



THE WEAPONISATION OF GENOCIDE DENIAL

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

Keywords: Genocide, Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina



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Introduction

In May 2024, the UN Resolution on Srebrenica (United Nations General Assembly, 2024) designated July 11th as the *International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica* (United Nations, n.d.). What the resolution did was to strongly condemn the denial of the Srebrenica genocide. It did so by calling on member states to preserve its facts through education. It also established an outreach program which was specifically designed to prevent future genocides. However, the resolution faced opposition. The opposition came particularly from Serbia. It was said that it politicized the events of 1995. It would also reopen old wounds which has not entirely healed even after all this time. What Serbia failed to recognise was that the Resolution did not seek to reignite old tensions but only to ensure its significance as a historical event was not denied. It did so by: (i) *Designation of an international day*, which established July 11th as the International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica; (ii) *Condemnation of denial* by explicitly condemning “*without reservation any denial of the Srebrenica genocide as a historical event*”; (iii) *a commitment to preservation*, by urging member states to preserve the facts of the genocide, including through their educational systems, to prevent denial and distortion; and (iv) *an outreach program*, which asked the UN Secretary-General to establish an outreach program to raise awareness.

However, even before it was passed the leaders from Serbia and Bosnia’s *Republika Srpska* began campaigning against the adoption of a UN resolution commemorating the Srebrenica genocide on the grounds that it would ignite old tensions. Serbian President *Aleksandar Vučić* was reported as saying that he will “fight until the last moment (Al Jazeera Staff, 2024). Already, as Zlatko Lagumdžija, the permanent representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the UN reported, the vote in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) had been postponed. It seems this was the result of the lobbying efforts by Vučić against its adoption in New York. Yet, the supporters of the Resolution were countries which knew a thing or two about Genocide. That in itself was not something to easily overlook. It was Germany and Rwanda which had initiated the idea of the resolution. But it had then been co-sponsored by more than a dozen countries. These countries too were far from insignificant. They included the United States, France, the Netherlands, North Macedonia, Chile, and Ireland.

That the Resolution was up for consideration was hardly surprising. After all, in 2004, the *International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY)* in The Hague had already ruled that the crimes in Srebrenica in July 1995 committed by Serb forces constituted genocide. Then after that the International Court of

Justice (ICJ) upheld this ruling in 2007. So it was hardly a matter that could be said any longer to be controversial – unless, of course, if one chose to make it so. Clearly, some were determined to do exactly that given that the ICTY had already ruled that: “[t]he Tribunal has established beyond a reasonable doubt that the killing of 7,000 to 8,000 Bosnian Muslim prisoners was genocide,” whereby no less than eight judgements entered recorded genocide verdicts of guilt which it said had been committed against Bosniaks in Srebrenica. Nor was the act of such commemoration in itself novel because in 2004 and in 2005 the UN had already declared specific days for commemoration of genocides before first for Rwanda and then for the Holocaust respectively. A previous attempt in 2015, when the UK raised at the UN Security Council, the prospect of a resolution in commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide, was unfortunately vetoed by Russia, preventing its adoption.

Why, however, was such a commemoration now so important for Srebrenica? In the words of Azir Osmanović, a Srebrenica genocide survivor and curator at the Srebrenica Memorial Center, his own chilling experience as a child in Srebrenica during the war put it best when he explained how, “our struggle, unfortunately, is far from over” because “on a daily basis, we are subjected to rampant and ruthless genocide denial, historical revisionism and the threat of renewed violence.” If this is so then clearly all genocides of the modern era must be commemorated in the same way if we are to avoid the risk of their recurrence again in what is an increasingly fractious and unstable world. For Azir Osmanović, “international recognition of the Srebrenica genocide as a universal tragedy would help to stem this tide once and for all and through global awareness, ensure that no other community, anywhere in the world, comes to share our fate.” It is the guarantee for no other community to be once again subjected to the same horrors that matters in the long run. This has not stopped *Milorad Dodik*, president of Republika Srpska, and a regular denier of the Srebrenica genocide, from railing against the resolution on grounds that it amounts to “provocations from Bosniak politicians and their sponsors from the West”, who are intent on achieving “the goal of satanising the Serb people”. Nor has it stopped President Vučić from expressing fears that with the Resolution there will now be requests for war reparations even if this was a non-binding resolution. For *Republika Srpska* the fears were best expressed by Croatian political analyst, Davor Gjenero, who claimed that “the passing of the resolution could launch a process which could lead to the cancellation of the Dayton peace agreement and the entities that it created (Federation and Republika Srpska),” he said.

Small wonder then that when on 23rd May 2024 the General Assembly adopted the Resolution on Srebrenica Genocide, Designating International Day of Reflection, Commemoration (United Nations, 2024) many decried the ‘politicized’ nature of the text and noted that the action may exacerbate tensions. China’s representative, whilst recognising that what occurred in Srebrenica was “deplorable”, said that his delegation would nonetheless vote against the draft resolution, as the text had sparked controversy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namibia abstained, explaining that they “want to discuss genocide comprehensively and honestly”. Selective amnesia “is fast becoming the norm” worldwide — where “what our designated foes do, is genocide. But when we or our allies do the same, it’s not genocide.” The United Arab Emirates, while condemning any attempts to deny or minimize the genocide in Serbia, said it too would abstain, in the context of the destabilizing impact that adoption could have in the region. Cuba rejected the proposed text because it invoked doctrines such as the responsibility to protect, which lacked a consensus in the General Assembly, and which had been manipulated in the past for political reasons, jeopardizing the sovereignty of States. Egypt’s representative voiced the objection that this was a rushed negotiation, complaining that many countries, including the sponsors, targeted some countries politically during the negotiations, paying lip service to international law in the context of the Balkans, while remaining silent on flagrant violations of such laws in ongoing conflicts in different parts of the world. Importantly, meanwhile, Rwanda’s delegate objected to comments by his counterpart from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, adding that he had “sadistically” used the occasion to lay abominable allegations against his country. Whatever the truth in these myriad objections was the opposition to the Resolution in the end justified? In this article I argue it was plainly now justified. Events that have since unfolded are a living testament to that.

The Rise in Incidents of Genocide Denial

Last year, the number of incidents of genocide denial in Bosnia and Herzegovina were three times what they were in the year before in 2023, standing at 305 registered cases. Worryingly, April and May showed a particular increase. This is when the adoption of a UN General Assembly resolution to establish an annual Srebrenica genocide commemoration took place. The increase during these months demonstrates a determined effort on the part of genocide deniers to wipe clean the memory of what happened in this region 30 years ago. It reflects its commitment not to genocide prevention but to the erasure of memory.

The author of the *Srebrenica Memorial Centre*, which brought out a new report. *Edin Ikanovic* showed how genocide denial was now reaching a pitch not seen in the years just before genocide denial was criminalized in the legislation of 2021, barely less than a handful of years ago. It seems that the efforts of the High Representative, *Valentin Inzko*, at the time of imposing amendments to the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina, banning the glorification of war criminals, was now quickly unravelling. These are disturbing portents for the future, in a world that is increasingly unstable and in the grips of ethno-nationalism as a new political creed sweeping across much of present-day Europe.

The intriguing question is why despite the horrors of the past in Bosnia and Herzegovina which are well within living memory of most people still alive today that that is such a distinct lack of prosecution of those who deny that a genocide took place here 30 years ago. This is all the more remarkable given that during the amendments to the Criminal Code in 2021 few actually went so far as to openly deny the genocide. Yet, less than half a dozen years later this is now a regular occurrence. One reason why this is so brazenly done is because there are no sanctions against those who act against the 2021 amendments to the Criminal Code. It is all too easy now to exhibit one's prejudices openly and in defiance of the authorities. From this it has been a short step to weaponize genocide denial in political discourse, as has been noted by the co-author of the new report from the Srebrenica Memorial Centre, *Denis Dzidic*, who is also the executive director of BIRN, With the result that particularly during local elections there is a marked use of such weaponization of genocide denial.

Those who are so inclined are assisted in no small measure by the major media outlets which are state controlled in the Serb-influenced *Republika Srpska*, where such narratives are magnified and boosted with the aid of media anchors *SRNA*, *Informer*, *RTRS* and *Politika*, all dedicated to an aggressive agenda of historical genocide revisionism. What is clearly needed is for Bosnia and Herzegovina's own judicial institutions to act diligently so as to hold transgressors to account for their deeds before the domestic courts, and the international community can do much to bring pressure to bear to them to do so. There were 700 cases a year of genocide denial before the 2021 amendments to the Criminal Code. If the current climate of impunity continues that figure cannot only recur again, but easily surpassed, unless drastic action is now taken. One reason for this is the fact that leading public personalities are now actively engaged in showcasing how genocide denial can best be propagated. From *Republika Srpska*, to *President Milorad Dodik*, and to the Serbian *President Alexander Vučić*, a range of high-profile politicians and entities are actively engaged in this venture. That this is so is

not so noteworthy, not that this is troubling in itself, given that this is just a little over a generation after Srebrenica's genocide took place. What is particularly disconcerting is that they are able to get away with it with impunity. Dodik, for example, has been involved in 23 documented situations where he has denied the Srebrenica genocide. Yet, multiple criminal complaints against him have been casually dismissed by the Prosecutors Office of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a staggering dereliction of a public duty to prosecute. A measure of the indignation one may feel at this can be gleaned from the fact that what resulted from the Srebrenica Genocide in July 1995 was the passing down of no less than 781 years of imprisonment to those responsible and five life sentences being handed down to 54 individuals by the Hague tribunal and the courts of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia.

The role of outside forces

What is often overlooked is how Genocide denial is being aided by those outside Bosnia and Herzegovina. When over 8000 Bosnian men and boys of Muslim origin (Bosniaks) were killed *en masse* in July 1995 in eastern Bosnia in Srebrenica and its surrounding area this was not according to *Yahel Vilan*, the Israeli ambassador to Serbia, a genocide at all. As he explained to Russia's state-owned news agency, *Sputnik*, "Srebrenica should not be called genocide" as this was a misapplication of the term. This is despite the fact that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) are among an array of distinguished trial panels and appellate chambers that have described the Srebrenica massacre by Bosnian Serb ultra-nationalist paramilitary thugs as nothing short of genocide. The repudiation of the appellation 'genocide' to the Srebrenica massacre by Vilan is tendentious. It is one amongst many such denials. Its intention was to upstage a proposed resolution by Germany and Rwanda, designed to condemn the denial of genocide in Srebrenica, before the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). This was on 11th July 2024, which was the day the massacre had begun almost 30-years ago, and the UN would commemorate it as the International Day of Reflection and Commemoration of the 1995 Genocide in Srebrenica. Even though it had the support of a diverse range of UN member states such as the United States, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Jordan, and New Zealand, there was stiff opposition. The UN resolution, as the thinking went, can be undermined and dismantled if Vilan can garner support from Serbia's far right politicians to support Benjamin Netanyahu's own genocidal policy in Gaza aimed at ethnic cleansing of its indigenous population, so that just as what is happening in Gaza cannot be criticised on the

grounds of its being a genocide so also what happened 30 years ago in Srebrenica at the hands of the ultranationalist paramilitary Bosnian Serbs can also not be castigated as a genocide.

Yet, as in Gaza today so also in Srebrenica three decades ago. What took place was the most extreme illustration of ethnic cleansing. Back then, it was a policy driven by Bosnian Serbs, epitomised in the bombastic personality of Slobodan Milosevic, the late Serbian and Yugoslav president, in its 1990s wars that came hot on the heels of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Back then the goal, as it appears to be today also under the Israeli regime headed by Benjamin Netanyahu, was the installation of an ethno-nationalist hegemonic State. In the former case it would be distinguished by its pan-Serbian characteristics identified as "Srpski svet" (or Serbian World). In the latter case it would be the complete judaization of Palestine. In Bosnia it was necessary to ethnically cleanse the Bosniaks of Bosnia and the Croats from what was largely Serb populated territory, which could then be subsumed into the former Yugoslav Socialist Federal Republic of Serbia.

The facts of genocide

This overlooks history. It overlooks what actually happened to the Bosniaks in living memory. It is a rewriting of history. And, if not stopped in its tracks it will come back to haunt Europe. What happened on 16th April 1993 is a matter of documented record. A devastating war followed Bosnia and Herzegovina's Declaration of Independence from a disintegrating Yugoslavia. Srebrenica and its surrounding areas had been designated by a UN Security Council resolution "as a safe area which should be free from any of the attack or other hostile act." It was not to be. A Dutch UN peacekeeping battalion bizarrely and cruelly handed over Srebrenica and its inhabitants to Guerrilla forces of nationalist Serbs, who were self-styled as the 'Chetniks', on 11 July 1995. Under the command of General Ratko Mladic these nationalist Serbian chetniks systematically massacred old men and boys who were aged over 12. Bosniak women were raped ruthlessly. The elderly, together with women and children, numbering no less than 25,000 Bosniaks, were forcibly deported. It took Kofi Annan, the UN secretary general, 10 years to describe in 2005 the events of Srebrenica as "a terrible crime - the worst on European soil since the Second World War".

Justice has been slow. The ICTY convicted six Bosnian Serbs of genocide. Radovan Karadzic, the then-President of Republika Srpska, was one of them. He was in charge of the majority Serb part of Bosnia which became one of the two

'entities' in the Dayton peace agreement as a basis for ending the war. Mladic was the other. Milosevic escaped conviction, because although he had been indicted for the full gamut of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity he died in his prison cell at The Hague, before a verdict could be announced in his trial – apparently it seems of a heart attack.

Those that remain intent upon denying the genocide in Srebrenica forget not only the ICTY convictions of six major architects of the Bosnian genocide, but also the judgement in February 2007 of the ICJ in the landmark decision in *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro*. This determined that “the acts committed at Srebrenica were committed with the specific intent to destroy in part the group of the Muslims of Bosnia Herzegovina as such; and accordingly, that these were acts of genocide”.

It is not difficult to see why those such as Yaser Vilan, the Israeli ambassador to Serbia, would wish to decry such a holding because it is a ruling that can just as well be applied to the Netanyahu government war in Gaza where since October 7th 2023 a new epoch has unfolded of a vengeful and fanatical, destruction of the people of Gaza, with Benjamin Netanyahu invoking the Bible to describe Palestinians as '*Amalek*', making it an enemy that must be obliterated. Indeed, Israel's former defence minister Yoav Gallant too, at the beginning of this war suggested that they were “animals” devoid of any human attributes which the rest of mankind on the face of the earth share.

To deny the Srebrenica genocide, however, is to deny the existence of the judgments in the ICTY and the ICJ. This will take hard established facts to a new level of 'fake news'. It is a desperate effort to avoid the label of genocide attaching to some of the most heinous crimes committed since the Second World War when Raphael Lemkin, came up with the idea of 'genocide' for the benefit of the Nuremberg Tribunal. He was the Polish jurist who escaped the horrors of Nazism just in time to devise in America the idea of a genocide when entire communities stand to be eviscerated. A new humanitarian language, grounded in the solid traditions of the enlightenment, was to sweep across the Western World, based on the right to live, to human rights, to freedom, and to the application of international law on the strong and not just on the weak in this bleak world. Yet what we have now are revisionist histories of the past. A past which was not even so long ago. A past which most of us can fully recall. A past where there exists still a living memory. Yet, the revisionists are intent on glorifying the perpetrators of mass violence and genocide. And they are being assisted by people in high places on the world stage, so that Mladic, responsible for the atrocities in Srebrenica, is not a genocidaire at all. He is a role model. In *Republika Srpska* and in *Serbia* as a whole he is hero.

Genocide Deniers

One politician at the forefront of this historical revision in Serbia is *Milorad Dodik*. He has been sanctioned a number of times by the US government. His crimes range from corruption to tracking the stability and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This has only added to his aura and image as the strongman of Republika Srpska. So emboldened is he now that he has even called the Srebrenica genocide as a ‘fabricated myth.’ For him, as far as Srebrenica is concerned, “Genocide did not happen there, we all know that here in Republika Srpska.” At Banja Luka, the capital of Republika Srpska, he boldly told a large gathering on 18th April 2024 that “a mistake’ and a “huge crime” is all that Srebrenica was, and staunchly declared, “but it wasn’t a genocide”. Yet, surely even Dodik knows how false his denunciations of the Srebrenica genocide are and how hollow his indignation because almost a decade ago in 2008 it was he himself who had said in an interview that “I know perfectly well what happened: genocide happened in Srebrenica. That was the ruling of the Hague tribunal and this is an undeniable legal fact.” So, not so ‘fake news’ after all!

Yet, the historical revisionism continues, and it continues also because it now has the support of Israeli academics and activists. Chief amongst these have been *Gideon Grief* and *Efraim Zuroff*. As an Israeli academic, Grief was commissioned by Dodik to chair an internal Commission of inquiry, and is known for his pro-Serb writings. In 2021, he produced with his Commission a report of over a thousand pages, in which he denied the existence of a genocide in Srebrenica. Menachem Z. Rosensaft (Museum of Jewish Heritage, 2021), a law professor specialising in the law of genocide at Cornell Law School and Columbia Law School, has described this report as “utterly spurious” and said of it that it is a “shameless manipulation of the truth,” dismissing it ultimately as “a document that deserves to be consigned to the dustbin of history, used only to demonstrate the moral failing of individuals - the proverbial ‘useful idiots’, as it were - who engaged in genocide denial and distortion” (Rosensaft, 2024).

To support his arguments, Rosensaft exposes the perfidious nature of the so-called self styled Grief Report on the ground that it fallaciously focused on the number of dead. Grief argued that the Bosniaks killed there numbered 8000 and that this was an insufficient number to constitute a genocide. However, no less a person than the Director of the Institute of Jewish affairs of the World Jewish Congress, Nehemiah Robinson, recognised as an outstanding authority on the genocide convention, made it clear as long ago as 1960 (Robinson, 1960: 63) that the scale of a genocide is not determined by the numbers killed. In the words of Robinson:

“The intent to destroy a multitude of persons of the same group because of their belonging to this group, must be classified as genocide even if those persons constitute only part of a group either within a country or within a region or within a single community, provided the number is substantial..... It will be up to the courts to decide in each case whether the number was sufficiently large.”

In the case of the genocide in Srebrenica, of course, both the ICTY and the ICJ has already determined that what happened there 30 years ago was indeed a genocide - something that was apparently even accepted by Milorad Dodik in 2008. Those courts have already determined that the number of Bosniaks killed in Srebrenica was indeed “sufficiently large” as Robinson explained, so as to amount to a genocide. It is an act of facile self-indulgence therefore to now produce a self-styled report to say it is not. Who is this meant to convince? Surely not the courts, where these matters are litigated on the evidence and determined on the facts, as indeed they already have been.

In fact, in another case in *Prosecutor v. Zdravko Tolimir*, the ICTY appellate panel found even a lesser number killed to be a sufficiently large number when it held that “the killing of at least 5,749 Bosnian Muslim men from Srebrenica” did amount to an actus reus for the constitution of a genocide because it had the necessary genocidal intent. This was the second ICTY case. But there was also a third ICTY ruling which neither Grief nor Vilan and nor Milorad Dodik can possibly ignore. The ICTY trial chamber in *Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladic* has held, “that in determining the sustainability of the group, the numerical size of the part in absolute terms is one factor among many” and that the others include the “numerical size of the part in relation to the overall size of the group; the prominence of the part of the group within the larger whole and whether it is emblematic of the overall group or essential to its survival; the area of the perpetrators activity and control; and the perpetrators potential reach.”

Despite this there appears to be a relentless and unremitting attempt to deny the existence of the Srebrenica massacre as a genocide. This is to be seen in the wholesale adoption by *Republika Srpska* of the Grief Report in a bid to counteract the proposed UN General Assembly resolution banning the denial of the horrendous genocide in Srebrenica three decades ago. Rosensaft, however, does not mince his words. For him “If that’s the best they can come up with, they’re whistling past any number of graveyards”.

The Judicial Ignored

To deny the genocide in Srebrenica, does nevertheless raise the important question of what it means to ignore judicial rulings from some of the most important international tribunals working on the protection of human rights in the world today. One person who exemplifies this is *Zuroff*, the director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre's Israel office, who also denies that Srebrenica ever took place. He has opposed the UN resolution on the Srebrenica genocide being adopted. In an *Op-ed* in the *Jerusalem Post*, he has declared that, "anyone acquainted with that event, as well as with the original definition of 'genocide' knows very well that the crime committed by the Soviet troops does not fit the definition of genocide." Challenged by Rosensaft in the *Times of Israel* on grounds that he too had totally ignored the ICJ holding that "the acts committed at Srebrenica" did amount to genocide, together with many other ICTY decisions to the same effect, Zuroff apparently responded in the *Times of Israel* himself, but according to Rosensaft simply "studiously failed (or refused) to address the numerous judicial decisions."

What Zuroff did do was to cite the Holocaust historian, *Yehuda Bauer*, whom Zuroff pointed out "has insisted for years that what happened in Srebrenica does not qualify as a case of genocide." If so then this plainly does not meet the thrust of the argument put forward by Rosensaft, namely, that legal decisions have already analysed the facts and on the evidence concluded that what happened in Srebrenica was indeed a genocide, with numbers killed being a matter of only evidentiary note, and not decisive of the question of an intent to destroy in whole or in part members of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group simply because of their belonging to this group. Yet, what Zuroff maintains is that to describe Srebrenica killings as genocide would mean that the term would be completely emptied of its current gravitas and significance, and lose whatever impact it still has to date."

This is an intriguing and startling observation if it is meant to imply that a genocide is to be measured only by virtue of its gravitas, with the horrendous mass killings during the Holocaust being the archetypal example, because otherwise the concept would lose whatever impact it has since acquired in the annals of world history. Yet, as Rosensaft is surely right in pointing out that whether an event amounts to the commission of a genocide is "a matter for the courts far more than for historians." This is because once the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted, and then came into force (24)25 months later, it became a matter of interpretation for the courts as a legal matter for them to decide, and not one for historians to opine upon.

Once one recognises that the ICTY came to the decision that it did following their extensive examination of the evidence before them, together with the compelling witness testimony that they heard, genocide ceased to be an abstract concept of intellectual and philosophical inquiry, and still less of equivocation and subtlety. This is what Zuroff, Greif and others seem to be so blissfully unaware of.

Conclusion

Genocide is not a matter of sophisticated casuistry. It has a legal definition. It is firmly embedded in international law. Both the genocide convention and the statute of the ICTY are unequivocal in leaving us with no doubt that genocide is what is “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic racial or religious group, as such.” The acts of genocide will include “killing members of the group” and it will include “causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group”. In the case both of the Srebrenica massacre as well as the mass murder in Gaza, there is an intent to destroy a group “as such”. In the case of the Srebrenica killings this has been decisively determined by war crime tribunals. In the case of Gaza this has yet to definitively happen. Yet, no amount of glossing the basic facts by those such as Yahel Vilan, or Gideon Grief or Efrain Zuroff, can obscure that basic reality.

Both the ICTY tribunals and the ICJ were unanimous in their holding that the Srebrenica killings were acts that did in the slaughter constitute genocide as a matter of law. In *Prosecutor v Ratko Mladic*, the particular account was taken by the ICTY trial chamber of the fact that what was involved here was “the murder of many thousands of Bosnian Muslim males, the destruction of political or religious monuments and homes, and the forcible transfer of Bosnian Muslim women, children, and the elderly” in a way that it amounted to genocide. In the end, Menachem Z. Rosensaft (Rosensaft, 2025) is sufficiently incensed and outraged by “the likes of Grief, Zuroff, and now Vilan” who “with no questions asked” are engaging in “abject subservience and sycophancy” to promote the views that they have. As for Dodik and others in Republika Srpska”, Rosensaft understands that they “want to elicit malleable Israelis to provide them with purported ‘Jewish’ cover for their Srebrenica genocide denial.” For him, however, “the victims and survivors of these Srebrenica horrors” deserve better, which is why the UN General Assembly’s adoption of the proposed Srebrenica resolution, is the least that can be done to afford them “the dignity of having the crime perpetrated against them at long last formally recognised by the international community for what it was”. And that was genocide.

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