

# Letter of Support

From:

**ACADEMICIANS, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, POLITICAL LEADERS  
AND INTELLECTUALS FROM AROUND THE WORLD WHO SUPPORT  
THE OPEN APPEAL OF OVER 200 BOSNIAN AND HERZEGOVINIAN  
INTELLECTUALS**

**To: Members of the United Nations, OSCE, PIC,  
the United States of America,  
the European Union, and national offices  
of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

**Sarajevo - Washington D.C.  
Berlin – London – Paris**

**December 2011**

for the

**RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE THOUSAND-YEAR-OLD MULTI-ETHNIC  
LIFE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, DESTROYED  
OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS**

This is a public call for support of the Open Appeal from over 200 Bosnian and Herzegovinian intellectuals to the members of the United Nations, OSCE, PIC, the USA and the European Union and the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina to take all the measures in their power to restore and strengthen the democratic, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and legally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That state was broken and brutally destroyed by the 1992-1995 War. Its recovery has been effectively prevented by the indefinite attempt to implement the Dayton-Paris Accords (of November–December 1995). The state of Bosnia-Herzegovina should now be revived so that it can function again as a healthy European state.

The Dayton settlement served unfortunately to consolidate, for the sake of peace, the effects of “ethnic cleansing” (genocide) in half of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory. This is the major reason that we are now faced with the deepest, long-term, social and political crisis in the modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We remain hopeful that this mistake can be undone by the ICTY and by creation of a new Constitution.

The seriousness of the current situation is confirmed by the message of former president of the Republic of Croatia, Stjepan Mesić, which he gave during his recent visit to

neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. His warning to the international community was quoted in “Oslobodjenje” (17 march 2011):

**“The international community must discourage those who would destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina!”**

And what is the international community now doing? We cannot see anything substantial that has been undertaken to solve this problem. The primary problem is how to establish a new modern European Constitution for this multinational state, without the deeply negative effects of Dayton and the repetition of aggressive interference by the neighboring states of Serbia and Croatia. Unless this problem is solved, there is the genuine risk that Bosnia and Herzegovina will be destroyed once again. We must transit to the capacity for a truly multiethnic democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Open Appeal explains how a genuine solution can be developed. For this reason, we – as concerned intellectuals and statesmen from around the world – give our strong support to the principles of the “Open Appeal” of the more than 200 intellectuals of Bosnia-Herzegovina who have signed this document.

We, the undersigned of the Letter of Support have become aware of the Open Appeal from a substantial number of political leaders, academics, human rights activists, and intellectuals who recognize that the Dayton Peace Accords are no longer serving the purpose of advancing the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and assisting them to become a democratic and free nation based upon the recognition of the equality and human dignity of all people.

We support an urgent call for the Constitution given in the Dayton Peace Accords to be replaced by a Constitution based upon the Open Appeal principles.

We also support a call to the United Nations, OSCE, PIC, USA and the European Union to convene a constitutional convention representing all of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to replace the Constitution from the Annex 4 of the Dayton Peace Accords with a Constitution based upon the aforesaid principles.

*Reviewers of the  
text of the Letter  
of Support*

*Justice Richard Goldstone*

*Visiting Professor of Law, Stanford Law School, CA, USA  
The First Chief Prosecutor of ICTY who signed the indictment  
against Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić (July 25, 1995)*

*Academician Historian Noel Malcolm, PhD*

*Fellow of British Academy, Oxford University, United Kingdom*

*German Politician Christian Schwarz Schilling, PhD*

*Former High Representative for the B&H, Berlin, Germany*

*H.E. Wolfgang Petritsch, PhD, Ambassador*

*Permanent Delegation of Austria to the OECD, Paris, France  
Former High Representative for B&H, Vienna, Austria*

*Professor Muris Osmanagić, PhD*

*Coordinator of over 200 Intellectuals, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

*The following list shows the names of over 70 individuals from various parts of the world and various professions: academics, scientists, human rights activists, political and public figures, writers, artists, and journalists, who have indicated their support for our proposal for a constitutional convention. With their knowledge of the past and present situation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and recognizing what has now become a planetary problem, they have thus responded to the “Open Appeal” of more than 200 intellectuals of Bosnia-Herzegovina for a new constitution which meets modern European standards for a multi-national state.*

*(alphabetically by last name)*

- 1. Academician Professor Naim Hamdia Afgan, PhD**, atomic physicist, Belgrade, Serbia. Emeritus professor, UNESCO Chair Holder in Instituto Superior Tecnico, Lisbon, Portugal; Member of Academy of Science of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo.; Fellow of Islamic Academy of Science, Amman, Jordan; Fellow of World Academy of Science, Washington, USA.
- 2. Professor Karl Bahm, PhD.** - Professor of European History at the School Inquiry Department of the University Wisconsin-Superior, USA. He also co-leads the **War and Peace in Bosnia** study abroad every summer.
- 3. Academician Professor Ivo Banac, PhD** is Bradford Durfee Emeritus Professor of History at Yale University and Professor of History at the University of Zagreb. He is a corresponding member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) and the past and current editor of *East European Politics and Societies*.
- 4. Dragan Banjac**, journalist, Serbia. Worked for many years as a journalist for the Borba newspaper and a correspondent for Die Tageszeitung from Zurich.
- 5. Mersad Berber**, one of the best known artists of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who now lives (since 1992) in Zagreb, Croatia. His project entitled Srebrenica was opened to the public last year (2011), on the 12th of April at the Galerija Matice Hrvatske. The distinguished British theoretician of art, critic and curator Edward Lucie-Smith considers Berber to be among the greatest artists of the twentieth century.
- 6. Professor Jasmina Beširević-Regan, PhD**, Dean of Trumbull College at Yale University. Her dissertation was concentrated on ethnic cleansing in the Bosnian city of Banja Luka.
- 7. Sonja Biserko**, Founder and President of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights Serbia. She served as a diplomat for the former Yugoslavia in London and in the United Nations at Geneva until 1991, when she resigned her diplomatic position in protest over the politics of Slobodan Milošević and his nationalist agenda of an “ethnically purified” Greater Serbia. Author and editor of several books about Serbian nationalism, among them *“Bosnia & Herzegovina - the Core of the Great Serbia Project”*.
- 8. Duško Bogdanović**, CISA (Information System Auditor), CRISC (Risk & Information Systems Control), Director of the “Biljana Kovacevic Vuco” (BKV) Foundation, Belgrade, Serbia.
- 9. Aleksandar Bošković, PhD**, professor of anthropology, Director of Research and Head of the Center for Political Research and Public Opinion in the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade.
- 10. Ciga Božinović**, journalist, Serbia, He has his own RTV performance.

- 11. Michael Brand, MSc**, elected to the German Federal Parliament in 2005, member of the Defense Commission, the Commission for Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance, and the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO. In an article entitled “Getting Out of Daytonstan” (*Bosnia in Focus*, 2010), he wrote: “Europe with the USA must reject the double standard and **correct the fatal mistakes** made in the Dayton Accords to the benefit of the war monger Milošević and other war criminals.”
- 12. Miša Brkić**, Serbian correspondent in Belgrade. Awarded the “Otpor Award” for courageous journalism during and after the dramatic events in October 2000 that led to the end of Serbian President Milosevic’s government. (June 19, 2001 – The VOA – Voice of America).
- 13. Dr. Rory J. Conces**, Associate Professor of Philosophy and member of the International Studies Faculty at Nebraska University, Omaha, USA. He is founding editor of *ID: International Dialogue, A Multi-Disciplinary Journal of World Affairs* and a contributor to *Bosnia Daily*, an electronic newspaper in Sarajevo.
- 14. Snežana Čongradin**, Serbian journalist, researcher and member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists, author of the article: “STOP politicians going to Potočare 11.07, if the Resolution on Srebrenica is not adopted”.
- 15. Ivan Zvonimir Čičak**, President of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (CHC) from 1993 to 1998 and again from 23 November 2009.
- 16. Rajko Danilović**, the Djindjic family attorney, Belgrade, Serbia.
- 17. Professor Ales Debeljak, PhD**, poet and essayist, professor at the School of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
- 18. Miljenko Dereta** graduated in Film and TV production, Faculty of Dramatic Arts Belgrade. Currently Executive Director of the Civil Initiatives Belgrade (FENS) and Co-Chairman of the Federation of Non-governmental Organisations of Serbia.
- 19. Pavel Domonji**, Chief of Staff, Office of the Ombudsman of Vojvodina, Republic of Serbia.
- 20. Professor Mirna Džamonja, PhD**, University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA, full professor at the School of Mathematics, University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom.
- 21. Mirko Djordjević**, sociologist, writes regularly for the Belgrade independent fortnightly Republika. His motto is: 'Against the forces of fear, hatred and violence'. He made a report on a visit to Sarajevo to attend the third assembly of the Serb Civic Council (and the first to be held in peacetime) entitled: **Bosnia is Far Away**, which appeared in Republika 143-4 (July 1996).
- 22. Tanja Fajon** was elected to the European parliament in 2009. She is a Head of the Slovenian delegation within the political group of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats. Tanja Fajon has been actively involved in the Western Balkan region. She is Vice-Chair of the Delegation to the EU-Croatia Joint Parliamentary Committee and substitute Member of the Delegation for relations with Albania, BIH, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo and was a rapporteur on the visa liberalisation process for the Western Balkans. Tanja is a full Member in the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs and active as a substitute Member in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Before political career Tanja worked as a journalist.

- 23. Miroslav Filipović**, Serbian journalist. Imprisoned in July 2000 for a series of investigative articles over the Internet on atrocities by the Yugoslav forces.
- 24. Professor John V. A. Fine, PhD** from Harvard University, Professor of History at the University of Michigan, USA; his fields of study include Medieval and Modern Balkans and Byzantium. He has raised the understanding of Bosnian history, working tirelessly to correct popular misconceptions, especially during the Balkan wars of the 1990s.
- 25. Professor János Gyurok, PhD** of sociology and politology at University of Pécs, Hungary, and a president of the Community of Catholic Citizens of Bosnian Origin in Hungary.
- 26. Academician Professor Mirsad Hadžikadić, PhD** from Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Dean of the Faculty for Computer Sciences and Informatics, University of North Carolina, Charlotte, USA; Founder and President of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian and American Academy of Sciences and Arts (2007). In 2005 he was the recipient of one of the highest awards for Life Achievement in Information Technology, the “Blue Diamond Awards.”
- 27. Academician Prof. Kemal Hanjalić, PhD**, Professor at Delft University, Netherlands, Member of ANUBiH, and a former Minister of Science of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 28. Florence Hartmann**, writer, former journalist of Paris “Le Monde”, former war correspondent in the Balkans, advisor to the chief prosecutor of the ICTY and ICTR, and the war crimes court's official spokeswoman for six years (2000-2006). She wrote a book, *Peace and Punishment* (2007), where she criticized the ICTY's confidential agreement with Serbia to conceal material evidence of Serbia's direct involvement in the genocide in Bosnia during the 1992-95 war.
- 29. Marko Attila Hoare, PhD** from Yale University, USA, British historian at Kingston University London, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, specialising in the history of Southeast Europe, in particular of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. He has published the books: *The History of Bosnia – from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (London Saqi Books, 2007); *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler's Bosnia, the Partisans and the Chetniks, 1941-1943* (London: Oxford University Press, 2006); and *How Bosnia Armed* (London: Saqi Books, 2004). Dr Hoare was a war-crimes investigator at the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).
- 30. Professor Adnan Ibrahimbegović, PhD**, (University of California, Berkeley), University École Normale Supérieure-Cachan in France. In 2009 he was the recipient of the Awards of university professors in France: ‘Classe Exceptionnelle’. He has published 352 scientific articles and papers.
- 31. Borislav Jovanović**, Montenegrin writer, poet, author, essayist and literary critic, and an influential columnist for the daily newspaper “Pobjeda”. He was an active participant in the public struggle for constitutional recognition of the Montenegrin language as the mother tongue of Montenegrins. He is a member of the Montenegrin Society of Independent Writers and Matica Crnogorska.
- 32. Jelko Kacin**, Slovenian politician and Member of the European Parliament, sits on the European Parliament's Committee on Foreign Affairs. Kacin has stressed that “Republika Srpska”, Bosnia's predominantly Serb entity, is facing bankruptcy, so the recent referendum on cooperation with the state court is a maneuver to distract and divert the attention of the

public with fictions and illusions, “such as the idea that the entity could separate from Bosnia.”

**33. Tamara Kaliterna**, journalist, Belgrade, Serbia. From 1996 she worked as editor in the opposition daily “Danas” and regularly contributes to other monthly and weekly journals throughout the Balkans.

**34. Branka Kaljević**, Office of the Ombudsman of Serbia.

**35. Professor Žarko Korać, PhD**, psychologist and politician, is one of the founders and president of the Social Democratic Union. He was Deputy Prime Minister in the government of Serbia between 2001 and 2003, and briefly acting Prime Minister (17-18 March 2003), after Zoran Djindjic was assassinated. He is now a member of the Parliament of Serbia as part of the LDP-led coalition. He has published several scientific books.

**36. Academician Dr. Noel Malcolm**, British historian, Fellow of the British Academy; Senior Research Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford University. In his accurate and concise “Bosnia: A Short History”, which covered fairly and objectively 1000 years of Bosnia’s history, we can read that “ethnic cleansing” [genocide] is not a by-product of the war [1992-1995] but a central element in the Serbian goal of creating homogeneous Serb enclaves that eventually will join together in a greater Serbia.” In analyses published after the end of the war **he pointed out that the primary consequence of the Dayton settlement was to consolidate the effects of ethnic cleansing.**

**37. Professor Predrag Matvejević, PhD** of Literature and Esthetics (the Sorbonne University, Paris). Full Professor at the University La Sapienza of Rome. He is one of the best-known Bosnian-Croatian intellectuals, but is now a naturalised Italian citizen. He has published more than sixty books in Croatian, French and Italian.

**38. Stjepan Mesić**, President of the Republic of Croatia 2000–2010. In opposition and in contrast to Tudjman's personality and general politics, including negative policies directed against Bosnia and Herzegovina, Stjepan Mesić was, over the last ten years, repeatedly voted the most popular politician in Croatia. In an interview granted to the “Free Europe” (June 30, 2011) in answer to a question about a possible third Entity, he said: “If the Croats were to get an entity, that would be the end of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

**39. Dusan Mijić**, LDP Vice President, Belgrade, Serbia. The LDP although still a young party has made great advances in recent years, and through a system of proportional representation, they now have 14 MPs in the Serbian parliament. Now that a stable coalition has been formed in Serbia, the LDP see this as an ideal opportunity to develop a distinct and relevant set of policies. (*Liberal Democrats*, January 20, 2009).

**40. Lula Mikijelj**, film artist, Belgrade, Serbia.

**41. Ivan Mrđan**, journalist, former editor-in-chief of the independent “Nasa Borba” and the current editor of the independent “Blic Belgrade”. He completed the research for “Who owns Serbia” (*Blic*, June 19, 2011).

**42. Doris Gisela Pack**, German politician, Chairperson of the Committee on Culture and Education of the European Parliament. At the international conference “Europe 2020 – Civic Visions”, in Sofia, Bulgaria, January 30, 2010, Mrs. Doris Pack said: “The soul of Europe is culture ... We should keep in mind that the EU is the only guarantee for preserving the different cultural identities, and this means that there is not one European Culture, there are thousands of European Cultures and each deserves to be kept.”

- 43. Teofil Pančić**, journalist, columnist and literary critic writing for the independent weekly magazine “Vreme”. He was assaulted in Belgrade on a Saturday night, on a public bus, by two masked attackers, wielding a 1,0 m metal pipe and was hospitalized... (as reported in *Balkan Insight*, July 26, 2010)
- 44. Ljiljana Palibrk**, Member of Helsinki Committee for Human Rights Serbia. Served as moderator of the panel discussion, with support from Heinrich Böll Stiftung, in the project entitled "**Europe, Why Not?**" (in the pre-election period of April and May 2008).
- 45. Borka Pavičević**, studied Theatre in Belgrade and influenced the Yugoslav theatre scene as an avant-garde director and dramatist. In 1994, she founded the Centre for Cultural Decontamination to work against nationalism, intolerance and xenophobia. In addition, she works as a columnist for several Serbian newspapers and magazines.
- 46. Dr. Latinka Perović**, Serbian historian, former politician, graduated in philology and political science at the University of Belgrade. At age 27, she was already president of the Women’s Antifascist Front of Serbia. She was Chief Secretary of the Communist Party of Serbia from 1968 to 1972, but in 1972 she was removed from this position because her views were considered too liberal. After that, she devoted herself to historical research, working 1976-1998 at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia. Considered by many to be the founder of modern liberalism in Serbia, in Kikinda, Vojvodina (April 2010), she stated: “Eight thousand people were killed in **Srebrenica** in three days only. The executioners must have had logistic support, grave diggers, machinery and people who cleansed the terrain after the massacre. This was indisputably an operation planned well in advance.” The audience applauded her words.
- 47. Vesna Pešić**, member of Parliament of Serbia since 2007 and senior scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory in Belgrade, served as Ambassador to Mexico from 2001 to 2005. A founding member of the Yugoslav Helsinki Committee (1985), the Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (1989), the Yugoslav European Movement (1991) and the Centre for Antiwar Action (1991), 1992-1999 she was the president of the Civic Alliance of Serbia, and 1993-1997 one of the leaders of the Coalition Zajedno (Together), (with Zoran Djindjic's Democratic Party).
- 48. Dr. Wolfgang Petritsch**, Ambassador, Permanent Delegation of Austria to the OECD, Paris, France. From 1999 to 2002 he was the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the book “*Bosnien im Focus*” (2010) he writes: “Mistaken decisions with far-reaching consequences were made for war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina ... when America in the summer of 1995, at the behest of their special envoy Richard Holbrooke, stopped the Bosniak progress towards Banja Luka, the capital of the Bosnian-Serb republic.”
- 49. Bojan Al Pinto**, journalist of the magazine “Republika”, Belgrade, Serbia. Their capital work is “**Serbian Road to War**”, translated into English, French, and German, and parts of which have been published in Italian, Russian and Greek. The journalists of “Republika” have not accepted the final triumph of Evil. The struggle for freedom and democracy continues, this time through lobbying for elections **for a constitutional assembly**.
- 50. Academician Prof. Joze Pirjevec, PhD**, is both an Italian and Slovenian citizen, a prominent Slovene diplomatic historian of the west Balkans region, and a member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. He has taught history of Eastern Europe at the universities of Pisa, Trieste and Padova. Currently he is the head of the history department at the University Primorska in Koper.

**51. Aleksandar Popov**, Executive Director of “Civil Initiative Serbia” and Director of the Centre for Regionalism, Novi Sad, Vojvodina. Also Co-President of the Association of “the Igman Initiative”. He asserts that taken together, managing multiethnic cities in southeastern Europe offers a way to channel enthusiasm for peace and democracy.

**52. Judita Popović**, attorney in Zrenjanin, Vojvodina, and LDP member of the Serbian Parliament.

**53. Professor Nenad Prokić, PhD**, LDP member of the Serbian Parliament, playwright, theatre director, member of the Presidency and founder of the Liberal Democratic Party. A professor of 20th Century Drama (University of Art in Belgrade, Serbia), he was the playwright-in-residence at the Yugoslav Drama Theatre in Belgrade and Slovenian National Theatre in Maribor. He served as General Manager of Belgrade International Theatre Festival (BITEF) in two consecutive mandates.

**54. Academician Professor Zoran Salčić, PhD**, (University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina). Professor of Computer Systems Engineering, the University of Auckland, New Zealand, Professor Salčić is a member of the New Zealand Academy of Science (Fellow Royal Society New Zealand). He has published more than 250 scientific papers and seven books.

**55. Professor Nikola Samardžić, PhD**, Department of History, Early Modern and Modern History Chairman, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade University; Member of New Balkan Institute, Serbia. In an interview with journalist, Snezana Congradin (<http://www.tacno.net/23May2011> professor Samardžić pointed out that in this most recent decade “Europe has allowed Serbia and Republika Srpska to continue its racist propaganda which has supported ethnocentrism, produced cultural differences, and emphasized the heritage of all the extreme ideologies of the previous century. Even after the year 2000 the E.U. has shown excessive trust towards Beograd and Banja Luka. Thus it has permitted the renewal of the message and basic logic of war-mongering politics. This logic dominates the Serbian media, schools and universities, sports stadiums and church pulpits. Thus a continuity is created with the politics of Milosevic, with the cultivating of the most disgusting personalities and phenomena of that time, along with alternatives which offer more nationalism, more communism, more clericalism, more evil and poverty. ...

**56. Dr. Christian Schwarz Schilling**, German Politician, former Minister for Post and Telecommunications (1982-1992), served as International Mediator in BiH (1994-2004) and as the High Representative for BiH (31 January 2006 – 02 July 2007). The latest article from Dr. Schwarz Schilling, printed in “L'Europe en Formation”, automne 2010, No 357 was: “The Ejup Ganic Case - How Serbia Attempted to Manipulate the British Justice System.”

**57. Professor Boris Sket, PhD**, corresponding member of SAZU – Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Foreign member of ANUBiH, and a former Rector of the University Ljubljana, Slovenia. Professor of Zoology and Speleobiology at Biotehniška fakulteta, Oddelek za biologijo, Univerza v Ljubljani .

**58. Biljana Srbljanović**, writer and journalist, playwright. Member of LDP and their candidate for mayor of Belgrade 2008. A prominent figure in Serbian public life, she is known for frequently speaking about “the irresponsibility of the political elite in Serbia”, “Serbian violent nationalism”, and “the culture of violence and exclusion in Serbian daily life”. Her play, *Skakavci* (Locusts), won one of Europe's most prominent theatre awards.

- 59. Seška Stanojlović**, journalist and editor-in-chief of the “Helsinki Charter Magazine”. In Kikinda, Vojvodina (April 2010), as part of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia together with the historian Latinka Perovic, she promoted the project “The Balkans and European Challenges”.
- 60. Branimir Stojanović**, with a degree in philosophy from Belgrade University, has published numerous articles on contemporary philosophy, psychoanalytic theory, critique of ideology and art theory.
- 61. Professor Asif Šabanović, PhD** (University of Sarajevo), Professor of Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey and Professor of Keio University, Japan. Dr. Šabanović was visiting professor at many universities: CalTech, USA; Keio University, Japan; Yamaguchi University, Japan; Marmara Research Center, Turkey. Currently he is Head of the Department CAD/CAM, Sabanci University Mechatronics Program, Turkey.
- 62. Predrag Šarapa**, journalist and editor in the well-known RTV Studio B, Belgrade, Serbia, and author of its popular program “Problems”.
- 63. Professor Šemso Tanković, PhD**, of University of Zagreb, president of the Party of Democratic Action Croatia (SDAH). In an interview for “Oslobodjenje” (14 April 2011), when asked for his opinion on the current policies of Croatia towards Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said: “I think those policies are bad... I will be working to get a united Bosnia-Herzegovina, without entities.”
- 64. Bojan Tončić**, Serbian journalist of the daily paper, “Danas”, since its founding, and one of the founders and editors of the publication “Prava čoveka” (The Rights of Man), writes about war crimes, their causes, perpetrators, the social atmosphere and legal consequences of war crimes.
- 65. Dragoljub Todorović**, attorney for political victims, Belgrade, Serbia, he participated (2009) in preparing the report: “Political media-related and legal analysis of the cases of RTS, Topčider and Leskovac.”
- 66. Milica Tomić**, visual artist, lives and works in Belgrade and Vienna. Her work centres on issues of political violence, nationality and identity with particular attention to the tensions between personal experience and media constructed images.
- 67. Ivan Torov**, journalist and analyst, Belgrade, Serbia, has warned (31<sup>st</sup> May 2010) that Western leaders must act quickly to avert a new Balkan disaster, by putting pressure on Greece to lift its veto on Macedonia's EU and NATO membership.
- 68. Goran Vojnovič**, a promising young Slovenian writer and director of production in movie arts. His recent film, Pirano-Pirano, premiered at International Film Durrës, August-September 2011.
- 69. Professor Dr Milan Vukomanović**, Department of Sociology, University of Belgrade, received his PhD in 1993 at the University of Pittsburgh, where he taught social history of Early Christianity and Orthodox Christianity until 1995. He is co-founder of the Center for Religious Studies, Belgrade Open School. He is also the current president of the Sociological Association of Serbia and Montenegro and co-founder and member of the management board of the Center for Democracy Foundation.
- 70. Tomislav Žigmanov**, journalist, Subotica, Vojvodina. On May 9th 2002, at the roundtable discussion entitled ‘Fascism and Neo-Fascism Today: Serbia’, in the panel discussion about the situation in Subotica, he noted: “Religious sites have been bombed. The

SRS (Serbian Radical Party) and SSJ (Serbian Unity Party) propagate ethnocentrism. The ethnic picture is changing but there still exists a hidden ethnic dimension.”

**71. Tilman Zülch**, General Secretary and President of the Society for Threatened Peoples – International, writer and editor for a number of publications on problems of nationalism and war crimes. In his contribution to the book “Bosnia in Focus” he quotes the words of Marek Edelman, the last surviving commander of the Warsaw Ghetto resistance, who said: “Europe has learned nothing from the holocaust.. What happened in Bosnia-Herzegovina amounts to Hitler’s posthumous victory.”

**72. Staša Zajović**, Coordinator, WOMEN IN BLACK Belgrade, Serbia; diploma of the Faculty of Philology, University Belgrade (1976). Activist for peace, organizer and participant of numerous anti-militaristic, peaceful, feminist actions, performances, conferences, seminars (more than one thousand), and meetings. She is the recipient of the Millennium Award for Peace UNIFEM, 2001.



**WOMEN'S FEMINIST - ANTIMILITARIST PEACE ORGANIZATION**  
**women in black – Belgrade**  
**WE REMEMBER SARAJEVO**

The marking of seventy years since the Nazi bombardment of Belgrade, one of the most tragic events in the recent history of this city, passed in the proverbial chauvinistic oblivion and absence of sympathy with the citizens of Sarajevo, the victims of the Belgrade shells fired from Pale. Not a single part of the state or national media made mention of the fact that 06 April was the day of these two terrible anniversaries.

After a full 19 years, we remember: the Aggression against Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina started on 06 April 1992, and over the next 1425 days in Sarajevo there were over 11,000 people killed, including 1,601 children. The Sarajevo siege by Serbian powers, paid for and supported by Belgrade, was the longest in the history of modern warfare. During this time an average of 329 shells per day were fired on Sarajevo, with a record number of 3,777 shells registered July 22, 1993.

The State of Serbia has not confronted its own past. In fact, a new generation of youth are growing up without any knowledge of the state-sponsored war crimes, coming from an ideology with headquarters based in Belgrade.

We believe and demand that all war crimes which have been made in our name and from our land should be punished and should never be forgotten.

Women in Black Belgrade April 06, 2011

