#### Response of the Bosniaks to the Decision of the International Court of Justice

#### **By Emir Ramic**

Congress of North American Bosniaks (CNAB) has taken note of the unjust and politically motivated decision of the International Court of Justice which was based upon extreme prejudice of the West against Bosniaks as European Muslims. Same was evident for all to witness, in the times before the aggression and genocide against Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the aggression and genocide, during the times of the Dayton Accords and particularly today when we witness the decision of the Court. CNAB reiterates that Bosniaks were not the only victims of aggression and genocide, but rather, the whole of the multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious matrix of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society, embodied in the millennia of joint history, dignity in tolerance, respect, trust and coexistence, among all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. Genocide and aggression had also been used as tools to negate the will of the electoral majority of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which electoral majority, fifteen years ago today, chose the independent, sovereign and democratic future for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The unjust and politically motivated decision of the Court notwithstanding, CNAB calls upon all of the Bosniaks in the Motherland and in the Diaspora to rise above the rather justified frustrations, widely expected passivity, externally organized internal divisions and willfully imposed conditions for expressions of irresponsible behaviour, all of which, according to CNAB, was, indeed, the planned outcome of the Decision of the Court, in the hope that the international community would thus be able to finally complete the centuries' old project of absolute, and final, destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina and her Bosniak and Bosnian social fabric. In these times of utmost historic responsibility bearing heavily upon the shoulders of the current generations of Bosniaks with respect to the future of the Bosniak nation, CNAB calls upon all Bosniaks and Bosniak organizations to join in the implementation of the plan of action of CNAB as follows:

The Court has ruled in its Decision that the self-proclaimed "Republika Srpska", its leaders, agents and surrogates have committed genocide upon Bosniaks in Srebrenica, numbering in excess of 8,000 persons. Srebrenica was, at the time, the official "safe haven" of the United Nations. Serbia was, in that Decision, proclaimed guilty for not preventing and punishing the crime of genocide. It is disappointing that the Court did not accept the indisputable evidence that Serbia, at a minimum, was an active party to the planned project of genocide. The Decision of the Court, in and of itself, is a body of evidence that the constitutional arrangement based upon the ethno-territorial divides was directly attributable to genocide and, before that, to a planned genocide. That Decision, therefore, directs that the results of genocide be annulled. It is possible to achieve that only by way of creation of a new constitution which will bring about a system of democratic governing in harmony with the multi-ethnic character of Bosnia and Herzegovina which was in existence before the aggression and genocide, and which will require joint and synchronous action of all Bosniak organizations. CNAB has taken these positives within the context of the Decision and has adopted a plan of action on behalf of Bosniaks and their associations in response to the Decision of the International Court of Justice.

- 1. Bosniaks now have, in addition to their historic and moral preconditions, a legal one as well, in terms of establishing a national focus on implementing their national being and developing collective consciousness about further development of their national being. Bosniaks ought to finally rise to the occasion and become conscious of their historic responsibilities and rights so as to, once and for all, solve the issue of their national being by way of a national programme of Bosniak being. The responsibility of the current generation of Bosniaks is to put this issue to rest and, in doing so, eliminate the real and perceived shortcomings as potential weaknesses leading to yet another repeat of genocide against them.
- 2. CNAB is going to increase the intensity and focus of its activity in the area of creation of new constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina which will, in accordance with the Decision of the Court, as well as with the principles of international law, completely eradicate the results of genocide, which results currently serve as a basis for ethno-territorial arrangement. This, first and foremost, includes the indubitable and urgent annulment of the genocidal creation referred to as "RS".
- 3. The Decision of the Court has now allowed for a legal and swift implementation of the joint Declaration of CNAB and the Alliance of Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with respect to bestowing a special status of district for Srebrenica and Zepa so as to be put under direct supervision of the state until the process of dismantling of the genocidal creation (RS) is finally completed.
- 4. CNAB will initiate a bill to criminalize denial of genocide. In this respect, CNAB will address the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly and the European Parliament and request urgent legislative action.
- 5. CNAB will further increase its activity in the area of changes to the Citizenship Act, whose discriminatory rules on dual citizenship flow as a continuation of genocide. With the dissolution of the state entity of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina has the right to annul the Agreement on Dual Citizenship since same ceased to be in effect following the dissolution of that former state entity. It ought to be in the interest of Bosnia and Herzegovina to enable some half-a-million of its citizens to keep their citizenship which was put into question twice by RS blocking the amendments to Article 17. of the Dual Citizenship Act of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All those opposing changes to dual citizenship will have positioned themselves as being against Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- 6. CNAB will continue its work in the area of amassing new evidence to support charges of genocide throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina with the view of finally proving the guilt of Serbia and Montenegro before the Court within the prescribed legal window of ten years. The objective is to present documentation that there existed, indeed, an indisputable intent to systemically destroy the Bosniak people.

- 7. CNAB will address the premise of collecting of funds to start a private class-action lawsuit of Bosniaks against RS for genocide committed and results of same.
- 8. CNAB will address the premise of collecting of funds to start a private class-action lawsuit on behalf of the flower of Bosniak youth, who need to be psychologically healed from trauma of aggression and genocide, and then intellectually and academically propelled to assume the reigns of Bosnia and Herzegovina once they get to be called upon to lead Bosnia and Herzegovina into future.
- 9. CNAB will initiate a project of documenting of collective and public testimonials of genocide by scientific, cultural and political leaders of the world. That document will then be presented to the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, the European Parliament and the International Court of Justice.
- 10. CNAB is hereby initiating the introduction of the public institution named Woman Hero, in order to express due recognition of a woman and of all women of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their extraordinary sacrifice and role in the process of defence of the Bosniak being, and of Bosnia and Herzegovina, during aggression and genocide.
- 11. CNAB is hereby initiating action to erect a Museum of Genocide Against Bosnia and Herzegovina, to be built in North America, and which will, in one of the most developed areas of the world, forever stand witness, before that world, about the crime of genocide committed against Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniaks.

## For Bosniaks justice means an end to the entity responsible for aggression and genocide

The IRGC is appreciative of the fact that the Canadian Parliament has adopted a resolution commemorating and honoring all the victims of the Srebrenica Genocide. It is a noble and important gesture that the Canadian Parliament has made in calling on all Canadians to commemorate appropriately the anniversary of the Srebrenica Genocide. The victims and survivors of Srebrenica are aware that the past cannot be changed, but are encouraged to see in this recognition of their pain by the Canadian Parliament a signal that Canada will not be a silent party to crimes against humanity, wherever they may take place. The IRGC applauds that commitment, remembering and concerned to remind the world what happened during those days in July 1995.

#### The Srebrenica Genocide

The Srebrenica Genocide was the largest mass murder in Europe since World War II. July 11th 2011 marks the 16th anniversary of the fall of the town of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Bosnian Serb Army and the subsequent massacre of approximately 8,000 people who

lived or had sought refuge in the United Nations-designated "safe area".

On July 11th 1995, Bosnian Serb forces seized control of the Srebrenica enclave and proceeded to deport the women, children, and the elderly in buses while holding Bosniak males over 16 years of age at collection points and other locations in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. They then killed their captives and buried them in mass graves. In subsequent attempt to conceal the evidence of the massacre at Srebrenica, the Bosnian Serbs disinterred, dismembered and moved bodies and body parts away from the original burial sites to secondary mass graves scattered throughout parts of northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina under their control.

The International Commission on Missing Persons has developed advanced techniques of DNA testing which it uses to identify recovered remains of the Bosnian Serbs' victims at Srebrenica and those killed elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina between April 1992 and November 1995, as well as in the wider conflict that overtook the western Balkans during the 1990s. Having positively identified over 6,490 Srebrenica victims using DNA-led scientific methods, the ICMP currently estimates that almost 8,100 persons were killed during and after the fall of Srebrenica.

The genocide at Srebrenica was among the worst of many terrible atrocities perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995, in a war in which policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing pursued by the Bosnian Serbs with the direct support of the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and its followers led to the displacement of more than 2,000,000 people and the killing, rape and torture of innocent civilians on a massive scale.

In 2004, in its unanimous ruling in the "Prosecutor v. Krstic" case, the Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague ruled that the massacre of Srebrenica's male inhabitants was a crime of genocide. Theodor Meron, the presiding judge, stated:

"By seeking to eliminate a part of the Bosnian Muslims, the Bosnian Serb forces committed genocide. They targeted for extinction the 40,000 Bosnian Muslims living in Srebrenica, a group which was emblematic of the Bosnian Muslims in general. They stripped all the male Muslim prisoners, military and civilian, elderly and young, of their personal belongings and identification, and deliberately and methodically killed them solely on the basis of their identity".

In February 2007 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) concurred with the ICTY's judgment that the atrocities committed at Srebrenica constituted genocide, stating: "The Court concludes that the acts committed at Srebrenica falling within Article II (a) and (b) of the Convention were committed with the specific intent to destroy in part the group of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina as such; and accordingly that these were acts of genocide, committed by members of the VRS in and around Srebrenica from about 13 July 1995."

#### The Bosnian Genocide

The genocide perpetrated more widely across Bosnia and Herzegovina was characterized above all by a campaign of terror directed against the non-Serb and in particular the Bosniak population. This included a systematic campaign of rape directed against Bosniak women and girls, prolonged sieges and shelling of Bosnian cities, the starvation and terrorization of besieged Bosniak enclaves and the targeted destruction of Bosniak culture and history.

It is clear who the aggressor was and who was the victim in this campaign. During the war, not a single predominantly Serb town or city was besieged by the Bosnian defence forces (which included many non-nationalist Bosnian Serbs and Croats). In fact, the majority of Serb civilian casualties were killed by the Serbian army commanded by Gen. Ratko Mladic as they sniped at and shelled the multiethnic population of Bosnian cities such as Sarajevo and Tuzla. The Serb population and Serb culture were not deliberately targeted for ethnic cleansing, rape, siege, shelling, and destruction in Bosnia; it was the Serb project of a "Greater Serbia", embodying a fascist policy of ethnic purification that inflicted tremendous suffering on the Bosniak people between 1992 and 1995.

Four international judgments have confirmed that genocide took place in Bosnia outside the genocide confirmed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at Srebrenica These cases - Prosecutor v Nikola Jorgic (Doboj region), Prosecutor v Novislav Dzajic (Foča region), Prosecutor v Djuradj Kusljic (Kotor Varos) and Prosecutor v Maksim Sokolovic (Kalesija, Zvornik region) - were all tried in Germany at the request of the ICTY concomitantly with trials at The Hague. Courts in the United States have also determined that Radovan Karadzic is culpable of acts of genocide as well as rape and torture.

#### International armed conflict – aggression

The Bosnian War was an international armed conflict that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina between April 1992 and December 1995, involving several sides. The main belligerents were the forces of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and those of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat entities within Bosnia and Herzegovina -- the 'Republika Srpska' and 'Herzeg-Bosnia'. Both 'para-states' enjoyed substantial political and military backing (and overall control) from Serbia and Croatia respectively.

NATO forces were subsequently involved in air-strikes against the Serbs. The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal at the Hague has determined – on at least five separate occasions -- that the Bosnian War was not a "civil war" but an international armed conflict involving Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, and NATO.

There are many different sources that confirm the two essential features of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Firstly, it was a classic case, at the end of the 20th century, of an armed aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the most basic definition of an international armed conflict it was a crime against the peace and safety of humanity. And

secondly, the worst of all crimes under international law, the crime of genocide, was committed on the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina against the Bosniak population.

#### For Bosniaks justice means an end to the entity responsible for aggression and genocide

The arrest of Ratko Mladic after sixteen years will not significantly change the situation of his Bosniak victims. Though his arrest brings them some small degree of satisfaction, it is part of a game being played out between the international community and Serbia, which past experience has taught Bosniaks not to take at face value. Ultimate justice for the victims is a matter of legal judgments based on the scientifically researched truth about the crimes of aggression committed against the single internationally recognized independent sovereign state of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the crimes of genocide, including culturecide, ecocide, ethnocide, urbicide and elitocide, torture and killing in concentration camps, rape, violent expulsion and territorial expropriation, perpetrated against the Bosniak population.

So, ultimately justice for the Bosniak victims means an end to the entity that was the result of aggression and genocide. Justice for the victims means conserving the statehood and sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina in an organized and systematic way. Sovereignty is indivisible, non-transferable and unchallengeable. These three attributes of sovereignty are the justification for legitimate action by Bosniaks to annul the achievements of aggression and genocide in order to defend and reinvigorate a single unified Bosnian-Herzegovinian state and society and within it the full national, civic and territorial equality of the Bosniak population.

For the victims, Republika Srpska exists only because of the illegal Dayton agreement which rewarded aggression and genocide with the involuntary, illegal and unjustified division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into two territorial "entities", imposing an unjust and paralyzing constitutional system that has given rise to a dysfunctional structure of government. The goal of the aggression and genocide against Bosniaks and other civilians of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was to create an ethnically cleansed Greater Serbia at the expense of their country. Justice and the rule of law cannot be achieved until the achievements of aggression and genocide have been reversed. Neither international law or national law can make the effects of illegal action legal.

The International Court of Justice on February 26th 2007 ruled that the Bosnian Serb entity is the result of genocide under the terms of the UN Genocide Convention, which not only prohibits genocide, but also condemns its outcome and renders the results of aggression and genocide null and void. [Implicitly of course, but not specifically?] The accused party is not

entitled to question the constitution and the legal system when it has been tried and found guilty of aggression and genocide. The opinions of individuals from Republika Srpska concerning

Bosnia and Herzegovina are irrelevant, all that matters is how they now view Bosnia and Herzegovina's future.

#### The horror of Srebrenica was a stain on the world's collective conscience

Despite promises of "Never Again" more than 8,000 men and boys were murdered in Srebrenica. They were brothers, sons, husbands, and fathers, and they all became victims of genocide. IRGC honors their memories and grieves with their families. These were individuals who wished to live in peace and had relied on the promise of international protection but in their hour of greatest need were left to fend for themselves. The horror of Srebrenica was a stain on the world's collective conscience. This atrocity galvanized the international community to take action to end the slaughter of civilians, since when the name of Srebrenica has served as a stark reminder to the world of the need to act resolutely in the face of evil.

The IRGC recognizes that there can be no lasting peace without justice. Justice must include full accountability for the crimes committed, the complete identification and return of all those who were lost, and the prosecution and punishment of those responsible for carrying out the genocide. This includes Ratko Mladic, who presided over the killings. The IRGC calls on all governments to redouble their efforts to find all of those responsible, arrest them, and bring them to justice.

That is how we will honor the victims of Srebrenica and fulfill our moral and legal commitments to end impunity for crimes of such awful magnitude. It is our duty to remember the cruelty that expressed itself here, and prevent such atrocities from ever happening again. We owe an obligation to the victims and to their surviving family members. And we also have a responsibility to future generations worldwide to refuse to be bystanders to evil; whenever and wherever it occurs, we must be prepared to stand up for human dignity.

We need to comprehend the moral depravity of the perpetrators of genocide and the indifference of the bystanders. We need to educate ourselves about the orchestrators of genocide. We need to learn about genocide not merely as episodes of history but as lessons warning our children of the dangers of intolerance, now and in the future. We need to teach future generations to respect democracy and human rights and encourage them to reject hatred, intolerance and racism. We need to unite in condemning genocide. The IRGC insists that efforts must be made both domestically and at the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia to secure justice for the victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

## The leaders of the Republic Srpska entity and the aspirant entity of Herceg-Bosna are still fighting the war

Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide of Bosniaks were

at the heart of the joint criminal enterprise of which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (today Serbia and Montenegro) was part from September 1991 to the end of 1995, and the Republic of Croatia, from the end of 1991 to the 18th March 1994 - involving their political, military, and police leadership(s) and their fifth column of collaborationists and mercenaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The intention was to conquer and divide the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and destroy it as a sovereign and independent state and to create a "final solution" for the "Muslim issue", through the extermination and ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks. All the reliable sources confirm premeditated intent to commit all of these acts preceding the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against its Bosniak population.

The state of Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the Dayton Peace Accord comprises two entities--one of them the Serb entity of Republika Srpska (RS), a genocidal creation of Greater Serbian ultra-nationalism and fascism. The RS came into being through grave violations of international human rights law, the attempted extermination of the Bosniak (and Croat) communities and mass graves and concentration camps that mimicked the practices of earlier fascist regimes. Through the Dayton Accords, the international community has conferred legality and legitimacy on this genocidal entity.

Consistent with the ideology, politics, and practice of the Greater Serbian project, the political leadership of the Republika Srpska and its governing structures conceal, minimize, misrepresent and deny the genocide against Bosniaks. They constantly seek to equalize the victims and the perpetrators of crimes of genocide. They deny the historic, political, and legal statehood and continuity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and seek to prevent any strengthening of central authority. They are constantly looking to secede from and destroy Bosnia and Herzegovina, to prevent sustainable, harmonious coexistence and to undermine the universal human rights, values and freedoms and the cultural heritage of all Bosnians.

The other entity created by Dayton, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with its origins in the Washington Agreement of 18th March 1994, is crippled by similar obstructionist politics on the part of the remnants of the so-called "Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia", itself

responsible for human rights crimes against Bosniaks and other non-nationalist Bosnian Croats. Even with significant elements of the "Community"'s leadership currently awaiting trial before the ICTY (for participation in "joint criminal enterprises" in Bosnia), its members have been colluding openly with the Republika Srpska leadership in pursuit of their chauvinist and ultranationalist politics—to the detriment of all Bosnians.

As representatives of the academic community and intellectuals from around the world, the members of the IRGC are seeking to increase awareness of the long-term negative consequences of the artificial and undemocratic settlement imposed by the Dayton Accords and to draw attention to the gravity of the current situation, impelled by nationalist forces within Bosnia in the direction of further distress and suffering. Republika Srpska appears set on

declaring war on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Aggressive propagandizing against Bosnia and Herzegovina by official figures, television media and journalists who support the Republika Srpska regime has reached the levels seen in Belgrade two years before the launch of the Greater Serbian campaign to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and exterminate the non-Serb population. We must not allow history to repeat itself.

It is easy to empathise with victims. But if we want to prevent future genocides, something more than an occasional symbolic demonstration of solidarity with the victims of genocide is required. We need to educate ourselves about the Bosnian Genocide not only as a historical event, but also as a way of teaching our children about the dangers of intolerance. We need to teach all students, of all ages, to value and defend democracy and human rights and encourage them to reject intolerance, hatred and racism.

# Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs are the essence of the joint criminal enterprise of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia

The Institute for Research of Genocide of Canada (IRGC) would like to recognize and commemorate Bosnian Statehood Day on November 25, 2011.

On 25th November 1943, in Varcar Vakuf (Mrkonjić Grad), at the Founding Assembly the State Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH) was elected as the highest political representative of the (antifascist) Peoples Liberation movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. ZAVNOBiH worked in its three sessions: 25-26 November 1943 in Mrkonjić Grad; 30 June, 1-2 July 1944 in Sanski Most, and 26-28 April 1945 in Sarajevo. The Presidency carried out its functions between the sessions, as the highest authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Establishment of ZAVNOBiH was initiated by the Conclusion of the First Session of AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of the Peoples Liberation of Yugoslavia), as the highest political authority of Peoples Liberation war, held on 26-27 November 1942 in Bihać, to establish national (state) antifascist councils of Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and its establishment by building the network of peoples liberation boards, which by that moment covered more than 2/3 of the BiH territory. By the Resolution of the AVNOJ Founding Assembly, it was announced that AVNOJ was established as the highest representative body, expression of unity in the combat for final liberation and the full freedom and equality. The Proclamation talked about "free national units" in the Yugoslav state, which specifically mentioned Bosnia and Herzegovina and three nations "Serbs, Croats, and Muslims".

ZAVNOBiH and its activity, from 1943 to April 1945, is the most important event in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With its Resolution at the Founding Assembly and the Proclamation to Peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the night 25/26 November 1943, ZAVNOBiH, after 480 years, restored the statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina, confirmed its historic and political and state-legal individuality and it established the federal Bosnia and Herzegovina (practically a state), which is the most relevant legacy of the antifascist war. This is a historic date – Day of statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By not wanting to go back and reaffirming the platform of the Peoples Liberation movement, ZAVNOBiH Resolution condemned the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in exile and their cooperation with the aggressors,\* and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina denied every right of that Government and the King to represent them, and asked the Allies\*\* to withhold any support to King and the Government, and expressed their will to rearrange the Yugoslavia as the state of equal nations and ethnicities and create a new democratic federative Yugoslavia, which will guarantee full equality to all its peoples, especially that the liberated Bosnia and Herzegovina become free and unified in which the full equality is guaranteed to Serbs, Muslims/Bosniacs, and Croats. On that occasion, it was stated that peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina "wanted their country, which is neither Serb, nor Croat, nor Muslim but rather Serb and Croat and Muslim country, to be free and unified in which the full equality of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats will be secured", and that peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina will equally participate with other peoples in building of the federative Yugoslavia.

# Declaration on the rights of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina falls in the group of the highest degree documents in the world, preceded by three years Universal Declaration on Human Rights

At the Second ZAVNOBiH, 1 July 1944, the session adopted Declaration on the rights of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which falls in the group of the highest degree documents in the world. Declaration from Sanski Most, preceded by three years Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and it was on the same level. Decisions and other documents adopted at the Second ZAVNOBiH session had far-reaching effect for the building of statehood of Bosnia and Herzegovina and further building of peoples authorities. ZAVNOBiH was established as the highest legislative and executive authority, the highest authority of the state authority, as the only representative of the peoples sovereignty. It was decided that ZAVNOBiH Presidency has executive powers. Second ZAVNOBiH session declared Bosnia and Herzegovina a federal unit in the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia. ZAVNOBiH authorities became the holders of the Bosnia and Herzegovina statehood.

Building of Bosnia and Herzegovina statehood, intensified after the Second ZAVNOBiH session, entered a higher level of organization in early 1945. The expedited development of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the federal unit within Democratic Federative Yugoslavia took place especially after the liberation of Sarajevo, 6 April 1945, where the main seat was of the ZAVNOBiH Presidency and other state authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the Third, Sarajevo

session, ZAVNOBiH grew into the Peoples Assembly of federal Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the highest legislative and representative authority of peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it established the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the highest executive and the commanding authority. With the establishment of Peoples Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the declaration of peoples boards, as territorial authorities, the federal Bosnia and Herzegovina got its full organization required for the peacetime living conditions.

### ZAVNOBiH is a proof that the common living is not only possible but also logical in Bosnia and Herzegovina

ZAVNOBiH Resolution and the emerging of Bosnia and Herzegovina constitute key date in the recent history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the basis which facilitates the complete independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. ZAVNOBiH is a proof that the common living is not only possible but also logical in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that their common state can only function for the good of all and as such it can provide good results. Thus, ZAVNOBiH as of 1943 is the most important date in our history, the date which confirms millennium long history of Bosnia and it serves as a model for the development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which secures full equality and freedom to all its peoples. Independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992) is only a logical consequence and the result of what the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina presented, and for what ZAVNOBiH secured essential political and constitutional prerequisites. The legacy of Peoples Liberation war and antifascist war in the WWII were important foundation of the defensive war 1992-1995 against fascism, aimed at preservation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs are the essence of the joint criminal enterprise of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia

Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs are the essence of the joint criminal enterprise of the state Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Serbia and Montenegro from September 1991 to the end of 1995, and the state of the Republic of Croatia, from the end of 1991 to the 18th March 1994, their state, military, and police

leaderships, their fifth column, collaborationists and mercenaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Intention of that criminal act was to conquer, divide and destroy the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the state – and "final solution" of the Muslim issues – extermination of Bosniacs or their downsizing to insignificant ethnic group. All the relevant sources confirm that prior to the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the genocide against Bosniacs, there was a well designed intention to commit all these forms of crimes.

During the defensive war, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina defended itself from brutal great-Serbian and great-Croatian aggression, which included as allies or collaborationists numerous members of all its three nations, to justify aggression and crimes, which is anyway

the practice of all fascistic regimes. The defensive war was conducted primarily with the local forces and resources, in conditions of multifold stronger aggressor and in the situation when Bosnia and Herzegovina was imposed illegitimate arms embargo, imposed by UNSC upon the request of the Serbian leadership and Slobodan Milošević in person in 1991, though it was a recognized, independent state and a member of the UN, which practically prevented the state to defend its territorial integrity and safety of its citizens from the aggression and this right was guaranteed in the UN Charter.

In this unjust war, Europe, United Nations and international community risked the survival of Bosnia and Bosniacs with this arms embargo (UN admitted this mistake in their Report on the fall of Srebrenica dated 15 November 1999.). Even in those conditions, Bosniacs, using own forces and in unjust fight, while defending multiethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina and themselves from biological extermination, defended Europe and the world from fascism, giving in this way a huge contribution to combating this evil, which caused huge human and material losses to the world. Today, unfortunately, it is forgotten that Bosniacs defended the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina and the freedom of all its citizens, irrespective of their national, ethnic, religious or political background. Yet, they are proud of it.

Unfortunately, aggressor in cooperation with the collaborationists perpetrated grave violations of international humanitarian law against Bosniacs and Bosnia and Herzegovina, including genocide. Mass graves anyway testify of this, and they are identified almost every day, although the criminals tried to systematically destroy the traces of their crimes.

Bosniacs, thanks to the international independence and sovereignty and the courageous resistance of the patriots and antifascists stopped the aggression, defended and preserved Bosnia and Herzegovina and its multiethnic character. They survived biologically and became aware of its strength and historic role in fighting for its survival and sustainability of Bosnia. In conditions of the worst aggression, Bosniacs fought for the universal values: human rights and freedoms, democracy, multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious society.

### Dayton Accord rewarded the aggressors who destroyed Bosnia and Herzegovina and committed genocide against Bosniacs

Unfortunately, USA and the leading (West) European forces (Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia), while manipulating the international politics and institutions, without adequate moral authority, were not ready to accept the fact on the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is confirmed by the lack of political will to, due to the national, ethnic, and religious background of the genocide victims (Bosnian, European Muslims), timely, adequately, and efficiently react and stop the genocide; reduced and minimized the crime of genocide committed against the peaceful, unarmed, helpless Bosniacs, autochthones European nation.

They observed the crime indifferently and rewarded the Serbian aggression by dividing the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which pre se is almost a crime.

By the Dayton Accord, they rewarded the aggressors, their collaborationists and national-socialists, who destroyed Bosnia and Herzegovina and committed genocide against Bosniacs, unlike WWII when they defeated militarily the occupant armies and their collaborationists.

The Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina is made of two entities —one of which is Republika Srpska or the Serb entity, genocidal creation of the great-Serbian Nazism, built on grave violations of the international humanitarian law, marked and soaked mainly in Bosniac blood, surrounded by numerous hidden mass graves and concentration camps in which legally operate fascistic organizations. This genocidal creation was legalized by the so-called international community as the constitutional category. Political leadership and other structures of the entity Republika Srpska, in accordance with the great-Serbian genocidal ideology, politics, and practice, conceal, minimize, relativize and deny the genocide against Bosniacs; permanently and continuously equalize genocide victims and the executors of crimes; deny historic, political, legal and the statehood continuity of Bosnia and Herzegovina; obstruct in all possible ways the strengthening of Bosnia and Herzegovina and they constantly pursue the secession and destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina by denying the possibility of sustainability and development of the quality of common living and thus they undermine the universal human values, freedoms and rights, civilization and cultural legacy. The entity Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose foundation lies in the Washington Agreement (18 March 1994), basically functions as two separate entities, in one of which the forces of the collaborationist creation of Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia fully operate, although its leadership is currently in trial (joint criminal enterprise) before the ICTY, and their political supporters together with the leadership of Republika Srpska, publicly advocate for such a criminal creation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### IRGC is dedicated to a unified Bosnia and Herzegovina

To enhance democracy and multi-ethnicity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, IRGC is working tirelessly to educate the Canadian public about Bosnian history, heritage and tradition. IRGC has also initiated the Srebrenica Genocide Resolution and Srebrenica Genocide Bill in the Canadian Parliament. Proven through its history, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a country of unity and tolerance, and a safe haven for multi-ethnicity. IRGC is dedicated to such a unified Bosnia and Herzegovina. IRGC call to unify and actively engage all the democratic forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina in maintaining and building of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state of all its citizens and ethnicities. IRGC call to unify and actively engage all the democratic forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina in maintaining and building of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state of all its citizens and ethnicities. Coming from the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a state on the basis of Dayton, in spite of Dayton's unconstitutional, illegal hoax, we should initiate for

1. A Sovereign, unified, and single state of Bosnia and Herzegovina based on the International Law and the UN Charter. They should demand for a civil state with three levels of government-federal, regional and municipal that is based on European standards of local self-governance, where regions are not states but rather they are a union of municipalities, based on geographic,

transportation, economic and historical criteria, in which citizens of different ethnic backgrounds live.

- 2.Such a state should provide: the right to work, peace and prosperity for future generations to all loyal citizens and ethnic groups; equal rights and freedom in the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the right for everyone to return to their hometowns; full membership in Euro-Atlantic integration; the protection of the natural beauty and resources of the country; the protection of individuals and families as the basis of a healthy and functioning society; respect for different opinions and protecting the interests of various ethnic and religious groups.
- 3. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country for all its citizens who make up the Bosnian and Herzegovinian nation regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, gender and age
- 4. A Civil, open and free society, based on a universal concept of citizenship, where every person is an individual and the subject of public/social processes. In other words, Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizenship identity and status based on the International Law.

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Numerous relevant references were consulted during the drafting of this press release, including the Archive of the Institute for Research of Genocide of Canada, and Prof. dr Smail Cekic: "Bosnia and Herzegovina – Historic Facts", the Institute for Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law of the Sarajevo University, Prof. dr. Omer Ibrahimagic: "Constitutional Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina", a Short Survey, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, Constitutional Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Short Survey

# Declaration for Legal, Political and Moral Anullment of Results of Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The crime of genocide against Bosniaks was committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period between the beginning of 1992 and the end of 1995. There was a clear intent to destroy the Bosniak people in contravention to the Convention on Prevention and Punishment of genocide. That fact was also confirmed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in its judgments, as well as by the Congress and the Senate of the United States of America, and their Resolutions, respectively.

Congress of North American Bosniaks, in cooperation with the most prominent organizations of the Bosnian Diaspora, condemns the political decision of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The signatories of this joint statement are of opinion that this fundamentally unjust decision only serves as the international community's reward to those who have committed the most heinous crimes. With this flawed decision the international community has but confirmed

its own complicity in crimes committed against Bosnia and Bosniaks. In doing so, the international community has ignored the undeniable facts and evidence of the enormity of the crime of genocide committed against Bosniaks and, further, has created serious obstacles in the process of peace-making and co-existence of the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Therefore, it is evident that this Decision by The Court has augmented, by an order of magnitude, the moral, ethical, and above all, the political responsibility of the elected political representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order for them to vigorously pursue and prevail in that pursuit of the totality of the truth and justice and complete annulment of any and all results and creations thereof, of genocide, as well as of the acts of aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period commencing with the Parliamentary vote in March of 1992, and ending with the Dayton Accords in 1995.

The undersigned are of opinion that the damages inflicted upon the victims and survivors of genocide and other acts of aggression, are incalculable in material, spiritual and emotional realms, and therefore, that the victims and their descendants have the fundamental right to claim their liberties and freedoms, as well as the equal rights to life and dignity on each and every square foot of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Further, the signatories are of opinion that the current constitutional and territorial arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a direct product of aggression and ensuing genocide, regardless of the actual point in time that genocide has occurred in, in the period of time first mentioned above and has, as its extension, completely destroyed the original character of Bosnia and Herzegovina - that of a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious state. Since the undersigned are of opinion that the principles of Truth, Justice and Liberty ought to form the basis for the citizens and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina to build a modern society, and in firm belief that it is essential and productive for the whole of Diaspora to address this Decision by The Court, the organizations listed beneath jointly adopt this document as follows:

# DECLARATION FOR LEGAL, POLITICAL AND MORAL ANULLMENT OF ALL PRECEDES TO THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE, AND ALL PROCEEDS OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE, IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- I. The process and direction of the constitutional reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina must now be based upon the fact that the crime of genocide was committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, the end result ought to be complete annulment of all precedes to, and of all proceeds of, that crime as well as the totality of crimes. As a first and direct result in that process the so-called "Republika Srpska", and all of its agents, surrogates and resulting creations and constructions must be annulled in their totality as that entity was named, by The Court, as the culprit and the guilty party with respect to the crime of genocide committed in Srebrenica.
- II. The current Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina is based upon ethno-territorial arrangements which, given their continuity, are now direct results of that crime of genocide and, as such, must be immediately and completely annulled.

- III. The current socio-political arrangement of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be harmonized with the arrangements which were in place preceding the crime of genocide, including the territorial arrangement.
- IV. All of the results of genocide must be annulled leading to an effective accommodation for the return of the survivors of genocide to their homes and properties where they will, again, have an opportunity to support themselves.
- V. The true character of a multi-ethnic state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, upon each and every square foot of its territory, must be returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to recapture its status preceding the implementation of the project of planned genocide which resulted in the creation of ethnically-cleansed enclaves.
- VI. The descendants of the victims of genocide, the survivors of genocide as well as the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be the recipients of material indemnity so as to enable the fulfillment of the fundamental responsibilities as mentioned above.
- VII. Bosnia and Herzegovina must enact a law criminalizing any and all denials of genocide, by anybody or any entity in the world, and thus ensure the most rigorous and far-reaching application of that law.

VIII. The political representatives of the People of Bosnia and Herzegovina must insist upon, and persist in, demands that Serbia and Montenegro accept complete legal, political, material and moral responsibility for genocide and, further, that they commit themselves, jointly and severally, to support and aid in the annulment of the results of genocide, as well as that they will act to prevent any future attempts of the crime of genocide to be repeated in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

#### **Signatories to this Declaration:**

- 1. The Congress of Bosniaks of North America
- 2. The World Union of the Diaspora of Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 3. The Bosnian-American Advisory Council for Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 4. The Association of Bosniaks of Australia
- 5. The Council of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Organizations of Autsralia
- 6. The Australian Bosnian and Herzegovinian Foundation for Justice for Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 7. The Srebrenica Association

## Genocide in Prijedor is a black spot on the conscience of the international community and on the conscience of those who committed the crime

#### On 6 December 1992 The New York Times described a May 1992 attack in Prijedor:

"When the attack began, Serbs from the village guided the tanks to the homes of certain Muslims...and the inhabitants were asked to come out and show their identity cards. Many of those who did were summarily executed...The bodies of the dead were carried away by trucks, which left a trail of blood. Those not killed on the spot were transferred to a convoy heading toward Omarska, a Serb concentration camp."

#### 19<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Prijedor Genocide

Institute for Research of Genocide of Canada {IRGC} wants to show respect of the dignity and humanity of the victims of the genocide that happened in Prijedor. We express our regret for the destruction of life, and our solidarity and compassion for the suffering of the victims. All the killed ones are important to us, it is important that their suffering is recognized and respected, because, without that, their families and entire communities of victims of genocide in Prijedor cannot overcome the past, nor can they accept reconciliation without accountability.

IRGC wants to show that those murdered left the deepest marks in our lives, and that ignorance or indifference towards what happened to the victims is, in fact, the denial of their and our human dignity. We want to share the sorrow, compassion, solidarity and responsibility towards the victims of genocide with our fellow Canadian citizens.

On this occasion, we want to point out again that the arrest and extradition of Ratko Mladic, indicted for genocide in Bosnian and Herzegovina and for other most serious war crimes, to The Hague Tribunal is extremely important act. However, as the arrest was made after 16 years, we demand from the representatives of the Serbian institutions to launch an investigation and find out who hid, protected and guarded Mladic all these years. In what military and/or other facility was he kept? How much has the hiding of Mladic cost the citizens of Serbia? If, in due time, representatives of the Serbian institutions do not provide the answers to these and other questions, it will be clear that the arrest was solely a pragmatic act, which has nothing to do with justice for victims, nor with the changing of the system of values and the abandonment of ideological, moral and cultural patterns that enabled and justified war and war crimes, and turned criminals into heroes.

#### The Trial Chamber found that the takeover of Prijedor was an illegal coup d'état

As the Trial Chamber found in its decision, the Serb takeover in Prijedor was accompanied by and accomplished through the commission of atrocities on a massive scale, including the establishment of internment camps at Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje. These atrocities include frequent killings, rapes and sexual assaults. Moreover, thousands of individuals were subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment, including routine beatings and torture. The

cleansing of Prijedor also resulted in the expulsion of Bosniaks from their homes as well as their deportation in huge numbers, often in convoys organized and supervised by Serb authorities. According to the Trial Chamber, more than 20,000 civilians were victims of the expulsion campaign and more than 1,500 were killed in massacres carried out by Serbs during the takeover. Others have reported that the death toll from the internment camps was equally high - according to one source, nearly 2000 Bosniaks died at Omarska alone. We first heard of Omarska in the summer of 1992. That is when Roy Gutman, a foreign correspondent working for Newsday, reported on the existence, at a mining complex, of a camp run by Bosnian Serb militants that held several thousand non-Serb prisoners, primarily Bosniaks but also Croats. Based on the later reports of the detainees who survived their ordeal at Omarska, Gutman called it a "death camp" and reported on the appalling conditions and the rape, torture and execution of detainees. International reporting, especially by British journalists Ed Vulliamy, Penny Marshall and Ian Williams, exposed the horrors of Omarska and ultimately forced the camp to close. After Omarska, it became clear to many people that, in Bosnia, we were dealing with evil on such a scale that can neither be explained away nor ignored. Eventually, the internationally community organized an international tribunal to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide in the former Yugoslavia. The tribunal convicted several of the camp guards, commandants and associated others for crimes committed at Omarska.

The municipality of Prijedor is located in the north-western region of Bosnia and Herzegovina known as the Bosanska Krajina. The town of Prijedor is the largest settlement in the municipality. According to the 1991 census, out of a total population of 112,543, 43,9% regarded themselves as Bosniaks, 42.3% as Serbs, 5.7% as Yugoslavs, 5.6% as Croats and 2.5% as "others". The census, for the first time, identified the Bosniaks as the largest ethnic group in the municipality of Prijedor. The shifting demographic balance in favour of the Muslim population was considered a challenge by the Serbs and became one of the central issues in the municipality's political life during 1991 and 1992.

During the war in Croatia, the tension increased between the Serbs and the communities of Bosniaks and Croats. There was a huge influx of Serb refugees from Slovenia and Croatia into the municipality. At the same time, Bosniaks and Croats began to leave the municipality because of a growing sense of insecurity and fear amongst the population.

Pro-Serb propaganda became increasingly visible. The Serb media propagandised the idea that the Serbs had to arm themselves in order to avoid a situation similar to that which happened during World War II when the Serbs were massacred. As a result of the takeover of the transmitter station on Mount Kozara in August 1991 by the Serbian paramilitary unit the "Wolves of Vučjak", TV Sarajevo was cut off. It was replaced by broadcasts from Belgrade and Banja Luka with interviews from Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) politicians who argued that, while Serbs sought to preserve Yugoslavia, the Bosniaks and Croats wanted to destroy the country.

At the meeting of the Prijedor Municipal Board of the SDS on 27 December 1991 it was decided to overthrow the existing authorities in the town, replace legitimate central authorities with

SDS or SDS-loyal personnel, and form independent Serb bodies. At the session on 7 January 1992, the Serbian members of the Prijedor Municipal Assembly and the presidents of the local Municipal Boards of the SDS proclaimed the Assembly of the Serbian People of the Municipality of Prijedor. Milomir Stakić was elected President of this Assembly.

By the end of April 1992, a number of clandestine Serb police stations were created in the municipality and more than 1,500 armed men were ready to take part in the takeover. In the night of the 29 to 30 April 1992, the takeover of power took place "without a single bullet fired".

Employees of the public security station and reserve police gathered in Čirkin Polje, part of the town of Prijedor. They were broadly divided into five groups. One group was responsible for the Municipal Assembly building, one for the SUP building, one for the courts, one for the bank and the last for the postoffice.

The Trial Chamber found that the takeover of Prijedor was an illegal coup d'état which had been planned and coordinated for months and which had as its final goal the creation of a Serbian municipality eventually to form part of an envisaged pure Serbian state. After the takeover, Milomir Stakić became, amongst other things, President of the Municipal Assembly and President of the Prijedor Municipal Peoples' (National) Defence Council. From May 1992, he served as President of the Prijedor Municipal Crisis Staff. The Trial Chamber established that Milomir Stakić was the leading political figure in Prijedor municipality in 1992.

A comprehensive pattern of atrocities amounting to a campaign of a persecutorial nature was proved to have been committed against non-Serbs in Prijedor municipality in 1992. This included killings on a massive scale in the Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje camps, in Bosniak towns and villages throughout the municipality, and, finally, on Mount Vlašić.

The takeover of Prijedor, deportation of civilian from Prijedor and the operation of capturing, detention, and execution of Bosniacs are the acts of genocide, well planned, envisaged, efficiently organized, widespread, ordered from the top political and military leadership, and executed systematically according to the plan.

Number of the killed and execution, quick formation of mass graves, quick burials in mass graves, dislocation of mortal remains to secondary and tertiary mass graves suggest that the political, military, administrative, and police potential of the Serb forces supported by a large number of disciplined perpetrators took part in the plan, preparation, execution and the cover up of genocide.

Perpetrators of crime took all the steps, including the systematic digging, transfer, and reburial of the victims' bodies, so as to cover up the genocide and prevent the justice, which constitutes yet another systematic form of crime committed against the killed, which has not been known in history. This speaks of the perpetrators as being aware of the criminal character of their

actions, and there is no dilemma related to their subjective accountability and liability and/or firm intention related to the perpetration of this graves form of crime.

Mass graves of the genocide victims in Prijedor are apparent evidence of the planned and organized system of crimes, which resulted in genocide – the worst form of crimes against humanity and international law. Simultaneously, they are also one of the ways of concealing and destruction of clues of crimes. Unfortunately, International Court of Justice in The Hague in the case *Bosnia and Herzegovina vs. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Serbia and Montenegro), did not mention at all the mass graves of the genocide victims in Prijedor.

The massive crime against Bosniacs of Islamic religion was committed in Prijedor. That crime is an act of genocide against Muslims. The area were the crimes were committed, speed of execution of several thousands of people, territory in which the bodies were buried, multiple transfer of mortal remains, and the number of individuals who took part in the execution and the covering of the crime absolutely indicate that the crimes were known to a large number of people and that they were persistently concealed.

Genocide against Bosniacs of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Prijedor was committed before the eyes of the world public. This was a part of direct preparation for the Dayton Accord following the traditional manner of placing everyone before the final act whiles securing strategically important border area to Serbia. This crime of genocide is only a tip of the iceberg within the crimes against humanity and international law committed continuously in the period of four years in the territory of three quarters of the state territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina – in all the occupied places and towns under the siege.

There is a lot of evidence to prove that crimes against humanity and war crimes had been committed in Prijedor, Bosnia and Herzegovina such as widespread killings, the siege of town, mass rapes, torture, deportation to camps and detention centers.

### <u>Conclusions of the Final Prijedor Report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992)</u>

"It is unquestionable that the events in Opstina Prijedor since 30 April 1992 qualifies as crimes against humanity. Furthermore, it is likely to be confirmed in court under due process of law that these events constitute genocide".

More of the Prijedor Report : <a href="http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/anx/V.htm">http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/anx/V.htm</a>

IRGC wants to take this chance to restate its conviction that the world must never again allow such atrocities to occur unopposed and its determination that justice will seek out any who choose such barbaric paths.

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A Prijedor Timeline: 1980 to 1995

#### Prelude to war

- · 4 May 1980: Tito dies; collective Yugoslav presidency is established.
- · 6 December 1989: Slobodan Milosevic elected present of Serbia. He begins his push for a Greater Serbia by laying claim to all areas where Serbs live.
- · April-May 1990: Elections in Slovenia and Croatia set the stage for independence in those republics.
- · November 1990: the SDA (Party of Democratic Action, which had strong Muslim support) wins a plurality but not majority of seats in the Prijedor Assembly. The municipal government of Prijedor is now split between Serbs and Muslims.
- · 25 March 1991: Milosevic and Franjo Tudman secretly agree to divide Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia.
- · Prijedor's Serbs establish Serb shadow government in Prijedor under Milomir Stakic.
- · April 1991: Serbian politicians declare the Bosanska Krajina Srpska Autonomna Oblast (the Serbian Autonomous Region of the Bosnian Krajina).
- · The Prijedor Assembly votes down a proposal to join what is essentially a secessionist state.
- · 25 June 1991: Croatia and Slovenia proclaim independence.

#### Prelude to genocide

- · August 1991: War between Croatian forces and the Serb-dominated Yugoslav People's Army begins.
- · At the same time, a heavily armed brigade from Serbia arrives in Prijedor. Serbian military authorities fail to persuade the Muslim population to join their war against Croatia.
- · Throughout 1991: Light weaponry is brought in from Serbia and distributed to Serbs in Prijedor under the false pretext of defense against Muslim extremists.
- · Fall 1991: In Prijedor, Serbs secretly begin to set up a parallel administration called the Serb Municipality of Prijedor. They set up nine new police stations and arm the police.
- · September 1991: UN establishes an arms embargo against all of Yugoslavia.

- · October 1991: Bosnian parliament proclaims the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb deputies belonging to the SDS (Serb Nationalist Party) walk out.
- · 9 January 1992: The Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina declares a separate Serb Republic.
- · February 1992: In Prijedor and elsewhere, Serbs establish "Crisis Committees" (Krizni Stab).
- · March 1992: Referendum is held on independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina; most Serbs boycott referendum. Of those voting, 99 percent vote in favor of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- · March 3, 1992: Bosnian Parliament declares Bosnia-Herzegovina an independent republic.
- · March 1992: In Prijedor, Serb artillery is moved into place on Mount Kozara.
- · 21-28 March 1992: Serbs seize control of television transmitter near Prijedor on Mt. Kozara; transmissions from Zagreb and Sarajevo are blocked.
- · 6 April 1992: EEC recognizes independence of Bosnia Herzegovina. In Sarajevo, Serb snipers attack peaceful demonstrators supporting a multiethnic Yugoslavia.
- · 14 April 1992: Serbs erect roadblocks around Prijedor.
- $\cdot$  27 April 1992: Bosnia-Herzegovina decrees that the JNA (now a Serbian army, formerly the Yugoslav army) must leave the country.
- · 28 April 1992: Due to mounting danger, UN military observers in Prijedor and nearby Banja Luka are withdrawn.
- · 29 April 1992: Forged fax "surfaces"; it purports to order Bosnian territorial defense units to attack the JNA. The effect is to further agitate Serbs.
- · 30 April 1992: The Serb Prijedor Crisis Staff takes over all government offices in Prijedor in order to "secure their survival."
- · The seizure of government offices takes twenty-five minutes.
- · What had previously been the Serb shadow government assumes control.
- · Identification papers are now required of everyone.
- · Massive firings of non-Serbs begin.
- · Serb police are ordered to follow Serbian law, not Bosnian law.
- · Serb authorities intensify pressure on non-Serbs to give up any weapons.

- · Mid to late May, 1992: Serbian military personnel remaining in Bosnia convert JNA units into the Bosnian Serb Army, to be commanded by General Ratko Mladic. The Bosnian Serb Army would work jointly with a number of Serb paramilitary units.
- · Mid May, 1992: Men belonging to ultra-nationalist paramilitary group under the leadership of Arkan (Zeljko Raznjatovic) move into Hotel Prijedor.
- $\cdot$  23 May to 1 June 1992: Due to series of ultimatums, non-Serbs in Prijedor surrender remaining weapons to Serb authorities.

#### **Genocide in Prijedor**

- · 23 May 1992: Village of Hambarine (pop. 2499) shelled and stormed. Approximately 100 villagers are killed or wounded; many more flee.
- $\cdot$  24 May 1992: Kozarac area (non-Serb pop. 27,000) shelled and stormed. As many as 5,000 people are killed in the Kozarac area in the days that follow.
- · 35 non-Serb police officers are executed in front of the primary school.
- · Serb soldiers fire upon a column of non-Serb citizens leaving Korazac, killing men, women, and children.
- · "Young Muslim women" are "shepherded to Serb military positions," where they are sexually abused.
- · Eight elderly non-Serbs are "shepherded into a cellar and massacred."
- · 24-25 May 1992: Serbs open concentration camps at Trnopolje, Omarska, and Keraterm. Serbs focus efforts on imprisoning and otherwise eliminating Muslim and Croat leaders, including business leaders and intellectuals.
- · 30 May 1992 and after: Stari Grad, Prijedor's "Old Town," is razed. Civilians who live in the area are transported to Logor Trnopolje, where they are kept without food for several days. Women and children are eventually released; men are detained.
- $\cdot$  30-31 May 1992: Serbs move through additional parts of the city of Prijedor, targeting and forcing out non-Serb inhabitants. Men not killed are taken to Omarska and Keraterm; women and children who are not killed are taken to Trnopolje. Dozens of corpses of non-Serbs are observed piled throughout the city.
- · Early June 1992: All non-Serbs are required to wear white armbands and hang white flags from the windows of their homes.
- · July 1992: Throughout Prijedor, Serbs destroy buildings "built in a traditional Muslim style."
- · Starting 20 July 1992: The area on the left bank of the Sana River is shelled.

- · "A total of more than 1500 people [are] killed on 20 July 1992 alone."
- · Women and children are separated from the men; the latter are executed or transported to concentration camps.
- · When Omarska and Keraterm are filled, men on one bus destined for the camps are shot to death by Serb soldiers.
- · Houses are systematically looted and destroyed.
- · 23 July 1992: Serbs encircle the town of Carakovo, southwest of Prijedor. "Hundreds of people [are] killed—shot, burnt alive, beaten, or tortured to death in other ways." At least 760 non-Serbs are killed.
- · 20-25 July 1992: In Lisina, "between 70 and 100 Muslim civilians [are] killed" by Serbs.
- · End of July 1992: Serbs kill between 100 and 120 Muslim civilians from Jugovci.
- · 1 August 1992: In Redak, south of Ljubija, Serbs kill 200 Muslim civilians.
- · Mid-August 1992: Omarska and Keraterm camps are closed; surviving prisoners divided into groups; some are executed, and others are sent to camps at Manjaca and Trnopolje.
- · 21 August 1992: 228 prisoners are massacred at Koricanske Stijene on Mount Vlasic. Recounted a survivor, "they brought us to the very edge . . . facing the abyss. Then people started screaming, yelling. . . . I leaped into the abyss. . . . When I became conscious, I realized that through some incredible luck I was not injured. . . So I took a body of a man and I covered myself. . . . And then they started shooting. . . ."
- $\cdot$  5 November 1992: Serbs are observed burning the remains of people killed in Lisina in July. The odor is smelled "kilometers away."
- · Early October 1992: Trnopolje camp is closed. Many prisoners remain in the camp because their homes have been destroyed or taken.
- · 17 December 1992: Radovan Karadzic becomes president of a Bosnian Serb state.

#### **Aftermath**

- $\cdot$  1993-1995: Random and targeted killings continue. Many of the Muslims and Catholics remaining in Prijedor and the surrounding area are forcibly deported; their property is confiscated.
- · 22 February 1993: The U.N. Security Council establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

- · February 1994: A Croat-Bosniak (Catholic-Muslim) federation is established in Bosnia; joint Croat-Bosniak forces afterwards try to retake territory controlled by Bosnian Serbs.
- · July 1995: U.N. "safe haven" of Srebrenica falls; Serbs massacre of more than 8,000 Bosnian men and boys.
- · 29 August 1995: NATO begins Operation Deliberate Force against the Bosnian Serb insurgents.
- $\cdot$  16-17 September: The Bosnian army retakes extensive territories in western Bosnia, including Kljuc and Sanski Most. Bosnia forces move towards Prijedor but fail to reach the city.
- · Late September-early October 1995: Serbs fleeing advancing Bosnian forces seek refuge in Prijedor; they initiate a second wave of "ethnic cleansing," pushing out Prijedor's remaining Muslims and Catholics.
- $\cdot$  12 October 1995: General ceasefire takes effect in Bosnia-Herzegovina, before Prijedor can be recaptured.
- · 14 December 1995: The Dayton Peace Accords are signed by Slobodan Milosevic (Serbia), Franjo Tudman (Croatia), and Alija Izetbegovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina). The agreement leaves about half (49%) of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the hands of the Bosnian Serbs. The Prijedor municipality remains in the Serb-controlled part of Bosnia.