

**MASS GRAVES AND OTHER
ATROCITIES IN BOSNIA**

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COOPERATION IN EUROPE**
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WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1995

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
WASHINGTON, DC

The Commission met at 2:06 p.m., in room 628 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Honorable Christopher H. Smith, chairman of the Commission, presiding.

Commission members present: Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Chairman; Hon. Steny D. Hoyer; and Hon. John Edward Porter.

House members present: Hon. Bill Zeliff; Hon. Benjamin Gilman; and Hon. James Moran.

Witnesses present: Ivan Lupis, David Rohde, and Barbara Wolf.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

Chairman SMITH. The Commission will come to order. The conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and in Bosnia in particular, has been a constant issue of the U.S. foreign policy agenda during the past 4 years. In these past few weeks, the working-out of a peace agreement with its accompanying commitment for NATO forces has been the leading issue on that agenda.

Today's hearing on Bosnia, however, is about a gruesome and solemn subject matter: namely, the atrocities against children, against women, and against men. These indescribable atrocities are the realities which warranted giving Bosnia such a place of prominence in our foreign policy.

While the international community deals with the formalities of exchanging territories among the warring parties and populations, the reality of Bosnia has been a land in which people-innocent civilians-have been raped, tortured, expelled from their homes, and executed by thugs. Documenting the war crimes, bringing the evidence before the War Crimes Tribunal, and pursuing justice through the tribunal are the foundation stones for reconciliation and a genuine peace.

The Helsinki Commission has an obligation, among other things, to document the violation of human rights. The role is vital, in and of itself. We owe it to the victims, and it is our hope that the attention given to the violations in Bosnia may deter future violations. Making the details a part of the official record of the Commission also helps those of us who must consider diplomatic and military responses to stay grounded in the reality of the situation that we are facing.

We have today three expert witnesses who have spent time in Bosnia and who have met the real victims of this war or their surviving family members and documented their almost incomprehensible ordeals. We will first hear from Ivan Lupis, a researcher from Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, who will describe how and why the U.N.-declared safe haven of Srebrenica failed to deter militants and generally what happened thereafter.

We will then hear from David Rohde of the Christian Science Monitor, who was able to visit the sites of the alleged mass graves in eastern Bosnia and confirm their existence. He also had the unfortunate experience of being caught by the Serb militants and held by them for about 10 days. Mr. Rohde, therefore, has not only firsthand experience with the victims, but also with the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

Finally, we will have testimony presented by Barbara Wolf, a forensic pathologist from Albany, New York, who has visited many mass grave sites in Bosnia and neighboring Croatia under the auspices of AmeriCares in order to help identify the remains. Press reports about this effort indicate the importance of this work for those families who may suspect, but do not know, the actual fate of their loved ones, not to mention for the possible prosecution, at the International Tribunal in the Hague, of those who created and filled these graves with victims.

I want to welcome our panelists to the Commission and thank them for the great work that they have done in documenting these heinous acts which have been perpetrated against civilians. I would also, at this point, like to yield to my very good friend, the ranking member of the Commission, Mr. Hoyer.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. STENY H. HOYER

Mr. HOYER. Thank you very much, Chairman Smith. I want to thank you for having these hearings. They are very important and they are very timely. It is a sad task before us today, but one that must be undertaken: the examination of testimony about genocide, mass graves, rape, executions- unspeakable and unacceptable atrocities.

The past 4 years in Bosnia have seen the recurrence of a European nightmare that we all thought had ended 50 years ago. We have before us a distinguished panel of witnesses, all who have seen firsthand the results of unbridled ethnic hatred. Mr. Rohde himself was captured by the Bosnian Serb militants for daring to bare to the world the gruesome killing fields of Srebrenica, where as many as possibly 8,000 Muslim men were summarily executed following the overrunning of that safe haven.

Those killing fields were not limited, of course, to Srebrenica and Zepa, but are found throughout Croatian and Bosnian territory overrun by the militants. On October 16, 1995, a USA Today article detailed the exhumation of a mass grave in the recently liberated Krajina region of Croatia-a site of much of Dr. Wolf's work, as we will hear shortly from her testimony.

According to that article, dozens of family members gathered in the morgue of Split Clinical Hospital to try to identify remains of loved ones, including watches, crucifixes, and pieces of clothing found with the bodies. The article reveals, and I quote, "A BMW car key found on Body Number 28 was given to a woman who claims her husband, hotel

manager Mate Steko, age 33, had a similar car. The woman, who was Bozana Steko, 32 years of age, races home to see if the car starts. It does."

Mr. Chairman, this tragic story and hundreds like it will be retold in the weeks, months, and perhaps years ahead. We must listen to the painful testimony. We must record with the utmost care and attention. We must continue to investigate, and we must bring to justice those responsible for these crimes.

Fifty years after the cry, "Never again," rang out from the death camps of Europe, we are again exhuming bodies from mass graves in Europe and recording atrocities committed against innocent people simply because of their ethnic or national background.

Mr. Chairman, we as members of the international community, not just as Americans, not just as members of Congress who are this Commission, but as members of the international community, must recommit ourselves to that haunting phrase. We must redouble our efforts to ensure that the goal of justice before vengeance enshrined in Nuremberg is, in fact, achieved.

Justice before vengeance. Now, many of us traveled throughout Europe and heard about things that needed to be redressed that occurred 50 years ago, 100 years ago, and 200, 300, 400 years and centuries ago. But those who feel aggrieved saw their grievances never redressed. Therefore, the cycle of vengeance and terror and atrocities and killings go on.

We have witnessed the conclusion of the long-awaited and strenuously-achieved peace agreement among the parties to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Plans to implement that agreement are underway. However, Mr. Chairman, I'm convinced that a lasting resolution of this conflict requires breaking the cycle of violence and vengeance that has racked this region, not just in this century, but as I said, in centuries past.

This goal can only be achieved through the administration of justice by an impartial International Tribunal, which is already moving forward with its work. The United States, Mr. Chairman- and I hope our Commission is in the forefront of urging it to do so- must continue to take the lead in strongly supporting the efforts of the War Crimes Tribunal. We must undertake this effort because where there is not justice, vengeance will most certainly reside and flourish and continue.

The people of the former Yugoslavia must have both the satisfaction and the deterring example of justice now. If not, we can be virtually assured that there will be more violence, more killings, and more atrocities. Mr. Chairman, we cannot allow this to happen.

This hearing, I think, is an important element in continuing to educate us as members of Congress, the American public, and the international community on what, in fact, has happened. I want to congratulate all three witnesses for the work that they have undertaken; in some cases, the risks that they have taken as well, for a better understanding of what's going on, and as to what has happened in the region, and hopefully a heightening of the consciousness of the world that we will never again stand idly by while hundreds of thousands of people are killed and millions of people are displaced from their homes.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Hoyer. Mr. Lupis, would you proceed?

**STATEMENT OF IVAN LUPIS, RESEARCHER, HUMAN RIGHTS
WATCH/HELSINKI**

Mr. LUPIS. Sure. Thank you for holding this hearing and inviting me to testify. My name is Ivan Lupis. I am a researcher at the Helsinki Division of Human Rights Watch, formerly known as Helsinki Watch. The following testimony is based on an investigation carried out by myself and a consultant from July 31 to August 23, 1995.

It describes the events leading up to, during, and immediately after the fall of the U.N.-designated safe area of Srebrenica, including gross violations of humanitarian law, as has been typical of Serbian military conduct to date. The fall of the town of Srebrenica and its environs to Serb forces in early July 1995 made a mockery of the international community's professed commitment to safeguard regions it declared to be safe areas.

U.N. peacekeeping officials were unwilling to heed requests for support from their own forces stationed within the enclave, thus allowing Serb forces easily to overrun it and, without interference from U.N. soldiers, to carry out systematic mass executions of hundreds, possibly thousands, of civilian men and boys, and to terrorize, rape, beat, execute, rob, and otherwise abuse civilians being deported from the area.

The recent Dayton peace plan and the guarded optimism that has accompanied this apparent progress should not obscure the fact that no peace agreement will be stable without justice for human rights abuses. The atrocities described in this testimony, like the many others that have preceded them in the former Yugoslavia, require of the international community, and specifically the United States, a commitment to repatriation for victims and accountability for the perpetrators.

Before the war, approximately 37,000 people, 72 percent Muslim and 25 percent Serbs, lived in the Srebrenica municipality. When Bosnian Serb forces began their brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing with the help of the Yugoslav People's Army in eastern Bosnia in 1992, most areas quickly fell under Serb control. Most of the non-Serb men either fled, were put into detention centers, or were indiscriminately killed.

Thousands of mostly Muslim refugees from other areas of eastern Bosnia flocked to places like Zepa, Gorazde, and Srebrenica, where territorial defense units succeeded in fending off Serb attacks. As a result of this sudden demographic shift, Srebrenica's population swelled to an estimated 55,000 to 60,000 people and remained under siege for more than 3 years.

On April 16, 1993, the U.N. Security Council adopted Resolution 819, declaring Srebrenica a safe area; and a cease-fire was signed on April 17. But in July 1995, there were numerous indications that Bosnian Serb forces were planning a summer offensive against Srebrenica. Access to U.N. convoys was increasingly restricted by Bosnian Serb forces, so that by late February and early March 1995, only one convoy per month was being allowed into the area to feed the approximately 39,000 people left in the enclave.

A U.N. official in Tuzla told us that this was a deliberate tactic used by the Serbs to weaken the population of the enclave in order to prepare the area for a final offensive. The incremental denial of food, water, electricity, and proper medical supplies by the Serbs over a long period of time should actually have been viewed as the true preparatory stages

of the July assault on the enclave and should have served as a warning signal to the international community that the so-called U.N. safe area of Srebrenica was in danger.

Prior to the offensive, Bosnian Serb forces also hampered peacekeeping effectiveness as well as troop rotations into the enclave. Two rotations of Dutch troops stationed in the enclave had been allowed to leave, but the Bosnian Serbs refused their replacements' entry. Thus, the entire pocket, civilians and UNPROFOR troops alike, were psychologically and physically exhausted weeks prior to the offensive.

Just 2 days before the attack, Bosnian Serb forces allowed 1 convoy carrying 100,000 liters of diesel fuel, an unprecedented amount, into the pocket. This fuel was then recaptured when the safe area fell. Given the embargo of the Bosnian Serbs, as well as their refusal to allow fuel into the enclave on previous occasions, this sudden influx of fuel should have been suspicious to the Dutch U.N. soldiers. Without the fuel, Bosnian Serb forces would not have been able later to bus tens of thousands of Muslims to Bosnian Government-controlled territory.

By July 5, approximately 5,000 Serb troops had surrounded the enclave with 50 artillery pieces and 15 to 20 battle vehicles and launched a full-scale offensive on Srebrenica at 3:15 a.m. on July 6. The shelling was too heavy to count the number of detonations, but U.N. estimates were in the thousands. Serb troops began taking control of U.N. observation posts one by one, and by the time the offensive was over, 55 U.N. troops had been taken hostage.

Dutch soldiers within the enclave requested close air support from the U.N. commanders, but the date of the request remains disputed. U.N. officials interviewed by us deny that Dutch troops in the safe area requested close air support before July 10. Other evidence, however, suggests that Dutch troops in the enclave acted sooner and believe that close air support might have dissuaded Serb forces from pressing their offensive.

According to the Dutch, close air support was requested on July 6. That request and subsequent ones were repeatedly turned down by the commander of U.N. peace forces in former Yugoslavia, Bernard Janvier. On July 10, according to UNHCR estimates, approximately 30,000 people began to evacuate Srebrenica and move back to the northern part of the enclave toward the U.N. base in Potocari, a village located halfway between Srebrenica and Bratunac.

Finally, on July 11, 2 days after Serbian forces had driven through Srebrenica, four fighter planes took part in an attack which resulted in the destruction of one Serb tank. Bosnian Serb commander Ratko Mladic threatened to fire on the Dutch compound and the civilian population of Srebrenica and to execute Dutch peacekeeping hostages if more air strikes were carried out.

The air strikes were not repeated and the U.N. effort to save the U.N. safe area of Srebrenica shifted to damage control. Now, due to my limited amount of time, I have to skip over what happened with the women, children, and elderly people in Potocari and move on to the massacres because this is the focus of this testimony. If there are any questions about what the Serbs had done in the Potocari compound, questions could be raised after.

As Srebrenica was falling, the overwhelming majority of military-aged men and boys and a smattering of women and children gathered in separate locations in order to make the journey through Bosnian

Serb-held areas to reach Bosnian Government-controlled territory. The majority of the persons in this group of 12,000 to 15,000 trekkers were civilians. Men and boys interviewed by us stated that only between 3,000 to 4,000 of them were armed. After the U.N. failed to defend the safe area of Srebrenica, the enclave's military-aged men no longer trusted the UNPROFOR troops, nor did they believe their safety would be guaranteed by them. They formed a column which stretched for approximately ten kilometers and walked in a vulnerable formation because they had been warned of a mined terrain.

During the trek, the column was exposed to numerous attacks and ambushes by Serbian forces, during which violations of humanitarian law were committed. A displaced person I interviewed vividly described the horrific ordeal which the men and boys experienced. He mentioned:

"After about three kilometers, we encountered our first ambush at a stream. The center of our column was hit by anti-aircraft machine guns and mortars. Around 200 people died just from that. The Cetniks"-which is a term used by many to describe nationalist Serbs-"then came down from the hills, and about 2,000 men from the middle of the column got caught in the line of fire. The people at the front and back of the column scattered everywhere. I was in the middle and saw how the Serbs were shooting everyone and slaughtering us with bayonets.

"Furthermore, during the nighttime and during the ambushes, Serb soldiers in civilian clothing managed to infiltrate the column, spreading disinformation and confusion, giving wrong directions, injecting men with what was believed to have been hallucinatory drugs, drawing groups and individuals away from the column, and opening fire on and executing people from within the column."

As the ambushes and infiltrating Serbs continued to pick away at the column, men and boys tried desperately to regroup after the ambush. The column eventually became smaller and smaller in number, and smaller groups were left behind and separated from the rest. Many men and boys surrendered, and several witnesses told us that they saw unarmed men shot in the process of surrendering.

We conducted interviews with a witness to a massacre in the Nova Kasaba/Konjevic Polje area and with four other persons who were sent to mass executions at two sites in the Karakaj area, a town north of Zvornik on the Bosnian- Serbian border. Mass summary executions were also carried out at at least two locations in the Bratunac area, and evidence points to the existence of two sites in the Kravice area as well.

The systematic nature of the operation, already described in the offensive, and the attack designed to break up the escaping column of men can be further adumbrated during the round-up phase of the dispersed trekkers. Serb forces strategically positioned themselves along major roads and rivers over which the men would have to cross in order to reach Bosnian Government territory. Serb forces apparently tried to capture as many men as possible before they could cross so that they could be detained at sites around Nova Kasaba and Konjevic Polje.

As described in our reports, Serb forces communicated orders and instructions to the men by megaphones on how and where to surrender before they could reach the two roads. According to a displaced person, large massacres were carried out in this area. He recounted:

"The place was full of Cetniks so we hid in some high grass and waited. Muslims were coming down on the main road from everywhere giving themselves up. The Cetniks picked out Muslims who they either knew about or knew, interrogated them, and then made them dig pits which would be used as mass graves.

"During our first day there, the Cetniks killed approximately 500 people. They would just line them up and shoot them into the pits. The approximately 100 men whom they interrogated and who had dug the mass graves then had to fill them in. At the end of the day, they were ordered to dig a pit for themselves and line up in front of it. Then with M53 machine guns, they were shot into the mass graves.

"At dawn, it was still the same. A bulldozer arrived and dug up a pit which seemed to be about 30 meters long and about 15 meters wide, and they buried about 400 men alive. The men were encircled by Cetniks. Whoever tried to escape was shot. After that, they packed down the earth so it almost looked as good as new."

In this area, many men and boys described the appearance of Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic, who oversaw parts of the operation being carried out. Moreover, they reported seeing Serb soldiers dressed in U.N. garb driving around in white U.N. armored personnel carriers.

The fact that four of the survivors were detained in and transited through the Nova Kasaba/Konjevic Polje area and were then bused to Karakaj via Bratunac further suggests that the campaign carried out by the Serb forces was systematic in nature.

A number of citizens of Bratunac and its surrounding villages told about the violent deaths of a large number of men from Srebrenica. The villagers' accounts were consistent in many details, including the place and the method of execution. One woman, a resident of Serbia proper, reportedly said that she had just been to visit her brother-in-law, who was a Bosnian Serb soldier.

"He and his friends are quite open about what is going on," the woman exclaimed. "They are killing Muslim soldiers. They said they killed 1,600 yesterday alone and estimated in all they had killed about 4,000. They said they were in a big hurry so they were shooting most of them."

In the Karakaj area, men were ordered to get out of the trucks in groups of five or ten and line up in front of the Serb soldiers who fired on them. Four survivors disclosed details which indicate that the mass executions were well-planned and systematically carried out. For example, all noted that for extended periods of time, trucks pulled up to the sites and dropped off loads of prisoners. Firing squads would execute several groups and were then ordered to walk among the corpses to make sure everyone was dead. The presence of bulldozers, which pushed the dead bodies onto tractor-trailers, indicated that the Serb authorities had prepared for a large number of persons to be executed at the sites.

One of two survivors of a mass execution carried out on a meadow recounted:

"There were 12 of us in a small truck. We were driven for about 2 to 3 minutes, and when the truck stopped, we were ordered to get out. I saw grass underneath my blindfold. My cousin, Haris, took my hand. He said, 'They're going to execute us.' As soon as he said that, I heard gunfire from the right side. Haris was hit and fell toward me, and I fell with him.

"Someone was ordering them to finish us off individually. This process continued all day. During the day, I also heard trucks continuously driving up to another area about 100 meters away and gunshots which would follow shortly thereafter. There must have been two execution sites right next to each other. I also heard a bulldozer working in the background and became horrified. My worst nightmare was that I would be buried alive.

"I kept hearing people gasping and asking for water so they wouldn't die thirsty. Others kept on repeating, 'Kill me. Just finish me off.' Later I woke up. I wasn't sure whether I blacked out or fell asleep, and it was drizzling. It was nighttime, and I saw light beams from a bulldozer's headlights. I still heard the same noises as before-trucks driving up, people getting out, and gunshots. I also remember distinctly an older voice calling, 'Don't kill us. We didn't do anything to you,' followed by gunfire.

"I waited for about 4 or 5 minutes after all the Serbs had left to make sure that it wasn't some kind of trick. When I finally decided to get up, I couldn't. My whole body was numb. It took me a few minutes to get adjusted, but when I got up, I saw corpses littering a meadow about 150 meters by 100 meters. Suddenly I heard someone ask, 'Are you wounded?' I answered that I wasn't. It was a 60-year-old man.

"I tried to make my way over to him without stepping on the dead. It was impossible, so I tried at least not to step on the chest and torsos, but onto the arms and hands instead. We saw two other wounded men both in their thirties. They were both shot in the legs and one was shot in the hip. We checked to see if they could move, and they realized there was no way we could help them. They realized this, too, and told us to run away as quickly as possible.

"Before we left, the man who was wounded in the legs told me he was cold, and asked me to take a shirt or something off one of the dead bodies so that he could cover himself. The last thing I heard them say was, 'Run, brothers, save yourselves.' "

The July 1995 attack on the U.N.-declared safe area of Srebrenica by Serb forces was planned well in advance, and abuses perpetrated after the fall of the enclave were systematic and well-organized. According to the UNHCR, up to 8,000 men, including boys as young as 12 years old, remain missing; and many are believed to have been killed or executed.

Although the U.N. member states and U.N. officials have been ready to condemn war crimes and crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia, little has been done to prevent or stop such abuses from taking place. Between August and October 1995, while the United States carried out active negotiations with Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, systematic ethnic cleansing continued to be carried out against tens of thousands of non-Serbs in northwestern Bosnia.

Two thousand men, civilians who had never engaged in armed resistance, disappeared as their families were expelled into Bosnian Government-controlled territory. Numerous witnesses reported seeing Serbian-based special forces of Arkan operating in the area. Arkan is the nom-de-guerre of Zeljko Raznatovic, a suspected war criminal from Serbia.

Moreover, we also obtained several testimonies and photographic evidence pointing to a mass execution of approximately 150 civilians, which took place in the end of September 1995.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki would like to use this opportunity to call on the international community, and especially the U.S. Government, to insist on immediate international access to all detainees from the Srebrenica safe area and demand that their safety and well-being are ensured, and insist that the Bosnian Serb authorities provide immediate access to the sites of reported massacres during the Srebrenica offensive. The fate of the missing and disappeared must be disclosed.

Furthermore, if relevant, the United States and the international community must disclose all available information, including the intelligence, that implicates Serbia in supplying, assisting, or directing Bosnian Serb troops, and also strengthen the mechanisms for monitoring external support to Bosnian Serb forces.

Finally, the international community and the United States must ensure that the Dayton peace agreement guarantees the right to repatriation of survivors of ethnic cleansing and that the full protection of all returnees and minority groups is actively carried out. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for listening.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Lupis, thank you for that very moving testimony and your call, which I do believe will go heeded. Access is extremely important. That it be immediate is crucial to the kind of documentation that will be needed to get convictions in the War Crimes Tribunal. So I want to thank you for your good work and your fine testimony this afternoon.

Mr. LUPIS. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. I'd like to ask Mr. Rohde if you would present your comments at this point.

**STATEMENT OF DAVID ROHDE,
CORRESPONDENT, *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR***

Mr. ROHDE. Thank you for inviting me here. I want to say at the start that I am just here to present the evidence I found at the sites; as far as policy matters go, I will not be discussing them. I'm just here basically to present evidence. I'm here as a journalist to present what's public information, and that's all.

I would just like to make a short statement, and then I'll step over to the side to use the different visuals. Basically, over the course of a 3-month investigation, the Christian Science Monitor was able to visit four of six possible mass graves identified by U.S. intelligence around Srebrenica; was able to find nine credible survivors of mass executions; and found the combined evidence, those eyewitness accounts, and also the evidence that was found on the ground at these sites that indicates that at least 2,000 to 3,000 civilians were summarily executed by the Bosnian Serbs in around a week after the July 11 fall of Srebrenica.

The evidence also indicates that Ratko Mladic was present at least at four of the execution sites hours before the shooting began, and there's also evidence that forces from Serbia—whether they were regular military or irregulars is unclear—were involved in the attack. According to experts I've spoken to in the region, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, due to the size of this attack and even the size of the operation involved in the executions, probably knew that these executions were going on, but apparently did nothing to stop them. I just want to step over to the side now.

Chairman SMITH. While you're walking over, Mr. Hoyer and I are very pleased that you were released.

Mr. ROHDE. So am I.

Chairman SMITH. As you know, this Commission is probably one of the most bipartisan groups in the House and acted in that way, as we always do, asking for your release. I'm just very happy that you're out unscathed.

Mr. ROHDE. I am, too, and I'd like to thank the U.S. Government for the efforts they made to get me out. I appreciate it. Hopefully, the evidence I found will lead to justice being done in this whole issue.

I'll just start chronologically and try to keep this short. If you want to interrupt me for questions, that's fine. The first thing I did was in August. It was August 16. It was about 10 days after these two satellite photos were released by the U.S. Government. [See Exhibits 1 and 2.] I was allowed into Bosnian Serb territory to do regular reporting and luckily was not, as is usually the case, given an escort. You have to have a Bosnian Serb guide travel with you and control where you go. I didn't have that, and I was able to go to these sites.

I first went to the lower photograph, and I was able to find these two documents here on the bottom right. [See Exhibit 3]. One of them is an elementary school diploma that belongs to a young man named Smajic Murat. It's an old diploma. The first place I went was this grave, this area right here. I found these two documents here on my right. The first document I found was this piece of paper here, notes from a town meeting that was held inside the Srebrenica enclave. It's dated here-you can make out the numbers-14.03.1995, which would be March 14, 1995. The meeting took place in Potocari, a village inside Srebrenica where the U.N. base was.

I later found people who thought they had attended this meeting. The town meeting was about how to get some retarded children some help from international aid agencies and about civil defense. I found the notes right here. This was a pit that had been dug but not filled in. The paper was sitting right on the edge. I don't know if possibly one of the victims maybe threw it out of his pocket. It's not clear to me.

Farther down here closer to the large area of fresh digging, I found the diploma, again, that belonged to Murat Smajic. I was able then to go to refugee camps and find, unfortunately, Smajic Murat's brother. It's actually Murat Smajic. The names are reversed there. His brother told me that he, Murat Smajic, his brother, and father had all been walking together among this group of 10,000 military-aged men that Mr. Lupis talked about.

There was an ambush, and they were separated. At this point, Murat Smajic is still missing. The reaction of his family members was that they assumed he was dead. Again, the importance of the evidence is that it linked Muslims from Srebrenica to these sites.

There was one other thing I found here. These bottom graves are about 100 to 200 yards from this area, and walking in this area, I found here, sticking out of this area, was a decomposed human leg. I found that.

The key thing about this site is the size of these graves. The descriptions given by the survivors, especially the man that Human Rights Watch spoke to, all fit the size of these pits. This was along this paved road right here.

The road was crucial for Muslims to cross if they wanted to make it to Muslim-held central Bosnia, and it seems it was here that the Bosnian Serb forces set up. They had APCs patrolling this road and another road in the area, and they set up basically a killing ground where any Muslims trying to cross this area would be caught and rounded up.

And one last crucial bit of evidence: there was another photograph that the United States did not release publicly of a soccer field that was about a half-mile away. I went to that soccer field. There are two men who were survivors of other executions that were taken to the soccer field. They, without my telling them, accurately described every detail of this field. There's no doubt in my mind they were there. Everything from the size of the field, the buildings around it, to the kind of trees that surround it- there's no question in my mind that they're telling the truth.

What they told me was that Ratko Mladic addressed as many as 1,000 to 2,000 prisoners at that field and told them that they would not be harmed, that they were going to be exchanged for prisoners, and they'd be returned to their families. Those men were then taken away- here's Srebrenica.

This is the area I was talking about, what you could call the killing ground. It was just crucial that anyone who wanted to make it into government territory had to cross through this area, and the main column of men moved up through here. There are other survivors I spoke to who talked of massacres in this area. In this area, there are other graves. There's a grave here and another grave here that have been identified by U.S. intelligence, and again, these are the two that I visited in August.

The men that were gathered at this soccer field were then taken- and Mr. Lupis referred to this- to Bratunac by bus and held there overnight. This is important because it indicates premeditation. They were then held there overnight and then taken farther north, if you can see the smaller map, up to the Karakaj area.

Once they arrived in Karakaj, they said they were held in a school in the Karakaj area. I visited the Nova Kasaba site in August. I was able to find nine survivors in September, and then on October 29 went back and was able to get to the Karakaj area, which appears to be one of the larger sites. This is where the men were taken. It was the evening of Friday, July 14, according to the survivors, when the executions were carried out at two sites there.

I was able to visit both sites around Karakaj and found evidence of executions at both places. The most damning evidence was near a village called Sahanici. Everything about this site fits the description that survivors gave. The account that Mr. Lupis read- the young man who talked about two execution sites, firing going on about 100 yards away, and digging going on at both sites- well, I found two areas here and here of fresh digging. This is just a graphic that the Monitor put together.

The survivors all described driving 2 or 3 minutes. Two or 3 minutes away, I found a school that exactly fit the descriptions of the survivors. I actually have a sketch that one of them drew for me of the layout of the school. This is a notebook I used at the time. I found this school. It's a distinctive school in that it has a room added to the side and a concrete playground just outside of it.

The prisoners were taken to that room and blindfolded there and then loaded onto trucks in the parking lot. There's a house next to it where they described a woman watching them. This is also the school where Ratko Mladic was seen addressing the troops. A young boy actually watched me take pictures of this school, the same house, and later on, when my film was developed by the Bosnian Serb police, they told me that this school was a military installation and that I should not have been taking pictures of it. It appeared to be beat up and not being used. Again, the fact they say themselves it's a military installation adds credibility to the survivors' accounts.

One of the survivors from there also told me that the men who were taken here were the elderly men who went to the U.N. in Srebrenica and asked for help, but were instead marched away by the Bosnian Serb soldiers. The U.N.-the peacekeepers-did nothing to stop them.

In this area, along with the fresh digging, I found shoes, socks, and different civilian clothes spread across the areas of fresh digging. There's a railroad track separating the two. The survivors described its being adjacent to a railroad track. And the most damning evidence I found was here in the woods, about 50 feet away. It was a pile of clothing. I found at least 100 civilian jackets there.

Inside the pockets of the jackets I found two IDs. One had a Muslim name on it, and one was from Srebrenica. I think the most chilling evidence was in that pile: I also found three canes and one crutch, and that corroborates the account of a survivor who said he was taken there along with the old men from Potocari. This is a man who can barely walk. He badly damaged his leg in an accident.

Also, survivors described being forced to take their jackets off before they were executed at the school. So all together, it paints a grim picture. There were tracks of heavy vehicles repeatedly coming up to the area. Just everything about this site exactly fits what the describers told me. Again, Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military commander, was seen at this school by these three survivors who described everything to me accurately. He spoke to prisoners and told them they would not be harmed. His car pulled up right here near the railroad tracks, and he watched these executions carried out. Again, everything else these survivors told me matched perfectly to what I found. I have a couple of other things. and then I will just sit back down.

I'm sorry. One thing I forgot to mention was that I was able to get pictures, but my film was seized. I took pictures of that area, the mass grave there. It appears large enough. According to U.S. intelligence analysts, the two graves at Nova Kasaba are large enough to hold approximately 600 bodies.

The grave I found near Karakaj was slightly larger. I would guess it can hold 800 bodies, and I was able to carry out these items I found in the jackets. I told my Bosnian Serb captors that these were my handkerchiefs and combs. You're free to look at these. Unfortunately, they're not very damning evidence, but it was all I was able to bring out. They took everything else from me.

There are just a couple last points I wanted to make. There is evidence that at least one of the six sites that the United States knows about is one I have not visited, that the Bosnian Serbs are digging it up. U.S. intelligence said this last month. They have aerial photos of back-

hoes being in the area digging it up, taking out some kind of material, which could be bodies, and there's a possibility the Bosnian Serbs are pouring acid onto the bodies and destroying evidence.

According to the current peace deal, human rights investigators and especially investigators from the War Crimes Tribunal have access to all these areas, and U.S. troops have the right to use force to go into these areas. One last thing I'd like to say about being held by the Bosnian Serbs: some of my Serb captors were very kind to me, some were not. One night I was not allowed to sleep, and they were convinced I was a spy. Others were very supportive.

It was very clear to me from the prisoners and the guards I talked to that most Serbs don't believe that these massacres happened. They believe the line of the Bosnian Serb authorities that these are soldiers that were killed. Again, I saw no evidence of any fighting going on in these areas, and especially the site in Karakaj is 10 to 15 miles from the main escape route Muslims would have used from Srebrenica. So there's no explanation for these graves existing in that area.

I think it's crucial that what happened there be proven one way or another. The Bosnian Serbs may be right, and these may be soldiers, but the evidence indicates otherwise. With the peace agreement, there are guarantees that more investigations can go on, and I hope that the evidence I found will hopefully lead us to find out exactly what happened in Srebrenica.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Rohde, thank you very much for your testimony and for your obvious bravery in going out to those areas, recovering that information, and then making it known at great risk to yourself, as the situation certainly proved when you were arrested.

I'd like just to note that Mr. Zeff has joined our panel; fellow Commissioner Mr. Porter; chairman of the International Relations Committee Ben Gilman; and Mr. Moran. I'd like to ask our third and final witness, Dr. Wolf, if she would present her testimony before we go to questions.

**STATEMENT OF DR. BARBARA C. WOLF,
FORENSIC PATHOLOGIST**

Dr. WOLF. Thank you, Mr. Smith. It's certainly an honor to be asked to be here with you today and to share with you the observations of my colleagues and myself when we visited certain towns in Bosnia and Croatia 2 months ago. More specifically, I want to share with you our experience in working with our civilian physician colleagues from those nations at the sites of a series of mass human graves.

I think we can probably put the lights down a little bit. Yes, that's great. Thank you.

Between October 8 and 13, 1995, I joined a group of American physician-scientists on a trip to Croatia and Bosnia under the sponsorship of AmeriCares. [See Slide 1.] AmeriCares is an international humanitarian aid group based in New Canaan, Connecticut. It is a private, non-profit disaster relief organization providing immediate response to emergency medical needs, and also supporting long-term health care programs around the world.

The group with whom I traveled consisted of several other forensic specialists: Dr. Michael Baden, the co-director of the Forensic Sciences Unit of the New York State Police; Dr. Henry Lee, the chief criminalist

for the Connecticut State Police; Dr. Moses Schanfield, a DNA specialist from Denver; and Dr. David Rowe, a Professor of Pediatrics from the University of Connecticut.

We went to Croatia and Bosnia to work with and lend our support to the forensic team from the Split Clinical Hospital in Split, Croatia. While there, we assisted in the excavation of bodies at mass graves, assisted in autopsies, and then worked with the Croatian forensic team in meeting with families to assist them in identifying the bodies.

We also worked with the Croatian scientists in their DNA laboratory, which they had set up a year ago with some guidance from Dr. Lee to deal with those cases that could not be identified by traditional means. [See Slide 2.]

We visited three newly-found mass graves which contained the bodies of Croatians killed in 1991 and 1992. Two of the graves, one containing 34 bodies and the other, 3, were located near Kupres, Bosnia. The third mass grave we visited was in Petrinja, Croatia, a 2-hour helicopter flight from Kupres. The purpose of this visit was to assist in the identification of those bodies found in the mass graves being uncovered in areas previously controlled by opposing armies.

Our goal was to identify the dead and thereby help heal the living. In many instances, these were families who, for the past 2 or 3 years, had been holding out the hope that their loved ones might still be alive. Some had been told that their relatives had been taken prisoner. Our task was to help identify these bodies, to allow the families some kind of closure.

My purpose in sharing these experiences today is not to make any comments or give opinions regarding the peace process. Likewise, I'm not here to seek penalties for anyone or to assess blame for these deaths. This was not the goal of the trip. We did not examine these bodies for evidence of torture or even for specific causes of death. This was a policy decision made prior to our journey. Our job was purely to work toward the identification of these bodies and to return them to their families for proper burial.

In case I sound unmoved by this experience, let me say that despite a decade in forensic pathology and dealing with death, there were many sights that I was unprepared for. In one instance, there was the body of an 82-year-old blind woman in one of the mass graves. Also, we were being assisted by a soldier who, while excavating one of the graves, had found the body of his missing civilian brother.

The entire trip was a very moving one, and one that I think certainly most people in this country could not truly comprehend or understand, and that one who has never lived through the experience of war could envision. My purpose today is to give a clinical perception of the problems of the people of Bosnia and Croatia in the aftermath of war.

The peace process is really just a beginning of some of the work to be done for these people. At this point, there are many thousands of soldiers and civilians still missing. As peace arrives in the region, more and more of these graves will be found. It is quite probable that this identification will be going on for many years, as we are still identifying soldiers from the Vietnam era. The sheer number of the missing and the lack of resources dictates a long road for this process. [See Slide 3.]

I'd now like to show you some of the sights from these visits. This shot was taken on the first day of the trip as we approached Kupres, Bosnia, which is a town in southwestern Bosnia that had been captured

by the Serbs from the Croats in 1992. The front lines had recently pulled back from this area, and several mass graves had been discovered.

One of the graves containing 34 bodies had been excavated the previous week. It is my understanding from media reports that the 34 had been ordered executed while their relatives watched. [See Slide 4.] As we came to the town of Kupres, it was apparent that all of the region, all the houses, had been shelled, with the buildings being essentially in ruin. [See Slide 5.]

Although some of the people appeared to be attempting to get back to their homes, basically all the structures had been destroyed. This is the mayor of Kupres talking with Dr. Lee and Dr. Schanfield. [See Slide 6.] We found that the people of Kupres, as well as the people in all the areas that we visited, were very hospitable and extremely grateful for our help. Such was the appreciation of the mayor of Kupres that we were served a luncheon of lamb and local wines in the middle of a war zone.

This is the site of the grave that had been excavated the week prior to our arrival at the edge of Kupres. [See Slide 7.] This was the grave that had contained 34 bodies. A family member of one of the deceased had marked the grave with this cross. The bodies had been excavated, preliminarily autopsied at the site, and then moved to the Split Clinical Hospital where we would later work with the forensic team on these bodies.

The make-up of those in this grave cut across many lines: soldier and civilian, man and woman, adult and child, although there was a predominance of young males because of the soldiers. While we were not looking for specific causes of death, it was apparent that most of these people had died from multiple wounds, including gunshots and bayoneting. A conclusive determination of cause of death would also have been difficult because many of the bodies had been bulldozed and attempts had been made to burn the bodies.

This was a makeshift autopsy table at the edge of the mass grave in Kupres that had been used by the Split forensic team to conduct some of the initial examinations of the bodies. [See Slide 8.] It should be noted that while both traditional forensic pathology methods as well as DNA technology was available, the primary process used in the identification was largely direct visual examination by the families.

Most of these people came from towns that had been largely destroyed, so in most cases no dental or other medical records existed to work with. In many cases, we actually had to show family members a remnant of clothing to see if they could recognize it. [See Slide 9.]

While we were visiting this first mass grave site in Kupres, word came that another grave, which was later found to contain the bodies of three soldiers, had been pinpointed by Serb officials during a recent prisoner exchange. We went to that site, changed into scrub suits at the scene, and assisted in the excavation of these bodies.

I should take the opportunity to note that these bodies were not in any way extensively autopsied as we would do in this country. I recently participated in the recovery of one body in a criminal case in upstate New York where the removal of the body alone took 12 hours and the autopsy another day. This kind of precision was not available in Bosnia and Croatia simply because of the enormity of the numbers.

As I mentioned earlier, our visit was greatly noted and appreciated. There was a great deal of media attention given to our visit. An article appeared the next day following our visit to Kupres in the local paper, showing us at the grave site assisting in the excavation. [See Slide 10.]

Later that afternoon, we were taken by military helicopter to Petrinja, a town in north-central Croatia over the border from Bosnia where another large mass grave had been discovered. [See Slide 11.] At Petrinja, we arrived in a cornfield in the recently liberated region where local soldiers had identified another mass grave site. Although we did not stay for the entire excavation, it was later determined that the site contained nearly 100 bodies. [See Slide 12.]

I was told that the location of the grave had been determined by two Croatian soldiers who had been Serb prisoners of war and who had been forced to help collect and bury the bodies at the site. [See Slide 13.] When we arrived, a forensic team from Zagreb, the nearest forensic center located to the north of Petrinja, was working to excavate the bodies. Again, the make-up of the bodies in the grave included soldiers and civilians of all ages and both sexes.

Our timing was good. We were told that before our arrival, a dog had been blown up at the site by a landmine, and media reports noted that just hours before, three anti-tank grenades were recovered at the site, presumably put there to prevent anyone from excavating the bodies. The bodies in this grave were also from 1991. They were in very bad shape, both because of decomposition and because of the burial process, and consisted predominantly of skeletonized remains or partial skeletons.

Because teeth tend to be relatively resistant to decomposition, they were our most useful tool in identifying these bodies. Although dental records were essentially nonexistent, sometimes members of a family might remember, for example, a characteristic front tooth of a loved one and could recognize the person that way. In one case, a dentist who had worked on several of the missing people came to the autopsy room and was able to identify his own dental work on some of the bodies. [See Slide 14.]

This is closer to the first layer of the mass of bodies in this grave. You can see the outline of several of the bodies in the top layer at the upper center of the slide. The two things that really struck me as we first encountered this grave was the jumbled fashion in which these bodies were stacked one on top of the other, and the stench of almost 100 bodies with 4 years of decay. It seemed, at least to me, reminiscent of movies of the World War II concentration camps with layers and layers of bodies jumbled in a grave.

The following day, we returned to the Clinical Hospital in Split, Croatia, to work with their forensic team on the 34 bodies recovered the previous week in Kupres. Officials had notified members of the families in this town who were missing relatives that they could come to Split and attempt to identify their missing loved ones.

This slide shows the large refrigerated truck where the bodies were kept prior to examination at the medical center. [See Slide 15.] The truck is that long white structure across the middle of the slide. This is looking inside this trailer, this refrigerated truck, showing rows and rows of bodies in body bags. [See Slide 16.]

If this were the United States, this would have been a month's work for me. At Split, this turned out to be essentially a morning or a day's work. This is not because of lack of caring of the forensic team or lack of sophistication. It was just that given the enormous number of people to identify as many people as possible without specifically autopsying each body.

This is the autopsy room in the Clinical Hospital in Split. [See Slide 17.] There were probably five or six bodies at a time on tables in this room. These are the members of our team, myself on the right; Dr. Lee and Dr. Baden in the middle working with Dr. Simun Andelinovic, who was the chief forensic pathologist in Split, preparing to identify one of the bodies. [See Slide 18.]

We arranged the bodies on tables in the autopsy room in a way we hoped would be the least grotesque to family members. [See Slide 19.] This is the body of a dead Croatian soldier. [See Slide 20.] His helmet is on his chest, and although it really doesn't show well here, there's a large bullet hole in the helmet. This is a shot of the same soldier showing substantial facial trauma. [See Slide 21.]

As I mentioned, in many of these cases, identification came down to a family member just recognizing a piece of jewelry or a piece of clothing. In this case, the wife of this Croatian soldier who's shown here feet first was able to identify her husband just by recognizing his Nike socks. [See Slide 22, 23.]

While we were examining these decomposing bodies from several years earlier, we were also reminded of the continued ongoing violence nearby. The adjacent autopsy room was the site of the autopsies of soldiers being killed in the current fighting. This was a soldier who had been killed the day before with multiple shrapnel wounds. [See Slide 24.]

As a forensic pathologist, I'm used to families coming to an autopsy room to examine or identify their relatives, but having five or six bodies on tables and dozens of families rotating through an autopsy room was an experience I wasn't prepared for. It was much more difficult because of the language barrier. Dr. Andelinovic, who is in the center of the photograph, tried to serve as an interpreter for us, but with six bodies and many families, it was essentially impossible. [See Slide 25.]

We showed families whatever we could find to help in the identification process-frequently, teeth of the deceased. The thing that was most difficult was that because of the language barrier, we couldn't offer any comfort to the family members. [See Slide 26.] Despite the grisly nature of the bodies before them, the family members wanted very much to spend time with their identified loved ones.

I should note that the mission in this case was largely a success. Before the end of the day, 27 of the 34 bodies in the first mass grave, and all 3 of the soldiers from the second grave, were identified. DNA testing is continuing on the remaining bodies yet unidentified.

The people in Bosnia and Croatia have been through one of the worst wars of the century with cruelty and man's inhumanity to man reminiscent of World War II. I would appeal to this Commission and to all the governments of the world to understand the plight of these people and to help make the resources available to them that will be needed probably for years to come in working with and identifying these victims. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Dr. Wolf, thank you for that very disturbing testimony. You have reminded us what kind of atrocities we are actually talking about when we see it in black and white and in color. I'd like to begin the questioning and then yield to my colleagues for any questions they might have.

Mr. Rohde, you mentioned earlier that, when you were held by the Bosnian Serbs, some of your guards with whom you had contact were obviously more decent than others. They weren't into intimidation. They even gave you a heads- up that things might turn out well for you. We've heard over and over that all of the Bosnian Serbs are not acting with the same kind of impunity in this war, and that there are some who really believe that these atrocities are not taking place. Now, Hitler had his SS, he had his storm troopers, and he had people who committed atrocities as a matter of course. General Mladic and Mr. Lupis, you might want to speak to this as well-must have a very elite group or corps of people who are given to these kinds of atrocities, who will follow orders to the letter, dotting the i's and crossing the t's, and doing the kinds of terrible things that we see here. Is there evidence that those people are being identified? I know there have been a few names handed down, including Mladic, in terms of indictments. Are we gathering evidence that indicates there is a core group of Bosnian Serbs that committed the bulk of these atrocities? Mr. Lupis, would you want to start on that?

MR LUPIS. Yes. As a matter of fact, during this investigation, we've been trying to piece together a chain of command linking the soldiers in the field who committed these crimes and continue up the ladder until we get to Mladic. In this case, for the Srebrenica offensive, most of the hard work has been cut out for us because General Mladic was witnessed, was seen at many of these massacre sites. The real problem now is to try to get the chain established between the infantrymen and Mladic. Human Rights Watch, in the last few days, has been successful in obtaining information, names of Bosnian Serb commanders who operated during this offensive and who gave the orders to the men. The harder thing right now is to establish precisely who from Serbia proper-what military people from Serbia proper, what soldiers from Serbia proper-were involved, because there's strong evidence to support that troops from Serbia proper were also used in this offensive. We collected many testimonies. People said they'd seen Serbian troops in Serbian uniforms, distinguishable mainly by accents. The Serbian accent is very different from the Bosnian accent. Also, the U.N. reports that Mazowiecki published also collected testimonies of people seeing Serbian troops involved in this offensive. So right now, we have a pretty good picture of who's involved from the Bosnian Serb side. The more difficult question now is to see if we can determine who was involved in Serbia proper.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Rohde?

Mr. ROHDE. I heard the same thing from survivors regarding Serbian accents and that kind of thing. And experts I've talked with over there-U.N. officials, various military officials-feel that President Milosevic of Serbia has one of the best intelligence organizations in the former Yugoslavia. He has very close ties. Serbians are able to slip into Bosnian Serb territory, so it's very possible that he knew these executions were going on but did nothing to stop them.

Chairman SMITH. Given the allegations of mass executions which have been spoken about today-and we've heard about previously-was there any attempt by the United Nations, particularly as related to the safe haven Srebrenica, to investigate those mass executions as they were occurring?

Mr. LUPIS. Well, the role of the United Nations is problematic in the fact that the United Nations Dutch battalion in Srebrenica was in a very difficult situation: undermanned and unable to protect the enclave from this attack.

The problem that Human Rights Watch has with the United Nations' role is that even if they were helpless in stopping this from happening, there was crucial information which was not released in a timely fashion. The Dutch peacekeepers witnessed some of these atrocities taking place, and instead of radioing it out real-time, these allegations and stories started coming out a few days after the fall of Srebrenica.

Now, Mazowiecki, the U.N. human rights rapporteur, had written up a report based on testimonies taken from people investigating the role of the U.N. troops there; and it has caused waves in Holland. The Dutch Government has apparently suppressed information, a list of men who were turned over to the Serbs.

If you would like to read about this more in detail, it's in our report, but right now, the U.N. is really trying to feel out what it can do to explain this lack of action taken by it, and as a result of the Srebrenica debacle, Mr. Mazowiecki resigned his post in, I think, late August, early September.

Mr. ROHDE. There's just one thing. I also went to Holland and spoke to some of the peacekeepers who were in the enclave themselves, and they spoke of being very frustrated about being outmanned, outgunned, and almost being given an impossible mission to do. And the specific thing was that there was a list of, I believe, 142 men - 239, sorry-who were inside the U.N. enclave and ordered by the Dutch to leave.

As they left, they were separated from their families and taken away. All of those men are missing, and one of the survivors that I spoke to said he was also at Potocari, which leads me to believe that those men may very well be in the grave that I found near the village of Cajnice.

Chairman SMITH. Let me ask one final question before yielding to Mr. Hoyer. Mr. Lupis, I think this issue will especially apply to you as a researcher for a human rights organization. Mr. Rohde and Dr. Wolf, you also may want to go back to some of the places that you have visited. Do you believe that you will have access, unfettered access, to the sites where suspected mass graves and other kind of atrocities may have been held by all three sides?

Mr. ROHDE. I believe, according to the peace agreement, journalists do not have unfettered access to Bosnian Serb territory.

Mr. LUPIS. Yes, and this would be a good opportunity to call the Serbs' bluff and promise access to these graves under the Dayton peace agreement. I believe IFOR, the Implementation Force, has unrestricted access to any place in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would be a good opportunity to bring human rights groups, as well as forensic experts, along with IFOR troops, to the massacre sites.

I believe eastern Bosnia, where Srebrenica is, falls under U.S. jurisdiction, so a timely action would be to deliver a forensic team and a human rights team to be escorted to these sites by U.S. troops as soon as the Dayton peace agreement is signed.

One thing I think David said before, which may be dangerous, is that when he was captured, his maps of the sites were confiscated from him and, as well, his pictures were developed. Something like this should be done in a hurry; otherwise, the Bosnian Serbs would be able to dig up these graves and remove the bodies. I believe they've started in one place already.

Chairman SMITH. If I could follow up, is there something that should be coordinated with Justice Goldstone and his prosecutors, or is it something that would be done independently? How would you work that? Dr. Wolf, how did you work yours?

Dr. WOLF. Well, our trip was under the auspices of AmeriCares and in collaboration with the Split Medical Center. There are several forensic teams in place, a team in Split, a team in Zagreb. They have all of the knowledge and techniques, including DNA technology, to do the identification process, but basically we are talking about just a few forensic pathologists and dentists.

So I think we would need both the resources, in terms of monetary resources, as well as assistance from other forensic experts. They are certainly very appreciative of any forensic help in that regard.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Lupis, how does your information make its way to Justice Goldstone? Do you work with him, or do you feed them information?

Mr. LUPIS. No, we work independently. They have their own investigators, and we have ours. But we work in a parallel fashion. Whatever we uncover or discover we send immediately to them just to help them build the cases for the indictments. But it's a solid system.

So far, everything we've published since 1991-1992 about the war has been handed over to the International Criminal Tribunal, so it's effective. I think they could do a good job if they fully carried it out.

Mr. ROHDE. I just want to state that I don't work in a parallel fashion with the War Crimes Tribunal. I just try to get the information public and give it to the public. It would be good, though, if this proposed trip you've talked about would include journalists so they could also go, and we don't have unfettered access; but I'm sure that there are journalists who would volunteer to go along if there were adequate security guarantees.

Chairman SMITH. I yield to the distinguished chairman of the International Committee, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Smith. I just wanted to commend you and Senator D'Amato and members of the Commission for conducting this hearing at this time. It's very timely, and I hope that the evidence unearthed by our investigators will get to the proper hands, the tribunal that's examining the war crimes. Many of us in the Congress are very much concerned about further pursuit of those war crimes, that they not get buried in all of the paperwork that's going on in trying to give some peace to that area. Thank you, Mr. Smith. I regret I'm being called to another meeting.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Hoyer.

Mr. HOYER. Thank you very much. I want to thank all three of you for your testimony, but much more important than that, I want to thank you for the work you're doing. In three different areas, you are critical players, making sure that the cycle of vengeance and lack of justice and redress of atrocities that I talked about will not occur.

Let me ask a few questions. Dr. Wolf, you indicated that there were, in fact, pathologists on the ground in Bosnia who are competent and capable of doing good forensic work.

Dr. WOLF. Very much so, and I think this was really an example of science crossing political lines. The techniques that we use in the United States were very much the same techniques that they were using there, including the DNA laboratory in Split.

Mr. HOYER. The problem, I take it then, is the volume of work to be done and the scarcity of numbers there to do the work?

Dr. WOLF. The volume of people to be identified, and the lack of available information which aids in identification. The forensic teams have done a tremendous amount of work in gathering whatever information is available about the missing persons. They have a data bank and have gathered whatever dental or other medical information about these missing persons, but in many cases, because the entire towns are destroyed, there is very little to use.

Traditionally with identification of a decomposed body, we work with dental records, that sort of thing. In many cases, those records aren't available there. So that puts a greater need for DNA techniques.

The laboratory in Split has been up and running for about a year and they're now expanding beyond traditional DNA, hopefully into the more sophisticated mitochondrial DNA techniques. I think that's going to become very important in this process. In that way, samples from relatives can be used to identify some of these missing people when other methods of identification aren't available. Croatian scientists have come to this country and spent time working with the technologies. Our DNA experts, Dr. Lee, Dr. Schanfield, and others, have looked at their work and the technology. The capabilities are certainly there. It's resources and people that are needed.

Mr. HOYER. Doctor, you have reflected upon the identification of individuals who have been killed. Obviously your job is not so much about identification, but to determine why they were killed, particularly in trying to make some connection with a criminal act, in this case, a war crime.

Are you confident that we're going to be providing the kind of forensics work that will be needed in the Hague?

Dr. WOLF. As you said, usually as a forensics pathologist, my work is in dealing with a criminal situation. In this case, with this particular trip, the specific decision had been made not to look for evidence of atrocities, although I think, obviously, the mass graves themselves and the people in those graves, in some part, speak for themselves. We didn't specifically examine the bodies for torture or even cause of death. This trip was purely for identification.

Mr. HOYER. Identification.

Dr. WOLF. It's work that certainly-looking for---

Mr. HOYER. Do you see the other happening?

Dr. WOLF. As far as our work goes, we made this trip. We don't have specific plans to go back. It's certainly being documented by the team that we worked with from Split; but, at this point, they're overwhelmed with just attempting to provide the families some closure. As I mentioned, we're still identifying our remains being sent back from Vietnam.

Mr. HOYER. Vietnam?

Dr. WOLF. And I think the feeling in Split was that the people are well-aware of what's going on with atrocities in that country and they're attempting to give the families the ability to go on and just the overwhelming numbers of missing people have--each body is not being autopsied for evidence of torture or atrocities.

Mr. HOYER. I understand.

Dr. WOLF. We're only doing this for the purpose of the families.

Mr. HOYER. Thank you. Mr. Rohde, you mentioned on a couple of occasions the gravesites which you had identified, took pictures of, and talked to survivors. You mentioned on a number of occasions determining whether these were civilians or whether they were soldiers--that the Serbs were claiming that these were soldiers.

Now, I wanted to follow up at that time and did not. That may or may not be relevant. Obviously you can't kill soldiers that have been captured and are unarmed and are no longer combatants. It is a war crime to murder them and put them in a mass grave as much as it is any other individual. At that point in time, they're essentially subject to the same protections that civilians are, as I understand it.

Was there a contention that these soldiers were killed in battle? Is that the defense?

Mr. ROHDE. That is the Bosnian Serbs' explanation. They say these were all soldiers killed in combat, and for sanitary reasons, the bodies were collected from the areas and put in these mass graves. But again, the evidence I found contradicts that in terms of civilian clothes, and all the evidence I found has buttressed the accounts of the nine survivors who say civilians were executed.

Mr. HOYER. OK.

Mr. ROHDE. It's also important to point out that I believe only a third of the men who fled the enclave were armed. So the idea of combat going on is also difficult to prove from that.

Mr. HOYER. Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee is leaving because she has another meeting to which I've also got to go on Bosnia and on the peace agreement. But I appreciate her being here.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Thank you. Appreciate your testimony.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Rohde, you've testified, we've seen pictures of the Dutch commanding general, as I recall, raising a glass of wine or champagne with Ratko Mladic. I had an opportunity to take that picture--it was on the front page of the Washington Post--before the House of Representatives.

I had a 1-minute observation, as scathing as I could possibly muster, about raising a glass with a war criminal and a murderer, Ratko Mladic. Why do you think Mladic addressed these folks? Why do you think he was onsite?

Mr. ROHDE. I was told that at that meeting or one of the meetings with the Dutch commander, the initial meetings, Ratko Mladic had a pig brought into a hotel room. He had a soldier cut the pig's throat and told the Dutch, "you have to be able to watch this before we can talk." He then told the Dutch he would shell the compound if they resisted any efforts his troops made to take away the men at the site.

So he was there. It was negotiations. There are questions about the Dutch conduct, but to be fair, talking to the Dutch people---

Mr. HOYER. I'm not so much questioning the Dutch conduct. I was just offended by that picture and offended by the action of that general. That aside, however, you referred in your comments about his addressing those who subsequently became the victims.

Mr. ROHDE. Yes.

Mr. HOYER. And represented to them they were going to be released.

Mr. ROHDE. Consistently on at least four different locations.

Mr. HOYER. Now, I'm wondering whether or not you had discussions with folks who were there or who have analyzed that situation in trying to establish this chain of command and the connection between Mladic and Milosevic, and those who actually inflicted the death blows or death shots or however the death was brought.

Mr. ROHDE. He was only seen at the one site that I visited. According to one survivor, he got out of the car and watched as the executions were going on. At other locations, he spoke to prisoners a few hours before the shooting started. Again, everything else that survivor told me matched perfectly in terms of the description of the site and everything I found.

Mr. HOYER. And we have the names of those people? You talked to one witness who saw Mladic observing the killing go on?

Mr. ROHDE. Yes. Others put him at the site addressing prisoners hours before they were executed.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Lupis, how many witnesses do we have that fall in that category in number?

Mr. LUPIS. How many witnesses who have seen Mladic?

Mr. HOYER. Yes.

Mr. LUPIS. I believe we talked to about six survivors of the massacres, I think of which four had witnessed Mladic at different sites. Two of them saw Mladic in the Karakaj area and two other ones had witnessed him in the Nova Kasaba area; he was addressing the civilians, telling them that they would be taken care of and they would be exchanged. And then after he left, they were massacred.

Up in the Karakaj area, he was apparently watching the massacres as they took place.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Lupis, do you know what kind of protections are being accorded to those whom I would perceive to be critical witnesses, as a result of the critical nature of the testimony they could provide, I would think, in great danger if they're in the area? Do we know what protections are being accorded to them?

Mr. LUPIS. At the moment, the Bosnian Government is taking all measures to make sure their safety is guaranteed. They have already been relocated to private homes, unknown to the public; and some of them are still in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Others might have left, but at the moment, I think they're quite safe. And also, once the Dayton peace plan is signed, they'll fall into the—they'll be in the American sector up north.

Mr. ROHDE. Just one thing to add. My Bosnian Serb captors were very eager to know the names of the survivors I had talked to, which is alarming in a sense; but I made up fake Muslim names and did not name any of them. But the Bosnian Serb police were extremely interested to know who they were and where they were now.

Mr. HOYER. My suspicion would be that they would be very interested because I would imagine they would get pretty good rewards, in one way or another, maybe not monetarily, but career-wise if they could identify and silence these witnesses.

Chairman SMITH. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOYER. Yes.

Chairman SMITH. If the gentleman will recall, that's one of the issues that was raised in previous hearings by some of our witnesses, that there was not enough money allocated for witness protection. We ourselves raised that with Justice Goldstone and offered our support to try to get that amount of money boosted so that if anyone does come forward with information, again, they're not liable to be killed or in any way harmed. It's an excellent point. Thank you for yielding.

Mr. HOYER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Last question, and I've already taken more time than I should have and I apologize to Mr. Porter who's waiting patiently to ask his questions. I would like all three of you to comment from your perspectives, which obviously are different, some more long-term than others.

I made the observation in my statement-and I think generally you have also implied this, if not said it directly- that the importance of the war crimes tribunal is that justice has to be obtained so we don't have a continuing cycle of vengeance and violence. Could you comment on the importance of bringing to justice those who have perpetrated the acts which you have witnessed and investigated?

Mr. LUPIS. I think that is the fundamental principle which must be carried out to the end. Many of these atrocities which have been committed during this war have come about as a result of unhealed wounds from World War II when nationalists slaughtered various ethnic groups. When Tito came into power, he just basically suppressed any talk or any doings of resolving these issues.

Many people we talked to, especially Serbs, often refer to crimes committed against them. The Muslims of eastern Bosnia have suffered many massacres by the Serbs over the years, and nothing has been addressed. And the Croats as well have suffered. So by bringing these war criminals to justice, I think it will help resolve some of these feelings of complete loss and frustration and people will be able to start the healing process.

Right now, the American-backed federation between the Bosnian Muslims and the Croats is at a very critical juncture, because these issues have not been resolved. There are still war criminals on both sides, more so on the Croat side, that have not been removed from positions of power. And as long as they remain---

Mr. HOYER. May I stop you 1 second, Mr. Lupis?

Mr. LUPIS. Sure.

Mr. HOYER. When you say "both sides," you're talking about the federation, so you're talking about Croats and Bosnian Muslims?

Mr. LUPIS. I'm talking about both sides in the federation, the Croats and the Muslims. There are still leaders who are war criminals who are in positions of power who have not been removed and there can't be any repatriation, any healing, while these people are still there. So that's the most fundamental issue. For the Dayton peace agreement to be successful, this is the first issue that has to be addressed.

Mr. ROHDE. I can't really comment on the importance issue. I can just tell you the evidence I had just speaking to survivors from Srebrenica and going to some military bases around that were filled with soldiers who had made it through the woods. There are many Muslims calling for revenge for what happened-many Muslims saying "My father and my brother are dead," and they are going to carry out justice of their own if justice is not carried out by someone else.

One of the more chilling stories survivors told of these mass executions was that the Serbs would line up these Muslims and would call them Bovia, which is a slur for Muslims who fought with Fascist forces allied with Germany in World War II. It was very clear that the rationalization in the heads of these execution squads was that they were carrying out revenge for World War II, 50 years later. The Serbs did suffer a tremendous amount in World War II. So again, there's anecdotal evidence of the possibility of what you're talking about.

Dr. WOLF. I think the basis of my trip, my experience in Bosnia and Croatia, was really not to address the question that you're asking. I was dealing with individual families whose immediate concern was really whether their husband or their son was alive or dead. Were they being held prisoner somewhere and might be released? So I think that for the people that I was dealing with, that was the immediate issue. To answer the question that you're asking, I think, clearly what we have seen is that it will happen again, it can happen again. But my own experience there was not to look at that question.

Mr. HOYER. Thank you, Dr. Wolf. Again, thank all three of you and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Hoyer. Mr. Porter.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Chairman, let me thank you for holding this hearing and for the focus that you've made on the situation in Bosnia. I think it has been very helpful. I am very sorry I didn't get here until perhaps halfway through Mr. Rohde's presentation and didn't hear Mr. Lupis. I want to ask one thing.

First, how were you allowed in? I guess you got in, Mr. Rohde, and then were arrested or held?

Mr. ROHDE. Yes. Throughout the war, the Bosnian Serbs have limited access to their territory to both human rights groups and journalists. The first time I was in was in August when I went to Nova Kasaba. I was in reporting another story and without their permission went to these graves.

The second time I went in, I had changed the date on a Bosnian Serb press accreditation and used that to get through checkpoints. It got me into this area. Again, the Bosnian Serbs had denied access to anyone to the Srebrenica area for 3 months, and I felt that action was warranted to see what had really happened there.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Lupis, did you go in there also? I didn't hear any of your testimony unfortunately.

Mr. LUPIS. Unfortunately, Human Rights Watch, and I think other human rights groups, have consistently been denied access to Bosnian Serb-controlled territories. So our job basically, the best we could do, was to travel to the Tuzla area where many of these refugees were crossing over. The people who trekked through the mountains crossed over into Tuzla where most of the men, elderly, women, and children were bused to.

From there, we basically went to the refugee camps and attempted to interview people, trying to get their accounts. It was a traumatic experience because many of these people had just crossed over and they were still in shock about what had happened.

The one important thing is, I think, in order for something like the Dayton peace plan to work, is that all territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be accessible to human rights groups, to IFOR troops, in order to be able to find out exactly what happened to everyone in the territories.

At this moment, and during the history of the U.N. presence in Bosnia, the majority of Western aid organizations and Western efforts have been stationed in federation territory, which is held by Croats and Muslims. The Bosnian Serbs did not let many people into their territory and that was the biggest problem.

Mr. PORTER. Am I correct, because I wasn't here—are all the sites that we are talking about sites where the perpetrators are Serb?

Mr. ROHDE. In terms of Srebrenica, yes, the alleged perpetrators would be Bosnian Serbs; and I just want to point out that President Milosevic of Serbia, according to U.S. officials, has twice promised the United States that there will be access to these graves since the peace talks began in Dayton. He himself has promised that.

Mr. PORTER. Well, I want to go off the factual side. It seems to me that unless the world does something about this, that 50 years from now it will be the same story again. It will be a Bosnian whose father or grandfather was killed in a mass grave in 1992 or '3 or '4, putting someone else in another mass grave.

If we look at what has happened even in recent history to the Jews in World War II, where most of the world, including our own country, did not help and certainly didn't recognize even until almost the end of the war what was happening, even though they apparently knew it. Looking at Cambodia recently where millions of people died and where one of our members said today that they were in Cambodia and the first thing that was said to them by a very perceptive Cambodian man was, "Where were you? Where were you?"

What's happened here in Bosnia, to a lesser extent what is happening to the Kurdish people at the hands of the Iraqis and Turks and others, how much of this is on our own hands? How much have we a responsibility for having allowed this to go on when we knew it was going on or at least it seemed fairly evident fairly early?

And now, from your testimony, from other testimony that we've heard, it's clear that it was widespread, that it was repeated, that it was planned or premeditated in some instances, it was decided at a high level. Let me have your thoughts on that.

Mr. ROHDE. I can just say that—I think Mr. Lupis can address this better, but from seeing the Dutch peacekeepers on the ground here, the reason that enclave fell was a lack of NATO air strikes to stop the Bosnian Serb attack. There was no way the Dutch peacekeepers themselves could have stopped that, and that was according to sources I spoke to for an article I wrote about it.

You know, there was no political will there among the international community, and also there was no will or not a strong enough push from the United States to actually have those air strikes carried out.

Mr. LUPIS. I'd like to answer your question in a more general sense. I would like to comment that the whole experience of the war in the former Yugoslavia, which started in 1991 until the present, the tragic thing about it is that the West was right there. Everywhere, from the media, from television shots to the United Nations to Western diplomats running in and out of the country. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the tragic thing is it's been happening in front of our eyes and we keep on using the United Nations as the vehicle by which we pass resolutions and we do nothing about them.

This Srebrenica case is one of the greatest examples of having Western presence right in the middle of it—in the form of a United Nations safe area, and it was overrun. Resolutions were passed, condemnations, those who have committed crimes against humanity and that is proceeding, although my understanding is that the NATO forces will not have authority to apprehend or arrest those accused of war crimes. So that is taken off the table.

What can we do in a broader sense about this, not just Bosnia, but all of this genocide that goes on? What can we do to change the apparent acceptance of it by the world? And I don't mean that in an accusatory sense at all. I think that every American has been deeply disturbed about what they have seen and understood about what has happened in Bosnia.

But what do we do beyond this? Do we pursue this judicial direction only? Does Mr. Rohde write a book that reaches to our soul? Does the U.S. Congress pass another resolution? What are your thoughts?

Mr. LUPIS. Again, I think the most important thing is to stop passing the buck to the United Nations. The international community should stop relying on this convenient bureaucratic machine to pass resolutions and not act. I believe NATO, now being the legitimate military leader in this post-cold war era, should formulate a concise and clear mission in order to try to bring these war criminals to trial. Now it's off the table that IFOR can't apprehend these criminals. It's starting to sound like another United Nations mission.

The War Crimes Tribunal should be supported by all means so at least these war criminals can be tried and accused and the people who have lost families will be able to receive some kind of justice. Therefore, this would set an example for other countries, other situations where the International War Crimes Tribunal would have some formidable stature.

Mr. ROHDE. There is some talk, and I believe the United States does support the formation of a permanent war crimes tribunal that would exist permanently to address these kind of situations. I really don't have an answer to that and don't feel qualified to comment on it, but I can just tell you anecdotally that the power of deterrence is tough to measure. My Bosnian Serb captors were very surprised to find me so far into their territory and that I was able to get through their checkpoints. I think they were shocked when the United States publicly released these satellite photos.

There's a case to be made in terms of deterrence. I think one of the reasons they were convinced I was a spy was because they themselves had to say only a spy could do such a thing. So I just think they were very shook up by where they found me, by these photos, and just anecdotally, it seemed to have an effect on them and maybe made them curtail some of their behavior.

It appears that executions of this size have not occurred since these things were made public in August.

Mr. PORTER. It seems to me, and I thought this most strongly at the time of the Nigerian Government's execution of the Agani 9, including Ken Saro-Wiwa, that if the world can react strongly and overwhelmingly at a situation like that one to cut off-and this does not necessarily apply to Bosnia because it's a different situation-but to cut off all diplomatic, political, economic intercourse with such a society until the government is changed, if we could speak in a unified voice from Europe to Asia to North America and South America and express our outrage in such a way that the country is completely isolated. ..

We did this, of course, over a much longer period of time in South Africa, and it finally proved its worth. But if we could speak in that voice about these kinds of horrible atrocities that shake all of us so much that there would be a message to all others who would perpetrate them.

To the extent that we do not do that, to the extent that Shell Oil Company says to the Nigerian Government, "Don't worry about the World Bank. We'll make up the \$100 million and the project will go ahead. We don't care that you killed nine people. So what?" It seems that is exactly the kind of thing that encourages this kind of conduct.

I think we've reached-we should have reached long since, but we have reached a level of information-sharing in a level of common humanity that we ought to learn how to speak in one voice; and perhaps the United Nations isn't the place to do it, but somehow we have to all rise up in such righteous indignation about these things that they can't happen again; that everything is brought to bear to prevent them. And unfortunately, the world has just not done that.

We can talk all we want in the United States about our caring about human rights; but we know today that our weapons supplied to the Turkish Government are used to kill Kurds without trial, people who simply disappear, whose homes are plowed under or they're driven from them; and yet we don't put that at high enough priority.

I don't know if you want to comment on that. It's more of a statement than a question, but feel free if you'd like.

Mr. LUPIS. In terms of Bosnia, the Dayton peace plan seems to be the perfect opportunity to reverse the trend of the last 4 years because with Rwanda and Bosnia, I think, leaders around the world-nationalists who are thinking of carrying out some similar campaigns as have been carried out in the aforementioned countries-are feeling pretty comfortable because so far, no international action has been taken up that really changed the tide of these conflicts.

Mr. Rohde and I had spoken earlier about, as soon as the Dayton peace agreement is signed, immediately calling the Serbs' bluff and bringing a forensic team with human rights people and journalists to these grave sites. Exposing these graves sites would, I think, help start turning the mechanisms for the International War Crimes Tribunal to issue more indictments and just get the ball moving with the War Crimes Tribunal in general.

So the Dayton peace plan, I think, offers an opportunity where we can reverse the last 4 years.

Mr. PORTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Porter. Before we conclude, I'd like to ask one final question. Mr. Lupis, I noticed that you used the word "calling their bluff" on two occasions, and I heartily agree. One of the concerns that I have-and this has been picked up at least by my staff and myself for months now-that there are some within the United Nations and some who are part of this process in the international community who really don't want the War Crimes Tribunal to succeed all that much.

Perhaps a few indictments, some show cases, and that's it, put the atrocities behind us and move on. I think that would be a travesty if that were the case. That's why I think there are some at the United Nations particularly who have made it very hard for Justice Goldstone to proceed. From my perch as chairman of the International Operations Subcommittee, we have tried to pressure the United Nations, over which our committee has jurisdiction, as well as the administration, really to be more aggressive, to make sure sufficient funds are allocated in a timely fashion.

You know very well how damning the Shell study was in terms of what evidence was being lost. I met with administration officials earlier this week who told me they don't have one shred of evidence on Milosevic in terms of committing war crimes. I was astounded that this has not been an ongoing fact-finding accumulative process, and I was very disappointed, frankly, when the administration official told me this.

As a Commission we are in the process of putting together a letter that will ask a number of serious questions about the War Crimes Tribunal as it relates to IFOR. I'd like to point out, the Dayton agreement summary that was provided to us by the State Department contained a paragraph that states, "The agreement gives IFOR, the peace Implementation Force, the authority and discretion to use military force to prevent interference with the free movement of civilians, refugees, and displaced persons, and to respond appropriately to violence against citizens, civilians. IFOR has the authority to arrest any indicted war criminals it encounters or who interfere with its mission, but it will not try to track them down."

A review of the text of the Dayton peace agreement, its annexes, and its appendices, and the accompanying side letters failed to locate anywhere in these texts a provision or provisions conferring upon IFOR "the authority to arrest any indicted war criminal it encounters." In your read of the Dayton agreement, Mr. Lupis, have you found anything that confers this capability upon the IFOR to make these arrests? Because we haven't found it.

Mr. LUPIS. Actually I haven't read the fine print of the whole agreement. My colleague back in New York has done that and is issuing a critique shortly. But what you just stated about IFOR not having the authority to seek out and capture war criminals is disturbing, and I think that's something that should be lobbied in order to change it before the London conference coming up in a week.

Our organization is working actively to try to alert member states of the United Nations, and the international community to try to put some pressure on the relevant players at the London conference to reverse this IFOR role, because of the Dayton agreement. If IFOR will have this diminished role, it will start to look a lot like the United Nations operation in former Yugoslavia.

Chairman SMITH. I want to thank our very distinguished witnesses for your outstanding testimony, for the good work you do on behalf of humanity, the Bosnians in particular, and for taking the time to come and present your testimony to the Commission. The hearing is adjourned. [Whereupon at 3:48 p.m., the Commission adjourned.]

