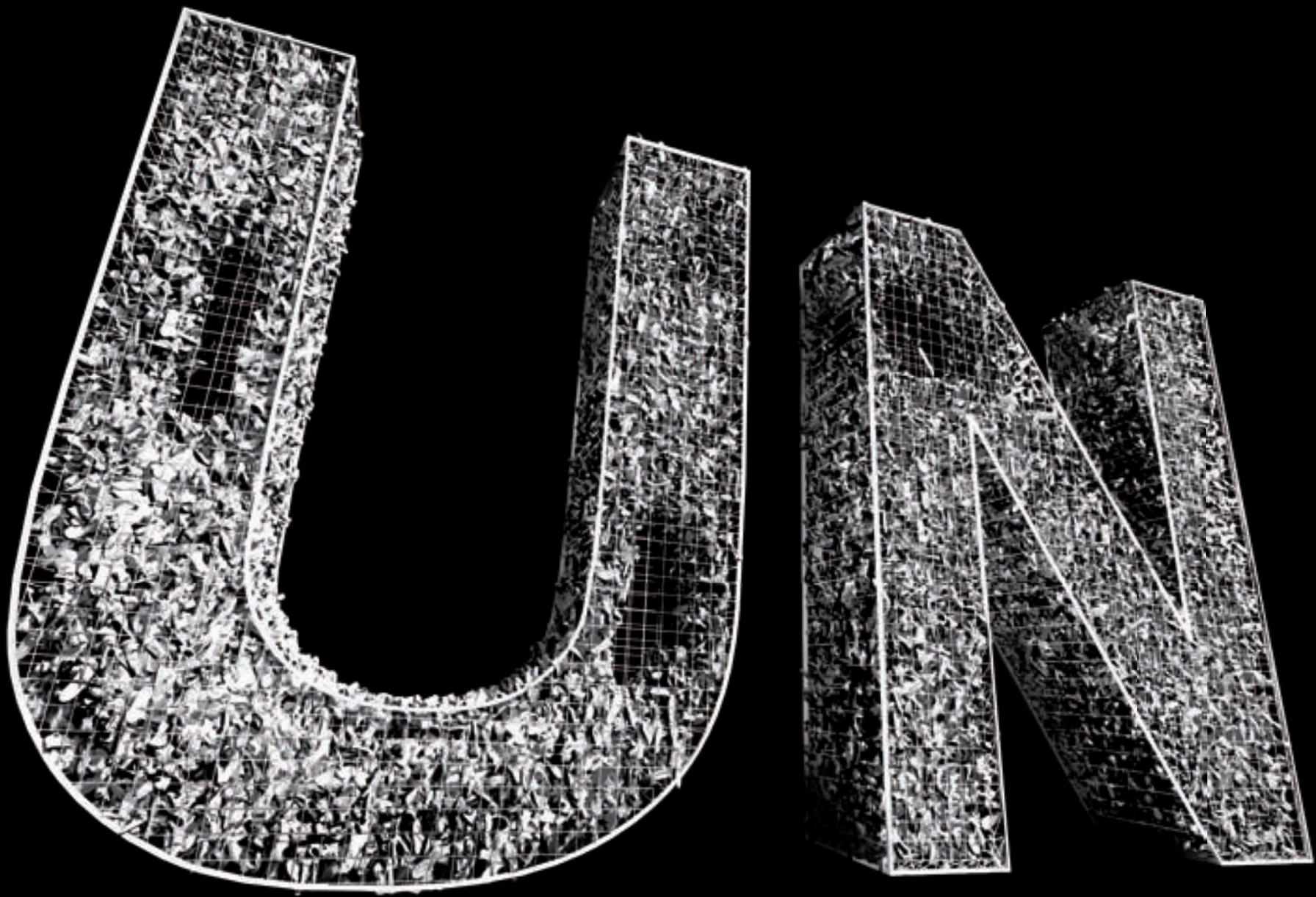


A blue paint splatter graphic, resembling a shoe print, is centered behind the text. It has a dark blue core with lighter blue, irregular edges and small droplets extending outwards.

**16.744 SHOES**

**THE UNITED NATIONS IN COURT**



With the official support of:

**THE MOTHERS OF SREBRENICA**

**SREBRENIČKE MAJKE  
UDRUŽENJE MAJKI SREBRENICE I PODRINJA**

**ŽENE SREBRENICE  
POKRET MAJKE ENKLAVA SREBRENICA I ŽEPA**

**THE OFFICIAL MEMORIAL CENTER SREBRENICA – POTOČARI**





# 16.744 SHOES

THE UNITED NATIONS IN COURT

## The Pillar of Shame project

The Centre for Political Beauty reaches over to the mothers of Srebrenica and will erect the anticipated Pillar of Shame. The project aims to erect a permanent sculpture serving as a lasting reminder of the guilt of western politicians and military officials for the genocide of Srebrenica. – Against oblivion of Europe's 'Nights of shame' (Bogdan Bogdanović).

The Pillar of Shame will serve as a metaphor for the immense betrayal of the United Nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as a warning to all future co-workers of the United Nations. The plan: the 16,744 shoes (representing 8,372 victims) should form two gigantic letters measuring eight metres in height and coloured in shimmering white. The two letters ('U' and 'N') will be penetrated by three monumental bullet holes with real shoes found in mass graves embedded in them.

The actual location of the Pillar of Shame, and the names of western politicians and army generals whose names will be shamed by the Pillar will be selected by the mothers themselves. The Centre for Political Beauty and the Society for Threatened Peoples that together organised one of the biggest memorials for the genocide of Srebrenica in 2009, will also initiate a discussion about the responsibility of the United Nations that has been completely pushed aside in the West for the last fifteen years.

[www.stubsrama.ba](http://www.stubsrama.ba)  
[www.pillarofshame.eu](http://www.pillarofshame.eu)



# Roadmap

## 2010

### 14 May – 02 July 2010:

A total of 16,744 shoes will be collected throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Bosnian diaspora. We are asking them to contribute shoes (old and used) and put messages into them. Imagination knows no borders: war stories, photographs of victims of war, complaints against the visa regime. All that what people in Western Europe should learn. The shoes serve as a communication tool.

### 05 July 2010:

„The United Nations and the genocide in Srebrenica: the background of a broken promise“, Expert discussion with General Manfred Eisele, Dr. Axel Hagedorn, Herfried Münkler, Marieluise Beck, Huub Jaspers, Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, Berlin

### 09 - 11 July 2010:

Shoe 'exhibition' in front of the Brandenburger Gate, Berlin

### September 2010:

Shoe 'exhibition' in front of the ICTY, The Hague

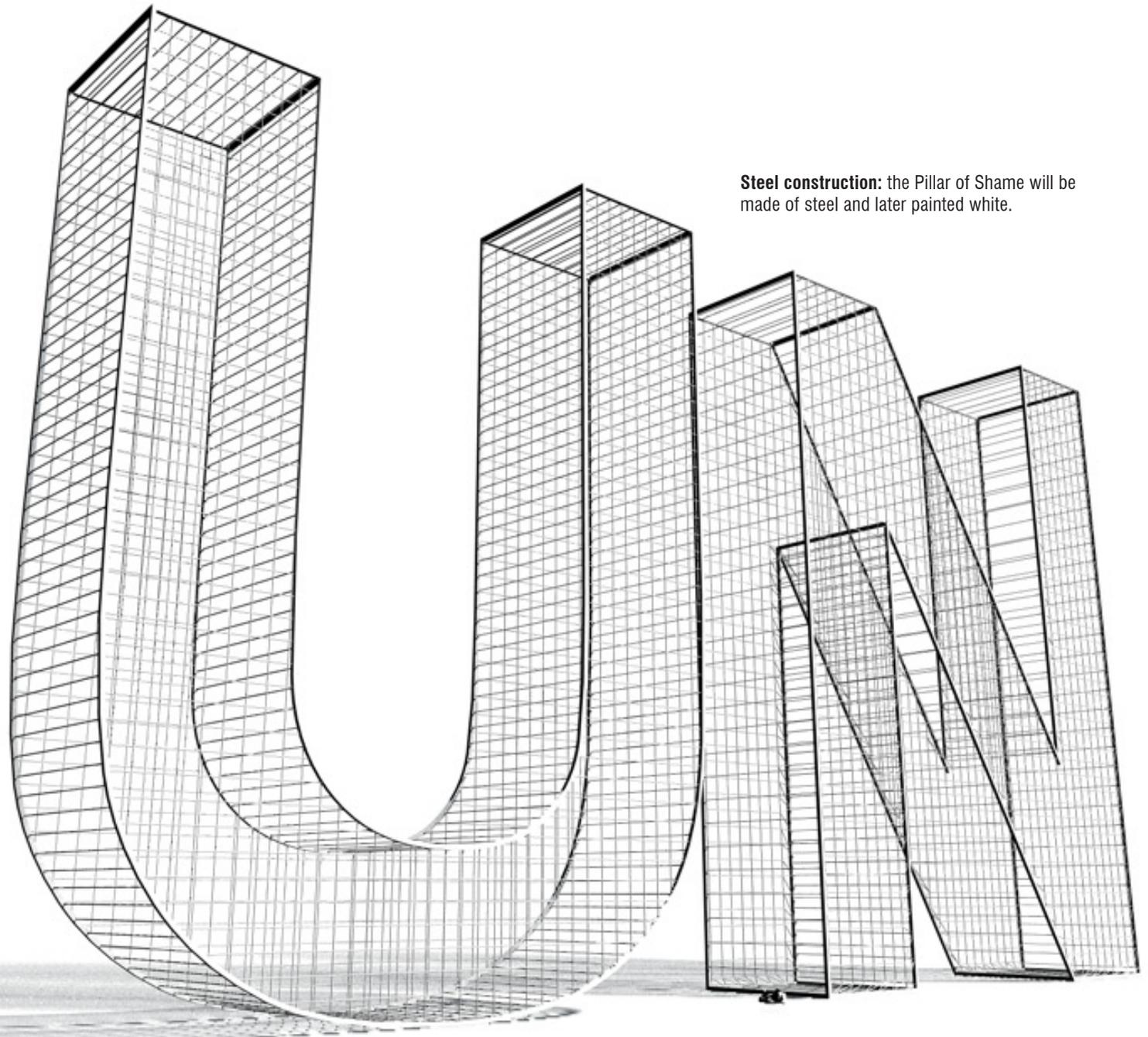
### December 2010:

The Society for Threatened Peoples Bosnia (Fadila Memišević, Belma Zulčić) will appoint a committee of the mothers of Srebrenica, who will decide over:  
[1.] location of the monument  
[2.] list of the names to be shamed

## 2011

### 02 May 2011:

Beginning of construction works for the Pillar of Shame.

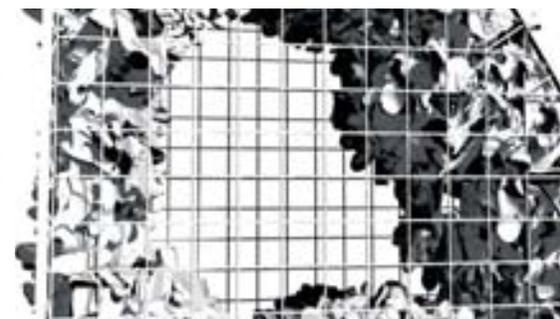


**Steel construction:** the Pillar of Shame will be made of steel and later painted white.



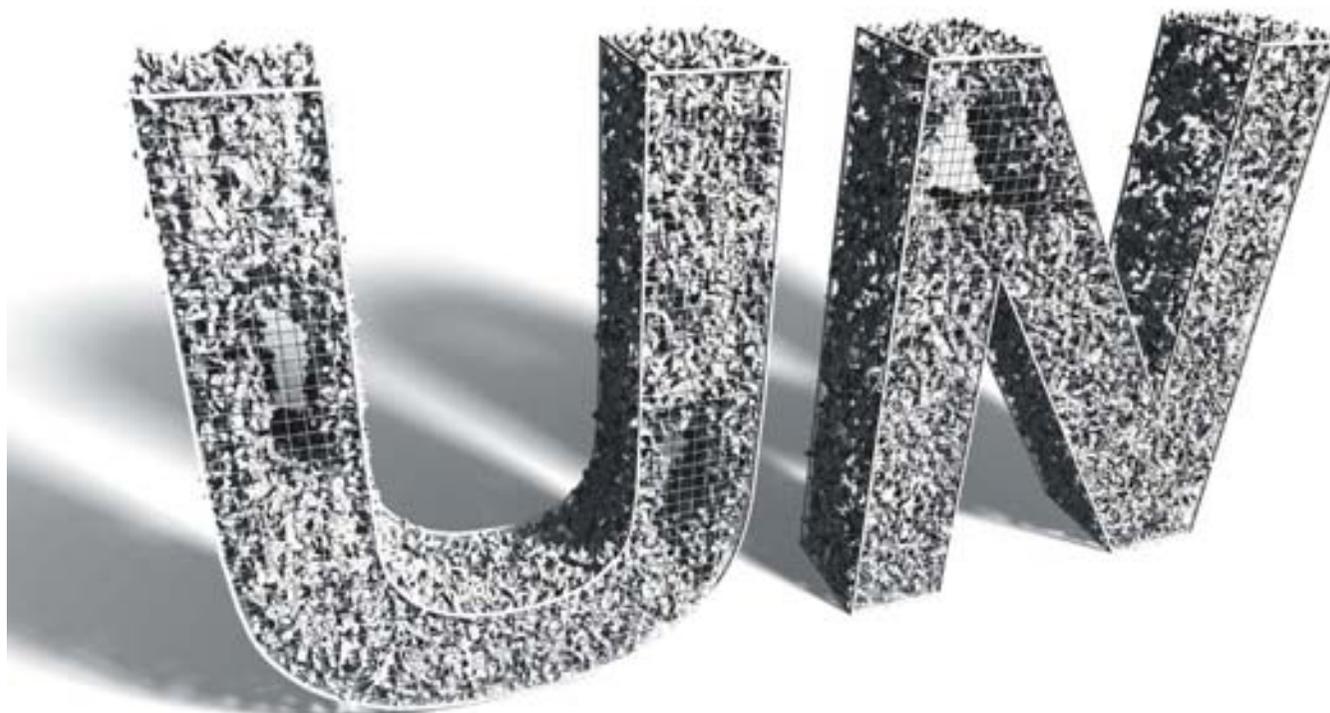
#### White concrete

The 16,744 will individually be cast in white concrete. They will fill up the steel construction.



#### Holes

The holes will be embedded with real shoes found in mass graves. The shoes will be protected by air-proof plexiglas and will thus form metaphorical 'fuel rods' burnt into the monument by the three holes.



#### Decency

The sculpture is a direct answer to the fact that the people of the West have no respect toward the survivors of the genocide. Because of the outrageous treason, altogether 8,372 people were killed in Srebrenica and even many more in the rest of the country.



#### Western guilt

We will engage renowned Bosnian Artists for the question, how the names will be included into the sculpture.

# Background

On 30 March 2010, the second instance Court of Appeal of The Hague rejected the appeal submitted by more than 6,000 survivors of the genocide in Srebrenica. The statement of the judge is both outrageous and absurd: unassailability and the role of the United Nations in the world are put above the interests of the mothers of Srebrenica. The ruling of the judge on the first instance passed on 10 July 2008 already favoured legal immunity of the United Nations over the human rights of the mothers of Srebrenica, as guaranteed by Article 6 of the European Human Rights Convention, who approached the court.

Although volatility of the case has been subject of heated discussions among experts in human rights, the case remains disregarded by the world. However, the intervention of the Centre for Political Beauty was triggered by yet another fact: although the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1999 depicted the genocide of Srebrenica as “the biggest shame of the United Nations, the latter did not recognise the importance of the case, therefore it failed to appear at either the first or the second instance of the court proceeding.

This shows no respect for the ones lost in 1995, who were supposed to be protected, but were betrayed instead. Obviously, the United Nations finds no reason for an open court confrontation with the victims. The Dutch judges gave the United Nations additional support with the preceding ruling. Therefore remains French general Bernard Janvier, who in 1995 averted the use of the United Nations air forces, legally untouchable for the survivors of the genocide. The Srebrenica case will keep the instances busy at least until 2014 when it will probably be taken before the International Human Rights Court. By then, another charges will have been put in place chosen by the mothers of Srebrenica: the Pillar of Shame.



## The World's Shame in Bosnia

The debate over western guilt for the genocide of Srebrenica reaches much further than merely the inaction of military forces. In its heart, it is indeed about complicity to genocide: not only did the United Nations disarm Bosnian men and women in the so-called “Protected Zone”, giving way for an unprecedented humanitarian catastrophe (“Srebrenica” was long before 1995 depicted as the biggest concentration camp of the world), Ratko Mladić made central concessions, but also the absence of any air strikes together with the missing of any will to protect the civilian population, the selection of men and women in the base camp of the UN in Potocari and the decided Not-reporting of war crimes form the main parts of the charge of the bereaved against the UN.

## Concept

The aim is to create a sculpture, reproductions of which (photographs, videos, etc.) would be transmitted via modern mass media with an aim of harming the United Nations. The Pillar of Shame should meet three criteria:

1. Reflecting the tremendous dimension of United Nations' responsibility for the genocide.
2. Naming, shaming and thus pointing effectively to the individuals who are guilty of inactivity, complicity in the genocide or renunciation.
3. Symbolising broken promises of protection, the immense treason of Bosnia and the shattered dream of western will (“Auschwitz never again!”) that the genocide would not take place.



## „Srebrenica was the collapse of our humanistic ambitions.“

*Interview with Philipp Ruch, initiator of the Pillar of Shame*

### **You have been engaged in issues connected with Bosnia for quite some time now. How did the country attract your alert?**

My best friend escaped from a besieged Sarajevo when he was thirteen years old. It was only during my studies that I got to understand what happened in Bosnia. The entire panorama of emotions poured down on Bosnia in the nineties. From the horrific betrayal through cosmic abandonment, to episodes of radical humanity.

### **What took Germany and Europe so long to acknowledge the genocide?**

I am unsure that they did. Germany is so obsessed with itself that only few events from the outside enter the medial sphere. One ought to be constrained to acknowledge what Europe has done in Bosnia – done, not failed. Part of this constraint will be the Pillar of Shame.

### **What went through your mind when seeing pictures from Srebrenica for the first time? Or when speaking with the mothers of Srebrenica for the first time?**

The mothers of Srebrenica carry the burden of what had been done to them with unique dignity. They are incredibly impressive. Above all in their courage. Not only a few of them live nowadays with animosities and threats again.

First were the images of United Nations soldiers standing by. Nonconforming civil courage in cinemascope. As if someone had shown “Schindler’s List” to them and was curious to see how soldiers would react to a bad remake. We discovered footage for a documentary focusing on the United Nations Crisis Headquarter, where a soldier in Potocari yells, “You have to keep the people calm!” over and over again. This is known. Mass executions, mortal fear of tens of thousands of people.

But what is most important is that no one cut off the way toward the slaughtering block. Auschwitz was built as we know it, with showers, due to this need.

But pictures disclose mistakes. For example the Scorpion video alone can hardly catch what happened in Srebrenica: unleashed dogs, the human hunt, systematic extermination, deadly marching through forests laid with mines, rapes, universal fear, and the betrayal of the international community all over it.

### **Why a Pillar of Shame fifteen years later?**

Six thousand survivors are suing the United Nations. But the headquarters in New York are not even considering appearing in court. This is a terrible mistake. If it is impossible to bring the United Nations to a court, then we have to find an unconventional and maybe more effective way.

The United Nations’ arrogance toward the survivors is beyond comprehension. The Pillar of Shame signifies a response to this arrogance. No one should be able to say, “What the United Nations do is not our business”. – It is our business. We are all representing the United Nations. We are standing by the survivors. They should not live with the feeling that no one in the West cares about how the United Nations treats them. This is one of the reasons why in the bottom part of the Pillar bears the words, “Decency made me”.

We would like to put the West into possession of a knowledge that Bosnian population has since more than a decade: the United Nations ruined their reputation, ambition and glory. The high esteem and great belief that the Germans ascribe to the United Nations is still striking.

### **What does “Srebrenica” mean to you?**

I come from the generation of the “too-late-comers”, as Nietzsche once formulated my problem. Srebrenica was the collapse of our humanistic ambitions. Following Srebrenica, it is no longer feasible to claim that we as a civilization want to prevent genocide. The fact that Srebrenica entered the modern condition without any opposition of the world is incomprehensible for me personally.

In 1995, Srebrenica was for weeks transforming into a genocidal death zone with no escape out. And all this after the United Nations promised military protection, and after the disarmament of the people. The people of Bosnia believed our promises. We broke our promises. It is difficult to dismiss the lightness, with which our politicians committed betrayal in Bosnia.

### **Do you think we have not learned from history?**

Our constant remembering of the Holocaust, during which the events in Bosnia, Rwanda, Darfur and Congo were enacted shows what lesson we drew from the Holocaust: never again the Jews. All other peoples are negotiable. There is no time to witness another genocide. Especially because genocides have been committed too many times since 1995. But a evolution in knowledge has occurred on the side of the perpetrators: a new genocide is unfolding without pictures, and this is similar to the allied forces that were able to defend their inaction against Nazi concentration camps.

Bashir or warlords in Congo do not have to fear harsh reactions from Europe as long as the death tolls stay below the two-hundred-victims-mark. Do you know what absorbed the political powers of Germany, the biggest and most powerful member state of the European Union in the years of 2008 and 2009? A descending carmaker called “Opel”. This is unacceptable and irresponsible.

### **In 1999, Kofi Annan wrote, “Srebrenica is the biggest shame in the history of the United Nations”. Isn’t that enough?**

If I was Secretary General of the UN, and if the mothers of Srebrenica made the big effort to bring my organisation to court, appearing in courtroom and hearing the charges would be part of the policy. Looking at Srebrenica, it becomes legally clear that the UN as an international actor stands above the law. It is legally untouchable. Its representatives can do whatever they want. It is the perfect cloak.

All this after centuries of the struggle for separation of power, associated with philosophers like Montesquieu.

In all respects, Annan knew what he was talking about. In 1995, he was head of the DPKO, the “Ministry of Defence” of the UN. He was in charge already in 1994, when a not irrelevant genocide was carried out in Rwanda. The Blue Helmets, who are helplessly standing around on television, they were Annans soldiers. Ascertaining shame does not suffice. It must be imparted further. I have a lot of questions to the address of Kofi Annan. His humanity blended me, until I digged deeper.

### **How can it be imparted further?**

We are not sensible for the great catastrophies, disasters, hidden behind such a small and tiny word as “genocide”. As head of the UN-DPKO, Kofi Annan should have thrown shoes, water bottles, whatsoever, on the Secretary General or representatives of the Security Council, or the highest politicians to wake them up. It was genocide. He kept quiet. He even got promoted after two genocides happening without any resistance from his department.

### **People of Bosnia have suffered the most in the Balkan wars, and the pain has not ceased to this day, eighteen years later (Dayton Agreement, visa regime suffered by the young generation). What is the reason for this barrier of the European Union when borders have opened up for the rest of the republics of the former Yugoslavia?**

The way Europe and the UN are treating the people of Bosnia to this very day is the best sign that our politicians have not understood anything. This must stop. I am looking forward to the first Bosnian UN Secretary General. Who could reform the United Nations if not a survivor of Srebrenica or Prijedor?

Concerning Europe: the shoes shall be transformed into a contemporary communication medium between the West and Bosnia. We want to bring the shoes with messages from Bosnia into the heart of Europe, to bring two societies in touch, the latter learning from the former’s existence, wounds and history.

### **Will Axel Hagedorn stand any chance in the proceeding against the UN? Do you think that the pillar of shame project could open doors for him?**

I think that co-workers of the United Nations will perceive in big extend the efforts made now, after fifteen years, not to push Srebrenica into oblivion. The sculpture is a new kind of media weapon. The more pain is induced the more respect can be expected for the mothers of Srebrenica. I expect the UN to send a team of attorneys to the next instance – when the case is going to dutch supreme court –, to compensate for the lost image. Officially, but unfortunately too late.

Questions by Mirella Sidro.



## „The Pillar of Shame should be a symbol of outcry by the mothers of Srebrenica!“

*Axel Hagedorn, legal representative of 6,000 survivors in proceedings against the UN.*

### **What do you expect from the Pillar of Shame?**

The struggle of the mothers of Srebrenica for justice can be compared with David's combat with Goliath. Despite continuous media reports about Srebrenica, the mothers of Srebrenica still have not successfully reached out to the world with their cries against the UN. This cry against such an exorbitant injustice and arrogance of the UN leadership needs to be symbolised. The Pillar of Shame should be a symbol of outcry by the mothers of Srebrenica, especially when it gets essential place in an open space, preferably in Europe.

### **What meaning does the process against the UN hold for international human rights?**

The process refers to genocide. The question is whether the UN still holds any credibility as an advocate of human rights. The UN failed to protect the civilians of Srebrenica; instead, it took part in their deportation. The UN is invoking its immunity in the court proceeding, meaning it cannot be sued in any court.

By so doing, the UN wants to become the sole organisation of the world able to evade the law and any other means of legal control. This does not only violate Article 6 of the European Human Rights Declaration that should guarantee all the people the right to legal proceedings against, but also the order of the Genocide Convention aimed at preventing and punishing the crime of genocide. The UN enjoys fundamental immunity from national courts. This is in opposition with its commitment to human rights enacted in 1946, which constitutes an adequate legal way. This still has not been done. This means the UN is walking over fundamental human rights.

### **How do you perceive the fact that the UN is not appearing in court?**

This is a scandal. Kofi Annan did not depict Srebrenica only as the biggest shame in the history of the United Nations, but has also repeatedly emphasised that the UN is bound to human rights. When the UN admits to a serious mistake in Srebrenica, as stated in its own Report from 1999, but nonetheless avoids any form of legal control, it means the following: the UN does not meet its own moral requirements.

### **How do the mothers of Srebrenica experience / perceive the UN attorneys' absence from the court?**

They feel abandoned by the UN for the second time. The United Nations should have ensured their protection, and now they are hiding behind their immunity.

### **What is the reaction of the mothers of Srebrenica to the rejection of the complaint against the UN?**

From the beginning on, they have been counting on the state of The Netherlands and the UN will withdraw from all the registries in order to evade their responsibility. The mothers of Srebrenica are firmly determined and prepared for a long struggle. They are confident in their final victory, as they are not giving away their hope that justice will prevail eventually.

### **What do you personally wish from the UN?**

If the UN as a system does not implode, it must eventually begin talks with the mothers of Srebrenica and find a solution. The loss of trust in the UN has many further reaching consequences for the UN, which will lead not only to a loss of its importance for human rights, but will be perceived as an authoritative organ with dictatorial outlines suppressing its citizens. We hope that the UN will recognise this risk and fully follow its own commitments, and regain its credibility.



Foto: Azra Mesic

**„The entire world was watching our children being killed and us being chased away.“**

*Interview with Hatidža Mehmedović, president of the Mothers of Srebrenica Association and office coordinator of the Society of Threatened Peoples in Srebrenica.*

### **What can Germany do for the mothers of Srebrenica?**

The mothers of Srebrenica are expecting support and solidarity of the German nation and its authorities. We are hoping for the German state and its nation to support our demand for recognition of the responsibility of the United Nations and the international community for the genocide committed in Srebrenica. The entire world was watching our children being killed and us being chased away - in. An event like this can never happen again. Our wish is to create a world without genocide and war. This can only be achieved by learning from mistakes, and by assuming responsibility for them.

### **What does the fact that the United Nations did not show respect toward you and failed to appear in court? Even the Secretary General has not done such a thing, although his predecessor claimed Srebrenica was the biggest shame in the history of the organization.**

We are deeply disappointed that despite the United Nations Report on Srebrenica and Kofi Annan's clear message, no member of the United Nations has either assumed responsibility for the genocide in Srebrenica or appeared before the court in The Hague. To us, it was an obvious sign of their reluctance to show respect for the victims.

A statement and an apology without consequences, like the ones given in 1999, cannot be satisfactory for us. Words must be followed by action. The United Nations is co-responsible for the biggest crime committed in Europe after the Second World War, and responsible members of the organization must be named and sanctioned openly.

### **What does the United Nations represent to you, and what is your current relation toward them?**

The United Nations betrayed and disappointed us. We believed their promise of protection. We felt secure and were confident in their words. Nowadays, we know better; our mistrust in the United Nations is righteous. The United Nations Protection Zone of Srebrenica turned into our children's graveyard.

### **Can the Pillar of Shame change this in any way?**

Yes, because it would be a clear symbol. It would be a reminder to the world that the residents of Srebrenica could have been saved, were there the will for it. We hope that once the Pillar of Shame is erected, and the names of all the responsible ones engraved, consciousness within the United Nations will change, that they will realize their co-responsibility and draw conclusions from it.

### **Can the Pillar of Shame harm the United Nations?**

Our motivation and strains for the Pillar of Shame to be erected are not aimed at harming the United Nations; rather, we want to stimulate it to become better and more efficient and thus justify its existence. If harming it is the way to open their eyes, then this is what we will hopefully achieve.

### **What message should the Pillar of Shame give?**

The main message we want to send to the international community is that the fate of Srebrenica can never and nowhere be repeated. Unfortunately, we are still witnessing so many wars and so many massacres being committed across the world, and the United Nations is once again hesitant to intervene. We do not even have effective measure to prevent such crimes from being committed.

### **What is your wish for the future of Srebrenica?**

Our wish is to give dignity back to the victims. The perpetrators and the responsible ones must be punished for their crimes. We live for the day when this will happen. My personal future in Srebrenica can only be the graveyard in Potočari where my children and husband will, hopefully, one day be put to rest.

I want to see smiling happy people in Srebrenica and across entire Bosnia and Herzegovina. I want trust reestablished between people, so that the young ones may again plan their future and live a true life. Although I will never see my own children happy and smiling again, although there are no plans for their future, and although I will not live to spend happy old days in their company, I want this to be available to other children and young individuals.

*In July 1995, Hatidža Mehmedović lost her two sons and husband, as well as many other male relatives, she returned to Srebrenica in 2003. There she lives in a house that still has not been fully reconstructed. Beside the Srebrenica office of the Society for Threatened People, she runs the Mother of Srebrenica Association gathering together mothers and wives that have returned to Srebrenica. A part of mortal remains of her husband was found in a mass grave in vicinity of the city of Zvornik, whereas another mass grave unearthed the skeleton of one of her sons. However, she has not been able to bury either one of them: identity of the exhumed son cannot be confirmed until remains of her other son has been found. In order to eventually put them to peace, she must wait for mortal remains of her other son and the rest of the remains of her husband, to be found. Hatidža has devoted her life to helping other people. Her motto reads, we cannot save the dead ones, but we can help the surviving ones.*



Foto: Azra Mesic

**„I believe they are hoping that we – the eyewitnesses of the crime committed – will die one day, so that there will no longer be anyone reminding them of the global shame they caused.“**

*Interview with Fazila Efendić, returnee to Srebrenica and a saleswoman in a florist shop across the street from the graveyard in Potočari.*

#### **What can Germany do for the mothers of Srebrenica?**

As an influential and big country, Germany has a possibility to help survivors of the genocide – the mothers of Srebrenica. Namely, when the crimes were being committed, Germany too was a silent observer, therefore it is now obliged to take a clear position on the side of the victims and support their demands.

#### **What does the fact that the United Nations did not show respect toward you and failed to appear in court? Even the Secretary General has not done such a thing, although his predecessor claimed Srebrenica was the biggest shame in the history of the organization.**

To me personally, it is a sign of shame, as they are aware of the consequences of their inactivity. I even believe they are hoping that we – the eyewitnesses of the crime committed – will die one day, so that there will no longer be anyone reminding them of their responsibility and the global shame they caused. We were left to the executioners, as animals are left to their slaughterers, disregarding our hopes, our plans, and our right to live. Their refusal to appear in court clearly shows they are not ready to face the truth.

#### **What does the United Nations represent to you, and what is your current relation toward them?**

Given the immense disappointment and horrific betrayal from the part of the United Nations, they are meaningless in my view. They took a stand of onlookers, and failed to fulfill promises given to us. In reality, they portrayed themselves as mere bureaucrats earning high salaries for their office work, thus proving they do not represent what they stand for.

#### **Can the Pillar of Shame change this in any way?**

I believe we are obliged to devote our lives to disseminating the truth. These ways alone, can we point to mistakes made, and demand their rectification. My son and husband are not among the living ones, because of the mistakes and inactivity of the United Nations; however, we must at least try to help others by ceaselessly calling upon the United Nations to do their job.

#### **Can the Pillar of Shame harm the United Nations?**

Our wish is to point to the responsible ones publicly, thus making the entire world realize that they are responsible for our suffering. We are not doing this out of vengeance; we are trying to help other people and prevent our fate from repeating itself.

#### **What message should the Pillar of Shame give?**

The Pillar of Shame should reflect our message that lives could have been saved in Srebrenica, and that such events must in the future be prevented in a more efficient and concrete manner. We want to remind the world's public that something could have been done, that we were given a promise, which was, eventually, simply broken. The Pillar of Shame should symbolize that breaking such promises given by a large world organization like the United Nations cannot be unpunished.

#### **What is your wish for the future of Srebrenica?**

My wish is an economic recovery of Srebrenica and a subsequent return of young people who should be given perspective living. At the same time, the suffering we have endured can never be forgotten. The truth must not be washed away. This is what we owe to our sons, husbands and relatives, and we must not let this horrific crime be pushed into oblivion.

*Fazila Efendić returned to Srebrenica in 2002. She lives alone in her house in Potočari outside Srebrenica. Her under-age son Fejzo and husband Hamdo were killed in July 1995. She buried her husband's mortal remains during the first funeral (dženaza) in Potočari on 31 March 2003. His mortal remains without the head were discovered already in 1999. When the head was found in 2005 in another mass grave, they had to reopen his grave and put it with the rest of the remains. This caused additional trauma for Fazila. She is still unable to bury her son. Only a few of his bones have been exhumed by now, therefore she has to wait for the rest of his remains to be discovered in other mass graves, so that he may eventually rest in peace. Highly educated, Fazila currently works in a florist shop across the street from the graveyard in Potočari. Yet, she is not complaining. The work diverts her attention and offers her consolation. With her flowers, she helps the victims' families to decorate their relatives' graves.*



**„I did try to sue the UN but my lawyer did not find a legal venue yet through which that would be realized.“**

*Hasan Nuhanovic, working as an interpreter for the UN in 1995.*

**As a translator working for the UN you witnessed the deeds, inaction and complicity of the UN. How were you treated by them?**

When I started to publicly expose the UN for its shameful role in Srebrenica I had many problems with its administration. They threatened several times that I would be fired if I continue talking publicly about the events – they said I was being disloyal to my employer, the UN. I have had very difficult time where I was constantly being threatened that my contract would be terminated.

The UN, in my opinion, did not intend to issue a report on Srebrenica and it was only after a lot of lobbying and public campaigning that we, myself with assistance with several individuals, including Ms. Bianca Jagger, for example, finally managed to exert enough pressure on the UN so that they finally published the Srebrenica Report in the autumn of 1999 – more than four years after the events. However, in my book I give a detailed analysis of the UN Report which, in the great part, was heavily edited and adjusted to protect the interest of the UN, as an organization, and of a number of internationals, UN employees and others, involved.

**Was there any kind of excuse from the UN afterwards?**

The UN never apologized to me. I have never been contacted by any UN official with regard to this matter. On behalf of the Organizational Board put together to commemorate 11 July I wrote a letter to the UN Secretary General - every year. We asked the UN to lower the flag on 11 July in front of its main building in New York. We never even received any answer to our letter.

The UN did not apologize in general until the launch of the UN Srebrenica Report. However, the information that the UN included in the report does not correspond to the reality of events which occurred in July 1995 – and especially when it comes to the events inside and around the UN Dutchbat compound in Potocari. For example – of some 155 pages in total the UN report covers the Potocari situation on half a page only. Basically, the complicity of the UN in the expulsion of the Bosniak refugees who were on the base was left out completely.

**Now that there is going to be a stub srama, what could the impact of such a monument be? How could it influence the relation between the mothers of Srebrenica and the UN?**

I have, from the very beginning, insisted that we should recreate certain events and of certain items which existed in Potocari in July 1995. For example, the tapes which the UN Dutchbat set up in order to expel the refugees from the compound, the flag of the UN and the Kingdom of the Netherlands which flew on the tallest building on the base. The stub srama, in the shape that has been presented to me, would, indeed, recreate the image of the UN presence and its role in the critical events in Potocari.

**You tried to sue the UN separately from the Hagedorn case. What do you accuse them of particularly?**

I did try to sue the UN but my lawyer did not yet find a legal venue through which that would be realized. However, I managed to file a suit against the state of the Netherlands and the accusation that I have put forward against the Dutch is, more or less, the same as the accusation that I would put against the UN. I would define it as complicity in a war crime – which was qualified as genocide by both the ICTY and ICJ. However, my lawyer, Liesbeth Zegveld, decided that I should place a claim against the state of the Netherlands for gross negligence.

*Hasan Nuhanovic worked as a interpreter for the U.N. His father Ibro was one of three representatives o the remains of many of the identified victims have been interred. A journalist once nicknamed him the “Elie Wiesel of Bosnia”. He has written a chronology of the events at Srebrenica: „Under the UN Flag“, in which he examines the responsibility and guilt of members of the international community.*

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**THE UN**  
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### Center for Political Beauty (CPB)

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