

Westminster Abbey



A SOLEMN COMMEMORATION
FOR
SREBRENICA MEMORIAL DAY



REMEMBERING
SREBRENICA

Monday 6th July 2015

Noon

THE SREBRENICA GENOCIDE

Humanity has lived through the darkest of times, but few events have stained our collective soul more than the Srebrenica genocide.

It seems unbelievable that, just twenty years ago, an inhuman plan could be hatched for ethnic cleansing in Europe, with more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslim men and boys systematically and industrially murdered during the Bosnian War.

Equally astounding was the Army of Republika Srpska's success in co-opting civilians to secure its brutal goals through a carefully planned process of dehumanising Bosnian Muslims, that made it easier for murderers and collaborators to hunt and kill their enemy.

Dehumanisation leading to genocide is not new. In Nazi Germany, Jews were labelled as sub-human and likened to vermin. Hutu killers in Rwanda referred to Tutsi victims as cockroaches. Stripped of possessions, livelihoods, dignity and their essential humanity, Bosnian Muslims suffered a similar fate.

Described by the United Nations as 'the worst crime on European soil since the Second World War', the massacres at Srebrenica were classed as genocide by both the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia. Yet denial of this atrocity is widespread.

The lessons learned from Srebrenica are that hatred and intolerance can flourish if left unchallenged. Even in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where people of different faiths had lived peacefully together for many years, an integrated society disintegrated.

In 2009, the European Parliament declared 11th July the official day of remembrance for the victims of Srebrenica. On this day each year, we are asked to honour the victims and survivors of the genocide, and pledge ourselves to creating a better, stronger and more cohesive society in the United Kingdom.

These must be no empty pledges. We are committed to ensuring that people understand the horror that can be unleashed should we fail in our aim. The Srebrenica genocide is truly the darkest moment of human history since the Second World War. Thousands of innocent lives were taken in the name of nationalistic pride and because of their family names.

We must all understand the consequences of leaving hatred and intolerance unchallenged. By confronting these twin evils, we give ourselves hope of illuminating the darkness and creating a better, safer and stronger society for all.

To mark the 20th anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, twenty candles will be lit by the following people:

Azir Osmanovic, survivor

The Right Honourable Greg Clark MP

The Baroness Williams of Trafford

The Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon

Dr Waqar Azmi OBE

The Right Honourable Sir Eric Pickles MP

The Right Honourable Hilary Benn MP

The Right Honourable The Baroness Warsi

The Right Honourable Nick Clegg MP

Sara Subašić, granddaughter of Munira Subašić

Nejira Subašić, granddaughter of Munira Subašić

His Excellency The Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Court of St James

His Excellency The Ambassador of Croatia to the Court of St James

His Excellency The Ambassador of Kuwait to the Court of St James

His Excellency The Ambassador of The United Arab Emirates to the Court of St James

Her Excellency The Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the Court of St James

His Excellency The Ambassador of Turkey to the Court of St James

The Baroness Lawrence of Clarendon OBE

Yasmin Qureshi MP

Angus Robertson MP

Members of the congregation are kindly requested to refrain from using private cameras, video, or sound recording equipment. Please ensure that mobile phones, pagers, and other electronic devices are switched off.

The church is served by a hearing loop. Users should turn their hearing aid to the setting marked T.

The service is conducted by The Very Reverend Dr John Hall, Dean of Westminster.

The service is sung by the Westminster Abbey Special Service Choir, conducted by James O'Donnell, Organist and Master of the Choristers.

The organ is played by Daniel Cook, Sub-Organist.

Music before the service:

Martin Ford, Assistant Organist, plays:

Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir BWV 686 *Johann Sebastian Bach*
(1685–1750)

Chorale Partita 'Sei gegrüßet,
Jesu gütig' BWV 768 *Johann Sebastian Bach*

Prélude, Fugue et Variation *César Franck (1822–90)*

Psalm Prelude Set 2 no 1 *Herbert Howells (1892–1983)*
'De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine'

The Lord Speaker is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and is conducted to her place in Quire. All remain seated.

Her Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant of Greater London and The High Sheriff of Greater London are received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and are conducted to places in Quire. All remain seated.

Their Excellencies The President of Bosnia and Herzegovina and The Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina are received by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster at the Great West Door, and are conducted to their places in the Lantern and Quire. All remain seated.

The Lord Mayor of Westminster is received at the Great West Door by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and is conducted to her seat. All stand, and then sit.

ORDER OF SERVICE

All stand. The Choir sings from the Great West Door

THE INTROIT

DROP, drop, slow tears,
and bathe those beauteous feet,
which brought from heaven
the news and Prince of peace.

Cease not, wet eyes,
his mercies to entreat;
to cry for vengeance
sin doth never cease.

In your deep floods
drown all my faults and fears;
nor let his eye
see sin, but through my tears.

Song 46
Orlando Gibbons (1583–1625)
Organist of Westminster Abbey 1623–25

Phineas Fletcher (1582–1650)

All remain standing as the Choir and Clergy process to their places. The Sub-Organist plays:

Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit BWV 669

Johann Sebastian Bach

All remain standing. The Very Reverend Dr John Hall, Dean of Westminster, gives

THE BIDDING

IN Westminster Abbey, a place of Christian prayer and commemoration at the heart of our nation for over a thousand years, we come into the presence of almighty God, bringing our hopes and fears, our sorrows and joys, our penitence and thanksgiving.

We come with our own faith, together with those of other faiths and of no faith, to a solemn commemoration of the genocide in Srebrenica twenty years ago. We shall remember the events of those days and those who died and all those who suffer the consequences, and we shall pray for them.

We shall reflect on our common humanity and the reality of man's inhumanity to man, on the cruelty that lurks in each of us and that can be unleashed for destruction. Above all, we shall look for signs of hope, of forgiveness, of reconciliation, and we shall pray that under God all may be one.

All remain standing for

THE ACT OF REMEMBRANCE

during which twenty candles are lit

The Choir sings:

KYRIE eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Lord, have mercy.

Lennox Berkeley (1903–89) Mass for five voices

All remain standing. The Reverend Christopher Stoltz, Minor Canon and Sacrist of Westminster, says:

In solemn remembrance of those whose lives were taken by violence, and seeking God's mercy and forgiveness, let us pray.

Theo Gilbert, pupil, Bethnal Green Academy, says:

LORD of life, you bring health and healing to a world marred by sin and strife. Enfold in your tender care those who perished at Srebrenica, and deal graciously with families, friends, and communities still crying out from the depths of grief.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

Aakifah Khan, pupil, Witton Park Academy, says:

LORD of the nations, you hate nothing that you have made. Look in mercy upon all your children, especially upon the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and dispel the dark clouds of distrust and despair.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

The Venerable Andrew Tremlett, Canon in Residence, says:

LORD of compassion, your mercies are new each morning. Lend your strength to those who endeavour to uphold the dignity of every man, woman, and child, and deepen our commitment to oppose intolerance and injustice.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

Nedžad Advić, Srebrenica survivor, says:

WE pray to almighty God,
May grievance become hope
May revenge become justice
May mothers' tears become prayers
That Srebrenica
Never happens again
To no-one and nowhere.

*The Srebrenica Prayer
displayed at the Srebrenica–Potočari Memorial Centre and Cemetery*

All sit for

A TESTIMONY

by

Munira Subašić

President, Mothers of Srebrenica Association

I ADDRESS you today on behalf of thousands of mothers whose children were brutally murdered in the Srebrenica genocide. The United Kingdom deserves recognition for its leading role in honouring the memory of our victims. We also applaud the work of Remembering Srebrenica in learning the lessons from our past to help create a better, safer, stronger society for everyone.

Although it has been twenty years since this inhuman atrocity, some mothers are still searching for the bones of their children. That is our life now—our biggest problem and our greatest mission. I doubt all of you can understand the pain and suffering we must endure, but I am certain that any mother can.

Our children were systematically murdered twenty years ago, but we still cannot bury them with dignity. In this day and age, in the country you live in, this might sound impossible. In our country, it also seemed impossible, but in 1995 genocide was committed and the pain continues.

Over the past twenty years, mass graves have been hidden from us, crimes neglected, truth denied. It will not come as a surprise if we are told in a few years from now that we have never given birth to children; that we have never been mothers. And that hurts. It hurts the same way as it did twenty years ago. It hurts and doesn't stop.

I don't want to talk about politics, ethnic divisions, and religious differences. I speak to you as a human being and a mother. I stand before you, and you look at me as free people. Often, I stand before the murderers of our children and they look at me in the same way as you do. Free!

Even though they are the most wanted criminals by The Hague, we see them every day. Murderers, their associates, executioners—we look them in the eyes and beg them to tell us where the mass graves are. They remain silent and deny everything, as if we have never been mothers. Some of them threaten us while they hide behind the police uniforms they wear. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, I live in a country where those who killed our children are now police officers.

Europe and the world bear responsibility for the genocide in Srebrenica. Silence on genocide is its approval. However, I firmly believe that twenty years later, Europe and the world can make things better.

Help us find the bones of our children! Ease our suffering by protecting the mother from the murderer of her child. Take the uniforms off our children's murderers. If there was no justice and mercy for more than 10,000 innocent men, women and children systematically murdered back in 1995, then please show some mercy and justice today.

We still believe in goodness. We believe that truth and justice are on our side. We bear no hatred towards those who executed this inhuman plan, because hatred is weakness and we refuse to be weak.

I appeal to you to stand by us to protect the most important human values. Stand shoulder to shoulder with us in challenging hatred and intolerance. Together, we can create a better, safer, stronger world.

All remain seated. His Excellency Husein Kavazović, Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reads from the Great Lectern

QUR'AN 81: 1–14 (SURAH AT-TAKWIR)

In the name of God, the most compassionate, the most merciful,

WHEN the sun is wrapped up [in darkness] and when the stars fall, dispersing, and when the mountains are removed, and when full-term she-camels are neglected, and when the wild beasts are gathered, and when the seas are filled with flame, and when the souls are paired, and when the girl [who was] buried alive is asked for what sin she was killed, and when the pages are made public, and when the sky is stripped away, and when Hellfire is set ablaze, and when Paradise is brought near, a soul will [then] know what it has brought [with it].

QUR'AN 3: 8–9 (SURAH ALE-IMRAN)

OUR Lord, let not our hearts deviate after You have guided us and grant us from Yourself mercy. Indeed, You are the Bestower. Our Lord, surely You will gather the people for a Day [of judgement] about which there is no doubt. Indeed, Allah does not fail in His promise.

The Choir sings

THE ANTHEM

HEAR my prayer, O Lord: and let my crying come unto thee.

*Sven-David Sandström (b 1942)
after Henry Purcell (1659–95)
Organist of Westminster Abbey 1679–95*

Psalm 102: 1

All remain seated for

A TESTIMONY

by

The Right Honourable
The Lord Ashdown of Norton-sub-Hamdon GCMG KBE CH

All stand to sing

THE HYMN



O GOD of earth and altar,
bow down and hear our cry,
our earthly rulers falter,
our people drift and die;
the walls of gold entomb us,
the swords of scorn divide,
take not thy thunder from us,
but take away our pride.

From all that terror teaches,
from lies of tongue and pen,
from all the easy speeches
that comfort cruel men,
from sale and profanation
of honour and the sword,
from sleep and from damnation,
deliver us, good Lord!

Tie in a living tether
the prince and priest and thrall,
bind all our lives together,
smite us and save us all;
in ire and exultation
aflame with faith, and free,
lift up a living nation,
a single sword to thee.

King's Lynn 492 NEH
traditional English melody

G K Chesterton (1874–1936)

All sit for

THE ADDRESSES

by

His Excellency Bakir Izetbegović
President of Bosnia and Herzegovina

and

The Right Honourable Philip Hammond MP
Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

All remain seated. The Choir sings

THE ANTHEM

LORD, for thy tender mercy's sake, lay not our sins to our charge, but forgive that is past, and give us grace to amend our sinful lives: to decline from sin and incline to virtue, that we may walk in a perfect heart, before thee now and evermore. Amen.

attributed to Richard Farrant (c 1530–80)

*from Christian Prayers
and Holy Meditations 1568*

All kneel or remain seated. The Sacrist leads

THE PRAYERS

Drawn together as people of hope, and confident of God's promise to renew the face of the earth, let us pray.

Chris Comiskey, pupil, Bethnal Green Academy, says:

LORD of love, we give you thanks for the goodness and grace which you bestow upon those who promote understanding and reconciliation between peoples. Prosper continually their labours, and establish in us all a spirit of openness and generosity.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

Hamza Khan, pupil, Witton Park Academy, says:

LORD of promise, we give you thanks for breathing life into a single humanity, and we praise your name for every place in which people of many races and religions live together in mutual love. Incline us always to see in the face of our neighbour a reflection of your love.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

The Canon in Residence says:

LORD of eternity, our refuge and strength in times past, you inspire fresh hope for the future. Give us eyes to behold the vision of your perfect reign of love, and lives to reflect your unfathomable goodness.

Lord, in your mercy
hear our prayer.

The Sacrist concludes:

Longing for the coming of Christ's kingdom, let us pray as he has taught us:

OUR Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done; on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

All sit. Colonel Bob Stewart DSO MP reads from the Nave Pulpit

REVELATION 21: 1-7

THEN I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, ‘See, the home of God is among mortals. He will dwell with them; they will be his peoples, and God himself will be with them; he will wipe every tear from their eyes. Death will be no more; mourning and crying and pain will be no more, for the first things have passed away.’ And the one who was seated on the throne said, ‘See, I am making all things new.’ Also he said, ‘Write this, for these words are trustworthy and true.’ Then he said to me, ‘It is done! I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. To the thirsty I will give water as a gift from the spring of the water of life. Those who conquer will inherit these things, and I will be their God and they will be my children.’

All stand to sing

THE HYMN



GOD is love: let heaven adore him;
God is love: let earth rejoice;
let creation sing before him,
and exalt him with one voice.
He who laid the earth's foundation,
he who spread the heavens above,
he who breathes through all creation,
he is love, eternal love.

God is love: and he enfoldeth
all the world in one embrace;
with unfailing grasp he holdeth
every child of every race.
And when human hearts are breaking
under sorrow's iron rod,
then they find that selfsame aching
deep within the heart of God.

God is love: and though with blindness
sin afflicts the souls of men,
God's eternal loving-kindness
holds and guides them even then.
Sin and death and hell shall never
o'er us final triumph gain;
God is love, so love for ever
o'er the universe must reign.

Abbot's Leigh 185 NEH
Cyril Taylor (1907–92)

364 NEH
Timothy Rees (1874–1939)

All remain standing. The Dean pronounces

THE BLESSING

GO forth into the world in peace; be of good courage; hold fast that which is good; render to no-one evil for evil; strengthen the fainthearted; support the weak; help the afflicted; honour all people; love and serve the Lord, rejoicing in the power of the Holy Spirit; and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit be among you and remain with you always. **Amen.**

Music after the service:

Fantasia in C minor BWV 562

Johann Sebastian Bach

All remain standing as the Procession moves to the west end of the Abbey Church.

Members of the congregation are requested to remain in their places until invited to move by the Stewards.

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