Report from the Field

The Betrayal of Srebrenica: The Ten-Year Commemoration

Lisa DiCaprio

Abstract: The Srebrenica massacre occurred in July 1995 during the last year of the war in Bosnia (1992–1995). It was the single worst atrocity during the war and in Europe since World War II. The Betrayal of Srebrenica: The Ten-Year Commemoration, with photographs by New York City human rights photographer Paula Allen, focuses on the July 11, 2005 commemoration of Srebrenica, which was attended by over 30,000 survivors and their supporters. The exhibit comprises photographs of Sarajevo, Srebrenica, the survivors, the activities of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), and key aspects of the commemoration. The text panels accompanying the photographs feature quotes by survivors, journalists, United Nations officials, Bosnian Serb political officials and military commanders, and International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) judges. The article discusses how the author conceptualized and organized this exhibit as a public history project.

Keywords: Srebrenica, genocide, Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP)

And now, memory and loss beat softly, a measure of time. The last notes of the score have been played. A deafening eerie silence that has fallen resonates. Sounds and screams seem like distant echoes from a recent past. There is nothing left to say. Death is here. It is too late. Night has come. The ghosts are whispering in the crepuscular light of the parlor. Evil is at the door.

—Gilles Peress, Farewell to Bosnia (1994)


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The Srebrenica massacre occurred in July 1995 during the last year of the war in Bosnia (1992–1995). This was the single worst atrocity during the war and in Europe since World War II. Once a thriving town in the former Yugoslavia, Srebrenica will forever be associated with the triumph of evil.

Annual commemorations at the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery place an international spotlight on Srebrenica. The Betrayal of Srebrenica: The Ten-Year Commemoration, with photographs by New York City human rights photographer Paula Allen, focuses on the July 2005 commemoration, which was attended by over 30,000 Srebrenica survivors and their supporters.

I am continuing to circulate the exhibit, which opened at Antioch College in October 2005, Washington and Lee University in January 2006, Hofstra University in September 2006, Wellesley College in February 2007, and Boston College in January 2008. A bilingual version of the exhibit was displayed in Sarajevo in July 2007 at the annual conference of the International Association of Genocide Scholars. This exhibit project is inspired by my research on the international campaign for justice for the victims and survivors of Srebrenica and previous collaboration with Paula Allen on an exhibit of her photographs on the “disappeared” of Chile, which was co-sponsored by Amnesty International USA and shown at New York University in September/October 2004 and at Columbia University in February/March 2005.

I wish to acknowledge the many individuals and organizations who contributed to this exhibit. First, my appreciation to Paula Allen. I knew from her photographs of the women of Calama, Chile that she would succeed in capturing the sadness, hope, and determination of the survivors of Srebrenica. Peter Lippman related his knowledge about the associations of Srebrenica survivors and politics in postwar Bosnia. Manuela Dobos carried out liaison work with the survivors, translated during my research trips to Bosnia in July 2003 and July 2005, and provided support for the July 2007 exhibit in Sarajevo. Judith Armatta shared her expertise on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Thank you to Carol Fondé, iPrint NYC, for printing the exhibit photographs. An American Historical Association (AHA) Coordinating Committee on Women in History (CCWH) 2002 Catherine Prelinger Award has funded my research on the international campaign for justice for Srebrenica. Washington and Lee University, where I was teaching when I produced the exhibit, and a 2005 Puffin Foundation photography award provided the initial funding that made the exhibit possible. Funds were subsequently contributed by Antioch College, Hofstra University, Wellesley College, and Boston College. I wish to thank Professor Julie Gallagher for bringing the exhibit to Antioch College, Professor Sally Charnow for arranging to show the exhibit at Hofstra University, and Lois Kamandulis and the students of the Art Club for hosting the exhibit at the Bapst Art Library Gallery at Boston College. The International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) organized photographic opportunities at ICMP facilities in Tuzla, Sarajevo, Lukavac, and at a secondary mass grave that we saw being exhumed in Potocari in July 2005. Finally, I am grateful to the survivors of Srebrenica for sharing their experiences with us. This exhibit is dedicated to them.

2. The Chile exhibit at New York University was co-sponsored by Amnesty International USA and opened on September 10, 2004, the eve of the thirty-first anniversary of the September 11, 1973 coup by General Augusto Pinochet against the democratically elected Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. It was accompanied by a series of five programs with speakers and films. A twin exhibit was shown in Santiago in August. The exhibit at Columbia University was installed at the School of International and Public Affairs. The photographs in these exhibits appear in Paula Allen’s book, Flores en el Desierto/Flowers in the Desert (Santiago: Cuarto Propio, 1999), which documents the activities of the Women of Calama, whose male relatives were arrested and then executed in October 1973 in the aftermath of the coup. Calama is located in the Atacama Desert in the far north of Chile and was the last stop of what became known as the Caravan of Death.
I conceptualized the Srebrenica exhibit as a public history project, which is accompanied by educational programs that are open to members of the general public. The programs consist of panels and films on the war in Bosnia, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and the impact of the war on women in Bosnia. I have given presentations on the exhibit at opening night programs and academic conferences in the U.S. and Europe. These include the January 2006 annual meeting of the American Historical Association and an M.A. seminar on war crimes held in May/June 2007 at the Inter-University Center in Dubrovnik. In conjunction with the exhibit, I have also developed and taught courses on the history of human rights, international justice, and the role of visual memorialization (photographs, museums, and memorials) in creating a public consensus around historical events. The exhibit Web site (www.betrayalofsrebrenicaphotoexhibit.net), placed online in 2008, is based on a catalogue that I designed and provides links to educational resources, including Srebrenica-related cases at the ICTY and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. Following the arrest of Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic in July 2008, I created a new section, ICTY Updates, in which I summarize the significance of Karadzic’s trial at the ICTY. The exhibit, programs, and Web site provide historical background on the war in Bosnia, the betrayal of Srebrenica, and the campaign for truth and justice. Overall, the exhibit project highlights the need to enforce all aspects of the 1948 UN Convention on Genocide—the prevention and suppression of genocide as well as its prosecution.

First, then, an overview of the war in Bosnia and the betrayal of Srebrenica.

The War in Bosnia and the Betrayal of Srebrenica

The dissolution in the 1990s of the former Yugoslavia, comprised of six republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Montenegro), may be attributed to several economic and political causes. Serbian nationalism, as articulated by members of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and later embraced by politicians like Slobodan Milosevic (president of Serbia and then of Yugoslavia) and Radovan Karadzic, gained popular support in the 1980s, a period of economic and political instability following the death of Marshal Tito, whose vision of a multi-ethnic Yugoslavia was premised on the suppression of nationalist tendencies. Serbia’s attempt to create a more centralized state, which would have allowed for Serbian domination of the former

4. The text of the UN Convention on Genocide may be found on the official UN Web site: www.un.org Article 8 of the Convention allows for any contracting party to call upon the UN to take action “as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide.” On the history of the Convention on Genocide, see, Samantha Power’s Pulitzer Prize–winning book, “A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide (New York: Basic Books, 2002), chapters 1–5. On how the term “ethnic cleansing” was used during the war to obscure the genocide in Bosnia, see Norman Cigar, Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of “Ethnic Cleansing” (Corpus Christi: Texas A & M University Press, 1995).
Yugoslavia, provided a rationale for declarations of independence by Slovenia and Croatia in June 1991. Serbian nationalism, which found its corollary in the nationalist Croatian Democratic Party (HDZ) of Franjo Tudjman (the first president of Croatia), assumed a particularly murderous form in Bosnia, the most multi-ethnic of the republics in the former Yugoslavia that is composed of Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs, and Bosnian Muslims.5

The war in Bosnia (1992–1995) resulted in the return of concentration camps, ethnic cleansing, and genocide to Europe, the displacement of over half of Bosnia’s entire pre-war population of 4,400,000 persons (1,300,000 internally displaced and 1,200,000 refugees), 30,000 “missing,” and over 200,000 dead. Bosnian Muslims constitute the majority of the displaced, “missing,” and the dead.6

This war was initiated by Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia (1989–1997), and Bosnian Serbs led by Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the nationalist Bosnian Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)7 and president of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republic, in order to create an arc of ethnically homogenous territory contiguous with Serbia. In November 2001, the ICTY charged Milosevic with genocide, crimes against humanity, grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, and violations of the laws or customs of war. Milosevic’s alleged guilt was based on his command responsibility and/or partici-


7. The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) led by Radovan Karadzic was formed in Bosnia in 1990, in the same year as the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), comprised primarily of Bosnian Muslims, and the Croatian Democratic Party (HDZ) of Bosnian Croats, which was essentially the same party as the HDZ in Croatia led by Franjo Tudjman, then President of Croatia. These three parties were established in anticipation of the first multi-party elections that were held in Bosnia in 1991.
pation in “a joint criminal enterprise,” the purpose of which was “the forcible and permanent removal of the majority of non-Serbs, principally Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, from large areas of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.” Milosevic was charged with carrying out this “joint criminal enterprise” with Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Commander of the Main Staff of the Bosnian Serb army (VRS), who remains at large, among other individuals. Karadzic’s leadership trial at the ICTY will consider several crucial aspects of the war, including the siege of Sarajevo, the military planning for the capture of Srebrenica in July 1995, and the subsequent executions of over 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys. The ICTY indicted Karadzic in July 1995, in the immediate aftermath of the Srebrenica massacre, but he succeeded in eluding justice for over thirteen years. The most recently amended February 27, 2009 indictment of Karadzic charges him with genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity for crimes committed in a total of twenty-seven municipalities in Bosnia. Two of the eleven counts in the indictment are for genocide—the first in relation to crimes in ten of these municipalities between March and December 1992 and the second for the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995.

8. The November 2001 indictment for the war in Bosnia was the ICTY’s third indictment of Milosevic. The two previous indictments were for Kosovo and Croatia. Milosevic was president of Serbia (1989–1997) and then of the former Yugoslavia (1997–2000). He was the first head of state to be charged with genocide. See www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic was placed on trial at The Hague in February 2002, but died in prison in March 2006 prior to the completion of his trial. The aims of the Serbian Democratic Party are outlined in the minutes of the Republika Srpska Assembly. The prosecution in the Milosevic case introduced an analysis and excerpts of these minutes in a report by the prosecution’s expert witness Dr. Robert J. Donia, “The Assembly of Republika Srpska, 1992–1995: Highlights and Excerpts.” These minutes also reveal the Serbian role in the war in Bosnia. See Judith Armatta, “Transcripts Reveal Milosevic Involvement in Bosnia War,” September 12, 2003 and “Bosnian Serbs Plan Ethnic Cleansing, Cover Up Crimes,” September 13, 2003. Armatta observed the Milosevic trial for three years for the Coalition for International Justice (CIJ). The reports that she posted on the trial for the CIJ, including these two reports, are now archived by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) at http://iwpr.net/?apc_state=hen&usc. For a discussion of the significance of the Milosevic trial, see the December 13, 2006 Human Rights Watch report, Weighing the Evidence: Lessons of the Slobodan Milosevic Trial, which is available on the Human Rights Watch Web site: www.hrw.org. For a comprehensive study of the trial, see Judith Armatta, Twilight of Impunity: The War Crimes Trial of Slobodan Milosevic (Duke University Press, forthcoming).

9. On July 24, 1995, the ICTY issued a joint indictment for Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Commander of the Main Staff of the Bosnian Serb army (VRS). The ICTY amended this indictment on November 14, 1995 to include the charge of genocide for the Srebrenica massacre. Karadzic’s indictment was further amended on May 31, 2000, and then again following his arrest in July 2008 in the vicinity of Belgrade by Serbian security police. The February 27, 2009 indictment is the most recent. See www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadzic. For historical background on Karadzic and the war in Bosnia, see the Web site for a 1998 PBS/Frontline documentary on Karadzic: www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/karadzic. Demands for the arrests of Karadzic and Mladic, who is still in hiding, were repeatedly made by Carla Del Ponte, former chief prosecutor of the ICTY who completed her term in December 2007, associations
Nationalist Bosnian Serbs led by Karadzic placed a high priority on obtaining control of Srebrenica, as it is only ten miles from the Drina River, the boundary between Bosnia and Serbia. Srebrenica could only be incorporated into an ethnically pure Bosnian Serb Republic by eliminating its predominantly Bosnian Muslim population, which comprised around three-quarters of the total prior to the war. The remaining quarter was made up of Bosnian Serbs and a small number of Bosnian Croats.10 In April 1993, when the Bosnian Serbs were on the verge of capturing Srebrenica, the UN established Srebrenica as the first of six UN “safe areas” intended to protect Bosnian Muslim civilians from Bosnian Serb military operations. (The other five were Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac, Gorazde, and Zepa.)11 A military plan of defense was never drawn up for the several hundred lightly armed peacekeepers assigned to Srebrenica.

When Bosnian Serb forces succeeded in capturing Srebrenica on July 11, 1995, in violation of its protected status as a UN “safe area,” the Dutch peacekeepers offered no resistance. NATO air strikes, repeatedly requested by Lieutenant Colonel Thom Karremans, the commander of the Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica, never materialized. Consequently, the Bosnian Serbs placed around 23,000 women and children on buses and deported them from Srebrenica, at times with the assistance of the Dutch peacekeepers. In the next few days, over 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys over the age of 12 were executed. Most were from among an estimated 15,000 men and boys who formed a column on the night of July 11 and marched through the woods towards Tuzla in an attempt to escape Srebrenica. They were captured or surrendered and then summarily executed, either immediately or transported to various locations, such as warehouses, which were selected in advance for the purpose of mass executions.12

The Dayton Accords initialed on November 21, 1995 ended the war in Bosnia of survivors, and all nongovernmental organizations involved in the international campaign for justice for the victims and survivors of Srebrenica. For Del Ponte’s efforts to bring Karadzic and Mladic to justice, see her memoir written with Chuck Sudetic and now in English translation: Madame Prosecutor: Confrontations with Humanity’s Worst Criminals and the Culture of Impunity (New York: Other Press, 2009). Karadzic’s arrest was finally ordered by Serbian President Boris Tadic, the leader of the Democratic Party, which is seeking European membership for Serbia. The European Union has required the arrests of Karadzic and Mladic as a precondition for Serbia’s admission to the EU.

10. For the pre-war population of Srebrenica, see Jan Willem Honig and Norbert Both, Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), xviii.
11. UN Security Council Resolution #819, adopted on April 16, 1993, established Srebrenica as a “safe area,” while Resolution #824, adopted on May 6, established Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac, Gorazde, and Zepa as “safe areas.” The complete texts of these resolutions are available on the official UN Web site: www.un.org
12. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights for the Territory of the former Yugoslavia from 1992 to 1995, wrote one of the first reports on the capture of Srebrenica. Mazowiecki details what was known up to July 27, 1995, the date on which he resigned his position to protest the UN’s failure to protect the “safe area” of Srebrenica. See http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/commission/country52/9–yug.htm. In this report, Mazowiecki discusses his role in the development of the concept of “safe areas.” See also David Rohde, Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe’s Worst Massacre Since World War II (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), Honig and Both, Srebrenica: Record of a War Crime, Power
but partitioned Bosnia into a Muslim-Croat Federation and a Bosnian Serb Republic, thereby recognizing its legitimacy, and located Srebrenica in the Bosnian Serb Republic. This was the final betrayal.

The Campaign for Truth and Justice

Srebrenica is a continually unfolding story of denial and revelation—denials of the Srebrenica massacre by Bosnian Serb and Serbian political and military forces and revelations about how and by whom the Srebrenica massacre was carried out. These revelations have emerged from various sources: trial proceedings at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), exhumations of mass graves by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), applications alleging human rights violations by the Bosnian Serb Republic government that were filed by more than 2,000 Srebrenica survivors in the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and investigations by the UN and in the U.S., France, and the Netherlands concerning why the UN and the West refused to defend Srebrenica. Presenting forensic evidence, accounts of survivors and expert witnesses, and admissions of guilt by Bosnian Serb military officers in an international forum, the ICTY has demonstrated that Bosnian Serb military forces carried out premeditated and meticulously planned massacres, which meet the criteria for genocide as defined by the UN Convention on Genocide. In February 2007, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina versus Serbia, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) also ruled that the Srebrenica massacre constituted genocide.13

The international campaign for truth and justice for Srebrenica encompasses the survivors’ groups (the two main groups are the Mothers of Srebrenica. 


13. On March 20, 1993, Bosnia and Herzegovina filed a case against Serbia and Montenegro in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) calling for the application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This was the first case in which a state was charged with genocide. Claiming that it was a civil war, Serbia and Montenegro denied any role in the war in Bosnia. In its decision of February 26, 2007, the court found that only the Srebrenica massacre constituted genocide. While acknowledging that the perpetrators of this genocide possessed resources provided by Serbia to the Bosnian Serbs as part of its “general policy of aid and assistance,” the majority of the court’s judges concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to prove that Serbia had committed genocide, conspired to commit genocide, or had
brenica and Zepa Enclaves in Sarajevo and the Women of Srebrenica in Tuzla), grassroots organizations in the U.S. and Europe, international humanitarian and human rights organizations, and civil society associations in Serbia. The exhibit illuminates the four interrelated issues of this campaign: the arrest and prosecution of all individuals responsible for the Srebrenica massacre (including the arrests of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic), the recognition of the “missing” as a human rights issue, compelling the truth about why the UN and Western governments refused to protect the “safe area” of Srebrenica, and memorialization as an essential aspect of justice.14

The Organization of the Exhibit

The exhibit comprises framed color archival prints in $11 \times 14$ and $16 \times 20$ dimensions and explanatory text panels on white foam core. I selected all of the images for the exhibit in consultation with the photographer. Each visually compelling image depicts key aspects of the campaign for truth and justice and the ten-year commemoration: the mourning of the women survivors and the photographs of the “missing” men and boys whom they will never see again, the exhumation of a mass grave and the unloading of coffins containing the now identified remains, the collective prayer of men before hundreds of these coffins, and their final (now respectful) burial on July 11, 2005. The photographs in the exhibit connect us emotionally to the survivors, while the text panels relate the war in Bosnia and the betrayal of Srebrenica with quotes from journalists, UN officials, Bosnian Serb military and political officials, and judges of the ICTY. This is a visual narrative of loss and hope, finality and anticipation—finality represented in the burial scenes, and the anticipation of justice, as yet only partially realized, in the organization of the ten-year commemoration. The meaning of this narrative is universal and historically specific. Universal in its evocation of unimaginable grief and historically specific.
in its assignment of responsibility, not only for the perpetrators of the Srebrenica massacre, but also for all those who failed to protect the Bosnian Muslim population of Srebrenica.

The exhibit begins in Sarajevo in order to place the Srebrenica massacre within the overall context of the West’s refusal to intervene to defend Bosnia from the beginning of the war in 1992. The first photograph features the main thoroughfare in Sarajevo that became known as Sniper Alley and a destroyed Bosnian government building, which was only restored after 2005. On April 6, 1992, the Parliament of Bosnia declared Bosnia’s independence from the former Yugoslavia. This declaration affirmed the results of an internationally supervised March 1 referendum in which two-thirds of the voters supported independence. Fearing the outbreak of war, given Serbia’s military response to Croatia’s 1991 declaration of independence, thousands of people demonstrated for peace and multicultural unity in front of this building. Bosnian Serb snipers fired on the demonstration from the Holiday Inn (where this photograph was taken) and killed Suada Dilberovic and Olga Sucic. They were the first victims of the war in Bosnia, which officially began on this day.

Bosnian Serb forces immediately began a siege of Sarajevo, for centuries a symbol of multiculturalism, which was celebrated in the Winter Olympics held there in 1984. The siege continued even after Sarajevo was declared a UN “safe area” in May 1993, and lasted for three and a half years. Bosnian Serb snipers controlled all the hills surrounding Sarajevo, which is set in a valley. They routinely shot at civilians and aimed mortar and artillery shells at apartment buildings, hospitals and medical complexes, public transportation, media and communication centers (including the post office), government buildings, and even cemeteries. Funerals were held at night to avoid sniper fire. The National Library was destroyed in August 1992. Throughout the siege, the civilian population experienced shortages of water, food, fuel, and medical supplies. More than 10,000 people were killed, including 1,500 children, and 50,000 people were wounded. On December 5, 2003, the ICTY convicted Bosnian Serb General Stanislav Galic of war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was initially sentenced to twenty years in prison for his role in commanding the siege and ordering acts of violence, which “spread terror among the civilian population” so that “no civilian of Sarajevo was safe anywhere.” On November 30, 2006, the ICTY Appeals Chamber denied Galic’s appeal and sentenced him to life imprisonment.15

A photograph of the Lion Cemetery illustrates the consequences of the Bosnian Serb siege of Sarajevo. This was originally a cemetery for the partisans who, under Marshal Tito’s leadership, fought against the Nazi German occupation of Yugoslavia. The symbol of courage, the lion at the center of the cemetery honors the courage of these partisans. Like many cemeteries in Sarajevo, the Lion Cemetery was expanded to include graves for the thousands of

15. For the ICTY case on General Stanislav Galic, see www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Stanislav Galic.
individuals who died during the war in the 1990s. Here, we see the graves of six members of the same family—the Tatarevic family—all of whom died in 1994. Asja Tatarevic, the youngest, was born in 1983 and died in 1994 at the age of 11.

As David Rieff wrote in an article, in which he spoke of his own experiences as a reporter during the war in Bosnia:

A lot of dreams died there [in Sarajevo]—dreams that the world has a conscience, that Europe is a civilized place, that there is justice in human affairs as well as sorrow. It should be no surprise that the old millenarian dream that knowledge and truth should set us free would die there as well. Reality, it turns out, is better apprehended in the Lion cemetery than in the Palais des Nations in Geneva or the United Nations in New York, much as we might wish it otherwise.16

A panoramic view of Srebrenica introduces the sequence of photographs relating to the betrayal of Srebrenica and the ten-year commemoration.17 Here, we see a mosque and an Eastern Orthodox Church—virtually all that exists today of the multiculturalism that prevailed in Srebrenica prior to the war. We are facing North toward Potocari, a village five kilometers from Srebrenica and within the former “safe area,” where the headquarters of the Dutch peacekeepers (Dutch Battalion or Dutchbat) was located in an old battery factory. By the afternoon of July 11, over 20,000 Bosnian Muslims, mainly women and children, had assembled in front of the headquarters seeking UN protection from Bosnian Serb forces. Five to six thousand more refugees succeeded in entering the headquarters, but they were expelled at gunpoint on July 13 by the peacekeepers who facilitated the deportations from Srebrenica that began on the previous day.18 A still legible Dutchbat sign at an entrance to the headquarters and a building from which the refugees were forcibly removed are featured in a photograph that is juxtaposed with the March 1995 directive given by Radovan Karadzic to General Ratko Mladic: “Complete the physical separation of Srebrenica from Zepa as soon as possible, preventing even communication between individuals in the two enclaves. By planned and

16. David Rieff, "On Your Knees with the Dying." In Why Bosnia? Writings on the Balkan War, Rabia Ali and Lawrence Lifschultz eds. (Branford, Conn.: The Pamphleteer's Press, 1994), 22. This quote is featured in a text panel accompanying the photograph of the Lion Cemetery.
17. This photograph is accompanied by an excerpt from Jose Maria Mendiluce’s report, “Stop the Lies,” Bosnia Report, June-August 1995, Issue 11, which is available from the Web site of the Bosnian Institute: www.bosnia.org.uk Mendiluce was the special envoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the former Yugoslavia from 1991 to 1993. In his reports, he critiqued the limitations of humanitarian intervention in Bosnia. Following the Srebrenica massacre, Mendiluce reiterated his condemnation of the politics of official “neutrality” that culminated in this massacre.
18. These numbers were provided to me by Hasan Nuhanovic, e-mail correspondence, March 16, 2009. Hasan’s father, Ibro, had represented the Bosnian Muslim refugees at a meeting held between Karremans and Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic following the capture of Srebrenica. For a timeline of events at Srebrenica from July 6 to July 16, 1995, see “Timeline: Siege of Srebrenica,” on the BBC Web site: www.bbc.co.uk See also Hasan Nuhanovic, Under the UN Flag: The International Community and the Srebrenica Genocide (Sarajevo: DES, 2007). See www.undertheunflag.com
well-thought-out combat operations, create an unbearable situation of total insecurity with no hope of further survival or life for the inhabitants of Srebrenica.”¹⁹

Ten years later, on the morning of July 11, 2005, the first international conference on Srebrenica, in which I participated, opened in the same building that appears in the photograph of the Dutchbat headquarters. The conference was organized by the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law at the University of Sarajevo. Among the speakers was Diego E. Arria, the former ambassador to the UN from Venezuela, who has provided extensive testimony to the ICTY about how conditions in Srebrenica from April 1993 to July 1995 represented a form of “slow motion genocide.” (These conditions are described in Postcards from the Grave by Emir Suljagic, the first detailed eyewitness account by a Srebrenica survivor.²⁰) Ambassador Arria introduced the UN Security Council resolution to designate Srebrenica as a UN “safe area” in April 1993. He now regrets this initiative, since it later became clear that the UN and the international community did not intend to defend the “safe area.” As Ambassador Arria stated in his testimony for the prosecution in the Milosevic trial:

The surrender of Srebrenica to the Serbs was of strategic importance—both for the Serbs and for the UN negotiators—because Srebrenica had to be on the Serb side in order to be able to clinch a “deal.” It would become part of the Greater Serbia. The enclave was never joined to the main body of the Government-held territory further west, leaving it vulnerable to isolation and attack by Serb forces. . . . Today Srebrenica is in Serb hands in the Republika Srpska.²¹

Samantha Power also spoke on the opening panel of the conference. Her book, “A Problem from Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide, discusses the history of the 1948 UN Convention on Genocide and the consistent failure of the U.S. government to intervene to protect civilian populations from genocide. “A problem from hell” was former Secretary of State Warren Christopher’s characterization of the war in Bosnia and how it was viewed politically by the Clinton administration. Power covered the war from 1993 to 1995. On July 10, 1995, she proposed an article to The Washington Post about the imminent capture of Srebrenica. With such an article, Power hoped to alert the world and compel Western action to prevent “a catastrophe in the making.”

¹⁹. This directive by Radovan Karadzic, referred to as “Directive N. 7,” was later known by its code name of “Operation Krivaja 95.” In the ICTY trial of Bosnian Serb General Radislav Krstic, the prosecution argued that Krstic and Ratko Mladic were responsible for the implementation of the directive. Krstic was convicted on April 19, 2004 (on appeal) of aiding and abetting genocide, among other crimes, with genocidal intent assigned to Karadzic and the Main Staff of the Bosnian Serb army (VRS) commanded by Mladic. For the judgement of the Appeals Chamber, see www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic.


However, her editor responded: “It sounds like when Srebrenica falls, we’ll have a story.”22 The ten-year commemoration was the first time that Power was in Srebrenica, as the Bosnian Serbs controlled access to the “safe area.” In her July 11 presentation, she referred to the vast expanse of the building, the size of a large warehouse, where we all were, and said: “Look around. . . . You can see how there was room here for all the Bosnian Muslims to be saved.”

In pursuit of truth and justice, Srebrenica survivors have filed three separate civil law suits in the Dutch civil courts. The Mothers of Srebrenica Association filed a suit against the UN and the Netherlands for their failure to protect civilians following the Bosnian Serb capture of Srebrenica. This case represents 6,000 family members of victims who are seeking material compensation for themselves and their children. (There are now about 17,000 children without at least one parent.) Two other law suits have also been filed against the Netherlands by survivors whose relatives were ordered by the Dutch peacekeepers to leave their headquarters, including one by Hasan Nuhanovic in relation to his brother and parents.23 These suits are unprecedented.

The experiences of Srebrenica survivor Hasan Nuhanovic [Figure 1] are both typical and exceptional. They are exceptional in that Hasan most likely

23. The complete name for the plaintiffs in the civil law suit against the UN is “the Mothers of Srebrenica Association and ten individual plaintiffs (the Association et al.).” The civil law suit against the Netherlands was filed by the family of Rizo Mustafic, an electrician who was employed by the Dutch peacekeepers. Mehida lost her husband Rizo at Srebrenica, and Damir and Alma their father.
survived only because he was a UN interpreter for the Dutch peacekeepers. Featured in the BBC documentary, *Srebrenica: A Cry from the Grave*, Hasan has written his own account, *Under the UN Flag: The International Community and the Srebrenica Genocide*. He now lives in a section of Sarajevo that was a frontline during the war and where the destruction to buildings caused by mortar shells remains clearly visible. I first met with Hasan in Sarajevo in July 2003, and then again in July 2005. As Hasan explained to me, the place where he is standing in the photograph was the Bosnian Muslim side. Across an area referred to as “no man’s land” was the Bosnian Serb side. Hasan and his family had lived in Vlasenica since 1976. Like thousands of Bosnian Muslims in eastern Bosnia, they were forced to leave their town when it was taken over by Bosnian Serb military forces in 1992. They lived in an abandoned house in Srebrenica without regular sources of water, fuel, and food. Following Srebrenica’s designation as a “safe area” in 1993, and the arrival of UN peacekeepers, whom they believed would protect them, Hasan volunteered as an interpreter and within six months became an official member of the UN staff in Srebrenica. In July 1995, Hasan attempted to save his mother, father, and younger brother, who had initially been allowed into the headquarters of the Dutch peacekeepers, but were then ordered to leave by the peacekeepers along with all the Bosnian Muslim refugees. Hasan’s main legal argument in his civil law suit against the Netherlands is that the Dutch peacekeepers should and could have saved those who sought protection with them.

The District Court of The Hague has now issued two rulings. In the case filed by the Mothers of Srebrenica Association, the court decided on July 10, 2008 that the UN and its representatives have absolute immunity from prosecution; therefore, the court was not competent to hear the civil action brought by the survivors against the UN. On September 10, 2008, in Hasan Nuhanovic’s case, the court accepted the argument of the Netherlands that it had transferred operational command and control of the Dutch peacekeepers to the UN and for this reason could not be held legally responsible for Dutchbat’s actions as a United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) unit. This ruling was made despite evidence provided by Hasan that the Netherlands

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24. *Srebrenica: A Cry from the Grave* was written, produced, and directed by Leslie Woodhead. PBS rebroadcast the documentary narrated by Bill Moyers in 2000. Information and resources on the documentary and Srebrenica are provided on its Web site: www.pbs.org/wnet/cryfromthegrave

25. Interview with Hasan Nuhanovic, Sarajevo, July 15, 2005 and e-mail correspondence on March 4, 2009. See also his account of the role of the Dutch peacekeepers in *Under the UN Flag: The International Community and the Srebrenica Genocide*. See www.undertheunflag.com

The Public Historian gave instructions to the Dutch peacekeepers without consulting the UN. Specifically, the Court concluded that “Dutchbat actions must be attributed exclusively to the United Nations.” The survivors are currently appealing the judgements of the District Court of The Hague before the Court of Appeal in The Hague and, if necessary, will take their cases before the European Court of Human Rights.

The “Missing” as a Human Rights Issue

With the exception of one photograph of a mass grave, the exhibit does not include any graphic images relating to the Srebrenica massacre. The horror of the executions of over 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys is expressed through pictorial representations of their absence—scrapbook photographs of the “missing,” the exhumation of a mass grave by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), the ICMP list of individuals whose identified remains were to be buried on July 11, and the images of hundreds of coffins containing only a small portion of these remains.

Since July 1995, survivors, journalists, government officials, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), ICTY investigators, the ICMP, and human rights activists have pursued the truth about the fate of thousands of Bosnian Muslim men and boys who vanished from Srebrenica without a trace—or so it seemed at first. Prior to the discovery of the first Srebrenica-related mass grave in Cerska in 1996, the very fact of the “missing” provided the strongest circumstantial evidence of mass executions. Writing in Endgame about the failure of the West to defend Srebrenica, David Rohde compared Western leaders and UN officials to “gardeners who never water a plant and declare dismay when it dies. . . . What they each, for their own reasons, did not do—not what they agreed to together in a secret backroom conspiracy—doomed Srebrenica and Zepa. There are no fingerprints—except for the 7,300 missing.” This quote accompanies a photograph [Figure 2] of the two walls in the office of the Women of Srebrenica in Tuzla, which are covered with


29. Rohde, Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe’s Worst Massacre Since World War II, 401–02. Writing at the time of the Srebrenica massacre for The Christian Science Monitor, Rohde was the first Western reporter to find evidence of a mass grave related to Sre-
scrapbook photographs of the “missing.” Here, on the lower right side, are Hasan Nuhanovic’s parents and younger brother, who was 22 years old in 1995. Hasan’s mother is the only woman whose photograph appears on this wall.

Although often perceived narrowly as only a scientific concern, the “missing” are fundamentally a human rights issue. First, the discovery of mass graves and the work of forensic anthropologists provide the basis for proving war crimes and crimes against humanity—deaths as a result of systematic execution rather than from combat.  

Secondly, the identification process, which is not part of the criminal investigation, involves the right of relatives to know the fate of the “missing” so that they may obtain closure, provide a proper burial, and have a place for mourning. The Bosnian Parliament passed a Law on Missing Persons in 2004, which is the first of its kind.

Jean-René Ruez was the chief ICTY investigator in Srebrenica. A senior French police official, he led a multinational team to find the remains of “missing” Bosnian Muslim men and boys and to obtain evidence of the Srebrenica massacre for ICTY prosecutions. A French film released in 2008 about Ruez’s work is entitled Resolution 819. This is the number of the April 1993 UN Security Council resolution that established Srebrenica as a “safe area.” For a discussion of Ruez’s work and the film, see Meg Bortin, “Taking Up a Shovel to Expose Genocide in Bosnia, New York Times, August 9, 2008.

The mass grave photograph [Figure 3] depicts a secondary grave in Potocari in the vicinity of the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery that we saw being exhumed by the ICMP. Established in 1996, the ICMP is the main organization responsible for identifying the “missing” throughout the former Yugoslavia. Bosnian Serb military forces not only denied, but also attempted by malicious design to conceal all evidence of the Srebrenica massacre. To avoid detection, the Bosnian Serbs often transferred remains from their original burial sites in or near Srebrenica to secondary mass graves. During this process, mainly carried out between August and November 1995, they deliberately damaged and dispersed remains with heavy operating equipment. In January 2005, the ICMP established the Lukavac Re-Association Center for the purpose of re-associating, to the extent possible, remains from Srebrenica-related secondary graves. Nothing is whole in this image—we see only scattered fragments of remains and personal possessions: a single boot (in the left section of the image), several unattached vertebrae, and various disconnected bones. Mass graves are forensic puzzles, and they are also crime scenes. For the purpose of collecting evidence to prosecute war crimes suspects, special note is taken of any bullet wounds, especially at close range and to the head, and whether or not the victims are blindfolded and/or if their hands are bound, as all of this provides evidence of deaths resulting from execution rather than combat. The secondary mass grave depicted here is actually unusual for its location in Potocari. The original mass grave was in Glogova, northeast of Srebrenica. Investigators have determined that at least
700 Bosnian Muslim men and boys were originally buried in the Glogova grave and that they were part of the column of 15,000 men and boys who attempted to escape through the woods to Tuzla. When captured by Bosnian Serb forces, they were transported to a warehouse situated near Kravica and were then executed both within and outside the warehouse. This warehouse is just one of several locations that Bosnian Serb forces identified in advance of July 11 as suitable sites for the detention of Bosnian Muslim men and boys. As Bosnian Serb intelligence officer Momir Nikolic admitted in his May 2003 ICTY guilty plea: “I discussed the operation to transport the women and children to Kladanj [just outside of Tuzla] and separate, detain, and kill the able-bodied in Potocari.”

In July 2005, some 3,500 body bags of remains awaited identification at the ICMP morgue in Tuzla. We show only a small number of these white body bags. The brown paper bags above the white ones contain personal possessions found in the mass graves, which have been washed, photographed, and catalogued in a Book of Belongings that may be consulted by survivors. Today, the identification process is led by DNA technology. The key scientific discovery was how to obtain DNA from bone, as this is all that is to be found now of human remains in the mass graves. DNA is extracted from bone samples in the DNA lab in the main ICMP office in Sarajevo. High-speed computers in Tuzla then compare the DNA profiles from the bone of the victims and the blood samples donated by survivors. Forensic scientists confirm a positive DNA match by examining the remains at the Tuzla morgue. The first such blind positive match was obtained in November 2001. From this date until July 2005, the ICMP has identified 1,938 remains. This compares with only 141 identifications prior to November 2001. The total number of identifications up to July 2005 was 2,079.

On July 11, 2005, the remains of 610 individuals identified by the ICMP were buried at the conclusion of the ten-year commemoration. This brings us to the issue of memorialization; specifically, how will the memory of July 1995 be conveyed in the present and to future generations?

32. These details are based on my observation of the ICMP exhumation of this mass secondary grave on July 12, 2005, an interview with Jon Sterenberg, the ICMP Head of Excavations and Exhumations, at the site of the grave on this day and our subsequent e-mail correspondence, and a visit to the ICMP Lukavac Re-association Center on July 7, 2005. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Physicians for Human Rights assumed an important role in the identification process. However, they relied on the traditional methods of identification that prevailed until the ICMP pioneered the new DNA-led technology for the identification of the “missing.” For more information about the ICMP, see its Web site: www.ic-mp.org

33. See www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Momir Nikolic.

34. Interview with Jon Sterenberg on July 12, 2005 and our subsequent e-mail correspondence, visits to the ICMP Podrinje Identification Project (PIP) morgue and the Identification Coordination Division (ICD) office in Tuzla in July 2003 and 2005, and information provided by Doune Porter, then ICMP Head of Communications, at the ICMP office in Sarajevo, who also arranged for our July 2005 visits to ICMP facilities in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Lukavac.
The Memorialization of Srebrenica

Persevering against the opposition of Bosnian Serb Republic authorities, and shortly before the fifth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in July 2000, the first significant commemoration, the survivors succeeded in attaining permission to establish a memorial and cemetery in the field directly opposite the former headquarters of the Dutch peacekeepers. The site of the deportations on July 12, 1995, this location was considered the most appropriate based on the results of a poll of some 12,000 survivors carried out by the Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa Enclaves. In March 2003, the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia-Herzegovina ruled that the Bosnian Serb Republic had violated the human rights of Srebrenica survivors by denying them information about the fate of their “missing” relatives and ordered the government to provide funding for the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery, which was inaugurated on September 30, 2003.

The ten-year commemoration actually began on the morning of July 9 when thousands of people lined Marshal Tita Boulevard in Sarajevo to watch the passage of four trucks from Sarajevo containing the 610 coffins to be buried on July 11. Survivors awaited the trucks, which arrived in Potocari at 4:00 p.m. Bosnian Muslim men and boys formed a human chain to unload the coffins from the trucks.

We see the sad but determined faces of the Bosnian Muslim men and boys as they reach out with their hands to unload the coffins from the trucks [Figure 4]. Amor Masovic, then head of the Federal Commission on Missing Persons (Muslim-Croat Federation), is the first man on the right. In the next image in this sequence [Figure 5], the coffins are being carried into the ware-

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36. The applications made by Srebrenica survivors to the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the importance of the Chamber’s ruling in providing justice for the survivors, were discussed by Antonia De Meo, former Deputy Registrar for the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia-Herzegovina, in her presentation, “Looking out for the Survivors Too,” which she gave on February 12, 2008 for a program, “The Campaign for Truth and Justice.” This was one of a series of educational events that I organized to accompany the exhibit at Boston College in January and February 2008.

37. The Missing Persons Institute (MPI) was officially inaugurated in Sarajevo on August 30, 2005 to coincide with the International Day of the “Disappeared,” which is annually commemorated by Amnesty International on this day. The MPI merged the Federal Commission on Missing Persons and the Republika Srpska Office for Tracing Detained and Missing Persons (Bosnian Serb Republic) into a single, state-level entity. The MPI acquired this status when the Council of Ministers of Bosnia signed an agreement on this day with the ICMP, its original founder. The MPI will search for the still thousands of “missing” in Bosnia without reference to their ethnic identity, national origin, or religion. See the ICMP Web site: www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina I first learned about the “International Day of the Disappeared” during an interview with Kathryne Bomberger, Director-General of the ICMP, on July 24, 2003 at the ICMP office in Sarajevo. This commemoration inspired me to collaborate with Paula Allen to organize an exhibit of her photographs on the “disappeared” of Chile in New York City in 2004.
Figure 4. Bosnian Muslim Men Unloading Coffins (Photograph courtesy of Paula Allen)

Figure 5. Bosnian Muslim Men and Boys Carrying Coffins into the former Headquarters of the Dutch Peacekeepers (Photograph courtesy of Paula Allen)
house to be placed in rows. The boy in the center, were he this same age in 1995, most likely would not be alive today. For the ten-year commemoration was also about the male survivors—those who were not killed only because they were under the age of twelve at the time, and therefore not considered to be of military age, and those who were the intended victims but succeeded in eluding capture and execution.

The next two images represent the individual mourning of women survivors. The first [Figure 6], which we chose for our publicity image, is of a woman touching one of the coffins stored in a building that once served as the headquarters of the Dutch peacekeepers. In her anonymity, she represents all the women survivors and in her solitude (surrounded by coffins), she also becomes a witness to the magnitude of the death commemorated on July 11. These coffins are not made of wood, but of a green cloth gauze through which you may see the plastic bags of remains—all that could be recovered from the mass graves. The second photograph is of a woman walking away from this same building, presumably after viewing the coffin of a relative. As with the survivor in the first image, we cannot, and need not, see this woman’s face to imagine all her grief. The burial that she will attend on the next day will not only bring closure, but also the loss of all hope.

Heavy rains prevented the coffins from being placed along their grave sites as in previous burials. They were instead laid out in rows, in numerical order, in the open field portion of the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery on the night of July 10, during which women held an evening prayer in the open mosque.

Figure 6. Srebrenica Survivor Among the Coffins to be Buried on July 11, 2005 (Photograph courtesy of Paula Allen)
On July 11, survivors read the list of individuals whose remains were to be buried that was displayed in a glass case outside the cemetery. Following the speeches by officials from the U.S. and Europe, men and boys prayed before all the coffins. This image is juxtaposed with General Ratko Mladic’s triumphant proclamation to the Serbian television crew, which he brought with him to Srebrenica: “Here we are, on July 11, in Serbian Srebrenica, just before a great Serb holy day. We give this town to the Serb nation. Remember the uprising against the Turks. The time has come to take revenge against the Muslims.”

At the conclusion of this prayer, a speaker began to read aloud the names and ages of the 610 individuals to be buried. The men and boys again formed a human chain, this time to carry the coffins to their gravesites. It is here—in the actual burial scenes—that we record the open and collective expressions of irrevocable loss. In a single image [Figure 7], we see all the main elements of the burial: the chaos of hundreds of coffins being carried overhead, a woman fainting, and, most significantly, the multigenerational character of this day, which included the presence of very young children. This

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38. Mladic’s proclamation is featured in the 1999 BBC documentary, *Srebrenica: A Cry from the Grave*. In the scene portrayed here, Mladic is referring to the rebellion carried out by Serbs in 1804 against the local administrators of the Ottoman Empire, which was suppressed by Ottoman forces, and to an Eastern Orthodox religious holiday on July 12. Mladic was indicted with Radovan Karadzic on July 24, 1995. This indictment was amended on November 14, 1995 to include the charge of genocide for the Srebrenica massacre. The current (amended) October 10, 2002 indictment charges Mladic with genocide, complicity in genocide, crimes against humanity, and violations of the laws or customs of war. See www.icty.org, Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladic.
image is accompanied by a quote by Mark Danner, who wrote extensively about the war in Bosnia for the *New York Review of Books*, and observed:

As the world is contained in a grain of sand, so the war in Bosnia is contained—in the barbarity and the disinclination of the “civilized world” to stop it—in the massacre at Srebrenica. . . . The critical correction to the map of Bosnia represented by the fall of Srebrenica, and the bloody way it came about, would in the end lead the West to take the steps necessary to arrive, four months later, at the flawed peace of Dayton. Under these accords, the guns would finally go silent; and the UN “safe area” of Srebrenica would be left in the hands of the Serbs. As for the Muslims, only their bodies remained.39

The very last text panel features a statement by Theodor Meron, ICTY President (2003–2005), on the significance of the April 19, 2004 conviction on appeal of Bosnian Serb General Radislav Krstic on the charge of aiding and abetting genocide in Srebrenica. On June 23, 2004, at the Srebrenica-Potocari Memorial and Cemetery, Meron spoke these words, which were part of the Appeals Chamber’s decision:

Among the grievous crimes this Tribunal has the duty to punish, the crime of genocide is singled out for special condemnation and opprobrium. The crime is horrific in its scope; its perpetrators identify entire human groups for extinction. Those who devise and implement genocide seek to deprive humanity of the manifold richness its nationalities, races, ethnicities and religions provide. This is a crime against all of humankind, its harm being felt not only by the group targeted for destruction, but by all of humanity.40

The complete story of the coffins, how the remains they contain were first discovered and identified and then buried, runs parallel to that of the survivors themselves. For the “missing” are at the very center of a continually unfolding story of memory, denial, and revelation. As a result of the successful efforts of the ICMP in overcoming various challenges to the identification of remains, hundreds of new coffins are, and will continue to be, buried each year. Some day, the thousands and thousands of graves, new and old, will fill virtually all of what was once an empty field opposite the headquarters of the Dutch peacekeepers. These graves of the victims and now silent witnesses of genocide will and must forever haunt us, as they are the most visible and enduring expression of the consequences of the capture and betrayal of Srebrenica.

The experiences of the survivors cannot be our own, we will never fully comprehend the depth of their loss and suffering, and we cannot bring their “missing” relatives back to life. With our exhibit, however, we answer the ap-

39. Mark Danner, January 2000, “What Went Wrong,” essay on the documentary, *Srebrenica: A Cry from the Grave*. For the full text of Danner’s essay, see the link to the documentary on www.pbs.org/wnet/cryfromthegrave See also his Web site: www.markdanner.com, which includes this essay.

peal of the survivors never to forget what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995. This is our contribution to the project of remembrance—the affirmation of the memory and experiences of the survivors, which is the starting point of all justice.

Lisa DiCaprio is Associate Director of Curriculum and Clinical Associate Professor of Social Sciences, McGhee Division, New York University. Professor DiCaprio is the author of The Origins of the Welfare State: Women, Work, and the French Revolution (University of Illinois Press, 2007) and co-editor with Merry E. Wiesner of Lives and Voices: Sources in European Women’s History (Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

An American Historical Association (AHA) Coordinating Council for Women in History (CCWH) 2002 Catherine Prelinger Award provided the funding for an initial research trip to Bosnia and Serbia in July 2003. Professor DiCaprio returned to Bosnia in July 2005 with New York City human rights photographer Paula Allen to document the ten-year commemoration. She previously collaborated with Paula Allen on an exhibit of her photographs on the “disappeared” of Chile, which was shown at New York University in September/October 2004 and at Columbia University in February/March 2005. For their exhibit project on Srebrenica, Professor DiCaprio and Paula Allen received a 2005 Puffin Foundation photography award.