

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

SREBRENICA IN THE AFTERMATH OF GENOCIDE

The fall of the United Nations “safe area” of Srebrenica in July 1995 to Bosnian Serb and Serbian forces stands out as the international community’s most egregious failure to intervene during the Bosnian war. It led to genocide, forced displacement, and a legacy of loss. But wartime inaction spurred numerous postwar attempts to address the effects of the atrocities on Bosnian society and its diaspora. *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide* reveals how interactions among local, national, and international interventions – from refugee return and resettlement to commemorations, war crimes trials, immigration proceedings, and election reform – have led to positive, if subtle, effects of social repair, even in the face of persistent attempts at denial of the genocide. Using an interdisciplinary approach, diverse research methods, and more than a decade of fieldwork in five countries, Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner trace the crimes’ reverberations in Bosnia and abroad. The findings of this study have implications for research on post-conflict societies around the world.

Lara J. Nettelfield is a Lecturer in International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London, and author of *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal’s Impact in a Postwar State* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), winner of the 2011 Marshall Shulman Book Prize of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. Prior to joining Royal Holloway, she taught at the University of Exeter, Columbia University, and the Institut Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals. She received Ph.D., M.Phil., and M.A. degrees in political science from Columbia University; a certificate from Columbia’s Harriman Institute; and an A.B. from the University of California, Berkeley.

Sarah E. Wagner is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at George Washington University and author of *To Know Where He Lies: DNA Technology and the Search for Srebrenica’s Missing* (University of California Press, 2008). She previously taught at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and Harvard University. She received a Ph.D. in anthropology from Harvard University, an M.A.L.D. from the Fletcher School at Tufts University, and an A.B. from Dartmouth College.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

For Sabra and Minka Mustafić and all of Srebrenica's returnees

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide

Lara J. Nettelfield

Royal Holloway, University of London

Sarah E. Wagner

George Washington University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
 Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107000469

© Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Nettelfield, Lara J. and Wagner, Sarah E.

Srebrenica in the aftermath of genocide/Lara J. Nettelfield, Royal Holloway, University of London [and] Sarah E. Wagner, George Washington University.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-00046-9 (hardback)

1. Yugoslav War, 1991–1995 – Atrocities – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Srebrenica.
 2. Genocide – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Srebrenica. 3. Genocide survivors – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Srebrenica. 4. Postwar reconstruction – Social aspects – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Srebrenica. 5. Humanitarian assistance – Bosnia and Herzegovina – Srebrenica. 6. International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991 7. Democratization – Bosnia and Herzegovina.

DR1313.7.A85N47 2014

949.703–dc23 2013009543

ISBN 978-1-107-00046-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	page vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Preface: To Intervene</i>	xxi
1 Introduction: Intervention and Its Meanings	1
Part I. Memory and Movement	31
2 Memorializing Srebrenica	35
3 The Politics and Practice of Homecoming: Refugee Return	73
4 Special Status for a Special Crime	109
Part II. Redress beyond Bosnia	145
5 Srebrenica Abroad: Diaspora Connections, Activism, and Controversies	149
6 Immigration Violations in the United States: A Different Kind of Accounting	183
	v

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

vi	CONTENTS
Part III. The Production and Subversion of Knowledge	213
7 Srebrenica in Court	217
8 Pushing Back: Denial	251
9 Conclusion	285
Appendix A: Economic Indicators for the Srebrenica Municipality and Republika Srpska	301
Appendix B: 2008 and 2012 Municipal Election Results	303
Notes	307
Bibliography	381
Index	401

Maps

1.1 Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina	<i>page</i> 9
1.2 Map of the Drina Valley	11
1.3 Map of Srebrenica’s execution sites and primary and secondary mass graves	13

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Figures

2.1	The Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery: the <i>musala</i> , June 2009	page 36
2.2	Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery: tombstones, July 10, 2010	44
2.3	Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery: preparations for the mass burials, July 10, 2012	47
2.4	Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery: coffins awaiting burial, July 10, 2012	48
2.5	<i>Marš mira</i> : Day 2 crossing the bridge near the village of Glodi, July 9, 2010	52
2.6	<i>Marš mira</i> : offering hot tea to the marchers, July 8, 2010	53
2.7	<i>Marš mira</i> : Day 3 arriving at Potočari, July 10, 2010	54
2.8	Kravica: convoy of buses with Srebrenica survivors departing the warehouse execution site, July 13, 2010	63
2.9	Grbavci elementary school: the Srebrenica imam, Damir ef. Peštalić, leads survivors in a prayer before the school entrance, July 13, 2010	64
2.10	Branjevo Military Farm: survivors visit the execution site, July 13, 2010	65
2.11	Pilica: memorial to fallen Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) soldiers stands before the dilapidated cultural center, July 13, 2010	68
3.1	Outside the village of Krušev Do: graffiti message demanding return, November 2003	86
		ix

x	FIGURES
3.2 Srebrenica: war-damaged house not yet reconstructed, November 2003	91
3.3 Srebrenica: reconstructed mosque, May 2004	98
4.1 “Srebrenica: Pravda za sve” (Srebrenica: Justice for All), protest poster, Sarajevo, June 11, 2007	136
4.2 Protest, Sarajevo, June 11, 2007. The sign reads, “The International Community is an Accomplice to Genocide.”	137
4.3 Protest, Sarajevo, June 11, 2007	138
4.4 Protest, Sarajevo, June 11, 2007	139
4.5 Protest, Sarajevo, June 11, 2007. The sign reads, “Memorial Center in Potočari is the Heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina.”	140
5.1 Our Redeemer Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri: graves of the Bosnian diaspora, with nearby trash bin labeled in Bosnian as well as English, August 2011	171
5.2 St. Louis: Gravois Street butcher shop selling roasted lamb, March 2011	175
5.3 St. Louis: Vegeta delivery truck in the heart of the Bosnian diaspora commercial district, March 2011	176
5.4 St. Louis: Islamic Center with its recently added minaret, March 2011	177
III.1 Potočari: billboard poster by Tarik Samarah, September 2003	214
III.2 Nežuk: <i>Marš mira</i> participants, July 8, 2010	215
8.1 Dragan Čavić’s apology, June 2004	252
8.2 Milići: graffiti reads “For Kravica, you got Srebrenica. We played by your rules,” July 10, 2010	270
8.3 Kravica: memorial to Serb victims, July 13, 2010	272
9.1 Srebrenica, campaign poster of <i>I’ll Vote for Srebrenica</i> candidate Ćamil Duraković, October 7, 2012	290
9.2 Srebrenica: election campaign posters for independent candidate Radojica Ratkovac and SDP candidates, October 7, 2012	292
9.3 Srebrenica: voters waiting in front of Srebrenica’s Cultural Center on election day, October 7, 2012	294

Tables

3.1 Internal Migration Patterns 2004–2010	<i>page 92</i>
5.1 Emigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Their Descendants (Second and Third Generation) in Selected Countries of Relocation	156
6.1 Srebrenica-Related Immigration Cases in the United States (as of January 2013)	204

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

There is a garden tucked away on a hillside above one of Srebrenica's main residential streets. In it grow all kinds of wonderful fruits and vegetables: fragrant herbs, tomatoes and beans, tender peas, plums of a purple so deep and beautiful you think maybe you shouldn't eat them. That garden has flourished amid the wreckage of the war, nurtured by the tender, ever-busy hands of two special people: Sabra and Minka Mustafić. This book grows out of the care of these two brave women, who welcomed us into their home, fed us from their garden, and helped us understand why Srebrenica is so very important to so many people, themselves included.

As Sabra and Minka nourished us, others have inspired us. This project owes its principal debt to the survivors of the Srebrenica genocide and specifically the members of the family associations. In Sarajevo, we thank the Mothers of the Enclaves of Srebrenica and Žepa, especially Sabaheta Fejzić, Zumra Šehomerović, Sabra Kulenović, Kada Hotić, and Munira Subašić. In Tuzla, we thank the Women of Srebrenica, especially Hajra Ćatić and Nura Begović, for their boundless generosity and aid. Nura's hands grace the cover of this book, holding a banner with the names of Srebrenica's missing; she, Hajra, and the women of the associations have dedicated their lives since the enclave's fall to fighting on behalf of the missing. Their example has been an inspiration to us throughout this work. We thank Tarik Samarah for the image of Nura's hands and for all of his important photographic work, which now lines the walls of Gallery 11/07/95 in Sarajevo.

In Srebrenica and Bosnia, a number of people enriched this project in important ways: Šefija and Sadik Salimović, Dragana Jovanović, Amir Kulaglič, Čamil Duraković, Suljo Čakanović, Behkta Softić, Milka (Medić) Strbac, Alma Mašić, Hasan Nuhanović, Advija Ibrahimović, Mira Mišić Jugović, Jasmin Agović, Faruk Šabanović, and Alexandre Prieto.

We have been extraordinarily fortunate to have had the support of many careful, dedicated readers who contributed invaluable insights and critical feedback at various stages of the project. Colleagues Adi Džumhur, Jelena Obradović-Wochnik, Hariz Halilović, Kathryne Bomberger, Adi Rizvić, Michael Dolski, Sabrina Peric, Marko Dumančić, Azra Hromadžić, Safia Swimelar, Arthur Murphy, and Darryl Li read drafts of the chapters and offered their reflections and recommendations. Robert Donia has always gone to great lengths to share primary material and incisive comments. We thank Peter Lippman for his dedicated study of and commitment to Bosnia. This book is that much stronger for the wealth of material the two of them have collected and disseminated over the years. Richard Vernon, Tracy Isaacs, Mark Drumbl, Larry May, David Luban, and other participants in the conference on Collective Punishment organized by the Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict Research Group at the University of Western Ontario provided useful comments on Chapter 4. For their assistance with Chapter 6, we thank Richard Butler, Nicole Navas, Judge L. Patrick Auld, and Christopher Justice. The “Citizenship in Southeast Europe” Web magazine of the CITSEE project at the University of Edinburgh published an excerpt from Chapter 3; there, Igor Štiks encouraged us to share part of our research as it was progressing. An earlier version of text from Chapter 2 appeared in “Tabulating Loss, Entombing Memory: The Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre,” in Elizabeth Anderson, Avril Maddrell, Kate McLoughlin, and Alana Vincent, eds., *Memory, Mourning, Landscape* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

In St. Louis, we would like to thank Rusmin Topalović, Mirsad Salihović, Murat Muratović, Ajlina Karamehić-Muratović, Šukrija

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

xv

Džidžović, Edin Osmanović, and especially Ron Klutho and Patrick McCarthy. Additionally, our thanks go to Hamdija Čustović, Reuf Bajrović, Ajla Delkić, and Eldin Kajević for their generosity in helping us understand the dynamics of the broader Bosnian diaspora. We offer a personal note of gratitude to Nihad Hasanović and to Smajo, Alma, Benjamin, and Edin Duraković for sharing their early experiences of resettlement in a new land.

We are grateful as well for help from Aida Čerkez, Rosemary Armao, Asta Zinbo, Maria Fuglevaag Warsinska-Varši, Refik Hodžić, Dennis Gratz, and Kimberly Coles. We thank Lord Paddy Ashdown, Ambassador Clifford Bond, Ambassador Diego Arria, and Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey for their insights and time. Derek Congram, Hugh Tuller, and Matt Vennemeyer provided valuable knowledge and data about Srebrenica's mass graves and the related exhumations. We thank Edward Beaver for his help in creating the Drina Valley map, and Nerma Jelačić and Victoria Enaut for their assistance with the map of execution and graves sites.

Support for this research stretches back well over a decade, beginning with our respective Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad fellowships, and includes funding from the project on "Human Rights in the Post-Communist World: Strategies and Outcomes" at the Harriman Institute of Columbia University, where Jack Snyder, Alex Cooley, and the late Peter Juviler were great mentors and sources of support. The late Fred Halliday at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI) encouraged us to go into the field and to keep asking questions. IBEI provided the perfect intellectual home in which to continue this project.

We are also grateful for institutional support and funding from the American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCELS); International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) Short Term Travel Grant; University of North Carolina at Greensboro; George Washington University; and Royal Holloway, University of London.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

At Cambridge University Press, Senior Editor John Berger provided excellent guidance from the very beginning. Reviewers Carol Greenhouse of Princeton University and Richard A. Wilson of the University of Connecticut offered thoughtful commentary, helping to shape the overall trajectory of the work and helping us to find a common voice as co-authors.

Through her superlative editing, Teresa Lawson strengthened and polished this book. We also thank Sabiha Jukić, Tess Borden, Radmila Turanjanin, and Olivia Hardy for research assistance; Stephanie Smith for her meticulous work on the bibliography; Sanela Fazlić for her help with translations; and Derek Long for his assistance with the index, as well as his abiding patience and support.

In addition to the people who read the drafts and shared their time and expertise, we are grateful to those who have been our steadfast champions, gave us homes when we needed them, and never tired of hearing about the project: Jonathan and Bettyann Nettelfield made it all possible. We also thank: Fordeen Despard, Gemma Colantes Celador, Edina Softić, Lejla Pašić Ebner, Hawley Johnson, Sophia Kalantzakos, Michele DeMarco Wilkie, Napier Collins, Ed Vulliamy, Ray Signorello, Jr., Stjepan and Matija Štiks, Maria Fontanals Novell; Shannon Wagner and Wallace Watson, Jonathan Wagner, Laurel Freas, and especially Jo Paluzzi, a dear friend and valued colleague. We cannot thank you all enough.

We hope that this story will help give voice to *oni koji nisu došli* (those who didn't make it); it was their absence that spurred our research, and it is their absence that continues to demand redress.

Abbreviations

AP	Associated Press
ARBiH	Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or Bosnian Army)
BAM	Bosnia and Herzegovina Convertible Mark
BiH	Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
BIRN	Balkan Investigative Reporting Network
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (U.S.)
CIPS	Citizens Identity Protection System
CNAB	Congress of North American Bosniaks
COE	Council of Europe
DHS	Department of Homeland Security (U.S.)
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ERN	Evidence Reference Number
EU	European Union
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
HRC	Human Rights Chamber
HRVCU	Human Rights Violators and War Crimes Unit (ICE)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement (U.S.)
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICMP	International Commission on Missing Persons
ICNAB	Islamic Community of North American Bosniaks

xviii	ABBREVIATIONS
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service (U.S.)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IWPR	Institute for War and Peace Reporting
JCE	Joint Criminal Enterprise
JNA	Jugoslovenska narodna armija (Yugoslav People's Army)
LPR	Lawful Permanent Resident
MEJA	Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act
MUP	Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova (Ministry of Internal Affairs or Ministry of Interior)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIOD	Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation)
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
OSI	Office of Special Investigations (U.S.)
OTP	Office of the Prosecutor (ICTY)
PEC	Provisional Election Commission
PHR	Physicians for Human Rights
PIP	Podrinje Identification Project
PVR	Passive Voter Registration
RDC	Research and Documentation Center
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SDA	Stranka demokratske akcije (Party of Democratic Action)
SDP	Socijaldemokratska partija (Social Democratic Party)
SDS	Srpska demokratska stranka (Serb Democratic Party)
SENSE	South East News Service Europe
SFOR	Stabilization Force (NATO)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS

xix

SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SNSD	Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata (Alliance of Independent Social Democrats)
SRRP	Srebrenica Regional Recovery Program
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VRS	Vojska Republike Srpske (Army of Republika Srpska)
YIHR	Youth Initiative for Human Rights

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-00046-9 - Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide
Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

To Intervene

[**L. *intervenire*, to come between;
inter, between, and *venire*, to come]**

1. to come, lie, or be between; as, hills *intervene* between two valleys;
2. to come or happen between two points of time or events;
3. to come or be in between as something unnecessary or irrelevant;
4. to come between as an influencing force; to come in to modify, settle, or hinder some action, argument, etc.;
5. in law, to come in as a third party to a suit, for the protection of one's own interests.