

**From:**

**Over 200 Bosnian-Herzegovinian Intellectuals and  
Over 70 World Prominent Intellectuals**

**To:**

**Presidency of 2012 NATO Summit  
Chicago, May 18, 19**



Excellencies,

On behalf of over 200 BH intellectuals and over 70 world prominent intellectuals, we are kindly asking the European statesmen to remove a big injustice of their predecessors, who with the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995) rewarded a horrible genocide and the Serb massive crimes, committed around the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, the worst of the kind and extent after the Jewish Holocaust in Germany, 50 years ago, committed in the breach of the UN Charter, adopted unanimously in 1948, and the Convention on prevention and punishment of crime of genocide.

The frequent systematic and scrupulous attempts of the responsible authorities in Republika Srpska to deny these inhumane crimes have overstepped every measure of human dignity, though these crimes have been adjudicated in several international courts. Yet, the authorities mock these judgments and the most sacred principles of human mankind and the feelings of the Bosnian citizens. Who is supporting such villains

**in a society, who are destroying the mere essence of common living and survival? Is there such or similar example in other country worldwide? Does it contribute to the peace, stability, and reconciliation of peoples in a multiethnic state? Where can this happen without punishing the responsible?**

**Thus, we would like to extend our gratitude to the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, H.E. Dr. Valentin Inzko, who energetically condemned the irresponsible conduct of the international community representatives towards the genocide, which still encourages the inhumane actions of the Serb authorities to support genocide, committed by individual criminals from their own ethnic group. In his interview for the daily “Avaz”, Dr. Valentin Inzko stated (2 March 2012):**

**“European community should be ashamed on the Independence Day of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1-2 March 1992), that it betrayed the principles of democracy in BiH, and failed to protect these highest values of Europe and international community, for which the best sons in BiH gave their lives! International community suspended the applicable BiH Constitution and referendum, that is, the will of 64 per cent of BiH citizens in Dayton and rewarded genocide”.**

**This injustice cost Bosnians 250,000 killed and more than half of non-Serb population expelled from their places of origin (2.2 million) who live now in 112 countries worldwide – from America to Australia (among the number of challenged and reduced figures related to the number of the killed Bosnians, we find these as most reliable records, as they were taken from the book of a former USA President, H.E. Bill Clinton: My Life, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 2004).**

**We would like to welcome very much, from the bottom of our hearts, the positions of the USA President, H.E. Barack Obama that USA will never allow again genocide to happen, as it was the case with Bosnia, Rwanda or elsewhere in the world, which he stated sincerely and with his deep conviction in the Museum of Holocaust in New York (April 2012).**

**However, we are kindly asking you to allow us to openly inform H.E. President of the USA and warn the entire world democratic public, which is also against all forms of genocide, that the massive Serb genocide against non-Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Bosniacs and Bosnian Croats – has not been completed even after 20 years since it began. It still continues cunningly and hidden from the eyes of the international community. Thus, the war against Bosnia and Herzegovina has not ended. Only the frontlines have been frozen, thanks to short tenure of 60,000 NATO troops. (1996)**

**Less than 10% of the four central missions of the Dayton Peace Agreement have been fulfilled in Republika Srpska, installed on genocide by the war criminal Milošević and his quislings in Republika Srpska, as they were not in favor of the aggressor: punishment of war criminals, safe and decent return of refugees; the Bosnian state, destroyed during the war and deprived of state authorities, has not been reintegrated; and finally, the Bosnian economy, devastated during the war, has not been recovered after the war in the process of corruptive privatization.**

**As compared to the prewar 1990, almost two decades later only a half of the prewar economy is in function as well as foreign trade and export, whereas half of the working population is unemployed. That is all the result of the Dayton Peace Agreement, as it gave half of the country to the aggressor as a reward for genocide. That country did not belong to Serbs only but the entire Bosnian population.**

**Who was the winner in Dayton? We heard that, 17 years later, from a key witness – principal defendant in the case for genocide and massive crimes, Radovan Karadžić, in his defense before the ICTY in early 2012. We watched on TV when he proudly stated:  
“Serbs achieved all their plans about Bosnia in Dayton!”**

**However, three weeks before the Dayton Peace Conference, which commenced in the US Airbase Wright - Patterson Air Base in Dayton, Ohio, on 4 November 1995, the Bosnian-Croatia forces, which grew from ashes, were only several kilometers away of the Republika Srpska capital, and in few hours they would take control over Banja Luka. Then, the winners in the war and liberators of the country would rightfully be Bosnians.**

**Recently, around late April 2012, in Croatian TV channel HRT-2, the retired Croatian Foreign Minister, from the era of Franjo Tuđman, gave his testimony: “This is the first time now that I have to tell the truth. On 14 October 1995, a telephone rang in my office in Zagreb. The American State Secretary, Warren Christopher, called me. I was surprised.**

- Mr. Granić, please, stop the offensive against Banja Luka!**
- Why? – I asked.**
- If you do not stop, Banja Luka will fall within 24 hours, and 350.000 Serb refugees will go towards Serbia...**
- That is wrong, Mr. Christopher – I answer. He hung up and immediately called Tuđman and arranged that with him.**

**Soon, Alija Izetbegović stopped the offensive of the Bosnian Army. He told his commanders: “If we do not obey, Americans will bombard us!”**

**As if aware of his faith, prior to assuming his new position in Afghanistan, Special Envoy to H.E. Bill Clinton for Bosnia, and mediator of the Dayton conference, Richard Holbrooke, most probably in the attempt to relieve his soul of the gravest sin he committed against Bosnians, stated in spring 2009, before several hundreds of thousands people who watch FTV channel in Sarajevo:**

**“We were deeply wrong to stop the offensive of the Bosnian Army before Banja Luka. Had we allowed the Bosnian Army to expel the aggressor army and the Karadžić pseudo state units across the Drina river to Serbia, we would not have had such problems now in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosnia would for long be a normal European state”.**

**With a unconstitutional liquidation of the name “Republic”, taking a half of the Bosnian freedom, giving a half of the territory to the aggressor, a complete deprivation of the state from authority to protect its citizens, even itself from the aggressive interference from the eastern or western borders in line with the so-called special relations with their minorities – who are not minorities but constituent nations, and other terrible consequences for the life of the entire population, all the requests of the war criminal**

Slobodan Milošević were met. The unjustified capitulation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Dayton (1995) has been, in our opinion, far more detrimental by its negative implications, than the justified capitulation of Nazi Germany for Germans (1945). We do claim this for the first time, based on 17 years of agony of the BiH society. Thus, 2012 NATO Summit, May 18 - 19 in Chicago, thanks to the noble initiative of the American Senators became a Shrine of truth for us, perhaps even a shift towards a true future, that Europe, America and the entire world strive, in which NATO becomes an important instrument of peace and justice for the whole civilization.

To this end, we would like to ask the esteemed Excellencies – participants of this NATO Summit to consider our Letter with the attachment and give their support for two proposals, being initial two progressive steps towards Bosnia and Herzegovina taken by the international community during the last 20 years:

1. To adopt the proposal of the American Senate on the nomination of Bosnia and Herzegovina to become a member of NATO, however to be adopted under its true, legitimate, complete, historic and antifascist name of

## **REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

We would like to note that the historic and legitimate name of “Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, in line with the legitimate Constitution of the country (1990) was with authorization and according to the international law unlawfully suspended Dayton. It is the time to stop violating international law, especially in case of a country which suffered catastrophic losses in all forms of human lives from a brutal aggressor.

2. To urgently uphold the proposal of over 200 BH intellectuals and 70 worldwide prominent intellectuals that the American Congress and Senate and the Parliament of the European Union convene Constitutional convention in which the Bosnian civil society, with proven patriots, play a key role, rather than the cessation and corruptive political parties in power. The patriots of Bosnia and Herzegovina should pass their own Constitution and replace the Dayton Constitution, which credited the Bosnians a madman shirt, as once assessed by one of the former High Representatives for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such shirt should be given to thousands of untouched war criminals, who freely walk with their wrongfully raised off-springs along the Republika Srpska and some HDZ regions.

We take the liberty, Your Excellencies, to inform you that the prominent experts, coordinators of this Letter have already prepared a Draft version for this truly democratic, multiethnic Constitution, in line with American-European standards applicable to multiethnic states, and the BH thousand year long multiethnic experience of harmonized cohabitation of four world religions; that is the aspiration for the restoration of multiethnic life among all the Bosnians, who love their country and Bosnian state.

Thus, Honored Excellencies, if you accept to convene this fair and advance Constitutional convention, we kindly ask you not to ask us to engage in agreement with all those political forces, which have not ruled the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina in a good faith ever since Dayton. They only deserve to be removed from the power.

**International community can do so. Help us remove the biggest obstacle to permanent common living of all the citizens, religions, and nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnians will arrange the other things in the best possible way.**

**Finally, we would like to extend our gratitude to High Representative, H.E. Dr. Valentin Inzko, who finally stated the true legal truth about the rewarded Serb genocide against the innocent and unarmed Bosnians (1992-1995), then Senator Richard G. Luger, Applicant with the American Senate for the nomination of Bosnia and Herzegovina in NATO, Ms. Swanee G. Hunt, former USA Ambassador to Austria, and General Wesley K. Clark, a former NATO commander for Europe, who published an extraordinary article about the situation in Bosnia and what should be done (New York Times, 3 May 2012). Our two proposals are very similar to their capital proposals related to the nomination of Bosnia and Herzegovina to NATO and adoption of the new Constitution.**

**We would like to reiterate, corrections of Dayton Constitution do not solve anything, they just complicate already complex situation in the country.**

**Attachment: Support letter and an Open appeal.**

**Sincerely Yours – Coordinators of the Letter, Open Appeal, and Support letter:**

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Prof. Dd. Senadin Lavić,  
Prof. Dd. Nedžad Mulabegović,  
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**Academic Prof. Dr. Vladimir Premec,** Full member of ANUBiH, Professor at the School of Philosophy, Sarajevo University, Secretary of Department for social sciences, ANUBiH, President of Croatian

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**Sarajevo, 8 May 2012**