



# briefs

## Center Launches Campaign to Arrest Karadzic and Mladic

**TIME FOR JUSTICE**  
Campaign to Arrest  
Radovan Karadzic  
& Ratko Mladic



Ten years is ten years too long for the architects of genocide in Bosnia to still be at large. To coincide with the tenth anniversaries of Srebrenica and the Dayton Accord, CBD has organized an international initiative, "Time for Justice: Campaign to Arrest Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic." Co-sponsored with Physicians for Human Rights, The Advocacy Project, the Coalition for International Justice, the Congress of North American Bosniaks, and the Helsinki Committee in Belgrade, the campaign advocates for the arrests of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic by the anniversary of the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords in Paris on December 14, 2005. By the time this newsletter is printed and distributed, we will know if this deadline has been achieved.

The international campaign was launched in May 2005. Through a web-based petition, the campaign has gathered

nearly 10,000 signatures from around the world. The petition has been sent to High Representative Paddy Ashdown; Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, NATO Secretary General; Carla Del Ponte, UN Chief War Crimes Prosecutor; President George W. Bush; and Nicholas Burns, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs. CBD has received responses from NATO, OHR, and the ICTY, but to date has not received a formal response from the White House.

The campaign has asked that the Bush Administration:

- Declare that the arrest of Mladic and Karadzic is a top priority;
- Allocate specific U.S. intelligence capabilities and military resources to locate and arrest Karadzic and Mladic;
- Share relevant intelligence with NATO allies and other interested parties to facilitate locating Karadzic and Mladic;

- Coordinate efforts with NATO and other European counterparts in locating and arresting Karadzic and Mladic;
- Use sustained diplomatic and economic pressure on Serbia and on the Bosnian Serb Republic in Bosnia to insure their full cooperation with international efforts to

arrest Karadzic and Mladic.

"The continued impunity of these two men will only encourage violence against civilians in current and future conflicts, such as the ongoing genocide in Darfur," said Leonard S. Rubenstein, executive director of Physicians for

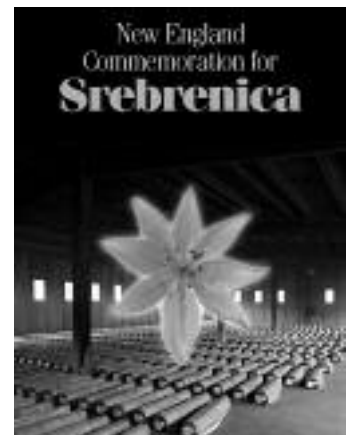
*Continued on page 9*

## Tenth Anniversary of Srebrenica Massacre Brings Tributes, Solidarity

On the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre hundreds of thousands of people around the world, including world leaders, gathered to remember, mourn and stand in solidarity with survivors and their families. Srebrenica itself hosted the largest commemoration with 50,000 people from Bosnia, Europe, the U.S. and elsewhere in attendance. As part of the ceremony, 610 newly identified remains of massacre victims were buried with honor, bringing the total of buried victims to 2,000.

### **CBD lists international commemoration events**

As the 10th anniversary of the massacre approached, commemoration events were planned throughout the world. Recognizing the need for one central source of information for the growing number of events, the Center for Balkan Development devoted



a section of its website ([www.balkandevlopment.org](http://www.balkandevlopment.org)) to listing the scheduled events. By July 11, 2005, the day of the anniversary, the website included dozens of memorials in Bosnia, England, France, Holland, Australia, Serbia, New York, Cambridge, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, and Seattle. (St. Louis has more survivors from Srebrenica than any other city in the US.)

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## Letter from Executive Director

Dear Friends:

### Dayton Ten Years On

This month marks the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords. At the time, the peace agreement was welcomed to stop a horrible war in which hundreds of thousands of civilians had been killed and millions made homeless. But the peace agreement also created a Bosnian constitution that was written in haste and was negotiated and signed by Slobodan Milosevic for the Bosnian Serbs. (Karadzic and Mladic had already been indicted and therefore could not be part of the negotiations). It is ironic that in 1999, four years after the Accords were signed, Milosevic himself was indicted by the ICTY for genocide in both Bosnia and Kosovo and is now on trial for these crimes.

Commemorations of the Accords may be in order, but awards, celebrations or congratulations certainly are not. Stopping the war was no doubt the first priority, but to do so the international community was willing to recognize both the illegal entity of Republika Srpska and the territory they gained through a campaign of aggression and genocide. These gains were also enshrined in the new constitution. In exchange, the world attained a peace that had to be maintained by a heavily armed NATO-led international peacekeeping force – a force that is still in place ten years later (now under EU authority).

Dayton had other problems, including creating a top heavy ineffectual system of government with a tripartite presidency, two entity parliaments, a state parliament, and cantonal and municipal authorities. This costly bureaucracy would be enough to sink even a wealthy nation. For Bosnia, it has sucked up all available money

and human resources, leaving little for actual services for its war-weary population.

There is hope and progress on the horizon. CBD welcomes efforts to reform the constitution by such groups as the Dayton Peace Accords Project, which was instrumental in laying the groundwork for an historic agreement reached in Washington the week before Thanksgiving. Hosted by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice — three members of the Bosnian presidency began the long overdue process of creating a strong central government, and police and military reform. According to Bruce Hitchner, Dayton Project Chairman, “The 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended the war, also redefined the three year old Bosnian state along ethnic lines. Dayton was never envisioned as a long term instrument, but as an interim minimalist solution until stability could be reestablished... Dayton devolved rapidly from an interim solution to a virtually fossilized end-state instrument for governing the country.”

Dayton will remain unfinished as long as Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic remain at large (see page 1 for accompanying article). The constitution created at Dayton gave the peacekeeping forces broad authority to arrest them, but did not require the arrests. Following Dayton, when both Karadzic and Mladic were visible on a daily basis, IFOR troops were reluctant to engage in a confrontation with the personal body guards of both men, and hence did nothing. While SFOR, and now EUFOR have shown greater interest in the arrests, Karadzic and Mladic are now in hiding and protected by heavily armed paramilitary troops. CBD has

always called on the international community to take a stand and force the arrests. If the arrests do not happen by the end of this year, international justice will have been dealt a severe blow by this negligence.

### CBD Director of Bosnia Projects Establishes Independent Organization

Since 1999, our economic and social development projects in Bosnia have been implemented by Christopher Bragdon, Director of Bosnia Projects for CBD. Working in post-war Tuzla in northeastern Bosnia, Chris initiated a range of humanitarian and development projects, the most ambitious being a World Bank-funded project called “The New Initiative” which helped community organizations become self-reliant through income generating activities. (See FOBriefs, December 2003, on our website.)

Effective January 1, 2006, CBD’s Bosnia projects that were under the direction of Chris will become part of BILD (Bosnian Initiative for Local Development), a new and independent non-governmental organization registered at the state level of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a Bosnian Board of Directors. Chris will transition from CBD’s Director of Bosnia Projects to BILD’s Executive Director.

For CBD, BILD will become one of our partner NGOs that carry on the core mission of our work — reconstruction in the post-war former Yugoslavia. This model of working with implementing partners such as Connecticut Friends of Bosnia and the Kosovo Cultural Heritage Project, has proven very successful. We look forward to working with BILD under this new relationship.

To learn more about current

## CBDbriefs

### The Center for Balkan Development



Formerly  
Friends of Bosnia

2 Clock Tower Place, Suite 510  
Maynard, MA 01754  
T | 978.461.0909  
F | 978.461.2552  
info@balkandevlopment.org  
www.balkandevlopment.org

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and past projects of our Bosnia projects and now BILD, read this and former CBD newsletters at [www.balkandevlopment.org](http://www.balkandevlopment.org), visit the BILD website at [www.bild-bih.org](http://www.bild-bih.org), or contact Chris directly at [cfbchris@yahoo.com](mailto:cfbchris@yahoo.com)

# Update on CBD Bosnia Projects



**School supplies for elementary school in Visegrad. Christopher Bragdon helping a student adjust the strap on his new backpack for carrying books to school.**

*Note: On January 1, 2006, our Bosnia projects under the direction of Chris Bragdon will be subsumed under an independent Bosnian NGO called BILD. See adjacent letter for details on this transition.*

**By Christopher Bragdon  
Director of Bosnia Projects**

**A**s 2005 comes to an end, I would like to highlight our goodwill projects in eastern Bosnia. In this article you will learn of concrete examples from 2005 of private donors making a significant difference in the lives of Bosnians who continue the step-by-step process of resurrecting their war-torn communities.

Our goodwill projects are designed to match the interests of private donors with the corresponding needs in Bosnia. For example, if a donor has an interest in information technology, their donation can pay for a computer. If the interest is in music, they can provide a violin. We honor donor intent, leverage the most of every donation, and do our best to generate goodwill and mutual respect from each project we implement.

Given that donors have a wide range of interests and

given that we work with an extensive network of local community organizations in eastern Bosnia, our goodwill projects are quite diverse.

We work with organizations that serve university students, people with special needs, women, people with trauma, youth, orphans, kindergartens, people with drug addictions, hearing impaired people, Boy Scouts, traditional and modern dancers, returnee families, elementary school children, families of war veterans, and people of faith (Orthodox, Muslim, Catholic). With each of the aforementioned groups, we have specific organizations with which we have worked extensively. We know the leaders and members personally. When we encounter a new donor with an interest that is outside of our current network, we then build a new relationship with a new organization through a careful vetting process which includes implementing joint projects to get to know each other. Through this process, which started in 1996, we have developed an extensive network of quality relationships that are now avenues for effective giving.

Whenever a donor ex-

presses an interest in contributing, we ask what they are most interested in and then get to work. Here are some examples from 2005:

Rita and Kate from New Jersey made a donation of \$1000, and said they would like to help women in Bosnia. We asked the women's organization "Prijateljice," one of our implementing partners, what they needed most. They suggested chickens for returnee families in the village of Divic in the municipality of Zvornik where Prijateljice has a women's community center. In October 2005, seven families in Divic each received 100 chicks and chicken food. With the profits from their first batch of chickens, each family will help other families by donating to them chickens and chicken food. In time, Rita's and Kate's initial donation will help a significant number of the village's 145 families.



**Members from seven community organizations and representatives of Tuzla Municipality celebrate the arrival of Fenik's brand new diesel van**

Peter from New York City pledged \$1,500. He said he was interested in bringing computer technology to young people. Combining his pledge with a donation of computers from Cornell University, we delivered 15 Pentium III computers to student organizations at Tuzla University and a public school in Gracanica.

Even small donations can be used for large benefit. For example, two \$100 donations from Antonia and Tim were leveraged by volunteers do-

ing a lot of bargain shopping in the U.S. during September discount sales. As a result, in October 2005, we were able to deliver school supplies in backpacks to all the students of a Visegrad elementary school.

Sometimes, we are lucky



**US peacekeepers from Task Force Orion delivering boxes of clothing for women and children in Zvornik.**

enough to receive large donations from private donors. We started 2005 with a celebration at our favorite local restaurant in Tuzla, Konoba MM. The cause for the celebration was a \$20,000 donation from Terry and Susan that paid for a brand new diesel van for Feniks, our implementing partner organization that helps people suffering from trauma.

In addition to developing their own programs, Feniks provides the van with a driver to assist our programs and the programs of our implementing partners. For example, Feniks will provide the van for taking Emina, our assistant program coordinator, and four children from an impoverished fatherless family in Nova Kasaba to Zvornik for clothes shopping; the clothes being paid for by a chaplain from the US military and his sister back home in America. They are donating \$150 each month to help these needy children.

\$9000 from friends and family of the Minnesota

*Continued on next page.*

# Connecticut Friends of Bosnia Builds Homes for Srebrenica Survivors



**Fourteen year old Ahmo Habibovic, enthusiastically lends a hand on construction of new house for his six family members, driven from Srebrenica and re-united after their father was released from five months of torture in a concentration camp.**

*For the past two years, Connecticut Friends of Bosnia (CFOB), lead by Carol Schaefer from Greenwich, Conn., has partnered with CBD to help implement their projects in Bosnia. Most of their work involves rebuilding homes for families who were driven from their communities in the waves of ethnic cleansing that swept the country. They have an intrepid staff in Sarajevo that coordinates and supervises the home rebuilding, while Carol makes frequent visits to the region to identify families most in need.*

**By Carol Schaefer**

**D**uring this past year Connecticut Friends of Bosnia (CFOB) has focused much of its funding and efforts toward providing homes for refugees from Srebrenica. Srebrenica is still under the influence of nationalist Serbs and despite world attention on the tenth anniversary of the July 11<sup>th</sup> massacre, there is ongoing hostility and strong opposition to their return. In addition, the memories of the slaughter of 8,000 innocent men and boys still haunt them.

A number of refugee families from Srebrenica have resettled in Ilijas, a small village north of Sarajevo. A group of CFOB members visited that

village in the summer of 2005 and found the most appalling living conditions they had encountered anywhere in their many years of working in Bosnia. Several families with small children were living in cow sheds without water and plumbing. There were large holes in walls which allowed the wind to come through. The only toilets available were primitive outhouses. In the winter, the children and elderly often had to walk through deep snow to use the toilets.

Because of generous donor support, CFOB has been able to help the neediest families, sixteen in all, with construction of new homes. During our fall visit, more than half of the homes had been complet-



**Nedzada Omerovic, mother of four and wife of a Srebrenica concentration camp survivor, in front of this shack which houses her elderly mother-in-law and older daughter –with no running water, bathroom or kitchen.**

The incredible fortitude and amazing sense of optimism of these families — despite their seemingly endless hardships — is truly striking. They manage to cling to the hope that the future will be better for them.

We share that dream and

are hoping to be able to construct more new homes with running water, indoor plumbing and heat for the many others who are still waiting.

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## **Bosnia Projects**

*Continued from page 3.*

National Guard paid for all of the furniture, the computers, and everything inside the grade 1 through 4 Nova Kasaba elementary school.

Our plans for 2006 include a number of goodwill visits. In early summer 2006, Dr. Ronald and Kathleen Cobb from Kansas will visit Tuzla for 10 days. They will make a \$2000 donation for a drug rehab center and Dr. Cobb will lead seminars on drug addiction counseling. In the spring of 2006, a group of Rotarians from Ithaca, New York will visit Gracanica. We will also be delivering a violin from the Ithaca Rotary Club to the Gracanica Rotary Club.

Of course, as you read this description of our goodwill projects, we do hope that you are inspired to make a contribution. If you include your e-mail, I or Emina will send you pictures of how your donation helped people here in Bosnia.

Thank you for taking the time to read this account of our work. Please know that if you would like to visit us here in Tuzla and see for yourself how your donation could make a difference, you are always welcome. You can reach me at [cfbchris@yahoo.com](mailto:cfbchris@yahoo.com).

# Bosnian NGO gives children a “Better Tomorrow”



These Bosnian children are among the youth looking forward to the contributions of “Better Tomorrow”.

“Better Tomorrow,” featured in this article, has become a new partner in our economic and social development work in Bosnia.

We hope you will be as inspired as we are by their commitment to improving the lives of children in Bosnia.

With the help of a new permanent location and through the dedication of its volunteer staff, “Better Tomorrow,” an organization that provides psychosocial help and informal education to children and youth from age 5 through 18, has had a highly successful year.

Better Tomorrow was established in September 2002 to continue the psychosocial and educational project which started in 1996 in the region of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Binasa Kavazovic, the organization’s director, is assisted by five volunteers, four of whom are former beneficiaries of the centers. The organization involves children and youth in various educational, sport, handcraft and expressive activities, as well as in informal education through play. The group’s goal is to help children and youth become productive members of their

local communities and learn about the rights and responsibilities they have towards each other and their community. Better Tomorrow serves approximately 500 children and youth, regardless of their gender, religion and ethnicity, and the membership count is constantly increasing.

Better Tomorrow had been facing the problem of a lack of space to carry out its programs and activities. An agreement with the authorities of Tuzla was reached, which gave the organization permission to use building space that belongs to a local elementary school. The main office of the organization is now located in the local community of Solina and is adjacent to Solina’s elementary school. Better Tomorrow also has two mobile centers, one in the local community of Sicksi brod and the other one within the refugee center in the local community of Batva.

Better Tomorrow provides daily activities, workshops and all day excursions to its students in collaboration with and with the support of parents. Daily activities are designed to provide children and youth with a growing and sustainable development of

their motor, cognitive, and social abilities. Children and youth are shown respect and taught about children’s rights.

The activities that Better Tomorrow provides for its members and staff include:

- Computer workshops for youth and parents;
- English language classes;
- Age-appropriate workshops in arts and crafts for younger and older children;
- Drama performances by children and youth;
- Involving children and youth in building and maintaining a communal flower garden;
- Carpentry classes for youth;
- Discussions regarding preservation of local ecology (Eco-hours);
- Local group excursions and summer vacations for the children;
- Arts, crafts, and carpentry exhibitions at which children and youth get to present their own work;
- Monthly birthday celebrations for children and youth;
- Educational workshops, seminars, and mentorship for the staff.

The organization was also able to offer two one-day excursions and a summer vacation at the sea with children in 2004. The aim of these excursions was for children to learn about the beauty and landmarks of the country in which they live. The week-long summer vacation was for socially endangered children and children without parents.

## Support and collaboration to help children

Better Tomorrow has many friends in Bosnia and abroad. The organization collaborates with a number of institutions with similar mission and goals — supporting positive and

healthy development among children and youth growing up in post-war, conflict-torn regions. Among the group’s partners and supporters are:

- Local children- and youth-serving organizations within Bosnia;
- Elementary schools and colleges in the Tuzla canton, Bosnia;
- French organization “Refugee Children of the World” (“Enfants Refugies du Monde);
- SOROS organization;
- Institute for Applied Research in Youth Development at Tufts University.

## Future plans to serve more children, hold conference

With continued support, Better Tomorrow has plans to increase the number of students served, expand the current projects to the entire region of Tuzla canton and increase the number of local volunteers working in its centers. The organization also plans to open more mobile centers and offer workshops in communities in need of organized, developmentally appropriate activities for children and youth.

Another ambitious goal for the organization is to hold the first-ever conference on the role of, and need for, programs that serve children and youth in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. To accomplish this and other goals, the group will continue to forge collaborations with like-minded organizations in the region and abroad.

# Lessons Learned from the Balkan Conflicts

## Center celebrates tenth anniversary with two-day conference



Jakob Finci, Mirsada Colakovic, and Ambassador Mirza Kusljagic

**W**hat has been learned from military and diplomatic action or inaction in the Balkan wars and genocide and what can work to secure peace, security, and prosperity in the new Iraq and Afghanistan? Distinguished speakers including policy experts and five current and former U.S. Ambassadors addressed these questions at *Lessons Learned from the Balkan Conflicts*, a conference held by the Center for Balkan Development (CBD) in Boston October 16 & 17, 2004. The conference was attended by nearly 200 people from the US and Europe including policy makers, government officials, scholars, students, media, and human rights activists.

In collaboration with Boston College and the Tufts University-based Dayton Peace Accords Project, the two-day conference examined what the international community learned from the wars in the Balkans and looked forward to viable solutions for reconstruction, reconciliation, and lasting security—both from the perspective of the

former Yugoslavia and also as a laboratory for those doing similar work in other parts of the world, specifically Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq.

“The international community, with the support and cooperation of local efforts, has achieved remarkable success in creating a secure and prosperous future for millions of people in the former Yugoslavia,” said Glenn Ruga, CBD Executive Director. “But there have also been notable failures along the way that can serve as important lessons—both for the future of reconstruction in the Balkans and for other post-conflict and nation-building situations worldwide.”

**“Rehabilitating a country of four million people amid an atmosphere of deeply-rooted postwar mistrust is not something that can be accomplished at the drop of a hat – but it is something that can be done...”**

Donald Hays,  
Former Principal Deputy  
High Representative

Conference speakers explored the effects of the war, peacekeeping, economic and

physical reconstruction and reconciliation efforts in the former Yugoslavia nine years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords. The conference also discussed how the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 changed the focus of the international community from a decade of conflict in the Balkans to ongoing war, peacekeeping, reconstruction in Afghanistan and Iraq, and recognition that failed states and humanitarian disasters anywhere are a threat to security.

### Conference Highlights

In his opening remarks, Bruce Hitchner, Chairman of the Dayton Peace Accords Project, said: “It is time for the interna-



Judith Armata from the Coalition for International Justice and Natasa Kadic from the Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade.

tional community to create more effective mechanisms and institutions and commit the resources necessary to address the emergencies that have become the daily reality of the late 20th and early 21st century world. To do otherwise is to ensure that we will only have more Balkans and more Darfurs to deal with in the years ahead.”

The keynote address was delivered by Ambassador Donald Hays, former Principal Deputy High Representative, Office of the High Representative (OHR), Bosnia. “Rehabilitating a country of four million

people amid an atmosphere of deeply-rooted postwar mistrust is not something that can be accomplished at the drop of a hat – but it is something that *can* be done and it is something that will have direct positive dividends not only for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina but for their neighbors in Europe and for their partners across the Atlantic,” he said.

Other speakers included:

**Jakob Finci:** President, *La Benevolencija*, a Jewish cultural, educational and humanitarian relief group in Sarajevo; Chairman of the Association of Citizens “Truth and Reconciliation.”

**Natasa Kandic:** Director, Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrade, Serbia.

**Sasha Toperic:** World-renowned Bosnian pianist and Special Envoy for Culture of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United States

**Ambassador Clifford Bond,** Former US Ambassador to Bosnia, 2001-2004

**Ambassador Swanee Hunt,** Former US Ambassador to Austria, directs the Woman and Public Policy program at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard.

**Morton Abramowitz,** Former Ambassador to Turkey; Former Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research.

**Mirza Kusljagic,** former Bosnian Ambassador to the UN.

The conference included screenings of two films:

*Back to Bosnia*, by Sabina Vajraca. This film explores Vajraca’s family, who returns to post-war Bosnia in order to reclaim their stolen property. While there, the family is confronted with the destruction of



**Ambassador Donald Hays, former Principal Deputy High Representative, Office of the High Representative, and conference keynote speaker.**

their city and forced to examine the community they left behind. They seek out the remnants of a city they once called their own.

*Crucible of War: A Journey Back to the Balkans*, by Leon Gerskovic. In 1999, Gerskovic was watching TV news reports of thousands of refugees fleeing Kosovo and NATO planes bombing Serbia. Gerskovic knew firsthand what was transpiring, as the reports brought back his own memories of the war in his native Croatia only eight years earlier.

For additional information on the conference and speakers, see [www.balkandevopment.org/LessonsLearned](http://www.balkandevopment.org/LessonsLearned).

**Photography: Bradley Olson (Boston College).**

## Stari Most Awards honor outstanding service



**CBD Board Member Stephen Walker presents Stari Most Award to Ylber Hysa from Kosovo**

At a banquet held in conjunction with the conference, CBD presented the Stari Most Award to three people in recognition of their outstanding service toward achieving peace, reconciliation and economic development, and establishing long-term security in the former Yugoslavia. The awards were named after the famed Ottoman bridge of the same name in Mostar that was destroyed by Croatian nationalists in November 1993. It was finally restored at a ceremony in the summer of 2004.

Winners of the awards were:

**Ylber Hysa, Kosovo.** A political analyst, parliamentarian, columnist, editor, and human rights activist, Hysa has tirelessly advocated for a multi-ethnic, democratic, and independent Kosovo.

**Amir Pasic, Bosnia and Herzegovina.** Dr. Pasic, an engineer, architect and urban planner—is internationally recognized for his monumental efforts to reconstruct the historic center of Mostar before, during, and after the 1992–95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



**Ambassador Swanee Hunt, featured guest speaker at the Stari Most Awards, and panelist at conference.**

**Senator Joseph R. Biden, United States.** Senator Biden (D-Delaware) has earned national and international recognition for his strong support of U.S. involvement in Bosnia and Kosovo to ensure peace in the regions and advocate for multi-ethnic and democratic societies.



**World renown architect, planner, and Stari Most Award recipient, Amir Pasic**

CBD accepted nominations for the awards via a website. Nominations could be made for anyone in the world by anyone in the world. The final selections were made by a panel of judges (see list to right).

Delores Handy, News Anchor for WBUR Radio in Boston served as Master of Ceremonies. Sasha Toperich, President of the America-Bosnia Cultural Foundation performed on the piano. Ambassador Swanee Hunt, Founder and Chair of Women Waging Peace, was the featured guest speaker. Other speakers and award presenters included Glenn Ruga, CBD Director; Ria Kulenovic, CBD Volunteer Coordinator; and Stephen Walker, CBD Board Member and former Director of the American Committee to Save Bosnia.

Recognition for Outstanding Service was given to Christopher F. Bragdon, Director of Bosnia Projects. CBD also presented a video on the history and decade of work of the Center.

### Stari Most Award Judges

Ellen Elias-Bursac  
*Instructor of Slavic Languages  
Harvard University*

Westy Egmont  
*Director, International Institute of  
Boston*

Sheri Fink  
*Author of War Hospital, International  
Humanitarian Consultant, CBD  
Board Member*

Paula Green  
*Director, Karuna Center for  
Peacebuilding*

Bruce Hitchner  
*Chairman, Dayton Peace Accords  
Project, Tufts University*

Mary Ellen Keough  
*Treasurer, Center for Balkan  
Development*

Veton Kepuska  
*CBD Board Member*

Ria Kulenovic  
*Volunteer Coordinator  
Center for Balkan Development*

Glenn Ruga  
*Director, Center for Balkan  
Development*

Cynthia Simmons  
*Professor of Slavic Languages  
Boston College*

Susannah Sirkin  
*Deputy Director  
Physicians for Human Rights*

Stephen Walker  
*CBD Board Member  
Former Director, American  
Committee to Save Bosnia*

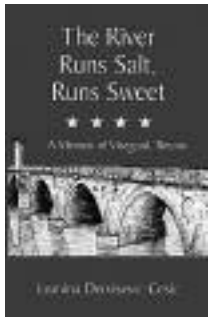


## Book Reviews

### **The River Runs Salt, Runs Sweet: A Memoir of Visegrad, Bosnia**

By Jasmina Dervisevic-Cesic

Review by: Susan O'Neill



This memoir of a Bosnian girl who comes of age during the disintegration of Yugoslavia is an important piece of literature in the tradition of *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl*, and *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*.

Through Jasmina's eyes, we see not only the loss and horror of war, we also feel the spirit of cooperation fostered by it. We watch children who grew up as friends turn away from each other to take sides based on hostilities perpetrated long before they were born. We view both the Serbs and the UN peacekeeping forces as obstacles in a very real human "video game." We see the frustration of those who must deal with unnecessary bureaucracy in order to secure necessary help and care. We witness wartime medical care at its most barbaric, and are given rare insight into the human ability to survive.

*The River Runs Salt, Runs Sweet* is an excellent depiction of an ordinary life blown apart by political and cultural violence. This is history at ground level, immediate and affecting. It is a clear-eyed look into the worst, and the best, of human nature. Teenagers will relate to it because of the youth of the narrator, but readers of all ages will gain a fresh, insider perspective into the surprisingly familiar culture and baffling political morass that was the dying Yugoslavia.

### **Aftermath: Bosnia's Long Road to Peace**

By Sara Terry with

afterword by Lawrence Weschler

Review from Publishers Weekly, October 2005



The horrors of the Bosnian war have been crowded out by new horrors in new places. But while the atten-

tion of the rest of the world has moved on, Bosnia's people have been left with the task of not only rebuilding a nation from scratch but also of coming to terms with the war's legacy—the identification of the dead and the search for justice.

Terry's camera documents this grim story's human aspect with rich detail. In lush, vividly colored images, Terry assembles a panorama of a society coming to terms with overwhelming trauma. The subjects range from the blurred face of a schoolgirl giggling on a bus, to a pair of melancholy wheelchair-bound basketball players who were crippled during the war, to the stomach-turning process of identifying the dead. One quietly devastating image shows a forensic anthropologist collapsed into a chair in 2000, exhausted from cleaning the corpse of someone who was "ethnically cleansed." Despite such dark images, what emerges most strongly from the collection is the sense that "life goes on no matter what, for better or for worse," as Lawrence Weschler notes in his afterword. By showing us this persistence, Terry's book reaffirms photography's crucial role as witness and spur to conscience.

### **This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace** By Swanee Hunt



*This Was Not Our War* shares first-person accounts of twenty-six Bosnian women who are reconstructing their society following years of devastating warfare. They are from all parts of Bosnia and represent the full

range of ethnic traditions and mixed heritages. Their ages spread across sixty years, and their wealth ranges from expensive jewels to a few chickens. For all their differences, they have this much in common: all survived the war with enough emotional strength to work toward rebuilding their country.

Reflecting on the causes of the war, they vehemently reject the idea that age-old ethnic hatred made the war inevitable. The women share their reactions to the Dayton Accords, the end of hostilities, and international relief efforts. While they are candid about the difficulties they face, they are

committed to rebuilding Bosnia based on ideals of truth, justice, and a common humanity encompassing those of all faiths and ethnicities.

Their courage and fortitude are inspirational. Their wisdom—along with the insights Hunt has garnered through her work with women leaders in conflicts around the world—is instructive for anyone who cares about stopping deadly conflict.

*"Replacing tyranny with justice, healing deep scars, exchanging hatred for hope—the women in This Was Not Our War teach us how."*

President William Jefferson Clinton

### **Pictures Without Borders: Bosnia Revisited** Photographs and Essays by Steve Horn



More than thirty years ago, Steve Horn traveled through Bosnia in a Volkswagen Van, which was both home-on-the-road as well

as a mobile darkroom. His images from that first trip capture the innocence of children in a landscape of peace, the conviviality of the culture and the rich architectural heritage of the Balkans. When he returned to Bosnia in 2003, it was to a country recovering from all the tragedy of war. This time, it was the spirit and the resilience of the people that compelled Horn's photographic attention, as well as the immense losses they had suffered. In some cases, he was able to find the same people he had captured on film as children thirty-three year earlier.

*"These extraordinary photographs tell the story of Bosnia's tragedy and slow recovery better than any written record. Steve Horn's own sensitive narrative – and his encounters with people he had photographed thirty years earlier – make this book unique in the growing literature on Bosnia."*

Richard Holbrooke

Order from your favorite bookstore or order a signed copy- please send check for \$ 33.00 shipping included (\$ 35.31 in Washington State) payable to Steve Horn at P.O. Box 460, Lopez WA. 98261 [www.picturewithoutborders.com](http://www.picturewithoutborders.com)



## Srebrenica Commemorations

Continued from page 1

### New England commemoration featured music, reflections of survivors

More than 300 people attended the New England Commemoration for Srebrenica, which was held on July 11 in the new American Repertory Theatre at Zero Arrow Street in Cambridge. The event included music, a commemoration, viewing of a documentary and a discussion with survivors of Srebrenica and the Bosnian War.

Renowned cellist Cynthia Forbes set the tone for the evening with a remarkable performance of the moving Sonata for Cello Solo, No. 1, which was composed by Sarajevo-born composer Vuk Kulenovic. Mr. Kulenovic, a Sarajevo native who organized one of the first public demonstrations in Belgrade against

the Milosevic regime and was then forced to flee his country, has composed several solo and chamber works for Ms. Forbes, including Byzantine Variations, Threnody and Concerto Grosso for Cello. Ms. Forbes, who studied cello under George Neikrug and Benjamin Zander, performs as a soloist with the New England String Ensemble and the Boston Virtuosi.

Keynote speaker Merzudin Ibric survived the Srebrenica Massacre as a young boy and, after resettling in the U.S. with his family, became a 2005 Massachusetts state high school indoor track champion. Merzudin was born in Vlasenica, in eastern Bosnia in 1986. His family fled to the relative safety of Srebrenica in 1992. During the July 1995 massacre, Merzudin's father, Jusic, fled into the forest with 15,000 other Muslims. Jusic was fortunate to survive and arrived

safely in Tuzla a week later. The family emigrated to the United States in 1998 to seek medical care for Merzudin's sister, who suffered injuries during the war. A 2005 graduate of Revere High School, Merzudin not only became a Massachusetts and New England track champion, he has also been awarded a full scholarship for a year of study at Phillips Andover Academy.

Other speakers included Jasmina Cestic, author of *River Runs Salt, Runs Sweet: A Memoir of Visegrad, Bosnia* (see review, page 8). Cestic was born in Visegrad and fled to Sarajevo in 1992 at the start of the Bosnian War. She was critically injured, and her husband killed, in a mortar attack at a bus stop in Sarajevo. She came to the United States in 1993 for medical treatment as one of the first war refugees. Now remarried, Ms. Cestic lives in Revere, Massachusetts

with her husband and daughter.

Susannah Sirkin, Deputy Director of Physicians for Human Rights, moderated the program. PHR has organized health and human rights investigations in many countries, including recent documentation of genocide and systematic rape in Darfur, Sudan. Glenn Ruga, Executive Director of the Center for Balkan Development, was also a program participant. The program also included the viewing of "Crime and Punishment," a documentary by Norwegian filmmaker Maria F. Warsinski. "Crime and Punishment" presents a searing visual indictment of Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, orchestrators of the destruction of Srebrenica.

### Medical School Exhibition Remembers Srebrenica



A photographic exhibition entitled "Srebrenica — Remembrance for the Future" was shown November 7 – 23 at the University of Massachusetts Medical School in Worcester. Produced by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the exhibit presented more than 30 photographs depicting the city of Srebrenica, life in a refugee camp, identification of victims, and portraits of survivors.

The exhibit was organized by the UMass Medical School chapter of Physicians for Human Rights with guidance from Mary Ellen Keough, CBD Board member.

### Arrest Campaign

Continued from page 1

Human Rights (PHR), the Nobel Peace Prize-winning organization which conducted exhumations at four Srebrenica mass graves in 1996.

At a presentation at the Kennedy School of Government on October 25, Carla Del Ponte, the UN's Chief War Crimes Prosecutor, assured the audience that the arrests will happen by the end of the year. When asked by CBD Executive Director Glenn Ruga what we can do to persuade Serbia to hand over Mladic, Del Ponte demurred by saying it was a non-issue since she was confident that the arrests will happen.

### Congressional Resolutions on Srebrenica Pass by Overwhelming Majorities

Prior to the July 11 anniversary of Srebrenica, both Houses of

Congress passed resolutions condemning the massacres at Srebrenica and emphatically describing them as genocide. Spearheaded by the Congress of North American Bosniaks and the Coalition for International Justice, the resolutions show Congressional support for the issue but are essentially toothless measures but CBD believes that success of the resolutions will help to influence policy makers within the Administration who are in a position to make the arrests a priority.

Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ), Co-Chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, and Rep. Ben Cardin (D-MD), Commission Ranking Member, praised Congress for passage of House Resolution 199.

"Srebrenica involved the bloodiest atrocities in Europe since the end of the Second World War and we cannot for-

get what happened," said Smith. "The fact that the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic backed this brutal act of ethnic cleansing should be a warning to the whole world that even at the end of a bloody century, evil men are still doing evil things and the free world must be on watch and prepared to act."

"When you look at the Genocide Convention, and when you hear what happened in Srebrenica ten years ago, you can only agree with the Appeals Chamber at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) that what happened was genocide," added Rep. Cardin.

The House Resolution passed 370 - YES votes, 1 - NO vote, and 62 - ABSENT

# Nicholas Burns, Undersecretary of State, presents Administration Kosovo Policy at Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing

## Hearing on Kosovo- A Way Forward?

November 9, 2005, remarks as prepared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

*This testimony has been edited for space. The full transcript is available online at: <http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2005/BurnsTestimony051108.pdf>*

### Introduction

**A**s the history of the last 15 years has demonstrated, the U.S. has an abiding interest in the Balkans. Thousands of our finest diplomats and soldiers have spent years trying to build a peaceful future there. America and Europe worked well together in the 1990s. We ended the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, and our troops have since kept the peace in both places. In 2004, NATO successfully concluded its historic peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. We have also worked intensively with all the countries of the former Yugoslavia to prepare them for eventual NATO and EU membership. Without stability in the Balkans, we will never see a united, peaceful Europe that can be a true partner for the U.S. in promoting democracy throughout the world. It is now time to finish the job.

**“The Balkans region will not be stable, however, as long as Kosovo remains in a state of political suspended animation.”**

The Balkans region will not be stable, however, as long as Kosovo remains in a state of political suspended animation.

2006 will be a crucial year of decision for Kosovo and the Balkans. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recommended beginning negotiations to determine Kosovo's future status, a recommendation the Security Council endorsed on October 24. Secretary-General Annan has announced his intention to nominate former Finnish President Marti Ahtisaari as

the UN Special Envoy to lead the process. He is, in our view, a superb choice: an experienced and resourceful diplomat who commands broad respect in the international community.

The Secretary-General's actions have begun the process that will lead to an internationally recognized future status for Kosovo. I hosted a meeting of the Contact Group with President Ahtisaari in Washington last week to kick off these efforts. We expect President Ahtisaari will begin his work as soon as the Security Council endorses his nomination this week. The U.S. will very soon name a senior American envoy to assist in the negotiations and be ready to bring U.S. credibility and influence to bear when and where it can help to promote a settlement.

We understand that diplomatically, this will be tough going. The parties to the talks, the Kosovar Albanians, Kosovar Serbs, and the government of Serbia-Montenegro, will see their vital interests at stake. We expect them to participate constructively and to restrain more extreme groups from using violence to gain political ends. Although we will be working for a peaceful settlement, NATO troops will have to be ready to defuse potentially violent situations.

### Elements of a Settlement

The United States will not support a specific outcome at this stage. It is important that we and our allies remain neutral, because the future of the province is the sole responsibility of the Albanian and Serb people of Kosovo and the Government of Serbia and Montenegro. But the final result should respect the basic facts of Kosovo. Today 90 percent of the people are ethnic Albanians who were treated cruelly, even viciously, by the gov-

ernment of Slobodan Milosevic. They deserve to live in security and peace. The Kosovo Serb population also needs to be assured that they have a future there and that their churches and patrimonial sites will be respected.

There is, however, potential for common ground. The aspirations of Serbs, Albanians and Kosovo's other ethnic groups are alike in that they all want a future in which they can live secure lives, participate in democratic government and enjoy economic opportunity. There is already agreement that Kosovo will be self-governing in some form, that it will also remain multi-ethnic and will protect the cultural heritage of all its inhabitants. The U.S. will continue to work to ensure these concepts are incorporated into Kosovo's future status, because to make a political determination without these principles would leave the door open to future conflict, and put at risk the war we fought to prevent ethnic cleansing, and the strenuous efforts our diplomats and soldiers have made to keep the peace.

As with any process of negotiation, neither side will get everything it wants. To reach a lasting result, both will sometimes be required to make compromises that may seem to violate important interests in the cause of peace.

The U.S. and its European allies have decided on several guiding principles that must shape the process of determining a future status for Kosovo and guide the work of the Special Envoy. We have made clear that a return to the situation before 1999 is unacceptable and that there should be no change in existing boundaries of Kosovo, and no partition. Other principles for a settlement include full respect of human rights, the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes, the protection of cultural and religious heritage and the promotion of effective means to fight organized crime and terrorism. The Contact Group agreed to exclude those who advocate violence and that, once begun, the status process must continue without interruption.

We will ensure that the result of the process meets three key criteria: First, it must promote stability not only in Kosovo, but throughout Southeast Europe. It must also provide full democratic rights

for all people, especially minorities. Finally, it must further the integration of the region with the Euro-Atlantic mainstream.

The U.S. must remain committed to continued involvement in Kosovo as a status agreement is negotiated, because we have too much invested in Kosovo and the Balkans to risk failure by withdrawing prematurely. Even after a determination of Kosovo's future status is made, we will remain committed to peace and stability there. As long as a NATO force is required, the U.S. plans to be part of it.

## **Our Message to Kosovo Albanians**

In October I met with the Kosovo Albanian Team of Unity, established by President Rugova to lead talks. The challenge for the Kosovo Albanian community is for this team to live up to its name. As late as last week, there were troubling signs that Kosovo Albanian leaders are anything but unified. In my two trips to the region since June, my strong and repeated advice to them has been to put aside their political and personal differences. If Kosovo Albanians aspire to independence, this is their greatest opportunity to make the case to the world that, should they become independent, they will be able to govern effectively and in a way that promotes stability in the region.

I made clear to them that independence must be earned. First, Kosovo must continue to develop a functional, democratic government that can safeguard the rule of law. Second, there must be generous provisions for the security of minorities, including decentralized authority. Finally, Kosovo must be able to assure its neighbors that it will not export instability. The UN standards define the goals Kosovo should achieve in preparing for self government. Kosovo's progress in implementing these standards will be the ultimate measure of how well it makes its case.

I also urged the Kosovo Albanian leaders to be ready to compromise. Finding the right balance between majority rule and minority rights is never easy, but it must be done. To the south, Kosovo's Macedonian neighbors have made important progress in addressing the concerns

of their Albanian minority — progress that could provide some useful examples as Kosovo deals with the similar concerns of Serbs and other minorities.

Kosovo leaders should act now to create a positive environment for the status talks and make a convincing case that there would be a secure future for minorities should Kosovo become independent. They should announce that decentralization of government will be pursued throughout Kosovo, and that ethnic interests will be given consideration in drawing municipal boundaries. NATO acted in 1999 to prevent the ethnic cleansing of more than one million Kosovo Albanians and it would be a tragic irony if Albanians themselves now tried to inflict a policy of retribution and intimidation against their Serb minority. The U.S. and its allies will simply not tolerate such an outcome. They should also apprehend and punish those responsible for hate crimes committed against minorities in March 2004. They should state publicly that the independence they seek is only for Kosovo, without any changes to its present boundaries. No country, including the U.S., is prepared to support an irredentist "Greater Albania" or an independent Kosovo that aspires to exceed its present borders.

If Kosovo leaders want to present themselves as worthy of independence, they must stop all acts of violence and intimidation against minorities. Those responsible for such acts must understand that they are actually undermining the goals which they profess to support.

**"Whatever the settlement of Kosovo's political status, it must remain multi-ethnic, and Serbs and Albanians need to work to create conditions under which they will be able to live together peacefully."**

I warned them that an attempt by either side to use violence as a political tactic during the negotiation will be put down swiftly and firmly by NATO. Whatever the settlement of Kosovo's political status, it must remain multi-ethnic, and Serbs and Albanians need to work to create conditions under which they will be able to live together peacefully.

## **Our Messages to the Serbs**

The Kosovo Serb community, and indeed the government of Serbia and Montenegro, must also assume a heavy share of responsibility for successful negotiations. When I met with Kosovar Serb leaders in October, I urged them to become more involved politically in Kosovo itself. Serbs have told me they would prefer local autonomy for themselves in Kosovo. If this is so, it is in their own interest to participate in the institutions of local government that will be responsible for a future Kosovo. By refusing to participate in elections and in the Kosovo Assembly, Kosovo Serbs are missing a chance to have a say in Kosovo's future.

Belgrade must also help Kosovo's Serbs ensure that they will have a place in whatever political structure emerges. I told Prime Minister Kostunica that his government's policy of having Serbs boycott elections and participation in the Kosovo Assembly has been a major miscalculation. The Serb community is losing political influence in Kosovo and there is now a net outflow of Serbs. As Kosovo will remain multi-ethnic, it will retain important connections with Serbia regardless of its political status. Many Kosovo Serbs will remain citizens of Serbia in any case and will need access to Serbian government services. Many important Serbian cultural sites, including some of the most historic Serbian Orthodox churches, are located in Kosovo.

**"Belgrade can best protect the interests of Serbs by encouraging them to participate in politics and begin to integrate themselves with their Kosovo Albanian neighbors."**

The Serb government will have to look for means to cooperate with a future Kosovo to preserve these cultural treasures. Belgrade will also want to engage in a discussion of security issues to ensure that settlement of Kosovo's status does not undermine the fragile stability of the region. Whatever Kosovo's future will be, Belgrade can best protect the interests of Serbs by encouraging them to participate in politics and begin to integrate themselves with their Kosovo Albanian neighbors.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak with you today.



## Hadum Mosque renovations complete in Gjakova, Kosovo

After a four year collaboration between CBD and the Cambridge-based Kosovo Cultural Heritage Project, and with funding from the Packard Humanities Institute, major renovations to the Hadum Mosque in Gjakova, Kosovo were completed this fall. The project management was carried out by the Swedish-based Cultural Heritage without Borders.

The mosque was heavily damaged during the 1999 war and the renovations included:

- Reconstructing the minaret;
- Secure the building for the next fifty years by changing the lead cover of the cupola and strengthen the portico columns;

- Restoring the entrance to the mosque including a reconstruction of the portico floor and the careful restoration of the entrance door and to add an entrance curtain

## Bosnia International Music Festival Premier Season

As we go to press, the Bosnia International Music Festival begins its premier season in Sarajevo, Nov. 24–Dec. 8. Organized by Zamira Maslesa, a native of Bosnia and now completing post-graduate studies in music at the University of Las Vegas, NV. According to Maslesa, “The festival helps restore artistic collaboration in Bosnia and at the same time building Sarajevo as a center of classical music in Europe and abroad.” The festival will provide outlets for students from Bosnia to network with other musicians from Europe and abroad through master classes.

The festival will mark the Bosnian premiere of a composition by Frederic Rzewski “United People Will Never Be Defeated,” which will be preformed by Ursula Oppens. Other renown performers include Maestro Mykola Suk, Fabio Bidini, and Adema Pljevljak. For more information, email [maslesaz@aol.com](mailto:maslesaz@aol.com).



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