

# Sadness in Srebrenica

By [ANNISSA HAMBOUZ](#) and [ANDREA PERELMAN](#)

*Note: This lesson was originally published on an older version of The Learning Network; the link to the related Times article will take you to a page on the old site.*



Teaching ideas based on New York Times content.

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**Overview of Lesson Plan:** In this lesson, students learn about the atrocities committed during the war in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995 that prompted an apology from the international community in 2005.

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**Suggested Time Allowance:** 1 hour

## Objectives:

Students will:

1. Reflect on the international community's responsibility to intervene when atrocities are committed in regional conflicts.
2. Learn about the atrocities committed during the war in Bosnia, from 1992 to 1995, by reading and discussing "In Bosnia, World Leaders Apologize for Massacre."
3. Explore the events leading up to the 2005 apologies from international leaders regarding the war in Bosnia; create a timeline of these events.
4. Hypothesize on the international community's plans for further peace and justice in Bosnia.

## Resources / Materials:

- pens/pencils
- paper
- student journals
- poster board (one set per group)
- copies of "In Bosnia, World Leaders Apologize for Massacre" (<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/19990811wednesday.html>)(one per student)
- resources on the war in Bosnia, including encyclopedias, atlases, and computers with Internet access

## Activities / Procedures:

1. **WARM-UP/DO-NOW:** Upon arriving in class, ask students to raise their hands to indicate if they have heard of any of the following:
  - Pol Pot
  - Joseph Stalin
  - Adolf Hitler
  - the Armenian genocide
  - the civil war in Rwanda

Encourage students to briefly share what they know about the named individuals and events. What links them together? What are some other atrocities that should be added to this list? [Some more examples may include the

Holocaust in Europe, the Darfur atrocities, and the civil wars in the Sudan and the in former Yugoslavia.] Next, students respond in their journals to the following prompt (written on the board prior to class): “When atrocity happens in one region of the world, does the international community have a responsibility to intervene? Why or why not? If so, under what circumstances should the intervention take place? What are some examples of regions in which atrocities were committed in modern history? In which of these cases did the international community intervene?”

Have students share some of their responses. Question students why they think the international community may or may not have a responsibility to intervene when atrocity occurs? As students discuss the issue, continue to solicit their examples of atrocities to add to the list on the board.

2. As a class, read and discuss “In Bosnia, World Leaders Apologize for Massacre,” using the following questions:

- What did the ceremony on Monday, July 11, 2005 in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina commemorate?
- What did American and European promise at the ceremony, according to the article?
- When did the war in Bosnia take place?
- How were Bosnian Serb forces able to seize control of Srebrenica in July of 2005?
- Who were the targets of the Bosnian Serb forces?
- How many people died in the war in Bosnia, according to the article?
- How did the expressions of remorse for the events in Bosnia differ among the different world leaders mentioned in the article?

3. Explain to students that, in order to better understand the events of 10th anniversary and apologies from the international community, they will be researching and creating a timeline of the events leading up to this ceremony. Divide the class into six groups and assign each one of the following periods of time, with guiding subtopics and key questions, to research (copied in a handout for easier student access):

GROUP 1: Historical Overview from 1463-1918

Subtopics: Ottoman provincial rule from 1463-1878; Austrian-Hungarian colonial rule from 1878-1918

Key Question: Which groups of people lived in the Bosnia at this time, and how did changing rule affect the population?

GROUP 2: Historical Overview from 1918-1991

Subtopics: Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1918-1941; Under Croatian Government from 1941-1945; republic under communist Yugoslavia from 1945-91

Key Question: With which other Balkan regions and ethnic groups did Bosnia unite in the 20th century, and who maintained control over the region?

GROUP 3: Years 1991-1992

Subtopics: Bosnia and Herzegovina declare sovereignty; armed attacks by Serbs and Bosnian Serbs against Bosnian Muslims and Croats; United Nations Protection Forces deployed to region

Key Question: What event prompted Bosnia to declare sovereignty, and why did Serbs respond to this declaration with violence?

GROUP 4: Years 1993-1994

Subtopics: increasing violence, with casualties on all sides; Bosnian Muslims and Croats create Bosniak-Croat Federation against Serbs

Key question: What were the three main groups fighting in the Bosnian region at this time, and what was each faction’s position on the other two?

GROUP 5: The Year 1995

Subtopics: massacre at Srebrenica; Dayton Agreement; establishment of separate Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska

Key question: How did the war in Bosnia come to an end, and what were the results?

GROUP 6: Post-war to 2005

Subtopics: International War Crime Tribunal at The Hague; 10th anniversary of Srebrenica

Key Question: How is the Bosnian region coping in the aftermath of war, and how have the war crimes of 1992-1995 been addressed in the past decade?

Using all available classroom resources, groups research their assigned periods to write 1 1/2- to 2-page narratives for the timeline. A map of the region at that time should accompany each narrative, along with pictures of leaders. Due to the graphic nature of the events of 1992-1995, additional photographic support or illustrations should be closely monitored. As the first two groups are covering broad spans of history, rather than specific recent events, they may require additional guidance in summarizing the most important information.

4. WRAP-UP/HOMEWORK: After groups research and write their narratives, they mount them (along with maps and any additional illustrations) on poster board. In the next class period, they present their narratives, and then post them on the classroom wall in chronological order to create the timeline.

For a follow-up homework assignment, ask students to respond to the following prompt: "Reflect on the quotation in the article from Bosnian Zada Pasalic, 'They promised so much and gave so little.' Keeping this quotation, the indictments of the two Serb leaders, and the apologies at the 10th anniversary of Srebrenica in mind, what else do you think the international community should do at this point for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina? Outline a plan for further peace and justice."

### **Further Questions for Discussion:**

- Based on what you learned in your research, in what ways are ethnicity and religion related in Bosnia?
- What purpose do you think a formal apology serves in international diplomacy? Why?
- Do you think the international community should offer apologies for any other events in recent history? If so, what? If not, why not?

### **Evaluation / Assessment:**

Students will be evaluated based on responses to Warm-Up exercise, participation in class discussion, group research, and presentation, and thoughtfully drafted plan for further peace and justice in Bosnia.

### **Vocabulary:**

indicted, enclave, somber, mourners, unsuited, ambassador at large, genocide

### **Extension Activities:**

1. Investigate and present on the role of the United Nations Peacekeepers. Who are they, from which countries do they originate, and what kind of authority do they have in the regions they are assigned?
2. What is the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague? Research how this international court of justice works, and then stage a mock trial of indicted war criminals Karadzic and Mladic.
3. Compare post-1945 Yugoslavia to other Eastern European communist countries during the Cold War. In what ways was Yugoslavia unique? In what ways was it similar to its Soviet satellite neighbors? Write a paper for your history or politics class.
4. Create a timeline of early Bosnian history, starting with Slavic settlement in the 7th century and ending with Ottoman rule in the 15th century.

### **Interdisciplinary Connections:**

Economics- Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered the second poorest region in the former Yugoslavia. Make a chart comparing the poverty and employment rates, gross domestic product, and gross domestic product per capita of all of the regions.

Journalism- What responsibility does the international media have to report atrocity? What factors might influence the amount of coverage events such as the war in Bosnia receive in national sources of news? Debate these questions in your journalism class, or write an editorial for your local or school newspaper.

Media Studies- For many people, the 2004 film "Hotel Rwanda" brought the Rwandan massacres of the 1990's to light. Screen this film with your classmates, and then hold a discussion afterward to discuss the events in Rwanda in the greater context of global atrocities in the late 20th century.

Teaching with The Times- What can Bosnians expect from the future in terms of justice for the crimes committed during the war? Follow coverage of region by reading The New York Times every day. Keep a journal of what you read. To order The New York Times for your classroom, [click here](#).

### **Other Information on the Web:**

The C.I.A. World Factbook (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/bk.html>) offers up-to-date, detailed information on the geography, people, politics, and economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### **Academic Content Standards:**

Grades 6-8

Historical Understanding Standard 2- Understands the historical perspective. Benchmarks: Analyzes the influence specific ideas and beliefs had on a period of history; Analyzes the effects specific decisions had on history; Knows different types of primary and secondary sources and the motives, interests, and bias expressed in them

World History Standard 44- Understands the search for community, stability, and peace in an interdependent world. Benchmarks: Understands instances of political conflict and terrorism in modern society; Understands the definition of “fundamentalism,” and the political objectives of militant religious movements in various countries of the world, as well as the social and economic factors that contribute to the growth of these movements

Language Arts Standard 7- Demonstrates competence in the general skills and strategies for reading a variety of informational texts. Benchmarks: Applies reading skills and strategies to a variety of informational texts; Knows the defining characteristics of a variety of informational texts; Summarizes and paraphrases complex, explicit hierarchic structures in informational texts; Identifies techniques used to convey viewpoint; Draws conclusions and makes inferences based on explicit and implicit information in texts; Differentiates between fact and opinion in informational texts

Language Arts Standard 8- Demonstrates competence in speaking and listening as tools for learning.

Benchmarks: Plays a variety of roles in group discussions; Asks questions to seek elaboration and clarification of ideas; Listens in order to understand a speaker’s topic, purpose, and perspective; Conveys a clear main point when speaking to others and stays on the topic being discussed; Presents simple prepared reports to the class

Grades 9-12

Historical Understanding Standard 2- Understands the historical perspective. Benchmarks: Analyzes the influences specific ideas and beliefs had on a period of history and specifies how events might have been different in the absence of those ideas and beliefs; Analyzes the effects specific decisions had on history and studies how things might have been different in the absence of those decisions; Understands that the consequences of human intentions are influenced by the means of carrying them out; Understands how the past affects our private lives and society in general; Knows how to perceive past events with historical empathy; Knows how to evaluate the credibility and authenticity of historical sources

World History Standard 44- Understands the search for community, stability, and peace in an interdependent world. Benchmarks: Understands the role of political ideology, religion, and ethnicity in shaping modern governments; Understands the role of ethnicity, cultural identity, and religious beliefs in shaping economic and political conflicts across the globe

Language Arts Standard 7- Demonstrates competence in the general skills and strategies for reading a variety of informational texts. Benchmarks: Applies reading skills and strategies to a variety of informational texts; Knows the defining characteristics of a variety of informational texts; Summarizes and paraphrases complex, implicit hierarchic structures in informational texts, including the relationships among the concepts and details in those structures; Determines the effectiveness of techniques used to convey viewpoint

Language Arts Standard 8- Demonstrates competence in speaking and listening as tools for learning.

Benchmarks: Asks questions as a way to broaden and enrich classroom discussions; Adjusts message wording and delivery to particular audiences and for particular purposes

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July 13, 2005

## In Bosnia, World Leaders Apologize for Massacre

By DAVID ROHDE

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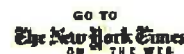


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### Knowledge Tools

Turn **Vocabulary On**: Link words to the Merriam-Webster Collegiate® Dictionary.Turn **Geography On**: Link countries and states to the Merriam-Webster Atlas®

SREBRENICA, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 11 - American and European leaders attending a ceremony on Monday marking the 10th anniversary of the execution of more than 7,000 Muslim men and boys here during the war in Bosnia promised that two Bosnian Serb leaders indicted for the killings would be brought to justice. But among the 30,000 Bosnian Muslims who gathered here today, relatives of the dead and others dismissed the promises as empty.



Joe Klamar/Agence France-Presse - Getty Images

"I don't believe anymore that anyone loves us," said Zada Pasalic, the 63-year-old sister of a man who was among 610 execution victims buried here on Monday after being identified by DNA testing. "They promised so much and gave so little."

Relatives of the victims were among 30,000 Bosnians marking the killings' anniversary Monday.

During the war in Bosnia, from 1992 to 1995, the United Nations declared Srebrenica the world's first civilian "safe area," stripped its soldiers of their artillery and armored vehicles and promised to protect the enclave. But in July 1995, Bosnian Serb forces overwhelmed 370 lightly armed Dutch peacekeepers here, seized control of the enclave and killed virtually every man and boy they captured.



Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica on Monday observed the 10th anniversary of the killing of more than 7,000 Muslim men and boys there during the civil war.

At a somber ceremony under a gray sky that sprinkled rain on diplomats, mourners and graves, British and United Nations officials apologized for the failure of foreign powers to protect the town. The British foreign secretary, Jack Straw, made the most direct statement, saying it was "a shame on the international community that this evil took place under our noses."

"I particularly regret this," said Mr. Straw.

"And I am deeply sorry for it."

Mark Malloch Brown, chief of staff to the secretary general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, echoing an earlier United Nations report, said that United Nations officials made "serious errors of judgment" in Srebrenica that stemmed from a philosophy of "neutrality and nonviolence that was unsuited for the conflict in Bosnia," a brutal war that killed 200,000 people.

He said that member countries failed to provide the United Nations with the military forces it needed in Bosnia and that United Nations officials should have been more willing to use the forces they had.



Hidajet Delic/Associated Press

Bosnian Muslims on Monday buried 610 victims of the 1995 killings whose bodies had been only recently identified by DNA testing.

The American representative at the ceremony, Pierre-Richard Prosper, the United States ambassador at large for war crimes, said he was attending the ceremony with "deep reflection." But he offered no apologies for the fall of the town. Reading a message from President Bush he said, "we remain committed" to the arrests of Radovan Karadzic, the wartime Bosnian Serb leader, and Ratko Mladic, the military commander, both of whom have been indicted for genocide in the killings.

At a later news conference, Mr. Prosper said the United States viewed the fall of the town with "deep regret." But the fall of Srebrenica was the "responsibility of the international community as a whole," he said, and not of the United States alone.

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## Context

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### Reading List

#### WHY BOSNIA? Writings on the Balkan War

Edited by Rabia Ali & Lawrence Lifschultz. Stony Creek, Conn.: Pamphleteer Press, 1993

Excellent collection of essays, articles and poetry on Bosnia, very much from the Bosnian advocacy point of view, ranging from work by Christopher Hitchens and David Rieff, and a Vanity Fair piece, to articles by Balkan writers like Ivo Banac, Slavenka Draculic, and Kemal Kurspah. A key text and an ideal starting point. A portion of proceeds will go to a fund for the reconstruction of Sarajevo's National Library.

#### THE FALL OF YUGOSLAVIA: THE THIRD BALKAN WAR

By Misha Glenny. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

A journalist give his first-hand glimpse into the mentality, personalities and behaviors of the leaders of the Balkan Wars. Excellent on history and politics. Virtually unique in the evenhandedness of its perspective.

#### SARAJEVO: A WAR JOURNAL

By Zlatko Dizdarevic. Preface by Joseph Brodsky. New York: Fromm International, 1993.

#### BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: ATLAS OF WAR AND PEACE

With special reports by correspondents of The New York Times. Maps by the Bertelsmann Cartographic Institute. New York: Macmillan, 1996.

#### A WITNESS TO GENOCIDE

By Roy Gutman. New York: Macmillan, 1993.

Compiled from the reporter's Pulitzer Prize-winning Newsday articles on Serb "ethnic cleansing" and genocide in Bosnia. From November 1991 to June 1993, Gutman chronicles the progress of an abomination: freight trains packed with helpless human beings; the tortured, raped, and mutilated bodies; death camps; and a section of the systematic destruction of culture (pp. 77-83): "Unholy War: Serbs Target Culture and Heritage of Bosnia's Muslims." An indispensable reminder of the nature of the war.

#### SARAJEVO DAILY: A CITY AND ITS NEWSPAPER UNDER SIEGE

By Tom Gjelten. New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

#### LETTERS FROM SARAJEVO: VOICES OF A BESIEGED CITY

By Anna Cataldi. Foreword by Roy Gutman. Rockport, Mass.: Element, 1994.

**BOSNIA: A SHORT HISTORY**

By Noel Malcolm. New York: New York University Press, 1994.

**THE BRIDGE ON DRINA**

By Ivo Andrich (1892-1975). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

An epic, graphic and frightening novel by a Nobel Prize-winning author, the story of the Serbs' centuries-long, often brutal subjugation and occupation by Turkish invaders, now sometimes used as a justification for Serbian nationalism and retribution against Bosnian Muslims.

**GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA: THE POLICY OF 'ETHNIC CLEANSING'**

By Norman Cigar. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995.

**THE BALKAN EXPRESS: FRAGMENTS FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF WAR**

By Slavenka Drakulic. New York: W. W. Norton, 1993.

**HABITS OF THE BALKAN HEART: SOCIAL CHARACTER AND THE FALL OF COMMUNISM**

By Stjepan G. Mestrovic, with Slaven Letica and Miroslav Goreta. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993.

**SUMMER IN THE BALKANS: LAUGHTER AND TEARS AFTER COMMUNISM**

By Randall Baker. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1994.

**THE IMPOSSIBLE COUNTRY: A JOURNEY THROUGH THE LAST DAYS OF YUGOSLAVIA.**

By Brian Hall. London: Secker & Warburg, 1994.

**A PAPER HOUSE: THE ENDING OF YUGOSLAVIA**

By Mark Thompson. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

**SARAJEVO: EXODUS OF A CITY**

By Dzevad Karahasan. New York: Kodansha America, 1994.

**SARAJEVO: A PORTRAIT OF THE SIEGE**

Essays and Photos. New York: Warner Books, 1994.

**BROKEN BONDS: YUGOSLAVIA'S DISINTEGRATION AND BALKAN POLITICS IN TRANSITION**

By Lenard J. Cohen. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995. (Second edition.)

**THE BALKANIZATION OF THE WEST**

By Stjepan G. Mestrovic. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.

**MASS RAPE: THE WAR AGAINST WOMEN IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

Edited by Alexandra Stiglmayer. Foreword by Roy Gutman. Lincoln:

University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

**BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: A TRADITION BETRAYED**

By Robert J. Donia and John V.A. Fine, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

**ISLAM UNDER THE DOUBLE EAGLE: THE MUSLIMS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, 1878-1914**

By Robert J. Donia. Boulder: East European Quarterly, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1981

**HISTORY OF THE BALKANS**

Vol. 1, 18th and 19th Century; Vol. 2, 20th Century

By Barbara Jelavich. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

**SERBS AND CROATS; THE STRUGGLE IN YUGOSLAVIA**

By Alex N. Dragnich. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.

**ZLATA'S DIARY: A CHILD'S LIFE IN SARAJEVO (Journal de Zlata.)**

By Zlata Filipovic. New York: Viking, 1994.

**EUROPEAN MOSLEMS: ECONOMY AND ETHNICITY IN WESTERN BOSNIA**

By William G. Lockwood. New York: Academic Press, 1975.

**BALKAN GHOSTS: A JOURNEY THROUGH HISTORY**

By Robert D. Kaplan. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

**THE ROAD FROM PARADISE: PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**

By Stjepan G. Mestrovic, with Miroslav Goreta and Slaven Letica. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993.

**BLACK LAMB AND GREY FALCON: A JOURNEY THROUGH YUGOSLAVIA**

By Rebecca West. New York: Viking Press, 1956.

A vast, detailed, insightful memoir compiled during a lifelong love affair with the area, considered definitive for the time.

**BALKAN BABEL: THE DISINTEGRATION OF YUGOSLAVIA FROM THE DEATH OF TITO TO ETHNIC WAR**

By Sabrina Petra Ramet. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996. (Second edition.)

**DESTRUCTION OF YUGOSLAVIA: TRACKING THE BREAKUP 1980-92**

By Branka Magas. London and New York: Verso, 1993.

**ETHNIC NATIONALISM: THE TRAGIC DEATH OF YUGOSLAVIA**

By Bogdan Denitch. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLES**

By Fred Singleton. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

**MY NATIVE LAND**

By Louis Adamic (1899-1951). New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN YUGOSLAVIA: ORIGINS, HISTORY AND POLITICS**

By Ivo Banac. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.

**A LONG ROW OF CANDLES: MEMOIRS AND DIARIES, 1934-1954**

By C.L. Sulzberger. New York: Macmillan, 1969.

"Go to the Balkans, Cyrus. That will be the most interesting place." Heeding the advice of a Czech head of state, Sulzberger embarked on a decades-long exploration of the region and was invariably the on-site chronicler of European history in the making. Substantial sections of this journalist's memoirs deal in detail with the former Yugoslavia. "For that was a fine time and a fine place to be," Sulzberger writes in his introduction.

*Annotated by Norman Green. Additional source: "Balkan Booklist" from the Lasiewicz Foundation.*

## Context

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### Resources on the Internet

#### WORLD WIDE WEB SITES

[Journalism and Photojournalism](#) | [U.S. Government Agencies](#) | [United Nations Agencies](#) | [Nonprofit, Humanitarian and Advocacy Groups](#) | [Academic Sites](#) | [Local, Historical and Touristic Sites](#) | [Missing Persons](#) | [Other References](#) | [Newsgroups](#)

#### JOURNALISM AND PHOTOJOURNALISM

##### [Berserkistan](#)

Information-rich site with glossy magazine-style layout. Features and photos from the war zone. Created by Pacific Interactive Media Corporation.

##### [Sarajevo Online](#)

Dispatches, art, timely news and opinion direct from the people of Sarajevo.

##### [Civil War in Yugoslavia](#)

Christopher Morris's photos on this Black Star site present a powerful portrait of the horrors of the war in Bosnia.

##### [Discovery Channel Online](#)

Colorful feature on the war in Bosnia. Includes video clips, a war diary, and a section on missing children.

##### [Faces of Sorrow](#)

This former museum photo exhibit includes the work of more than 36 international photojournalists. The exhibit was sponsored by Time Magazine, the United Nations and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

##### [The Christian Science Monitor](#)

The Monitor's Pulitzer Prize-winning coverage of the Bosnian conflict has been featured on this site.

##### [Court TV](#)

Court TV's comprehensive archive of tribunal data, ranging from who's who, war crimes charges and history, to a look back at Nuremberg and international law.

##### [Farewell to Bosnia](#)

This lyrical site features words and photos by Gilles Peress, based on an earlier visit to Bosnia.

##### [Hot Zones](#)



[Balkan Media & Policy Monitor](#)

An up-to-date site provided by Media Filter with news and analyses about the recent peace initiatives and the war crimes tribunal.

[The Bosnian Home Page](#)

A look at the conflict in Bosnia from a pro-Bosnian and anti-United Nations Perspective.

[Sociamedia](#)

A Dutch media foundation specializing in telecommunication to the former Yugoslavia.

[ZaMir Transnational Network Info \(ZTN\)](#)

Communications pipeline provides Internet access to residents of the former Yugoslavia. Index of communication out of the war zone.

[The Balkan Institute](#)

A pro-Bosnian non-profit organization based in Washington featuring a weekly newsletter. Directed by Marshall Freeman Harris and Steve Walker, former U.S. diplomats who resigned in protest of U.S. policy toward Bosnia. Links to the [American Committee to Save Bosnia](#).

[Amnesty International Online](#)

The "Country Reports" section has links to Amnesty documents relating to Bosnia. [1995](#) and [1994](#).

[Serious Road Trip](#)

Dedicated to bringing aid and diversion to young people in depressed and ravaged countries such as Bosnia.

[This Week in Bosnia-Herzegovina](#)

Sponsored by the Boston-based Bosnia Action Coalition, this site provides an updated round-up of Bosnia related news.

[Humanitarian Efforts in Bosnia](#)

A list of links on this site includes a directory of U.S. charities working in Bosnia, a photo gallery and other Internet resources.

**ACADEMIC SITES**[Geopolitics in Yugoslavia](#)

"Bosnia 101" from a Howard University professor. Provides responses to frequently asked questions about the region from a perspective critical of the Bosnians.

[Academic Lifeline for Bosnia and Herzegovina](#)

This World University Service lists sites promoting the right to education, academic freedom and academic cooperation in the former Yugoslavia.

[Macedonia Frequently Asked Questions](#)

Everything you wanted to know about the southern former Yugoslav republic.

[Project Bosnia](#)

Villanova University's plan to put computers in the hands of Bosnian government officials.

[Bosnian Virtual Fieldtrip](#)

A tour of the region through history, maintained by George Mason University. Includes maps of the region, photographs from the war, descriptions of the major players and forum for comment.

**LOCAL, HISTORICAL AND TOURISTIC SITES**

[City Net's Banja Luka home page](#)

Site focusing on the culture and folklore of the city of Banja Luka. Lovingly created by Bosnian students in Toronto. In English and Serbo-Croatian.

[Tuzla's Home Page](#)

An online brochure for the war-ravaged city from City Net.

[Banja Luka](#)

Like a travel brochure. The site boasts that CNN voted it the "most politically neutral Bosnia-related material on the Internet."

**MISSING PERSONS**

[Radio Link](#)

This program of the BBC World Service and the International Committee of the Red Cross allows relatives and friends of those missing in the former Yugoslavia to browse a list of about 500 names.

[People Finder Service](#)

A searchable database listing the names of displaced or missing persons from the former Yugoslavia. A resource for relatives searching for their loved ones. From Applied Computing Solutions, Inc.

**OTHER REFERENCES**

[Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina Information Page](#)

This vast and comprehensive site boasts some 3,000 hotlinks, presenting news, documents and data in seven European languages, maintained by volunteers in Germany and the Netherlands. Includes updated BBC and Federation Radio RealAudio broadcasts.

[Former Yugoslavia in Cyberspace](#)

A list of WWW and other Internet resources about the former Yugoslavia provided by the Institute for Global Communications. Last update appears to be December 1995.

[BBC World Service](#)

A list of the times and frequencies of BBC broadcasts to the former Yugoslavia

in Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovenian.

[A List of Humanitarian and Relief Organizations](#)  
From the Croatia Information Pages.

#### **NEWSGROUPS**

[Serbo-Croatian Mailing Lists](#)

Specialized subscription newsgroups relating to nations of the former Yugoslavia.

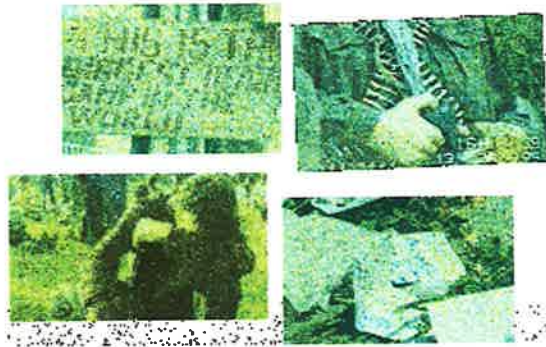
[Bosnia Newsgroups](#)

Non-subscription newsgroup for text, maps and pictures relating to Bosnia.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

[A selected reading list of works about the former Yugoslavia.](#)

# SREBRENICA: A Cry from the Grave



Lesson Plans

Classroom

Activities

Media

Srebrenica, Bosnia, the world's first United Nations Safe Area, was the site of the worst case of genocide in Europe since World War II. In July 1995, the Bosnian Serb army staged a brutal takeover of the small, intimate spa town and its surrounding region. Over a period of five days, the Bosnian Serb soldiers separated Muslim families and systematically murdered over 7,000 men and boys in fields, schools, and warehouses.

THIRTEEN/WNET New York presents SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE. Narrated by Bill Moyers, this compelling film includes previously unreleased footage and first-hand personal accounts of the 1995 Bosnian massacre. The film premieres January 17th at 10 PM on PBS (please check your local listings as times may vary).

The site is best viewed in [Netscape 4.0](#), [Internet Explorer 4.0](#), and AOL 4.0 or higher. This site will also accommodate Netscape 3.0 and IE 3.0.

To view the streaming video clips, you must have the free [RealPlayer G2](#). Please note the RealPlayer G2's [system requirements](#).

To view the QuickTime video clips, you must have the free [QuickTime 3](#) or higher (for PC or Mac) plug-in. To view the animations, the free [Flash](#) plug-in is

required.

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# SREBRENICA: A Cry from the Grave

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In July 1995, the world's first UN Safe Area became the site of Europe's worst massacre since World War II. That month, the Bosnian Serb army staged a brutal takeover of the village of Srebrenica and its surrounding region, while a Dutch peacekeeping battalion of United Nations forces helplessly looked on. In the course of the destruction, Bosnian Serb soldiers separated Muslim families and systematically slaughtered more than 7,000 Muslim men in the fields and factories around the town.

As investigators continue to exhume the bodies from mass graves and the details of the tragedy continue to unfold, the killings lead us to urgent, fundamental questions. How can genocide occur, despite the presence of multiple diplomatic agencies intended to prevent such barbarity? How should the international justice system deal with this brutality? Can the horror of these despicable crimes ever be healed?

Thirteen/WNET New York presents SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE, a compelling 90-minute documentary featuring first-hand accounts and previously unseen footage of the hours surrounding the 1995 catastrophe. Premiering Monday, January 17, 2000 at 10 p.m. (ET) on PBS (check local listings), Bill Moyers narrates this document of a disaster in the making. The film presents indisputable evidence of the unfolding of a war crime. Many sequences were recorded on camcorders by the people who were there, including Serb and Muslim soldiers, civilians, and peacekeepers. In addition, interviews with both witnesses and officials create a chillingly detailed chronicle of the events surrounding the July 1995 nightmare that engulfed Srebrenica. The response to the film thus far has been strong: the film recently won the prestigious Special Jury Award at the 1999 Amsterdam International Documentary Film Festival.

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SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE was directed and

produced by Leslie Woodhead and is an Antelope Films production for BBC2's Storyville in association with Thirteen/WNET for PBS. The executive producers are Krishan Arora of Antelope and Stephen Segaller, Director of News and Public Affairs for Thirteen.

SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE is made possible by Mutual of America, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Jacob Burns Foundation, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Public Television Viewers and PBS.

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# SREBRENICA: A Cry from the Grave

## Lesson Plans

[Lesson Plan Main](#)[Lesson Plan 1](#)[Lesson Plan 2](#)

Use these original lesson plans to present the issues explored in SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE to your class.

### Lesson Plan 1 : Power to the People

In this exercise, students contribute their voice to the ongoing struggle for universal human rights. They are encouraged to research an organization to which they will send a letter on behalf of oppressed people in Bosnia, Kosovo or anywhere they choose.

### Lesson Plan 2 : The Heart of the Matter

In this activity, students explore ethnic identity by examining its role as both a benefit and a burden to society. The general discussion of ethnic identity leads to a discussion about a more specific and problematic social issue, discrimination, and its likely cause, fear.

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## Lesson Plan: The Heart of the Matter

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Prep

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Putting it all Together

## Overview

In this activity, students explore ethnic identity by examining its role as both a benefit and a burden to society. The general discussion of ethnic identity leads to a discussion about a more specific and problematic social issue, discrimination, and its likely cause, fear.

**Grade Level:** 7 to 12**Subject Matter:** Ethnic Identity, Discrimination**Time Allotment:** 2-3 class periods

## Prep

- Lead a class discussion. You may wish to discuss questions such as:
- What defines ethnic identity? Most people agree it includes one or more of the following: a shared heritage, a common belief system and a set of similar physical characteristics. What other things do you think it includes?
- Is ethnic identity something we're born with, something we invent for ourselves, something we're given by others or a combination of these things?
- Should people be allowed to discriminate against others based on their ethnic identities, or should there be laws to prevent it? If so, in what cases?
- The United States has been called a "melting pot." What does this mean?
- What are the benefits of living with people with different ethnic identities?
- What are the difficulties?
- Throughout history, millions have been abused or killed based on their unique ethnic identities. If we could somehow all be the same, would things be easier?
- Other than ethnicity, what are other things that people discriminate against?
- What are some instances in which people have been discriminated against in the past? What lessons can we learn from these instances?
- Are people being discriminated against today? Who? By whom? How is this situation similar to situations in the past?

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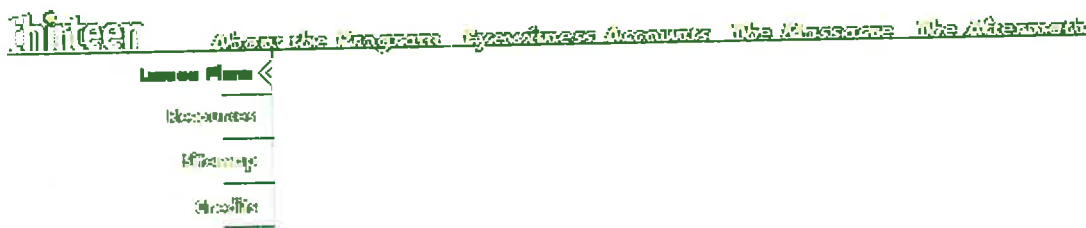
## Steps

1. Ask students to gather in groups of three or four to discuss a past situation in which they felt they were the source or the subject of discrimination.
2. After providing ample discussion time, address the class as a whole and explain that many people believe discrimination is really just an expression of fear, an emotion shared by everyone. Ask students to provide examples of social situations that people are commonly afraid of. Solicit as many responses as time allows and write everything on the blackboard.
3. Allow students to resume their group discussions, encouraging them to consider how their discriminatory experiences may have been motivated by fear.
4. After discussion time, ask individual students or groups to share their thoughts with the class. If students do not see a connection between discrimination and fear, or if they simply do not agree with the concept, encourage them to offer alternative explanations. There should be no right or wrong answers.

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## Putting it all Together

As politics, economics and technology draw once-remote populations closer together, ethnic identity plays an ever-increasing role in people's lives. While some relish new opportunities to interact with people from different backgrounds, just as many, if not more, find the prospect rather unsavory. It is convenient to dismiss the latter category as narrow-minded, but a more helpful approach to ethnic discrimination may lie in understanding that its source is often nothing more than fear, a common thread among all people.

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# SREBRENICA

## A City from the Grave

### Lesson Plans

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## Lesson Plan: Power to the People

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### Overview

Political power does not rest in the hands of government officials alone. Grassroots organizations like Amnesty International also help shape policy by calling attention to individual human rights issues that officials are reluctant or too busy to address. These organizations often depend on letters from everyday people to prove that the world cares about the plight of refugees and political prisoners.

**Grade Level:** 7 to 12**Subject Matter:** Human Rights, Grassroots Political Activism**Time Allotment:** 3-4 class periods

In this exercise, students contribute their voice to the ongoing struggle for universal human rights. They are encouraged to research an organization to which they will send a letter on behalf of oppressed people in Bosnia, Kosovo or anywhere they choose.

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### Prep

In July 1995, the world's first UN Safe Area became the site of Europe's worst massacre since World War II. That month, the Bosnian Serb army staged a brutal takeover of the village of Srebrenica and its surrounding region, while a Dutch peacekeeping battalion of United Nations forces helplessly looked on. In the course of the destruction, Bosnian Serb soldiers separated Muslim families and systematically slaughtered more than 7,000 Muslim men in the fields and factories around the town.

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### Steps

1. Ask students to visit some of these Web sites:

[Amnesty International](http://www.amnesty.org/)<http://www.amnesty.org/>

A worldwide campaign movement promoting human rights with nearly a million members in 162 countries. Visit its home page to learn how you can join a letter-writing campaign.

[Human Rights Watch](http://www.hrw.org)<http://www.hrw.org>

A group of regional experts, lawyers and linguists dedicated to protecting victims of authoritarian abuse. Check out its wide range of human rights campaigns and find out how you can participate.

[International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia](http://www.un.org/icty/)

<http://www.un.org/icty/>

The United Nations judicial body provides updates on indictments and a wealth of information about legal proceedings.

[Women of Srebrenica](http://www.srebrenica.org/english/default.htm)

<http://www.srebrenica.org/english/default.htm>

Learn about the Srebrenica massacre at a Web site created by people who survived it. Find bulletins, background, testimonies and photos from the ordeal.

[BosNet](http://www.bosnet.org/)

<http://www.bosnet.org/>

Find the latest news about Bosnia from a variety of sources, compiled here daily.

[Kosovo Direct](http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Atrium/2625/)

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Atrium/2625/>

An organization dedicated to aiding the refugee children of Kosovo. Photos and essays are touching, but be warned: Some are quite gruesome.

If these sites do not provide students with material that interests them, encourage them to seek additional resources at the following locations:

[AAAS's Directory of Human Rights Resources on the Internet](http://shr.aaas.org/dhr.htm)

<http://shr.aaas.org/dhr.htm>

Links to hundreds of relevant sites.

[About.com](http://humanrights.about.com/culture/humanrights/)

<http://humanrights.about.com/culture/humanrights/>

An "expert guide" to current and useful info on human rights.

[Yahoo!](http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Issues_and_Causes/Human_Rights/Organizations/)

[http://dir.yahoo.com/Society\\_and\\_Culture/Issues\\_and\\_Causes/Human\\_Rights/Organizations/](http://dir.yahoo.com/Society_and_Culture/Issues_and_Causes/Human_Rights/Organizations/)

When in doubt, check Yahoo! out.

2. Ask students to select at least one organization that interests them.

3. Before they write their letters . . .

. . . suggest they evaluate their chosen organizations based on the following criteria:

- a. Does the organization encourage visitors to submit letters?
- b. Do they ask for money? If so, does this seem to be their main objective in posting a Web site? Are you still interested in writing them a letter?
- c. Can they cite recent efforts or is their Web site a placeholder for a mission that has fallen to neglect?
- d. What is the tone of their rhetoric? Do you agree with their stance on critical issues?

e. Can you offer personal testimony that supports their cause? Should you continue searching for an organization that could better benefit from your experience and opinions?

and ask them to research the subject they hope to address with an eye for the following:

a. What are the issues? Have you examined the situation from as many sides as possible?

b. If letters are posted on the organizations, Web sites, what are other people saying? Do you want to lend support to their opinions or can you offer new insights?

c. Who is your target audience? Activists? Politicians? Refugees? Political prisoners? If you have multiple audiences, can your letter be crafted to speak to them all or should you create different versions?

d. Why should your target audience care what you think? Can you express their clear interest in changing the current situation?

e. Can you go beyond the common cry of injustice and propose workable solutions?

4. Before they send their letters, allow time for students to share their work with classmates to provide an opportunity to see others, approaches.

5. When they send their letters, encourage them to "cc" us at Thirteen/WNET via e-mail or surface mail. We enjoy every opportunity to see our lesson plans at work.

E-mail: [web@thirteen.org](mailto:web@thirteen.org)

Surface Mail:  
Thirteen/WNET  
Interactive & Broadband  
825 Eighth Avenue  
New York, NY 10019

6. Revisit this project at a later date with an eye for news regarding related issues and events.

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## Putting it all Together

The Internet offers unprecedented opportunities for everyday citizens to influence global politics. By showing how students can use the Net to speak out in support of universal human rights, teachers will enlighten and empower the next generation of world leaders.

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PBS

## Long Memories: Srebrenica, A Cry From the Grave

By Mark Danner  
January 01, 2000

Striding triumphantly down the streets of conquered Srebrenica, General Ratko Mladic announced to a television interviewer that "on this great Serb holy day," commemorating "the uprising against the Turks, the time had come to take revenge against the Muslims." Mladic spoke on July 11, 1995; since the "rebellion of the Dahijas," when the Serbs had risen up and the Muslims had slaughtered them, nearly two centuries had passed. No matter: Muslims had killed Serbs; revenge must be taken.

In Bosnia, during the 1990's, the present proved a fragile membrane enveloping the past. In Bosnia, the land was drenched in history and in blood.

As the war raged on, first in Croatia, then in Bosnia, this phrase, "ancient hatreds," became a favorite of Western politicians who, eager to excuse their own inaction, seized on a crude historical fatalism. George Bush, presented in August 1992 with footage of emaciated prisoners in Serb-run concentration camps, declared the war a "blood feud" -- "a complex, convoluted conflict that grows out of age-old animosities" -- about which the United States could do nothing.

While Bush's conclusion was self-serving, the historical observation was not wholly wrong. True, Milosevic, Karadzic, Tudjman and the others proved brilliant at manipulating the state-run television and radio; but they depended, for the effectiveness of their propaganda, on a pervasive fear and paranoia already deeply rooted beneath the surface of their societies, embedded in the intimate histories of millions of families. That Ratko Mladic's given name meant "warlike" was no accident. He was christened during the bloodbath of the early 1940's -- during a war that took the life of his father, a "chetnik," who died at the hands of the "Ustashe." Chetnik, Ustashe, Turk: these World War Two epithets for Serb, Croat, and Muslim resurfaced a half-century later as if a united Yugoslavia -- and men and women who called themselves Yugoslavs -- had never existed.

When Mladic marched into conquered Srebrenica on that fateful day in 1995, he was also avenging a more recent bloodletting: the Muslim leader Naser Oric's three years of guerrilla attacks on Serbian villages around Srebrenica.

Oric's attacks were driven by desperation and geography. Srebrenica, only fifteen miles from the Serbian border, surrounded by a Serb countryside, struggled to survive in an ocean of its enemies. The Muslims, men of the cities, became guerrilla fighters, storming out of the hillsides in daring and bloody raids.

When Mladic seized Srebrenica, he would treat every able-bodied male, armed or unarmed, in uniform or out, as a fighter, a warrior -- as a killer who, if allowed to survive, must one day return, seeking vengeance in his turn. Born in war and grief and hatred, Ratko Mladic would see in every man - every "Turk" - an implacable enemy who was fated, if alive, to one day kill Serbs. And so, during a handful of days in July 1995, with an efficiency and thoroughness not seen in Europe for a half century, the general and his men set about their work of extermination.

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## SPEAKER SERIES



A Bosnian refugee from Srebrenica wails over her missing husband in the refugee camp at the Tuzla airport, July 14, 1995. Up to 17,000 refugees gathered around the UN Airport base in Tuzla after fleeing the Bosnian Serbs who overran the UN safe haven of Srebrenica three day earlier. —REUTERS

### A Cry from the Grave: Srebrenica After Ten Years

Thursday, June 23, 2005

#### INTRODUCTION

In 1995, some 7,800 Bosnian Muslims were killed by Bosnian Serbs soldiers following the fall of Srebrenica. Ten years later, have we learned anything about protecting vulnerable civilians?

The film, "A Cry from the Grave," was followed by a panel discussion of the history, significance and lessons of the fall of Srebrenica. Panelists include journalist Mark Danner, Elvir Mujic, a Srebrenica survivor; and Jan Wilhelm Honig, author of *Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime*.

This program was presented in cooperation with the Heinrich Boell Foundation and made possible in part by the Helena Rubinstein Foundation.

#### Biographies

[Mark Danner »](#)

[Jerry Fowler »](#)

[Jan Willem Honig »](#)

[Elvir Mujic »](#)

[Helga Flores Trejo »](#)

#### EVENT

**JERRY FOWLER:** Good evening, and welcome to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for our showing this evening of "A Cry from the Grave." My name is Jerry Fowler. I am the staff director of the Museum's Committee on Conscience, which addresses contemporary threats of genocide.

One of the aspects of the original vision of a national memorial to victims of the Holocaust was that it would contribute to preventing contemporary genocide. Elie Wiesel and the President's Commission on the Holocaust in 1979 recommended that an integral component of any national memorial should be a Committee on Conscience that would address contemporary threats of Genocide.

The Museum opened in April 1993, and up to that time the idea of a Committee on Conscience had been set aside while the memorial and museum were built. By April of 1993, the war in Bosnia had been going on for a year, and the euphemistic term "ethnic cleansing" had entered the world's lexicon.

There was actually a very dramatic incident at the Museum's opening ceremony outside of our 15th Street entrance, which was attended by Holocaust survivors, veterans of the Armed Forces that had liberated the camps, over 60 heads of state, the entire United States Congress, and the president of the United States, Bill Clinton. Holocaust Survivor Elie Wiesel gave the keynote address, and near the end of his remarks, he stopped, he turned to President Clinton, and said,



"Mr. President, there is something I cannot not tell you today. I have been to the former Yugoslavia, and I cannot sleep for what I have seen. As a Jew, I am saying you have to do something to stop the killing. Something has got to be done. People are dying; children are being killed.

That was in April of 1993. There was actually a moment of moral clarity inside the administration, and steps were taken to adopt a policy that would bring the war to an end. But they were not followed through on, and as we all know, the war continued for more than two more years. Before it was over in July of 1995, the world witnessed the worst massacre on the European continent since the end of the Holocaust, near the town of Srebrenica.

It is the 10-year anniversary of that massacre that we are marking this evening. It is particularly important for the Holocaust Museum to mark that and to have tonight's program to address the question of whether we have learned anything about protecting civilians. It was an event that, in effect, happened on our watch after this memorial was created and opened on the National Mall in Washington.

Before I hand it over to the Heinrich Boll Foundation, our cosponsors for this evening, I want to conclude by saying that today the world again is faced with the problem of responding to genocide in the African country of Sudan, in its Darfur region.

Whether what is happening is genocide or not is really not that important -- there is an argument over that. We believe that it is a genocide emergency and said so last July. Just as we saw the international community seeking to manage the problem instead of solving it over 10 years ago, it continues and it continues and it continues. People continue to die, and lives continue to hang in the balance.

So, as we think back to what happened 10 years ago and the failure to protect civilians at Srebrenica, we should never lose sight of the fact that the problem of protecting civilians when they are targeted because of their identity is an enduring one; one that we are confronted with on an emergency basis today, even as we meet.

We are very honored, this evening, to be cooperating with the Heinrich Boll Foundation. I would like to acknowledge their support in making this program possible. I should also acknowledge as well the Helena Rubinstein Foundation, whose generous support was essential to having tonight's program and to bringing some of our speakers who you will hear after the film.

Without further ado, I would like to introduce the executive director of the Heinrich Boll Foundation here in Washington, Helga Flores-Trejo and ask her to make a few remarks.

**HELGA FLORES-TREJO:** Thank you Jerry and thanks to your team for this very important cooperation.

Dear Excellencies, dear guests, we are really very impressed and honored that so many of you showed up tonight to discuss a rather dark moment in very recent European history. However, we feel good that such a large number of people are prepared to remember, to expose ourselves and to discuss. So let me welcome you tonight to the film screening, "A Cry from the Grave," and the following panel discussion.

You may wonder why a German organization in Washington invites you, with the Holocaust Museum today. Today's event is part of a series of meetings and debates in the context of an exhibition that we opened last week in the United States Senate. The exposition, "Srebrenica: Remembrance for the Future," is a joint effort of various offices of the Heinrich Boll Foundation, the German political think tank with 21 offices worldwide that I am proud to represent here in Washington.

2005 has been a year of anniversaries, especially for Germany. The Second World War, with all its destruction, ended 60 years ago and finally the German death camps were liberated. But 2005 also marked the 10th anniversary of the massacre in Srebrenica where more than 7,000

boys and men were killed. This happened under the protection of the United Nations and, as Jerry said, before the eyes of the world.

Like no other recent event, Srebrenica became the symbol for the return of genocide in Europe, the incapacity of the European Union to vigorously react, and for the failing of the United Nations, whose peacekeepers stood by while masses were slaughtered.

For Germany, Srebrenica is also a very important date. Why? Because only after Srebrenica, the German public debate shifted. Before that, the consequences drawn from the Holocaust were to never have war again, to never have German soldiers involved in military actions.

Srebrenica changed this. Srebrenica raised the most dramatic dilemma: Would you support the protection of human lives even with military means? Or would you stick to an orthodox principle of pacifism? The debates were very fierce and controversial at that time, but Srebrenica led to a necessary and a legitimate intervention on humanitarian grounds. Therefore, Srebrenica is a political symbol and a turning point for European politics in a very broad sense. It was a wakeup call.

One of our panelists today, Jan Wilhem Honig, has asked a simple but chilling question that is very difficult to answer and has not lost any of its importance today. The question is, why don't we recognize genocide when we see it?

Why do we not recognize genocide when we see it? This is, ladies and gentlemen, what we are going to confront tonight. I am very thankful for you to be willing to confront it, too. Thank you, and thank you for participating.

**JERRY FOWLER:** Thank you, Helga. After the film, we will have our discussion with Elvir Mujic, Jan Wilhem Honig, and our special guest moderator, Mark Danner. Now we will show the film, "A Cry from the Grave."

[film]

**MARK DANNER:** "Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime," is an extraordinary book that I have reviewed and written about. It is on sale in the lobby. I would urge you to look at that book because I think it is probably the finest account of what actually happened at Srebrenica.

I have to say, in watching this film, I had in mind the comment that Jerry Fowler quoted in his introduction, which is Mr. Honig's comment: Why do we not recognize genocide when we see it? I had a lot of feelings while watching this film. One of them was that we very much did recognize genocide when we saw it, but it was very difficult, particularly for our leaders, to admit that we were seeing it.

I first glimpsed this extraordinary institution during a visit -- I think it was before it opened in 1993 -- with Harris Silajdzic, who was the foreign minister of Bosnia at the time. He was followed around by cameras, and he spoke very eloquently about the genocide then going on in his country. This was 1993.

The notion, as Sandy Vershbow, then the NSC (National Security Counsel) staff member on Bosnia, put forward was that no one really dreamed that this could happen. As Srebrenica fell, I have to say because I remember vividly, it was just not at all true.

One of the stories, I think, about genocide is that at the time people tell themselves whatever they have to convince themselves that it will not happen, that steps they are taking because of reasons of real politik will not lead to massacres.

By 1995, it was very clear that if Srebrenica fell, there would be a great deal of killing. By then there had been three years of massacres in the Bosnian war. When Srebrenica almost fell in

1993 -- we saw some of the footage from 1993 in this film -- there was a famous telephone conversation between David Owen, who was then one of the negotiators on Bosnia with Cyrus Vance, and Slobodan Milosevic in which Milosevic said very frankly that if that enclave fell there would be a bloodbath. This was two years before.

It also should be said that what happened in Srebrenica, it seems to me -- and both of my colleagues perhaps would like to comment on this -- is a kind of what the French call "mise-en-abyme." That is, a small model of the Bosnian war writ large.

The various players on the international stage were paralyzed for very different reasons. The United States -- the Clinton Administration -- had pledged itself not to accede to ethnic cleansing. Thus, the United States was paralyzed to make a deal in which it would hand over the eastern enclaves to the Serbs which of course eventually happened, but because of massacre.

The French and the British to some extent, were paralyzed because they had troops on the ground, and they feared that if there were air strikes their troops would be taken hostage. That is true of the Dutch as well.

A deal was made about a month before this massacre happened in which the French general essentially agreed that he would not allow air strikes, and it was in some way a go-ahead for the taking of Srebrenica.

I am going to ask a couple questions here, but I want to point out some things that happened since this film was produced, I believe, in 1999. During this time, of course, General Krstic has been convicted in The Hague. During this time, thousands of those corpses that you saw stored in the salt mines of Tuzla have been identified. During that time, General Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic have gone free. They have not been arrested, although it is generally agreed that their whereabouts are not a secret within Serbia. And finally, during that time -- in fact, in the last three weeks, at the beginning of June -- a videotape was shown of the abuse of six Bosnian Muslim prisoners, and the killing of four of them was actually shown on Serbian TV. The perpetrators of those killings were actually arrested, and it might be some kind of turning point within Serbia where a majority of the population still profess disbelief that the Srebrenica massacre happened.

Before we get to your questions, I am going to turn first to Mr. Mujic to thank him for coming here tonight and to ask him simply to comment on this film and what he has thought and seen at this point, ten years later.

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Thank you. My name is Elvir Mujic. Yes, I am from Srebrenica, born in 1977, and I lived through the worst days of my life from 1992 until 1995. I have seen so much through Srebrenica. I ended up in prison camp in Serbia, and thanks to the Red Cross, I was eventually sent to the United States.

This film is really very hard to see because I remember what happened there, and I have seen so much. I have lost so many members of my family -- my brother, a couple of brothers-in-law and many other family members. What I can remember 10 years prior to this date is horror. That is the best word to describe it.

I was 17 years old in 1995 when the war finally ended. Going back there last year -- I have been to Potocari, the memorial center -- I walked through that cemetery and saw many names of my classmates that were killed in that war. That was really hard.

**MARK DANNER:** What do you feel at the anniversary, ten years later? I look back on this film and have very mixed feelings. I am at once very grateful to the Holocaust Museum and the Heinrich Boll Foundation for gathering us here tonight. But I also feel a kind of anger because I think that much of what seems to be revealed now, we knew at the time. We tell ourselves in retrospect that our policy makers were essentially ignorant of things that they were not ignorant of. When you look back and then see yourself here at an event like this, ten years later, what do you feel it serves? What do you feel the use of it is?

some ways, a step forward that an international action was achieved.

**MARK DANNER:** It is important to point out that the wonderful kind of tick-tock account contained in the film of the fall of the enclave, gave the impression that some kind of inability or almost incompetence was responsible for the lack of air strikes to protect the town. But in fact, this was really a matter of policy -- the Dutch and French opposed air strikes -- but those air strikes did not come, not because a fax machine was broken or the right form was not filled out, but because the Western governments opposed protecting Srebrenica with air strikes.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** Absolutely. A key factor, which is underplayed in this documentary -- if I have a criticism, then it would be this -- is the political context: the Western governments in particular were unwilling to use force. They were unwilling to get involved in a war in Bosnia. That made them hesitate about the use of air power because that would be something that could lead to escalation and their involvement in the war.

That hamstrung the U.N. operation on the ground and General Jean Pierre was unable, therefore, to make the decision to give the kind of air support that might conceivably have stopped the Serb attack. That should have been explained a little more carefully in this film.

**MARK DANNER:** I was struck by the line within the movie by one of the people working to exhume the graves that skeletons are easier to work with. That, in fact, when we look at these things in retrospect, they seem very clear.

There are villains, there are people who did nothing, there are active villains, and we feel that there are lessons learned. We feel our own satisfaction in hearing about this now, understanding it, and feeling that in some way, it will make us better and more likely to decide otherwise in the future.

The question is, and I will ask both of my colleagues this: How specifically do you think this -- the example of Srebrenica -- would change or has changed international behavior and, in particular, the behavior of the United States?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Well, I have to say that I hope that we learn from Srebrenica's mistake that action should be taken on time. Obviously, Bosnia was in war since 1992, and the United Nations acted in 1993. Srebrenica or any other massacre should not happen; it should be acted on early in time.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** If one takes a look at the broader sweep of history, I think that one must know that the way we think about the world, the way we think about war, the way we think about human rights has developed significantly. And the pace has even quickened quite a bit since the end of the Cold War.

The fact that we sit here ten years after Srebrenica, that we feel bad about it, is an indicator. If one compares that with a situation 50, 100, 150 years ago, when interventions for humanitarian reasons were unthinkable, there has been progress that we now consider human rights a centerpiece of our foreign policies.

We may not act upon this properly but we feel that we should, and the pressure to do something has increased enormously, particularly in the past 15 years. That is progress. It is still not perfect, but things are changing.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

**MARK DANNER:** I have some questions here from the audience. This first one is for Elvir. What do survivors want today? Justice, revenge, identification of the missing? What do survivors want?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Obviously, survivors want justice. That is number one. Number two, they want their loved ones to be identified and buried properly.

**MARK DANNER:** Excuse me — how would you define justice? What is justice exactly?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Justice to me is when the people that committed crimes are held responsible, caught, and put where they should be. Then, those who sacrificed through the war and those that were killed can go on in peace. When those responsible for war crimes are held accountable for what they have done, that is basically justice.

**MARK DANNER:** Do you see justice at all in the political sense? That is, return of property and people returning to their homes?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Obviously that is a basic, but the returns are not easy. Today in Srebrenica, there are hardly any people who have returned to their homes. Their homes were destroyed and have not been rebuilt. They have no jobs and no opportunity to restart their lives, so they are not planning to return. Obviously they would love to return if they had these opportunities, but I do not think it will happen.

**MARK DANNER:** How can we force the world to act to end conflicts worldwide when there is no political or financial benefit to doing so? It is a very broad question. Do you want to try that?

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** I guess one has to have some faith in democracy, that you have some influence over your governments. It would also include, that individual citizens, we think a bit about where money is invested, where your country develops interests, and how that balances out with other foreign policy interests. It's a very broad, difficult question, but one needs to be an informed and active citizen and try one's best to influence one's government.

**MARK DANNER:** Perhaps one could flip the question on its head and say, "What were the interests of the West in the Balkans in the early '90s and why was what was done, done?" That is, the peacekeepers on the ground. Why was there this enormous gap between what the West was willing to do and what it would have taken to actually end the war?

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** The interest of the West in Bosnia and the former Yugoslavia in general was a moral one. Terrible things were happening there. The West, the democratic West, felt bad about that and wanted to do something.

At the same time the Western interest, the national interest, was to protect its own citizens. If you find that in order to do something about your moral outrage you have to put your own citizens at risk, the balancing act becomes a very difficult one which governments did not quite work out.

**MARK DANNER:** There was a phrase that was used in Sarajevo in '93, '94, and '95 when I was there to describe Western policy. They called it "feeding the dead." In other words, there were food shipments coming in, people were being fed by the West, peacekeepers were there to guarantee that food was getting into the besieged town, but nothing was being done to actually protect their lives. And I have always remembered that expression, "feeding the dead."

I have a couple here for Elvir. First of all, having lived through the events depicted in the film, what do you feel was left out of this account?

And secondly, what apparatus currently exists to support Survivors — widows, children, and men? What do you think was left out of the movie, and what's being done to support Survivors?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** First of all, not everything was covered in the film, but this was a short time to show everything.— I have to say that this film is good, and it is pretty much what was happening there.

**MARK DANNER:** Do you feel there were things that were absolutely essential or important that



were not in the film?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** I don't really have a comment on that.

**MARK DANNER:** The other question had to do with supporting Survivors, I assume, in Bosnia.

**ELVIR MUJIC:** Obviously, those people that have survived should be awarded at least a job, to be able to start some kind of normal life and support themselves. I know it is very hard after you lose loved ones to stop thinking about it, but we have to live and move forward with the support of people inside and outside.

**MARK DANNER:** We have a couple of very broad questions here that I think are important.

Why did the West allow this to happen? We know they allowed this to happen, but why?

And a very much connected question: Please briefly discuss the problem of setting up enclaves which attract refugees and cannot, given the mandates, support or protect them.

They are two huge questions, and I will say a couple words, and you both can comment if you would like.

The first is that the enclaves were set up in 1993 partly at the urging of Madeline Albright, the United Nations, and other American officials to prevent the fall of the eastern enclaves.

One of the very large problems that they brought up was the fact that nations of the world -- and particularly of Europe -- were not willing to contribute troops that were needed to protect them. So the troops themselves -- first the Canadians in Srebrenica and then the Dutch -- in a sense became hostages, tripwires.

That is, the troops were there. If the Serbs attacked the West, it was thought, would be obliged to respond because the troops were there. It had the opposite effect in that the fact that the troops were there and that the Serbs were willing to take them hostage, and they showed their willingness to do this, led the West -- and particularly the Europeans -- to be unwilling to use the air power that they would have had to use to protect the enclaves.

At bottom, you know, there is a line that Richard Holbrooke told me, I think it was in 1994, that the United States had a highly moral policy. It would not agree with ethnic cleansing, but deep down, it was morally hypocritical because it would not do what it needed to do in order to actually prevent ethnic cleansing and to prevent the war. So the United States stood aloof with a morally high-minded policy, and the Europeans had troops on the ground that, in effect, became hostages and ended any possibility for real action on the part of the West.

And I think the last element of this analysis is that the eastern enclaves had to be handed over and were not tenable because they were very close to Serb territory proper as Muslim enclaves. In a final settlement, they almost certainly had to be handed over to the Serbs. The United States, in particular, was not willing to do that and to say it had done it because it would have been, then, agreeing to ethnic cleansing. That is my answer to a very, very broad question.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** Yes, again it comes back to the unwillingness by the West in particular to contemplate the use of force. The numbers of troops actually does not matter too much. It is about, "Are you willing to threaten and eventually use force?"

It is often said that if there had been 35,000 troops -- which is recommended at some point, again -- they would have been protected. But if one thinks about that, it would be harder. It would be the absolute logistical nightmare to supply those troops, and the hostage problem would only have increased. In retrospect it is quite amazing that Western governments ever took the Serb threat to kill hostages seriously.

Imagine if the Serbs had actually done that. They threatened to do it in May, June 1995 in a big



hostage crisis. They threatened again to kill the 30 or so Dutch soldier-hostages in July 1995. If they had actually done that, it would have been quite clear that the reaction of the international community would have been that force could be used and, there was quite a bit of reliable evidence that the Serbs never seriously contemplated doing this.

**MARK DANNER:** At the end of the day, the real factor here is that at bottom, Western governments did not want to be involved in the war in the Balkans. That is, involved with troops on the ground. The United States did not, and the Europeans did not either.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** Yes, but the United States, in particular, did not. President Bill Clinton felt that the Europeans were not very keen on it. There was a willingness to contemplate it if the United States was willing to contemplate it, and if the United States was not, the rest of the West would not either.

**MARK DANNER:** Yes, I think I should point out that we have been assuming in the discussion that what really led to the eventual American intervention with heavy air power in the fall of 1995 had to do with Srebrenica, and I think that is part of it. It is also true that an election was coming up in the United States and the Europeans had said that they were going to withdraw their troops, the French in particular. The United States was committed to supporting that kind of withdrawal militarily. That is, President Clinton was faced with a situation where he would have had to get involved militarily in some way, and if he was simply supporting the withdrawal of the French, of the NATO troops, it would have been involved militarily in the Balkans to support a complete failure. So there was this larger American political side as well.

I have a question for Elvir: Can you ever forgive the Serbs?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** That is a hard question. Obviously, I have lived through Srebrenica, and I will never forget Srebrenica, but I cannot blame all Serbs for Srebrenica because not all the Serb people are guilty of this. They are individuals, and obviously -- for those that commit the crime, they are seen as very negative in my mind. But forgiving? What else can you do?

**MARK DANNER:** I have a question, I think, from the same questioner. If things would have been vice versa -- Muslims killing Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina -- how long would it have taken for Western Europe and the U.S. to react?

**ELVIR MUJIC:** That is something for the West to decide.

**MARK DANNER:** That is very diplomatic. I can tell you work in the embassy. I guess we are the West. Or at least the Dutch -- let's let the Dutch decide.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** I do not think it would have made much difference whether it was the one side or the other side. This is one conflict where I think that the particular nature of the combatants -- whether they were Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim, or a particular political preference -- it did not make that much difference.

**MARK DANNER:** I want to press you just a little because you did have Mitterand having this rather romantic idea of the Serbs, you had the Christian Democrat connections in Germany to the Croats, and there were these interesting ethnic holes in this war. Do you think it really made no difference? It is hard to answer this question, but..

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** It may have made some difference, but I do not think it made an absolutely fundamental difference. In the end, people did begin to identify more and more with the Muslims as victims. That happened quite quickly actually which, according to these sort of cultural stereotypes, should not have happened.

**MARK DANNER:** Another question here: What is being done now to capture Mladic and Karadzic? Who is responsible, who had the duty to capture them, and what is the reward?

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** It is up to all of us to capture him. It is a requirement of every citizen of

the world to capture him if he or she has an opportunity to do so. The efforts actually are being stepped up quite a bit, and although I cannot say this with complete confidence, I think that there is a reasonable chance that Mladic will appear in the Hague very soon. It depends on how the political situation within Serbia and Yugoslavia shifts, but things are moving. I do believe time is running out for him finally.

**MARK DANNER:** It should be said that we have had reports in the past that he was about to be arrested. It is generally thought that it would not be that hard to find him or Karadzic.

Certainly I think the film that I mentioned earlier -- the video that was shown in Serbia -- may have a salutary effect in shifting political opinion, perhaps in the move by the Serbian government to arrest several of the perpetrators who were shown in the film. Having said that, we have heard repeatedly that Mladic was on the verge of being arrested. It has not happened, and I will personally only believe it when I see it.

Have any changes been made to the United Nations policy regarding the ability of peacekeeping troops to actually protect people in these conflicts and wars since Srebrenica, Rwanda, et cetera? This is a very vicious series of questions. Let's talk about the peacekeeping.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** In terms of changes, one thing to bear in mind regarding the United Nations is that the United Nations is made up by nations who are sovereign states. They make the mandates that are given to the troops, so they all decide, and particularly the United Nations Security Council, where the United States is a major member. If they decide that troops can be sent somewhere with a firm mandate then it is possible for them to use force. Mandates depend, however, on the situation which has shifted and shifted.

**MARK DANNER:** Perhaps we could be more specific. Several of the questioners referred to Darfur. Can one see any of the shadow of this event -- Srebrenica, Bosnia in general, and perhaps Rwanda -- on what is currently being done and not being done when it comes to Sudan?

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** The shadow is there. I do not think Colin Powell would have used the word "genocide" without the shadow of Rwanda and Srebrenica. What is being done is remarkably little still. Darfur is an example of imposing as well. You are too easily fazed by a conflict; you find it very difficult to try and understand what is happening on the ground.

With Bosnia, the pattern and nature of the war was pretty clear (if not in 1992, then certainly by 1993) and it was fairly easy to predict things in the Balkan conflict. In 1995 you could sort of see with a reasonable degree of certainty where things would be moving and what would be happening. Still, it took us a very long time, and it certainly took governments and politicians a very long time to understand what was going on. The same is true with Kosovo.

Look at Iraq now -- the whole town here -- the government bodies still seem to be struggling to an alarming and surprising degree with understanding what the nature of the conflict is. One also tends to exaggerate the problem. Once the problem becomes exaggerated, inaction often follows.

**MARK DANNER:** Yes, I think perhaps it should be emphasized that this turned into a very complex diplomatic and military problem that developed over a number of years. It is very hard to answer a broad question like that sitting here on this stage. I would urge you to look at the Honig and Both book, "Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime," to look at my piece, and David Rohde also has a very good book on Srebrenica that is in print. I believe, from Farrar, Straus, Underlying all of these complexities was a basic unwillingness of the parties on both sides of the Atlantic to get involved in a ground war in the Balkans.

Secondly, I think, it is fair to say there was an assumption on the part of most European and American leaders. When this war started, the first Bush Administration was in power and had a couple of significant officials. Larry Eagleburger and Brent Scowcroft, who were very high up and who had personal experience in Yugoslavia, essentially believed that the Serbs would win

quickly, and the best thing the West could do was to get out of the way. That assumption, of course, did not turn out to be true, but I think you see, when you look back at the quotations -- particularly from the Bush Administration -- that there was an assumption on their part that we should just not be involved; the Serbs were going to win. The best thing for everybody was to just let them win. The Europeans then became involved, essentially feeding the dead, as the Sarajevans put it. There was a kind of horrible involvement of the West, in which the West did not prevent the war, but instead witnessed it on the ground and fed the dead.

I have a question here. The lift-and-strike policy was first formulated in May 1993 (this is at the beginning of the Clinton Administration), and then it was shelved. Would it have stopped the war if it had been adopted? Why wasn't it adopted? This is very relevant to what we are now discussing. The Clinton Administration then came in, and they had made very good comments during the campaign. All of you will remember the film in August 1992 from Omarska in which you saw these concentration camp victims in Northern Bosnia behind barbed wire, emaciated figures. It was an extraordinary thing to actually see a concentration camp on film and to read reporting by Ed Vulliamy, Gutman, and various others from within these camps. Governor Clinton had said, "When I get into office I am going to do something about this." And those promises really overshadowed his entire presidency because when he did get in office, he was asked by one of his aides, "Do you really want to be like Lyndon Johnson and sacrifice all of your ambitions for a foreign war that very few people care much about?" He then proposed lift-and-strike. The idea was to lift sanctions on Bosnia and let them get weapons and strike with air power if the Serbs tried to overrun them. The Europeans objected to this (they had troops on the ground) and a kind of paralysis ensued which, to some degree, served both parties. That is, Clinton did not want to intervene and the Europeans perhaps did not want him to. Do you think that is fair to say?

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** I would become undiplomatic, but the lift-and-strike policy was stupid. There is no other way --

**MARK DANNER:** We like it when you're undiplomatic.

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** It is lifting the arms embargo, arming the Bosnians to fight and suffer, in effect, and then believing that air power could actually meaningfully influence the conflict. It shows the misunderstandings of the nature of this particular war. It also shows the unwillingness to really engage with the conflict, which would have necessitated doing some dirty work yourself.

**MARK DANNER:** You are assuming that that was actually a real policy, that the Clinton Administration actually wanted to undertake that. I guess I am assuming the opposite, which is that they did not push it very hard, but it became a very useful fallback position to say, "We have a policy, lift-and-strike. Alas, the Europeans will not agree to it. Therefore..."

**JAN WILHEM HONIG:** There is some truth in that, but the lift-and-strike policy did not last for a very long time, however, it was taken quite seriously for a period of time.

**MARK DANNER:** I think we are coming to our end here.

**JERRY FOWLER:** I know you have a lot of questions. It always happens that we don't get to all the questions but we have come to the end of our time.

Before we conclude, one thing I wanted to say is that on July 11th, we are going to open a special photographic display right outside of this auditorium called "Abandoned at Srebrenica: Ten Years Later." It will have photographs by Bosnian photographer Tarik Samarah, and he will be here to speak at 2:00 p.m. on July 11th, along with Swanee Hunt, who has written a book about Bosnia. I encourage all of you to come back.

With that, once again, I would like to thank our partners at the Heinrich Boll Foundation for helping make this evening possible and then ask you to join me in thanking our excellent panelists.

## Resources

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For more information about the topics presented in SREBRENICA: A CRY FROM THE GRAVE, we recommend the following Web and print resources. All links are valid as of January 14, 2000.

### **WEB RESOURCES**

#### Brief History of the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina

<http://www.cco.caltech.edu/~bosnia/doc/history.html>

#### Domovina Net

[http://www.xs4all.nl/~frankti/Warhistory/war\\_hist.html](http://www.xs4all.nl/~frankti/Warhistory/war_hist.html)

#### Online Newshour: Bosnia Background Reports

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/bosnia/bosnia.html>

#### The New York Times On The Web

<http://www.nytimes.com/specials/bosnia/context/>

#### Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 53/35:

##### The Fall of Srebrenica. (text)

<http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/reports/UNsrebrenicareport.htm>

##### PDF Format

<http://www.un.org/News/oss/srebrenica.pdf>

#### Massacre in Srebrenica

<http://www.haverford.edu/relg/sells/srebrenica/srebrenica.html>

#### The Christian Science Monitor

<http://www.csmonitor.com/atcsmonitor/specials/bosnia/bosniaindex.html>

The United Nations: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia  
<http://www.un.org/icty/index.html>

Coalition for International Justice: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia  
<http://www.cij.org/icty/icty.html>

War Crimes Tribunals: An In-Depth Analysis  
<http://www.facts.com/icof/warintro.htm>

Court TV: The Tribunal and the Law  
<http://www.courtTV.com/casefiles/warcrimes/reports/tribunal.html>

Physicians for Human Rights: Bosnia Projects  
<http://www.phrusa.org/bosnia/index.html>

Srebrenica Justice Campaign  
<http://ds.dial.pipex.com/srebrenica.justice/#Links>

Women of Srebrenica: Letter from Hasan Nuhanovic  
<http://www.srebrenica.org/english/articles/default.htm>

The Simon Wiesenthal Center: THE SHATTERING OF THE SOUL  
<http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/resources/books/shatteringsoul/index.html>

Bosnian Institute  
<http://www.bosnia.org.uk/>

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Holbrooke, Richard. TO END A WAR. New York: Random House, 1998.

Honig, Jan Willem and Both, Norbert. SREBRENICA: RECORD OF A WAR CRIME. London: Penguin Books, 1996.

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Stover, Eric. THE GRAVES: SREBRENICA AND VUKOVAR. New York: Scalo, 1998.

Sudetic, Chuck. BLOOD AND VENGEANCE: ONE FAMILY'S STORY OF THE WAR IN BOSNIA. New York: Norton, 1998.