je trajala tokom cijele naredne godine i bila obilježena granatiranjem, blokadom humanitarne pomoći i konstantnim pokušajima destabilizacije života unutar enklave.

U martu 1995. godine, predsjednik Republike Srpske Radovan Karadžić izdao je tzv. „Direktivu broj 7 Vrhovne komande“, formalni dokument kojim se Vojsci RS nalaže da se prema civilnom stanovništvu enklava Srebrenice i Ževe postupa s ciljem “stvaranja uslova potpune nesigurnosti, nepodnošljivosti i beznadežnosti za dalji opstanak i život”.

Ova direktiva nije predstavljala samo vojni plan, već i političku instrukciju za kreiranje humanitarne krize koja bi prisilila bošnjačko stanovništvo na napuštanje ”sigurnih područja” UN-a i time otvorila put za njihovo vojno osvajanje.

In the spring of 1994, the army of Republika Srpska (VRS) unilaterally ended the ceasefire, and breaking their siege of Srebrenica, ordered the Drina Corps to move in and capture the areas up to the town's boundaries, reducing the enclave to the town's urban area alone. This marked the beginning of an intense and systematic campaign of military pressure, which continued throughout the following year. It was characterised by shelling, the blockade of humanitarian aid, and continuous efforts to destabilise life within the enclave.

In March 1995, the President of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić, issued the so-called “Directive No. 7 of the Supreme Command”, a formal document instructing the VRS to act towards the civilian population of the Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves in a manner that would “create an unbearable situation of total insecurity with no hope of further survival or life.”

This directive was not merely a military strategy—it was a political order aimed at generating a humanitarian crisis that would force the Bosniak population to abandon the UN-designated “safe areas”, thus paving the way for their military takeover.

# PRIJE PADA

## BEFORE THE FALL

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Početkom juna 1995. godine izvršena je svojevrsna generalna proba za nadolazeći napad na Srebrenicu, koja je istovremeno služila kao test spremnosti i volje međunarodne zajednice da zaštitи UN-ova „sigurna područja“.

Dana 3. juna 1995., prema naređenju komandanta Drinskog korpusa vojske bosanskih Srba Milenka Živanovića, jedinice Bratunačke brigade i specijalna jedinica „Vukovi sa Drine“ zauzele su osmatračnicu ECHO holandskog bataljona UNPROFOR-a u Zelenom Jadru, u blizini Srebrenice. Prema službenom borbenom izvještaju koji je tog dana dostavljen Glavnom štabu „stanovništvo iz Zelenog Jadra [...] u panici se iselilo“, a zabilježeno je da se „ljudi iz šireg područja povlače prema Srebrenici nakon odlaska UNPROFOR-a“. DUTCHBAT postavlja dvije blokirajuće pozicije u mjestu Ljubisavići, ali se više nikada nije vratio na položaj osmatračnice E.

Međunarodna zajednica, suočena s jasnim znakovima eskalacije, nije reagovala odlučno – što je otvorilo prostor za realizaciju daljih planova agresije.

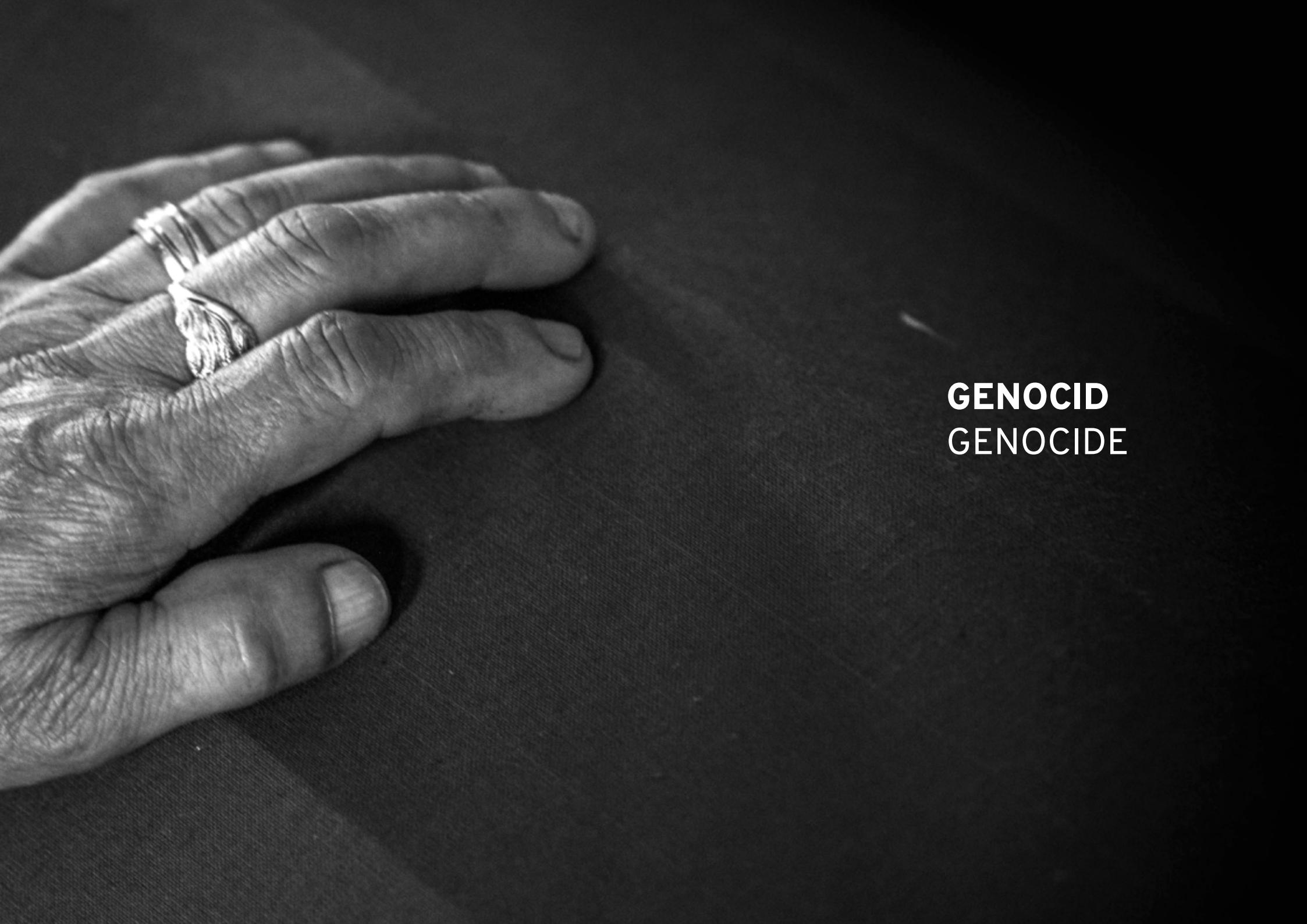
In early June 1995, a form of general rehearsal for the forthcoming attack on Srebrenica was carried out—serving simultaneously as a test of both the readiness and the resolve of the international community to protect the UN-declared “safe areas.”

On 3 June 1995, acting on the orders of Drina Corps commander Milenko Živanović, units of the Bratunac Brigade and the special unit known as the “Wolves of the Drina” seized the ECHO observation post of the Dutch UNPROFOR battalion in Zeleni Jadar, near Srebrenica. According to the official combat report submitted to the Main Staff that day, “the population of Zeleni Jadar [...] fled in panic,” and it was noted that “people from the wider area are withdrawing towards Srebrenica following the departure of UNPROFOR.” In response, DUTCHBAT established two blocking positions in the village of Ljubisavići but never returned to Observation Post E.

The international community, faced with clear signs of escalation, failed to respond decisively—thus paving the way for the VRS to execute their plans for genocide.

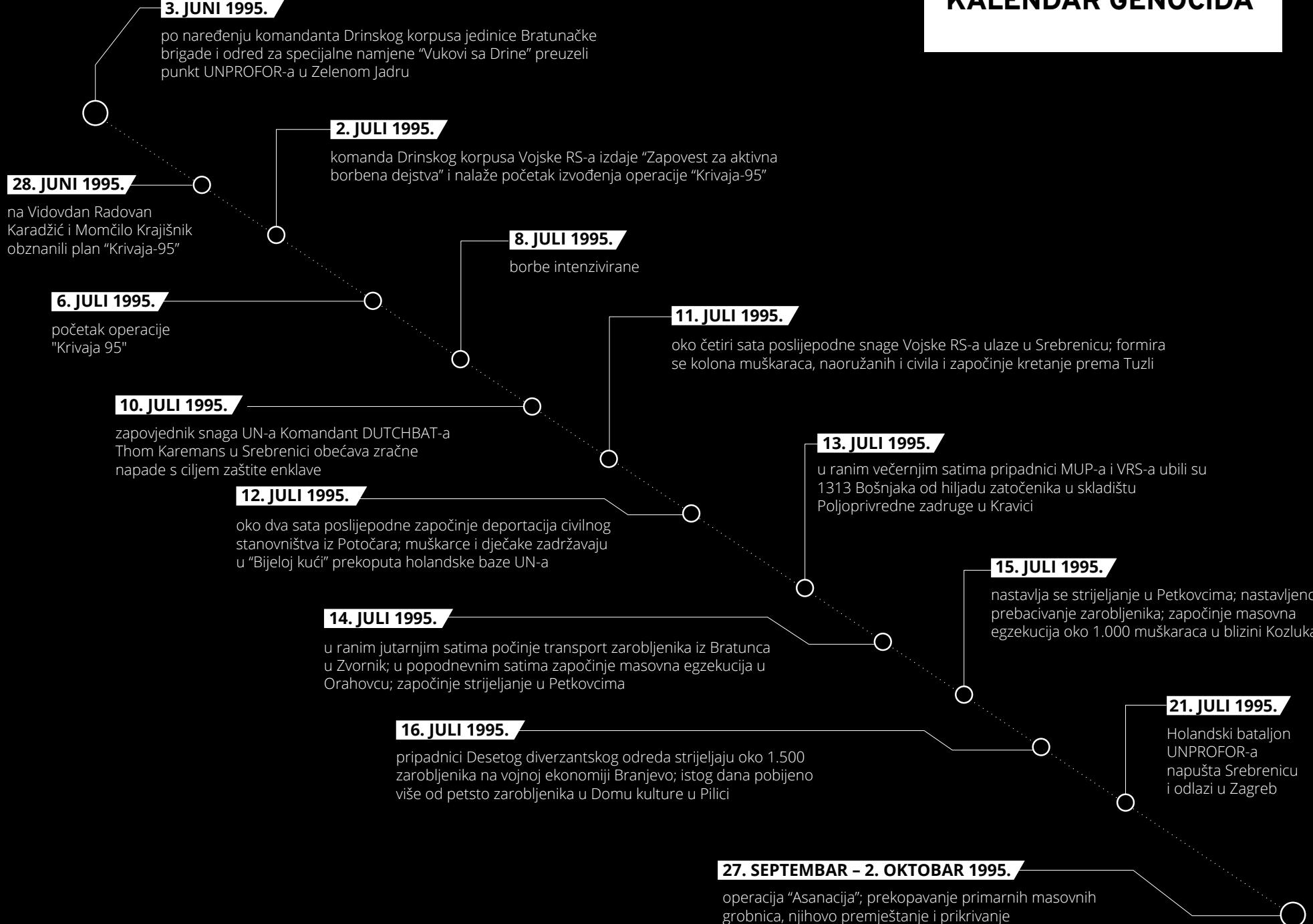




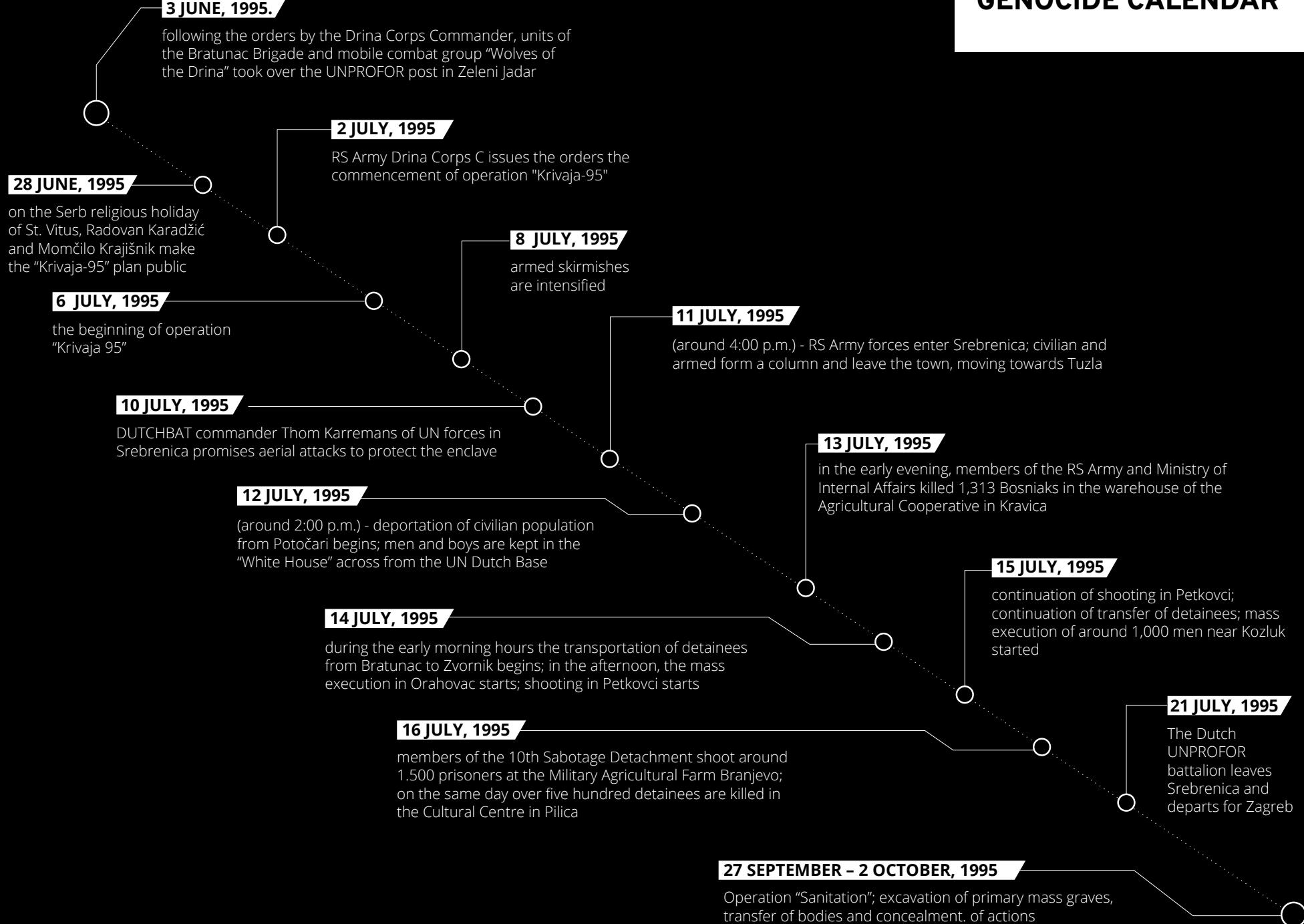


**GENOCID**  
**GENOCIDE**

# KALENDAR GENOCIDA



# GENOCIDE CALENDAR



Na Vidovdan, 28. juna 1995. godine, Radovan Karadžić i Momčilo Krajišnik su posjetili komandu Drinskog korpusa vojske bosanskih Srba u Vlasenici. Tom prilikom održan je sastanak s načelnikom štaba korpusa, generalom Radislavom Krstićem. Karadžić je izravno pitao Krstića kada je vojska spremna da izvrši napad na Srebrenicu. Krstić je odgovorio da mu je potrebno tri do pet dana. Karadžić mu je tada naložio da skrati pripreme i garantovao mu „sve što poželi“.

Nedugo nakon sastanka, komanda Drinskog korpusa počinje izradu borbenog plana pod šifrom „Krivaja-95“, koji je finaliziran i operacionaliziran početkom jula. Dana 2. jula 1995., Glavni štab vojske bosanskih Srba izdao je zapovijed kojom se Drinskom korpusu naređuje da „slobodnim snagama izvodi ofanzivna dejstva (...) kako bi što prije razdvojio enklave Srebrenicu i Žepu i suzio ih na gradska područja“, uz jasno naznačen cilj: „stvoriti uslove za eliminaciju enklava“.

U skladu s tom naredbom, formirane su dvije taktičke grupe – Taktička grupa 1 pod komandom pukovnika Vinka Pandurevića i Taktička grupa 2 kojom je komandovao pukovnik Mirko Trivić. Dana 5. jula, obje grupe se raspoređuju u Zeleni Jadar. Istog dana popodne primaju konačne instrukcije i konkretna naređenja za početak operacije.

On Vidovdan, 28 June 1995, Radovan Karadžić, and Momčilo Krajišnik, visited the command center of the Drina Corps of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) in Vlasenica. During the visit, they held a meeting with the Corps' Chief of Staff, General Radislav Krstić. Karadžić directly asked Krstić when the army would be ready to launch an attack on Srebrenica. Krstić replied that he would need three to five days. Karadžić instructed him to shorten the preparations and promised him “whatever he wanted” in return.

Soon after the meeting, the Drina Corps began drafting an operational plan under the codename “Krivaja-95”, which was finalised and set into motion in early July. On 2 July 1995, the Main Staff of the VRS issued an order instructing the Drina Corps to “conduct offensive operations with available forces (...) in order to quickly separate the Srebrenica and Žepa enclaves and reduce them to urban areas”, with the clearly stated objective to “create the conditions for the elimination of the enclaves.”

In accordance with this order, two tactical groups were formed: Tactical Group 1, under the command of Colonel Vinko Pandurević, and Tactical Group 2, commanded by Colonel Mirko Trivić. On 5 July, both groups were deployed to the area of Zeleni Jadar. That same afternoon, they received final instructions and direct orders for the start of the operation.

Dva dana prije početka ofanzive, Karadžić je na Pale pozvao Miroslava Deronjića, najvišeg funkcionera Srpske demokratske stranke (SDS) u regiji Podrinja. Prema Deronjićevom kasnijem svjedočenju pred Međunarodnim krivičnim tribunalom za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ), Karadžić mu je, nakon razgovora o političkim posljedicama vojnog zauzimanja Srebrenice, rekao: „Miroslave, to sve treba pobiti.“ U nastavku je dodao: „Sve što stignete,“ koristeći množinu, te zaključio riječima: „Princip – Zapadna Slavonija.“

Paralelno s vojnim pripremama, srpske snage intenziviraju blokadu humanitarne pomoći, uključujući zaustavljanje konvoja sa zalihamama za holandski bataljon UNPROFOR-a. Komanda bataljona bila je primarno fokusirana na vlastitu sigurnost i sve lošiju opskrbu.

Stanovništvo Srebrenice, iscrpljeno nakon više od tri godine opsade, bilo je u potpunoj fizičkoj, psihološkoj i institucionalnoj paralizi – izloženo nadolazećem napadu bez ikakve efektivne zaštite. Jedina organizovana grupa koja je stajala između njih i snaga Ratka Mladića bili su slabo naoružani pripadnici 28. Divizije Armije BiH.

Two days before the offensive, Karadžić summoned Miroslav Deronjić, the highest-ranking official of the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) in the Podrinje region, to Pale. According to Deronjić's later testimony before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), Karadžić, after discussing the political consequences of taking Srebrenica by force, said to him: "*Miroslav, they all need to be killed.*" He continued: "*As many as you can,*" using the plural form in Bosnian, and concluded with: "*The principle – Western Slavonia.*"

Alongside the military preparations, Serb forces intensified their blockade of humanitarian aid, including the halting of convoys supplying the Dutch UNPROFOR battalion. The battalion's command was primarily focused on its own security and increasingly dire logistical situation.

The population of Srebrenica, exhausted after more than three years of siege, was left in a state of total physical, psychological, and institutional paralysis, facing the imminent attack without any effective protection. The only organised force standing between them and Ratko Mladić's advancing troops was the poorly armed 28th Division of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

# PAD SREBRENICE

## FALL OF SREBRENICA

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Ujutro, 6. jula 1995. godine, u 3 sata i 15 minuta, VRS je započela sveobuhvatan napad na enklavu Srebrenica, istovremeno s više položaja koji su okruživali grad. Granatiranje je bilo intenzivno i gotovo neprekidno.

Pripadnici Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine pokušali su spriječiti povlačenje holandskih trupa s ključnih osmatračkih tačaka, ali u tome nisu uspjeli. Do večeri 9. jula, snage bosanskih Srba su prodrle oko četiri kilometra u dubinu enklave, zaustavivši se na samo jedan kilometar od centra grada. Time su uspostavile liniju potpunog nadzora nad enklavom, efektivno presjecajući svaku moguću komunikaciju između Srebrenice i Žepe. Iz taktičke perspektive – zadatak suženja enklave bio je izvršen.

Međutim, tog istog dana, predsjednik Radovan Karadžić izdaje novu naredbu kojom mijenja primarni cilj operacije “Krivaja-95”: više nije bilo dovoljno ograničiti enklavu na gradsko jezgro – sada se tražilo njeno potpuno vojno zauzimanje.

U zoru 10. jula, branitelji Srebrenice pokreću kontranapad, u početku uspješno potiskujući bosanske Srbe. Međutim, taj uspjeh je bio kratkotrajan: već do predvečerja istog dana, srpske snage su povratile izgubljene pozicije.

At 3:15 a.m. on 6 July 1995, the Army of Republika Srpska launched a full-scale assault on the Srebrenica enclave, striking simultaneously from multiple positions surrounding the town. The shelling was intense and nearly continuous.

Members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina attempted to prevent the Dutch troops from withdrawing from key observation posts, but were unsuccessful. By the evening of 9 July, Bosnian Serb forces had advanced approximately four kilometres into the enclave, stopping just one kilometre from the town Center. At that point, they had established a line of complete control around the enclave, effectively severing all communication and contact between Srebrenica and Žepa. From a tactical standpoint, the objective of narrowing the enclave had been achieved.

However, on the very same day, President Radovan Karadžić issued a new order, altering the primary goal of Operation “Krivaja-95”: it was no longer sufficient to confine the enclave to the urban core. Now, its complete military capture was demanded.

At dawn on 10 July, Srebrenica’s defenders launched a counteroffensive, initially managing to push the Bosnian Serb forces back. However, this success was short-lived: by the evening, Serb forces had regained the lost positions.



Te noći, 10. na 11. juli, hiljade civila iz okolnih sela nastavile su pristizati u Srebrenicu, očajnički tražeći sigurnost. Većina njih okupila se oko zgrade prijeratnog preduzeća "Vezionica" na samom ulazu u grad, gdje je bila stacionirana jedna četa holandskog bataljona UNPROFOR-a. Civilne i vojne vlasti Srebrenice zahtijevale su od UN-a da djeluje u skladu sa svojim mandatom i pruži zaštitu civilima.

Tokom krznog sastanka koji je trajao do kasno u noć, komandant holandskog bataljona, pukovnik Thom Karremans, obećao je da će narednog jutra biti izvršeni zračni udari protiv srpskih snaga. Karremans je zatražio od branitelja Srebrenice da se povuku duboko u enklavu kako bi izbjegli uništenje u vojnim udarima. Međutim, do zračnih udara nije došlo tog jutra. Ujutro, 11. jula 1995., vojska bosanskih Srba je započela zauzimanje pojedinih dijelova grada.

Do 16 sati, holandske trupe su organizovale evakuaciju između četiri i šest hiljada civila iz gradskog područja prema bazi UN-a u Potočarima. Kada su pripadnici specijalnih jedinica, uključujući „Vukove sa Drine“ i Deseti diverzantski odred, ušli u centar grada, on je bio potpuno napušten.

U noći između 11. i 12. jula, najveći dio muškog stanovništva enklave, i civili i naoružani muškarci, počeli su se okupljati u selima Šušnjari i Jaglići, s namjerom da u koloni krenu prema Tuzli. Kolonu, koja je prema različitim procjenama brojala između 10.000 i 12.000 ljudi, put je vodio kroz šumu i neprijateljsku teritoriju.

Istovremeno, žene, djeca, stariji i oko dvije hiljade muškaraca sklonili su se u i oko baze snaga UN-a u Potočarima, tražeći zaštitu. Tačan broj civila koji su ušli u bazu tokom 11. i 12. jula nikada nije pouzdano utvrđen, ali se cijeni na šest hiljada. Holandski bataljon je procijenio da se u Potočarima nalazi oko 17.500 ljudi, dok su neki vojni posmatrači UN-a tvrdili da se broj kretao između 25.000 i 30.000.

During the night of 10 to 11 July, thousands of civilians from surrounding villages continued to arrive in Srebrenica, desperately seeking safety. Most gathered around the building of the (pre-war) company Vezionica, located at the entrance to the town, where a company of the Dutch UNPROFOR battalion was stationed. Both civilian and military authorities in Srebrenica demanded that the UN act in accordance with its mandate and provide protection to civilians.

During an emergency meeting that lasted late into the night, the commander of the Dutch battalion, Colonel Thom Karremans, promised that air strikes against the Serb forces would be carried out the following morning. Karremans requested that the enclave's defenders withdraw deep into the territory to avoid being caught in the bombardment. However, the airstrikes did not take place that morning. On the morning of 11 July 1995, the Army of Republika Srpska began taking control of parts of the town.

By 4:00 p.m., Dutch troops had organised the evacuation of between 4,000 and 6,000 civilians from the town area to the UN base in Potočari. When armed special units, including the Wolves of the Drina and the 10th Sabotage Detachment, entered the town Center, it was already completely abandoned.

During the night of 11 to 12 July, most of the enclave's male population—both civilians and armed men—began gathering the nearby villages of Šušnjari and Jaglići, with the intention of forming a column and heading through the forest toward Tuzla, crossing hostile territory. The column was estimated to consist of 10,000 to 12,000 people.

At the same time, women, children, the elderly, and around 2,000 men took refuge in and around the UN base in Potočari, seeking protection. The exact number of civilians who reached the base on 11 and 12 July was never reliably determined, but estimates suggest it was around 6,000. The Dutch battalion estimated that approximately 17,500 people were in Potočari, while some UN military observers claimed the number ranged between 25,000 and 30,000.



Jedinice vojske bosanskih Srba uspostavile su potpunu kontrolu nad gradom. Radovan Karadžić je imenovao Miroslava Deronjića za civilnog komesara novoimenovane "opštine Srpska Srebrenica".

Oko 18 sati, improvizirani ulaz u bazu bio je zatvoren, a unutar tvorničkog kruga nekoliko hiljada ljudi je ostalo zatvoreno i u iluziji da uživaju kakvu-takvu zaštitu. Preostali civili koji nisu uspjeli ući u bazu smjestili su se u susjedne hale, skladišta, garaže lokalnog transportnog preduzeća i napuštene kuće u blizini baze UN-a.

Units of the VRS then established full control over the town. Radovan Karadžić appointed Miroslav Deronjić as the civil commissioner of the newly declared "*Municipality of Serb Srebrenica*."

By around 6:00 p.m., the improvised entrance to the base was sealed off, and several thousand people remained confined within the factory compound, under the illusion that they were afforded at least some level of protection. The remaining civilians, who were unable to gain entry, took shelter in nearby warehouses, garages of a local transport company, and abandoned houses in the vicinity of the UN base.

Danas je nedvojbeno jasno da je političko i vojno rukovodstvo Republike Srpske, u roku od samo 24 sata nakon pada Srebrenice, donijelo dvije strateške odluke koje su imale tragične i genocidne posljedice:

1. Deportacija žena, djece i starijih osoba iz Potočara,
2. Sistematska egzekucija muškog stanovništva iz enklave, uključujući maloljetnike i starce.

U danima između 11. i 13. jula 1995., uslovi u Potočarima postajali su sve teži. Nedostatak hrane, vode i osnovne zaštite, uz nesnosnu dnevnu vrućinu i neobično hladne noći, dodatno su pogoršavali stanje hiljada ljudi okupljenih na ograničenom prostoru. Uslovi su bili nehumanici.

Dana 12. jula, civilne vlasti RS-a poslale su u Potočare vatrogasno vozilo, nekoliko cisterni s vodom, mini kamion s hljebom i nešto slatkiša. Humanitarnu gestu su pred kamerama provodili pripadnici vojske bosanskih Srba i državni službenici. Međutim, nakon što su se kamere ugasile, vojnici su im ponovo uskratili hranu i vodu.

U masi je vladao opipljiv strah. Ljudi su svjedočili da muškarce odvode – mnogi su nestajali i više nikada nisu viđeni. Žene su također odvajane, a tokom noći, iz mraka su dopirali krikovi, plač i rafali. Teror je bio potpun, a svijest da se nešto neopisivo događa visila je u zraku.

It is now indisputably clear that the political and military leadership of Republika Srpska made two strategic decisions within just 24 hours of the fall of Srebrenica—decisions that would have tragic and genocidal consequences:

1. The deportation of women, children, and the elderly from Potočari;
2. The systematic execution of the male population from the enclave, including minors and elderly men.

Between 11 and 13 July 1995, the conditions in Potočari rapidly deteriorated. A lack of food, water, and basic protection—combined with unbearable daytime heat and unusually cold nights—further worsened the already dire situation of thousands of people crowded into a confined space. The conditions were inhumane.

On 12 July, the civil authorities of Republika Srpska sent a fire engine, a few water tankers, a small truck with bread, and some sweets to Potočari. This “humanitarian gesture” was carried out in front of cameras by members of the Bosnian Serb army and government officials. However, once the cameras were turned off, the soldiers again denied the people access to food and water.

An overwhelming sense of fear gripped the crowd. Eyewitnesses reported that men were being taken away—many disappeared and were never seen again. Women were also separated, and throughout the night, screams, crying, and gunfire could be heard from the darkness. Terror was absolute, and a palpable awareness that something unspeakable was happening hung heavy in the air.

Ratko Mladić je od Ministarstva odbrane bosanskih Srba 11. jula zatražio mobilizaciju autobusa i naredio da budu raspoređeni na stadion u Bratuncu do 14:30 sati narednog dana. U ranim jutarnjim satima 12. jula, Ministarstvo je izdalo naređenje za hitnu mobilizaciju. Oko 50 autobusa upućeno je iz gradova poput Pala, Sokoca, Rogatice, Višegrada, Han Pijeska, Vlasenice, Milića, Bratunca i Zvornika ka Bratuncu. Slično naređenje izdato je i općinskim kancelarijama u Zvorniku, Milićima, Vlasenici, Šekovićima i Bratuncu. Sve redovne linije javnog prevoza bile su obustavljene, a sva vojna transportna sredstva stavljena su na raspolaganje za deportaciju civilnog stanovništva iz Potočara.

U proces je bilo uključena i policija bosanskih Srba. U izvještaju upućenom nadređenima 13. jula, komandant Štaba policijskih snaga Zvornik i načelnik CJB Zvornik Dragomir Vasić naveo je da će policija biti odgovorna za "evakuaciju preostalog civilnog stanovništva iz Srebrenice autobusima ka Kladnju", uz napomenu da je "hitno potrebno deset tona nafte".

Autobusi su počeli pristizati u Potočare u ranim poslijepodnevnim satima 12. jula, nakon čega su jedinice policije započele prisilno preseljavanje civila – žena, djece i starijih osoba.

On 11 July, Ratko Mladić requested that the Bosnian Serb 'Ministry of Defence' mobilise buses, and ordered that they be deployed to the stadium in Bratunac by 2:30 p.m. the following day. In the early hours of 12 July, the Ministry issued an order for urgent mobilisation. Around 50 buses were dispatched from towns such as Pale, Sokolac, Rogatica, Višegrad, Han Pijesak, Vlasenica, Milići, Bratunac, and Zvornik to Bratunac. A similar order was also issued to municipal offices in Zvornik, Milići, Vlasenica, Šekovići, and Bratunac. All regular public transport services were suspended, and all military transport vehicles were made available for the deportation of the civilian population from Potočari.

The Bosnian Serb police were also involved in the operation. In a report sent to his superiors on 13 July, the Commander of the Zvornik Police Staff and Head of the Zvornik Public Security Center, Dragomir Vasić, stated that the police would be responsible for "the evacuation of the remaining civilian population from Srebrenica by bus to Kladanj," adding that "ten tonnes of diesel fuel are urgently needed."

Buses began arriving in Potočari in the early afternoon of 12 July, after which police units began the forcible relocation of civilians—women, children, and the elderly.



Iz mase okupljene u Potočarima sistematski su izdvajani vojnospособни muškarci, iako su među njima bili i maloljetnici mlađi od 15 godina te starci stariji od 65 godina. Nakon razdvajanja, muškarci su odvođeni u takozvanu "Bijelu kuću" i oko nje, objekat udaljen oko 150 metara od glavnog ulaza u bazu holandskog bataljona UNPROFOR-a.

Komanda bataljona primala je sve više izvještaja o zlostavljanjima i ubistvima pritvorenih muškaraca. Bilo je pokušaja da se muškarci evidentiraju ispred baze, ali su pripadnici holandskog kontingenta odustali nakon prijetnji koje su im upućene. UN osoblju je strogo zabranjen pristup Bijeloj kući.

Zarobljenicima je naređeno da ostave sve lične stvari – uključujući lične karte, pasoše, dokumente. U večernjim satima 13. jula, svi su odvezeni iz Potočara. Njihove lične stvari koje su ostale za njima – spaljene su. Ogromna većina tih muškaraca nikada više nije viđena živa.

From among the crowd gathered in Potočari, the Bosnian Serb military began to systematically separate out the military-aged men. Included into this group also, were boys under the age of 15 and elderly men over 65. After being separated, the men were taken to the so-called "White House" and its surroundings, a building located approximately 150 metres from the main entrance to the Dutch UNPROFOR battalion base.

The Dutch battalion command received an increasing number of reports of abuse and killings of detained men. There were initial attempts to register the men in front of the base, but the Dutch troops abandoned the effort after receiving threats. UN personnel were strictly prohibited from accessing the White House.

Prisoners were ordered to hand over all personal belongings—including identity cards, passports, and other documents. In the evening hours of 13 July, they were taken from Potočari. Their remaining personal items were burned. The vast majority of these men were never seen alive again.



Muškarci i dječaci koji su ranije izdvojeni iz mase odvođeni su i zatvarani u objekte kao što su osnovna škola "Vuk Karadžić" i stara škola u Bratuncu. Prema svjedočenju Miroslava Deronjića, Karadžićevog civilnog upravitelja Srebrenicom, Bratunac je te noći bio u opsadnom stanju: "U to vrijeme, iz pravca Konjević Polja stizalo je mnogo autobusa i kamiona sa zarobljenim muslimanima. Vozila su bila parkirana u samom centru grada, tako da je svako znao šta se dešava. Ljudi su odvođeni na stadion, u hangare, škole. Mladići i stariji muškarci su tokom noći mobilisani, dobili puške i naređenje da obezbeđuju autobuse."

U večernjim satima, Ljubisav Simić je izvijestio o pucnjavi i prvim ubistvima. Te noći, u Bratuncu je, prema procjenama, ubijeno između 80 i 100 ljudi.

Ujutro, kolona autobusa i kamiona duža od kilometar i po, sa stotinama zarobljenih muškaraca, upućena je prema Zvorniku. Zatvorenici su prebačeni na različite lokacije i pritvoreni u škole, fiskulturne sale i magacine, gdje su mnogi od njih kasnije pogubljeni.

The men and boys previously separated from the crowd were detained in facilities such as the "Vuk Karadžić" Primary School and the old school building in Bratunac. According to the testimony of Miroslav Deronjić, Karadžić's civil commissioner for Srebrenica, Bratunac was in a state of siege that night: "At that time, many buses and trucks carrying captured Muslims were arriving from the direction of Konjević Polje. The vehicles were parked in the town Center, so everyone knew what was happening. People were being taken to the stadium, warehouses, schools. Young and older men were mobilised during the night, handed rifles, and ordered to guard the buses."

That evening, Ljubisav Simić reported gunfire and the first executions. It is estimated that between 80 and 100 people were killed in Bratunac that night.

The next morning, a column of buses and trucks over a kilometre and a half long, carrying hundreds of captured men, was sent toward Zvornik. The prisoners were transferred to various locations and detained in schools, gyms, and storage facilities, where many were later executed.



U središtu organizacije sistematskog ubijanja muškog bošnjačkog stanovništva iz enklave Srebrenica nalazila se Vojna služba bezbjednosti vojske bosanskih Srba. Planiranje operacije, identifikacija i mobilizacija resursa, izbor jedinica koje će izvršiti zločine, kao i kasnije prikrivanje tragova i uništavanje dokaza, bili su u nadležnosti grupe oficira Uprave za bezbjednost, kojom je komandovao Ljubiša Beara.

Pored njih, u zločinima su učestvovali i pripadnici Vojne policije, kao i druge jedinice koje su bile pod komandom vojne bezbjednosti. Prva smaknuća započela su u Potočarima, dok su glavna masovna pogubljenja izvedena od 13. do 16. jula na području općina Bratunac, Vlasenica i Zvornik.

Na teritoriji općine Zvornik, identificirano je pet glavnih stratišta:

- livada u Orahovcu;
- brana kod Petkovaca;
- vojna ekonomija Branjevo;
- Dom kulture u Pilici;
- Šljunkara (obala rijeke Drine u Kozluku)

U Bratuncu, najveće pojedinačno stratište bila je hala poljoprivredne zadruge u Kravici.

At the centre of the systematic killing of the Bosniak male population from the Srebrenica enclave was the Security Service of the Army of Republika Srpska. The planning of the operation, the identification and mobilisation of resources, the selection of units to carry out the crimes, as well as the subsequent concealment of evidence, were the responsibility of a group of officers within the Security Administration, commanded by Ljubiša Beara.

Members of the Military Police and other units under the command of military security forces also participated in the killings. The first executions began in Potočari, while the main mass executions took place between 13 and 16 July in the municipalities of Bratunac, Vlasenica, and Zvornik.

In the municipality of Zvornik, five primary execution sites have been identified:

- the meadow in Orahovac;
- the dam near Petkovci;
- the Branjevo Military Farm;
- the Cultural Center in Pilica;
- the gravel pit (Šljunkara) on the bank of the Drina River in Kozluk.

In Bratunac, the largest single killing site was the agricultural cooperative warehouse in Kravica.



Popodne 13. jula, izvedeno je prvo veliko organizirano pogubljenje. Žrtve su dovožene autobusima i kamionima iz pravca Konjević Polja prema Cerskoj, gdje su pogubljene. Građevinske mašine pratile su konvoje radi iskopavanja masovnih grobnica.

Na tri lokacije u općini Bratunac bilo je zatočeno više od 6.000 zarobljenih muškaraca. Većina njih prebačena je u Bratunac, dok su ostali zatvoreni u skladište poljoprivredne zadruge u Kravici. Zarobljenici su prethodno opljačkani – oduzeti su im novac, satovi, nakit.

Egzekucije su počele oko 18 sati i trajale do jutra. Pripadnici policije i vojske ulazili su u skladište, pucali iz vatre nog oružja ili ubacivali ručne bombe kroz prozore. Ujutro su pripadnici vojske bosanskih Srba pozvali preživjele da izadu uz obećanje medicinske pomoći. Svi koji su se odazvali – ubijeni su na licu mjesta.

On the afternoon of 13 July, the first large-scale, organised execution was carried out. Victims were transported by bus and truck from Konjević Polje toward Cerska, where they were executed. Construction machinery followed the convoys to dig mass graves.

At three locations in the Bratunac municipality, over 6,000 captured men were held. Most were transferred into Bratunac, while others were imprisoned in the Kravica warehouse of the agricultural cooperative. Before being executed, the prisoners were robbed of money, watches, and jewellery.

The executions began at around 6:00 p.m. and continued through the night. Members of the police and army entered the warehouse and opened fire with automatic weapons or threw hand grenades through the windows. In the morning, Bosnian Serb soldiers called out to the survivors, promising medical assistance. All those who responded were killed on the spot.



Dana 13. jula uvečer, oficir Drinskog korpusa vojske bosanskih Srba pukovnik Vujadin Popović obavijestio je svoje podređene u Zvorničkoj brigadi da će na područje pod njihovom kontrolom uskoro stići veliki broj zarobljenika iz Bratunca. U razgovoru sa Dragom Nikolićem, oficirom za bezbjednost Zvorničke brigade, izričito je rekao da se zarobljenici dovoze u zvorničku općinu kako bi bili pogubljeni.

Te iste noći, konvoj od šest autobusa punih zarobljenih muškaraca stigao je u školu u selu Grbavci kod Zvornika, koja je korištena kao privremeni pritvor. Narednog jutra, 14. jula, preostali zarobljenici prevezeni su ka Zvorniku u dugačkoj koloni autobusa, pretrpanih i bez osnovnih uslova za disanje ili kretanje.

Uslovi su bili nehumanji – zatvorenici su padali u nesvijest od vrućine, gladi, dehidracije i nedostatka zraka. Neki su pokušali pobjeći, ali su na licu mesta ubijeni.

Kod sela Grbavci, na poljani udaljenoj oko kilometar od škole, već je bila iskopana velika jama. Kada su stigli, zarobljenici su postrojeni pored jame i strijeljani – u još jednoj u nizu planskih egzekucija koje su se odvijale na području Zvornika tih dana.

On the evening of 13 July, Colonel Vujadin Popović, an officer of the Drina Corps of the Army of Republika Srpska, informed his subordinates in the Zvornik Brigade that a large number of prisoners from Bratunac would soon be arriving in the area under their control. In a conversation with Drago Nikolić, the security officer of the Zvornik Brigade, Popović explicitly stated that the prisoners were being brought to Zvornik municipality to be executed.

That same night, a convoy of six buses filled with captured men arrived at a school in the village of Grbavci, near Zvornik, which was being used as a temporary detention centre. The following morning, 14 July, the remaining prisoners were transported towards Zvornik in a long convoy of overcrowded buses, without basic conditions for breathing or movement.

The conditions were inhumane—prisoners fainted from heat, hunger, dehydration, and lack of air. Some attempted to escape but were shot on the spot.

Near Grbavci, in a field about a kilometre from the school, a large pit had already been dug. Upon arrival, the prisoners were lined up beside the pit and executed by firing squad—in yet another of the many planned mass executions that took place in the Zvornik area during those days.



Druga grupa zatočenika iz Bratunca dovedena je 14. jula u selo Petkovci kod Zvornika i smještena u lokalnu školu. Učionice na oba sprata bile su pretrpane, a stražari su zatvorenicima oduzimali novac i lične dokumente. Nisu imali pristup vodi, prozori su morali ostati zatvoreni, a upotreba toaleta bila je zabranjena. Povremeno bi stražari ulazili, izdvajali pojedince i odvodili ih na pogubljenje.

Kasno u noć 14. jula i rano ujutro 15. jula, preživjeli zatvorenici izvedeni su iz škole. Naređeno im je da skinu obuću i dio odjeće, a zatim su im vezane ruke na leđima. Ukrčani su u kamione i odvezeni do lokacije brana Crveni mulj, koja se nalazi oko tri kilometra od škole.

Strijeljanje je trajalo cijeli dan. Pripadnici vojske bosanskih Srba pucali su žrtvama u leđa ili glavu s udaljenosti od desetak metara. Nakon svakog vala egzekucija, jedan vojnik je obilazio tijela i ubijao ranjene pucnjem u glavu iz neposredne blizine.

A second group of prisoners from Bratunac was brought on 14 July to the village of Petkovci, near Zvornik, and held in the local school. The classrooms on both floors were overcrowded, and the guards confiscated the detainees' money and personal documents. The prisoners had no access to water, the windows were required to remain closed, and use of the toilets was forbidden. From time to time, guards would enter the rooms, select individuals, and take them away for execution.

Late in the night of 14 July and in the early hours of 15 July, surviving detainees were taken from the school. They were ordered to remove their shoes and some of their clothing, and their hands were bound behind their backs. They were then loaded onto trucks and transported to the site of the Crveni Mulj Dam, approximately three kilometres from the school.

The executions lasted the entire day. Members of the Army of Republika Srpska shot the victims in the back or the head from a distance of about ten metres. After each wave of executions, a soldier would walk among the bodies and finish off the wounded with a gunshot to the head at close range.

## MASS EXECUTIONS AT BRANJEVO, PILICA, AND OTHER SITES

### MASS EXECUTIONS AT BRANJEVO, PILICA, AND OTHER SITES

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Treća grupa zarobljenika iz Bratunca prevezena je u selo Ročević, nedaleko od Kozluka. Dana 15. jula, zarobljenicima su vezane ruke i stavljeni povezi na oči, nakon čega su ukrcani u kamione i prebačeni na lokaciju zvanu Šljunkara u Kozluku, gdje su strijeljani pored unaprijed pripremljene masovne grobnice.

Četvrta grupa zatvorenika iz Bratunca prebačena je u selo Kula, na putu između Zvornika i Bijeljine. Privremeno su bili zatočeni u fiskulturnoj sali i učionicama lokalne škole. Ujutro 16. jula, zatvorenici su vezanih ruku, a neki i sa povezima na očima, ukrcani u autobuse i odvođeni prema Vojnoj ekonomiji Branjevo, gdje je istog dana izvršeno najveće pojedinačno pogubljenje tokom genocida nad Bošnjacima Srebrenice.

Prema presudama Haškog tribunala, osam pripadnika Desetog diverzantskog odreda, pod komandom Brane Gojkovića, između 10 sati ujutro i ranog poslijepodneva ubilo je između 1.200 do 1.500 zarobljenika. Svjedok zločina i jedan od direktnih izvršilaca, Dražen Erdemović, izjavio je da su zarobljenici izvođeni iz autobusa vezanih ruku, s povezima na očima, i potom ubijani u grupama, stotinjak metara od autobusa.

The third group of prisoners from Bratunac was taken to the village of Ročević, near Kozluk. On 15 July, the prisoners had their hands bound and eyes blindfolded before being loaded onto trucks and transported to a location known as Šljunkara in Kozluk, where they were shot next to a pre-dug mass grave.

The fourth group of detainees from Bratunac was transferred to the village of Kula, on the road between Zvornik and Bijeljina. They were temporarily held in the gymnasium and classrooms of the local school. On the morning of 16 July, with their hands tied and some also blindfolded, the prisoners were loaded onto buses and taken to the Branjevo Military Farm, where the largest single mass execution during the genocide against the Bosniaks of Srebrenica took place.

According to rulings by the ICTY, eight members of the 10th Sabotage Detachment, under the command of Brano Gojković, killed between 1,200 and 1,500 prisoners between 10 a.m. and early afternoon on that day. Dražen Erdemović, a witness to the crime and one of the direct perpetrators, testified that the prisoners were taken off the buses with their hands bound and eyes blindfolded, and were executed in groups, approximately 100 metres from the buses.



U isto vrijeme, u Domu kulture u naselju Pilica bilo je zatočeno oko 500 muškaraca, koji su, prema dostupnim svjedočenjima, također pogubljeni. Vojnici Bratunačke brigade, koji su toga dana stigli na Branjevo, dobrovoljno su se prijavili da izvrše egzekuciju tih ljudi.

U ovom periodu (13–16. juli 1995.), ubistva su sprovedena istovremeno na više lokacija, prema unaprijed koordiniranom planu. Osim Branjeva i Pilice, pogubljenja su izvršavana i na lokacijama kod Kozluka, Cerske, Petkovaca i Grbavaca. Već tada su zabilježeni prvi pokušaji prikrivanja zločina: teška mehanizacija je dovlačena neposredno nakon egzekucija radi iskopavanja i zatrpananja tijela u masovne grobnice.

At the same time, approximately 500 men were being held in the Cultural Center in the settlement of Pilica, who, according to available testimony, were also executed. Soldiers from the Bratunac Brigade, who arrived at Branjevo that day, volunteered to carry out the executions.

During this period (13–16 July 1995), the killings were carried out simultaneously at multiple locations as part of a pre-coordinated plan. In addition to Branjevo and Pilica, executions were conducted at sites near Kozluk, Cerska, Petkovci, and Grbavci. Already at this stage, the first efforts to conceal the crimes were being recorded: heavy machinery was brought in immediately after the executions to dig and cover mass graves.



U julu 1995. godine, vojska bosanskih Srba je odmah nakon pogubljenja započela uništavanje dokaza genocida nad Bošnjacima iz Srebrenice. Tijela žrtava su najprije pokopavana u primarne masovne grobnice, smještene u neposrednoj blizini mjesta egzekucije. Međutim, javno otkriće tih grobnica potaknulo je početak još složenije, pažljivo planirane operacije prikrivanja zločina, koja se odvijala između avgusta i novembra 1995. godine.

Tokom tog perioda, vojska bosanskih Srba je sprovedla organizovanu, raprostranjenu i sistematsku operaciju prekopavanja većine primarnih grobnica. Posmrtni ostaci su premješteni u sekundarne, a u nekim slučajevima i tercijarne grobnice. Ova operacija poznata je pod eufemizmom "asanacija", što u vojnom žargonu označava sanitарne mјere – no u stvarnosti, to je bila operacija prikrivanja dokaza genocida.

In July 1995, immediately following the executions, the Army of Republika Srpska began destroying evidence of the genocide committed against Bosniaks from Srebrenica. The victims' bodies were initially buried in primary mass graves, located close to the execution sites. However, the public discovery of these graves triggered the beginning of a far more complex and carefully orchestrated cover-up operation, which unfolded between August and November 1995.

During that period, the Army of Republika Srpska carried out an organised, widespread, and systematic operation to exhume most of the primary mass graves. The remains were relocated to secondary, and in some cases even tertiary, mass graves. This operation became known by the euphemism "asanacija"—a military term typically referring to sanitary measures, but in this context, it was a deliberate effort to conceal the evidence of genocide.

Kada se pokazalo da vojne inžinjerske jedinice zvorničke i bratunačke brigade nemaju kapacitete za obim operacije, vlasti bosanskih Srba su uključile i civilni sektor – među njima i javno-komunalna preduzeća iz Zvornika i Bratunca. U operaciju su bili uključeni stotine, ako ne i hiljade ljudi, koji su svojim učešćem svjesno doprinijeli skrivanju istine.

I pored toga što masovne zločine naređuje mali broj lidera, a ubistva sprovode odabранe jedinice, zavjera prikrivanja zločina zahtjevala je širu društvenu podršku i saučesništvo cijelih zajednica. Time Srebrenica postaje simbol društvenog projekta nasilja i poricanja, koji izlazi izvan okvira vojne operacije.

Pored fizičkog uklanjanja tijela, provedena je i sistemska operacija uništavanja dokumentarnih dokaza. Prema svjedočenjima Momira Nikolića i Dragana Obrenovića pred Međunarodnim krivičnim sudom za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ), Drinski korpus je nakon genocida uništavao službene dokumente, koji su sadržavali naredbe i evidencije o operaciji. Nikolić je svjedočio da je 1996. godine, u prisustvu nadređenih, lično uništio dokumente povezane sa Srebrenicom. Obrenović je dodao da su svi relevantni dokumenti sistematski prebačeni u Srbiju, uoči NATO intervencije 1999. godine, s ciljem da ne padnu u ruke međunarodnih snaga koje su djelovale u Bosni i Hercegovini.

When it became clear that the engineering units of the Zvornik and Bratunac brigades lacked the capacity to carry out such a large-scale operation, the Bosnian Serb authorities enlisted support from the civil sector—including public utility companies from Zvornik and Bratunac. Hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals participated in this operation, knowingly contributing to the suppression of the truth.

Although the mass crimes were ordered by a small number of leaders and carried out by selected units, the conspiracy to conceal the crimes required broader societal involvement and complicity. In this way, Srebrenica has come to symbolise a societal project of violence and denial, extending well beyond the confines of military operations.

In addition to the physical removal of bodies, there was also a systematic effort to destroy documentary evidence. According to the testimonies of Momir Nikolić and Dragan Obrenović before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the Drina Corps destroyed official documents containing orders and records related to the operation. Nikolić testified that in 1996, in the presence of his superiors, he personally destroyed documents linked to Srebrenica. Obrenović added that all relevant documentation was systematically transferred to Serbia ahead of the 1999 NATO intervention, in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of international forces operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Genocid u Srebrenici u julu 1995. godine, u kojem je ubijeno više od 8.000 bošnjačkih muškaraca i dječaka, predstavlja najteži zločin počinjen u Evropi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Ovaj čin je kasnije presuđen kao genocid pred međunarodnim sudovima, a borba za pravdu za žrtve i preživjele traje i danas.

Nakon rata u Bosni i Hercegovini, međunarodna zajednica je osnovala Međunarodni krivični tribunal za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) u Hagu, prvi međunarodni sud takve vrste nakon Nürnberških procesa. Tribunal je imao zadatak da procesuira pojedince odgovorne za najteže zločine, uključujući genocid, zločine protiv čovječnosti i ratne zločine. U okviru tog procesa, za genocid i zločine protiv čovječnosti u Srebrenici pred MKSJ-om osuđeni su najviši vojni i politički zvaničnici Republike Srpske.

The genocide in Srebrenica in July 1995, in which over 8,000 Bosniak men and boys were killed, stands as the worst atrocity committed in Europe since the Second World War. This act has since been legally recognised as genocide by international courts, and the struggle for justice on behalf of the victims and survivors continues to this day.

Republika Srpska were eventually arrested, and in the post-war years, were prosecuted and convicted for, the international community established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague—the first court of its kind since the Nuremberg Trials. The Tribunal's mandate was to prosecute individuals responsible for the most serious crimes, including genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. As part of this process, the highest-ranking military and political officials of Republika Srpska were eventually arrested, and in the post-war years, were prosecuted and convicted for, genocide and crimes against humanity committed in Srebrenica.





Ratko Mladić, komandant Glavnog štaba Vojske Republike Srpske, osuđen je na doživotnu kaznu zatvora za genocid, zločine protiv čovječnosti i ratne zločine. Sličnu presudu dobio je i Radovan Karadžić, tadašnji predsjednik Republike Srpske, čija je prvobitna kazna od 40 godina zatvora preinačena na doživotnu kaznu nakon žalbenog postupka. Osuđeni su i Zdravko Tolimir, Ljubiša Beara i Vujadin Popović, svi na doživotne kazne, zbog njihove ključne uloge u organizaciji i sprovođenju masovnih egzekucija. Radislav Krstić, komandant Drinskog korpusa, osuđen je na 35 godina zatvora za pomaganje u genocidu. Drago Nikolić, Ljubomir Borovčanin, Vinko Pandurević i Momir Nikolić također su osuđeni na višegodišnje zatvorske kazne za različite oblike učešća u genocidu i zločinima protiv čovječnosti.

Poseban slučaj predstavlja Dražen Erdemović, pripadnik 10. diverzantskog odreda Vojske Republike Srpske, koji je priznao svoje učešće u egzekucijama na farmi Branjevo. Erdemović je pred MKSJ-om priznao krivicu i osuđen je na pet godina zatvora, uzimajući u obzir da je djelovao pod prijetnjom smrću. Njegovo svjedočenje bilo je ključno u razotkrivanju širih razmjera zločina i u procesima protiv viših zvaničnika.

Ratko Mladić, Commander of the Main Staff of the Army of Republika Srpska, was sentenced to life imprisonment for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. A similar verdict was handed down to Radovan Karadžić, the then-President of Republika Srpska. His original sentence of 40 years was increased to life imprisonment on appeal. Zdravko Tolimir, Ljubiša Beara, and Vujadin Popović were also sentenced to life imprisonment for their key roles in organising and executing the mass killings. Radislav Krstić, commander of the Drina Corps, was sentenced to 35 years in prison for aiding and abetting genocide. Drago Nikolić, Ljubomir Borovčanin, Vinko Pandurević, and Momir Nikolić were also given lengthy prison sentences for their participation in assisting in the murders, extermination and persecution of Bosniaks during the Srebrenica genocide.

A particularly notable case is that of Dražen Erdemović, a member of the 10th Sabotage Detachment of the Army of Republika Srpska, who admitted to taking part in the executions at the Branjevo Farm. Erdemović pleaded guilty before the ICTY and was sentenced to five years in prison, taking into account that he acted under the threat of death. His testimony was crucial in exposing the full extent of the crimes and in prosecuting senior officials.

Kako se Tribunal suočavao s velikim brojem predmeta i ograničenim vremenom za rad, dio procesa prebačen je na nacionalne sudove. Sud Bosne i Hercegovine, kroz svoje Posebno odjeljenje za ratne zločine, preuzeo je zadatak procesuiranja srednje i niže rangiranih izvršilaca, nastavljući borbu za pravdu na domaćem nivou. Ovaj proces je omogućio nastavak pravosudnog odgovora na zločine i doprinosisao izgradnji vladavine prava unutar zemlje.

Jedan od najvažnijih trenutaka u borbi za pravdu bilo je i suđenje pred Međunarodnim sudom pravde (MSP) u predmetu Bosna i Hercegovina protiv Srbije i Crne Gore. U presudi iz 2007. godine, Sud je nedvosmisleno potvrdio da je u Srebrenici počinjen genocid, ali nije utvrdio direktnu odgovornost Srbije za samo izvršenje genocida. Ipak, Srbija je proglašena odgovornom za nesprječavanje genocida i za nesaradnju s MKSJ-om, što je označeno kao kršenje međunarodnih obaveza iz Konvencije o sprečavanju i kažnjavanju genocida.

Presude za genocid u Srebrenici postavile su temelje međunarodnog krivičnog prava za procesuiranje genocida i zločina protiv čovječnosti, a njihova pravna i moralna težina ostaje ključna u trajnom procesu suočavanja s prošlošću, pomirenja i odavanja počasti žrtvama. Borba za pravdu nije završena. I danas traje traganje za preostalim odgovornima, identifikacija nestalih i potreba da se istina o Srebrenici čuva od negiranja i relativizacije. Ove presude ostaju vječno svjedočanstvo da pravda, iako spora, može biti ostvarena, i da žrtve genocida nikada neće biti zaboravljene.

As the ICTY faced a large number of cases and limited time to complete its work, some prosecutions were transferred to national courts. The Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through its Special Department for War Crimes, took on the task of trying mid- and lower-level perpetrators, continuing the pursuit of justice at the domestic level. This process contributed to the ongoing legal response to the atrocities and helped to strengthen the rule of law within the country.

One of the most significant milestones in the pursuit of justice was the case brought before the International Court of Justice (ICJ): Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro. In its 2007 judgment, the Court unequivocally confirmed that genocide had been committed in Srebrenica, although it did not find Serbia directly responsible for its commission. However, Serbia was found responsible for failing to prevent the genocide and for not cooperating with the ICTY, thereby breaching its obligations under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The verdicts for the Srebrenica genocide laid the foundation of modern international criminal law regarding the prosecution of genocide and crimes against humanity. Their legal and moral weight remains essential in the ongoing process of reckoning with the past, fostering reconciliation, and honouring the victims. The struggle for justice is not over. Efforts continue to bring remaining perpetrators to justice, identify the missing, and ensure that the truth about Srebrenica is preserved against ongoing denial and revisionism. These judgments remain an enduring testament that justice, although often slow, can be achieved, and that the victims of genocide will never be forgotten.

# NEGIRANJE GENOCIDA

## GENOCIDE DENIAL

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Negiranje genocida u Srebrenici predstavlja ozbiljan izazov za istinu, pravdu i proces pomirenja u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali i šire u regiji bivše Jugoslavije. Iako su međunarodni sudovi, poput Međunarodnog krivičnog tribunalja za bivšu Jugoslaviju (MKSJ) i Međunarodnog suda pravde (MSP), pravosnažno utvrdili da je u Srebrenici u julu 1995. godine počinjen genocid nad bošnjačkim stanovništvom, poricanje ovog zločina i dalje je prisutno u političkom diskursu, medijima i akademskim krugovima.

Negatori genocida koriste različite metode kako bi umanjili ili relativizirali činjenice. Neki osporavaju pravne kvalifikacije, tvrdeći da se u Srebrenici dogodio "zločin" ili "ratni zločin", ali ne genocid. Drugi umanjuju broj žrtava, pokušavajući da predstave masovna ubistva kao posljedicu vojnih sukoba, a ne kao sistematski planirane egzekucije. Treći oblik negiranja uključuje prikazivanje žrtava kao legitimnih vojnih ciljeva ili promovisanje narativa o "dvosmjernim zločinima", gdje se nastoji izjednačiti odgovornost svih strana. Ove prakse ne samo da vrijedaju dostojanstvo žrtava i preživjelih, već i direktno potkopavaju napore na izgradnji istine, pravde i povjerenja u postkonfliktnom društvu.

The denial of the genocide in Srebrenica represents a serious challenge to truth, justice, and the process of reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as more broadly in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Although international courts, such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ), have delivered final verdicts confirming that genocide was committed against the Bosniak population in Srebrenica in July 1995, denial of this crime continues to persist in political discourse, the media, and academic circles.

Genocide deniers employ various methods to minimise or relativise the facts. Some dispute the legal classification, claiming that a "crime" or "war crime" occurred in Srebrenica, but not genocide. Others downplay the number of victims, attempting to portray the mass killings as a consequence of military conflict rather than systematically planned executions. A third form of denial involves portraying the victims as legitimate military targets or promoting narratives of "mutual crimes", in which responsibility is falsely equated between all sides. These practices not only insult the dignity of victims and survivors but also directly undermine efforts to build truth, justice, and trust in post-conflict society.

U odgovoru na ovu prijetnju, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica-Potočari pokrenuo je 2020. godine inicijativu za sistematsko dokumentiranje negiranja genocida. Rezultat ovog rada je "Izvještaj o negiranju genocida u Srebrenici", koji detaljno bilježi pojave poricanja u političkom životu, medijima, obrazovnim institucijama i drugim javnim sferama. Izvještaj predstavlja ključni resurs za razumijevanje razmjera i obrazaca negiranja, ukazujući na učestalost takvih izjava među političkim liderima, posebno u entitetu Republika Srpska, kao i među određenim akterima iz Srbije i šire regije. Time je Memorijalni centar Srebrenica dao značajan doprinos podizanju svijesti o ozbiljnosti problema i potrebi za odlučnim institucionalnim odgovorima.

Jedan od najznačajnijih koraka u pravnom okviru bio je potez visokog predstavnika u Bosni i Hercegovini, Valentina Inzka, koji je u julu 2021. godine, neposredno pred kraj svog mandata, nametnuo dopune Krivičnog zakona Bosne i Hercegovine. Ovim dopunama je kriminalizirano negiranje genocida, ratnih zločina i zločina protiv čovječnosti koji su utvrđeni pravosnažnim presudama međunarodnih i domaćih sudova. Prema novim odredbama, javno poricanje, grubo umanjivanje, opravdavanje ili veličanje ovih zločina postalo je krivično djelo kažnjivo zatvorskom kaznom. Ova intervencija međunarodne zajednice došla je kao odgovor na učestalu institucionalizaciju negiranja i glorifikacije ratnih zločinaca u javnom prostoru, te predstavlja ključni korak u zaštiti historijske istine i prava žrtava.

In response to this threat, the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center launched an initiative in 2020 to systematically document genocide denial. The outcome of this work is the "Report on Genocide Denial in Srebrenica", which meticulously records instances of denial in political life, the media, educational institutions, and other public spheres. The report is a key resource for understanding the scope and patterns of denial, highlighting the frequency of such statements among political leaders—particularly in the entity of Republika Srpska—as well as among certain actors from Serbia and the wider region. In doing so, the Memorial Center has made a significant contribution to raising awareness of the seriousness of the issue and the need for decisive institutional responses.

One of the most important legal developments was the move by the then High Representative to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Valentin Inzko, who, in July 2021, shortly before the end of his mandate, imposed amendments to the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These amendments criminalised the denial of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity that have been established by final judgments of international and domestic courts. Under the new provisions, public denial, gross minimisation, justification, or glorification of these crimes became a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment. This intervention by the international community was a response to the increasingly institutionalised denial and glorification of war criminals in the public sphere, and it represents a crucial step in protecting historical truth and the rights of victims.





# **Historija Memorijalnog centra**

Memorial Center: History

Nakon genocida počinjenog u Srebrenici u julu 1995. godine, porodice žrtava, a posebno majke Srebrenice, povele su neumornu borbu za očuvanje istine i trajno obilježavanje mesta najvećeg zločina počinjenog u Evropi nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Suočene s institucionalnim otporom, negiranjem i pokušajima minimiziranja zločina, majke su kroz svoje organizacije i javne nastupe uporno zahtijevale osnivanje memorijalnog kompleksa koji bi dostojanstveno čuvaо uspomenu na njihove sinove, muževe i očeve. Njihov trud urođio je plodom kada je visoki predstavnik za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Wolfgang Petritsch, 2000. godine donio odluku o određivanju lokacije budućeg mezarja Memorijalnog centra u Potočarima. Tri godine kasnije, visoki predstavnik Paddy Ashdown donosi odluku kojom se bivša fabrika akumulatora stavlja u funkciju i pravni okvir Memorijalnog centra, čime ovaj prostor postaje cjelovito mjesto sjećanja, učenja i komemoracije.

Simboličan i historijski trenutak zbio se 20. septembra 2003. godine, kada je, u prisustvu bivšeg predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država Billa Clinton-a, položen kamen-temeljac Memorijalnog centra. Clinton je tom prilikom istakao važnost sjećanja na genocid u Srebrenici kao univerzalne moralne lekcije za cijeli svijet. Već ranije, u martu i julu iste godine, obavljena su prva dva ukopa identificiranih žrtava, čime je mezarje u Potočarima već tada postalo mjesto kolektivnog sjećanja i počinka. Tog dana, svečano je otvoreno i Spomen-obilježe i mezarje, koje će u godinama koje slijede postati središnje mjesto komemoracije i prenošenja historijske istine.

Iduće godine, visoki predstavnik Christian Schwarz-Schilling donio je Zakon o Memorijalnom centru Srebrenica-Potočari, čime je ova institucija i formalno dobila svoj puni naziv: Memorijalni centar Srebrenica-Potočari – Spomen-obilježe i mezarje za žrtve genocida iz 1995. godine.

Following the genocide committed in Srebrenica in July 1995, the families of the victims—particularly the Mothers of Srebrenica—launched an unwavering campaign to preserve the truth and establish a lasting commemoration at the site of the greatest atrocity committed in Europe since the Second World War. Confronted with institutional resistance, denial, and attempts to minimise the crime, these women—through their organisations and public advocacy—persistently demanded the creation of a memorial complex that would honour the memory of their sons, husbands, and fathers with dignity. Their efforts bore fruit when the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Wolfgang Petritsch, in 2000 issued a decision designating the location for the future cemetery of the Srebrenica Memorial Center in Potočari. Three years later, High Representative Paddy Ashdown adopted a decision to incorporate the former battery factory into the legal and functional framework of the Memorial Center, thereby establishing the site as a comprehensive place of remembrance, education, and commemoration.

A symbolic and historic moment took place on September 20, 2003, when former President of the United States, Bill Clinton, laid the foundation stone of the Srebrenica Memorial Center. On that occasion, President Clinton emphasized the importance of remembrance of the genocide in Srebrenica as a universal moral lesson for all of humanity. Earlier that year, in March and July, the first two burials of identified victims had already taken place, making the cemetery in Potočari a site of collective memory and mourning even before the formal opening. On the day of the ceremony, the Memorial Cemetery and Commemorative Monument were officially inaugurated—marking the beginning of what would become the central place of remembrance and historical truth.

The following year, High Representative Christian Schwarz-Schilling enacted the Law on the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center, formally establishing the institution under its full name: Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center – Cemetery and Memorial for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide.

Time je centar postao javna ustanova od posebnog društvenog značaja, utemeljena na misiji čuvanja istine, sjećanja i dostojanstva žrtava.

Tokom posljednjih pet godina, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica ostvario je značajne iskorake u svom razvoju i misiji očuvanja istine.

Uspostavljen je i razvijen robustan arhivski fond kroz sistematsko prikupljanje i digitalizaciju dokumentacije, fotografija, sudskih materijala i ličnih svjedočanstava, čime je stvorena jedna od najvažnijih baza podataka o genocidu u Srebrenici. Paralelno s tim, postavljeni su temelji usmene historije: prikupljene su stotine audio-vizuelnih svjedočanstava preživjelih i članova porodica žrtava, koji su strukturirani i učinjeni dostupnim putem digitalnih platformi. Ovaj rad omogućava trajno čuvanje sjećanja na lična iskustva, emocije i tragedije koje su obilježile historiju Srebrenice.

Na infrastrukturnom planu, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica je proveo gotovo potpunu rekonstrukciju objekata bivše baze UNPROFOR-a, prilagođavajući prostore savremenim standardima memorijalne, muzejske i edukativne djelatnosti. Pored toga, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica je učvrstio svoju poziciju u međunarodnoj zajednici ostvarivši saradnju sa više od 50 međunarodnih partnerskih organizacija, uključujući memorijalne institucije, akademske Center i organizacije za ljudska prava. Ova široka mreža podrške omogućila je veću globalnu vidljivost borbe za istinu o genocidu i dodatno ojačala kapacitete Memorijalnog centra za buduće generacije.

Through this act, the Center was recognized as a public institution of exceptional social importance, dedicated to preserving truth, memory, and the dignity of the victims.

A robust archival collection has been established and expanded through the systematic collection and digitisation of documents, photographs, court materials, and personal testimonies—creating one of the most important databases on the Srebrenica genocide. At the same time, the foundation of an oral history programme was laid, with hundreds of audiovisual testimonies collected from survivors and family members of victims. These testimonies have been structured and made available via digital platforms, allowing for the permanent preservation of personal experiences, emotions, and the tragedy that marked the history of Srebrenica.

On an infrastructural level, the Memorial Center has carried out an almost complete reconstruction of the former UNPROFOR base, adapting the space to modern standards for memorial, museum, and educational activities. In addition, the Center has strengthened its position within the international community, establishing partnerships with more than 50 international organisations, including memorial institutions, academic centers, and human rights organisations. This extensive support network has increased global awareness and understanding of the genocide, and the ongoing battle to preserve the truth. These valuable relationships further strengthen the Memorial's capacity to educate future generations.



Kada je Memorijalni centar Srebrenica-Potočari preuzeila upravljanje objektima bivše baze UNPROFOR-a, zatečeno stanje bilo je alarmantno. Glavna hala, administrativne zgrade i pomoći prostori bili su u stanju ozbiljnog propadanja, rezultat dugogodišnjeg nemara i izloženosti vremenskim uslovima. Krovovi su prokišjavali, vлага je uništavala unutrašnje zidove, a instalacije su bile zastarjele i nesigurne. Ovakvi uslovi nisu omogućavali ni osnovne administrativne aktivnosti, a kamoli realizaciju muzejske, edukativne i memorijalne funkcije za koju je Centar osnovan.

Potreba za hitnom i sveobuhvatnom rekonstrukcijom bila je očita i nužna kako bi Memorijalni centar mogao ispuniti svoju misiju dostojnog očuvanja sjećanja na žrtve genocida. Očuvanje autentičnih prostora, kao svjedočanstava historije, zahtijevalo je pažljivo planiranje, a sanacija infrastrukture bila je preduslov za otvaranje novih edukativnih i izložbenih sadržaja. Bez hitne intervencije prijetila je opasnost da objekti postanu trajno neupotrebljivi, što bi ozbiljno ugrozilo rad Centra i narušilo dostojanstvo mesta sjećanja.

U proteklih pet godina izvršena je sveobuhvatna rekonstrukcija glavne hale, upravne zgrade i pratećih prostora. Krovovi su potpuno obnovljeni i zaštićeni od daljeg propadanja, instalacije su zamijenjene savremenim sistemima, a unutrašnji prostori prilagođeni su novim sadržajima.

When the then newly created public institution ‘Memorial Center Srebrenica-Potočari’ took over the management of the facilities of the former UNPROFOR base in 2003, the situation was urgent. The main hall, administrative buildings and auxiliary spaces were in a state of serious deterioration, the result of years of neglect and exposure to harsh weather conditions. Roofs were leaking, moisture was destroying the interior walls, and installations were outdated and unsafe. Such conditions did not allow even basic administrative activities, and certainly not the educational and memorial centre it was founded to be. The need for urgent and comprehensive reconstruction was obvious and necessary in order for the Memorial Center to fulfil its mission to preserve, in a worthy manner, the memory of the victims of genocide.

The preservation of authentic spaces, as testimonies of history, required careful planning, and the rehabilitation of the infrastructure was a prerequisite for the opening of new educational and exhibition facilities. Without urgent intervention, the buildings were in danger of becoming permanently unusable, which would seriously jeopardize the work of the Center and violate the dignity of the place of remembrance.

Over the past five years, the comprehensive reconstruction of the main hall, administration buildings and supporting spaces has been carried out. The roofs have been completely renovated and protected from further deterioration, the installations have been replaced with modern systems, and the interior spaces have been upgraded with new facilities.



Posebna pažnja posvećena je uređenju prostora namijenjenih za stalne i povremene izložbe, edukativne radionice, te multimedijalne prezentacije. Uspostavljena je i nova struktura unutar glavne hale, koja omogućava fleksibilnu upotrebu prostora za različite memorijalne, edukativne i kulturne programe.

Ovaj opsežni proces obnove bio je moguć zahvaljujući partnerstvu sa domaćim institucijama Bosne i Hercegovine te podršci međunarodnih organizacija i donatora. Saradnja s međunarodnim partnerima omogućila je osiguranje potrebnih sredstava, ali i transfer stručnog znanja iz oblasti očuvanja memorijalnih prostora, arhitekture i muzeologije. Rad je vođen principima očuvanja autentičnosti mesta stradanja, uz poštovanje najviših tehničkih i etičkih standarda u oblasti memorijalizacije.

Rezultat ove obnove danas se ogleda u funkcionalnom, sigurnom i dostojanstveno uređenom Memorijalnom centru, koji može odgovorno čuvati sjećanje na genocid, educirati buduće generacije i biti globalna tačka okupljanja za borbu protiv negiranja i historijskog revisionizma. Rekonstruisani prostori omogućavaju svakodnevni rad na edukaciji, istraživanju i komemoraciji, stvarajući uslove za dalji razvoj Centra u pravcu moderne, otvorene i međunarodno priznate institucije sjećanja.

Special attention was paid to the arrangement of spaces intended for permanent and temporary exhibitions, educational workshops, and multimedia presentations. A new structure was also established within the main hall, which allows for the flexible use of space for various memorial, educational, and cultural programs.

This extensive renovation process was made possible thanks to partnership with domestic institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the support of international organizations and donors. Cooperation with international partners enabled the provision of the necessary funds, as well as the transfer of expert knowledge in the field of preservation of memorial spaces, architecture, and museology. The work was guided by the dual principles of preserving the authenticity of the place of suffering, while respecting the highest technical and ethical standards in the field of memorialization.

The result of this renovation is today reflected in a functional, safe, and dignified Memorial Center, which can responsibly preserve the memory of the genocide, educate future generations, and be a global gathering point for the fight against denial and historical revisionism. The reconstructed spaces enable daily work on education, research, and commemoration, creating conditions for the further development of the Center towards a modern, open, and internationally recognized institution of remembrance.



# ARHIV

## ARCHIVE

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Arhiv Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica-Potočari ima ključnu ulogu u očuvanju historijske istine o genocidu počinjenom 1995. godine. Njegova misija nije samo dokumentovanje zločina, nego i očuvanje sjećanja na svakodnevni život, otpor, stradanje i preživljavanje bošnjačke zajednice sjeveroistočne Bosne. Svjestan da se na kolektivno pamćenje svakodnevno vrši agresija kroz organizirane kampanje negiranja i relativizacije, Memorijalni centar predano radi na prikupljanju, arhiviranju i zaštiti građe koja svjedoči o životu i smrti u Srebrenici.

Poseban fokus arhivskog rada jeste prikupljanje ličnih predmeta žrtava i preživjelih: odjeće, obuće, improviziranih sprava i alata, predmeta pronađenih uz žrtve u masovnim grobnicama, ličnih dokumenata, ručno izrađenih igračaka, te odjeće i opreme izrađene od materijala bačenog iz zraka tokom humanitarnih operacija. Ovi predmeti nose neizmjernu emotivnu i historijsku vrijednost, jer svaki od njih svjedoči o ličnim pričama koje ne smiju biti zaboravljene. Arhiv Centra pažljivo ih dokumentuje, konzervira i priprema za buduće muzejske i edukativne aktivnosti, kako bi bile dostupne novim generacijama.

Pored materijalnih predmeta, arhiv sistematski prikuplja i digitalizira fotografije, pisma, dnevниke, bilješke, novinske članke, kao i audio i video zapise koji svjedoče o životu u Srebrenici prije i tokom genocida. Video-arhiviranje svjedočenja preživjelih, članova porodica žrtava i humanitarnih radnika omogućava stvaranje sveobuhvatnog digitalnog memorijala.

The Archive of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center plays a crucial role in preserving the historical truth about the genocide committed in 1995. Its mission is not only to document the crimes, but also to safeguard the memory of everyday life, resistance, suffering, and survival of the Bosniak community in northeastern Bosnia. Aware that collective memory is under daily attack through organised campaigns of denial and distortion, the Memorial Center is committed to collecting, archiving, and protecting materials that testify to life and death in Srebrenica.

A particular focus of the archival work is the collection of personal belongings of victims and survivors: clothing, shoes, improvised tools and devices, items found with victims in mass graves, personal documents, handmade toys, and clothing and equipment made from materials dropped during humanitarian airlifts. These objects carry immense emotional and historical value, as each one bears witness to personal stories that must not be forgotten. The Archive carefully documents, conserves, and prepares them for future museum and educational purposes, ensuring they are preserved for future generations.

Beyond physical artefacts, the Archive also systematically collects and digitises photographs, letters, diaries, notes, newspaper clippings, and audio-visual recordings that document life in Srebrenica before and during the genocide. Video testimony from survivors, family members of victims, and humanitarian workers forms the foundation of a comprehensive digital memorial.



Tako arhiv pretvara lična sjećanja i dokumente u trajno svjedočanstvo, odgovarajući na pokušaje brisanja ili iskrivljavanja istine.

Arhiv Memorijalnog centra vodi i terenska istraživanja, uključujući sistematsko mapiranje i dokumentovanje lokacija masovnih grobnica, mjeseta ubistava i pravaca tzv. Marša smrti. Tokom ovih istraživanja prikupljaju se podaci o ubijenim i nestalim osobama, bilježe se svjedočanstva preživjelih i istražuju materijalni tragovi genocida. Ova istraživanja služe kao temelj za razvoj budućih izložbenih postavki i edukativnih programa, ali i kao važan izvor za pravne i historijske analize.

Kroz sve ove aktivnosti, arhiv Memorijalnog centra gradi osnovu za novu fazu u očuvanju pamćenja: stvaranje institucije koja će dugoročno čuvati sjećanje na Srebrenicu, kada više ne bude preživjeli da sami pričaju svoju priču. Sakupljanjem, čuvanjem i prezentiranjem činjenica, predmeta i svjedočenja, Memorijalni centar osigurava da istina o genocidu nad Bošnjacima Srebrenice ostane trajno zabilježena i dostupna svijetu, kao trajna opomena protiv mržnje i zaborava.

In this way, the Archive transforms personal memories and documents into enduring evidence, countering efforts to erase or distort the truth.

The Archive also conducts field research, including systematic mapping and documentation of mass grave sites, killing locations, and the routes of the so-called Death March. These investigations collect data on the killed and the missing, record survivor testimonies, and explore material traces of the genocide. This research underpins future exhibitions and educational programmes, as well as serving as an essential source for legal and historical analysis.

Through all these activities, the Archive of the Memorial Center is laying the foundation for a new phase of memory preservation: the creation of an institution that will continue to safeguard the memory of Srebrenica when no survivors remain to tell their own stories. By collecting, preserving, and presenting facts, artefacts, and testimonies, the Memorial Center ensures that the truth about the genocide of Bosniaks in Srebrenica remains permanently recorded and accessible to the world—as a lasting warning against hatred and forgetting.

## USMENA HISTORIJA

### ORAL HISTORY

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Memorijalni centar Srebrenica ima ključnu misiju da dokumentuje i sačuva živa svjedočanstva o genocidu u Srebrenici. Kroz sistematsko prikupljanje svjedočenja preživjelih svjedoka, članova porodica žrtava, humanitarnih radnika i drugih aktera, naš tim gradi bogatu bazu ličnih priča koje svjedoče o ljudskoj dimenziji tragedije. Svako svjedočenje se snima, obrađuje i arhivira u digitalnom formatu, čuvajući glasove onih koji su preživjeli genocid za generacije koje dolaze.

Uz prikupljanje svjedočanstava, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica prikuplja i dodatne materijale poput privatnih dnevnika, pisama, fotografija, audio i video zapisa iz perioda opsade Srebrenice. Ovi materijali omogućavaju dublje razumijevanje svakodnevnog života unutar enklave, otpora i stradanja stanovništva. Kroz obradu i katalogizaciju ove građe, Memorijalni centar Srebrenica omogućava da svjedočanstva budu dostupna za obrazovne programe, istraživačke projekte i muzejske postavke.

Naš tim razvija i napredne metodologije u radu sa usmenom historijom, osiguravajući visoke etičke i tehničke standarde u prikupljanju, arhiviranju i interpretaciji svjedočenja. Posebna pažnja posvećena je razvoju vlastitih dokumentarnih filmova zasnovanih na prikupljenim svjedočanstvima, pri čemu Memorijalni centar Srebrenica kreira autentične sadržaje koji dodatno jačaju kulturu sjećanja. Pored toga, naš tim ostvaruje saradnju sa međunarodnim partnerima na produkciji zajedničkih dokumentarnih i edukativnih filmova, čime se glas preživjelih prenosi široj publici širom svijeta.

The Oral History Department of the Srebrenica Memorial Center has a vital mission: to document and preserve living testimonies of the Srebrenica genocide. Through the systematic collection of testimonies from survivors, family members of victims, humanitarian workers, and other individuals, our team is building a rich archive of personal stories that reflect the human dimension of the tragedy. Each testimony is recorded, processed, and archived in digital format, preserving the voices of those who survived the genocide for future generations.

In addition to gathering oral testimonies, our team also collects supporting materials such as personal diaries, letters, photographs, and audio and video recordings from the period of the Srebrenica siege. These materials offer deeper insight into everyday life within the enclave, the resistance, and the suffering of the population. By processing and cataloguing this material, the Memorial Center ensures that testimonies are available for educational programmes, research projects, and museum exhibitions.

Our team is also developing advanced methodologies for working with oral history, ensuring high ethical and technical standards in the collection, archiving, and interpretation of testimonies. Special attention is given to the creation of the Center's own documentary films based on the collected accounts, producing authentic content that further strengthens the culture of remembrance. In addition, the department collaborates with international partners to produce joint documentary and educational films, helping to bring the voices of survivors to a global audience.



Memorijalni centar Srebrenica godišnje organizuje desetine predstavljanja i promocija svjedočanstava, izložbi i filmova, kako u Bosni i Hercegovini, tako i u inostranstvu. Ova događanja uključuju akademske konferencije, javne tribine, edukativne radionice i kulturne manifestacije, gdje se glasovi preživjelih prenose novim generacijama i međunarodnoj javnosti. Kroz takva predstavljanja, Memorijalni centar jača svoje prisustvo na globalnoj sceni i aktivno doprinosi međunarodnoj kulturi pamćenja.

Each year, the Oral History Department organises dozens of presentations and public events—both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad showcasing testimonies, exhibitions, and films. These events include academic conferences, public forums, educational workshops, and cultural events, where the voices of survivors are shared with new generations and the international public. Through these efforts, the Memorial Center enhances its global presence and actively contributes to the international culture of memory.

## OTVORENA VRATA

### OPEN DOORS

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Memorijalni centar Srebrenica provodi brojne aktivnosti s ciljem da učini instituciju pristupačnom široj javnosti, istraživačima, studentima, volonterima i svima koji žele doprinijeti očuvanju sjećanja na genocid u Srebrenici. Upravo takav pristup nam omogućava stalnu povezanost Memorijalnog centra s domaćom i međunarodnom zajednicom, promičući dijalog, obrazovanje i zajednički rad na kulturi sjećanja.

Volonterski rad čini važan stub rada institucije. Memorijalni centar svake godine angažuje brojne volontere, kako iz Bosne i Hercegovine tako i iz inostranstva, koji svojim znanjem, energijom i posvećenošću doprinose svakodnevnim aktivnostima Centra. Volonteri učestvuju u organizaciji komemoracija, edukativnih programa, istraživačkih projekata i izložbi, te na taj način postaju aktivni nosioci kulture sjećanja i borbe protiv zaborava.

Memorijalni centar organizirano prima posjete grupa i pojedinaca iz cijelog svijeta. Školske grupe, univerzitetski profesori i studenti, istraživači, diplomatice, nevladine organizacije, kao i pojedinačne posjete preživjelih i porodica žrtava, svake godine sve više svjedoče rastućoj važnosti Centra kao mjesta istine i edukacije. Kroz stručno vodene ture, predavanja i tematske radionice, posjetioci imaju priliku da steknu dublje razumijevanje historije Srebrenice i značaja borbe protiv negiranja genocida. Aktivno radimo na povezivanju Memorijalnog centra s bosanskohercegovačkom dijasporom i zajednicama širom svijeta.

The Srebrenica Memorial Center carries out a wide range of activities aimed at making the institution accessible to the general public, researchers, students, volunteers, and all those who wish to contribute to preserving the memory of the Srebrenica genocide. This inclusive approach enables the Center to maintain strong connections with both the local and international community, promoting dialogue, education, and collaborative work around a shared culture of remembrance.

Volunteering forms a vital pillar of the Center's work. Each year, the Memorial Center engages numerous volunteers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad, whose knowledge, energy, and dedication contribute to the Center's daily operations. Volunteers assist in organising commemorations, educational programmes, research projects, and exhibitions, becoming active participants in the culture of remembrance and the struggle against forgetting.

The Memorial Center also regularly hosts visits from groups and individuals from around the world. The hosting of school groups, university professors and students, researchers, diplomats, NGOs, as well as survivors and families of victims, increasingly affirm the Center's growing importance as a place of truth and education. Through guided tours, lectures, and thematic workshops, visitors are offered a deeper understanding of the history of Srebrenica and the significance of resisting genocide denial. The Center actively works to strengthen its ties with the Bosnian diaspora and communities across the globe.



Kroz partnerske projekte, zajedničke inicijative i razmjenu iskustava, Memorijalni centar jača veze s onima koji, iako daleko od domovine, nose kolektivno pamćenje Srebrenice kao dio vlastitog identiteta. Saradnja sa organizacijama bh. zajednica omogućava širenje istine o genocidu i podršku aktivnostima Centra na međunarodnoj sceni.

Poseban fokus programa jeste na razmjeni eksperata i istraživača. Memorijalni centar redovno ugosti stručnjake iz oblasti historije, prava, ljudskih prava, muzeologije i obrazovanja, koji doprinose razvoju programa kroz predavanja, seminare i istraživačke projekte. Istovremeno, Centar osigurava slobodan i prilagođen prostor za edukacije, organizaciju ljetnih škola, umjetničkih kolonija, međunarodnih radionica, stvarajući dinamično okruženje za učenje, razmjenu znanja i razvoj novih generacija aktivista, istraživača i edukatora.

Through partnership projects, joint initiatives, and knowledge exchange, the Memorial Center reinforces its connection with those who—though far from their homeland—carry the collective memory of Srebrenica as part of their own identity. Cooperation with Bosnian community organisations enables the dissemination of truth about the genocide and supports the Center's activities on the international stage.

A special focus of the programme is on the exchange of experts and researchers. The Memorial Center regularly hosts professionals in the fields of history, law, human rights, museology, and education, who contribute to programme development through lectures, seminars, and research projects. At the same time, the Center provides a free and adaptable space for education, the organization of summer schools, art colonies, and international workshops—creating a dynamic environment for learning, knowledge exchange, and the development of new generations of activists, researchers, and educators.

# IZLOŽBENE POSTAVKE

## EXHIBITIONS

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### Izložba "Koracima onih koji (ni)su prešli"

Izložba "Koracima onih koji (ni)su prešli" nalazi se u prostoru nekadašnje proizvodne hale, bivše fabrike akumulatora. Postavka istražuje tragičnu rutu Marša smrti, prikazujući priče onih koji su pokušali pobjeći od genocida nakon pada Srebrenice pod kontrolu snaga bosanskih Srba. Kroz lične predmete, svjedočanstva i fotografije, posjetiocima mogu osjetiti težinu i patnju onih koji su prešli taj put, kao i tragediju onih koji nisu uspjeli. Svaki izloženi predmet, posebno obuća, priča priču o očajničkoj borbi za opstanak. Priča je upotpunjena ličnim svjedočenjima i autentičnim video snimcima. Prostorna i vizuelna rješenja dodatno osnažuju narativ, spajajući posjetioce sa sudbinama žrtava. Ova izložba poziva na refleksiju o razmjerama zločina i važnosti očuvanja sjećanja na žrtve. Marš smrti ovdje postaje ne samo historijska činjenica, već i duboko lično iskustvo za svakog posjetioca.

### Exhibition: "In the Footsteps of Those Who (Did Not) Cross"

Located in the former production hall of what was once a battery factory, the exhibition "In the Footsteps of Those Who (Did Not) Cross" explores the tragic route of the Death March, portraying the stories of those who attempted to flee the genocide following the fall of Srebrenica to Bosnian Serb forces. Through personal belongings, testimonies, and photographs, visitors can feel the weight and suffering of those who walked the path—and the tragedy of those who did not survive. Each item on display, particularly footwear, tells a story of desperate struggle for survival. The narrative is enhanced by first-hand testimonies and authentic video footage. The spatial and visual design further strengthens the emotional connection, bringing visitors closer to the victims' fates. This exhibition invites reflection on the scale of the crime and the importance of remembering the victims. Here, the Death March becomes not only a historical fact, but also a deeply personal experience for each visitor.



**ŽIVOTI  
IZA POLJA** SPOMEN-SOBA MEMORIAL ROOM  
**SMRTI** — **THE LIVES  
BEHIND THE FIELDS  
OF DEATH**



#### **Spomen-soba “Životi iza polja smrti”**

Na prvom spratu Memorijalnog centra, iznad biblioteke kod glavnog ulaza, nalazi se izložba “Životi iza polja smrti.” Ova izložba, nastala u saradnji Memorijalnog centra i Balkanske istraživačke mreže (BIRN BiH), donosi 100 ličnih priča preživjelih genocida kroz njihove riječi i lične predmete. Svaki artefakt, poput odjeće, dokumenata ili svakodnevnih predmeta, svjedoči o tragediji i snazi ljudi koji su preživjeli genocid. Prostor je osmišljen tako da povezuje predmete sa pričama, pružajući posjetiocu priliku da osjeti duboku ljudsku dimenziju statistike. Posjeta izložbi otvara vrata u svijet u kojem su sjećanje i istina oruđa protiv negiranja genocida. Kombinacija priča i artefakata stvara snažan osjećaj prisutnosti i povezanosti sa žrtvama i preživjelima. Ova izložba nije samo prostor za sjećanje, već i poziv na borbu za pravdu i edukaciju budućih generacija.

#### **Memorial Room: “Lives Behind the Fields of Death”**

On the first floor of the Memorial Center, above the library near the main entrance, is the exhibition “Lives Behind the Fields of Death.” Created in collaboration between the Memorial Center and the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN BiH), the exhibition features 100 personal stories of genocide survivors, told in their own words and accompanied by personal belongings. Each artefact—whether clothing, documents, or everyday items—testifies to the tragedy and resilience of those who lived through the genocide. The space is designed to link objects to stories, offering visitors a chance to grasp the human dimension behind the statistics. This exhibition opens a window into a world where memory and truth are powerful tools against genocide denial. The combination of narratives and artefacts creates a strong sense of presence and connection with both victims and survivors. It is not only a space for remembrance, but also a call for justice and the education of future generations.



### Izložba "Srebrenički genocid – neuspjeh međunarodne zajednice"

U prizemlju i na prvom spratu Memorijalnog centra, prostori povezani multimedijalnim salama kriju izložbu "Srebrenički genocid – neuspjeh međunarodne zajednice." Ova postavka kroz 26 prostorija dokumentuje kako je međunarodna zajednica propustila zaštитiti Srebrenicu, "Sigurnu zonu UN-a", što je dovelo do genocida u julu 1995. godine. Predmeti, dokumenti, mape, fotografije i multimedijalni sadržaji oslikavaju širi politički i vojni kontekst. Posjetioci mogu pogledati i poslušati 23 intervjuja svjedoka genocida, kako od preživjelih tako i od holandskih vojnika. Svaka prostorija predstavlja dio priče – od političkih odluka do događaja na terenu koji su kulminirali genocidom. Izložba ne nudi samo historijsku perspektivu, već izaziva duboko razmišljanje o odgovornosti, ravnodušnosti i ljudskim posljedicama. Kroz multimedijalne prikaze, posjetioci postaju svjedoci kompleksnosti tragedije. Ova postavka je mjesto za učenje, razumijevanje i djelovanje kako se ovakve tragedije više nikada ne bi ponovile.

### Exhibition: "The Srebrenica Genocide – Failure of the International Community"

Located on the ground and first floors of the Memorial Center, in rooms connected by multimedia halls, the exhibition "The Srebrenica Genocide – Failure of the International Community" spans 26 rooms, documenting how the international community failed to protect Srebrenica, a declared UN Safe Area, which ultimately led to the genocide of July 1995. Artefacts, documents, maps, photographs, and multimedia content depict the broader political and military context. Visitors can watch and listen to 23 interviews with genocide witnesses, including survivors and Dutch soldiers. Each room represents part of the story—from political decisions to the military campaign that culminated in genocide. The exhibition offers more than a historical account; it provokes deep reflection on responsibility, indifference, and the human consequences of inaction. Through its multimedia approach, visitors become witnesses to the complexity of the tragedy. This installation is a place for learning, understanding, and action—so that such tragedies are never repeated.



### Izložba Tarika Samaraha "11/07/1995"

U sakralnom dijelu Memorijalnog centra, kod Musale, smještena je izložba Tarika Samaraha "11/07/1995." Ova izložba donosi crno-bijele fotografije koje dokumentuju posljedice genocida u Srebrenici, naglašavajući granicu između života i smrti. Samarahove fotografije uklanjanjuju svakog posrednika između posjetioca i stvarnosti, suočavajući ih s prizorima masovnih grobnica, napuštenih pejzaža i svakodnevnih trenutaka preživjelih. Vizuelni jezik fotografija izgrađen je na kontrastima, podsjećajući na sivilo svijeta gdje humanost prestaje postojati. Izložba ne nudi gotove odgovore, već fragmentirano iskustvo koje poziva na suočavanje sa strašnom istinom. Fotografije su putovanje kroz traumu koje ne dopušta ravnodušnost, već stvara svjedočanstvo među posjetiocima. Izložba objašnjava proces traganja za masovnim grobnicama, identifikaciju pronađenih skeletnih ostataka i ukop žrtava genocida.



### Exhibition by Tarik Samarah: "11/07/1995"

In the sacred section of the Memorial Center, near the Musalla (prayer area), is Tarik Samarah's exhibition "11/07/1995." This collection of black-and-white photographs documents the aftermath of the Srebrenica genocide, emphasising the thin boundary between life and death. Samarah's images remove all intermediaries between the viewer and reality, confronting them with scenes of mass graves, desolate landscapes, and the everyday moments of survivors. The visual language of the photographs is built on stark contrasts, reflecting the greyness of a world where humanity ceased to exist. The exhibition does not offer tidy answers but presents a fragmented experience that demands confrontation with a terrifying truth. These photographs are a journey through trauma that leaves no room for indifference—instead, they create witnesses out of those who view them. The exhibition explains the process of searching for mass graves, identifying skeletal remains, and burying the victims of the genocide.

## ODBOR ZA DIJALOG

### DIALOGUE COMMITTEE

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Odbor za dijalog Memorijalnog centra Srebrenica djeluje kao platforma za promicanje kulture sjećanja, izgradnju međunarodnih partnerstava i jačanje obrazovnih inicijativa u cilju očuvanja istine o genocidu u Srebrenici. Odbor okuplja stručnjake, preživjele, istraživače i aktiviste koji zajednički rade na povezivanju Memorijalnog centra sa srodnim memorijalnim institucijama, organizacijama za ljudska prava i akademskim zajednicama širom svijeta.

U okviru svojih aktivnosti, Odbor je realizovao niz značajnih posjeta najvažnijim memorijalima u Evropi, uključujući Memorijal Holokausta u Budimpešti, Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorijal u Poljskoj, Memorijal Terezin u Češkoj, Memorijal ubijenim Jevrejima Europe u Berlinu te memorijalne komplekse u Italiji. Ove posjete dale su poseban doprinos očuvanju sjećanja na Holokaust, jačanju saradnje sa romskim udruženjima žrtava, te promicanju univerzalnih vrijednosti ljudskih prava.

Odbor za dijalog također kontinuirano radi na obilasku stratišta širom Bosne i Hercegovine, bez obzira na etničku ili vjersku pripadnost žrtava. Ovim pristupom jasno se promoviše ideja da svaka žrtva zасlužује поштovanje, pamćenje i dostoјанстvenu komemoraciju, čime se gradi prostor za međusobno razumijevanje, pomirenje i zajedničko suočavanje s prošlošću.

The Dialogue Committee of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Center serves as a platform for promoting a culture of remembrance, building international partnerships, and strengthening educational initiatives aimed at preserving the truth about the genocide in Srebrenica. The Committee brings together experts, survivors, researchers, and activists who work collectively to connect the Memorial Center with related institutions, human rights organisations, and academic communities around the world.

As part of its activities, the Committee has carried out a number of significant visits to some of the most important memorials in Europe, including the Holocaust Memorial in Budapest, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial in Poland, the Terezín Memorial in the Czech Republic, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, as well as memorial complexes in Italy. These visits have made a valuable contribution to preserving the memory of the Holocaust, strengthening cooperation with Roma victim associations, and promoting universal values of human rights.

The Dialogue Committee also continuously visits sites of mass atrocities across Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of the ethnic or religious identity of the victims. This inclusive approach promotes the idea that every victim deserves respect, remembrance, and dignified commemoration, helping to build a foundation for mutual understanding, reconciliation, and a shared reckoning with the past.



Kroz organizaciju javnih događaja, edukativnih programa i razmjenu iskustava s međunarodnim partnerima, Odbor doprinosi širenju kulture sjećanja i jačanju globalne svijesti o važnosti borbe protiv negiranja genocida, antisemitizma, islamofobije, te svih oblika mržnje i diskriminacije.

Odbor za dijalog ostaje posvećen misiji očuvanja sjećanja na genocid u Srebrenici i jačanju međunarodnih veza koje doprinose trajnom pamćenju, obrazovanju novih generacija i izgradnji svijeta zasnovanog na istini, pravdi i solidarnosti.



Through the organisation of public events, educational programmes, and collaboration with international partners, the Committee contributes to the promotion of a culture of memory and strengthens global awareness of the importance of fighting genocide denial, antisemitism, Islamophobia, and all forms of hatred and discrimination.

The Dialogue Committee remains firmly committed to its mission of preserving the memory of the Srebrenica genocide and strengthening international connections that support lasting remembrance, the education of future generations, and the creation of a world founded on truth, justice, and solidarity.

## NOVI KORACI NAPRIJED

### NEXT STEPS FORWARD

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Memorijalni centar Srebrenica kontinuirano razvija programe koji omogućavaju bolju komunikaciju, širenje istine o genocidu i jačanje kulture sjećanja. Jedan od značajnih koraka bio je uspostavljanje Programa podrške medijima, koji omogućava profesionalno akreditovanje novinara, urednika i snimatelja koji izvještavaju iz Memorijalnog centra. Kroz ovaj program organizuju se brifinzi, edukacije i pripremaju se informativni materijali kako bi medijski radnici imali pristup tačnim informacijama, ali i kako bi se osigurala etička i odgovorna obrada tema vezanih za genocid u Srebrenici. Rad sa medijima, kroz stalnu komunikaciju i transparentnost, dio je šire strategije borbe protiv dezinformacija i negiranja genocida.

Paralelno s tim, Memorijalni centar je razvio Program podrške udruženjima bosanskohercegovačkih zajednica u dijaspori, s ciljem jačanja njihove uloge u obilježavanju godišnjice genocida. Kroz savjetodavnu i tehničku podršku, pružanje edukativnih materijala, izložbenih sadržaja i organizaciju zajedničkih događaja, Memorijalni centar aktivno pomaže dijaspori u očuvanju sjećanja i širenju svijesti o Srebrenici širom svijeta. Ova saradnja osnažuje veze između Memorijalnog centra i bosanskohercegovačkih zajednica, jačajući globalnu mrežu sjećanja i solidarnosti.

Trenutno razvijamo nove modele saradnje s međunarodnim i domaćim partnerima, s ambicijom da pokrenemo redovne specijalizirane događaje – poput festivala dokumentarnog filma, organizaciju redovnih susreta

The Srebrenica Memorial Center continues to develop programmes that improve communication, promote the truth about the genocide, and strengthen a broader culture of remembrance. One of the key initiatives has been the creation of the Media Support Programme, which provides professional accreditation for journalists, editors, and camerapersons reporting from the Memorial Center. Through this programme, the Center organises briefings, training sessions, and prepares informational materials to ensure that media professionals have access to accurate information, while also promoting ethical and responsible coverage of topics related to the Srebrenica genocide. Working with the media—through ongoing communication and transparency—is part of a wider strategy to counter disinformation and genocide denial.

In parallel, the Center has launched a Support Programme for Bosnian-Herzegovinian diaspora associations, aimed at strengthening their role in commemorating the anniversary of the genocide. By offering advisory and technical assistance, providing educational materials, exhibition content, and helping organise joint events, the Memorial Center actively supports the diaspora in preserving memory and raising awareness about Srebrenica globally. This collaboration reinforces ties between the Center and diaspora communities, contributing to a global network of remembrance and solidarity.

We are currently developing new models of cooperation with both international and local partners, with the aim of launching regular

eksperata iz oblasti memorijalizacije, arhitekture i edukacije o genocidu. Ovi susreti trebaju postati platforma za razmjenu iskustava, inovacije u pristupu očuvanju sjećanja i zajedničko kreiranje projekata koji će doprinositi širenju kulture pamćenja kroz različite medijske i akademske formate.

Poseban fokus Memorijalnog centra usmjeren je na jačanje digitalnog prisustva. Aktivnosti na društvenim mrežama, razvoj multimedijalnog sadržaja i osmišljavanje novih načina komunikacije s mladom generacijom postali su ključni dio strategije. Kroz kampanje, digitalne izložbe, interaktivne platforme i saradnju s influencerima i edukatorima, Memorijalni centar nastoji prenijeti poruke sjećanja na način prilagođen novim komunikacijskim kanalima i potrebama savremenih mladih ljudi.

U saradnji s lokalnim i međunarodnim partnerima, Memorijalni centar nastavlja razvoj alata za mlade s fokusom na izučavanje genocida u obrazovnim sistemima. Trenutno radimo na projektima koji uključuju izradu nastavnih modula, edukativnih platformi i uključivanje tema o genocidu u školske kurikulume. Cilj ovih inicijativa jeste da nove generacije kroz obrazovanje stekne znanje, razvije kritičko mišljenje i odgovornost prema očuvanju historijske istine.

specialised events—such as documentary film festivals, and recurring meetings of experts in the fields of memorialisation, architecture, and genocide education. These gatherings are intended to become platforms for sharing experiences, innovation in remembrance practices, and the co-creation of projects that promote memory culture through various media and academic formats.

A particular focus of the Memorial Center is on strengthening its digital presence. Activities on social media, the development of multimedia content, and the creation of new methods of engaging with younger generations have become key elements of its communication strategy. Through campaigns, digital exhibitions, interactive platforms, and partnerships with influencers and educators, the Center aims to deliver remembrance messages in ways that are adapted to modern communication channels and the needs of contemporary youth.

In cooperation with both local and international partners, the Center is also creating and promoting tools for young people to use, with a strong emphasis on the study of genocide in educational systems. Ongoing projects include the development of teaching modules, educational platforms, and the integration of genocide-related topics into school curricula. The goal of these initiatives is to ensure that new generations, through education, acquire knowledge, develop critical thinking, and embrace their responsibility to protect historical truth.

# 10 NAČINA KAKO MOŽETE POMOĆI OČUVANJU SJEĆANJA NA SREBRENICU

## 10 WAYS YOU CAN HELP PRESERVE THE MEMORY OF SREBRENICA

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### **Posjetite i posvjedočite**

Najmoćniji način da razumijete Srebrenicu jeste da je posjetite. Šetnja kroz Memorijalni centar, pogled na nišane, slušanje svjedočenja preživjelih i stajanje na mjestima gdje je historija nasilno prekinuta ostavlja dubok trag. Sama prisutnost je čin solidarnosti – a sjećanje počinje viđenjem.

### **Dijelite istinu**

U svijetu preplavljenom dezinformacijama i negiranjem, dijeljenje tačnih i provjerениh činjenica o genocidu u Srebrenici postaje moralna dužnost. Koristite društvene mreže, blogove, razgovore s prijateljima – ne morate biti stručnjak da biste stajali uz istinu. Dovoljno je imati hrabrosti reći je.

### **Volontirajte svoje vrijeme**

Bez obzira jeste li student, nastavnik, prevodilac, istraživač ili neko ko želi pomoći – vaš doprinos je dragocjen. Volonteri u Memorijalnom centru pomažu pri arhiviranju, prevodenju, organizaciji događaja, istraživanjima i edukaciji. Budite dio zajedničkog npora da prošlost ne bude zaboravljena.

### **Visit and Witness**

The most powerful way to understand Srebrenica is to visit in person. Walking through the Memorial Center, seeing the graves, hearing survivor stories, and standing where history was silenced gives you an understanding deeper than any book can. Presence is a form of solidarity—and remembrance begins with seeing.

### **Share the Truth**

In a world flooded with misinformation and denial, sharing factual, verified information about the genocide in Srebrenica is a moral act. Use your social media, blog, or conversation at dinner to counter denial. You don't need to be an expert to stand for the truth—just be willing to speak it.

### **Volunteer Your Time**

Whether you're a student, educator, artist, translator, or archivist, your time and talent can make a difference. Volunteers at the Memorial Center help with documentation, translation, events, research, and educational programmes. You can become part of a living effort to honour the past and shape a more just future.

### **Podržite svjedočenja preživjelih**

Svjedočenja su živa historija. Pomaganjem u njihovom snimanju, prevodenju, dijeljenju ili podučavanju drugima, doprinosite tome da se glasovi onih koji su preživjeli ne zaborave. Jedan preveden video, jedno podijeljeno svjedočanstvo – može doprijeti do novih generacija.

### **Organizujte komemoraciju**

Ne mora to biti veliki događaj. Školska prezentacija, projekcija dokumentarca, čitanje imena žrtava ili minut šutnje 11. jula – sve to čini razliku.

### **Učite i podučavajte**

Znanje je jedno od najsnažnijih oružja protiv mržnje. Čitajte knjige o genocidu, gledajte dokumentarce, dijelite edukativne resurse. Ako ste nastavnik, uključite temu u nastavni plan. Ako ste učenik, pitajte – i širite ono što naučite.

### **Suprotstavite se negiranju i mržnji**

Negiranje genocida često se prikazuje kao „drugačije mišljenje“. Ali poricanje zločina protiv čovječnosti nije stav – to je napad na istinu i dostojanstvo žrtava. Suočite se s negatorima smireno i sa činjenicama. Istina vas štiti – vi štitite sjećanje.

### **Support Survivor Testimonies**

Testimonies are living history. Helping to record, transcribe, subtitle or simply promote the stories of survivors that future generations will hear voices that some tried to silence forever. One shared video, one translated interview, one audience reached memory forward.

### **Organise a Commemoration**

You don't need a large event. A school assembly, a short film screening, a public reading of names, or even a simple moment of silence on **11 July**, the date of the genocide, can keep memory alive. Commemorating sends a message: we remember, and we care.

### **Learn and Educate**

Whether you're a teacher, student, parent or lifelong learner, education is a powerful tool against hatred. Read survivor memoirs, watch documentaries, visit exhibitions, and share those resources with others. The more people know, the less space there is for denial to grow.

### **Stand Against Denial and Hatred**

Genocide denial often masquerades as opinion. But denying crimes against humanity is not a viewpoint—it's violence against memory. Whether in person or online, challenge denial calmly and with facts. Be a voice for truth, dignity, and the human stories behind the statistics.

### **Podržite rad Memorijalnog centra**

Svaka donacija, bez obzira na iznos, pomaže u očuvanju arhiva, edukaciji, istraživanjima i očuvanju Memorijalnog centra kao mjesta sjećanja. Tako gradimo budućnost u kojoj pamćenje ima dom, a žrtve dostojanstvo.

### **Povežite se i sarađujte**

Ako radite u školi, muzeju, nevladinoj organizaciji ili istraživačkoj instituciji, razmislite o saradnji s Memorijalnim centrom. Zajednički projekti, izložbe, edukacije i razmjene doprinose globalnoj borbi protiv zaborava i promovišu univerzalne vrijednosti ljudskih prava.

### **Sačuvajte imena**

Više od 8.000 ljudi ubijeno je u genocidu. Svaki od njih imao je ime, porodicu, snove. Čitajte njihova imena. Prisjećajte se njihovih priča. Organizujte ili učestvujte u čitanju imena žrtava. Time im vraćate ono što im je oduzeto – ljudskost, i pravo na sjećanje.

### **Fund the Future**

Supporting institutions like the Srebrenica Memorial Center allows them to continue their vital work in education, preservation, and justice. Even a small donation or a shared fundraising campaign can help preserve archives, develop exhibitions, or support survivor-led projects.

### **Collaborate Across Borders**

Are you part of a school, museum, university, or cultural organisation? Consider forming partnerships with the Memorial Center. Joint projects—exhibitions, lectures, research, or youth exchanges—help bring the lessons of Srebrenica into global conversations on human rights, justice and remembrance.

### **Keep the Names Alive**

More than 8,000 people were killed in the genocide. Each had a name, a face, a family, and dreams. Say their names. Share their stories. Attend name-reading ceremonies or help organise one. By remembering them as individuals, not numbers, we honour their humanity—and defend our own.



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