November 02, 2016.

Ban Ki-moon
United Nations Secretary-General

Martin Schulz
The President of the European Parliament

Donald Tusk
The President of the European Council

Federica Mogherini.

The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

Barack Obama
President of the United States

Justin Trudeau
Prime minister of Canada

Dear Excellencies:

The fall of Srebrenica in July 1995 has been ruled to be genocide by at least two international courts. The genocide, involving the murder of approximately 8,372 men and boys in a matter of days, took place under the supervision of the United Nations Dutch Battalion. The failure of the United Nation's "safe area" policy and of the Dutch battalion assigned to protect Srebrenica, called into question the moral values and political will of the United Nations and of the international community. When Bosnian Serb Colonel General Ratko Mladić seized Srebrenica on July 11, 1995, and then proceeded to carry out the genocide, the international community witnessed the fall of Srebrenica in silence. A genocide was committed in Srebrenica as was confirmed by the judgements of the biggest judicial instances in the world. Srebrenica in which the genocide was enacted through political management of those institutions that carried out the genocide. This is enough reason to believe that not a single member of the institution that carried out the genocide cannot be mayor of those massacred in Srebrenica. While in the post genocide years burying the skeletons of the victims, supervise the very forces that smaller BiH



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entities that, as an institution committed genocide. The smaller BiH entity which inherited the results of genocide, today is homogenised to reign the municipality in which the genocide began and in which they are given to executives. While genocide is repeated in altered form of systematic and widespread humiliation, we advise the moral part of the world that it is inhumane to do; there is an intention and ability to Srebrenica to be managed by a representative of the smaller BiH entity which was created on genocide in Srebrenica.

A second fall of Srebrenica occurred on October 23, 2016, when a Bosnian Serb candidate who denies the genocide was declared the winner of the local election for Mayor of Srebrenica Municipality. Because of the genocide (1992-1995), the Bosnian Serbs have most voters in Srebrenica Municipality. While Bosnian Muslims [Bosniaks] constituted approximately 75% of Srebrenica Municipality in 1991, many of those who might have voted in the recent elections are either refugees, having been forcibly expelled, or have been laid to their eternal rest in the Potočari Memorial Cemetery. In other words, due to the genocide, it may never be possible to elect a Bosniak Mayor, thereby disenfranchising the survivors and depriving them of the possibility of any reparative justice in the future.

This second fall, then, or the second betrayal of Srebrenica, as part of which a Bosnian Serb candidate who denies the genocide has been elected to govern the municipality, is a second catastrophic moral failure on the part of the international community. The election of a Bosnian Serb candidate who denies the genocide be the completion of the genocide that began in Srebrenica 1992-1995. What the Bosnian Serbs were unable to complete in 1995, they have now achieved through a political maneuver in 2016. The international community has once again been a silent witness.

When the Dayton Peace Accords officially recognized the entity of Republika Srpska in 1995, it was, tragically, a reward for a successful genocide. Moreover, as Republika Srpska was incorporated into Annex IV of the Dayton Accords--the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina-the legitimation of Republika Srpska and its territorial boundaries was nothing less than of genocide.

It has not escaped our attention that the genocide denial that is practiced by Srebrenica Mayorelect Mladen Grujičić is the official policy of Republika Srpska as well as of Serbia. In addition to genocide denial, Republika Srpska practices the glorification of convicted war criminals. Indeed, as the victory of genocide-denier Grubjičić was being confirmed by the election commission, the President of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska, was



presenting awards to convicted war criminals Radovan Karadžić, Biljana Plavšić, and Momčilo Krajišnik. Last March, a student dormitory in Pale was dedicated to Radovan Karadžić. At the same time, survivors have been prevented from erecting memorials to the victims of the genocide. Recognising notorious and adjudicated war criminals is a terrible message to all normal people and all the wellmeaning in this world, it is an insult to the victims and a mockery of truth and justice. The political establishment of smaller Bosnian entity with this act has shown yet again that it is on the side of the perpetrators of genocide. In modern Europe, there cannot be room for the glorification of persons convicted of the most serious crimes against humanity. Celebrating the works of convicted war criminals clearly shows that it is not in the interest of the political establishment of smaller bosnian entity lasting reconciliation and peaceful coexistence, which are crucial for the future of a stable and secure Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is important to recognize the extent to which the genocide denial by Serbia and Republika Srpska is socially divisive. Genocide denial rends the social fabric, insuring that no reconciliation is henceforth possible. The glorification of the convicted perpetrators suggests not only that the crimes were acceptable but even laudatory.

Therefore, we implore the international community to respond decisively to this second betrayal of Srebrenica. First, a genocide-denier cannot become Mayor. There are reports of irregularities and fraud that need to be investigated. Second, we ask that those who deny the genocide and who glorify the perpetrators in Republika Srpska be held accountable. Those who are violating Annex 7 of the Dayton Accords should be sanctioned or prosecuted. Third and finally we ask that preparations be made to protect Bosniak residents in Srebrenica as well as to protect the Srebrenica/Potočari Memorial Center and Cemetery.

When the results of an election are determined in advance by a genocide, the election cannot be said to have occurred under the "rule of law." We request that the international community restore the rule of law in Republika Srpska by undertaking initiatives to reunify Bosnia and Herzegovina through constitutional reform, and through the creation of laws against genocide denial and the glorification of war criminals. Let us not be silent now. Let us resolve to never forget the Srebrenica genocide and to resist the second fall of Srebrenica. Let us stand together in the struggle for truth and justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Sincerely,



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Francis Boyle, Professor of international law at the University of Illinois who represented Bosnia at the ICJ, Member of International Team of Experts, Institute for Research of Genocide Canada David Pettigrew, Ph.D. Professor of Philosophy, Southern Connecticut State University, Member, Steering Committee, Yale Genocide Studies Program, International Team of Experts, Institute for Research of Genocide Canada, Board Member, Bosnian-American Genocide Institute and Education Center, Chicago, IL

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