

The CNAB's voice to make genocide history, to change history, to call for justice

From the Resolution of CNAB "Reason and Justice, not Vengeance" to the Resolution of CNAB in American Congress and Senate and in Canadian Parliament; CNAB sent clear message to all world:

Genocide is not place, exception in history.

CNAB calls on action of leaders of the most prominent democracies in the world to prevent genocide against humanity.

CNAB says to the all world: the many Bosniak generations will not tolerate the further pain of the genocide while Europe and World have the means to prevent it.

Therefore CNAB is calling on the World Leaders of, you have the largest mandate for action in history. Just as people demanded an end to slavery, demanded women's suffrage, demanded the end of apartheid, CNAB now calls for an end to the unjust absurdity of the results of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is killing 200,000 people { RS }.

You - leaders of the most prominent democracies in the world - know what needs to be done.

Srebrenica in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the world's first United Nations Safe Area, was the site of the worst case of genocide in Europe since World War II. In July 1995, the Bosnian Serb army staged a brutal takeover of the small spa town and its surrounding region. Over a period of five days, the Bosnian Serb soldiers separated Muslim (Bosniak) families and systematically murdered more than 7,800 men and boys in fields, schools, and warehouses.

Srebrenica, the massacre of Bosniak men and boys, and the torture, rape, and killing of many women and children, which occurred from July 11 through July 15, 1995 in and near the UN declared "safe area" of Srebrenica. In line with its mission, CNAB is organizing a set of events that will shed light on this human tragedy, commemorate the massacre on its tenth anniversary, create awareness and sensitize the public to the crimes of genocide, while creating a lasting record as a reminder to all Bosniaks and international community of nations.

In the year when the United Nations is looking for ways to revitalize its mandate to be better prepared to handle the challenges of the 21st century, this event will call for international solidarity in the face of future genocides, and for the international community to have the will to act appropriately in time to guard against human rights abuses that precede genocide.

CNAB calls on the international community to commemorate the victims of the 1995 massacre, and urges the arrest and transfer of all indicted war criminals in the former Yugoslavia to the international tribunal at the Hague. CNAB marks that at the 10 year anniversary of the Srebrenica massacres, in which 8,000 Muslim boys and men were systematically separated from their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters in a UN-designated safe zone, and then murdered by Serb military forces. The victims have not all been identified, nor have many of the perpetrators been arrested and held accountable for their part in the Bosnian genocide.

The tragedy of Srebrenica needs to become a measurement of reason, justice and truth, not revenge and vengeance, which it will remind the entire democratic world that we can not allow such atrocities to occur again. The aggressor in Srebrenica and in Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted to obtain power through genocide and aggression. However, the aggressor did not succeed because Srebrenica, while it was a tragedy, it was also the beginning of the end of the aggressor's power and genocide.

Ten years after genocide: has the international community failed to honour its promises to Srebrenica and Bosnia again? Srebrenica - declared a 'safe area' by the United Nations - was

allowed to fall to besieging nationalist Serbs in July 1995. More than 7,000 men and boys were massacred. The women of Srebrenica were forcibly evacuated from the enclave, and today live as refugees in their own country. For the victims of Srebrenica, 10 years after the massacre. To forget and be silent about crimes is a crime. There is no peace without truth about the genocide in Srebrenica. Why is world still silent. CNAB is searching for punishment for everyone responsible for the crimes in Srebrenica.

In July 1995 thousands of men and boys who had sought safety in the United Nations-designated “safe area” of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were massacred by Serb forces operating in that country. In aggression and genocide perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces, while taking control of the surrounding territory, resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its environs, which the United Nations Security Council designated a “safe area”. The UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Medecins Sans Frontiers (Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease. Bosnian Serb forces blockaded the enclave early in 1995, depriving the entire population of humanitarian aid and outside communication and contact, and effectively reducing the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation.

Beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured. Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, ultimately took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995.

An estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica, including a relatively small number of soldiers, made a desperate attempt to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnian-held territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes. The remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica but many of these individuals were randomly seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten, raped, or executed. Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses, held Bosniak males over 16 years of age at collection points and sites in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed and buried the captives in mass graves. Approximately 20 percent of Srebrenica’s total population at the time—at least 7,000 and perhaps thousands more—was either executed or killed.

The United Nations and its member states have largely acknowledged their failure to take actions and decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent massacre. Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control.

The massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many horrible atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, an estimated 200,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, and the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban centers repeatedly subjected to shelling and sniper attacks.

Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (done at Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force with respect to the United States on February 23, 1989) defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”.

On May 25, 1993 the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the world’s first international war crimes tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991.

Numerous members of the Bosnian Serb forces at various levels of responsibility have been indicted for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, some of whom have been tried and sentenced while others, including Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain at large.

The international community, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialled in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

CNAB want to thank American and Canadian government and people for sponsoring Resolutions to mark the 10th Anniversary of the Srebrenica Massacre and for the continuous support of the American and Canadian people for the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the rights of all people living in Bosnia and Herzegovina regardless of their ethnicity and religion.

These resolutions have global impact, beyond Srebrenica, on the rule of law and freedom in the world. As such, it is important that the resolutions clearly condemn Serbia and Montenegro as the aggressors and principal organizers, initiators, and perpetrators of the war crimes and the genocide committed against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, we appeal that the resolutions include stronger language indicating the responsibility of Serbia and Montenegro for their aggression and role in the war crimes and the acts of genocide against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The involvement of Serbia and Montenegro as aggressors and perpetrators of the war crimes and genocide against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are well documented in proceedings of the lawsuit of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro at the International Court of Justice in The Hague and the proceedings at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. As recently as the first week of June 2005, TV stations in Serbia and Montenegro and all over the world, showed video footage of members of the Serbian State Security Forces executing citizens of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Srebrenica. The footage is evidence in the trial of the former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) - Slobodan Milosevic. On June 16, 2005, the Council of Ministers of Serbia and Montenegro issued a statement blaming the regime of former president Slobodan Milosevic, now on trial before the Hague Tribunal for War Crimes in Former Yugoslavia, for the massacre in Srebrenica. With this statement, the Council of Ministers of Serbia and Montenegro admitted the responsibility of their nation for war crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina; regardless of regime changes, the responsibility for war crimes committed remains with the nation - just as the Federal Republic of Germany was responsible for the crimes committed by the Nazi regime during the World War II and had to pay reparations to the victims of their aggression and the victims of the Holocaust.

Before their aggression on the sovereign Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro (rump of former Yugoslavia), were also aggressors in the war against the Republic of Slovenia in 1990 and the Republic of Croatia in 1991. The wars in these three countries were not initiated by ethnic Serbs, as there were no "Slovenian Serbs" in Slovenia, nonetheless there was still a war between "Serbs" and "Slovenians." Therefore, without the same aggression by Serbia and Montenegro that took place in Slovenia and Croatia, there would have been no war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations Security Council Resolutions 752 and 757 from 1992 clearly stated that the rump Yugoslavia (which was constituted of Serbia and Montenegro), was the aggressor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was based on these resolutions that the U.S. introduced economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. It should also be recognized that the "Serb Republic" was created on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the result of the aggression, ethnic cleansing, and genocide initiated, perpetrated, and supported by Serbia and Montenegro, against the Articles of the Geneva Conventions and international laws that prevent changes of borders and changes of constitutions of sovereign nations as the result of aggression. For these reasons, the U.S.A. and Canada should not support provisions of the Dayton agreement that facilitate the territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the creation of the "Serb Republic." For the reasons just stated above, the U.S.A. and Canada and the Free World dissolved the Third Reich and the states that the Nazis created in occupied Europe. Therefore, we appeal that the resolutions include a request for the dissolution of the "Serb Republic" and the return of the legitimate constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which was in place before the aggression.

It is deplorable that Srebrenica is within the borders of the "Serb Republic," which was created as a result

of the very genocide committed in Srebrenica. It is important to note that the United Nations Security Council Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993 that established the UN Safe Area in Srebrenica and Zepa is still binding and has never been abandoned. Therefore, in current resolutions we appeal that the U.S.A. and Canada support Srebrenica victims by stating that Srebrenica should be placed under UN authority until the "Serb Republic" is dissolved and the legitimate prewar constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is reinstated.

From the Resolution of CNAB " Reason and Justice, not Vengeance" to the Resolution of CNAB in American Congress and Senate and in Canadian Parliament; CNAB sent clear message to all world:

On July 11, 2004 The Congress of North American Bosniaks [CNAB } started its intensive world wide campaign for the truth about the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and genocide against Bosniaks, specially genocide against Bosniaks of the UN safe area Srebrenica. The action of CNAB began with the Report and Resolution "Reason and Justice, not Vengeance for Srebrenica and Bosnia and Herzegovina".

On August 11, 2004 CNAB urges Canadians and Americans who may be called to testify for Slobodan Milosevic not to testify as defence witness for Milosevic who faces more than 60 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in the 1991 - 1995 war in Croatia, the 1992 - 1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the 1998 - 1999 war in Kosovo. Milosevic has also been charged with genocide and complicity in genocide, the gravest of war crimes, for the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which left 200,000 people dead. Choosing to defend Milosevic would contradict the human rights, freedom and democracy, which America and Canada strongly supports.

On September 11 2004 CNAB with influential circles the organisations and individuals of Bosniaks in North America, initiated a plan to make Srebrenica town the sister or brother of New York city in order to establish a symbolic based on perception of the civilian tragedy in face of terror.

On October 11, 2004 CNAB officially started with the intensive world wide campaign for the truth about the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina and genocide against Bosniaks, specially genocide against Bosniaks of the UN safe area Srebrenica.
On October CNAB issued Report "Reason and Justice for Srebrenica"

On November 11, 2004 CNAB issued Report: " Reason and Justice for Srebrenica and Bosnia and Herzegovina".
On November 11, 2004 CNAB wrote open letter to Ms. Diana Johnstone who in her grossly one-sided revisionist book " Fools Crusade Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions" denies and revisions the number of victims of the Srebrenica genocide, questions the use of rape as a tool of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and revisions the number of people killed in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also in November 11, 2004 CNAB did research with Italian journalist Luce Leone about Srebrenica genocide, which was world wide published.

On December 11, 2004 CNAB issued Report: " Truth and Justice for Srebrenica"
Also CNAB wrote to Hemispheres CBC Television, in which support facts about Srebrenica genocide, which denied of the Serbian National Shield Society of Canada. On January 11, 2005 CNAB in light of the tenth anniversary of Srebrenica genocide called to action the most influential democracies in the world to take final steps for complete and definite removal of all the aftermath of aggression and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the only way for truth, justice and reason to prevail.

On January 11, 2005 CNAB issued Report Warning " Srebrenica is last Warning to all Bosniaks, to all Friends of Bosnia and to all the World".

On February 11, 2005 CNAB issued Report about double aggression on Bosniaks and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Aggression of Serbian and Montenegro and aggression of Croatia.

On March 11, 2005 CNAB issued the most powerful remembered fifteen facts of the Srebrenica genocide.

On April 11, 2005 CNAB issued Report to the all world "To learn Srebrenica lesson, to send Srebrenica message" Also CNAB issued report of professor Emir Ramic which he has given on the Conference of Genocide in Bosnia held in Hamilton, Canada. The title of report was "Bosniak's will to survive is grater than their temptation to fail".

On May 11, 2005 CNAB issued report "Every Bosniak's Oblivion gets a new Genocide".
CNAB gave in congressional and parliament procedures Resolutions regarding the 1995 massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Resolutions passed in Senate and Congress in the USA and in the Canadian Parliament.

It is essential for the United States of America and Canada as powerful democracies, to demonstrate support for democratic standards.

The resolutions are a bipartisan measure commemorating July 11, 1995-2005, the tenth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in which more than 8,000 men and boys were meticulously and methodically separated from their daughters, mothers, sisters and wives and then killed by Serb forces, buried in mass graves and then re-interred in secondary graves to cover up the crimes. Srebrenica fell to invading Serb forces on July 11, 1995 and at the time had been declared a UN "safe area" under the protection of the international community. The Srebrenica massacre was the worst genocidal atrocity in Europe since World War II.

The resolutions state that "the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 and 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, created in Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force on January 12, 1951."

In addition, the resolutions further state that "the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, and an estimated 200,000 were killed."

They call on all entities of the former Yugoslavia, as well as the international community, to immediately arrest and turn over to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the Hague all indicted war criminals in the region and condemns the fact that the war criminals responsible for Srebrenica, notably Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, are still at large ten years after the slaughter. The United States Senate and Congress and the Parliament of Canada stood tall and denounced those groups who did not respect or abide by basic human rights principles fundamental to United States and Canadian citizens, and to all citizens of the world. This somber remembrance of the tragic events of 1995 should help the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina move forward, and reiterate the United States' and Canadian's influential position on the value of life and liberty.

On 29, May 2005 the 6. Assembly of the Congress of North American Bosniaks which was held in Toronto adopted Resolution regarding the Srebrenica genocide.

In July 1995, in Srebrenica Serbian forces under the command of Serbian Gen. Ratko Mladic and Bosnian Serb Col. Radislav Krstic, tracked down every Muslim man and boy age 16, gunned them down and buried them in mass graves. Many of the women left behind were raped and beaten. Ironically, Srebrenica was one of five "safe havens" designed by the U.N. Security Council. When Krstic's troops move in, the U.N. peacekeeping force in the region, a battalion of Dutch troops, asked for reinforcements. None came. The outmanned Dutch troops stood by and watched as at least 8,000 men and boys were murdered. The actual number may be much higher. Bosnian Serbs dug up many of the bodies and scattered them, hoping to destroy the

evidence. They weren't entirely successful. At the end of the war, Krstic was sentenced to 46 years in prison by the International War Crimes Tribunal. Mladic is under indictment by the same tribunal but remains in hiding. The survivors of Srebrenica became refugees, many within their own nation.

On June 11, 2005 CNAB issued Report " Srebrenica is the Seed of the Bosniak's and Bosnia's Hope". Also CNAB called on the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Mr. Paddy Ashdown to investigate the claims put forth by the Minister of Interior Republic Srpska, Mr. Darko Matijasevic during his visit to Washington D.C.

**According to facts in the reports of CNAB, the Congress of the North American Bosniaks urges the most influential democracies in the world:
This is the absolute minimum required to begin to win the battle against genocide.**

1. The thousands of innocent people executed at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995, along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 should be solemnly remembered and honored.
2. The policies of aggression and ethnic cleaning as implemented by Serb forces from Serbia and from Bosnia in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
3. Foreign nationals who have risked and in some cases lost their lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina while working toward peace should be solemnly remembered and honored.
4. The United Nations and its member states should accept their share of responsibility for allowing the Srebrenica massacre and genocide to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 by failing to take sufficient, decisive, and timely action, and the United Nations and its member states should constantly seek to ensure that this failure is not repeated in future crises and conflicts.
5. It is in the national interest of the all countries in the world that those individuals who are responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be held accountable for their actions. All persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should be apprehended and transferred to the Hague without further delay, and all countries should meet their obligations to cooperate fully with the ICTY at all times.
6. World should continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and friends.

The most powerful remembered fifteen facts of Srebrenica:

The first fact; 8 to 10 000 people were massacred by the Serb forces in this enclave of Eastern Bosnia, declared "zone of safety" by UNO, in July 1995 during the war in ex-Yugoslavia.

The second fact; April 4, 1992 Beginning of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The third fact; April 17, 1993 Srebrenica is declared "zone of safety" by UNO (resolution 819 of the Security Council).

The fourth fact; April 18, 1993 Canadian units of the FORPRONU settle in Srebrenica and in its surroundings.

The fifth fact; July 11, 1995 Fall of Srebrenica ; evacuation of part of the civil population.

The Sixth fact; July 12, 1995, 15 000 people flee the enclave; a long walk towards freedom, the Column, will leave nearly 10 000 corpses in the forests and on the roads.

The seventh fact; July 17, 1995 The first survivors of the Column reach Tuzla.

The eight fact; July 21, 1995 The blue helmets leave Srebrenica and give up it with the hands of the troops of General MLADIC.

The ninth fact; December 14, 1995 Signature of the agreements of Dayton ratifying a technique partition of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The tenth fact; 2001 mission of French parliamentary information.

The eleventh fact; 2002 Beginning of the construction of the memorial for the victims.

The twelfth fact; March 31, 2003 burial with Srebrenica of the first 600 identified victims .

The Thirteen fact; September 20, 2003 Inauguration of the memorial of Srebrenica with Potocari by the former president of the United States, Bill Clinton.

The fourteen fact; April 19, 2004 The international penal Court for ex-Yugoslavia confirms that the massacre of Srebrenica constituted a genocide.

The fifteen fact; November 10, 2004 The government of the Serb republic of Bosnia and Herzegovine (Republika Srpska) recognizes the crime of Srebrenica

Articles and comments

Reason and Justice, not Vengeance

The Congress of North American Bosniaks, and associations of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina living in Portland, Seattle and Vancouver, mark the Ninth Anniversary of Genocide in Srebrenica, and adopt the following Declaration for the event, entitled "Reason and Justice, not Vengeance":

1.

With the verdict of the trial of Radislav Krstic, the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (the "Hague Tribunal") confirmed that Genocide against Bosniaks was conducted. In the meantime, on trial are the genocidal intentions of accused Slobodan Milosevic – the genocidal intention of eradicating the Bosniak population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an ethnic group, either in full, or partially. Also on trial is the idea that the majority of the accused at the Hague Tribunal, both premeditated, and collaborated on, the execution of Genocide. Given the illegal and persistent hiding of the accused Karadzic and Mladic, with the assistance of the institutions of Republika Srpska and neighbouring countries, we are lead to conclude that the verdict which will confirm their involvement in Genocide will also be a verdict against Republika Srpska and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). With that in mind, we question the reasoning behind cooperation and collaboration by certain representatives of International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina with officials of SDS and Republika Srpska.

2.

On every centimetre of land, and during every minute of decades-long

preparation, organization, execution and cover-up of Genocide, the party structure and leadership of the SDS is to be found. Crimes have been committed by political leaders, members of the Army of Republika Srpska, police force of Republika Srpska, institutions of Republika Srpska... while in all structures and on all level the SDS was in power. Not going into the question of how and why, even now, the SDS is in power in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we seek the severance of all political contacts with this party that has been the driving and operational force of Genocide.

3.

We call upon the representatives of the International Community to help the ever-growing number of Bosnian Serbs who wish to distance themselves from the SDS and the politics of Genocide. But fear of consequences and uncertainty will not leave these Bosnian Serbs as long as cooperation and collaboration between representatives of the International Community and the SDS continues. Such demoralizing behaviour only prolongs both individual and national agony. We, as citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are also citizens of the United States and Canada, insist that the path for normal political activities be opened to our fellow Bosnian Serbs by preventing the public and secret work of SDS.

4.

Srebrenica has become an inseparable part of our future. Srebrenica reminds us of what could have been, but never was. Srebrenica has come to find a separate meaning for itself in the Bosnian lexicon - one that the rest of our words do no justice in conveying... Srebrenica has become an intrusive part of our culture and an axis which, from the position in which we find ourselves, leads to the place that holds our most beloved... Srebrenica is the ultimate point of comparison of the pale faces of those we no longer have, and those we cannot find, or recognize... Srebrenica is a word that must make us all better; an iron cry so that it may never happen again... Srebrenica is a little Bosnian girl who, after all, is left with parental suffering, troubled memories, and the search for justice... God, give us strength to persevere...

5.

On the Ninth Anniversary of the beginning of the Genocide in Srebrenica, we request from the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to issue an edict commemorating the Anniversary, in a manner in which occasions of great importance are marked in civilized countries on the continent to which Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to.

6.

We request from the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to adequately mark the 10th Anniversary of Genocide in Srebrenica, in

2005, through political and diplomatic activities.

We request that the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina undertake all activities and insist on the adoption of a UN Resolution on the 10th Anniversary of Genocide in Srebrenica which would underline the non-recognition of political, legal, and factual results established by way of Genocide.

We request that on the Tenth Anniversary, on 11 July 2005, the UN flag flies at half mast, because Srebrenica, after all, was a UN safe area.

7.

Recognizing that the struggle of Bosnia and Herzegovina is symbolized by the suffering endured by Srebrenica, we insist on the realization of technical-communicational conditions that would provide foreign Heads of States and Governments, on their visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an opportunity to visit the Srebrenica Memorial Centre and pay their respects to the casualties of Genocide. We believe that the majority of statesmen do have a desire to pay their respects to the casualties of Srebrenica. The Diaspora of Bosnia and Herzegovina is prepared to financially participate in the realization of the technical solution to the problem of a fast VIP access to Srebrenica

8.

We welcome the formation of a single Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that this Army must also act in marking the tragedy of Srebrenica. We therefore propose the formation of an Honour-Guard of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which will stand guard in front of the Memorial Centre in a manner practiced in the United States, Canada and European countries that have memorial centres, observe traditions and commemorate events of great suffering.

9.

As citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina living in the United States and Canada, we find that Annex IV (Constitution) of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina is inappropriate. It is an imposed international act, signed and guaranteed, amongst others, by the ICTY accused Slobodan Milosevic. Annex IV prevents Bosnia and Herzegovina in the normal development of its statehood. We therefore pledge our constitutional loyalty to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with which the country achieved its independence, and which by way of Genocide and genocidal politics, ceased being the supreme legal act. We hold all debates surrounding changes to Annex IV of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dayton Peace Agreement) politically naive, insofar as they do not consider that changes to Annex IV must be along the path of redefining the

Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and creation of a decentralized country with strong, distinct, municipal self-government.

10.

CNAB strongly supports authorities of the United States which two years ago declared the Chetnik Ravna Gora Movement to be a terrorist organization. CNAB urges the government of Canada to make the same decision. The CNAB protests the fact that the Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Canada did not take concrete political nor diplomatic steps to stop the promotion of Chetniks and Chetnik organizations in Canada.

11.

Finally, we request from the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to announce an open competition for the selection of a symbol that will symbolize the Genocide in Srebrenica. We request that this be done by the next (Tenth) Anniversary of the Genocide; that it be made in a shape which can be worn on clothing and that the same be distributed by way of the diplomatic-consular missions of Bosnia and Herzegovina to all associations of Bosnians and Herzegovinians. Such a symbol would foster personal solidarity and awaken a personal connection among all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It could also be an additional source of donations for the Memorial Center. CNAB is of the opinion that 11 July will be a day when the vast majority of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina will pay its respects toward Srebrenica by wearing this symbol.

The Congress of North American Bosniaks
The Bosniak and Bosnian Organization of the USA and Canada

CHOOSING TO DEFEND MILOSEVIC IS CHOOSING TO DEFEND A WAR CRIMINAL

The National Post from August 16, 2004 featured an article, "Milosevic's Canadian Defence" by Bruce Garvey in which it was stated that Slobodan Milosevic, indicted war criminal and former Serbian president has called four Canadians, retired Major-General Lewis MacKenzie, Ottawa Citizen defence correspondent David Pugliese and

war correspondent and author Scott Taylor and Calgary filmmaker Garth Pitchard to be defence witnesses in his trial. The Congress of Bosniaks of North America, Branch Canada (The Congress) urges the four Canadians (and other Canadians who may be called to testify for Milosevic in the future) not to testify as defence witnesses for Milosevic who faces more than 60 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his role in the 1991-95 war in Croatia, the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and the 1998-99 war in Kosovo. Milosevic has also been charged with genocide and complicity in genocide, the gravest of war crimes, for the war in Bosnia, which left 200,000 people dead. Choosing to defend Milosevic would contradict the human rights, freedom and democracy, which Canada strongly supports. Canada is a country that is fighting for peace and justice. It is a country that had and still has peace-keeping troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who are the best witnesses as to who the victim is and who the aggressor is in Bosnia.

The Congress firmly believes that if Lewis MacKenzie were to accept Milosevic's invitation and testify for him, his testimony would have to be carefully examined. After all, allegations of sexual misconduct have been made against MacKenzie. The Congress has already sent a letter to the Canadian Prime Minister, Paul Martin detailing the evidence that supports the allegations. Unfortunately, as far as we know an investigation has still not been conducted on this case.

MacKenzie's views about the war in Bosnia are clearly expressed in his book, *The Peacekeeper*. "The second [of May, 1992] was a relatively quiet day", writes MacKenzie. (*PEACEKEEPER*, MacKenzie, 246). This is from the journal of a man who was both the eyes and the ears of the international community while he was stationed in Sarajevo, Bosnia. The second of May was far from quiet. In fact, on the second of May, Sarajevo's library was burning as well as its post office, leaving the people no contact with the outside world. Also, Bosnia's president, at the time, was kidnapped on the second. Calling the second of May relatively quiet shows that this man, General MacKenzie, was biased and this is just one more reason why if he were to testify his testimony should not be taken at face value. On 10 March 2003, MacKenzie listed the major disasters of UN peacekeeping in the *Globe & Mail*. At the top of his list was Bosnia and Hercegovina. Why had Bosnia reached the top of his list? Because of, "the UN's failure to protect civilians." What General MacKenzie forgot to mention was that he was the first UN commander on the ground. It was General MacKenzie that laid the foundations of that particular mission and actually dissuaded the U.S. from intervening, even with humanitarian aid.

It was in Senate, on August 11th of 1992 that General MacKenzie said,

"There is no military solution. There is no way intervention will do anything but escalate the violence." In response to this statement, Senator Nunn asked, "When you say intervention will escalate the violence, do you include humanitarian assistance as intervention?" MacKenzie's response as, "I'm sorry but I'm afraid so." MacKenzie's comments during his stay in Bosnia can be summarized in a few lines: I am dealing with Serbs, Croats and Muslims and it is like dealing with criminals. One of them has killed fifteen people, one of them killed ten and one of them killed five. But all of them are criminals. This is what MacKenzie says but the facts tell a different story. Most of the estimated 200,000 people who died during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina were Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), most of the estimated 50,000 people who were in concentration camps were Bosniaks, most of the estimated 30,000 women who were raped were Bosniaks and most of the estimated 1,500,000 who were victims of ethnic cleansing were Bosniaks. And this is why Slobodan Milosevic is an indicted war criminal and why he should be convicted. It was his plan for a "Greater Serbia" that started the war in Slovenia, which then moved to Croatia, then to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. During the war in Bosnia some Canadians were probably saying, "Why should Canada, thousands of miles away, get involved?" Our answer was straightforward: because Milosevic must be stopped. His army must be dismantled. Milosevic was not stopped and his army did continue its aggression in Kosovo. Finally, after hundreds of thousands have been killed and displaced from their homes Milosevic has been stopped. He has been indicted of war crimes. So if Canadians choose to get involved at this time, the Congress urges them to help convict Milosevic. Choosing to defend Milosevic is choosing to defend a war criminal.

(Emir Ramic is President of the Congress of North American Bosniaks, Branch of Canada)

OPEN LETTER OF THE CONGRESS OF NORTH AMERICAN BOSNIAKS TO MS DIANA JOHNSTONE

Diana Johnstone - in her grossly one-sided revisionist book "Fools' Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions" - denies and revisions the number of victims of the Srebrenica genocide, questions the use of rape as a tool of war in Bosnia and revisions the number of

people killed throughout the war in Bosnia. This kind of revisionism does not have place in Canadian society. Those people who deny holocaust and/or genocide should be stopped from publishing their work in Canada. We ask you to do everything in your power to publicly condemn Johnstone's denial of genocide and to pull out her book from circulation in Canada.

In her book, Johnstone claims Milosevic did not preside over a campaign of ethnic cleansing, but rather that he was advocating ethnic tolerance and harmony among Yugoslavia's peoples. She also (denies) casts doubt on the generally accepted figure (as noted, for example, by the Red Cross) of nearly 8,000 killed in Srebrenica, claiming the number is "inflated". She further argues that what happened in Srebrenica was not genocide. "One thing should be obvious," she writes. "One does not commit 'genocide' by sparing women and children."

In fact, in the case of Momir Nikolic and Dragan Obrenovic, The Hague Tribunal ruled that over 7,000 men were murdered in Srebrenica, many of them children. The children were not spared as Diane Johnstone claims - boys as young as 10 were separated from their mothers and systematically executed. Here is what the International Tribunal ruled in the case of Momir Nikolic:

"The crime of persecutions, as charged in Count 5 of the Indictment, was carried out by the following means:

- the murder of thousands of Bosnian Muslim civilians, including men, women, children and elderly persons;
 - the cruel and inhumane treatment of Bosnian Muslim civilians, including severe beatings at Potocari and in detention facilities in Bratunac and Zvornik;
 - the terrorising of Bosnian Muslim civilians in Srebrenica and Potocari;
 - the destruction of personal property and effects belonging to the Bosnian Muslims; and
 - the forcible transfer of Bosnian Muslims from the Srebrenica enclave.
- The criminal acts were carried out on the civilian population who fled the Srebrenica enclave following the attack and take-over by the Serbs. "

So far, almost 6,000 bodies were recovered from Srebrenica's primary and secondary mass graves.

If anyone wanted more proof that Johnstone's claims were false, they

could look to the case of Radislav Krstic, the Bosnian Serb general who was convicted of genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia for the crimes committed in Srebrenica, or ICTY judgment of Kunarac/Kovac/Vukovic who were convicted of participating in sex enslavement rape camps for women in eastern Bosnia.

Or they might look to the 2002 confession by the former Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic, who admitted that her government carried out a campaign of ethnic cleansing. They might even have looked to the admission earlier this year of the massacre in Srebrenica which finally came from the government of Republika Srpska itself, at the same time revealing the existence of 32 NEW mass graves.

SREBRENICA TOWN, SISTER/BROTHER TOWN OF NEW YORK CITY

The Congress of North American Bosniaks (CNAB) is an independent organization based in the United States and Canada and is comprised of thousands of individuals, organizations and their members. Most of the CNAB's membership is comprised of Americans and Canadians of Bosniak and Bosnian decent and by Bosniaks now residing in North America. It is estimated that 350,000 Bosniaks now reside in the United States and Canada.

There were 12, 000 civilians killed in Srebrenica in the eyes of the U.N. soldiers, who were supposed to protect them. But they did not do. There were 3000 civilians killed into the World Trade Centre in New York.

The Congress of North American Bosniaks with influential circles the organizations and individuals of Bosniaks in North America initiate a plan to make Srebrenica town the sister or brother town of New York City in order to establish a symbolic link based on perception of the civilian tragedy in face of terror.

CONGRESS OF NORTH AMERICAN BOSNIAKS

January 02, 2005.

Respected members of the UN General Assembly;
Respected members of the European Parliament;
Respected members of the United Kingdom Parliament {The House of Lords, The House of Commons};
Respected members of the Italian Parliament {The Chambers of

Deputies, The Senate of the Republic};
Respected members of the France Parliament {The National Assembly, the Senate};
Respected members of the Russian Parliament {The State Duma, The Council of the Federation};
Respected members of the German Parliament {The Federal Diet, Bundesrat}
Respected members of the Japan Parliament {The House of the Representatives, The House of Councillors};
Respected members of the USA Parliament {Congress, Senate, The House of Representatives};
Respected members of the Canadian Parliament {The House of Commons. The Senate}
Respected members of the Bosnian and Herzegovina Parliament { The House of Representatives, The house of Peoples}

THE CONGRESS OF NORTH AMERICAN BOSNIAKS, WHICH REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF ABOUT 300,000 OF OUR MEMEBERS WHO LIVE IN THE USA AND CANADA IN LIGHT OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SREBRENICA TRAGEDY WOULD LIKE TO CALL TO ACTION THE MOST INFLUENTIAL DEMOCRACIES IN THE WORLD TO TAKE FINAL STEPS FOR COMPLETE AND DEFINITE REMOVAL OF ALL THE AFTERMATH OF THE AGGRESSION AND GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, AS THE ONLY WAY FOR TRUTH, JUSTICE AND REASON TO PREVAIL

The tragedy of Srebrenica needs to become a measurement of justice and truth, not revenge, which will remind the entire democratic world that we can not allow such atrocities to occur again. The aggressor in Srebrenica and Bosnia and Herzegovina wanted to obtain power through genocide and aggression. However, the aggressor did not succeed because Srebrenica, while it was a tragedy, it was also the beginning of the end of the aggressor's power and genocide.

Respected representatives of the most influential democracies in the world;

Bosnian children and the entire democratic world must see a day when justice and truth are satisfied. Justice and truth can be satisfied only if there is a positive outcome in the lawsuit of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro for aggression and genocide; if Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and other war criminals are arrested and brought to trial, and if the Dayton agreement and the state and social institutions based on it are changed. Bosnia and Herzegovina is

unable to function well as a country and an open civil society because it is based on the Dayton agreement principle of ethnic exclusivity, instead of citizen equality, which has been at the foundation of Bosnia and Bosnian spirit and which should be an ideal of the united Europe. Srebrenica needs to remind each individual in the world about what genocide is and what horrific acts people can commit.

It is very important to remind the world democracies not only of the scope of the biggest genocide in Europe after World War II, but also about the aftermath of the aggression and genocide that is still present in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Congress of Bosniaks of North America urges the most influential democracies in the world to:

- Ratify special declarations on the tenth anniversary (July 11th, 2005) of the biggest genocide in Europe after World War II (the tragedy of Srebrenica) that will condemn the creators and the executors of the genocide and that will demand rapid removal of all the aftermath of the aggression and genocide, which is still present,
- Ensure a positive outcome in the lawsuit of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro for aggression and genocide,
- Arrest and bring to trial Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and all the other war criminals,
- Initiate together with political institutions and organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina changes to the Dayton agreement as well as to the state and social institutions founded on this agreement, which emphasize ethnic exclusivity and minimize citizen equality.

Bosniak's will to survive is grater than their temtation to fail

We have lost our towns, our homes and everything we owned. We have the right to know the truth, to seek our children, our fathers, our husbands and our brothers... We shall look for them to the limit of our strength... " - a Srebrenica survivor.

In July 1995, the world witnessed "the descent of Srebrenica into a horror without parallel in the history of Europe since the Second World War" (UN report, 15/11/1999). Nearly 8000 men were murdered and the entire Muslim population deported. Three Bosnian Serb military and political leaders - Karadzic, Mladic and Krstic - have been charged by the ICTY for genocide for their role in the atrocities committed in Srebrenica. The Serbs were upon wiping out the Bosniaks, the last genuine European Muslims. The Serbs believed that hey were doing the other Europeans, all Christians, a favour. Europe

must be freed from Muslims. To be so freed all male Bosniaks must be killed so they may reproduce no more. The women who were left alive were to be raped. Their children would not be Muslims, tainted as they were by non-Muslim Serbian blood.

13,000 Bosniaks were slaughtered at Srebrenica. Because Srebrenica is human sufferings in needs to be told and remembered.

Ten years have passed and still hundreds of thousands of survivors are "displaced persons", many living in dire poverty. The passage of time has not diminished their ardent wish to return to their homes. However, return is largely obstructed by many of the people who hold power in their regions and are obligated to ensure their safety, but may well be those involved in the atrocities.

Ten years have passed and only some of the dead have been identified.

Ten years have passed and, although the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has sentenced some people and is holding some others for trial, most of the war crimes suspects, including those charged with the highest criminal responsibility, are still free.

Under ordinary criminal law, a witness to a murder, unless he is restrained, is an accessory to the crime. As the world was witness to the massacre of the Serbs must regard the Bosniaks and the world as an accessory to the crime that constituted ethnic cleansing.

If we accept the legacy of these gross human rights abuses in Europe, we thereby deny the most precious foundations of our civilisation.

The United Nations has admitted responsibility for the fate of Srebrenica. We now call upon the UN and its member states to face the consequences of that responsibility.

To the Secretary General of the UN, the heads of government of the states concerned and other UN member states, we address an appeal for serious, urgent and effective action:

1. To reveal the whole truth concerning the fall of Srebrenica, to identify all those who were responsible, either actively or complicity, for this tragedy and to identify the victims.
2. To arrest and bring to trial all suspects indicted by the ICTY according to its mandate, thus putting an end to impunity.
3. To lay the foundations for a Bosnia-Herzegovina, which respects and promotes human rights for all its citizens without distinction.

MEMBER STATEMENT FOR THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

In the Bosnian silver-mining town of Srebrenica in July 1995, one of the most notorious modern acts of genocide took place. While the international community and U.N. peacekeepers looked on, Serb forces separated civilian men from women and killed thousands of men en masse, or hunted them down in the forests. The events at Srebrenica mark the climax of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most vicious and genocidal battlefield in Europe after the Second World War. The conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina began in 1992 and featured largescale genocidal and gendercidal atrocities from the first.

In April 1993, Serb forces closed in for a final crushing of the town of Srebrenica. Serb General Ratko Mladic made it plain that he held a special grudge against the menfolk of Srebrenica, armed or unarmed. In scenes that gripped the attention of the world, hundreds of women and children were evacuated from Srebrenica before the Serb noose tightened and shut off all refugee flow. The plight of the city prompted the international community to declare Srebrenica one of five "safe areas" in Bosnia (the others were Zepa, Gorazde, Tuzla, Sarajevo, and Bihac in northwestern Bosnia). Security Council designated a "safe area" in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993.

The meaning of the ambiguous term "safe area" was never properly defined, and sufficient forces were never committed to ensuring the safety of the Bosnian inhabitants. As events at Srebrenica two years later so grimly demonstrated, the safe areas were among the most profoundly unsafe places in the world

In June 1995, Bosnian Serb forces, pushing for a resolution to the ethnic "anomaly" of the Muslim enclaves, closed their noose around Srebrenica and the other "safe areas." In Srebrenica, mass panic took hold of the civilian population. Women and children gathered at the U.N. base of Potocari, together with about 1,700 men, while most of the "battle-age" males -- mostly unarmed non-combatants -- took to the hills in a desperate attempt to flee to Muslim-held territory to the west. At Potocari, Dutch troops meekly allowed the Serbs access to the camps and the refugees they held. Then, the following day -- July 11 - - some 1700 men, disproportionately the elderly and infirm, were separated from women and children. The peacekeepers "stood inches away from the Serb soldiers who were separating the Muslim men, one by one, from their families.

Trapped in the hills under Serb bombardment, sleepless and thirst-maddened, men succumbed to hallucinations, paranoia, and despair. The psyches of the men ruptured. Muslims mistook other Muslims for infiltrators. They threw hand grenades and fired their automatics at one another. Men shot themselves hoping the Serbs would show the wounded mercy.

Many committed suicide. Thousands finally surrendered to Serb troops along the "Ring of Iron," who lured them with the sight of captured UN vehicles and promises of safe passage. All of those captured were taken to nearby fields and warehouses, executed, and buried in mass graves.

The Red Cross lists 7,079 dead and missing at Srebrenica. Other

estimates range as high as 8,000 or 10,000. Srebrenica. By any standard, it was one of the worst and most concentrated acts of genocide in the post-World War II era -- and the worst massacre of any kind in Europe for fifty years.

The men who carried out the executions were reportedly under orders handed down by General [Ratko] Mladic and Radislav Krstic, a colonel in the Bosnian army who was promoted to general and named commander of the army's Drina corps by Mladic within a few days of the killings. Among the units that took part in the killings was the Tenth Commando squad, which answered directly to Mladic's headquarters

In 1996, the International Criminal Tribunal indicted Mladic and Krstic for crimes of humanity committed at Srebrenica. Joining them on the list of indicted war-criminals was Radovan Karadzic, leader of the self-styled "Republika Srpska" or Serb-controlled territories in Bosnia. Karadzic was intimately involved in planning the "endgame" in the Bosnian war, for which Srebrenica was to serve as a centerpiece. In July 1999, the Tribunal found that these mass murderers had been operating under "a direct chain of military command" from Belgrade and the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic. For the first time, the Tribunal defined the Bosnian war as "an international

This member statement is recognizing both Bosnian independence and Serbian aggression.

1. Canada should continue to provide personnel and resources to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialled in Dayton, Ohio, on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

2. The thousands of innocent people executed at Srebrenica along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, should be solemnly remembered and honored.

3. The policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,

4. *The United Nations and its member states should accept their share of responsibility for allowing the Srebrenica massacre and genocide to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 by failing to take sufficient, decisive, and timely action, - the United Nations and its member states should constantly seek to ensure that this failure is not repeated in future crises and conflicts.*

5. *It is in the national interest of Canada that those individuals who are responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be held accountable for their actions.*

6. *All persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should be apprehended and transferred to The Hague without further delay, and all countries should meet their obligations to cooperate fully with the ICTY at all times; and Canada should continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity.*

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The research project of the lobby group for Canada of the Congress of North American Bosniaks

Damages of the brutal aggression of Bosnia and Herzegovina were about US \$4 billion on the big infrastructure systems: electroenergetic system, gas system, telecommunications, railways, roads, water, civil aviation and airports, TV and radio stations and installations.

The brutal aggression and the process of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, followed by the interruption of cooperation with former business partners, caused big problems in the industry sector and led toward the interruption of production. Most industrial facilities were destroyed. There were massive migrations of workers followed by intensive destruction of infrastructure (electroenergetic system, water

supply, telecommunications and transport). The inability to reach foreign markets and the impossibilities of communications produced a lack of raw materials and spare parts.

The electroenergetic system of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina functioned within the European Countries Network (UCPTE) as a part of the former Yugoslavia (SFRY) electroenergetic system. Judging by the volume of constructions and advanced technical equipment, the electroenergetic system (EES) of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was among the most modern systems and had a significant material base.

During the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, some parts of the EES were occupied, and some were greatly damaged. The power generating capacities occupied by the aggressors were 1,096 MW, out of which were 496 MW in hydroelectric power plants, and 600 MW in thermo-power plants, and an additional two coal mines for the thermo-power plants. In the transmission network, all 14 long distance lines were damaged or were located on the occupied territory.

The aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in damage or occupation of the production capacities for crude oil and lubricants refining. The reservoir space and fuel stations were to a great extent destroyed.

The aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, including robberies and war activities, provoked great damages in agriculture and in livestock raising. The livestock numbers were reduced by 60 to 73%. Orchards and vineyards, spread on 100,000 hectares in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were devastated. Besides the direct destruction, the most damage was produced by inadequate application of technology and non-maintenance. Thus, the greatest part of Bosnia's agricultural capacity is near total collapse.

The entire telecommunication network was interrupted by the war activities and aggression. Many sites were destroyed and looted, and certain parts were occupied with the intention of creating a total telecommunication blockade. The great material damages are estimated to be US \$600 million in the telecommunication network. The network was totally broken. The temporary and improvised connections of low capacities were introduced without corresponding infrastructure.

Great damages were done to the radio and TV network. The relay

station on Bjelasnica was completely destroyed, and the equipment was stolen. Many buildings were damaged, and 6 relay stations and buildings of the TV transformers were left under the aggressors' control. The network was reduced to a single relay or emission station in Sarajevo and to about 50 nonconnected buildings and TV transformers. The damages were estimated at US \$1.8 million

The road network was severely damaged as well. In areas where the war activity was high, the damages were produced by the deliberate destruction of the complete road structure. About 35% of the total categorized road networks were damaged. The bridges were mostly destroyed. About 40% out of the total bridges' length were destroyed. Destroyed bridges were of great span and complex construction (5 on the Sava river, and 12 big bridges on the Neretva river). The total damages on the Bosnia and Herzegovina territory were estimated at US \$250 million.

The railway network was greatly damaged by the war activities. More than 14 bridges and 310 business buildings were damaged or destroyed; the contact network, the electric engines and the signal security installations were damaged. The total damages were estimated at US \$120 million. With additional damages from theft and looting, the total amount will be six times higher.

The civil aviation infrastructure was greatly destroyed and had high material damages. Almost all radio navigation instruments are now unable to function. The enterprises of the air industry were destroyed and technological equipment was stolen. The damage estimations are not possible for the time being because of continuing war instability. The Sarajevo Airport was greatly damaged, and the equipment was stolen.

Bosnia's cultural heritage was deliberately targeted by the war activities. More than 1,200 religious and cultural objects, especially those connected to the Islamic tradition, were destroyed or badly damaged. Some of them were practically leveled to the ground. The list of cultural destruction includes the famous mosques in Banja Luka and Foca, the old bridge in Mostar, the historical centers of the markets (Sarajevo, Mostar, Pocitelj, Stolac, Travnik, Banja Luka, Tesanj, Maglaj, Gradacac, and others), the Muslim graveyards and pilgrimages (such as Prusac near Bugojno), and other buildings whose architectural and historical value which can not be estimated. Beside the devastation of the Islamic culture, there was also much damage done to other religious communities' buildings, such as Roman Catholic

churches, monasteries, cemeteries, religious schools (115 buildings were damaged), the Jewish religious buildings (the Jewish cemetery in Sarajevo and Moshe Danon grave near Stolac), and a relatively small number of the Christian Orthodox religious buildings.

In 1991, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were 1,205,641 households with 1,315,756 apartments. The average area per capita was 16.96 square meters and the average apartment size was 55.48 square meters. The aggressors have forcibly looted, destroyed and occupied the apartments. According to the information of The Institute for Architecture, Urbanism and Planning in Sarajevo, 24,000 flats were destroyed and 330,000 damaged.

According to data given for 66 communities under Bosnian government control in 1993, the total damages to government owned apartments were estimated at DM 1,269,322,942; and damages to privately owned apartments were estimated at DM 4,815,611,236. The estimated damages to elementary, secondary and university buildings were DM 248,951,038; to health care buildings, DM 55,004,506; to industrial and public buildings, DM 4,211,522,011.

The war activities, directly and indirectly, changed the structure and dynamism of the environment and ecosystems. Changes in the physical, chemical, biological and ecological systems, which are mutually connected, were taken as the indicators for the changes in the living environment.

Water supplies were endangered during the war. Some settlements didn't have water at all, because the water sources were on the occupied territory. Because of the numerous refugees, the situation in some regions was extremely difficult (Sarajevo, Mostar, Gorazde, Zenica, etc.). Whole settlements and towns were destroyed, industrial facilities and the systems of drainage and refining of waste waters were damaged or destroyed as well, so dangerous materials came into open waterstreams.

The natural and urban environments were damaged as well. In Sarajevo alone, about 40,000 grown trees were cut. Thus, the ecosystem of Sarajevo was deprived of 3-4 million liters of water daily which should have been returned to the atmosphere by transpiration. The great woods areas were damaged, especially those near settlements, because there were no other sources of fuel for heating and cooking.

The natural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina had intensive changes. Numerous protected natural reservations were devastated. Protected trees, varieties of plants and animals were destroyed as well. In the Botanic Garden of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, very old and rare trees were damaged. Bosnia and Herzegovina had about 350 varieties of endemic plants and more subvarieties, variants and forms. It was a genofund of unestimated value. Most of those varieties were listed in the "Red European Book" which indicated their endangered status even in peaceful conditions.

Methodologically, the damages can be classified in five groups:

1. Human property: physical and psyche integrity, moral integrity of the personality and earnings;
2. The specific State assets: State system, State income, the loss of the active population, army and police costs, population provisions, health care costs of the wounded and the sick, costs of provisions and prequalification for persons with disabilities, provision and schooling of the orphans;

Property: personal property and household assets, buildings, equipment and transport means, agricultural properties, woods assets, means of work and

3. inventory, raw materials, semiproducts and products, and revenue from business affairs;
4. Environment: the ecological damages in the air, water, on the ground, energetic and mineral resources, ecosystems and national parks, reservations, gardens and other natural rarities;
5. Cultural and historical heritage: immobile heritage, mobile heritage and museums, museum collections and archive materials and publications.

Damages were about US \$4 billion on the big infrastructure systems: electroenergetic system, gas system, telecommunications, railways, roads, water, civil aviation and airports, TV and radio stations and installations.

THE MIGRATIONS OF POPULATION.

The aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in significant demographic changes (refugees and displaced persons). There have been great migrations of people as a consequence of the ethnic cleansing and human rights violations. About 1,200,000 refugees and

912,000 displaced persons have been registered. On the territory now under the legal Republic/Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Authority there are 2,117,568 inhabitants. According to the 1991 Census there were 4,354,911 inhabitants in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
THE WAR WOUNDS.

According to the official data, the total number of killed and missing persons has been 144,379 since the beginning of the aggression. The true number is generally estimated to be much bigger. There were 168,526 registered cases of wounded persons of which 75,472 persons were seriously wounded. There have been 12,000 people with disabilities and at least 1,314 persons with one amputation.
THE MEDICAL STATUS

The war has had negative influences on the physical and mental health of each individual. Beside the mentioned number of the persons with disabilities, there are a great many people with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. Malnutrition was very widespread because of the blockade of towns and insufficient food supply. The general immunity of the population was reduced and morbidity increased, especially in the case of the infectious diseases (enterocolitis, hepatitis A, tuberculosis, fever, etc.). The very serious epidemiological situation is still under the control of our experts. Interruption of the regular garbage transport brings health risks because of the great number of rodents transmitting infectious diseases. Lack of drinking water, electric energy, gas and basic hygienic needs, produces a further burden on the population living in damaged houses and refugee camps. The newborn mortality increased to 16.11% in 1994. The general mortality rate was 7.3% in 1994. The birth rate was reduced from 14.1% in 1991, to 9.6% in 1994. The leadion the free territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the following:

1. the acute infection of the upper respiratory organs,
2. wounds,
3. mental disturbances and disturbances in behaviour,
4. circulatory system diseases, bone and muscular system diseases, ending diseases.

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House Resolution 199 passed in the United States House of Representatives

The Congress of North American Bosniaks (www.bosniak.org) is very pleased to announce that on June 27, 2005, the United States House of Representatives passed a resolution (H. Res. 199 sponsored by Congressman Christopher Smith and Congressman Benjamin Cardin) commemorating the 10 year anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide. The resolution was passed with overwhelming majority of 370 - YES votes, 1 - NO vote, and 62 - ABSENT .

The resolution is a bipartisan measure commemorating July 11, 1995-2005, the tenth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in which almost 8,000 men and boys were meticulously and methodically separated from their daughters, mothers, sisters and wives and then killed by Serb forces, buried in mass graves and then re-interred in secondary graves to cover up the crimes. Srebrenica fell to invading Serb forces on July 11, 1995 which at the time had been declared a UN "safe area" under the protection of the international community. The Srebrenica massacre was the worst genocidal atrocity in Europe since World War II.

The resolution states that "the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 and 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, created in Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force on January 12, 1951."

Bellow are excerpts from Congressman Smith's statement on the floor of the House:

"Mr. Speaker, I want to stress that the resolution notes the direct support that came from the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers. This is no small circle of Milosevic henchmen, as some in Belgrade have claimed. We are referring to an entire regime, albeit an undemocratic one, and not just a few individuals in positions of authority. Moreover, followers of the regime existed in the military, the police and other state institutions, and when it appeared that he was succeeding in a conflict against neighboring peoples, Milosevic actually garnered popular support..."

...As we consider this resolution, I want to thank those who have worked hard to craft the text that meets various concerns and reflects the realities of Srebrenica as we know them. In particular, I want to thank the Congress of North American Bosniaks and its members for stressing the need for the United States Congress to address this issue at this time, not only for their sake but for the sake of humanity.

...When I look at this definition, Mr. Speaker, and then hear what happened in Srebrenica 10 years ago, I, and I know others, can only agree with the Appeals Chamber at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, which confirmed in April 2004 that the crime of summarily executing almost 8,000 men and boys at Srebrenica alone meets the legal definition of genocide.

The court got it right, Mr. Speaker. This resolution gets it right.”

The Congress of North American Bosniaks would like to thank all the Representatives and their staffers for their hard work regarding this resolution. Special gratitude goes to the Bosniak and Bosnian-Americans, and to all friends of Bosnia who took the time to support this resolution.

**Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives
regarding the massacre at Srebrenica in July 1995.
Mr. SMITH of New Jersey submitted the following resolution**

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding the massacre at Srebrenica in July 1995. Whereas in July 1995 thousands of men and boys who had sought safety in the United Nations-designated “safe area” of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were massacred by Serb forces operating in that country;

Whereas beginning in April 1992, aggression and ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces, while taking control of the surrounding territory, resulted in a massive influx of Bosniaks seeking protection in Srebrenica and its environs, which the United Nations

Security Council designated a “safe area” in Resolution 819 on April 16, 1993;

Whereas the UNPROFOR presence in Srebrenica consisted of a Dutch peacekeeping battalion, with representatives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the humanitarian medical aid agency Medecins Sans Frontiers

(Doctors Without Borders) helping to provide humanitarian relief to the displaced population living in conditions of massive overcrowding, destitution, and disease;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces blockaded the enclave early in 1995, depriving the entire population of humanitarian aid

and outside communication and contact, and effectively reducing the ability of the Dutch peacekeeping battalion to deter aggression or otherwise respond effectively to a deteriorating situation;

Whereas beginning on July 6, 1995, Bosnian Serb forces attacked UNPROFOR outposts, seized control of the isolated enclave, held captured Dutch soldiers hostage and, after skirmishes with local defenders, ultimately took control of the town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995;

Whereas an estimated one-third of the population of Srebrenica, including a relatively small number of soldiers, made a desperate attempt to pass through the lines of Bosnian Serb forces to the relative safety of Bosnianheld territory, but many were killed by patrols and ambushes; Whereas the remaining population sought protection with the Dutch peacekeeping battalion at its headquarters in the village of Potocari north of Srebrenica but many of these individuals were randomly seized by Bosnian Serb forces to be beaten,

raped, or executed;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces deported women, children, and the elderly in buses, held Bosniak males over 16 years of age at collection points and sites in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control, and then summarily executed and buried the captives in mass graves;

Whereas approximately 20 percent of Srebrenica's total population at the time—at least 7,000 and perhaps thousands more—was either executed or killed;

Whereas the United Nations and its member states have largely acknowledged their failure to take actions and decisions that could have deterred the assault on Srebrenica and prevented the subsequent massacre;

Whereas Bosnian Serb forces, hoping to conceal evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, subsequently moved corpses from initial mass grave sites to many secondary sites scattered throughout parts of northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control;

Whereas the massacre at Srebrenica was among the worst of many horrible atrocities to occur in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, during which the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by Bosnian Serb forces with the direct support of authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) ultimately led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people, an estimated 200,000 killed, tens of thousands raped or otherwise tortured and abused, and the innocent civilians of Sarajevo and other urban centers repeatedly subjected to shelling and sniper attacks;

Whereas Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (done at Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force with respect to the United States on February 23, 1989) defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group”;

Whereas on May 25, 1993 the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 827 establishing the world's first international war crimes tribunal, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), based in The Hague, the Netherlands, and charging the ICTY with responsibility for investigating and prosecuting individuals suspected of committing war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991;

Whereas numerous members of the Bosnian Serb forces at various levels of responsibility have been indicted for grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws or customs of war, crimes against humanity, genocide, and complicity in genocide associated with the massacre at Srebrenica, some of whom have been tried and sentenced while others, including Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, remain at large; and

Whereas the international community, including the United States, has continued to provide personnel and resources, including through direct military intervention, to prevent further aggression and ethnic cleansing, to negotiate the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (initialled in Dayton, Ohio, on

November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995), and to help ensure its fullest implementation, including cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: Now therefore be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that— (1) the thousands of innocent people executed at Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1995, along with all individuals who were victimized during the conflict and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, should be solemnly remembered and honored; (2) the policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide; (3) foreign nationals, including United States citizens, who have risked and in some cases lost their lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina while working toward peace should be solemnly remembered and honored; (4) the United Nations and its member states should accept their share of responsibility for allowing the Srebrenica massacre and genocide to occur in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995 by failing to take sufficient, decisive, and timely action, and the United Nations and its member states should constantly seek to ensure that this failure is not repeated in future crises and conflicts; (5) it is in the national interest of the United States that those individuals who are responsible for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, should be held accountable for their actions; (6) all persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) should be apprehended and transferred to The Hague without further delay, and all countries should meet their obligations to cooperate fully with the ICTY at all times; and (7) the United States should continue to support the independence and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace and stability in southeastern Europe as a whole, and the right of all people living in the region, regardless of national, racial, ethnic or religious background, to return to their homes and enjoy the benefits of democratic institutions, the rule of law, and economic opportunity, as well as to know the fate of missing relatives and

July 11 is a day that all Canadians will remember.

Standing Order 31 in the House where The Hon. Jean Augustine have raised the issue of the Resolution of Srebrenica genocide on the floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, this July 11 will mark the 10th anniversary of the massacre in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina in which almost 8,000 men and boys were meticulously and methodically separated from their daughters, mothers, sisters and wives and then killed by Serb forces, buried in mass graves and then reinterred in secondary graves to cover up the crimes. Srebrenica fell to invading Serb forces on July 11, 1995, which at the time had been declared a UN " safe area" under the protection of the international

community. The Srebrenica massacre was the worst genocidal atrocity in Europe since World War II. The Resolution of the Congress of North American Bosniaks commemorating the 10 year anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide states that the policies of aggression and genocide as implemented by Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 and 1005 meet the terms defining the crime of genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, created in Paris on December 9, 1948, and entered into force on January 12, 1951. The memory of those atrocities are still very much alive in the minds and hearts of many of my constituents.

Srebrenica marked the climax of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Red Cross estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 innocent people were either executed or listed as missing. Throughout the three year war, tens of thousands were deprived of the fundamental democratic principles of peace, stability and safety.

This July let us remember the individuals who suffered because of hatred and intolerance. Let us assure the Canadian-Bosniak community and all communities that aggression, ethnic cleansing, genocide and all such evils be not repeated and that Canada and Canadians stand ready to uphold democratic principles and the rule of law. I have written to the Honourable Pierre Pettigrew, Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Honourable William Graham, Minister of National Defence and Dr. Bernard Patry, Chair of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade requesting their support for Resolution of the Congress of North American Bosniaks regarding the Srebrenica genocide. Canadians are marking this anniversary year from January to December.

July 11 is a day that all Canadians will remember

STATEMENT BY MINISTER PETTIGREW ON 10th ANNIVERSARY OF SREBRENICA MASSACRE

Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew today extended his condolences and sympathies to the families and friends of the more than 8,000 Bosnians who were killed in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica on July 11, 1995.

"The killings marked one of the darkest points of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and constitute the worst crime committed in Europe since World War II.

"The most appropriate way to honour those murdered at Srebrenica is for the leaders of the region to bring to justice all of those indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, particularly Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the architects of the Srebrenica massacre.

"Canada welcomes the recent commitments by the Serbian government to arrest Ratko Mladic and other indictees, and hopes that these commitments will be acted upon soon.

"We cannot undo the tragedy of Srebrenica but it is important that the right lessons be learned and applied to the future. In this regard, leaders of the region must acknowledge

the atrocities committed in Srebrenica and elsewhere in the Balkans. Canada welcomes the announcement of Serbian President Boris Tadic's intention to attend the commemoration ceremony as a step toward full recognition of the horror of this crime."

This year marks the 10th anniversary not only of the Srebrenica massacre but also of the signing of The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, known as the Dayton Accords, which ended the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the early 1990s, Canada has been committed to supporting peace, stability and reconstruction in the Balkans. In successive UN, NATO and EU missions, more than 40,000 Canadian Forces members have served in the Balkans.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has disbursed more than \$500 million toward humanitarian assistance and development goals. Canada accepted tens of thousands who fled the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Canada is a member of the Peace Implementation Council, which provides political advice to the High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina in overseeing the civilian implementation of the Dayton Accords.

Canada will be represented at the Srebrenica commemoration ceremony by Canadian Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Shelley Whiting.