

## International Decision-Making in the Age of Genocide Srebrenica: 1993-1995

The Hague, June 28 – July 1, 2015

Conference Participants



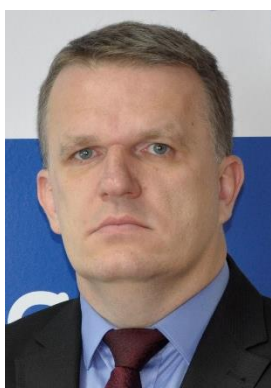
**Yasushi Akashi** was a UN Under-Secretary-General (1979-1997), and Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to the former Yugoslavia (January 1994-October 1995). He previously served as Special Representative of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) from 1992 to 1993. Akashi is currently the Japanese government's Representative for Peace-Building, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Sri Lanka, Chairman of the International House of Japan and President of the Japanese Organization for International Cooperation in Family Planning.



**Diego Arria** was Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the UN from 1991 to 1993. He was President of the UN Security Council in March of 1992, and led the UNSC delegation to Srebrenica in April 1993. Early positions included Governor of Caracas and Venezuelan Minister of Information and Tourism. Arria is on the Board of Directors of the Institute of the Americas, Freedom Now, and the Advisory Board of the International Crisis Group. He has also served as the Special Advisor to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.



**Carl Bildt** was appointed the European Union's Special Envoy to the former Yugoslavia in June 1995 after serving as Prime Minister of Sweden from 1991 to 1994. A co-chairman of the Dayton Peace Conference, Bildt became the first High Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1995 to 1997 and the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for the Balkans from 1999 to 2001. He has also served as Sweden's Minister of Foreign Affairs (2006-2014), and is a board member of the International Crisis Group.



**Muhamed Duraković** is a Srebrenica native who survived the genocide by making a 37-day trek through Bosnian Serb Army controlled territory. During the war, Duraković worked with international aid organizations inside the Srebrenica enclave. Following his escape from the "safe area," he reached Tuzla where he continued to work on projects supporting genocide survivors. Duraković helped organize the annual Srebrenica Peace March and Summer University Srebrenica project. He is currently head of the Libya program at the International Commission on Missing Persons.



**André Erdős** was Hungary's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1990 to 1994, and a member of the Security Council delegation that visited Srebrenica in April 1993. He was elected Chairman of the UN Disarmament Commission in 1994, and was Deputy State Secretary for Foreign Affairs from 1994 to 1996. Other posts included Ambassador of Hungary to France and member of the UN Secretary-General's Panel on Civil Society. He is a Senior Advisor of the International Center for Democratic Transition in Budapest and Vice-President of the UN Association on Hungary.



**Peter Galbraith** was the first US Ambassador to Croatia (1993-1998). He was the co-mediator and principal architect of the 1995 Erdut Agreement. In 2000 and 2001, he was Director for Political, Constitutional and Electoral Affairs in the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor. In 2009, he served as Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan. He has been a Professor of National Security Strategy at the National Defense University and is currently senior diplomatic fellow at the Center of Arms Control and Non-Proliferation. He is the author of two books on the Iraq war including the bestselling, *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created A War Without End*.



**David Hannay** was Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations from 1990 to 1995, following an earlier five-year tour as Permanent Representative to the European Union. He was appointed to the House of Lords in June 2001. He has since served as Chair of the Board of the United Nations Association UK from 2006 to 2011 and is now Chair of the UN All Party Parliamentary Group. Hannay is also a member of the Top Level Group of UK Parliamentarians for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation.



**David Harland** was a civilian affairs officer in the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1993 to 1998. He co-authored the 1999 United Nations report on the Srebrenica massacre, "The Fall of Srebrenica." Harland has also served in peacekeeping missions in Timor Leste (1999-2000), Kosovo (2008) and Haiti (2010). He was a witness for the prosecution at the ICTY for several cases including those against Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic. He is currently Executive Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue based in Geneva.



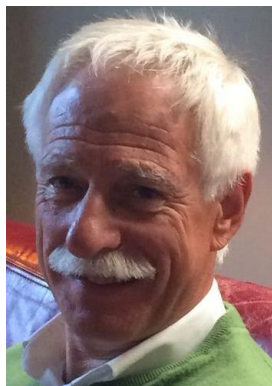
General **Vere Hayes** negotiated the Srebrenica “safe area” agreement in April 1993 between the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs while serving as Chief of Staff of UNPROFOR. He served in the British Army for 37 years, retiring in 2001. His military experience covered platoon to battalion command and operational tours in Borneo and Northern Ireland. Hayes’ last appointment was in Zimbabwe teaching peace support operation doctrine and techniques.



**Larry Hollingworth**, C.B.E. was appointed Chief of Operations in Sarajevo for the UN High Commission for Refugees in 1992. He joined UNHCR after thirty years in the British Army. Hollingworth has also served as Humanitarian Coordinator for the Center for International Humanitarian Cooperation for the UN in Iraq, Lebanon, East Timor, Palestine and Pakistan. He is currently Visiting Professor of Humanitarian Studies at the Institute for International Humanitarian Affairs at Fordham University in New York.



**Henry Jacolin** was French Ambassador to Bosnia from 1993 to 1995. He had earlier served in the French embassy in Yugoslavia (1972-1974) as a Balkan specialist and fluent Serbo-Croatian speaker. Other ambassadorial posts included Fiji and Nicosia. Between 1998 and 2001, he was head of the OSCE department for negotiating a Balkan arms control agreement, and co-president of the Minsk group from 2002 to 2006. Since retiring from the French diplomatic service, Jacolin has also served as president of the International Railway History Association.



Colonel (ret.) **Thom Karremans** was the Commanding Officer of Dutchbat 3 battalion, which was deployed in Srebrenica Safe Area in 1995. He previously worked in Bosnia in 1991 as a liaison officer to the European Community Observation Committee in Bosnia. Prior to this peacekeeping duties in Bosnia, Karremans served with UNFIL in Lebanon, and with NATO in Mons, Belgium. Subsequent posts included command of a mechanized infantry battalion and an airmobile battalion in Assen, Netherlands and Liaison Officer to the US Army Training and Doctrine Command. Karremans described his experiences in Srebrenica in his book *Srebrenica, Who Cares?: Een puzzle van de werkelijkheid* (“A puzzle of reality”). He retired in Spain.





**Obrad Kesic** is Director of the Republika Srpska Office for Cooperation, Trade and Investment in Washington, DC, as well as a Senior Partner of TSM Global Consultants LLC. Earlier Kesic worked as Program Coordinator for the Democratic Transition Program as well as the Program Officer for Meida and Central and East European Programs at IREX in Washington, DC. Between 1994 and 2001, he was Director of Government Affairs at ICN Pharmeceuticals.



**Wim Kok** was Prime Minister of the Netherlands from 1994 to 2002. A prominent trade union leader, he was elected to the Lower House of the Dutch parliament in 1986, as well as leader of the Labour Party. He served as Minister of Finance from 1989 to 1994. After stepping down as Prime Minister, he served on the board of leading international companies and NGOs, including Royal Dutch Shell, KLM, the International Commission on Missing Persons, International Crisis Group and the Anne Frank Foundation. In 2003 and 2004, Kok was an advisor for the European Council and Commission on revitalizing the European economy. He was granted the honorary title of Minister of State in 2003.



Dr. **Zlatko Lagumdžija** was Deputy Prime Minister of Bosnia in 1992 and 1993. He served in multiple posts in the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 2015, including Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He was President of the Social Democratic Party from 1997 to 2014. He has been President of the Governing Board of Bosniak Institute since 2005. He was Bosnian Foreign Minister between 2012 and March 2015.



General **Kees Matthijssen** was a Company Commander for Dutchbat III stationed in Srebrenica in 1995. He has since been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Matthijssen obtained a Master of Strategic Studies degree from the US Army War College in 2010. In September 2013 he was appointed Military Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In October 2014, Matthijssen was promoted to brigadier-general and Commander of the 11 Air Assault Brigade.



**Hasan Muratović** served as the Bosnian Minister for UN affairs between 1992 and 1996. He succeeded Haris Silajdzic as the Prime Minister of Bosnia (1996-1997). Muratović went on to become a Professor and Rector at the University of Sarajevo (2004-2006). He has also served as the Minister for Economic Relations, Ambassador to the Republic of Croatia, and the Vice President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.



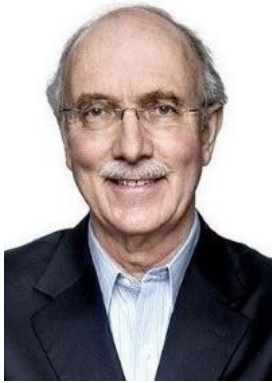
General **Kees Nicolai** was Chief of Staff of the UN Command in Bosnia from March to September of 1995, and was closely involved in decisions concerning the use of air support in Srebrenica. He later served as a Division Commander in the Dutch army and was appointed commander of the Training Command of the Royal Army in 1998. He retired in September 2004 after 39 years of military service.



**David Rohde** won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting in 1996 for his coverage on Srebrenica while a reporter for *The Christian Science Monitor*. He was arrested by the Bosnian Serb authorities in 1995 while visiting a suspected mass grave site, but released as part of the Dayton peace negotiations. In 1997, he published an account of the massacre entitled, *Endgame: The Betrayal and Fall of Srebrenica, Europe's Worst Massacre Since World War II*. Rohde is now an investigative journalist for *Thomson Reuters*.



**James Rubin** was Senior Advisor and Spokesman for the US ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, from 1993 to 1996, after earlier serving on the staff of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs between 1997 and 2000. He served as a special negotiator during the Kosovo crisis. Rubin is a writer and commentator on world affairs and Co-Chair of a project on Extending American Power for the Center for New American Security in Washington, DC.



**John Shattuck** became Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor in 1993. He made multiple fact-finding trips to Bosnia, including in July 1995 after the massacre in Srebrenica. He worked closely with Richard Holbrooke during the Dayton peace process. Shattuck helped establish the International Criminal Tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda. He has also served as US Ambassador to the Czech Republic and CEO of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation. He is currently the President of Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.



General Sir **Rupert Smith** was Commander of UNPROFOR in 1995, creating the UN Rapid Reaction Force which broke the siege of Sarajevo. He earlier served as Assistant Chief of Defence Operations and Security at the UK Ministry of Defence from 1992 to 1994, where he was closely involved with the UK's development of strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Smith also served as Deputy Supreme Allied Commander Europe between 1998 and 2001. He retired from the army in January 2002, and in 2005 published *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*.



**Shashi Tharoor** led the team in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations that was responsible for the former Yugoslavia. He was then appointed Executive Assistant to Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information. He was India's official candidate to succeed Annan as UN Secretary-General. Tharoor has also served as Minister of State for External Affairs in India and Minister for Human Resource Development. He is Chairman of its External Affairs Committee of the Lok Sabha, the Indian Parliament.



**Joris Voorhoeve** was Dutch Minister of Defence from 1994 to 1998, after serving as leader of the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (1986-1990). He is a member of the Netherlands Council of State, the Dutch Foreign Ministry's Advisory council on International Affairs, and the Trilateral Commission. He lectures on international peace, justice and security at The Hague University. He has just completed a book on the events of Srebrenica.



**Jenonne Walker** was Special Assistant to President Bill Clinton and Senior Director for Europe on the National Security Council Staff from 1993 to early 1995. She previously worked at the CIA, the Department of State and received the Distinguished Civil Service Award from President Ronald Reagan. Walker was US Ambassador to the Czech Republic from 1995 to 1998.



High Commissioner **Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein** served as political affairs officer in UNPROFOR from 1994 to 1996 and Jordan's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1996 to 2000. Other positions have included Ambassador of Jordan to the United Nations (2000-2007; 2010-2014) and President of the UN Security Council in January 2014. He was appointed UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in September 2014.



## Conference Staff



**Mark Bailey** is the Special Assistant to the President at The Hague Institute for Global Justice. Prior to joining The Hague Institute, Mark was a Conflict and Humanitarian Advocacy Officer at Save the Children UK, where he carried out policy research on humanitarian crises, covering cases such as Côte d'Ivoire, Pakistan and Gaza. His career in humanitarian affairs has also included postings at UN OCHA and the European Union Delegation to the United Nations.



**Tom Blanton** is the director of the National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington, DC. He first came to the Archive in 1986 as its first Director of Planning and Research. Blanton has published and co-authored books, and his articles have appeared in notable international publications such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Boston Globe*.



**Nikola Dimitrov** is a Distinguished Fellow at The Hague Institute for Global Justice. He took office upon completion of his duties as Ambassador of the Republic of Macedonia to the Kingdom of the Netherlands in April 2014. Dimitrov has extensive experience of public service in foreign security policy, international dispute settlement and conflict resolution.



**Michael Dobbs** is director of the International Decision-Making in the Age of Genocide project. He covered the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia and the Dayton peace talks as diplomatic reporter for *The Washington Post*. He was a reporter in Belgrade from 1997 to 1980 and went on to cover the collapse of communism in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He is the author of five books, including a "Cold War trilogy" and a biography of Madeleine Albright.





**Nadia Ficara** is director of Donor Travel Programs and the VIP Speakers Bureau at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, after having served as director of Special Events since 2006. Shortly after starting at the Museum she developed the International Travel Program and has worked with the Simon-Skjodt Center to develop its Bearing Witness Programs. Ficara previously worked for the World Presidents' Organization for ten years as its special events manager.



**Cameron Hudson** is director of the Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. He was previously the Center's policy director, overseeing initiatives on early warning and the responsibility to protect. Hudson has also served as the chief of staff to the President's Special Envoy for Sudan (2009-2011) and as the director for African Affairs on the staff of the National Security Council at the White House (2005-2009).



**Naomi Kikoler** is deputy director of the Simon-Skjodt Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Prior to joining the Museum, she was the Director of Policy and Advocacy at the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect in New York and an Adjunct Professor at The New School. Kikoler has also worked for Amnesty International Canada and the Office of the Prosecutor at the Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal.



**Suzan Maxwell** joined The Hague Institute for Global Justice as a secretary for the Communications Department and serves as main hostess during diplomatic events since October 2013. Prior to joining the Institute, she owned a communications and events specialized company, Branding Marketing and Sampling, and worked as a Marketing and Communications assistant at the ANWB HQ, the National Roadside Assistance Organization in The Hague.



**Marie-Laure Poire** is the Manager for Events and Communications at The Hague Institute for Global Justice. She previously spent time at The Center for Transatlantic Relations, at Women in International Security (WIIS) and also at The Alliance for Peacebuilding designing and implementing programs to educate those from the private, public, and nonprofit sectors on national and international security issues.



**Kristin Scalzo** is the research assistant for the International Decision-Making in the Age of Genocide project at the Simon-Skjoldt Center for the Prevention of Genocide at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Previously she served as a research assistant at the National Security Archive on their Genocide Prevention Project. Scalzo has focused her research on genocide prevention and peace and conflict resolution.



**Erwin Tuil** is the Head of Communications at The Hague Institute for Global Justice. Prior to his posting at the Institute in 2014, Tuil was a senior advisor with PricewaterhouseCoopers Business Development in the Marketing and Communications department. As a foreign correspondent for more than 12 years, Tuil covered the process of economic, social and political transition in Central Europe, the Balkans and the Greater China region for Dutch media and a number of publications in other European countries.



**Boudewijn J. van Eenennaam** is Ambassador-in-Residence and Development Advisor at The Hague Institute for Global Justice. He served in the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1973 to 2012. His posts included Director-General for Political Affairs, Ambassador to the United States, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Bahamas, and Permanent Representative to the United Nations.



**Emily Willard** is the research associate for the Genocide Prevention Project at the National Security Archive at George Washington University in Washington, DC. Previously, she worked on the Archive's Evidence Project conducting research on Guatemala, Mexico, and El Salvador, and on the Colombia Documentation Project. In 2014 Willard earned a Professional Development Certificate in Peace and Conflict Resolution from Chulalongkorn University Rotary Peace Fellowship.



Dr. **Abiodun Williams** was appointed the first President of The Hague Institute for Global Justice in January 2013. He has previously served as the Senior Vice President of the Center for Conflict Management at the US Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, DC (2011-2012). From 2001 to 2007, Williams served as the Director of Strategic Planning in the Executive Office of the UN Secretary-General, where he was a principal advisor to Secretaries-General Ban Ki-moon and Kofi Annan. He has published three books on conflict prevention and multilateral negotiations.