



# The Bosnian War and the Srebrenica Genocide





# Timeline of Key Events



**1180**

Bosnia becomes an independent state for the first time.

**1389**

The Battle of Kosovo.



**1914**

Assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo.



**1980**

Death of Tito.

**1984**

Sarajevo hosts the Winter Olympics.

**1100 – 1800**

**1900**

**1980**



**1804**

The start of the First Serbian Uprising.

**1815**

The Congress of Vienna redraws the European map. The doctrine of political nationalism and the idea of a nation state become increasingly important.

**1878**

After the Congress of Berlin, Austria-Hungary is given Bosnia-Herzegovina as a protectorate.

**Mehmedbeg Kapetanovic Ljubusak wrote (in 1891)**



**We shall never deny that we belong to the South Slav family, but we shall remain Bosniaks like our forebears and nothing else.**



**1941**

Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia



**1945**

Tito leads Yugoslavia under communist rule.



**1987**

Milošević pledge to Serbs in Kosovo.

**1989**

Milošević becomes President of Serbia. Fall of the Berlin Wall.



**1990**

Slovenians walk out of the national party congress.

**1991**

Croatia and Slovenia declare their independence. Fighting breaks out.

**1993**

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) established.

**1994**

Markale Market Place bombing in Sarajevo.



**2001**

Arrest of Slobodan Milošević.

**2008**

Radovan Karadžić is arrested.

**1990**

**2000**



**1992**

Bosnia holds a referendum and declares independence. Start of the Siege of Sarajevo.

May 31st, non-Serbs are told to identify themselves by wearing white armbands in Prijedor.

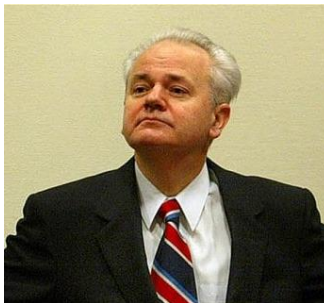


**1995**

Srebrenica genocide. NATO bombing around Sarajevo. Dayton Peace Accords end the fighting.

**1996**

Siege of Sarajevo formally ends.



**2006**

Milošević dies just before his trial concludes.



**2011**

Ratko Mladić arrested.

**2016**

Karadžić found guilty of war crimes and genocide.

**2017**

Mladić found guilty of war crimes and genocide.

# Map



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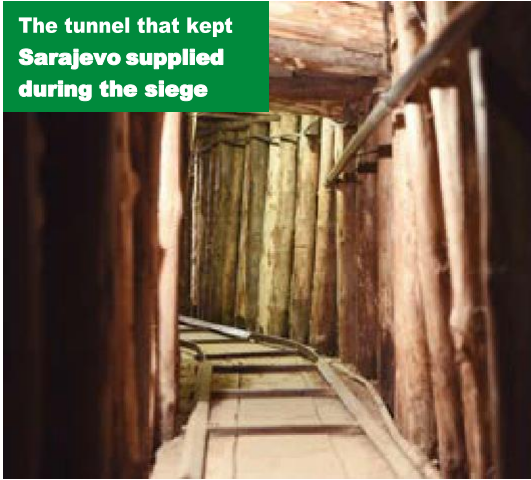
## In the 19th century

Education efforts were made to replace religious terms for different groups (like 'Catholic' or 'Orthodox' with national names like Croat and Serb).

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**The tunnel that kept  
Sarajevo supplied  
during the siege**



**Genocide survivor  
Hasan Hasanović at  
the Memorial Centre**



**A 'rose of Sarajevo'  
marking where a  
mortar shell landed**



**US President  
Bill Clinton  
at Srebrenica**



**The cemetery  
at Potočari**



# The Political Geography of the Former Yugoslavia

## The federation of republics that became Yugoslavia (meaning 'South Slavs') after the First World War consisted of six components:

- Bosnia Herzegovina
- Croatia
- Macedonia
- Montenegro
- Serbia
- Slovenia

After the Second World War there were also two autonomous regions – Kosovo and Vojvodina.<sup>1</sup>

Going back to the fourteenth century, this region had been subjected to the rivalry and expansion of three major empires: The Ottoman Empire (ruled from Istanbul); The Habsburg Empire (ruled from Vienna); and Russia, whose Tsar was known as 'the protector of the Slavs'. This was a multi-ethnic kingdom with different customs, traditions and languages, but very little independence prior to the twentieth century.

Religious differences proved to be very significant. There were three predominant branches of faith:

- Catholics (mainly in western Yugoslavia)
- Muslims (mainly in central Yugoslavia)
- Orthodox Christians (mainly in eastern and southern Yugoslavia)

There was also a prominent Jewish community before the tragedy of the Holocaust.

The various national and social identities that existed in Yugoslavia did not fit neatly into the borders of the different parts of

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.geographicguide.com/europe-maps/images/yugoslavia.jpg>

the country. For example, Serbs could be found in Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Only Slovenia had a relatively homogenous population.

Two events stand out as being significant as they were widely used in propaganda during the 1990s. The first was the 1389 Battle of Kosovo (also known as the Field of Blackbirds). The Muslim Ottoman Empire defeated the Serbian Prince Lazar, who died on the battlefield. As a result, Serbia became part of the Ottoman Empire. It also explains why, to this day, Kosovo has such a strong emotional significance for the Serbs.

The second event, though much later, was related to this. The First Serbian Uprising (from 1804 to 1813) was led by George Petrović. It was a response to massacres committed by the Ottoman military leaders, the Dahis. Petrović was better known as Karadjordje ('Black George') and fought to free the Serbs from Ottoman rule. He enjoyed significant military success up to 1813, but was murdered in 1815 by a rival Serb nationalist.



Mosque in central Sarajevo and surroundings



# Yugoslavia: from birth to World War Two

## The desire for the southern Slavs to be independent played a part in the outbreak of the First World War.

In Sarajevo, the visiting heir to the Austrian throne Archduke Franz Ferdinand was shot dead in 1914. The assassin, Gavrillo Princip, opposed Austro-Hungarian rule and wanted independence. This event was about regional politics, but the ripple effect was profound. Austria blamed neighbouring Serbia, so the Serb government sought Russian support. All the other great powers were dragged into a cataclysmic conflict that lasted four years.

The war led to the collapse of all three historic empires that had traditionally ruled this region. This allowed a new kingdom ruled by the Serbian royal family, the Karadjordjevids to emerge from the Paris Peace Treaties. The capital city was Belgrade, and in 1929 it was renamed Yugoslavia.

However, this state had little success and was easily defeated by the Nazis when they invaded in 1941. Much like France in World War 2, a pro-Nazi government was installed in Zagreb (the capital of Croatia) under the Ustaše, which also ruled over Bosnia. The Ustaše was an extreme right-wing group that before the war wanted an independent Croatian state which would include Bosnia. They despised Jews, Romany gypsies and Serbs. They persecuted all three of these groups and collaborated with the Nazis in the Holocaust.

**The war led to the collapse of all three historic empires that had traditionally ruled this region.**



Gavrillo Princip being arrested

The Nazis were opposed by two key groups:

- The Chetniks – Serbian nationalists led by Draza Mihailovic, who supported the monarchy
- The Partisans – communists led by Josip Broz, a half-Croat, half-Slovene revolutionary

This was effectively a civil war with all three groups attacking one another. From 1941-45, 1.7 million Yugoslavs were killed. Of these, 1 million died at the hands of their fellow countrymen.<sup>2</sup> While Serbs and Jews were the largest casualties of the war, Bosnian Muslims civilians were also targeted systematically by the Chetniks, in Eastern Bosnia particularly. Ultimately it was Broz's group who led Yugoslavia at the end of WW2 and were recognised by the Allies as the new government.

# Yugoslavia under Tito

**Josip Broz is better known as Tito.<sup>3</sup> His regime is now remembered fondly by many Bosnians because it seems like a golden age in comparison to what happened in the 1990s.**

Unlike most Eastern European countries, Yugoslavia was not controlled by the USSR so it kept up good relations and trade with the West. Tito also took a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement with Nehru (India), Nasser (Egypt), Sukarno (Indonesia) and Castro (Cuba).

However, it should be remembered that this was still a communist dictatorship. Up to 250,000 of Tito's opponents were executed after World War 2 by the secret police (the OZNa), this included thousands of Chetniks, and their leader Draza Mihailovic.

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/partisan\\_fighters\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/partisan_fighters_01.shtml)

<sup>3</sup> Like most revolutionary communists of his age, this was one of many pseudonyms used to help conceal their identity from the authorities.

<sup>4</sup> Sadly, the map issued to tourists for that event is now a common site in the city, but with the military positions of the Siege of Sarajevo superimposed on it.

Tito's economic planning was haphazard and caused a lot of regional inequality. His solution to the divisions in Yugoslav society was to emphasise 'brotherhood and unity', the popular slogan of the era. National and religious identities were suppressed. To limit the power of Serbia he granted autonomy to Kosovo and Vojvodina (previously the northern and southern parts of Serbia). These factors contributed to tensions which became more prominent after his death in 1980.

There was a brief moment of glory when Sarajevo hosted the 1984 Winter Olympics.<sup>4</sup> Yet in the late 1980s Yugoslavia was swept up in the collapse of European communism. The man who benefited from this process was the deputy communist party leader Slobodan Milošević. Even before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Milošević had positioned himself as the figurehead of a resurgent Serbian nationalism.





# The Causes of the War in Yugoslavia

## **The issue that allowed Milošević to seize the initiative was Kosovo.**

The majority of the population were Albanians, so minority Serbs living in Kosovo claimed that they had been discriminated against. When Milošević went to visit in 1987 he infamously told a crowd of Serbs that “no one should dare to beat you again”. In 1989, he became President of Serbia and ended Kosovo’s autonomy – a year that also marked the commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. Prince Lazar’s bones were taken on a tour of Serbia where many nationalists made a pilgrimage to pay tribute to him. Extreme nationalism was rapidly increasing.

Milošević’s first aim was to dominate the new post-communist Yugoslavia. However, the Slovenians and the Croatians were wary of Serb dominance. In 1990, the Slovenians famously walked out of a party congress and declared their independence the following year. There was a brief period of fighting but Milošević had little interest in trying to hold Slovenia in Yugoslavia. This was because it had very few Serbs in its population. Their secession would also make it easier for Serbia to dominate the remaining member states in the federation.

However, Croatia and Bosnia followed the Slovenian example. In 1991, Croatia declared independence. Milošević refused to accept this. Both Croatia and Bosnia had large Serbian populations (hence the terms

**Milošević’s new aim was to dominate the new post-communist Yugoslavia.**



Croatian Serbs and Bosnian Serbs). His new goal was to fight to establish a greater Serbian state by including Serb-dominated areas of these two republics. Crucially, this was to be a contiguous state which meant taking over territory that would link the pockets of Serb populations together. His propaganda told Croatian Serbs that they were threatened by ‘Ustaše hordes’. He also told Bosnian Serbs that they were threatened by Islamic fundamentalists.

# The Development of the War in Bosnia

**When war broke out over Slovenian and Croatian independence, most Bosnians were confident that the same would not happen to them.**

Bosnia is the most heterogeneous republic whose pre-war population was 44% Muslim, 31% Serbian and 17% Croatian. The prevailing opinion held that any civil war in Bosnia would not take place as the consequences would be catastrophic. Sadly, this proved to be both true and false, all at the same time.

The nationalist leader in Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, argued that Bosnian Muslims were “incontrovertibly of Croatian origin”.

However, in 1991 the governments of both Bosnia and Croatia had more to fear from Milošević and Serb militants. In Croatia this was already being felt in Knin, where Croatian Serbs had established a break-away state of Krajina. Therefore at the outbreak of war Bosnia and Croatia stood as allies against Serbia.

The Bosnian Muslims were led by Alija Izetbegović, head of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA). He had written about Islamic government in the 1960s and was imprisoned under Tito. He was therefore accused in Serb propaganda of wanting a religious government in Bosnia. However, he had actually argued that such a thing was not possible unless there was an entirely Muslim population, so this wasn't his vision for Bosnia. His main aim in the war was to maintain Bosnia's borders and central government, as an independent state.

In December 1990, Izetbegović's party won the largest share at the general election, taking 86 seats out of 240. The second largest party with 72 seats was the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) led by the Sarajevo-based psychiatrist Dr Radovan Karadžić. The Croatian party (HDZ) won 44 seats. This showed that voting had mainly been on ethnic lines. Following the events in Knin, the SDS declared areas with majority Bosnian Serb populations to be 'Serb Autonomous Regions' in the early summer of 1991.

It was also clear that arms were being supplied to Karadžić from Serbia. In June 1991, Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence from Yugoslavia. A crucial factor here was that the Yugoslav army was controlled by Belgrade. Thanks to the arms proliferation of the Cold War, it had a huge stockpile of weapons. This gave the Serbs a



Karadžić and Mladić





significant advantage throughout the conflict as the international arms embargo that was imposed on all sides hurt their enemies far more than it did them.

In the autumn of 1991, the Serb controlled areas of Bosnia asked for help from the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). Karadžić took his deputies out of the Bosnian parliament and set up the 'Serb National Assembly' in Banja Luka. Localized fighting was underway. In early 1992, the major Western nations recognised Croatian and Slovenian independence. The UN helped to set up a peace deal in Croatia that put the Serb regions in Croatia under their protection. This stopped the fighting in Croatia, but it meant that Bosnia was now in an isolated position.

A referendum was held in March 1992 which asked this question:

"Are you in favour of a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, a state of equal citizens and nations of Muslims, Serbs, Croats and others who live in it?"

**“ The Serb military operation was led by General Ratko Mladić, and politically they were led by Radovan Karadžić.**

This was boycotted by Bosnian Serbs, but the two-thirds of the country who did vote were overwhelmingly in favour. As a consequence, Bosnian Serb forces took up sniper positions around Sarajevo. In the background, Tudjman, Milošević and Karadžić held secret talks about their aims. Some believe that they agreed to divide Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia, while other believe it was merely suggested. By the time the EU recognised Bosnia's independence on April 6th, 1992, the Bosnian Serb attack on Sarajevo was already underway.

For much of the war the Bosnian Serbs controlled about two thirds of the country. Their forces were a combination of paramilitary units, such as the infamous Arkan's Tigers, and the Yugoslav National Army in Bosnia. The international arms embargo forbade any country to sell weapons to any of the factions in the former Yugoslavia, but this really benefitted the Serbs, and to a lesser extent the Croats, as they already had heavy arms and equipment like warships, tanks and planes. The Bosnian Army had very little and could only smuggle small arms into Sarajevo. The Serb military operation was led by General Ratko Mladić, and politically they were led by Radovan Karadžić. Although he officially denied being involved, Slobodan Milošević provided significant support to the Bosnian Serbs.

# The Siege of Sarajevo

**The siege of Sarajevo was the longest in the history of modern warfare - longer even than the Nazi siege of Leningrad.**

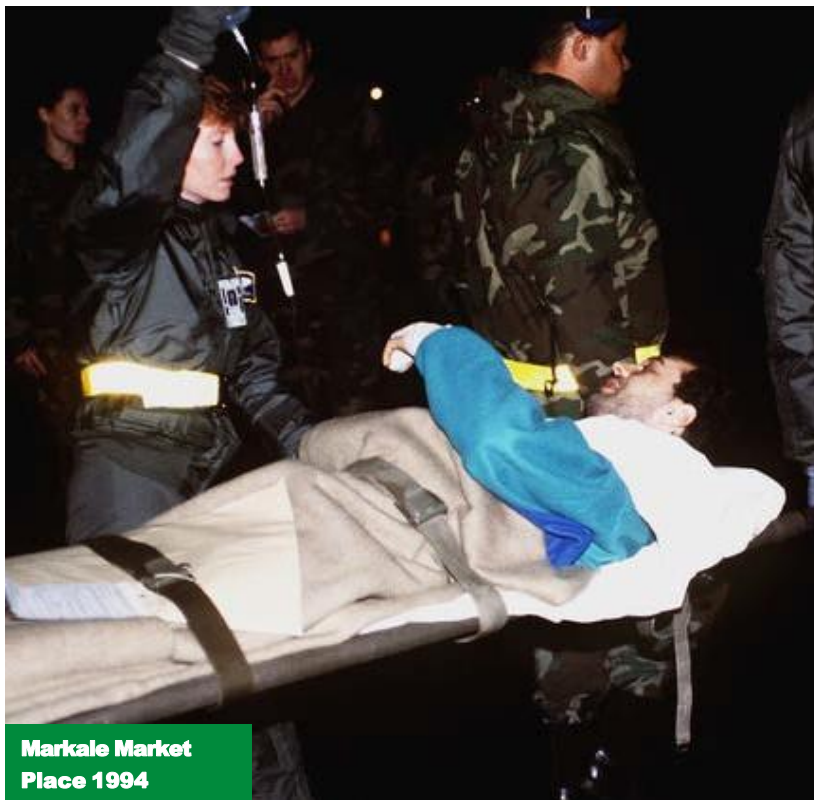
The city sits in a valley surrounded by hills making it an easy target for shelling and snipers. The only advantage the defenders had was superior numbers, but in every other respect they were deficient.

The UN remained officially neutral but sent a Protection Force (UNPROFOR). They took control of the airport in the north-east of the city to provide aid but otherwise there was a total encirclement. The Bosnian Government Army managed to keep up their supplies of weapons by building a tunnel under the main runway through which they brought in supplies from friendly territory beyond. One of the veterans of the siege, Rešad Trbonja, likens this to feeding an elephant through a straw.

The city's population of around half a million suffered enormously as a result of the Bosnian Serb blockade. UN aid packages were vital, but there was little electricity and no running water. Civilians dodged bullets in streets styled 'sniper alley' in order to collect water from any source that was running. Even funerals were attacked with mortar fire, so these had to be held at night. Tragically, the stadia built for the Winter Olympics now became mass graveyards.

One of the single greatest tragedies during the siege was the shelling of the

**“ The city's population of around half a million suffered enormously as a result of the Bosnian Serb blockade.**



Markale market place on 5th of February 1994, when 68 civilians were killed. This did at least provide a turning point in the war as it prompted greater intervention from NATO, and there was less violence for the rest of that year. However, events escalated in 1995 following the events at Srebrenica. Another shelling of Markale market place in August led to heavy NATO bombing of Serb positions around the city. This brought the war to an end, but the siege was not officially over until February 1996.

In 2012, Sarajevans commemorated the outbreak of the fighting by laying out 11,541 red chairs in the city centre – one for each of the victims of the siege. A permanent memorial can be seen on the streets with the infamous 'roses of Sarajevo', marking spots where shells landed and claimed lives.<sup>5</sup>



# Muslims against Croats: The War within a War

**From January 1993 until February 1994, Muslims and Croats in Bosnia were at war with one another.**

They were initially allies against the Serbs, but this was a fragile alliance with clashes already evident in late 1992. Hard-line Croatian nationalists wanted to divide Bosnia up between Serbia and Croatia. Their forces inside Bosnia were backed by the Croatian Army. Full scale fighting erupted in Gornji Vakuf but the focal point of this stage of the war was the historic city of Mostar.

Mostar is divided by the Neretva River. The western side of the city was controlled by the Croatian forces (the HVO) and the Eastern side by the Bosnian Muslim forces (the ARBiH).

<sup>5</sup> <https://laraciabellini.wordpress.com/2012/04/07/sarajevo-red-line-commemoration-of-the-20th-anniversary-of-the-war/>

Fighting broke out in June 1993 and didn't end until the Washington Agreement of March 1994 ended the war between Croatia and Bosnia. During this period that great symbol of Mostar, the 500-year old Stari Most bridge, was destroyed after persistent tank fire by the HVO. It seemed to symbolise the senseless destruction of the wider conflict.



**Mostar, destruction of the bridge**

# White Armbands and Concentration Camps

**On May 31st, 1992, the non-Serb population of Prijedor in north-west Bosnia were ordered by the authorities to wear white armbands to identify themselves.**

They also had to mark their homes with a white flag. In a period of the war that bears striking resemblance to the Holocaust, the minority population were separated and taken to concentration camps.

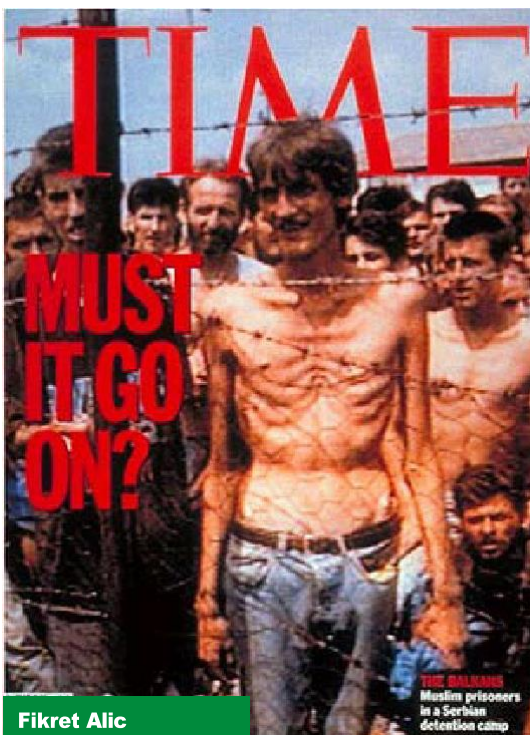
Two of the most notorious camps from the conflict were at Omarska and Trnopolje. The horrific picture of Fikret Alic in Trnopolje is one of the starkest images of the war, as it revealed to the outside world the existence of the camps. Omarska held around 6,000 Bosnians and Croats with rape and torture being commonplace. The exact death toll is not known.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2017/05/bosnia-1992-omarska-camp-170508061724966.html>

Karadžić permitted Guardian journalist Ed Vulliamy and ITN correspondent Penny Marshall limited access to the camp under strict supervision. They were shown some men eating soup. Vulliamy later wrote that: "I didn't know then that we were looking at the best of the best. We were looking at the handpicked men in the best condition. But the best condition in Omarska is terrible."<sup>6</sup>

As a result of their reporting the camp was closed down on August 6th 1992, and international efforts to track war crimes began in earnest.

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# The Srebrenica Genocide

**Eastern Bosnia shares a border with Serbia and so the aim of Bosnian Serbs was to annex this area and link it with Serbia.**

This meant that Muslims living in the area were directly under threat from the start of the war. The UN had established six safe areas in Tuzla, Srebrenica, Zepa, Sarajevo, Bihac and Gorazde, and deployed troops under UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force). There were two important consequences of this decision. Firstly, Muslims living in the surrounding areas moved to the safe havens for protection, which created a massive stream of refugees. Secondly, a condition of the areas becoming safe havens was that their defending forces had to hand over their weapons. If UNPROFOR left, there would be no possibility of defending themselves.

Srebrenica was under limited UN protection from 1993. The UN mandate was to provide humanitarian aid only, and Bosnian Serb forces usually took one third of the provisions for themselves out of every aid convoy to the safe areas. In March 1995, Karadžić gave orders to his forces to “create an unbearable situation of total insecurity with no hope of further survival or life for the inhabitants of Srebrenica.”<sup>8</sup> In preparation for an advance, a cordon was created around Srebrenica which reduced supplies into the area. The UNPROFOR troops stationed there were from Holland (‘Dutchbat’), and when men left on a rotation their replacements were forbidden entry. A force of around 500 men therefore dwindled to around 200. In late June the order was given to begin an operation codenamed



**Nedžad Avdić, one of the very few people to survive the execution squads at Srebrenica. He now campaigns for justice for the families of victims. His father and uncle were murdered at Srebrenica**

Krivaja 95, which would clear the area of all Bosniaks: ‘ethnic cleansing’ was the chief aim of the Bosnian Serb forces.

The offensive actually began on July 6th. Dutch soldiers at observation posts were overrun and threatened with execution if NATO bombed the area. On July 11th Ratko Mladić entered Srebrenica and spoke these infamous words directly into a camera:

"We present this city to the Serbian people as a gift. Finally, after the rebellion of the Dahis, the time has come to take revenge on the Turks in this region."<sup>9</sup>

That evening around 10,000 men tried to escape on what has become known as a ‘death march’. They fled into the hills and forests surrounding Srebrenica, and were pursued by Bosnian Serb soldiers. Some gave themselves up after being promised

that no harm would come to them; others were tricked into surrendering by Serb soldiers wearing UN uniforms taken from their hostages.

On the 12th and 13th of July, children, women and the elderly were separated from men of fighting age and sent west to Bosniak territory by buses. The men were rounded up in buildings like schools that were quickly turned into holding facilities. Men were led out in groups, had their hands tied, and were taken in buses and lorries to execution sites. There they were shot at close range by firing squads. Their bodies were dumped in mass graves. The official death toll is difficult to ascertain, but the memorial cemetery at Potocari (where the UNPROFOR troops were based in a disused factory) lists 8,372 victims. It was a clear act of genocide.

The Dutchbat soldiers failed to protect the civilians under their care. Indeed, the graffiti left at their base shows a shocking lack of respect for the local population.<sup>10</sup> In 1999, the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan admitted that “Through error, misjudgment

<sup>7</sup> <http://militarycaveats.com/18-caveats-endanger-caveats-kill-national-caveats-in-un-operations-in-angola-rwanda-bosnia-herzegovina/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Srebrenica-massacre>

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1997/07/06/reviving-historical-hatred/180a0ac7-2c62-490c-8dfa-f9049fbf8e9c/?utm\\_term=.1bb825c7967b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1997/07/06/reviving-historical-hatred/180a0ac7-2c62-490c-8dfa-f9049fbf8e9c/?utm_term=.1bb825c7967b)

<sup>10</sup> <http://somethingtodeclare.net/heartbreak-in-bosnia-2/>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/event/Srebrenica-massacre>

and an inability to recognize the scope of the evil confronting us, we failed to do our part to help save the people of Srebrenica from the [Bosnian] Serb campaign of mass murder.”<sup>11</sup> The Dutch government resigned en masse in 2002 when an official report condemned them for being politically responsible for what happened at Srebrenica. By way of apology, the Dutch then provided some of the funding for the memorial centre at Potocari.

To this day, Srebrenica is a part of the Republika Srpska. The women who lost their male relatives have formed an organisation called ‘The Mothers of Srebrenica’ and they still face discrimination from those who deny that an act of genocide took place. This is in part because the Bosnian Serb forces tried to destroy the evidence after their actions. Over the winter of 1995 and 1996 they revisited a number of the graves before ICTY investigators arrived. They exhumed the bodies using mechanical diggers, which mutilated the corpses. They reburied the body parts in separate multiple sites near areas of combat to hide their crimes. They hoped that this would make it impossible to reconstruct the victims. The job of discovering and identifying the remains by DNA profiling is painstaking, and is being done by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). At the end of 2012, they had 3,279 sets of remains that were as yet unidentified, but to date they have managed to identify over 6,000 victims from Srebrenica.<sup>12</sup>

The cemetery at Potocari was opened by President Clinton in 2003. Each year on July 11th, newly identified remains are buried in an act of commemoration.<sup>13</sup>





# Peace Initiatives and the Dayton Accord

**It is important to note the failure of the international community to prevent the war.**

This had much to do with the popularity of the 'ancient rivalries' thesis, backed in particular by John Major's British government, which failed to recognise the war as a state-sponsored land grab.<sup>14</sup> This viewpoint had a significant impact on peace initiatives throughout the course of the war.

There were two main attempts to reach a peace before 1995. In 1992, the Lisbon Agreement envisaged devolving power within Bosnia to local regions, which would be denominated as either Croat, Muslim or Serbian. The Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP) of 1993 followed a similar line of breaking Bosnia up into ten local authorities, or cantons. However, both of these initiatives failed, largely because the war was moving so quickly and territory changing hands that any provisional maps based on power-sharing were quickly made obsolete.

When peace finally came in 1995 it was at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base at Dayton, Ohio. Negotiations were led by the US chief negotiator Richard Holbrooke. Following events at Srebrenica, which the Americans had satellite footage of, NATO airstrikes were launched on positions around Sarajevo. By September 1995, an agreement was made with Karadžić and Mladić to relieve the siege. This allowed Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegović to meet with international leaders on November 1st, and after three weeks an outline agreement was signed. This was then ratified in Paris in December.



<sup>12</sup> <https://www.icmp.int/news/analysis-of-unidentified-remains-in-bih-mortuaries/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.srebrenica.org.uk/lessons-from-srebrenica/srebrenica-potocari-memorial/>

<sup>14</sup> Simms, Brendan "Unfinest Hour: Britain and the Destruction of Bosnia" (2002)

All three states agreed to recognise one another's sovereignty, respect human rights, and solve their differences peacefully in accordance with the UN. An international force of 60,000 troops was deployed with one third of these being American.

The Dayton Agreement was only meant to be a temporary solution but it now serves as the basis of the Bosnian constitution. This has succeeded in preventing conflict from breaking out again, but has arguably failed to allow Bosnia to develop as an integrated and effective nation state. There are two 'entities', the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina, and the Republika Srpska. There is a 'tripartite presidency', with one member from each major ethnic group, and multiple government departments. It is arguably the most elaborate system of government in the world.<sup>15</sup> Minorities are not provided for and no one who does not affiliate themselves with one of the three 'constituent peoples' can hold a high political office.

# The ICTY

**It is a measure of the brutality of the war in the Former Yugoslavia that the UN took steps to establish an international criminal tribunal as early as 1993.**

This was the first time that such a tribunal had been appointed since the Nuremburg and Tokyo trials after World War 2. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has indicted 161 people, from various sides, for acts committed between 1991 and 2001<sup>15</sup> (this includes the conflict in Kosovo that followed the end of the Bosnian War). Of these, eighty were found guilty and sentenced.

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/oct/08/bosnia-herzegovina-elections-the-worlds-most-complicated-system-of-government>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.icty.org/en/cases/key-figures-cases>

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.rferl.org/a/lasting-ethnic-divisions-in-bosnia/27363192.html>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/17/srebrenica-elects-mladen-grujicic-mayor-serb-denies-massacre-genocide>

The arrest and trial of Slobodan Milošević showed the problems the ICTY faced. He was charged in relation to the Kosovo War in 1999, but the ICTY had no powers to arrest him. It wasn't until he lost his hold on Serbia in 2000 that things changed. In 2001 the new Serb government agreed to transfer him to the tribunal at the Hague in exchange for substantial US aid. He then defended himself, and denied all charges. This led to proceedings that were at times farcical, and due to his health complications it took over four years to hear around fourteen months of evidence. As the trial finally came close to completion in 2006, Milošević died on March 11th before a verdict could be reached.

However, the prosecutions against Karadžić and Mladić were successful. On 21st July 2008 after twelve years on the run, Radovan Karadžić was arrested in Belgrade and taken to the court in The Hague. He had been living and working under an assumed identity as a mystic healer. Following his trial in March 2016 he was convicted of genocide and sentenced to forty years imprisonment.

On 26th May 2011, Ratko Mladić, the most senior indicted war criminal left in hiding, was finally arrested after sixteen years on the run. The commander of the Bosnian Serb Army was found by Serbian authorities in a village in northern Serbia where he had been living under an assumed name. On 22nd November 2017, the ICTY found him guilty of ten out of eleven charges

**As the trial finally came close to completion in 2006, Milošević died on March 11th before a verdict could be reached.**



Karadzic



and sentenced him to life imprisonment after convicting him of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Srebrenica, during Bosnia's war. The court also found that: "Persecution, extermination, murder and the inhuman act of forcible transfer were committed in or around Srebrenica under orders from Mladić" in 1995. The Mladić trial was the last ICTY case to be prosecuted in The Hague.

It is important to note that Mladić and Karadžić were found guilty of genocide only for Srebrenica. The families and survivors of many thousands of victims in other parts of Bosnia, including those in the camps who suffered loss, feel that they have been denied justice. It is also worth considering what the map of Bosnia looked like after the war. Given that the pre-war Bosnian Serb population totalled 31%, the territorial gains show that the Republika Srpska consists of almost half of the overall territory of Bosnia Herzegovina.<sup>17</sup> The areas in eastern Bosnia where the worst atrocities took place remain dominated by Bosnian Serbs. In 2016, Srebrenica elected Mladen Grujic as mayor – a man who denies that there was any act of genocide.<sup>18</sup>

**Persecution, extermination, murder and the inhuman act of forcible transfer were committed in or around Srebrenica under Mladić.**



# Maps







**Bosnia's last prewar census was held in 1991, while it was still part of Yugoslavia. The results of the 2013 census have still not been released.**

# The Work of Beyond Srebrenica (Scotland)

Our charity was founded in 2015 by the Very Rev Dr Lorna Hood OBE. It is a registered charity and challenges prejudice and intolerance in society by sharing the stories of the victims of survivors of the genocide in Srebrenica. Each year it commemorates White Armband Day with public events across Scotland, and it sends delegations to Bosnia consisting of people who are active in a wide range of fields in Scottish public life. It leads on education in schools, colleges and youth organisations, and in 2021 it held an exhibition at the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow. If you would like to know more about the work of Beyond Srebrenica please visit the website and follow us on our social media channels.



**First Minister Nicola Sturgeon signing the book of remembrance at the cemetery at Potočari in 2016**



**The women's delegation to Bosnia**



**Genocide survivors Nedžad Avdić and Bakira Hasečić at the Scottish parliament on White Armband Day**



**Trustees Robert McNeil and David Hamilton at our exhibition at the Kelvingrove Museum**



**The women's delegation to Bosnia with Rešad Trbonja**



# Resources

## Books

Martin Bell, In Harm's Way  
Christopher Bennett, Bosnia's Paralysed Peace  
Julian Borger, Butcher's Trail  
Slavenka Drakulic, They Would Never Hurt A Fly:  
War Criminals in Trial in the Hague  
Zlata Filipovic, Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Sarajevo  
Misha Glenny, The Balkans  
Hasan Hasanović, Surviving Srebrenica  
Noel Malcolm, Bosnia: A Short History  
David Rohde, Endgame: the Betrayal and  
Fall of Srebrenica  
Joe Sacco, Safe Area Gorazde  
Åsne Seierstad, With Their Backs to the World  
Ed Vulliamy, The War is Dead, Long Live the  
War: Bosnia – the Reckoning

## Documentaries and Films (many are available on YouTube)

Bone Hunter (Al Jazeera)  
Bosnia 1992: The Omarska Camp (Al Jazeera)  
Once Upon a Time in Sarajevo (Al Jazeera)  
Quo Vadis Aida? (2020)  
Sarajevo: City Under Siege (BBC)  
Sarajevo My Love (Al Jazeera)  
Scream for me Sarajevo (Tarik Hodzic)  
Srebrenica – A Cry from the Grave (BBC)  
The Café – Bosnia's Future (Al Jazeera)  
The Death of Yugoslavia (BBC) The Fall of Milošević  
The Rageh Omaar report - The Secret Life of Radovan  
Karadžić (Al Jazeera) (three episodes) (BBC)  
War In Mostar (BBC)



**BEYOND SREBRENICA**  
LESSONS FROM THE BOSNIAN GENOCIDE

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