



November 2, 2005

The Honorable Condoleezza Rice  
Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Madame Secretary:

I am writing to you on behalf of the Congress of North American Bosniaks (CNAB), an independent and non-profit organization, representing the interests of many of the over 350,000 Americans of Bosniak and Bosnian heritage. The CNAB has strong interest in the democratization of Bosnia and Herzegovina and believes that the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Dayton Agreement presents a prime opportunity for the Administration to set an optimal course for Bosnia's future and provide a positive example of U.S effort to spread democracy, freedom and justice around the world.

Our members believe that an absolute and firm approach towards Serbia and Montenegro and the Republika Srpska entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is warranted in order to push them to finally arrest and turn over to the Hague War Crime Tribunal indicted war criminals Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. These most egregious perpetrators of genocide continue to enjoy freedom and support ideology that radicalizes the region. Their legacy, the establishment of an "ethnically cleansed" Republika Srpska entity (born out of genocide as unanimously confirmed in H. Res 199 and S. Res. 134) continues to satisfy the ideology of war criminals and serves unacceptable status quo of Bosnia as a fragile state with inefficient and inept governing structures - a poster child of "ethnic conflict" and struggling democracy.

We are confident that U.S. action in arresting the two war criminals would send a clear message to all U.S. allies and, more importantly, potential allies, that the legitimate war on international terrorism is against all perpetrators of international terror regardless of religion, race, or nationality. As proud Americans and as Muslims, such an action would serve to win the hearts and minds of Muslims worldwide.

We are encouraged by the recent statements of Deputy Secretary Nicholas Burns to this regard. The CNAB strongly supports negotiations with all political parties in Bosnia on Bosnia's future political structure. But our members, as Americans, cannot accept the notion that we should continue to grant legitimacy to the Republika Srpska entity leadership and its agencies as long as they continue to pursue the fruits of genocide: ethnic exclusivity and the protection of the "founding fathers"/war criminals).

"Founding Fathers" is a metaphor used by Professor Gerard Toal, a recent witness at House Subcommittee Hearing on Bosnia, who has done a lot of work analyzing the process of refugee returns in Bosnia. During his recent presentation at the Woodrow Wilson International Center,



Professor Toal undertook a survey revealing that the economy, corruption, and crime were the most important issues to Bosnian Serbs while the survival of the Republika Srpska entity was not even mentioned by survey participants. We think elements of the international community do not really understand the hijacked thinking of the Bosnian Serb population and assumes that their leadership fully represents the true interests of the population. Like all people, the Bosnian Serbs want peace and a prosperous future within Europe whereas their current leadership, and the political structure engrained within the Dayton Agreement prevent those aspirations and Bosnia's entry into the EU.

We continue to reject the rewarding of genocide and we hope your actions will reflect the same sentiment; the genesis upon which the Republika Srpska entity was formed and until now perpetuated, is both unethical and illegitimate in the age of democracy you are so committed to spread. Political structures built on the remains of hidden mass graves ought not stand.

Your commitment to correcting this grave injury to human dignity and democratic order would loudly reinforce Administration's effort to dispel negative myths about American society and U.S. policy and it would encourage voices of moderation and tolerance in the Muslim world.

We understand the difficulty and slow evolution in dealing with these very sensitive matters, but we also believe that leaving the entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in place will reward the genocide and those who carried it out. There are at least two issues, which we believe can be implemented now:

1. Strip the Republika Srpska entity of its name—which is not just ethnically exclusive but also is a remnant of the genocide and genocidal policies of Karadzic and his political party – a testament to acceptance of Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing. The name rewards genocide and discourages refugee returns. This can be achieved either as a part of constitutional upgrade process or through Constitutional Court ruling. In either case, U.S would be supporting principals of democracy, human dignity, and justice.
2. Award Srebrenica a special status that will take it out of entity jurisdiction (possibly like the Breko district). This would be the least that should be done for the innocent victims of the most horrible war crime in Europe since World War II.

In a letter we recently received from Deputy Secretary Burns, dated September 11, 2005, and from our recent productive meeting with Deputy Assistant Secretary DiCarlo on October 25, 2005, we believe that the State Department has an excellent understanding of the problems with post-war Bosnia but should still take a few steps forward to directly improve the situation.

When the United States Congress openly denounces genocide and asks for action in arresting the perpetrators of this vicious crime, it speaks volumes for itself, for the American people, and for the rest of the world. Acting on this sentiment would amplify this message beyond any doubt. We hereby commit to stand with you in projecting the message of this positive action loud and clear where it matters the most for U.S interests abroad.



The Dayton Agreement was excellent in serving its limited purpose, to stop the genocide and the war and to bring the parties to the table.

However, the Dayton Agreement has also ensured an inefficient and ineffective state, which today remains largely divided along ethnic lines and which will never enter the EU because of Bosnia's archaic political structure emanating from the Dayton Agreement. We firmly believe that the phase of consolidating security systems of the Bosnian unitary state has been to a large degree assured through enhancements of Defense and Police reforms and that the time is right to begin consolidating systems of just democratic governance.

Our members view the recent initiatives on amending the Bosnian constitution, one of them led by the United States Institute for Peace, as very promising. However, we are afraid that it will leave us at the same point where we are now and will cement the current situation on the ground. Strong steps towards justice will have immense value in the short term and long term in Bosnia.

At this time, we request a meeting with you to discuss these and other issues of mutual concern and would be honored to share with you our views on these and other issues important to our country. As Americans of Bosnian heritage, we thank you for your efforts in supporting freedom and justice in Bosnia and elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

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cc: Deputy Assistant Secretary Nicholas Burns  
Assistant Deputy Secretary Rosemary DiCarlo