



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF PUBLIC PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Public Programs application guidelines at <http://www.neh.gov/grants/public/bridging-cultures-through-film-international-topics> for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Public Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Women, War & Peace: The Balkans

Institution: WNET.ORG

Project Director: Pamela Hogan

Grant Program: *Bridging Cultures Through Film*: International Topics

Attachment 3: Summary of the Topic

WNET.ORG's Emmy Award-winning international documentary series WIDE ANGLE is producing a PBS primetime series called *Women, War & Peace*. Slated to air in Spring 2011, this five-part documentary series will be the first major broadcast initiative to place women at the center of the dialogue about peace and conflict. The series will inform audiences about how women world-wide are emerging as leaders in brokering peace and forging new international laws governing conflict.

A collaboration with series producers Gini Reticker and Abigail Disney, *Women, War & Peace* will examine the strategic role of gender in modern conflict, where women are not only suffering unprecedented casualties, but also emerging as pivotal partners in building lasting peace. It will launch with the U.S. broadcast premiere of *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, Reticker and Disney's highly acclaimed, award-winning film about the Liberian women who joined together to end a devastating civil war and bring peace to their country. The series will then roll out four original films – shot in pre-, post- and current conflict zones including Afghanistan, the Balkans, Congo and Colombia.

We are requesting funding from the NEH for Part 2 of this series, *The Balkans* – the film in the series that is most historical. This one-hour documentary will begin with the Balkans' explosion into civil war in the 1990s, and the reports of mass rapes committed as a tactic of war throughout the region. To illustrate these events, we focus on the municipality of Foca, a half-Muslim, half-Serbian municipality in eastern Bosnia that was one of the first places attacked, and where some of the worst atrocities occurred.

Our film will then chronicle efforts to establish a body of international law to end impunity for these crimes, and the jurisprudential precedents on war crimes against women set during the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia – the first war crimes tribunal since Nuremberg and Tokyo. The film will introduce the women who bravely sought justice at the trial and the innovative legal team who shaped their case into the first trial in history to focus entirely on wartime crimes of sexual violence.

a. About the Project

Narrative: In the early 1990s, nationalist extremism gave rise to a vicious war fought along ethnic lines in the former Yugoslavia. The characteristics of this war, which include genocide and ethnic cleansing through murder and mass rape, were reminiscent of World War II, fought on the same continent some fifty years earlier. Neighboring Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims fought to destroy each other, with the Muslim population suffering most from systemic acts of violence. But unlike WWII, the world watched the cruelty ensue through a daily media barrage. The international community could not ignore the events taking place and acted to create the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) so that justice might be served.

This special court was sanctioned by a United Nations Security Council mandate, in May of 1993. Thus was launched a new era of post-Nuremberg international justice. The

Tribunal was convened without precedent and almost without resources, to render justice on a large scale, in a unique moment in history. It faced (and still faces) serious challenges in fulfilling its mandate. Yet its members were under intense pressure to succeed, to prove themselves to the authorities who sanctioned them and the victims who relied on them as recourse for their suffering.

Seventeen years and \$1.5 billion later, the ICTY is in a completion phase. While some cases are still underway – most notably that of former Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic – its operations are slated to end in 2014.

This film will document the historic events of the ICTY's beginnings, challenges and successes, with a particular focus on one landmark case. It will feature interviews and archival footage of the original participants in this ambitious legal experiment – the pioneers mandated to try, convict and sentence criminals of war, while the war was still underway. In a time of dire need, they started from scratch and managed against all odds to become a global paradigm.

Humanities Content. *Women, War & Peace: The Balkans* will illuminate three key humanities themes relevant to international relations, law, women's studies, and the history of conflict. The first is the ongoing history of international jurisprudence and justice. The second is the changing landscape of war, and how the line that once divided war into combat zones and civilian zones has disappeared. The third is the larger theme of women and global security.

International Jurisprudence. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia transformed the definition of war crimes. It gave rise to formal mechanisms of international law, and elevated the power of the international community to enforce human rights standards everywhere. The story of the ICTY is less known than that of the infamous Slobodan Milosevic or the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the war. But the groundbreaking efforts made by its judges, prosecutors and investigators to advance justice on an international stage are of great historical significance.

Not since the criminal trials following World War II had a judicial body been assembled at the international level. The Nuremberg and Tokyo Trials were independently convened by the war's victors, before the United Nations was chartered. In the case of the ICTY, the response was more immediate. It began while the war continued and war crimes mounted.

This Tribunal now had the backing of an international body, the U.N., and the underpinning of the Geneva Conventions, another product of WWII that clearly defines war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide during armed conflict. But the ICTY's first appointees discovered that the laws of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Tribunals offered little guidance for the day-to-day workings of the court. So they crafted and codified 129 rules to govern their work. It was the first international code of criminal procedure in history.

The unique cultural and gender dynamics of the Bosnian War also led to advances in international law and practice. The ICTY set the protocol used today for protecting witnesses who are victims of rape, thus vulnerable to disgrace and further antagonism within their families and communities. The protocol revolves around Rule 34, which established a Victims and Witnesses Unit, and Rule 96, designed to protect a victim of sexual abuse from unreasonable harassment, intimidation or invasions of privacy. Today these two rules are widely recognized as providing the necessary tools for effective prosecution of sexual violence as a war crime.

Ultimately the Tribunal was the first international court in history to define rape as a punishable war crime, rather than collateral damage or an anticipated spoil of war.

These precedents would inform subsequent courts such as those set up to address atrocities committed in Sierra Leone, Cambodia, and Kosovo, as well as the permanent International Criminal Court (ICC). Due to the groundbreaking judgments of the ICTY and its sister court in Rwanda, the ICC explicitly recognizes as war crimes and crimes against humanity: rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity.

The Tribunal's impact has been widely considered, and its work closely studied by legal scholars and human rights advocates. There is criticism of the court's long and complicated proceedings, and its failure to try or convict some of the war's most notorious figures in a timely manner. It is not certain how the ICTY will have ultimately served the communities now trying to recover from the ethnic cleansing that tore them apart. Yet it is clear that the judicial process forged by the Tribunal changed the landscape of international law.

With the ICTY scheduled to complete its proceedings in 2014, this is a timely moment to explore its first historic years. The ICTY is the first example of a long-term commitment to and investment in real justice during war. It is also the story of the United Nation's expanding security role after the Cold War, and the evolving rule of international law over, or at least in tandem with, the rule of might.

Changing Landscape of War. Both *The Balkans* and the series as a whole will examine how dramatically armed conflict has changed over the past sixty years, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Contemporary wars are rarely fought by nation states and their well-trained armies, facing each other on a defined battlefield. According to the U.N.'s humanitarian chief, every armed conflict today involves one or more armed groups that are not linked to the government. Lines are increasingly blurred between combatants and civilians. While 100 years ago, ninety percent of casualties during war were male soldiers, today civilians account for the vast majority of casualties in armed conflicts.

The Balkans war of 1992-95 was the first on European soil since the end of World War II, and the entire world watched as the accepted definition of war – which included rules of engagement to protect civilians – was turned on its head. In this war, civilians were the primary targets. Rape and violence against women moved from a corollary aspect to a

central one: mass rape, the international community and the ICTY concurred, was used as a means of terror to further the Serb force's campaign of ethnic cleansing.

Rape has always happened in war, but the Balkan war brought it out of the shadows. It may be the first time in history that women came forward right after a war to talk about rape. Their courageous willingness to testify was a milestone for war crime prosecutors, and through its judgments, the ICTY has created new awareness that women had been used as a means of warfare.

Women and Global Security. The story of how women were targeted in the Bosnian War and the evolving gender jurisprudence is relevant to studies of the role of women in global security. Women were key players at every stage of the process – beginning with the witnesses who faced their tormentors in court, but also including the women at the United Nations, including U.S. Ambassador Madeline Albright, who were instrumental in the U.N.'s decision to institute the Tribunal, the female judges who sat on it, and many of the attorneys, researchers and other staff.

The centrality of women in forging lasting peace and security has been recognized in several U.N. resolutions, including the 1948 adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly, which is Eleanor Roosevelt's greatest legacy. The most prolific period was the U.N. "Decade of Women" from 1975-85. During this period, the first U.N. World Conference on Women was held, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women set precedents for UNSCR 1325. This landmark declaration, the first Security Council resolution dealing with the impact of armed conflicts on women and girls, called for greater participation of women in all phases of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. It was followed in 2008 by UNSCR 1820, the Security Council's first resolution recognizing war-time rape as a security issue, and by UNSCR 1888 in 2009, which condemns sexual violence in war zones and appeals for global action to end the scourge.

The film and series draw on a substantial body of current international scholarship. The articles and books of Patricia Wald, Richard Goldstone, Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, Peggy Kuo, Elizabeth Odio Benito, Michael Scharf, Patricia Sellers, Eric Stover, Kelly Askin, Diane Orentlicher, Elizabeth Neuffer, Madeline Albright, and Richard Holbrooke are among the sources consulted during story development. The guidance of an exceptional board of advisors (Attachment 4), including eminent experts in international law and jurisprudence, has enriched the project immeasurably.

To today's audiences, the Bosnian war may seem part of the distant past. International law may seem like an abstraction. Film is a powerful tool for engaging audiences in the urgent relevance of this story, which clearly resonates in today's world. Through dramatic storytelling based on the first-hand accounts of the participants, we will create a rich historical record of this chapter of war and justice. Ours is the first documentary to tell this story, and now is the opportune time for it to be told, when most of the original participants are still alive. Their story will provide crucial insight for a general audience,

as well as for those practicing international law or studying world history, foreign relations, and the politics of gender.

Plot summary: We begin the story of Foca with the nine-day Serb takeover of the town, and the months of horror that ensued for the Muslims now firmly under the control of the Serbian forces. The men and women were separated. We focus on what happened to the women – how they were enslaved, tortured and raped for months on end in what war crimes investigators later determined was part of a strategic plan to rid the area of Muslims and ensure they would never return.

We then tell the story of the international response. In the post-Cold War's "new world order," it fell to the U.N. to respond. Ultimately this led to the creation of the ICTY, the first international tribunal in fifty years, to prosecute and, it was hoped, deter the war criminals. We tell the story of its fragile and under-resourced early years, and how the determination to prosecute sexual violence as a war crime evolved early on, including the lobbying of Madeline Albright and others at the U.N. for female justices.

We go on to describe how the atrocities endured by the women of Foca gave rise to the first "rape case" in the history of international law – a case focusing solely on charges of sexual violence. We learn how in the course of the investigation the prosecutors ramped up the charges to include sexual slavery – and won a groundbreaking conviction in court, thanks in large part to heavily protected witnesses who risked their lives to speak out against the three defendants.

The film ends with sequences shot in today's Foca. So successful was the siege that the town is now 99% Serb. The town mayor is widely recognized as the only voice of unity on the Balkan political landscape. He is trying to attract the Muslims back and hopes to turn Foca into a center for tourism and sports and a symbol of multi-ethnic harmony. We explore whether the courage of the women who has improved the improved for healing and rebuilding in the town where the horrors unfolded. And one decade after they took their place on the witness stand, the women share what the experience still means to them as they try to rebuild their lives.

Synopsis:

Act I: Nine Fateful Days. The film opens with an explosion of radio and television reports that evoke the outbreak of war in Bosnia in 1992. Tanks roll into town, and paramilitaries take up arms in villages and cities. Serb propaganda fueling calls for an ethnically pure Bosnia, free of Muslims, is all over the airwaves. The phones are dead, civilians are rounded up, and squads of snipers take aim at women and children trying to flee. It is chaos.

In the decade following the death of Yugoslavia's authoritarian president Tito in 1980, long-simmering ethnic rivalries began mounting between the region's Croat, Serb and Muslim (Bosniak) peoples. As the Soviet Union was crumbling in the late 1980s, nationalist leaders Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serbian Democratic Party, and newly

elected Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stepped into the power vacuum, dividing the region through an intense propaganda campaign that incited hatred toward Muslims. It did not take long for ethnic violence to engulf Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We see chilling archival footage of Serbian and Montenegrin paramilitaries sweeping into Foca in April 1992.

Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Roy Gutman, who conducted a three-month investigation of the attack on Foca, recounts the sequence of events: “Three of Radovan Karadzic’s high-ranking associates arrive in town on April 7. They station their guards in front of the police station. The schools are closed, the roads are barricaded.” All hell broke loose. With the cooperation of Serb residents and thousands of paramilitary reinforcements, the newcomers expelled the Bosnian Muslims from their homes, chased them into the woods, and imprisoned them in torture camps that had been high schools, a hospital and sports center. Residents who survived will never forget the day their world changed:

“I remember soldiers banging on the door and not giving me time to pack.”

“I was 17 years old when I was taken. I remember being driven from place to place in a refrigerator truck, like a piece of meat.”

“We hid in these woods, my family and I. We were found, and my parents were shot. My neighbor was one of the soldiers. I knew him my whole life.”

The first rapes began a week or two after the takeover. A woman survivor who was imprisoned with 13 other women says, “The men were a kind of military police who did nothing but rape. It was all organized; they had a group for raping and a group for killing.”

Gutman points out that the Muslims were completely outgunned; the Bosnian Serbs had been getting arms supplies for months, mostly from Belgrade, and had the support of paramilitary groups led by nationalist Serb extremists. Alija Delilmustafic, Bosnia’s Interior Minister at the time, also saw evidence of an orchestrated plan. “They compiled lists. They arrested the men. They ordered women to stay in their home villages. They warned them they would kill their fathers or husbands if they moved away.”

Nobel Prize-nominated law professor Cherif Bassiouni came to Bosnia in 1993, during the height of the war. The U.N. had put him in charge of investigating rumors of war crimes being committed on all sides. The allegations of widespread rape turned into a snowball of testimonies as hundreds of women came forward. They transformed Bassiouni’s mission into the largest rape investigation in history, with an estimated 20,000 victims. “What we uncovered was systematic rape, rape used as a tool of war.” They concluded from the firsthand accounts of the witnesses that the Serbian soldiers’ intent was to so shame and traumatize the Muslim population that they would never come back. “One of the very worst places was Foca.”

By the war's end, the Bosnian Serb campaign had erased any vestige of Muslim life in towns and villages throughout Bosnia. In the municipality of Foca, the number of non-Serbs remaining was less than one hundred – down from 20,000 before the war. Every one of Foca's 14 mosques – some dating to the 14th century – were blown up. Businesses and properties of non-Serbs were expropriated or razed. And the town itself received a foreboding new name, Srbinje – “the place of the Serbs.”

Act Two: Birth of a Court. “The perpetrators told these women that the world would never hear their stories,” says Bassiouni. “Nobody will ever care. That is a very important fact.”

But the world did find out what happened. In August 1992, *Newsday's* Roy Gutman gained access to the Serbian-held Omarska concentration camp in northern Bosnia. Subsequent newspaper and television reports quickly followed. The resulting bone-chilling images and horror stories of murder, torture and mass rape triggered memories of Auschwitz and Dachau and fueled an international outcry.

Madeline Albright had close ties to the former Yugoslavia; born in Belgrade, she lived there again in her teens when her father was the Czech ambassador. “It was clearly a war, not so much between soldiers, but a war of soldiers against civilians. And since there was no will, at that point, in the international community to get involved on the ground, many people, myself included, started calling for some sort of international court. Some sort of entity that could hold accountable those who were committing these war crimes.”

The idea of a tribunal was intensely controversial. With war still raging, many saw it as a paper tiger – a way for the Security Council to save face in light of its failure to do anything to prevent the atrocities. Within the U.N., some member states were concerned that creating a tribunal might impede a political settlement. One ambassador referred to the tribunal as “Madeleine's folly.”

Albright's informal caucus of women permanent representatives to the U.N. responded to the outrage over the news of mass rapes with a proposal for staffing the still-hypothetical court. “We pushed for the selection of women judges, because many of the victims had been women.”

On February 22, 1993, Albright gave a press conference announcing the creation of the ICTY – the first international criminal tribunal since World War II. “It was a great day,” says Albright. “On the other hand, nobody thought it would actually work.”

We recount the court's rocky beginnings through interviews with some of its first appointees: Judges Antonio Cassese of Italy, Elizabeth Odio Benito of Costa Rica, and Gabrielle Kirk McDonald of the U.S. “We learned very quickly that although we came here with a mission, we didn't necessarily have the support of the people who brought us here.” “We had no seat, no courtroom, no prison, no computers, no law clerks, no secretaries, and no set of rules governing criminal procedure.” They soon discovered that

the law of the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals offered little by way of foundation because the concepts of due process had substantially advanced. So they rolled up their sleeves and drafted the first international code of criminal procedure, containing 129 carefully hammered-out rules.

South African judge Richard Goldstone was appointed Chief Prosecutor. On his arrival in The Hague, he was besieged by thousands of letters from human rights organizations and individual men and women, urging him to insure that the tribunal prosecuted perpetrators of atrocities against women. “They pointed to the many reports of systematic mass rape in Bosnia and to the glaring inadequacies of humanitarian law in dealing with that crime,” says Goldstone. “Rape has never been the concern of the international community.”

Goldstone appointed a legal advisor for gender-related crimes, young African-American attorney Patti Sellers, and charged her with formulating the Prosecution’s approach to the investigation and indictments of gender crimes. “It’s important to look at these issues in a historical context,” says Sellers. “Sexual violence against women during war has always happened. It’s just that in previous times, rape was never considered important enough to be considered a war crime. In the past, it was most often thought of as an anticipated spoil of war.”

Over the next few years, both the ICTY and the International Tribunal for Rwanda carried out trials resulting in landmark rulings on gender crimes, handing down judgments for rape as a form of torture, a crime against humanity, and an instrument of genocide. (Prosecutor v. Akayesu, Prosecutor v. Furundzija, and Prosecutor v. Delalic). Meanwhile, mounting evidence from ongoing war crimes investigations is pointing to Foca as the site of some of the most brutal crimes committed during the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now the court – with ten cases under its belt and seven more trials underway – turned to Foca.

Act Three: Rape on Trial. Nepalese lawyer Tejshree Thapa and German prosecutor Hildegard Uertz Retzlaff started their jobs on the same day in 1995. Assigned to investigate the crimes in Foca, they were sent straight into Bosnia at the tail end of the war to try to build a case against the perpetrators of systematic rape. “Our goal was to figure out what had happened and to bring people in to testify.”

We bring them together for a joint interview. “It was the middle of winter in a war zone, and there was no running water or heat.” “We’d type our testimonies in mittens, huddled over a space heater.” “One by one, witnesses would knock on the door.” “You couldn’t believe how thin and malnourished they were, and some were in summer clothing because that was all they had.”

With interpreters in tow, Retzlaff and Thapa traveled everywhere the witnesses had fled – Germany, Sweden, Turkey, the United States. “I remember ringing doorbells, day after day, and crying with witnesses in five different countries.” Most of the victims were teenagers, some as young as 12. “We had to convince these women to feel comfortable

and open up and trust us – even though we were a new institution, we were untested. The only thing we could promise them was that their contribution would be important to our work and essential for justice.”

There were challenges inside the Tribunal as well. The lawyers and investigators on the sex crimes cases often faced resistance from their colleagues. “There was a perception that ‘These girls survived. It’s not Srebrenica, it’s not genocide.’”

Undeterred, they pushed the investigation to the limit. Three years into the painstaking work, they – with their colleagues at The Hague – made a key decision. They decided to split the Foca case into two trials with different defendants. One would focus on the male victims of the war, the other on the women. The women’s case would be the first before an international tribunal to concentrate exclusively on wartime sexual violence. Murder was not even on the docket.

As Sellars explains, the Foca trial was also pivotal because women were the primary witnesses. “Women were not given the option to witness before the Nuremburg or Tokyo tribunals, despite the significant number of rapes perpetrated during World War II.”

During the pre-trial phase, it became clear that rape was not the only issue. “It was a case of enslavement,” explains Peggy Kuo, a trial attorney assigned to write a brief on the definition of slavery. She recalls how, with no precedent to draw on, she based her description on the legal meaning of property. “That’s the kind of control they had over the women of Foca.”

After five years of preparation, the trial finally began on March 20, 2000. Judge Florence Mumba from Zambia, a former trial attorney with 17 years on the bench, was presiding.

The young women entered the courtroom. Now in their early twenties, they hadn’t seen their tormentors for seven years. Though the witnesses were hidden from the public by a curtained glass wall – and known only by a number – inside the courtroom they faced their attackers eye to eye. Interweaving court testimony with current-day interviews, we hear them tell their stories.

Witness 191 was held as a sexual slave for six months. “I was 17 years old when I was taken... At every stop, the soldiers took us out of the truck and made us walk around in a circle and then one by one they would pick out who they wanted. I was picked by Kunarac... He took me to a private house in the woods where he kept me for half a year.”

Witness 87 was sold across the border for 500 German marks (about \$300) and a truckload of detergent. “My family was hiding in the woods when the soldiers came. They took my father and shot him with some other men in a meadow. My mother and sister and I, we all heard it. [Finally] Radomir Kovac took me to an apartment where he kept several other girls. He did things to me I cannot describe. I will never forget.”

Witness 95 was raped 150 times in 40 days. “I remember soldiers banging on the door and not giving me time to pack... They took me to Partizan Sports Hall, which was next door to the police station. I saw many other women and children there. They did things to us in front of one another, out in the open. They ruined me in front of my children.”

We meet the accused. All three were natives of Foca. 40-year-old Dragoljub Kunarac, the commander, was charged on the basis of individual and superior responsibility for torture, rape and enslavement. Radomir Kovac, 39, was charged on the basis of individual criminal responsibility with rape, outrages on personal dignity, and enslavement. 45-year-old Zoran Vukovic was charged with individual criminal responsibility with torture and rape.

Through reflections from tribunal staff and footage from the courtroom, the details start to emerge – tales of enslavement, gang rape, psychological torture, and humiliation.

Says Kuo, “Fortunately, the defense arguments were not as strong as we’d feared. The accused claimed they were seduced by the girls, that the girls were actually infatuated with them... Kovac claimed that they were actually in love with him. I will never forget her response.”

UERTZ-RETZLAFF for the prosecution: I want to ask you: were you or any other of the girls voluntarily together with Radomir Kovac?

WITNESS 75: I think that is impossible. My heart and soul could never do anything like that with a Chetnik who killed my own brother who was 20. Only dead, not even dead, could I voluntarily sleep with him or any one of theirs. That’s all I could say.

Over the course of the trial, 33 Bosniak women bore witness to atrocities suffered at the hands of their Serb captors. Thapa says it was the young girls who got to her. “They were just completely bewildered by what had happened to them. They were terrified of coming into court, but as soon as they get into the witness box, their anger replaces the fear.”

Kuo remembers one witness who was petrified to see her assailant. “And then the defendant gets brought in and I see her glance over. She sat straight up, and we could see her getting angry, and strong, and we could almost read her thoughts, as if she was saying, ‘You did this horrible thing to me and you thought you could get away with it, but look at me now. I am about to tell this court and the whole world what you did to me, and now you’re the one who can’t object.’”

The trial lasted eight months. Finally, the tribunal sentenced Kunarac to 28 years imprisonment, Kovac to 20 years, and Vukovic to 12. All were charged with crimes against humanity, including torture and rape. And for the first time in history, sexual enslavement was declared a crime against humanity.

Coda. At the end of the film, we visit present-day Foca, to explore whether the trial and the jurisprudence that resulted had any impact on the town where the horrors took place.

The charismatic 51-year-old mayor, Zdravko Krsmanovic, is the lone voice of unity and tolerance in the still ethnically feuding region. He has spearheaded efforts to encourage Bosniaks to return, such as helping to rebuild one of the mosques and getting rid of the Cyrillic street signs that nationalist Serbs had put up after their victory. He also won a tough battle to change the name of the town back to Foca.

Strolling through town with the mayor, we see kids playing soccer in a field he built to encourage inter-ethnic contact through sports. We meet Bosniaks who have returned. But we also meet Serb nationalists who openly idolize war criminals. They sometimes gather at the popular Café Linea to watch Karadzic's trial on television, and cheer when he claims the Serbs were the primary victims of the war. The portrait of Foca today is complex.

Finally, we hear from the witnesses themselves. They have paid a price for the convictions they made possible. They are deeply disappointed with the lengths of the sentences. And, as witnesses under protection, they are now permanently exiled. Struggling to put their lives back together, they are still haunted by the past. "There is a language of law, and a language of trauma," says Thapa. "The distance is enormous."

Witness 191 reflects, "There will always be a part of me that is afraid. I have trouble trusting people. This is what happens when you have been a slave."

For Witness 87, the pain of her ordeal lingers. "All my life, I will feel the pain that I felt then and still feel. That will never go away."

Witness 95 clings to her experience of testifying. "I was very proud to be there. I let the world know what they did."

The End.

b. Visual Approach

To tell the story of Foca's past, present and uncertain future, we will employ evocative approaches to accompany the different narrative threads. We will use visual techniques (fragmentation, shadow, extreme close-ups) that, used sparingly, will emphasize elements of the story in an organic and dramatic manner.

The historic events documented in the film are very recent, and much of the architecture and landscape where the crimes took place remains. Our visual approach will endow these settings with the violence of the past through the use of perspective, framing and lighting. For example, we will film tombstones from close to the ground to transform them into the architecture of death and conflict that has come to define the landscape. The interiors of the buildings in which our main characters were abused, and the now-empty courtroom at the ICTY, will be captured with the camera on a dolly that slowly creeps along the walls to heighten the emotional presence of such different symbols of the

conflict – one the site of horror, one of hoped-for justice. We will also use perspective to show the invisibility of the violence and how easily it is forgotten, with such images as people shopping at a present-day market in front of the building where women were imprisoned in the 1990s. These techniques will establish Foca itself as a central character in the film.

The other important visual approach focuses on the survivors. The women survivors interviewed still cannot show their faces due to the restrictions of the life-long witness protection programs they are part of. In order to protect their anonymity, their faces will always be in silhouette or shot from behind or above. This is indeed a matter of necessity, but we will transform this limitation into the opportunity to use fragmented images and extreme close-ups of their hands, the folds of their clothing or gestures to emphasize the unspeakable violence that took place against their persons. Our visual devices will add a mood of threat and fear that reinforces the same emotions in the text of the story.

We will seek to use the contrasting presence of light and deep shadow in as many of our compositions as possible. Images that might be commonplace will be cut in half by a raking angle of light, which throws half of the image into darkness. Men praying at the mosque and at the church will make their movements in silhouetted darkness up against the bright lights of stained glass windows. Shadows will loom in the forests where people were executed many years ago. The presence of darkness and shadow in many of the images will evoke the memory of menace as well as unanswered culpability for the crimes committed. We want our visual approach to give the viewer a visceral and emotional experience of the war and the scars that still have not healed.

c. Resources to be Used

The core resource for *Women, War & Peace: The Balkans* is the testimony of the witnesses in the Foca rape trial, and their present-day reflections. A critical additional resource is interviews with present and former staff of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. We will speak to prosecutors, investigators and interpreters who took part in the first days of the ICTY and who were key players in the precedent-setting Foca trial. To round out the story we will also interview survivors of the attack on Foca, current residents, and journalists, historians and political analysts with first-hand knowledge of this chapter of history.

Filming will include 2-3 weeks in Bosnia (mostly on location in Foca, with some filming to take place in Sarajevo); 4-5 days in The Hague; and 1-2 weeks filming witnesses in locations to be determined.

The film will include extensive archival materials. These will consist of personal photos and home movies from the participants in the film, as well as historical U.N. and CBS footage, BBC footage of the war in Foca and video recordings from local news sources in the former Yugoslavia. Audio/visual materials will include evidentiary materials from the ICTY (both video and still photos).

d. Description of Series Episodes

In addition to *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* and *The Balkans*, three films of equal weight and impact will round out the series.

Our third film takes us to Colombia, the country that has the largest number of internally displaced people in the world. We profile two women who are standing up for a generation of women who have suffered forced displacement as a strategy of war. In the next film, we report on the post-Cold War explosion of arms trafficking and its lethal impact on civilians by going undercover with trafficking expert Kathi Austin, who is risking her life to build a case that will bring weapons dealers to justice and ultimately establish illicit trafficking as a war crime. Through both present-day and archival footage, we follow Austin in war-torn regions such as Congo, Colombia and Somalia, as she gathers evidence and testimony. And the fifth film concludes the series with a report on women in Afghanistan who are making a courageous attempt to have their voices included in the government's peace negotiations with the Taliban.

Common graphics, a narrator's voice, and music will shape the films into a compelling, comprehensive, linked story. Taken together, the five films will reframe our understanding of modern warfare – revealing how women are not only suffering unprecedented casualties, but also standing on the frontlines of peacemaking and postwar reconciliation in devastated conflict hotspots.

Our goal is to broadcast the series in the spring of 2011 to coincide with the 100th anniversary of Women's History Month and International Women's Day (March 8, 2011). With the hope of coordinating a simultaneous global broadcast and ensuring that *Women, War & Peace* will reach millions of viewers internationally, co-production/pre-sale discussions are underway with broadcasters in Japan (NHK), France/Germany (ZDF/ARTE, ARTE France), Scandinavia (YLE Finland, SVT Sweden), Spain (TV Catalunya), Australia (SBS), and the Netherlands (VPRO).

e. Audience

Women, War & Peace will air as a special presentation of WIDE ANGLE in 2011. WIDE ANGLE is the leading producer and showcase on American television for global current affairs documentaries. Its depth and breadth of coverage is singular in the international documentary field.

WIDE ANGLE's national primetime carriage reaches virtually every household in the U.S. Typically, each of its broadcasts reaches a cumulative audience of nearly three million viewers. *The Balkans* will also be streamed online along with the entire *Women, War & Peace* series on PBS's WIDE ANGLE website. WNET.ORG will conduct a comprehensive publicity campaign reaching all the major markets to attract a wide and varied audience. In all, this platform promises a singular opportunity for the series to fundamentally improve the quality of, and access to, global knowledge and information for Americans.

Women, War & Peace is also directed towards a global audience. The evolving jurisprudence relevant to the criminal prosecution of crimes against humanity committed in the Bosnian war during the mid-1990s is part of a growing international dialogue that recognizes the strategic role of women in global security. *Women, War & Peace* provides a unique opportunity to enable communities across the globe to engage in these vital issues and to drive international policy discussions related to the critical role that women play in modern conflict and peace-building.

Given WNET.ORG and WIDE ANGLE's long-term relationships with major international broadcasters through numerous collaborations over the years, *Women, War & Peace* stands to reach a global audience of millions – providing opportunities for community engagement in conflict areas and educating influential stakeholders.

Not only will significant television audiences around the world see the series, but it will also be screened in community settings across the globe with partner NGOs, U.N. working groups, and democracy assistance groups. The global reach of the *Women, War & Peace* broadcast and targeted outreach to key stakeholders ensures that the project will play a vital role in educating the global community about the key issues related to international gender jurisprudence and the ICTY's leadership role in driving that conversation forward during the past 17 years.

f. Ancillary Activities

Web: Serving as a major component of the series, the *Women, War & Peace* website (<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/episodes/women-war-peace>) currently includes Web-exclusive videos, producer interviews, the *Women, War & Peace* trailer and the WNET.ORG 2008 *Convening on Women in Conflict* presentation at the Ford Foundation.

Web-exclusive videos will continue to be added over the months leading up to the broadcast to build interest for the series and provide much-needed historical context. During filming, the filmmakers will provide production notes and audio reports from the field. The site will feature interviews with leading policymakers, scholars, historians and high-profile influencers who continue to seek justice for the crimes committed against humanity in the Balkans. These may include Margot Wallstrom, the U.N. Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, speaking about how the international community can bring an end to impunity for sexual crimes during wartime, and scholar Selma Leijdesdorff, a regional expert, discussing the omission of women from the Dayton Accord and its consequences for postwar rebuilding.

In the weeks ahead, visual tools to illuminate the history of the Bosnian conflict will be also added to the website. These will include interactive maps, timelines and background information to provide a historical context for the film. In addition the site will feature a slideshow with accompanying audio called "The Book of Belongings" to visually illustrate the disappeared from the Bosnian conflict. We are also considering a special sub-site to mark the tenth anniversary this coming October of Resolution 1325, which

recognized women as crucial to global peacekeeping. In all, the website will become a rich resource for information on the history of the Bosnian conflict, the creation of the ICTY, and the stories of the key players and their search for justice.

On average, the WNET.ORG network attracts more than 8.5 million visitors a month. In addition, the film will be co-presented online by Fork Films, Disney and Reticker's production company, which brings a following from *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* of over 5,000 highly engaged followers to *Women, War & Peace*.

Outreach: We are not requesting funding from NEH for outreach activities; however, we hope that with additional funding from other sources, we will be able to carry out a substantial outreach component. WIDE ANGLE has created a rich outreach network throughout the course of its eight seasons. WNET.ORG's reach is further augmented by our nationally known Education Department, which creates multi-media discussion materials and community and educational outreach based on WNET productions.

Pray the Devil Back to Hell has already had significant impact through Fork Films' outreach campaign, which culminated in a nine-month, 500-screening Global Peace Tour. In 2009, it became the first film ever shown at the World Economic Forum in Davos. It was praised by Liberian President Ellen Sirleaf as having the potential to "prevent other countries from slipping into the kind of chaos that my country experienced."

Some of the activities we envision include: high-profile screenings for policymakers, government officials and opinion leaders; smaller screenings for leaders with direct access to target communities; and a coordinated simultaneous global broadcast, to ensure that *Women, War & Peace* will reach communities struggling to build democratic structures in post-conflict regions around the world. Following the TV premiere, *Women, War & Peace* will be made available for screening and discussion at government agencies, NGOs, and field organizations throughout the world. The magnitude of these activities will be determined by funding, but our goal is to match or exceed the global reach of outreach for *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*.