






## Srebrenica - a 'safe' area








### Prologue

#### The history preceding the conflict: Yugoslavia up till 1991






##### Chapter 1: The era up till 1945

-  1. Introduction
-  2. The death of Tito
-  3. The events preceding the first Yugoslavia
-  4. The first Yugoslavia
-  5. Yugoslavia in the Second World War











##### Chapter 2: Tito's Yugoslavia

-  1. Introduction
-  2. The founding of the second Yugoslavia
-  3. Yugoslavia's foreign relations after the Second World War
-  4. Internal consequences of Yugoslavia's foreign policy
-  5. The promotion of 'the' Yugoslav culture
-  6. The 1960s: centralization versus decentralization
-  7. Ethnic problems: Kosovo, Slovenia, Croatia versus Serbia in around 1970





##### Chapter 3: The era after Tito

-  1. Introduction
-  2. New ethnic tensions in Kosovo
-  3. It's the economy, stupid
-  4. Consequences of the end of the Cold War
-  5. The rise of the 'ethnic entrepreneurs'

##### Chapter 4: Yugoslavia during the Serbian presidency of Slobodan Milosevic

-  1. Intellectuals play the nationalist card
-  2. The rise of Slobodan Milosevic
-  3. The end of the 1980s: precursors of a new ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia
-  4. The strengthening of Milosevic's position as Serbian leader
-  5. The economic consequences of Yugoslavia's disintegration
-  6. Elections in Slovenia and Croatia
-  7. The rise of Franjo Tudjman
-  8. Serbian reactions to Tudjman's election as president
-  9. The Slovenian and Croatian preparations for separation
-  10. How should Yugoslavia proceed?

##### Chapter 5: The West and Yugoslavia before the crisis

-  1. The Dutch relation with Yugoslavia until 1990
-  2. Prophets on the sideline
-  3. The summer of 1990 to the summer of 1991: a wretched idleness
-  4. Conclusion: is there a link between the end of Yugoslavia and the Western position?







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## Part I:

### The Yugoslavian problem and the role of the West 1991-1994










-  Introduction to Part I

##### Chapter 1: Europe confronted with war in Slovenia: June-July 1991














-  1. War in Slovenia: 'not worth the life of a single Serbian soldier'
-  2. David and Goliath: A public relations coup
-  3. 'Europe's hour'
-  4. National positions within the European Community
-  5. The Netherlands as EC chairman despite itself
-  6. The Dutch ministry of Foreign Affairs

-  7. Hans van den Broek: pros and cons of a long period in office
-  8. Brioni: success or make-believe?
-  9. Dutch assessment of the future of Yugoslavia
-  10. Division along ethnic boundaries?







#### Chapter 2: The war in Croatia and the western reaction

-  1. Consequences of the war in Slovenia for the subsequent course of the Yugoslavian conflict
-  2. The action of the JNA in Croatia
-  3. The JNA in relation to the Serbian military and security organizations
-  4. Intermezzo: the nature and form of the conflict
-  5. Intermezzo continued: the unknown Balkans
-  6. The early intervention debate in the Netherlands
-  7. Further problems of the Dutch EC presidency surrounding the monitoring mission
-  8. Dutch energy against the background of the Bonn-Paris axis
-  9. The Yugoslavia conference in The Hague














#### Chapter 3: Recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and the significance of that for Bosnia

-  1. After Rome, an independent German initiative after all?
-  2. The history of Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  3. Alija Izetbegovic's political career
-  4. Radovan Karadzic's political career
-  5. Election contest in Bosnia in 1990
-  6. New political relations in Bosnia
-  7. The consequences of the war in Croatia for Bosnia
-  8. Serb preparations for war
-  9. Towards independence for Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  10. Recognition by the European Community and the United States
-  11. Fears for Bosnia
-  12. The EC and the Dutch Presidency: an assessment
-  13. Conclusion: The role of the Dutch EC Presidency with regard to the conflict




#### Chapter 4: UNPROFOR and the Dutch contribution
















-  1. United Nations peace operations: peacekeeping and peace-enforcing
-  2. The UN peacekeeping force in Croatia: a new round with new nationalists
-  3. The previous history of Dutch contributions to peacekeeping operations
-  4. Dutch participation in a peacekeeping force in Croatia
-  5. Defence in a changed world
-  6. Dutch troops to Yugoslavia: 'a responsible and acceptable risk'

#### Chapter 5. The start of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: March 1992 - May 1992











-  1. New plans for dividing up Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  2. The referendum in Bosnia
-  3. The Cutileiro Plan and its thwarting by the Americans
-  4. The recognition of the multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  5. The start of the war
-  6. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia
-  7. The response of the international community
-  8. The 'withdrawal' of the JNA, the creation of the VRS and the rise of Mladic
-  9. The Dutch attitude to the war in Bosnia
-  10. More American involvement?
-  11. The political and military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  12. Political changes in Belgrade
-  13. Conclusion

#### Chapter 6. Emotionalization of the debate following reports about the camps ('Omarska'): June 1992 - August 1992








-  1. The peace mission begins its task in Bosnia: UNPROFOR-II gets underway
-  2. New security structures in the conflict
-  3. The grand French gesture: Mitterrand goes to Sarajevo

-  4. Aid overland to Sarajevo?
-  5. Refugee streams and policies relating to them
-  6. Reporting on the complicated relations in Bosnia
-  7. First information about camps in north-western Bosnia
-  8. The warring factions' public relations
-  9. Trnopolje: the famous pictures
-  10. The consequences of the pictures in the Netherlands: a stronger call for intervention
-  11. Doubts about the images from Trnopolje
-  12. Increasing readiness to initiate military intervention before the Trnopolje images
-  13. Opponents of intervention after the images of Trnopolje
-  14. The somewhat longer term after Trnopolje: the Netherlands is willing, but the rest of the world ...
-  15. Sights on the airmobile brigade
-  16. The London conference
-  17. Debate in Parliament, 27 August: resistance to 'hypocrisy'
-  18. Conclusion













#### Chapter 7: The Autumn after 'London': September 1992 - October 1992

-  1. After 'London'
-  2. Humanitarian aid after London
-  3. Bosnia-Herzegovina Command in Sarajevo
-  4. To shoot or not to shoot?
-  5. The transport company and the Dutch image problem
-  6. Confusion about the Rules of Engagement
-  7. The No-Fly Zones
-  8. En route to the Tribunal
-  9. The continuation on the debate on intervention in the Netherlands
-  10. Conclusion






#### Chapter 8: Safe Areas as spin-offs from humanitarian action, November - December 1992






-  1. Apathy
-  2. The idea of safe regions
-  3. A month of meetings
-  4. Kooijmans takes over from Van den Broek
-  5. Appeasement or enforcement?
-  6. Panic and the presidential elections in Serbia: a lost chance for the West?
-  7. Conclusion

#### Chapter 9. The rapes in Bosnia and the Vance-Owen peace plan, January-February 1993



















-  1. Campaigns in the Netherlands
-  2. Rapes in Bosnia: a new theme in the media
-  3. 'If oil is a reason to go to war, then these rapes certainly are'
-  4. 'The objective has been achieved: everyone knows that it is happening'
-  5. A tribunal for Yugoslavia
-  6. The Vance-Owen peace plan
-  7. Milosevic as an apostle of peace
-  8. The consequences of the change of administration in the United States
-  9. Developments in Bosnia itself
-  10. The Dutch response to the Vance-Owen plan
-  11. Enforcement or implementation of the peace plan
-  12. Conclusion

#### Chapter 10. Srebrenica under siege







-  1. Interdepartmental coordination
-  2. No willingness to enforce the Vance-Owen plan
-  3. The Parliament debate of 9 March 1993
-  4. Pressure to deploy a 'grossly exorbitant showpiece'
-  5. Ter Beek's visit to Bosnia

-  6. The Prime Minister and the Ministry of General Affairs
-  7. Srebrenica under siege
-  8. Enforcing the no-fly zone
-  9. Red alert for Srebrenica
-  10. A Safe Area






#### Chapter 11. Bankruptcy of the international community - the Netherlands as a catalyser: May to July 1993

-  1. Gloomy prospects for the Vance-Owen plan
-  2. The Dutch Government en route to the deployment of the Airmobile Brigade
-  3. The rejection of the Vance-Owen plan
-  4. Parliament almost unanimous in requiring the deployment of the Airmobile Brigade
-  5. Christopher's trip
-  6. The Airmobile Brigade in the debate about the Priorities Memorandum
-  7. The Van Vlijmen and Van Traa motion
-  8. A joint programme of action
-  9. Detailing the concept of 'safe areas'
-  10. Resolution 836: What protection?
-  11. Security with the aid of air support
-  12. Troops for the Safe Areas
-  13. 'Silly Sod' and the Netherlands' role as a catalyser
-  14. The logistics unit not achievable
-  15. The preparation of the Airmobile Brigade for deployment in Bosnia
-  16. The protection of the Safe Areas: 'I think that that will work'
-  17. 'The bankruptcy of the international community'
-  18. Conclusion






#### Chapter 12. The Owen-Stoltenberg plan: June 1993 - September 1993

-  1. The strangulation of Sarajevo and the NATO decision
-  2. The Owen-Stoltenberg Plan and the Western position
-  3. Izetbegovic in difficulties
-  4. The further progress of the negotiations
-  5. The Dutch response to the plan
-  6. Conclusion







#### Chapter 13. Offering the Airmobile Brigade: August 1993 - November 1993

-  1. Presented with pride and accepted with gratitude
-  2. Deterioration of international relations
-  3. Preliminary reconnaissance
-  4. Government decision to deploy
-  5. Parliament decides

#### Chapter 14. Interim balance





-  1. Wrong perceptions
-  2. Faulty set of instruments
-  3. Shifting objectives
-  4. The Dutch approach to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia
-  5. Two kinds of ethics

#### Chapter 15. Problems with implementation






-  1. The deployment area
-  2. The strength of the weaponry: .50 or 25 mm?
-  3. The expectations regarding air support
-  4. Bad omens
-  5. Uncertainty as to the remit
-  6. Conclusion

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-  2. UNPROFOR Headquarters in Zagreb
-  3. Bosnia-Herzegovina Command
-  4. Standing Operating Procedures and Rules of Engagement





### Chapter 2: The history preceding the conflict in Eastern Bosnia up until the establishment of the Safe Area

-  1. The economic and political crisis of the eighties
-  2. The 1990 elections in Bosnia
-  3. The beginning of the war, April 1992
-  4. The Muslims fight back
-  5. Consequences of the Serb counteroffensive for Srebrenica in the beginning of 1993















### Chapter 3: Srebrenica under UN protection: demilitarized and Safe Area (March - June 1993)

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-  2. Ceasefire and demilitarization under UN presence (10 March - 17 April 1993)
-  3. Implementation of the demilitarization agreement of 18 April 1993
-  4. The second demilitarization agreement of 8 May 1993
-  5. Failure of the second demilitarization of Srebrenica
-  6. Conclusion













### Chapter 4: Srebrenica in the time of CanBat - the humanitarian situation and the arrival of the NGOs











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-  2. The activities of the UN aid organizations and the NGOs
-  3. NGOs and their relationship with the Opstina
-  4. Conclusion: mood

### Chapter 5: The preparation and dispatch of Dutchbat





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-  2. The planning for the dispatch of the Airmobile Brigade
-  3. The planning order for the dispatch of Dutchbat
-  4. The Dutchbat Equipment
-  5. The Dutchbat personnel
-  6. The Dutchbat training
-  7. The formation and training of Dutchbat III
-  8. How Dutchbat came to be in Srebrenica
-  9. The Canadians move out, the Dutch move in
-  10. The third reconnaissance mission: Srebrenica and Zepa (21 January - 10 February 1994)
-  11. Departure and deployment: February - July 1994
-  12. The operational zone of Srebrenica and Zepa changes to Srebrenica and Sapna-finger
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-  14. Conclusion

### Chapter 6: Operational performance of Dutchbat I, II and III in the Safe Area Srebrenica





























-  1. Introduction
-  2. Struggling with the UNPROFOR mandate in Bosnia
-  3. Dutchbat's order
-  4. The organization of Dutchbat
-  5. Rules and instructions for Dutchbat: Standing Orders
-  6. The ABiH in Srebrenica
-  7. The VRS around Srebrenica
-  8. The Dutchbat information picture
-  9. Demilitarization and the Ceasefire Line
-  10. Dutchbat I and the Ceasefire Line
-  11. Dutchbat II and the Ceasefire Line
-  12. Operational action

-  13. Patrols
-  14. The Dutchbat I period
-  15. Limited possibilities in times of tension
-  16. Organizational changes at Dutchbat II
-  17. Dutchbat II: a logistical squeeze and operations on foot
-  18. Observation posts, patrols and mine incidents
-  19. Dutchbat III: confrontation instead of ceasefire - the Bandera triangle
-  20. More emphasis on observation from permanent points: new OPs
-  21. Dutchbat III and the warring factions
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-  1. The Canadians relieved by the Dutch
-  2. Living conditions in and around the enclave
-  3. The internal political relations in the enclave
-  4. Conflicts between the NGOs and the authorities threaten the continuation of the humanitarian aid programmes

#### Chapter 8: Peacekeeping and humanitarian action













-  1. Peacekeeping in theory and practice
-  2. Training and preparation of the three Dutchbat battalions
-  3. Stereotypes and 'Balkan Man'
-  4. Conclusion: was the training deficient?
-  5. The arrival of Dutchbat I, II and III in the enclave: an impression of the atmosphere
-  6. Contacts with the population of the enclave: an impression of the atmosphere
-  7. Contacts with the Bosnian Serbs
-  8. Contacts with UN organizations and NGOs
-  9. Dutchbat's problems: what should be done and how should it be done?
-  10. Problems between Dutchbat and the warring factions
-  11. Logistics problems
-  12. Socio-cultural and psychological problems
-  13. Peacekeeper stress
-  14. Problems with the behaviour of Dutchbat personnel: the attitude towards Muslims
-  15. The extent of anti-Muslim behaviour
-  16. The attitude towards the Bosnian Serbs
-  17. Humanitarian assistance in Srebrenica
-  18. The field of tension between the military and the humanitarian duties
-  19. Medical assistance
-  20. Collaboration of Dutchbat with the NGOs
-  21. The military-civil liaisons: Civil Affairs
-  22. Liaison in Dutchbat I and II
-  23. Liaison in Dutchbat III
-  24. The psychology of the peacekeeper
-  25. Tension between the objective of the mission and the motivation of the participants
-  26. Evaluation of the deployment of 'airmobile' as peacekeepers
-  27. Evaluation: the training relative to the population of the enclave
-  28. Evaluation: the perspective of the commanders

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-  2. The problem of the morale
-  3. The role of the Battalion Commander
-  4. Sources of frustration and discouragement
-  5. Differences in the morale per battalion
-  6. Recapitulation concerning the morale
-  7. Misconduct
-  8. Back to square one: misconduct after all?
-  9. Conclusions concerning misconduct

-  10. The B-Company attitude
-  11. Right-wing extremist behaviour in B-Company
-  12. Summary concerning the internal functioning of Dutchbat I, II and III
-  13. The functioning of the Dutchbat III leaders



















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-  2. The Contact Group
-  3. Lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina
-  4. More robust use of air power?
-  5. The new Dutch 'purple' Government and Bosnia
-  6. Crisis in the Safe Area Bihac and possible transfer of a Dutchbat company
-  7. Concessions of the Contact Group
-  8. The meeting of the Chiefs of Defence Staff in The Hague: improvement of the effectiveness of UNPROFOR
-  9. Test criteria and the Van Middelkoop motion
-  10. Withdrawal of UNPROFOR?
-  11. Replacement of Dutchbat?
-  12. A balance in Bosnia policy?








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### Part III: The fall of Srebrenica





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-  1. Introduction
-  2. Force Commander general Bernard Janvier
-  3. Commander UNPROFOR general Rupert Smith in Sarajevo
-  4. The differences between Smith and Janvier
-  5. The Split meeting: split visions?
-  6. The strategic field of forces spring 1995, seen from UNPROFOR
-  7. After the end of the cease-fire
-  8. Boutros-Ghali's move in the Security Council
-  9. Janvier in the Security Council and in consultation with the troop contributing nations
-  10. The air strikes on Pale
-  11. Direct consequences of the air strikes for UNPROFOR
-  12. The report from the UN Secretary-General
-  13. Response to the air strikes on Pale: formation of the Rapid Reaction Force
-  14. The situation on the ground for UNPROFOR in June 1995
-  15. At the political front in Bosnia after the air strikes: the situation in June 1995
-  16. The strategy of the Bosnian Muslims in the fighting
-  17. The strategy of the Bosnian Serbs in the fighting
-  18. Conclusion

#### Chapter 2: Air power: Close Air Support and air strikes











-  1. Introduction
-  2. Backgrounds of the differences of opinion between NATO and UN
-  3. Air strikes in practice: the second half of 1994
-  4. Discussions on air strikes in spring 1995
-  5. After the O'Grady incident: air power in July 1995
-  6. Discussions on air power between UN and NATO at the highest level
-  7. Conclusions

#### Chapter 3: No air actions on release of the hostages: a deal between Janvier and Mladic?













-  1. Introduction
-  2. Rumours in the media about a 'deal'
-  3. Further investigation into a deal in New York and Paris
-  4. The rumours on the Bosnian side

-  5. The report on the meeting with Janvier and Mladic
-  6. External interference with the hostage crisis
-  7. Visions from later days
-  8. Continuing the use of air power, also during the hostage crisis?
-  9. Conclusion: deal or no deal?

























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-  2. Dutchbat's mood
-  3. The home straight was the heaviest for Dutchbat
-  4. Bosnia in the Netherlands domestic political arena - June 1995
-  5. The relief of Dutchbat III
-  6. The morale of ABiH and the population
-  7. VRS propaganda in the enclave
-  8. The absence of Naser Oric
-  9. The humanitarian situation in Srebrenica
-  10. Conclusions

#### Chapter 5: The period from 25 May 1995 to 6 July 1995

















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-  2. The position of the Dutchbat observation posts (OPs)
-  3. The days of late May and early June 1995: the VRS threaten around OP Echo
-  4. Developments in June: an imminent VRS attack?
-  5. The NATO withdrawal plan
-  6. The ABiH offensive at Sarajevo
-  7. The situation around Srebrenica in mid June
-  8. Individual skirmishes between ABiH and VRS
-  9. The final two weeks before the attack
-  10. The motivation for starting the attack
-  11. VRS plans for the attack on Srebrenica
-  12. Signs of an impending attack?

#### Chapter 6: The Fall of Srebrenica: 6 to 11 July 1995






-  1. Introduction
-  2. Investigative problems related to the period of the fall and thereafter
-  3. A closer look at the headquarters and chain of command
-  4. Procedures for the request of Close Air Support
-  5. Combat action and Close Air Support from day to day: 6 July
-  6. Combat action and Close Air Support from day to day: 7 July
-  7. Combat Action and Close Air Support from Day to Day: 8 July
-  8. Combat Action and Close Air Support from Day to Day: 9 July
-  9. A Line in the Sand: The Blocking Positions
-  10. The Early Morning Hours of 10 July: Dutchbat Activities at the Blocking Positions
-  11. Close Air Support: A Third Request from Dutchbat
-  12. Further Activities of the Blocking Position on 10 July
-  13. The Night of 10 July: The Fourth Request for Close Air Support
-  14. The Start of the Refugee Stream
-  15. The Evening of 10 July: Emergency Meetings in Various Locations
-  16. The Night of 10 to 11 July: Last Meeting between Karremans and the Opstina
-  17. 11 July: No Air Strikes
-  18. The Situation in the Early Morning Hours of 11 July
-  19. The Morning of 11 July: Is Close Air Support Coming?
-  20. Close Air Support Approved
-  21. The VRS occupy the city - the population moves to Potocari
-  22. From Srebrenica to Potocari
-  23. The fate of the remaining OPs
-  24. The ABiH reaction to the VRS attack












**Chapter 7: 6 - 11 July 1995 - retrospective accounts**

-  1. DCBC: Defence Crisis Management Centre and the Royal Netherlands Army Crisis Staff (RNLA Crisis Staff)
-  2. Discussions at the Defence Crisis Management Centre up to 11 July 1995
-  3. Discussions at Defence Crisis Management Centre: 11 July 1995
-  4. Meeting of the Ministerial Council at the Defence Crisis Management Centre on 11 July
-  5. Calling a halt to further air support on 11 July
-  6. The discussions in Zagreb on 11 July
-  7. Prior knowledge of the attack in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
-  8. Retrospective accounts relating to air support: Zagreb, The Hague, Mons, Naples, Washington etc.
-  9. The non-arrival of air strikes
-  10. Close Air Support at the 'large' debriefing in Assen, and later in The Hague
-  11. A retrospective at the blocking positions and the Rules of Engagement
-  12. First impressions of Dutchbat action
-  13. Later criticism of Dutchbat
-  14. The Dutchbat command
-  15. Military honours for Karremans and the Forward Air Controllers?
-  16. Conclusions

**Chapter 8: Plans to re-take Srebrenica**

















-  1. Introduction
-  2. The French proposals
-  3. UN Resolution 1004: formulation and consequences
-  4. Military plans for retaking Srebrenica after the UN resolution
-  5. Conclusion






**Chapter 9: The departure of Dutchbat from Srebrenica**

-  1. Plans for the departure of Dutchbat
-  2. No withdrawal, stay put
-  3. The hard truth: Mladic dictates whether and how Dutchbat withdraws
-  4. The Hague, Zagreb and New York deliberate on the departure of Dutchbat
-  5. Is a withdrawal in sight after all? The birth of the Smith-Mladic Agreement
-  6. The arrangements for the withdrawal and the route
-  7. Consultations between Mladic and Nicolai on the Dutchbat equipment
-  8. The Dutchbat withdrawal as a public issue
-  9. Conclusion





















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**Part IV:****The repercussion and the aftermath until the end of 1995****Chapter 1: The journey from Srebrenica to Tuzla**






-  1. Introduction
-  2. 11 July, Day one: events leading up to the departure
-  3. The motives for the flight
-  4. The night of 11 and 12 July: attempts to coordinate efforts
-  5. Why was this particular route to Tuzla chosen?
-  6. 12 July: the departure of the column
-  7. 12 July: the VRS discovers the departure
-  8. 12 July: the VRS deploys heavy weaponry
-  9. 12 July: the first prisoners are taken
-  10. 13 July: the hunt continues
-  11. 13 July: the journey continues
-  12. 14 July 1995
-  13. 15 July 1995
-  14. 16 July: the breakthrough at Baljkovica
-  15. 17-20 July: the battle with the stragglers
-  16. A prisoner of war's story

-  17. After 20 July
-  18. The fate of those remaining in Kamenica
-  19. The arrival of the men in Bosnian territory
-  20. The disbandment of the 28th Division
-  21. Summary and conclusions






















## Chapter 2: The executions















-  1. Introduction
-  2. The extent of the mass murder and the number of missing persons
-  3. The motives for the executions
-  4. The executions
-  5. The morning of 13 July 1995: executions alongside the River Jadar
-  6. The afternoon of 13 July 1995: executions in the Cerska valley
-  7. The late afternoon of 13 July: executions in the warehouse at Kravica
-  8. 13 and 14 of July 1995: executions at Tisca
-  9. 14 July 1995: executions at the Grabavci school and elsewhere in Orahovac
-  10. 14th and 15th of July 1995: executions at the school and the dam in Petkovici
-  11. 14 to 16 July 1995: executions at the Pilica school and the Branjevo Military Farm
-  12. 16 July 1995: executions in the Dom Kultura in Pilica
-  13. Kozluk
-  14. Other execution sites
-  15. Obscuring the evidence
-  16. Excavations and exhumations
-  17. Responsibility
-  18. The involvement of the General Staff
-  19. Who was in command of the Drina Corps?
-  20. Review

## Chapter 3: The news of the executions and the mass graves


































-  1. Introduction
-  2. The search for the facts
-  3. American impetus for further investigation
-  4. New efforts
-  5. Conclusion

## Chapter 4: Potocari - Dutchbat and the fate of the local population






-  1. Introduction
-  2. The rules regarding allowing refugees into the Potocari compound
-  3. July 10: admitting (refugees into the compound) in practice
-  4. July 11 - the flight to Potocari
-  5. The issue of people getting knocked down (by Dutchbat vehicles)
-  6. Reception in Potocari
-  7. Numbers of refugees
-  8. The meetings of Mladic and Karremans: introduction
-  9. The events leading to the first meeting of Karremans and Mladic
-  10. The first meeting of Karremans and Mladic
-  11. The second meeting with Mladic
-  12. July 12: the third meeting with Mladic
-  13. The 'instruction to Karremans'
-  14. Mladic breach of promise: the buses are coming
-  15. Dutchbat and the problem of the murders in Potocari: the rules
-  16. The question of numbers
-  17. Reports on missing people
-  18. The question of the old and the young men
-  19. Why did murders take place in Potocari?
-  20. What happened to the remains of those who were executed?
-  21. Murders in the night of July 12-13





-  22. Protective effort in the night of July 12-13
-  23. Going around with blinkers on?
-  24. Observations and reports by the UNMOs
-  25. Sightings and reports by Mdecins Sans Frontiers
-  26. Lieutenant Colonel Karremans And The Reports Of Executions
-  27. Protests To Mladic?
-  28. Suspicions And Dilemmas: Van Duijn And Rutten
-  29. The Role Of Major Franken
-  30. The 'List Of 239'
-  31. The Issue Of Locally-Employed Personnel
-  32. Uncertainties Surrounding The Deportation
-  33. The 'Declaration Of July 17'
-  34. Development Of Evacuation Plans After July 17
-  35. Conclusion Regarding the Killings in Potocari

#### Chapter 5: The debriefings in Zagreb














-  1. Confusion surrounding the Dutchbat debriefings
-  2. Reporting human-rights violations - methodological problems
-  3. Dutch reception of KHO-5 and the 55 ex-hostages
-  4. KHO-5's journey to and arrival in Zagreb
-  5. The group of 55's journey to and arrival in Zagreb
-  6. Couzy's role during the psychological debriefing
-  7. Couzy's level of knowledge after the first debriefing
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-  15. Organization and course of the initial care and reception
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












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