

*One Family's Story*

*of the War in Bosnia*

# BLOOD AND VENGEANCE



C H U C K

S U D E T I C

# **BLOOD AND**

**ONE FAMILY'S STORY  
OF THE  
WAR IN BOSNIA**

« « «

**CHUCK SUDETIC**

# **VENGEANCE**



**W · W · NORTON & COMPANY**

**NEW YORK    LONDON**

Copyright © 1998 by Chuck Sudetic

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

First Edition

For information about permission to reproduce selections from this book,  
write to Permissions, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.,  
500 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10110.

The text of this book is composed in 10.5/13 Electra LH  
with the display set in Munich Bold  
Composition and manufacturing by the Haddon Craftsmen, Inc.  
Book design by Margaret M. Wagner  
Cartography by Jacques Chazaud

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Sudetic, Chuck.

Blood and vengeance : one family's story of the war in Bosnia /  
by Chuck Sudetic.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-393-04651-6

1. Yugoslav War, 1991— Atrocities. 2. Yugoslav War, 1991— Bosnia and Hercegovina—Srebrenica. 3. Yugoslav War, 1991— Personal narratives, American. 4. Genocide—Bosnia and Hercegovina. 5. Sudetic, Chuck. 6. Srebrenica (Bosnia and Hercegovina)—History.

I. Title.

DR1313.7.A85S83 1998

949.703—dc21 97-46476

CIP

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110  
<http://www.wwnorton.com>

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 10 Coptic Street, London WC1A 1PU

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

## MAIN CHARACTERS

**Abdić, Fikret** (AB-deetch, FEE-kret)—A Communist-era director of an agricultural enterprise who was responsible for a \$500-million financial scandal. Leader of a Muslim faction in northwestern Bosnia. Muslim member of the Bosnian presidency after 1990 elections. Carried on trade with the Serbs and Croats before forming a private army and rising against the mostly Muslim army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Ahmetagić, Fehim** (AH-met-ag-eetch, FAY-heem)—Grandson of Mullah Medo Ahmetagić. Survivor of Zvekara killings in 1941.

**Ahmetagić, Hussein**—Great-grandson of Mullah Medo Ahmetagić. *Hodža* at Kupusovići mosque until the late 1980s. Left after dispute over water with Branko Mišić.

**Ahmetagić, Ibro** (EE-bro)—Son of Mullah Medo Ahmetagić and father of Fehim Ahmetagić. Survivor of Zvekara killings in 1941.

**Ahmetagić, Meho** (MAY-ho)—Grandson of Mullah Medo Ahmetagić, survivor of Zvekara killings in 1941.

**Ahmetagić, Mullah Medo** (MED-o)—Self-taught Muslim holy man from Vlahovići, a hamlet just down Mount Zvijezda from Kupusovići. Staunch supporter of the Serbian monarchy after World War I. District president during the period between the two world wars. Said to have received the Star of Karadjordje, the highest medal awarded by the Serbian king. Burned alive by Serbian Chetniks during World War II with his wife and other family members.

**Akashi, Yasushi**—Special Representative of Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali to the UN military force in the former Yugoslavia from December 1993 to October 1995. A staunch opponent of air strikes.

**Almir, Hodža** (AL-meer)—A Muslim faith healer from a village near Tuzla.

**Andrić, Ivo** (ANN-dreetch, EE-vo)—Nobel Prize-winning novelist who wrote about Bosnia. Born in the town of Travnik to Catholic parents, and lived in Višegrad under the care of a Muslim woman. Wrote the novel *Bridge on the Drina* about life in Višegrad from the building of the famous stone bridge to the beginning of World War I.

**Annan, Kofi**—Head of peacekeeping operations for the UN during most of the Bosnian war. Later elected secretary-general of the UN.

**Avdić, Avdija** (AHV-deetch, AHV-dee-ya)—Father of Hiba Čelik, the wife of Huso Čelik. Former member of the SS's Handžar Division, a quasi-military unit used as a special police in Yugoslavia from 1943 to the end of the war.

**Avdić, Husnija** (HOOS-nee-ya)—The mother of Hiba Čelik.

**Bayezid, Sultan**—The son of Sultan Murat. Fought at the Battle of Kosovo, where his father was killed.

**Bećirović, Ramiz** (beh-CHEER-o-veetch, ROM-eez)—Acting commander of the Muslim military forces in Srebrenica after Naser Orić's departure from the safe area in the spring of 1995. Former head of the Communist national guard in Srebrenica.

**Bildt, Carl**—Former prime minister of Sweden. Co-chairman of the International Peace Conference for the former Yugoslavia after the departure of David Owen in 1995.

**Boutros-Ghali, Boutros**—Secretary-general of the UN during the Bosnian war.

**Branković, Djurdje** (BRAHN-ko-veetch, JOOR-jay)—A Serbian despot who ruled over Srebrenica twice in the fifteenth century. Married to a Greek woman named Jerina, often referred to as Jerina the Damned.

**Briquemont, Francis**—The Belgian general who commanded the UN military force in Bosnia from General Morillon's departure in July 1993 to early 1994.

**Broz, Josip**—See Tito.

**Čavkušić, Hadžira** (CHAHV-koo-sheetch, ha-JEE-rah)—Daughter of Hasib Čavkušić. Friend of Sead Čelik and boyhood love of Milan Lukić. From the village of Kapetanovići, just below Kupusovići.

**Čavkušić, Hasib** (HAH-seeb)—Father of Hadžira Čavkušić and friend of Huso Čelik. Lived in Steyr, Austria. Friend of the Lukić family.

**Čavkušić, Ismet** (EES-met)—Husband of Latifa Čelik. Lived in Kamenica, a hamlet about an hour's walk from Kupusovići toward the northwest on Mount Zvijezda.

**Čelik, Ajka (Kozic)** (CHEL-eeek, AYE-ka)—Wife of Hasan Čelik. Mother of Huso Čelik.

**Čelik, Avdo** (AHV-doe)—An older brother of Huso Čelik. Born in 1937. Lives in Mölln, Austria.

**Čelik, Edin** (ED-een)—Son of Paja and Zlatija Čelik. Born in 1994 in Srebrenica.

**Čelik, Esad** (ESS-ahd)—An older brother of Huso Čelik.

**Čelik, Gordana** (GORE-dahn-ah)—Formerly Gordana Todorović. The author's sister-in-law. Married Hamed Čelik in 1989.

**Čelik, Hamed** (HOMM-ed)—Husband of Gordana Todorović, son of Huso Čelik.

Left Kupusovići to work as a fruitpicker near Belgrade in 1987. Left Yugoslavia in 1992. Lived in Austria for a year before rejoining his wife and children and moving to Canada in 1993.

**Čelik, Hiba** (Avdić) (HEE-bah)—Wife of Huso Čelik. Mother of Hamed, Sead, Paja, and Sanela.

**Čelik, Hujbo** (HOOY-boh)—A contemporary of Mullah Šaban Čelik. The father of Salih Čelik and great-grandfather of Huso Čelik.

**Čelik, Huso** (HOO-so)—Son of Hasan and Ajka Čelik. Husband of Hiba Čelik. Father of Hamed, Sead, Paja, and Sanela Čelik.

**Čelik, Jusuf** (YOO-soof)—The first cousin of Huso Čelik's children. Found Chetnik knife inside a cave beside the Čelik house.

**Čelik, Latifa** (lah-TEA-fah)—Sister of Huso Čelik. Married name is Latifa Čavkušić.

**Čelik, Mirza** (MEER-za)—Son of Paja and Zlatija Čelik. Born in Višegrad in 1990.

**Čelik, Mullah Šaban** (MOOL-ah SHAH-bahn)—A stranger who bought Kupusovići with bags of gold ducats after the occupation of Bosnia by Austria in 1878. Built a house next to Juz-bin's mosque.

**Čelik, Naza** (NAH-zah)—Third wife of Mullah Šaban Čelik and grandmother of Huso Čelik. Left Šaban to marry Salih Čelik. Remarried into the Kupus family after her husband's death during World War I. Died near Srebrenica during World War II.

**Čelik, Paja** (PIE-ah)—The youngest son of Huso and Hiba Čelik. Husband of Zlatija Čelik and father of Edin and Mirza.

**Čelik, Salih** (SAH-leekh)—The grandfather of Huso Čelik. Married Mullah Šaban's third wife, Naza. Killed during World War I near Srebrenica.

**Čelik, Salih** (SAH-leekh)—A brother of Huso Čelik. Named after his grandfather killed during World War I. Left the family after World War II and moved to Croatia.

**Čelik, Saliha** (sa-LEE-ha)—See Muratagić, Saliha.

**Čelik Sanela** (sah-NELL-ah)—Married name Sanela Halilović. Youngest child and only daughter of Huso and Hiba Čelik. Wife of Muhamed Halilović.

**Čelik, Sead** (SAY-ahd)—Son of Huso and Hiba Čelik. Left Kupusovići after returning from the army. Worked on the Adriatic coast of Croatia in a shipyard as a laborer until taking a position as a laborer on a merchant ship. Now living in Canada.

**Čelik, Zlatija** (ZLAT-ee-yah)—Wife of Paja Čelik. Mother of Mirza and Edin. From Odžak.

**Chirac, Jacques**—President of France. Shifted French policy toward Bosnia in 1995.

**Churkin, Vitaly**—Russia's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia in 1993 and 1994.

**Cot, Jean**—A French general who replaced General Wahlgren as commander of the UN military forces in the former Yugoslavia in July 1993.

**de Lapresle, Bertrand**—A French general who took over the UN military forces after General Cot's departure in 1994. Lieutenant General Rose's superior in the UN military chain of command.

**de Vere Hayes, Guy**—British deputy to Lieutenant General Briquemont of Belgium in 1993. Offered to remove Naser Orić from Srebrenica.

**Delić, Rasim** (DELL-eetch, RAS-eem)—Commander of the mostly Muslim army of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Delić, Sead** (DELL-eetch, SAY-ahd)—Commander of the Bosnian army's Tuzla Corps.

**Deronjić, Miroslav** (DARE-ohn-eetch, MEER-oh-slav)—The head of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bratunac. Participant in the roundup of Muslim men in Bratunac in 1992. Head of the Civilian Affairs Committee of Srebrenica after the town's fall in 1995.

**Dudić, Ibro** (DUDE-eetch, EE-broh)—The commander of the 282nd Brigade in Srebrenica. Respected by Muslim men as a fighter and as an officer who would not take unnecessary risks.

**Dukić, Rajko** (DUKE-eetch, RAI-koh)—Head of a mining company in the village of Milići. Financed the Serbian Democratic Party. Friend of Radovan Karadžić.

**Eagleburger, Lawrence**—The U.S. deputy secretary of state under the Bush administration. Reputed to be Washington's most knowledgeable person on Yugoslavia.

**Erić, Andjelija** (AIR-eetch, ann-JELL-ee-yah)—The mother of Nego and Golub Erić. Went to Belgrade and obtained an audience with Tito to beg him to commute her sons' sentence of death.

**Erić, Golub** (GO-loob)—Grandson of Vaso Erić, son of Mikailo Erić, brother of Nego Erić. Fought in World War II as a Chetnik and a Partisan and participated in the massacre of Muslims in the village of Sopotnik in December 1941. Tried and sentenced to death before Tito commuted his sentence to imprisonment. Honorary commander of the Serbian fighters in Kravica at the beginning of the Bosnian war. Killed in action in May 1992.

**Erić, Jakov** (YAHK-ov)—The son of Vaso Erić. Chief agent for Narodna Odbrana in Kravica. Died in an Austrian prison during World War I.

**Erić, Jovan** (YOE-von)—The son of Vaso Erić. Member of Narodna Odbrana in Kravica. Died in an Austrian prison during World War I.

**Erić, Krstina** (KERST-teen-a)—Wife of Nego Erić. Killed by her husband during the Muslim's Orthodox Christmas attack on Kravica in January 1993.

**Erić, Mihailo** (me-HIGH-lo)—Son of Zoran Erić, grandson of Golub Erić. Wounded in May 1992. Farmworker who lives in Kravica.

**Erić, Mikailo** (me-KAHY-lo)—Father of Golub and Nego Erić. Died in an Austrian prison during World War I. Participated in the Narodna Odbrana organization before the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

**Erić, Nego** (NEH-go)—Grandson of Vaso Erić, son of Mikailo Erić, brother of Golub Erić. Fought in World War II as a Chetnik and a Partisan. Participated in the massacre of Muslims in the village of Sopotnik in December 1941. Tried and sentenced to death before Tito commuted his sentence to imprisonment. Died by suicide during the Orthodox Christmas attack on Kravica by the Muslims in 1993.

**Erić, Vaso** (VOSS-so)—Father of Jakov, Jovan, and Mikailo Erić. Born into a family of sharecroppers in 1844. Became a leader of the Serbs in the village of Kravica after he taught himself to read and write the Cyrillic alphabet. Joined the uprising against Bosnia's feudal landlords in 1875 and fought in the international war that broke out in 1876. Fought against Austria's occupation of Bosnia. Fled Bosnia to Serbia after seditious comments uttered in opposition to Austria's annexation of Bosnia in 1908. Member of Narodna Odbrana and confidant of Major Kosta Todorović.

**Erić, Zoran** (ZOE-ron)—Father of Mihailo Erić and son of Golub Erić. A peasant and a construction worker. Lives in Kravica.

**Franken, Rob**—A major in the Dutch army. Deputy to Lieutenant Colonel Karremans at the time of Srebrenica's fall.

**Geburt, Thomas**—A lieutenant colonel in the Canadian army. The commander of the contingent of Canadian soldiers sent into Srebrenica after it was declared a safe area in 1993.

**Golić, Ejub** (GOAL-eetch, Ay-yub)—A Muslim military officer in Srebrenica. Killed at Baljkovica during the march out of Srebrenica toward Muslim territory. Considered a hero by the men who made that march.

**Halilović, Hajrudin** (hah-LEEL-ov-eetch, HIGH-roo-deen)—The brother of Muhamed Halilović, son of Smail Halilović.

**Halilović, Muhamed**—The husband of Sanela (Čelik) Halilović. Native of Srebrenica.

**Halilović, Naza** (NAH-zah)—Mother of Muhamed Halilović and mother-in-law of Sanela (Čelik) Halilović.

**Halilović, Nehrudin** (neh-ROO-deen)—The son of Muhamed Halilović and Sanela (Čelik) Halilović.

**Halilović, Sefer** (SEF-er)—Commander of the army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1993.

**Halilović, Smail** (SMAH-eel)—The father of Muhamed Halilović and father-in-law of Sanela (Čelik) Halilović. Built hydroelectric dams in Srebrenica.

**Hasanović, Avdo** (hah-SAHN-oh-veetch, AHV-doe)—Head of Srebrenica's hospital during the Bosnian war.

**Hebib, Avdo** (HEB-eeb, AHV-doe)—Bosnian police official.

**Hochschild, Fabrizio**—Head of the Sarajevo office of the UNHCR at the beginning of the Bosnian war.



**Hollingsworth, Larry**—A field officer for the UNHCR. Former British military officer.

**Hrebreljanović, Lazar** (hreh-brel-YAN-o-veetch, LAH-zahr)—Serbia's most powerful prince at the time of the Battle of Kosovo. Mustered a multinational force to engage the Ottoman army on the feast day of Saint Vitus (Vidovdan), 1389. Legend says he was executed in revenge for the killing of Sultan Murat. Bones said to belong to Prince Lazar were carried around Serbia in 1989 in commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the battle.

**Hunt, Swanee**—U.S. ambassador to Austria. Member of the Hunt family of Dallas, Texas.

**Izetbegović, Alija** (eez-zet-BEG-o-veetch, AHL-ee-ya)—Leader of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action. President of the collective presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina from first free elections in 1990 to the present.

**Janković, Mile** (YONK-oh-veetch, MEE-lay)—A friend of Paja Čelik from Odžak. Participated in the expulsions of Muslims from Kupusovići and other villages in 1992. Died of cirrhosis in December 1996.

**Janković, Stamen** (STOM-en-ah)—The wife of Vitomir Janković and mother of Mile Janković.

**Janković, Vitomir** (VEET-oh-meer)—A Serb from Odžak. Fought as a Chetnik at beginning of World War II and participated in the Zvekara killings before going over to the Partisans. Despised by Serbs on Mount Zvijezda for allegedly informing on Chetniks. Head of the farmers' co-op in the Kupusovići area and janitor of the primary school in Odžak. Died in the early 1980s and buried in Odžak.

**Janvier, Bernard**—Lieutenant general in the French army. Commander of the UN military force in the former Yugoslavia in 1995. Staunch opponent of air strikes. Proposed the withdrawal of UN troops from the safe areas in Bosnia.

**Jerina the Damned** (YER-een-a)—A figure in the folklore of eastern Bosnia. Said to have created Mount Zvijezda and drawn the Roman Signs. In all likelihood, the name Jerina is drawn from the name of the Greek wife of a medieval Serbian despot, Djurdje Branković.

**Juz-bin-Kulaga** (YOOZ-bean-COOL-ah-gah)—Said to have been an Ottoman military commander who received land on Mount Zvijezda and built the mosque in Kupusovići. Said to be buried in the graveyard beside the mosque.

**Kapetanović, Jusuf** (cop-pay-TAHN-oh-veetch, YOU-suf)—A friend of Huso Čelik who lived in the hamlet of Kapetanovići. Taken away by Milan Lukić's men in Potočari after the fall of Srebrenica.

**Kapetanović, Meho** (MAY-hoo)—A grandson of Jusuf Kapetanović. Taken away by Milan Lukić's men at Potočari.

**Kapetanović, Mujo** (MOO yoe)—Postmaster at Prelovo. Brother of Jusuf. Disappeared after fall of Srebrenica.

**Kara Marko**—The local leader of Serbian uprising in Srebrenica area in 1804–13. Fled to Serbia after the uprising's collapse.

**Karadjordje, or Black George** (KAH-rah-george)—The leader of the first Serbian uprising against the Ottoman Empire from 1804 to 1813. Beheaded by the leader of the second Serbian uprising, Miloš Obrenović.

**Karadjordjević, Aleksandar** (kah-rah-GEORGE-e-veetch)—The Serbian king who ruled over Yugoslavia after World War I and declared a dictatorship in 1928. Assassinated in Marsailles in 1934.

**Karadjordjević, Petar II**—King of Yugoslavia. Son of Aleksandar. Went into exile after Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941.

**Karadžić, Radovan** (KAH-rah-jeetch, ROD-o-von)—The president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia from 1990 to 1996. The predominant Serbian political leader in Bosnia before and during the Bosnian war. Indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

**Karremans, Ton**—Lieutenant colonel in the Dutch army. The commander of the Dutch army contingent in Srebrenica at the time of its fall in 1995.

**Kemura, Hadži Sulejman Efendi** (KEM-oor-ah)—The leader of Yugoslavia's entire Muslim religious community. Opened Juz-bin's mosque in Kupusovići after its restoration in the 1950s.

**Kešmer, Behadil** (KESH-mer, bay-HAHD-eel)—A Muslim peasant who lived in Žlijeb, a few hundred yards from the Čelik house.

**Koljević Nikola** (COLE-ye-veetch, NEE-cole-ah)—A Shakespeare professor who bailed Radovan Karadžić and Momčilo Krajišnik out of jail in the early 1980s and went on to become one of the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party after 1990. Committed suicide the autumn of 1996.

**Kozić, Adem** (KOH-zeetch, AH-dem)—A cousin of Huso Čelik. Killed by Milan Lukić's gang in 1992.

**Kozić, Ajka**—See Čelik, Ajka.

**Kozić, Amir** (AH-meer)—A cousin of Huso Čelik. Father of Bedži, Deba, and Džemal Kozić. Went to work in Austria during the 1970s.

**Kozić, Bedži** (BEH-jee)—A friend of Paja Čelik.

**Kozić, Deba** (DEB-ah)—A friend of Paja Čelik.

**Kozić, Džemal** (JEM-ahl)—A friend of Paja Čelik.

**Kozić, Hanifa** (HAH-nee-fa)—The wife of Adem Kozić and mother of Munevera and Hasan. Expelled from Kupusovići by Lukić's gang. Lived out the war in a camp in Turkey.

**Kozić, Šemsa** (SHEM-sah)—A woman who lived in Kupusovići and cast out the spell on Saliha Muratagić's cow in the mid-1980s.

**Krajišnik, Momčilo** (CRY-eesh-neek, MOME-chee-low)—The second-most-powerful Serb leader in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war.

**Krstić, Radislav** (KERST-eetch, ROD-dee-slav)—A Serb commander whose men executed Muslim prisoners captured after the fall of Srebrenica. Now commander of the Bosnian Serb army's Drina Corps in the town of Vlasenica. Wounded in the leg early in the Bosnian war.

**Kupus, Hasib** (COO-poos, HAH-seeb)—A cousin of Huso Čelik. The retired police chief in Bijeljina at the time the town was attacked in 1992. Murdered, presumably by Ražnatović's men, in April 1992.

**Kupus, Mujo** (MOO-yo)—Kupusović's wealthiest peasant and the Muslim who contributed the most to the restoration of Juz-bin's mosque.

**Lazar**—See Hrebreljanović, Lazar.

**Levinson, Anders**—The field officer of the UNHCR in Tuzla at the time Srebrenica was under attack in early 1993.

**Lukić, Mikailo** (LUKE-eetch, mick-AYE-low)—A cousin of Milan Lukić. The head of Serbia's secret police in the town of Bajina Bašta.

**Lukić, Milan** (MEE-lahn)—A school friend of Huso Čelik's son Sead. Commanded the militia unit that expelled and murdered thousands of Muslims from the Višegrad district. Participated in the killing of Muslims at Srebrenica.

**Lukić, Rale** (RAH-lay)—An uncle of Milan Lukić. Lost his father to Muslim members of the Ustaše in August 1941. Lives in Steyr, Austria.

**Lukić, Sredoje** (SRED-oh-yeh)—A cousin of Milan Lukić. Held by the Šabanović brothers in the Višegrad dam in April 1992. A participant in the expulsions and murders of Muslims in Višegrad in 1992.

**Mardel, Simon**—A physician for the World Health Organization who hiked over a mountain to get into Srebrenica in the late winter of 1993.

**Markov, Miloš** (MARK-ov, MEE-losh)—A medieval fighter of Turks. The namesake for the Milošević clan of Montenegro.

**Marković, Mirjana** (MARK-ov-eetch, MEER-ya-na)—The wife of Slobodan Milošević. Daughter of Moma Marković, who was named a national hero after the victory in World War II by the Communist Partisans. A professor of Marxism-Leninism.

**Marković, Moma** (MO-ma)—National hero of World War II. Father of Mira Marković, the wife of Slobodan Milošević.

**Mehmed Pasha Sokolović**—See Sokolović, Mehmed Pasha.

**Meholjić, Hakiya** (MEH-hole-eetch, HOCK-ee-ya)—The police chief in Srebrenica during the Bosnian war.

**Mendiluce, José Maria**—The Spanish head of the UNHCR in Yugoslavia. Witnessed Serb gunmen in Zvornik putting children under the treads of tanks and running them over.

**Mihailović, Draža** (mee-HIGH-low-veetch, DRA-zha)—The royalist commander of the Chetnik forces during World War II. Executed by Tito's government in 1946.

**Miletić, Vera** (MEE-let-eetch, VAY-ra)—The mother of Mirjana Marković, the wife of Slobodan Milosević. Executed by pro-Nazi Serb police while being held in custody in 1944.

**Miličević family** (mee-LEE-chev-eetch)—A Serb family from a village above Odžak. Some men of the family became members of Milan Lukić's gang during the Bosnian war.

**Milošević, Slobodan** (mee-LOSH-ev-eetch, SLOW-bow-dahn)—The president of Serbia before and during the Bosnian war. Later president of Yugoslavia.

**Milovanović, Milan** (mee-low-VON-o-veetch, MEE-lahn)—The second-in-command of the Bosnian Serb army after General Ratko Mladić.

**Mitrašinović, Branko** (meet-rah-SHEEN-o-veetch, BRON-ko)—A Serbian friend of the Čelik family who lived above Kupusovići in the hamlet of Odžak.

**Mitrašinović, Pantelija** (pon-TELL-ee-ya)—A Serb who lived in a village above Odžak and carried lumber and contributed money for the building of Saliha's house. Sons killed in the Bosnian war.

**Mitrašinović, Petra** (PET-ra)—The wife of Branko Mitrašinović. Hiba Čelik's best friend.

**Mitrašinović, Radislava** (ROD-ees-slav-a)—The daughter of Vladimir Mitrašinović. The woman who was living in the Čelik house while the Čeliks were in flight during World War II.

**Mitrašinović, Vladimir** (VLAH-dee-meer)—The father of Branko Mitrašinović. Took part in the killings at Zvečara cave in 1941. Tried to apologize at the reopening of the Kupusovići mosque after World War II.

**Mladić, Ratko** (MLODD-eetch, ROT-ko)—General in the Bosnian Serb army. Commander of the Bosnian Serb forces from May 1992 to mid-1996. Indicted for genocide and crimes against humanity by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

**Morillon, Philippe**—The French army general who commanded the UN military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina from fall 1992 to summer 1993.

**Mujkanović, Mustafa** (mooy-KAHN-o-veetch, MOOS-ta-fa)—A Muslim *hodža* tortured and executed in the school gymnasium in Bratunac in May 1992.

**Murat, Sultan**—The Ottoman sultan whose forces defeated the Serbs at the Battle of Kosovo on June 28, 1389. Killed by a Serb assassin during the battle.

**Muratagić, Avdo** (MOOR-ot-og-eetch, AHV-doe)—Saliha Muratagić's son. Cousin of Huso Čelik's children.

**Muratagić, Saliha** (sah-LEE-hah)—The cousin of Huso Čelik whose parents and siblings were killed in Chetnik massacres in 1941 and 1943. The mother of six children.

Abandoned by her husband. She lived in the Čelik house until the early 1980s, when Huso and the neighbors built her a house of her own.

**Nicolai, Cees**—A Dutch army general who was a deputy to General Rupert Smith, commander of the UN military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995.

**Nikolić, Jovan** (NEEK-oh-leetch, YO-von)—The Serb military commander at Kravica. Wounded in a Muslim attack on Glogova in December 1992. A nephew of Nego Erić.

**Njegoš (Petar II Petrović-Njegoš)** (NYEH-gosh)—A Montenegrin prince and Orthodox bishop who wrote poetry advocating the extermination of Muslims from Serb lands.

**Novaković family** (no-VOCK-o-veetch)—A Serb family from Pozdrčići, a hamlet just west of Kupusovići. Male members of the Novaković family were Chetniks during World War II and members of Milan Lukić's gang during the Bosnian war.

**Obrenović, Miloš** (oh-BREN-o-veetch, MEE-losh)—The leader of the second Serbian uprising in 1815. Beheaded Karadjordje. Arranged for the expulsion of Muslims from Serbian territory in the 1830s.

**Ogata, Sadako**—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

**Omerović, Fadila** (OH-mare-oh-veetch, fa-DEAL-ah)—A Muslim woman in Srebrenica. The best friend of Dragica Vasić.

**Orić, Mevludin** (OAR-eetch, mev-LOO-deen)—A Muslim man who survived the execution field at Križevačke Njive.

**Orić, Naser** (OAR-eetch, NASS-air)—The commander of the Muslim military forces in Srebrenica. Removed from Srebrenica by helicopter in spring 1995.

**Owen, David**—The co-chairman of the UN peace conference on the former Yugoslavia. Appointed at the London conference in August 1992. Resigned in May 1995.

**Palić, Avdo** (POLL-eetch, AHV-doe)—The commander of the Muslim military forces in Žepa.

**Panić, Milan** (PONN-eetch, MEE-lahn)—The Serbian-American prime minister of Yugoslavia in 1992.

**Pavelić, Ante** (PAH-vell-eetch, ON-tay)—Croatia's Fascist dictator during World War II. The leader of the Ustaše who carried out genocidal killings of Serbs during the war.

**Pecikoza, Stanko** (PET-si-koz-a, STAHN-ko)—The head of the Serbian Democratic Party in Višegrad before the Bosnian war. Murdered by Serbs.

**Pepić, Milojica** (PEP-eetch, meel-OY-eet-sa)—A Serb from the village of Pozdrčići who tried to direct the Čeliks into a trap.

**Pepić, Petar** (PEP-eetch, PEH-tar)—The father of Milojica Pepić. Saved Paja and the other Čeliks as they were fleeing Kupusovići.

**Pirić, Fehrat** (PEER-eetch, FAIR-hot)—The first Muslim reported killed in the Višegrad district during the Bosnian war. Executed by a Yugoslav army soldier.

**Playšić, Biljana** (PLAHV-sheetch, BEEL-ya-na)—A member of the ruling presidency of the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic in Bosnia. An ardent Serb nationalist.

**Princip, Gavrilo** (PREEN-tseep, GAV-ree-low)—A Serbian terrorist. Assassin of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.

**Putnik, Vojvoda Radomir** (POOT-neek, VOY-voe-dah ROD-o-meer)—A Serbian army general. Serbian army commander during World War I.

**Radovanović, Arsen** (rod-oh-VAHN-oh-veetch, ARE-sen)—The son of Dragojle and brother of Dragoljub Radovanović of Odžak. A Serb friend of Huso Čelik. Participant in the fight in the Odžak schoolhouse in the mid-1950s. Offered to help get Huso Čelik out of Bosnia at the beginning of the Bosnian war.

**Radovanović, Borislav** (BORE-ee-slav)—The brother of Arsen and Dragoljub Radovanović and a neighbor of the Čeliks.

**Radovanović, Dragoljub** (DRAH-go-loob)—One of the Čelik's neighbors and a close friend of Huso and Hiba Čelik. Participated in the schoolyard fight in Odžak in the mid-1950s. Son of Dragojle Radovanović, who participated in the Zvekara killings in 1941 and became good friends with the Čeliks after World War II.

**Ražnatović, Željko** (razh-NOT-o-veetch, ZHEL-ko)—Also known as Arkan. The commander of a unit of Serb irregulars who carried out brutal attacks on civilians in Croatia in 1991 and Bosnia in 1992–95. A former contract killer for Communist Yugoslavia's secret police. Suspected of having committed war crimes.

**Rizvanović, Nurif** (reez-VON-ov-eetch, NOOR-ee-f)—A Muslim who was reportedly arrested and killed by other Muslims after he infiltrated into Srebrenica from Tuzla with several hundred fighters.

**Rose, Sir Michael**—The commander of the UN military force in Bosnia in 1994. Former British army lieutenant general. Former commander of the SAS.

**Šabanović, Avdija** (shah-BAHN-oh-veetch, AHV-dee-ya)—A militia leader in the Muslim Party for Democratic Action in Višegrad at the beginning of the war. Led the takeover of the Višegrad dam in April 1992. Now living in Gorazde.

**Šabanović, Murat** (MOOR-aht)—A leader of the Muslim militia in Višegrad before the beginning of the war. Participated in the takeover of the Višegrad dam in April 1992. Now living in Chicago.

**Sadić, Hasim** (SAH-deetch, HAH-seem)—Bosnian army commander in Tuzla area. Condemned evacuation of Muslims from Srebrenica in 1993.

**Savović, Branimir** (SAH-voh-veetch, BRON-ee-meer)—A leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Višegrad.

**Silajdžić, Haris** (SILL-aye-jeetch, HARR-ees)—Foreign minister of Bosnia, and later prime minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Simatović, Franko** (stah-MOT-o-veetch, FRONK-o)—The commander of Slobodan Milošević's police militia unit. Worked closely with Željko Ražnatović during the 1991

war in Croatia and the Serb attacks on Muslims in the Drina River valley that began the Bosnian war in March and April 1992.

**Smith, Leighton**—American admiral, commander of NATO's forces in southern Europe.

**Smith, Rupert**—The British army lieutenant general, commander of the UN military force in Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1995. His superior was Lieutenant General Janvier.

**Sokolović, Mehmed Pasha** (so-COAL-o-veetch, MEH-med POSH-a)—The grand vezier of Suleiman the Magnificent and other Ottoman sultans in the sixteenth century. Born in Sokolovići, a village up the Drina from Višegrad and near the town of Rudo. Taken away by the Ottoman authorities in payment of the "blood tax" and converted to Islam. Ordered the stone bridge over the Drina to be built at Višegrad. Restored the independence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which later bequeathed a Serbian national identity to many Orthodox Slavs in Bosnia and other areas of the Balkans. Considered a hero by the Serbs even though he was a Muslim. Appointed his brother patriarch of the restored Serbian Orthodox Church. Assassinated by another convert to Islam from eastern Bosnia.

**Stambolić, Ivan** (STOM-bow-leetch, EE-van)—A law school friend of Slobodan Milošević and nephew of Serbia's Communist strongman in the 1970s. Paved the way for Milošević's rise into positions of responsibility in Serbia. Ousted by Milošević in 1987.

**Šitkovac, Enver** (SHTEET-ko-vots, EN-ver)—The commander of the local military police in Žepa. Ran the black market and trade connections with the Serbs. Reportedly drove to Sarajevo in a Volkswagen after Žepa fell to the Serbs.

**Stoltenberg, Thorvald**—A Norwegian politician and the co-chairman of the UN peace conference on the former Yugoslavia from 1993 to 1995. Replaced Cyrus Vance.

**Sućeska family** (SOO-chess-kah)—A family from the hamlet of Odžak. Formerly a bey family.

**Sućeska, Dževahira** (jev-ah-HEAR-ah)—The mother of Zlatija Čelik, Paja Čelik's wife, and Senad Sućeska, Paja's best friend.

**Sućeska, Hakija** (HOCK-ee-ya)—The uncle of Senad Sućeska. The first Muslim killed in Odžak and Kupusovići during the Bosnian war.

**Sućeska, Rasim** (RASS-eem)—A native of the village of Žlijeb who worked as a conductor on the Čiro and perpetrated the brawl at the Odžak schoolyard in the mid-1950s.

**Sućeska, Salko** (SOL-ko)—The son of Hakija Sućeska. Killed by Lukić's men in Višegrad in June 1992.

**Sućeska, Senad**—Paja Čelik's best friend.

**Sućeska, Zuhdija** (ZOOKH-dee-ya)—Huso Čelik's best friend. Father of Paja Čelik's wife, Zlatija, and his best friend, Senad. Died of cirrhosis of the liver before the Bosnian war.

**Suleiman the Magnificent**—Arguably the greatest of all Ottoman sultans. Died in Hungary in 1566.

**Suljić, Osman** (SOOL-eetch, OOS-mahn)—Srebrenica's district president during the Bosnian war.

**Tirić, Hase** (TEAR-eetch, HA-say)—Commander of Muslim militia in Bijeljina. Later commander of the Black Swans.

**Tito, Josip Broz**—The leader of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia from the 1930s until his death in 1980. The commander of the Communist Partisans during World War II. Yugoslavia's supreme leader after World War II.

**Todorović, Kosta** (tow-DOOR-o-veetch, COAST-a)—A Serbian army officer responsible for running networks of secret agents across the border in Austrian-controlled Bosnia in the years preceding World War I. Awarded the Star of Karadjordje posthumously.

**Todorović, Mara** (MAH-rah)—The author's mother-in-law. Born in a village near the town of Bosanska Dubica. Survived an Ustaše attack that virtually wiped out her entire family. Saved from an Ustaše concentration camp by an Italian family that needed a housemaid and moved to Belgrade after World War II.

**Todorović-Sudetic, Ljiljana** (LYEE-lya-na)—The author's wife.

**Tolimir, Zdravko** (TOLL-ee-meer, ZDROV-ko)—General in the Bosnian Serb army. A deputy to the Bosnian Serb commander, Ratko Mladić.

**Topalović, Brane** (tow-POLL-o-veetch, BRON-ey)—The name of a Serb who, according to eyewitnesses, killed Muslim prisoners in the gymnasium of a Bratunac school in April and May 1992. Still lives in a town in Serbia just west of Belgrade.

**Tursunović, Zulfo** (TOOR-soon-o-veetch, ZOOL-fo)—The Muslim military commander in the southwestern corner of the Srebrenica enclave near the village of Sućeska.

**Ustić, Akif** (OOS-teech, AH-keef)—Naser Orić's right-hand man in Srebrenica until fall 1992. Killed in an ambush with about twenty of his men.

**Vance, Cyrus**—The U.S. secretary of state in the Carter administration. The co-chairman, with David Owen, of the UN peace conference for the former Yugoslavia. Resigned in May 1993.

**Vasić, Dragica** (VAS-eetch, DRAHG-eet-sa)—The Čeliks' Serb neighbor in Srebrenica.

**Vasić, Veljko** (VEIL-ko)—The Serb husband of Dragica Vasić. A secret operative for Marshal Tito's Partisans during World War II. Head of Srebrenica district after the war. His mother and sister and five nieces and nephews were killed by the Ustaše during World War II.

**Vasiljević, Mitar** (vas-EEL-yev-eetch, MEE-tar)—A Serb waiter at the hotel beside Mehmed Pasha's bridge in Višegrad. A member of Milan Lukić's gang.



**Voorhoeve, Joris**—Defense minister of the Netherlands. Called off the NATO air strikes against the Serbs after the fall of Srebrenica.

**Wahlgren, Lars Eric**—A Swedish army general who commanded the UN military force in the former Yugoslavia. Fired without notice for opposing the UN resolution declaring Srebrenica and other regions in Bosnia to be safe areas.

**Wömer, Manfred**—Secretary-general of NATO.

**Zekić, Goran** (ZECK-eetch, GORE-on)—The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Srebrenica. Killed by Naser Orić's men in a roadside ambush above Srebrenica in 1992.

**Zekić, Zagorka** and **Slobodan** (ZECK-eetch, ZAH-gore-ka and SLOW-bow-dahn)—Serb neighbors of the Čeliks who were murdered by Muslims in Srebrenica in January 1993.

**Zelen, Ljilja** (ZELL-en, LYEE-lyah)—The wife of Radovan Karadžić, the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia. The daughter of a Serb whose family was decimated by the Croatian Fascist Ustaše during World War II.