

Sarajevo, May 4, 2012

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton  
United States Secretary of State

**Srebrenica: Promise or an Iceberg of American Foreign Policy**

**A Job to Finish and a Promise to Keep**

By

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Dear Secretary Clinton,

We feel as it is our duty and your right to know how the so far silent majority of Bosnian people understand their past and perceive their future after their experience of genocide which has not been seen since the most evil of all - Holocaust. By this open letter we would like to draw your attention to the fact that the results of genocide in Bosnia are very much visible which make some people feel that genocide pays off and that the war criminals can enjoy their crimes against humanity. We believe that the United State of America has been on the right side in the resent Bosnian tragic history, and we believe that it will continue to be on the side of truth, justice, peace and reconciliation in Bosnia.

Hence, we would like to draw your attention to the fact that on August 29th 2008, Former Bosnian Serb leader Dr. Radovan Karadzic refused to enter pleas to 11 charges before the [International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia](#) (ICTY). Charges include genocide and crimes against humanity during Bosnian War 1992-1995. Judge Bonomy, entered not guilty pleas on Dr. Karadzic's behalf on all [11 counts](#):

- Two counts of genocide (Article 4 of the Statute - genocide, complicity in genocide),
- Five counts of crimes against humanity (Article 5 of the Statute - extermination, murder, persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds, persecutions, inhumane acts (forcible transfer)),
- Three counts of violations of the laws or customs of war (Article 3 of the Statute - murder, unlawfully inflicting terror upon civilians, taking hostages), and
- One count of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions (Article 2 of the Statute - willful killing).



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Dr. Karadzic is charged with masterminding wide range of atrocities including mass slaughter of more than 8,000 Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) in Srebrenica in July 1995 which in [Krstic case](#) was already ruled by the ICTY as Genocide, as well as with the crimes surrounding atrocities committed during the three years long siege of Sarajevo.

Dr. Karadzic masterminded and delivered the creation of the Republic of Srpska that was finally granted within [Dayton Peace Accords](#) in recognition of war time reality on the ground that today rules the land. Republic of Srpska is an artificial anomaly of recent Bosnian history and as such can not be a part of just solution.

### **Dr. Karadzic's legacy lives on!**

"Whether in business or government, the immediate rises to the top, the important tends to go to the bottom...I used to tell myself remember to go to the bottom, push on the strategic issues, because that is going to be the legacy..."<sup>1</sup>These are the words of Mr. Anthony Lake, a former Clinton National Security Adviser and a leading member of Senator Obama's foreign policy team during the election campaign, setting the tone of a foreign policy legacy for then Senator, and now President Barack Hussein Obama. It is important to point out that Mr. Lake was pivotal engineer of Clinton's foreign policy particularly in Bosnia that culminated with the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke delivering all parties to sign on to Dayton Peace Accords and ending the continuation of Genocide in Bosnia.

Today, Bosnia sure seems to fit the wisdom of going to the bottom in search for the foreign policy legacy of the Obama Administration; a legacy of *Genocide Reversed*. This legacy if delivered may just prove to be the single biggest contribution and perhaps catalysis for restoration of American credibility and leadership, particularly when it comes to the Muslim world.

While it is imperative to recognize that Dayton Peace Accord ended the conflict and saved lives while retaining Bosnia's international borders, it has created a government comprised of two politically divided and ethnically driven semi-autonomous entities of roughly equal size - the Bosniak-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb-led Republic of Srpska.

The widely recognize but not acted on weakness of this model that persists to date is in its duplicative and unsustainable government structure at the entity levels that recognized superiority of ethnic majority rights, including those created through ethnic cleansing and genocide ( see [before](#) and [after](#) ethnic composition maps) The model extended the right to an exclusive administration of government by ethnic groups culminating with the absence of one person one vote throughout the land.

During the War in Bosnia Senator Biden stated that "to allow the people who instituted a policy of genocide in Europe in the 1990's to get exactly what they intended is an absolute capitulation. It is a disaster." Today we realize looking at the Bosnia that the current state of affairs is not far from the [war time plans](#) of Dr. Karadzic.

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Lake, Interview with PBS by Chris Bury, September, 2000



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While war casualties and genocide victims in Bosnia are permanent condition, the reward for genocide must not be. Indeed it would mean an absolute capitulation of human decency.

## **BRINGING BOSNIA BACK TO THE FRONT**

Bosnia, if handled properly, will prove to be a critical factor to building confidence and credibility in American foreign policy.

Reversing reward for genocide in Bosnia is a currency of credibility that United States will be able to deploy as we rebuild our reputation and respect throughout the world. Achieving such uniquely historic act would be impossible to deny by any nation, particularly those in the Muslim world. Considering its large Muslim population Bosnia could be the most persuasive advocate of American foreign policy.

Once repressed in transition forgotten society was a place of insecure and threatened people. Today's Bosnia, a nation divided, struggles to make whole with democracy for all. Bosnian people are growing less confident in their prosperous future; Future that will be hard to achieve without reengaged American leadership.

Bosnia has the potential to provide definitive proof of American commitment and ability to uphold the highest standards of human dignity beyond its borders no matter how long it may take to improve human condition to the point where human dignity is restored.

But before discussing the pragmatic value and legacy character of *Reversing Genocide* in Bosnia, as well as, why it is both achievable and timely to make it the top tier agenda item of the New Age of American Diplomacy, let me argue why we have a moral imperative to act beyond achievements of Dayton Accords.

## **WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE**

Ethics of Dayton Accords are often discussed but never conclusive. The reason is simple; search for truth and justice in the context paralyzed with political realities of war time adversarial motivations is bound to produce no long-term agreement. This is particularly true in the context where war crimes were committed.

*As suggested by Walzer "...moral discourse is always suspect, and the war is only an extreme case of anarchy of moral meanings...Judgments of necessity are in this sense always retrospective in its character – the work of historians, not political actors. "*<sup>2</sup>

Retrospective approach historians take is useful in defining the context, but by no means sufficient in justifying ex post morality of the ensuing conditions of violent conflict. That said, morality should be understood as having only an ex ante quality as its true nature should be universal and unchanging even if that is to be in its minimalist form that accounts for vast cultural differences.

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<sup>2</sup> Walzer, Just and Unjust wars, page 11



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Consequently, with all of the Bosnia's complexity in mind, a starting point of discussion should be agreement of what is morally acceptable outside of the context of any specific war but rather within the context of humanity. Humanity is the only true context we all share. In this context genocide is wrong and should be avoided not rewarded.

While Srebrenica Genocide in particular, and Bosnian genocide in general, did not received such consideration during the war time ambiguity, the responsibility to prevent, punish, and suppress genocide, as stipulated in the Genocide Convention, has emerged since ICTY ruling in [Prosecutor v. Krstic](#). This landmark ruling has put to rest any doubts about the legal character of Srebrenica massacre. The Appeals Chamber of the ICTY unanimously ruled that it was an act of Genocide. As the Chamber's judgment states:

*"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....The Appeals Chamber states unequivocally that the law condemns, in appropriate terms, the deep and lasting injury inflicted, and calls the massacre at Srebrenica by its proper name: genocide. Those responsible will bear this stigma, and it will serve as a warning to those who may in future contemplate the commission of such a heinous act."*<sup>3</sup>

Whenever we are presented with an opportunity to create a better narrative for historians of the future, acting correctively with the benefit of hindsight is a bare minimum we must embrace. Since we have not announced the end of history in Bosnia, the question of whether or not the war conducted and peace concluded was just, or at the very minimum justifiably necessary with all of its imperfections, needs to be reassessed.

In Bosnia, America was faced with a straightforward choice between justice and legitimacy on one hand and effectiveness on the other. In retrospect, it is clear that effectiveness has prevailed over justice in the course of ending the war. Stopping the loss of human life and horrors of genocide was second to providing concessions to Serb leadership recognizing the efficacy of ethnic cleansing and genocide. Granting the exclusive ethnic territory and governance over half of the country, ethnically exclusive police force, ethnically exclusive voting system and ethnically exclusive name of the entity that is Republic of Srpska, at the time seemed necessary. This was a painful decision that did not come about easy.

All considered, it is tolerable to view Dayton Agreement as ethical at the time of its making but it would be unethical not to see it evolve. The very elements that at the time made Dayton possible are elements that today make Dayton unstable and unjust.

America and its European allies are faced with a choice of whether to induce the change and complete the statehood building process or retard to a passive transformation that is sure to take decades without certainty of outcome; thereby probably assuring Dr. Karadzic's legacy to be preserved.

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<sup>3</sup> Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic (2004) ICTY 7 (19 April 2004) Case No: IT-98-33-A, In the Appeals Chamber,



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In Walzer's words "It is important to stress that morality of war is not fixed by the actual activities of soldiers but by the opinions of mankind." <sup>4</sup>Here, we find a firm ground in the wide-based support for the principles of Genocide Convention by all relevant parties to the Bosnian war. Thus, it is reasonable to claim that ethics of international affairs has matured to the point that we can freely and effectively identify both ethical failures and structural impediments and collectively work to correct them; leadership notwithstanding.

Finally, it is essential that we acknowledge that the future course of action can be charted without the burden of compromises made during the war time era of imperfect knowledge and constrained playing field.

### **ELEMENTS OF REVERSING GENOCIDE**

Dayton agreement has granted several concessions to Bosnian Serbs that qualify as a reward for Genocide. Dayton has effectively given Serbs veto power over all legislation concerning state level decisions and particularly those in the Republic of Srpska that now keeps progress hostage. For the sake of peace Dayton delivered for Bosnian Serbs the ultimate reward – the right to ethnically cleansed territories. More specifically Dayton secured:

- 1.) Ethnically discriminatory name of the Republic of Srpska.
- 2.) Staying away from one person one vote for national election and it has imposed ethnic exclusivity as a precondition for holding public office.
- 3.) Entity level ethnically exclusive police force, an extension of the very forces that committed genocide and ethnic cleansing.<sup>1</sup>
- 4.) Regions like Srebrenica where undisputed genocide ruling has been obtained remains under the exclusive jurisdiction of Republic of Srpska.

Rectifying these four rewards for genocide would address the bare minimum of grievances born out of Srebrenica Genocide and ethnic cleansing and it would constitute a success in *Reversing Genocide*. Even if the territorial divisions of Bosnia remained the same, as long as regions with proven genocide such as Srebrenica where to become subject of direct control and care of the State and not the entities, the curing of these four elements would still be considered a success in eliminating reward for genocide.

While physical elimination of the population may never be restored, restoring human dignity and democratic principles of equal participation and equality are without any doubt achievable in spite of veto powers granted by Dayton.

In recognition of this critical omission of granting veto power whereby ¼ of parliamentarians in Republic of Srpska can prevent enactment of any law, it is not surprising that it was necessary to introduce [Bonn Powers](#) in 1997. Bonn Powers granted High Representative of the International Community an absolute authority to enact legislation when needed. To date, Bonn Powers along

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<sup>4</sup> Walzer, 15



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with [BH Constitutional Court](#), and [BH State Court](#) remains the most compelling means for redressing structural impediment of post war Bosnia.

## **WHY THE TIME FOR ACTION IS NOW AND WHY IS IT POSSIBLE**

The morality of political action and its resulting outcomes is influenced by desired ends of a policy maker and constrained by the means available to achieve it.

Moral commitment is often not enough to move us into action particularly in the domain of foreign policy. But when doing the right thing coincides with securing stability, maintaining critical geopolitical influence and democratic order, while at the same time creating currency of credibility that can be invested in rebuilding reputation and strengthening relationships with increasingly skeptical Muslim world, the moral imperative to act is much easier to pursue. Most importantly, we would be able to achieve all that with a minimum cost on the back of work already done. This is a very effective solution that, surprisingly, may prove to be rather inexpensive one.

We have come far from the early alarms by Senator Biden in 1991 when his involvement in the Balkans was provoked by Serbian led assault on human dignity. Senator Biden's then unsolicited efforts to save Bosnia started as early as 1992, when he proposed a resolution in the United States Congress urging the Bush Administration to administer humanitarian aid and authorizing \$50 million in military assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina to ensure that deliveries of food and medical supplies reached their destinations. He was able to demand and captured the attention of American media and has strongly influenced formation and outcomes of President Clinton's policy on Bosnia.

Senator Biden's employed his experience and credibility in foreign policy to galvanize Clinton Administration providing critical meeting of minds with Mr. Lake to get things on the President's agenda. Both men supported lifting the UN arms embargo, intervening militarily to halt atrocities in Bosnia and investigating war crimes. At the same time Mr. Lake's team advocated "Lift and Strike" approach that Senator Biden endorsed.

In 1993 Senator Biden publically recognized protection inadequacies around plan to form six "safe areas" around the besieged Bosnian cities including Srebrenica. He recognized that the level of the U.N. promised protection, was rightfully viewed by Bosnians as a Western euphemism for refugee camps and capitulation.

Today, Senator Biden continues maintaining awareness to continued need to improve affairs in Bosnia. His recent actions in U.S. Senate resonate of his endlessly reinforced view of the War time which said that "to allow the people who instituted a policy of genocide in Europe in the 1990's to get exactly what they intended is an absolute capitulation. It is a disaster."

In his [speech](#) acknowledging the honor of being selected the winner of the Srebrenica 1995 Award recognizing his outstanding record in upholding human dignity in the face of Genocide, Senator Biden pledged to follow this recognition with worthy action while stressing personal obligation to build a mode decent future for Bosnia. He has never been in a better position to do just that. The objective now is to make a determined effort of the U.S. foreign policy to close the final chapter in the Dayton Accords book and realize the legacy of genocide reversed.





In terms of gaining congressional support for such action, a great deal of work has already been done. The fact that Serb forces committed aggression and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to November 1995, has been affirmed by the House Resolution [H.R Res 199](#) and Senate Resolution [S. Res 134](#) in the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress. S.Res 134 was co-sponsored by Senator Biden.

An extension of these efforts is [H.R. Res 679](#) that details a more complete set of objective required to reverse effects of Genocide. H.R. Res 679 was introduced by Rep. Smith in close coordination with Rep. Carnahan. At the time of writing H.R. Res 679 counted 26 cosponsors, of whom 9 are members of House Foreign Affairs Committee, among them leading foreign policy voices in the House, and perhaps most importantly, a number of early strong supporters of Senator Obama such as Carnahan himself, Rep. Bernice-Johnson, Rep. Delahunt, Rep. Lee and Rep. Schakowsky.

### **ASSESSMENT OF FISIBILITY**

Since the end of the war in 1995 a number of conditions have changed that now favorably affect possibility for required reforms.

Most importantly, Dayton was able to provide conditions for appeasing and stabilizing political environment. Over time the military capacity of Bosnian Serb has been significantly diminished if not neutralized, Serbia on the other hand remains preoccupied with internal challenges and loss of Kosovo thereby rendering its commitment to Bosnia remote.

European engagement with the region stimulated democratic reforms required for EU membership, albeit reluctantly on the part of Bosnian Serbs. The reluctance comes primarily from the need for some of the very same reforms we have outlined in Reversing Genocide such as state level police and discriminatory voting system.

Current political and economic elites in Republic of Srpska would risk too much by escalating anything but a diplomatic and managed ending of Dayton phase on the way to fully functional European state. The managed transition away from Dayton Accords should be a wise choice for Bosnian Serb leadership, given that the possibility of another violent conflict including imminent economic disincentives would leave them in a poor position to protect Dayton gains.

Allowing Bosniaks and Croats, or for that matter Bosnian Jews or any non-declared citizen, to have the right to be elected to the highest public office in Republic of Srpska, should not be a deal breaker either. Pragmatically looking the electoral reality on the local level would still allow ethnic Serbs to remain in majority of the public offices under the jurisdiction of the current Republic of Srpska proper as Serbs now constitute upward of 90 % of the constituency due to effectively executed ethnic cleansing campaign and prolonged effort to create unfavorable social and security condition for the return of the refugees and displaced persons agreed under [Annex VII](#) of the Dayton Accords. Demographics are not likely to change in near future as migration pattern have stabilized, and population largely resettled either within and between Bosnia's entities or internationally.

Today, unlike in days following the end of the war we now have at our disposal both [Bonn Powers](#) designating the High Representative as the final authority in the theatre with a right to remove from office public officials who violate legal commitments and the Dayton Peace Agreement, and to



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impose laws as he sees fit if Bosnia and Herzegovina's legislative bodies fail to do so.

In addition, we now have fully functioning Court system. The extensive mandate of [BH Constitutional Court](#) should be a point of specific interest when it comes to addressing major reform issues. The [BH State Court](#) having jurisdiction over cases related to state-level law and appellate jurisdiction over cases initiated in the entities, as well as the War Crimes Chamber that opened in March 2005 are ready to support the legislative process as well.

In concert, Bonn Power and Court system will be capable to address all four necessities for stabilizing Bosnia and Reversing Genocide as discussed earlier. The mandate is in place. What lacks is political will.

Finally, we should be able to attract and agree a shared commitment to providing powerful and to Bosnian constituencies significant economic incentives. Muslim nations should look favorably to this proposition which is essentially a major quid pro quo that surely will add new friends in war on terrorism. Incentives would work to reward those who cooperate with the reform effort and ignore, not necessarily punish, those who oppose the process. The region has learned to respond to economic incentives.

## CREDIBILITY AGAIN: CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR STRATEGIC RELIGNMENT

Being righteous is an advantage in making future and America has a hefty surplus of good will deposited in Bosnia. With *Genocide Reversed* and justice fulfilled Bosnia becomes a currency of credibility that America can take to the Muslim world to bridge swollen credibility gap.

In global parameters, this question is increasingly important as it provides an opportunity to favorably alter negative perception of U.S hegemony and European indecisiveness. By securing a unified Bosnian state capable of delivering security, economic sustainability and justice for all based on the principal tenants of constitutional democracy. Democratic offensive that is now in retreat throughout the Muslim world would have a new proof of feasibility.

Considering that Bosniaks have suffered genocide and are yet to assure peace with justice, success in *Reversing Genocide* would be able to silence critics of America's international engagement. More importantly success in Bosnia would lessen fears a lack of tolerance for Muslims in the Western world.

It was rather instructive to participate in the recent [" Common Word " Conference at Yale University](#), a continuation of a global dialogue between Islam and Christianity. This effort is based on a document issued in 2007 by 138 Muslim scholars, clerics and luminaries and it was directed at Christian leaders following the crisis caused by the Pope Benedict XVI unfortunate qualification of Islam as evil and inhuman in a [lecture](#) delivered at the University of Regensburg in Germany. on 12 September 2006.

[Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad bin Talal](#) of Jordan the main instigator of this dialogue characterized the process in [his address](#) as "our extended global religious handshake." The dialogue is "about equal peace and not capitulation." However, Prince Ghazi, saw conditions developing and hostilities increasing towards Muslims in Western countries at a high enough level to warrant worries about





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internment camp or even concentration camps. Whether reality of perception or just a call for caution, the concern here is clear given that such comments comes from moderate Middle Eastern state particularly well placed with American centers of power.

Political capital of *Reversing Genocide* in Bosnia would earn United States undeniable currency of credibility we could use in reengaging Muslim world with confidence, in effort for strengthening the future position of America in global affairs and particularly in the Middle East. This, truth be told, is a far more important policy objective but Bosnia makes this puzzle much easier to solve.

It is needles to say that developing strong personal and institutional relationships with the leadership of Islamic Communities that are well connected globally would be helpful in future diplomatic efforts. Leveraging that relationship should be a permanent qualification of the New American Diplomacy.

## **PRESERVING NATO UNITY**

As a force of change it is clear that the United States can not be enemy to all; we will lose out. We can not be friend to all either, as that will make us morph into irrelevance. What we must be is principled and strategic in the choice of allies most important to securing frontiers of Western democracies. In this regard developing viable and reliable frontier allies among states and peoples is critical to provide a sensible shock absorber on the frontier of the Western world.

Leaving cracks in the fabric of Western world on the way to unite with the East is wrong. Bosnia is a part of Western world that is yet to be healed and integrated in its democratic and security framework. It is critical that this base of expanding democracies has no cracks in its make up. Dayton Accords if un-evolved will be the very crack that may once again cause the weakness and indecisiveness in the complexity of European priorities and interests.

Being physically in the shell of Europe, Bosnia and Balkans are important piece of the global stability puzzle – but for this and the next Administration Bosnia is a time and place to be engaged advantageously.

Recent openly aggressive posture of Russia is designed to draw another, perhaps not physical but certainly political line of influence. Indecisiveness and mixed voices among Western powers when it comes to Russian intervention in Georgia is alarming. NATO suffered same illness in Bosnia, but it has recovered albeit not entirely. Crisis is only fought with unity, and there is nothing stronger then unity in doing the right thing.

Srebrenica Genocide and Bosnian experience ultimately proved to be a uniting factor for NATO, albeit once again driven by deliberate American leadership. Srebrenica was the beginning of NATO's unity and Kosovo its full proof. However, as we move eastward, we need to be able to finalize Bosnia question since it is highly difficult to predict actions of Russian counterparts and their intentions to preempt any action around Dayton Agreement and the future of RS. Georgian scenario in Bosnia would be devastation for NATO's credibility and effectiveness and it would most certainly invite rather difficult confrontation.



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Given the presented historical record, *Reversing Genocide* in Bosnia and thereby finalizing stable and just democratic makeup of governance for the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina would mean the commitment to securing NATO's back yard for the sake of assuring human dignity in the Western world, its commitment to democratic governance, and most importantly common security and regional stability. This is a message we must send in a clearly Western sphere of geopolitical influence that is Bosnia.

Being preempted by Russia on the future status of Republic of Srpska would be disastrous. Lack of an early decisive action and the lack of consensus among NATO members during Bosnian War became a heavy burden on the ability, credibility and effectiveness of American foreign policy under the Clinton administration. This should not be repeated.

## **IN CONCLUSION**

Politics with out justice is flawed as much as a life with out a moral purpose is frail. Democracy with out equal participation of its citizens is both flawed and frail.

With Dayton Accords failing to live to its full potential, no leadership in sight to evolve the structure and correct its deficiencies, and the not guilty pleas in Dr. Karadzic's case before ICTY, all in concert demonstrate that the legacy of Genocide Rewarded lives on!

Many leaders have fought genocide and some have succeeded in stopping it. But none have succeeded in healing it. This may just be a unique opportunity for American diplomacy to achieve just that - the impossible - A Legacy of Genocide Reversed by the rebirth of non discriminatory participatory democracy in Bosnia.

America has both tradition of overcoming adversity to justice and a sense of perpetual mission. The only question that remains is whether we will see the judgment and moral conviction prevail. Not to merely end the war, a feat in itself, but whether the New Age of American Diplomacy will have moral compass to finish the job and fulfill the promise once made.

Bosnia is a place and time legacies are made from. We must remember to go to the bottom, push on the strategic issues, because that is going to be the legacy! - A legacy of *Genocide Reversed* and justice fulfilled.

No matter how crowning the achievement Dayton is today it is not complete until human dignity is restored. Without its evolution, Dayton amounts to lives saved and *Genocide Rewarded*. Legacy of *Genocide Reversed*, on the other hand, will rest in history with the Administration and the foreign policy team that recognized and made possible this moral imperative and pragmatic opportunity for yet another episode of American leadership. Only then Dayton Accords will be able to call itself one of the best pieces of American diplomacy and most effectively restrained use of military force.

Without doubt, *Reversing Genocide* in Bosnia would clearly demonstrate uniquely America's capacity to project benevolent power and most importantly to get things done. Perhaps the best suited to help achieve this legacy in the name of American people and the Obama Administration will be no other than Vice President Biden.



Dear Secretary Clinton,

By ending this open letter we trust in God and in your good heart that our voice will be heard by President Barak Obama and his vice President Joe Biden who, it is our hope, will not allow that the rewards for genocide prevail.

Our God we have done our best to pass the message to our friends and the rest is Your Grace!

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<sup>i</sup> Evidence to that fact is the recent release of the findings of the RS Srebrenica Commission report whose nominal aim is to identify and bring to justice those who have participated in the Srebrenica genocide. The current HR Lord Ashdown in his response to the RS Prime Minister Bukejlovic unequivocally stated that RS's Interior Ministry has "failed to provide specific data on several hundred individuals deployed in Srebrenica in July 1995 under the direct or indirect auspices of the RS."<sup>i</sup> Most shockingly, the HR concluded that commission "must complete the list of names, currently standing at 892, of those implicated in the Massacre who are currently employed in BH or RS institutions, and forward completed list to the BH Prosecutor and to the ICTY." Finally, the HR has criticized submission of the list of "25,000 individuals deployed in the Srebrenica area in July 1995, without defining which of these individuals were attached to units involved in the massacre." .... This situation still remains unaddressed.

Office of the High Representative, Press Release, High Representative Says Srebrenica Working Group Must Be Reconvened Without Delay, April 20, 2005