

# Contents

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	11
<b>Remarks .....</b>	12
<b>Introduction .....</b>	13
Politics of Memory: Collective Memory of the Holocaust .....	18
German Foreign Policy .....	21
Note on Terminology .....	25
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
<b>Historical Background: Important Milestones of Balkan History ....</b>	29
Medieval Balkans .....	30
1389: Battle of Kosovo and Serbia's National Myth .....	30
The Role of Religion .....	32
World War Two .....	33
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
<b>The Eruption of War in the 1990s .....</b>	37
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
<b>1991–1992: The Descent into War – Early German Press Coverage ...</b>	47
Historical Background .....	47
Explaining the Violence .....	49
World War Two .....	52
The Jewish Dimension .....	57
The Role of Religion .....	58
The Role of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army .....	60
Milošević – The Main Culprit? .....	64
Representing the Victims Visually .....	68
Germany's Role in the Balkans .....	70
The Press' Language .....	75
Authorship .....	79
<b>Brief Chronology of the Bosnian War: April 1992–July 1995 .....</b>	81

<b>Chapter 4</b>	
<b>July 1995: Srebrenica – Reporting Genocide .....</b>	<b>83</b>
Piecing Together the Events in Srebrenica .....	88
Srebrenica's Men Arrive in Tuzla .....	97
Authorship .....	100
Srebrenica and the UN .....	100
The Publications' Opinion .....	103
Srebrenica and Germany: The Weight of History .....	109
The Language of the Media .....	116
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
<b>November–December 1995:</b>	
<b>Peace in Bosnia – The Dayton Agreement .....</b>	<b>121</b>
Media Censorship and Authorship .....	125
The Dayton Agreement in the Press .....	127
Use of Images .....	132
Germany in the Back Seat .....	135
Milošević's Role .....	137
The Srebrenica Massacre Re-appears .....	140
The Domestic Debate: German Soldiers Deployed to the Balkans? ....	145
The Green Party and the 'Genocide Clause' .....	149
<b>Chapter 6</b>	
<b>March–June 1998: Renewed Violence – The Kosovo Conflict .....</b>	<b>157</b>
Causes of the Kosovo Conflict in the German Media .....	158
Kosovo-Albanian Civilians .....	161
Serbian Civilians .....	167
The Serbian Forces .....	169
Milošević – The Main Culprit? .....	171
The Kosovo Liberation Army .....	176
Language and Authorship .....	184
The Weight of History: Bosnia and World War Two .....	189
<b>Chapter 7</b>	
<b>January 1999: The 'Račak Massacre' .....</b>	<b>193</b>
The Račak Incident in the German Press .....	195
Račak: The Serbian Perspective .....	201

The Autopsy Report .....	204
The Press' Language .....	208
Use of Images .....	211
Račak – A Catalyst? .....	214
NATO-Intervention and German Politics .....	216
The Weight of History .....	225
<b>Chapter 8</b>	
<b>March–May 1999: Reporting ‘War’ –</b>	
<b>The NATO-Intervention in Kosovo and Serbia .....</b>	<b>229</b>
The Media’s Arguments for and against the War .....	235
‘Genocide’ and Concentration Camps in Kosovo .....	239
Milošević – The Main Culprit? .....	243
Serbian Civilians and the War .....	249
The Impact of Srebrenica and Račak .....	251
The Green Party .....	254
German Expellees: No one knows it like us .....	256
Media and War .....	259
The Press’ Language .....	262
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>267</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	
Brief Chronology of Conflict and War in the Balkans .....	279
List of Tables .....	282
List of Figures .....	282
List of Abbreviations .....	284
Bibliography .....	285