

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE HOMELAND WAR
(With the Review of Certain Events 1945. – 1990)**

Dear users,

The greatest part of this chronology has been written at the end of the 1990-s., so the informations provided by the latest reasarches are missing. Due to this fact, the chronology will be updated from time to time and in the present it should be considered as a draft. Although it is unfinished, we have made it available on our webpage, primarily beause of the great interest of our users. This way they can get insight in the chronology of the Homeland War events, although incompleted.

We hope that our respected users will find this chronology helpful.

Head of the Center, Ante Nazor

1945

(7 March) A temporary Government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFJ) was created under leadership of the Prime Minister J. Broz Tito; I. Šubašić became the foreign minister.

(14 April) The National Government of Croatia was elected in Split: Vladimir Bakarić was prime minister, and its deputy prime ministers were Franjo Gaži and Rade Pribičević.

(28 April) With the official letter of the Ministry for Croatia (number 39), minister Pavle Gregorić demanded from the Presidency of the National Government of Croatia to have the issue of the Republic's demarcation studied in detail, and to prepare a professional text which would provide data and material for the actual demarcation; Croatian party leaders Andrija Hebrang, and Ivan Krajačić were of the same opinion.

Gregorić had objections regarding the strongly represented theories on Vojvodina comprising 4 regions (Sirmium, Banat, Bačka and Baranja), the marginalization of the Croatian issue in Northeast Bačka, and the establishment of the border along the Vukovar-Županja line.

(9 June) Under pressure from the British and US governments, an agreement was signed in Belgrade between Yugoslavia, Great Britain and USA on the withdrawal of Yugoslav Army from Trieste and surrounding areas (apart from Trieste, the regions of the Julian March and Northeast Istria to Novigrad was also disputed).

Yugoslav Army withdrew (on 12 June) to the demarcation line (the so-called Morgan Line), by which the disputed territory were divided into Zone A and Zone B. The "allied" (Anglo-American) army entered Zone A (territory of Trieste and its vicinity), while Zone B (Northwest Istria) remained under control of the Yugoslav Army. In Pula British had air base (16 June 1945 - 15 September 1947)

(7 - 26 August) At its Third Session in Belgrade, AVNOJ declared itself as the Temporary People's Assembly of DFJ; laws necessary for holding elections and convening the Constitutional Assembly were adopted, as well as the *Law on Agricultural Reform and Resettlement*.

(29 November) The Constitutional Assembly declared the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ); all decisions of AVNOJ and its presidency since the Second Session (in Jajce in 1943) were confirmed, while King Petar II and the Karađorđević dynasty were stripped of all rights.

1946

(31 January) The Constitutional Assembly declared the FNRJ Constitution; Yugoslavia was constituted as a federal state comprising six republics (one of them Croatia) and two autonomous provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo & Metohija within the People's Republic of Serbia).

(26 February) It was decided that Democratic Federal Croatia will be renamed People's Republic of Croatia (NRH).

(29 July - 15 October) A gathering of prime ministers of countries-winners in World War II was held in Paris, where Yugoslavia participated as well (Paris Peace Conference).

With the draft of the peace agreement with Italy, the correction of the Yugoslavian-Italian border from 1919 was presented. Yugoslavia obtained Istria, Cres, Lošinj, part of the Slovenian coast, Zadar, Lastovo, Palagruža and a range of smaller islands; at the session (28 September) the compromise proposal of France (from 2 August 1946) was accepted on the creation of the Free Territory of Trieste - from Devino to Novigrad.

(11 October) Due to alleged collaboration with the NDH regime, the archbishop of Zagreb, A. Stepinac was sentenced to 16 years in prison (he lost all political and civil rights in the period of 5 years).

A. Stepinac did not accept the cited charges; he was imprisoned in Lepoglava until 1951, then interned in Krašić where he died (1960). President of the American Jewish organisation, Louis Breier stated (in 1946) that Archbishop, Dr. Alojzije Stepinac *was one of the few people in Europe who had raised his voice against the Nazi tyranny and the Nürnberg racial laws, defending persecuted Jews*; in 1998 he was beatified by the Pope.

(10 November) Elections for the Constitutional Sabor of NRH were held, with a 92.64% response of the voters; almost all candidates were from the People's Front.

1947

(18 January) The Constitutional Sabor of NRH declared the Constitution confirming the existence of the state of Croatia, i.e. its sovereignty within the FNRJ federation.

(10 February) An agreement was signed between FNRJ and Italy at the Paris Peace Conference.

According to this agreement Istria, Cres, Lošinj, Lastovo and other smaller islands, Zadar and Rijeka were formally included in the Croatian territory. The area of the Free Territory of Trieste obtained a special international legal status under protection of the UN Security Council and its own Statute establishing self-administration with an elected assembly and a governor appointed by the UN Security Council. The regime of the Free Territory of Trieste was never implemented as the governor was never appointed due to disagreement between Italy and Yugoslavia.

At a meeting of the Allied Committee for War Damages, Yugoslavian government stated that Yugoslavia lost 1,700,000 of its citizens in the war.

Although the actual number of those who were killed or died in World War II in the territory of Yugoslavia was about 1,014,000 (according to research of the Serb scientist, Bogoljub Kočović), i.e. about 1,027,000 (Croatian scientist Vladimir Žerjavić), in order to make the claim for indemnification from Germany as high as possible, the number presented encompassed the number of inhabitants estimated on the assumption that the war had not occurred, including the estimated number of unborn children and losses due to emigrations or illness. The author of this estimate, then a student, Vlada Vučković admitted (in 1989) that he had calculated total demographic losses, and not just direct victims of war.

The difference between the actual and the presented number (about 1,700,000 victims) was used by Serb propaganda to create a false myth of 700,000 - 1,000,000 Serbs killed in Jasenovac during World War II; precise data on the issue is indicated in year 1964.

1963

(7 April) With the new Constitution FNRJ changed its name to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ).

(9 April) Croatian Sabor declared the new Constitution with which People's Republic of Croatia (NRH) becomes Socialist Republic of Croatia (SRH).

1964 Due to negotiations with FR of Germany about compensation for war damages, the SFRJ Government reached a decision that its authorities will compile a list of victims in World War II; results of this research were analysed in August of 1966.

Among other things this list indicates that 61,383 victims were killed in camps Gospić-Jadovno, Gradina, Jasenovac (49,602) and Stara Gradiška (9586) (with the remark that the *list is not complete*), and the total number of killed soldiers (Partisans) and victims of war who were killed or died was 597,323 in all of Yugoslavia (this number does not include foreigners and collaborators of the Axis); of this 194,749 in Croatia, 177,045 in BH, 97,728 in Serbia proper, 41,370 in Vojvodina etc.). The list also indicates the number of victims according to their nationality, which was somewhat smaller - 596,298, of which 346,740 Serbs, 83,257 Croatians, 45,000 Jews, 42,027 Slovenes, 32,300 Muslims, 16,276 Montenegrins, 6724 Macedonians, 3241 Albanians, 2680 Hungarians, 1160 Slovaks, 686 Turks, and the rest are of "unknown" nationality.

1967 (17 March) Zagreb's *Telegram* published the *Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Standard Language* which warns of the Serbianization through decisions of the agreement in

Novi Sad about the “Serbo-Croatian Language”, demanding equality of all languages in Yugoslavia (Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian).

All major philological institutions and prominent Croatian intellectuals signed the *Declaration*: the *Declaration* was harshly condemned by J. Broz Tito and V. Bakarić, while authors of the *Declaration* were under political pressures and eliminated from public life. Croatian Cultural Society, Croatian Writers’ Association, Croatian Expatriate Council and the Institute for the History of the Workers’ Movement were accused as centres of Croatian nationalism.

... Based on this, the undersigned Croatian cultural and scientific institutions and organisations believe that the following is necessary:

1) Establishment, by a Constitutional Act, of a clear and unambiguous equality and parity of the four standard languages: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian... The present Constitutional provision about the “Serbo-Croatian” or “Croato-Serbian” language is so ambiguous that it implies in practice the theory that these two terms are synonyms, and not a basis for the equality of both the Croatian and the Serbian languages, equality both among these two and among other languages of Yugoslavian people. Such an ambiguity creates a possibility to impose the Serbian language in practice as a unique language for Serbs and Croats...

2) In accordance with the above stated demands and explanations, it is mandatory to secure a consistent usage of the Croatian language in schools, journalism, public and political life, on radio and television, whenever it applies to the Croatian people, and that officials, teachers and public workers, regardless of their origins, officially use the standard language of the region where they work. (from the Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Standard Language)

1968 (May) Student protests erupted in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Ljubljana.

1971

(April) Ivan Zvonimir Čičak was elected as the student vice president, and Dražen Budiša as the president of the Student Union of the University of Zagreb; this marks the victory of nationally oriented students over those representing the party political ideology.

(7 April) Croatian emigrants in Sweden, Miro Barešić and Anđelko Brajković killed the Yugoslavian ambassador in Stockholm, Vladimir Rolović; they were convicted of life in prison, but M. Barešić escaped.

M. Barešić died as a Croatian volunteer in the Homeland Defence War (31 July 1991) in a campaign in the Zadar hinterland.

(30 June) Amendments to the SFRJ Constitution from 1963 were adopted; the amendments marked a certain decentralisation of political power, and consent of the republic authorities was needed for certain federal activities.

(4 July) J. Broz Tito and SRH leaders met in Zagreb; Tito advocated a decisive action against nationalist and separatist tendencies in Croatia, expressed mainly in the Croatian Cultural Society and the Student Union.

(25 July) Marko Veselica and Šime Đodan were expelled from the League of Communists for texts about the economic inequality of Croatia in SFRJ and then were convicted of a number of years in prison.

(23 November - 3 December) Students of the University of Zagreb went on strike.

Students supported the Croatian leadership in economic and political changes, specially in the issues of foreign trade and foreign currency systems, so that foreign currency would no longer be kept in Belgrade, but would remain with those who earned it (Croatian economy had significant foreign currency profits, mainly from tourism, shipbuilding and maritime trade).

(1 - 2 December) At the session of the SKJ Presidency, S. Dabčević-Kučar, Pero Pirker and the Croatian representative in the Executive Bureau of the SKJ Presidency, and a member of the SFRJ Presidency, Miko Tripalo were criticised for encouraging nationalism and chauvinism.

(12 - 13 December) At the session of CK SKH, S. Dabčević-Kučar, Pero Pirker, Miko Tripalo, writer and national war hero Ivan Šibl as well as other Croatian political leaders resigned from their positions. A number of participants of "Croatian Spring" were convicted of a number of years in prison.

In support and solidarity with Croatian politicians' students in Zagreb organised protests lasting several days, which were violently put down by police. Positions of those expelled were filled with politicians loyal to the federal government, lead by Milka Planinc and Josip Vrhovec.

According to the census (1971) SFRJ had slightly more than 20.5 million people; of this about 5.25 million in Serbia (proper), 4.43 in Croatia, 3.75 in BH, 1.95 in Vojvodina, 1.72 in Slovenia, 1.65 in Macedonia, 1.24 in Kosovo and 0.53 million in Montenegro.

Based on nationality there were 8,137,409 Serbs, 4,519,104 Croats, 1,726,706 Muslims, 1,703,983 Slovenes, 1,308,246 Albanians, 1,193,179 Macedonians, 506,818 Montenegrins, 477,374 Hungarians, 127,920 Turks, 83,656 Slovaks, 78,485 Romanians, 58,627 Bulgarians, 58,570 Romanians, 24,640 Ruthenians, 24,620 Czechs, 21,791 Italians and others, among which were 266,333 of those declaring a Yugoslavian nationality.

1972

(29 February) Croatian Sabor declared 36 amendments to the SRH Constitution from 1963.

(22 June - 28 July) Based on a wrong assumption that Croats and Muslims were ready for an uprising, 19 members of the Croatian Revolutionary Fraternity from Salzburg entered Yugoslavia to organise an uprising in the area of Bugojno (Raduša Mountain); the group was discovered and with help from JNA most of the Fraternity members were killed or captured and sentenced to death.

(June - August) Leaders of student organisations (D. Budiša, I. Z. Čičak, Ante Paradžik) and cultural institutions (Vlado Gotovac) were convicted of a number of years in prison.

1974

(21 February) A new SFRJ Constitution was adopted with confederate elements in the federal state organisation; the constitution asserted the statehood of republics, which was of exceptional importance in the 90-ies during the Croatian process for independence.

(22 February) The new Constitution of SRH was adopted; *Lijepa Naša (Our Beautiful)* becomes the official national anthem.

The Basic Principles of the SRH Constitution emphasise that *the Croatian people founded their state, Socialist Republic of Croatia, based on the right of self-determination, including the right to secession and association with other nations of their own free will, and for the purpose of protecting national independence and freedom, as well as the freedom of all people and minorities that reside in it.*

1975 (10 November) With the signing of a bilateral treaty in Osimo near Ancona (Treaty of Osimo), SFRJ and the Republic of Italy finally resolved territorial, border and other open issues (citizenship, property and social security for inhabitants of the former FTT).

The Treaty came into power on 3 April 1977 after its ratification in the Italian Parliament and the SFRJ Assembly; The Treaty of Osimo was the implementation in practice of principles pertaining to the Final Act of CSCE from Helsinki in 1975.

1977 With an apostolic letter Pope Paul VI reorganised the dioceses in Istria and along the Slovenian coast; parts of the Trieste and Koper diocese in Croatian territory were joined to the diocese of Poreč and Pula, which meant an adjustment of state and ecclesiastical borders after conclusion of the Treaty of Osimo.

1980

(4 May) President of the SFRJ, Josip Broz Tito died in Ljubljana.

Encyclopaedia of Croatian History and Culture was published in Zagreb, but was soon withdrawn from sale due to pressures of the party authorities.

1981

(11 March) The movement of Kosovo Albanians began with demonstrations of the Kosovo students who demanded independence for Kosovo; the authorities have put down the demonstrations in violence, with help from JNA.

(24 - 26 December) At a session of CK SK of Serbia dissatisfaction was expressed with the tendencies to gain independence for Kosovo and more autonomy for Vojvodina.

Unitarian and Great Serbian forces began consolidating in Serbia, which was visible for the next few years in nationalist demonstrations (funeral of A. Ranković), in literature (novel *Knife* by Vuk Drašković) and in historiography (study *The Allies and the Yugoslav War Drama* by Veselin Đuretić).

1983

(28 - 30 June) At the session of the Federal Executive Council (SIV) a *Long-term Program of Economic Stabilisation* was adopted, which was to initiate significant reforms and introduce market economy in Yugoslavia.

(3 July) In the SFRJ Assembly Milka Planinc, President of SIV reported on the huge Yugoslavian foreign debt of about 19 billion Dollars, and the conditions of international financial institutions regarding the return of this debt.

1985 (18 - 20 April) The last federal congress (9th) of the Union of Yugoslavian Writers was held where republic and province delegations expressed insurmountable differences in their approach to literature.

(26 November) At the session of the Federal Executive Council (SIV) measures to be taken to lower inflation, stimulate export and protect the standard of living were discussed.

1986 (24 - 25 September) Belgrade newspaper *Večernje Novosti* published a portion of the text later known under the name *Memorandum of SANU*, defining the Great Serbian program.

1987 (23 - 24 September) At the dramatic 8th Session of the Central Committee of the League of Serb Communists, the Great Serbian and aggressive faction of Slobodan Milošević prevailed; Milošević vowed to resolve the Kosovo crisis quickly.

Obtaining mass support after his speech in Priština (24 April) and the statement that “*no one can beat this (Serb) nation*”, Milošević succeeded in removing Dragiša Pavlović, a member of the Presidency of CK SK of Serbia until then, from his position and take control of the League of Communists in Serbia.

1988

(9 July) The first “solidarity rally” with Serbs from Kosovo was held in Novi Sad.

The rallies (referred to by the Serbs as “the people have happened”) spread soon to other places in Serbia and Vojvodina, and even to other republics - the “Anti-Bureaucratic Revolution” (by 19 November 1988, some 60 such gatherings were held). As a result dismissals and resignations of political leaders of SAP Vojvodina (6 October) and SAP Kosovo (November 1988 - January 1989) followed, as well as in Montenegro (10 January 1989); those ready to be obedient to Slobodan Milošević and carry out “Great Serbian” policies were appointed to all important political positions.

The “Unity plan”: The re-structuring of the SFRY military was also started in the mid-nineteen-eighties. Since 1969 it consisted of two legally equal components: the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA) and the republican territorial defence (TO). JNA was the federal army, and the mission of its peacetime component was to prevent any strategic surprise; TO was the wartime army with only small peacetime core units and commands. However, according to the “Unity” Plan, the SFRY military was centralized in terms of organization and command. The scope of the JNA military territorial organizations was

expanded, and instead of the past six armies with zones of responsibility which partly matched the boundaries of the republics, after late 1988 the JNA had three ground army commands (military districts), one military-maritime district and the air force and air defence. The reorganization excluded the republican leaderships from the command of TO units which, contrary to the 1974 SFRY Constitution, were now subordinated to the JNA commands, while the territory of Croatia was divided into several commands. Thus the 5th military district (according to the peacetime organization), with headquarters in Zagreb, covered north-western Croatia, Istria, Gorski Kotar, Lika, Kordun and Banovina. The remaining part of Croatia was divided between the 1st military district with headquarters in Belgrade (Slavonia), and the military-maritime district with headquarters in Split (Adriatic coast and northern Dalmatia).

1989

(19 January) The steering group of the Croatian Democratic Assembly met on Plješivica near Samobor, developing into the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ).

(2 February) The Founding Assembly of the Association for Yugoslavian Democratic Initiative (UJDI) was held at the Faculty of Arts in Zagreb, and economist Branko Horvat was elected as its president; the Association decided not to register as a political party and participate in the elections.

(14 February) Albanian miners in Trepča (Kosovo) went on strike demanding the autonomy of Kosovo based on the 1974 Constitution.

(28 February) A huge anti-Albanian rally was held in Belgrade. Simultaneously, a rally better known as “the people have happened” was organised also in Knin, where Serbs protested for the alleged cooperation of Croatian and Slovenian politicians with “Albanian Separatists”; this marks the beginning of the Serb rebellion in Croatia.

(28 March) Assembly of SR of Serbia adopted amendments to the Constitution of SR of Serbia, with which SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo “de facto” ceased to exist as autonomous provinces; widespread protests occur in Kosovo.

With the abolishment of the status of a constitutive unit (of Vojvodina and Kosovo), the Assembly of SR of Serbia in reality violated the SFRJ Constitution (from 1974), destroying the foundations of the state this Constitution represented.

(20 May) The Founding Assembly of the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLP) was held in Zagreb; it was the first opposition party founded in Croatia since World War II, and Slavko Goldstein was elected as its president.

(17 June) After the police banned the founding assembly in hotel Panorama in Zagreb (15 June), Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) was founded in offices of the football team Borac at Jarun; a retired JNA general and historian Dr. Franjo Tuđman was elected as the president of this party.

(28 June) Serbs celebrated 600 years of the Battle of Kosovo at Kosovo Polje (Gazimestan); in his speech to the huge crowd (about a million Serbs), president of SR of Serbia, S. Milošević threatened with *armed conflicts*.

(9 July) By the Lazarica Church on Kosovo Polje near Knin a religious celebration of Serbs from Croatia and other republics turned into a political rally.

Chetnik insignia and Great Serbian slogans dominated the rally (*This is Serbia, We won't give you away, land of Obilić, not without bloodshed* and others). The Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Croatian Communists (CK SKH) and the Presidency of the SRH strongly condemned (10 and 12 July) expressions of Serb nationalism, demanding prosecution of those responsible. Fourteen rally goers were arrested which was used for propaganda purposes in Belgrade, where it was claimed that Serbs had no national rights.

(30 October) Members of the SFRJ Presidency, Stipe Šušvar from Croatia and Janez Drnovšek from Slovenia demanded amnesty for Azem Vllasi, a former leader of SAP Kosovo, who had been arrested.

(November) The tearing down of the Berlin Wall marked the new unification of Germany.

(29 November) Slovenian authorities banned public gatherings in order to prevent the announced Serb rally in Ljubljana (for 1 December); Serb authorities responded in calling for all ties with Slovenia to be severed (economic, cultural and others).

(11 - 13 December) At the 11th Congress of the League of Croatian Communists (SKH) abolishment of democratic centralism was demanded and the introduction of a multiparty system as well as holding free elections; Yugoslavia had been conceived as a union (federation) of sovereign republics.

(25 December) President of the Presidency of CK SKH (Ivica Račan) and the local Socialist Union of Working People of Zagreb wished a merry Christmas through public media to all those who celebrate it; this was the first time in more than forty years that the Croatian authorities publicly felicitated a religious holiday.

1990

(1 January) The SFRJ currency was denominated - 10,000 Dinars became 1 Dinar; it was made possible to the citizens to buy foreign currency in banks according to the exchange rate 1 USD = 12 Dinars.

(11 January) At the session of the Council for Associated Labour, Municipal Council and the Social and Political Council, Croatian Sabor adopted a *Decree on Declaring the Law on Amendments and Modifications of the Public Organisations and Associations of Citizens*, enabling free and optional association of citizens into various institutions (political, cultural, scientific); in practice this legalised the multiparty system in Croatia.

(18 January) The Republic Secretariat for Law and Administration of SRH registered the Serb Cultural Association *Zora*; its president was Jovan Opačić.

(20 - 22 January) The 14th Emergency Congress of SKJ was held in Belgrade; as political decisions of the Serb leadership were imposed, the Slovenian delegation, followed by the Croatian one left the Congress.

(February - March) Rallies of Serbs (from Croatia, BH, Serbia) intensified political tensions in Croatia; Karlovac (4 February) and Petrova Gora (4 March).

Apart from flags of Serbia, Yugoslavia and the Party, Great Serbian and anti-Croatian slogans dominated the rallies; the attempt to organise the "meeting of truth" in the villages around Vukovar with the majority of Serb population (Trpinja, Bobota, Pačetin, Bršadin) was prevented by the local SSRN (9 February). SRH Presidency (on 7 March) condemned the rally on Petrova Gora, declaring it an attack on Croatia.

(5 February) The Republic Secretariat for Law and Administration issued certificates of registration to 8 political parties, with which political parties were formally legalised in Croatia; by 8 March another 25 parties were registered (33 in total).

The first 8 parties were: Croatian Democratic Party (HDS), HDZ, Croatian Christian Democratic Party (HKDS), HSLs, Radical Association for United States of Europe, Social Democratic Party of Croatia (SDSH), League of Croatian Communists (SKH) and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia (SSRNH).

(13 - 15 February) Croatian Sabor adopted Constitutional amendments (54-63) and issued a *Decree on Declaring the Law on the Election and Recall of Councillors and Representatives*, which fulfilled all legal preconditions for holding legal, direct, secret, multiparty elections in Croatia.

(17 February) The Serb Democratic Party (SDS) was founded in Knin, the program of which planned a new administrative and regional division of SRH; its president was psychiatrist Jovan Rašković.

The state of emergency was introduced in Kosovo and a significant number of Albanian protesters killed.

(25 February) Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) was founded under leadership of Dobroslav Paraga and Ante Paradžik.

(1 March) Coalition of National Consensus was created (HSLs, HSS, SDSH, HKDS, HDS and non-party individuals: Dr. S. Dabčević-Kučar, M. Tripalo, Dr. I. Supek, Srećko Bijelić and Dragutin Haramija).

(18 March) At a HDZ gathering in front of Hotel Asseria in Benkovac, local Serbs attempted to assassinate the HDZ president, Dr. Franjo Tuđman; SRH Presidency sharply condemned this action of Serbs in Benkovac (21 March).

(22 - 23 April) and (6 - May) At the first multiparty elections in Croatia (after 1938), Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won overwhelmingly.

In the two election rounds of the so-called majority electoral system representatives for the SRH Sabor and municipal assemblies were elected. In the first round HDZ won 42%, League of Croatian Communists-Party of Democratic Changes (SKH-SDP) 25% and the Coalition of National Consensus

14% of the votes; in the second round HDZ obtained absolute majority (winning 196; SKH-SDP 66 and other parties 69 representative seats in Sabor).

(13 May) Due to the eruption of violence at the stadium and fighting between Croatian and Serb football fans, the game of the Yugoslavian 1st League between Dinamo and Crvena Zvezda in Zagreb was cut short; this marks the beginning of the dissolution of joint sports leagues in Yugoslavia.

After the police intervened only against Croatian fans (mainly *Bad Blue Boys* of Dinamo, but also Hajduk's *Torcida*, *Armada* of Rijeka and fans of other Croatian football teams), among others, a football player of Dinamo, Zvonimir Boban physically resisted police violence; he later became the captain of the Croatian team and a leader of a great generation of Croatian football players.

(14 May) Based on an order of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence (SSZNO) in Belgrade, weapons of the Croatian Territorial Defence (TO) were seized from Croatian authority and placed in JNA warehouses; following this the president of the Presidency of SRH, Ivo Latin sent a protest letter to the SFRJ Presidency.

It is estimated that Croatian TO encompassed 240,000 soldiers with war placement and that TO warehouses in the territory of Croatia contained 200,000 guns of different kinds, about 1400 mortars of different caliber, about 10,000 manual launchers, around 500 antiarmour rocket systems, a number of tanks and a big quantity of mines, other explosives and military equipment; of this only what was under direct control of the republic (Croatian) executive authority was retained - about 9000 guns of different caliber. Slovenia managed to keep about 30% of its TO weapons.

(30 May) The constituting session of the multiparty Sabor of SRH was held (this date celebrated as Independence Day); Sabor of SRH elected Dr. Franjo Tuđman as president of the SRH Presidency. Serb Democratic Party (SDS) suspended its relations with the Croatian Sabor.

(27 June) The Municipal Assembly of Knin reached a decision on founding the so-called Union of Municipalities in North Dalmatia and South Lika, which other Croatian municipalities with Serb population could join; in certain municipal councils HDZ and SDP representatives opposed this. Constitutional Court of SRH annulled the decision of the Municipal Assembly of Knin.

(2 July) Slovenian Assembly adopted the *Declaration on Full Independence of the State, Republic of Slovenia*; the Kosovo assembly declared Kosovo a republic (*an equal and independent unit of the Yugoslav federation*), to which Serbia answered by military and police violence.

(15 July) Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats (DSHV) was established in Subotica with the aim of representing interests of the Vojvodina Croats; its publication is entitled *Glas Ravnice*.

(25 July) Sabor of SRH adopted amendments (64-75) to the Constitution.

The adjective "Socialist" was removed from the country's name, a new ("historic") coat of arms and flag were introduced, and titles of state officials were changed: President of the Presidency becomes - President, Executive Council of Sabor - Government of the Republic of Croatia, Republic Secretary - Minister).

At a rally of Serbs in Srb the so-called Serb National Council was founded and the "*Declaration on the Sovereignty and Autonomy of Serbs in Croatia*" adopted.

(5 August) Within the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Croatia the first police brigade (1700 members) was formed; soon (on 7 September) the anti-terrorist police unit (Lučko) was formed.

(17 August) On the day of the "referendum on Serb autonomy" blockade of traffic with logs was organised throughout Knin, Benkovac and Obrovac (Log Revolution). JNA prevented helicopters of the Croatian police to reach Knin. The following day Serbs in Gračac, Obrovac, Benkovac, Korenica and Donji Lapac attacked police stations. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia declared the Serb referendum illegal, anti-constitutional, null and void.

Because of the appearance of armed Croatian Serbs on the eve of the illegal "referendum on Serbian autonomy" the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia decided to seize the weapons intended for the MUP reserve in the police stations in Dalmatia and Lika – actually, the very area where the armed

insurgency of the Serbs was being prepared with the support of Serbian state services and the JNA. The Serbian extremists used this decision as a direct motive for proclaiming a “state of war”. Thus, on 17 August 1990 armed insurgents blocked the main road and rail routes from the interior of Croatia to Dalmatia with logs and boulders. The attempt of the Croatian police to establish law and order in the area was prevented by the JNA. After that, in the evening hours of 20 August 1990, at Civljani (between Sinj and Knin) Serbian extremists opened fire from infantry weapons on Croatian police officers who had come to remove the barricade. The so-called “log revolution” marked the beginning of the armed insurgency of part of the Serbs in Croatia against the democratically elected Croatian authorities. Its ultimate objective was the annexation of part of Croatian territory to the Republic of Serbia and the creation of an integral Serbian state, and that could only be achieved by the aggression of Serbia and the JNA on the Republic of Croatia.

(25 August) At the emergency session of the Croatian Sabor the *Resolution on the Protection of Constitutional Democratic System and National Rights in the Republic of Croatia* was adopted.

Stipe Šušteršič was recalled from the SFRJ Presidency, and Prime Minister Stjepan Mesić was appointed in his place; Josip Manolić became the new prime minister of the RH Government, and Martin Špegelj Defence Minister, while Simo Rajić as a representative of the Serb minority was appointed as the deputy prime minister.

(27 August) Croatian President, F. Tuđman officially opened the 15th European Athletic Championship in Split, causing protests in the office of the SFRJ Presidency - *as this is the task of the country's president* (SFRJ).

(From the end of September) Terrorist activities of Serb extremists in Croatia intensified in the form of sabotages and theft, while in fact weapons were being taken from JNA warehouses, armed attacks take place on Croatian policemen and civilians (attacks on police stations in Banovina were led by Chetniks and criminals from Belgrade, 27 - 28 September); travel through the self-declared “Krajina” becomes risky.

(3 October) Presidencies of Slovenia and Croatia sent a proposal of the new, confederate state organisation to the SFRJ Presidency; according to it Yugoslavia was to be transformed into a union of independent nations.

(18 November) and (4 December) The first free elections were held in BH, where “national parties” won overwhelmingly.

Party of Democratic Action (founded on 26 May 1990) won 37.8% (86 representative seats), Serb Democratic Party (founded on 12 July 1990) 26.5% (72 representative seats), Croatian Democratic Union (founded on 18 August 1990) 14.7% (44 representative seats), Reformed Communists 6% (20 representative seats), Union of Reformist Forces of A. Marković 5.6% (13 representative seats); Alija Izetbegović, president of SDA was elected as the president of the BH Presidency, Momčilo Krajišnik from SDS as the Assembly president and Jure Pelivan from HDZ as the prime minister.

(19 November) League of Communists - Movement for Yugoslavia was founded in Belgrade whose members were mostly retired and active army (JNA) officials.

(8 December) The re-establishing assembly of the Croatian Cultural Society was held in Zagreb, where new rules, program guidelines and new administrative bodies were established; poet, philosopher and publicist Vlado Gotovac was elected as its president.

(21. December) The so-called Serb Autonomous Province (SAO) of Krajina was declared in Knin (municipalities of Benkovac, Gračac, Korenica, Dvor Na Uni, Glina, Vojnić and Hrvatska Kostajnica); the same happened in other municipalities in Croatia with Serb population: SAO East Slavonia, Baranja and West Sirmium (26 February 1991) and SAO West Slavonia (12 August 1991). The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia declared such Serb decisions as illegal, anti-constitutional, null and void.

(22 December) Sabor of RH declared the new Constitution of RH (Christmas Constitution); it establishes the three-way division of power (legislative, executive and judiciary) and the semi-presidential system.

Legal basis:

The millenial identity of the Croatian nation and the continuity of its statehood, confirmed by the course of its entire historical experience in different state organisations and by the preservation and development of the idea of a national state, founded on the historical right of the Croatian nation to full sovereignty, manifested in:

- the formation of Croatian principalities in the seventh century;
- the independent medieval state of Croatia founded in the ninth century;
- the Kingdom of Croats established in the tenth century;
- preserving the identity of the Croatian state in the Hungarian-Croatian union of kingdoms;
- the independent and sovereign decision of the Croatian Sabor of 1527 to elect a king from the Habsburg dynasty;
- the independent and sovereign decision of the Croatian Sabor on the Pragmatic Sanction of 1712;
- conclusions of Croatia Sabor of 1848 regarding the restoration of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia under authority of a ban, based on the historic national and natural rights of the Croatian nation;
- the Hungarian-Croatian Agreement of 1868 on the relations between the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia and the Kingdom of Hungary, based on legal traditions of both countries and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1712;
- the decision of the Croatian Sabor of 29 October 1918 to discontinue state relations between Croatia and Austria-Hungary and the simultaneous affiliation of independent Croatia, invoking its historical and natural right as a nation, with the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, proclaimed on the former territory of the Habsburg Monarchy;
- the fact that the Croatian Sabor had never sanctioned the decision of the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs to unite with Serbia and Montenegro into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1 December 1918), subsequently (3 October 1929) proclaimed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia;
- the establishment of Banovina of Croatia in 1939, by which Croatian state identity was restored within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia;
- establishing the basis of state sovereignty during the course of the Second World War, by decisions of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia (1943), as opposed to the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia (1941), and subsequently in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Croatia (1947) and all later constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (1963 - 1990) ...

Art. 1 - Republic of Croatia is a unique and indivisible democratic and social state;

Art. 2 - The sovereignty of Republic of Croatia is inalienable, indivisible and untransferable...;

Art. 3 - Freedom, parity, national equality, pacifism, social justice, respect of human rights, inviolability of ownership, protection of environment and nature, the rule of justice and the democratic multiparty system are the highest values of the Constitutional organisation of Republic of Croatia.

Art. 140 - Republic of Croatia remains a constituent unit of SFRJ until a new agreement is reached between Yugoslav republics or until the Sabor of RH decides otherwise.

(28 December) Creating a debt of more than 18.2 billion Dinars with the National Bank of Serbia (approximately 1.4 billion USD), Serbia broke into the monetary system of Yugoslavia, destroying its unique financial policy.

1991

(4 January) Police stations in Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac, Gračac, Korenica, Donji Lapac, Dvor Na Uni, Vojnić, Glina and Hrvatska Kostajnica renounced the authority of the Interior Ministry (MUP) of Croatia, and joined the so-called Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SUP).

(9 January) SFRJ Presidency ordered all armed forces not encompassed by the SFRJ armed forces to disarm within 10 days.

(17 January) Due to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait the Allies (29 countries) began a military intervention on Iraq ("Desert Storm"); by 27 January Iraq was defeated.

(20 January) Ministers of defence and internal affairs of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia signed an agreement on mutual military cooperation.

(23 January) The (first) meeting between presidents Tuđman and Milošević took place in Belgrade.

(24 January) US Ambassador in SFRJ, Warren Zimmerman informed the President of the SFRJ Presidency that USA would not accept any army engagement against democratically elected authorities.

(25 January) The show *What is the Truth on the Arming of HDZ in Croatia* was shown on TV, prepared by the JNA Counter-Intelligence Service (KOS); the enforcement of the state of emergency in Yugoslavia seemed to be inevitable.

Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU) was renamed Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU).

The SFRJ Presidency did not approve the proposal of Serbia to allow a JNA intervention in Croatia;

Macedonian parliament adopted a Declaration on Independence and Sovereignty of Macedonia; (8 September 1991) Macedonia voted for independence at a referendum.

(February - March) A new "series" of Serb rallies in Croatia continues, denying the Constitution of Croatia and publicly threatening Croatians and their authorities (Knin and Vukovar - 2 February, Beli Manastir - 6 February, Dalj - 24 February, Bobota, Mirkovci, Trpinja, Borovo Selo - 9 March).

(13 February) The office of the Croatian president answered Vuk Drašković, president of the Serb pro-Chetnik party, Serb Renewal Movement (SPO), who sent an accusing letter to the Croatian president.

... Are you able to state a single wounded or killed victim, a single bullet fired by the police forces, or a name of one single Serb who perished in prison of the democratic state of Croatia? We hope you are not advocating for the people from the terrorist underground where the arrested Arkan group belongs. But even if you were absolutely right about the Croatian leadership subjected to the "blood-thirsty vampires of NDH" ... "terrorists and deranged people", it would be expected from you that you do not include the whole Croatian nation in your obvious disdain. (...) It seems that the only logical and normal thing for you is that Serbia dictates rules and conduct to the Croatian nation. History has shown that Serbia was unable to dominate Croatia, "morally, culturally, militarily or with common sense". Is it worth the while at all to repeat to you, considering the prejudice in your attitude, historic facts, that the Croatian nation obtained its freedom by fighting Fascism and NDH created within Hitler's imperial war order - and before Serbia was liberated by the Partisan army, the Bulgarian army and the Red Army - Croatia had 5 out of 9 corps in the National Liberation Army? Are you aware at all (and do you want to know?) that in the most decisive battles on Neretva and Sutjeska Croatians were the most numerous? What gives you or anyone else the right to patronise Croatia and the Croatian people, to disarm its Territorial Defence on the eve of free elections, to threaten Croatia by volunteer units from Serbia and Montenegro, to all the racket because legal units of the Croatian police are being armed? Is there any argument at all that would work against the hatred that you and the likes of you spread while advocating Great Serbian expansionism? (from the answer of the Office of the Croatian President)

(22 February) Sabor of RH adopted the *Resolution on Disassociation from SFRJ* and the *Resolution on Protection of the Constitutional Order of RH*, emphasising that in case of conflicts with federal laws republic laws would prevail (the same decision was adopted by the Slovenian assembly much earlier).

(28 February) The so-called Serb National Council of SAO Krajina adopted a “Declaration on Disassociation from Croatia and Remaining in Yugoslavia Together with Other Nations and Republics Recognising the Joint State”.

(1 March) Policemen of the Serb ethnicity employed in the Interior Ministry of RH, together with mobilised reservists stormed the police station in Pakrac disarming all Croatian policemen.

(2 March) Special Forces of the Croatian Interior Ministry forced the Serb extremists out of town; armoured vehicles of JNA were deployed to the streets and squares of Pakrac, but Croatian police kept control of the town.

This was the first armed major conflict of the Croatian police and Serb extremists. Serb media spread rumours on the persecution and slaughter of Serbs in Pakrac and its vicinity; these false rumours were denied even by the Federal Interior Ministry (SUP) in Belgrade.

(5 March) Under pressure from Serb paramilitaries a big number of Croatian citizens of Serb ethnicity fled from Baranja; the intention of this action was to create a sentiment that Serbs were endangered in Croatia.

(13 March) Croatian President F. Tuđman conducted talks in Zagreb with a Serb delegation from SDS of Slavonia and Baranja; the talks gave hope that Croatian Serbs would recognise Croatia as their own country.

Yugoslav Defence Minister, General Veljko Kadijević met secretly with General Jazov in Moscow in order to purchase weapons from USSR and obtain USSR support for the JNA planned coup.

(15 March) After huge demonstrations in Belgrade (9 March), where the army intervened, the military leadership demanded the introduction of the state of emergency at the session of the SFRJ Presidency; dramatic voting took place where representatives of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and BH prevented this (the decisive vote came from the BH representative, ethnic Serb Bogić Bogičević).

(20 March) European Union adopted a stand that inner and outer borders of Yugoslavia are inalterable (principle of the *Final Act* from Helsinki, 1975).

(25 March) Presidents Tuđman and Milošević met in Karadorđevo (Serbia).

(28 March) The first meeting of the six presidents of Yugoslav republics was held in Split to find a solution to the crisis.

Neither this meeting nor the ones that followed (Belgrade 4 April, Brdo Kod Kranja 11 April, Ohrid 18 April, Cetinje 29 April and Sarajevo 6 June), and the special meetings between Tuđman, Izetbegović and Milošević did not result in an agreement and were unable to prevent the war.

(31 March) Special units of the Croatian Interior Ministry returned the Plitvice National Park under authority of legal police forces of Croatia; in a battle with armed Serb terrorists who had previously (28 March) taken this area, Josip Jović from Aržano near Imotski died - the first Croatian defender killed in the Homeland Defence War (Bloody Easter).

JNA deployed its forces in the Plitvice area, taking control of the territory that Serb rebels planned to include into Serb “Krajina”; this tactics (coordination of Serb rebels and JNA) continued in the months that followed.

(April) At rallies of Serbs in Croatia, Croatians were threatened by Serb politicians; by the Chetnik vojvode Vojislav Šešelj in Borovo Selo (14 April) and by the Serb representative Milan Paroški in Jagodnjak, a village in Baranja (20 April); after the rally in Jagodnjak, Croatian police arrested and then released the Chetnik vojvode V. Šešelj (23 April).

This is Serb territory and they (i.e. Croatians) must realise that they are outsiders. Therefore, whoever comes here and says that this is his land, he is an usurper, he came here to kill and you have the right to murder him like a dog by the fence! (from the speech of Milan Paroški from Serbia in the village of Jagodnjak in Baranja, Croatia)

(1 April) The so-called executive council of SAO Krajina reached a decision on the unification with the Republic of Serbia.

According to Great Serbian plans SAO Krajina was supposed to encompass the municipalities of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gračac, Donji Lapac, Korenica, Vojnić, Vrginmost, Glina, Dvor Na Uni,

Kostajnica, Petrinja and Pakrac, and *all Serb towns annexed to one of these municipalities and those that in the future decide to join in the demarcation process.*

(5 April) The Steering Committee for the founding of Serb National Party (SNS) met in Zagreb, which was supposed to *represent those Serbs in Croatia who recognise Croatia as their country* (the party advocated cultural autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia and dialogue); Milan Đukić was elected as its president.

Registration in the volunteer units of the Civil Defence has started.

(12 April) The operational basis for the future Croatian Army was created - Croatian National Guard (ZNG); preparations for the formation of four ZNG brigades began.

The legendary Croatian National Guard brigades, with special units of the Interior and Defence Ministries bore the heaviest burden in the defence and liberation of the Republic of Croatia: The First National Guard Brigade - "Tigers", the Second - "Thunders", the Third - "Martens", the Fourth - "Spiders" and the later formed Fifth - "Hawks", Seventh "Pumas", Eight Light Assault Brigade "Eagles", Ninth - "Wolves".

(16 April) Presidents of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, F. Tuđman and A. Izetbegović were present at the celebration of the Ramadan Bayram in the Zagreb mosque.

(24 April) According to first results of the new census, Vojvodina had (on 21,506 km²) 1,151,357 Serbs, 340,960 Hungarians, 168,858 Yugoslavs, 74,232 Croats, 63,941 Slovaks, 44,716 Montenegrins, 38,880 Romanians, 24,895 Romanies, 21,552 Bačka Croats (Bunjevci), 17,887 Ruthenians, 16,642 Macedonians, 6079 Muslims, 2959 Albanians, 2563 Slovenes, 2057 Ukrainians, 1866 Dunav Valley Croats (Šokci) and 13,402 "others".

In comparison with the previous census the number of Croats decreased for 27.4%; due to threats and Great Serbian politics the number of Croats in Vojvodina was significantly decreased in the period from 1991 - 1996 when some 45,000 Croats were forced to leave Vojvodina although there were no war activities there. However, based on estimates and statements of Croatian politicians in Vojvodina, there were about 150,000 - 160,000 Croats in the Yugoslav state (SRJ) by the end of 1996; of this about 120,000 in Vojvodina, around 5000 in Kosovo, around 11,000 in Boka Kotorska (data of B. Tonković, President of the Democratic Union of Croats in Vojvodina at the reunion - Forum of Croatian Minorities, December 1996).

(29 April) After the Interior Ministry of Croatia founded a police station in the village of Kijevo, JNA and "Krajina Militia" blocked the village.

Armoured vehicles of JNA also threatened other villages where police stations were formed or planned (Kruševo, Polača, Stankovci); this resulted in mass demonstrations in Split where one JNA soldier (Macedonian) died.

(May) Well-armed Serb extremists attacked Croatian villages of Potkonje and Vrpolje near Knin, surrounded the village of Bratiškovci near Šibenik, Uništa near Knin, Kruševo, and were destroying Croatian property in Knin; furthermore Serbs captured the police station in Plaški, they were shooting and burning property in Glina, Petrinja, Pakrac, erected barricades at Ivanjica near Dubrovnik, while killings of drivers, kidnappings, beatings and other sabotages on roads and commercial buildings were recorded as well. In Donji Lapac Serb terrorists burnt to the ground the house of Milan Đukić, president of the Serb National Party. Mass exodus of Croatian families from villages in Vojvodina occurs due to Chetnik threats.

From 17 August 1990 until May 1991 more than 200 cases of planting explosives and more than 100 armed attacks by Serb extremists were recorded in Croatia; sixteen people (15 policemen) died in these incidents, and 56 people (40 policemen) were wounded.

(2 May) After capturing two Croatian policemen the previous day, Serb terrorists in Borovo Selo near Vukovar killed 12 and wounded 21 Croatian policemen; simultaneously in Polače near Zadar Serb terrorists killed the Croatian policeman Franko Lisica from an ambush.

(5 May) At a gathering of citizens of Serb ethnicity in Šibenik, it was stated that they are all endangered, but from the politics of the Serb “*führer*” S. Milošević.

(7 May) Cardinal Franjo Kuharić and metropolitan of the Serb Orthodox Church, Pavle met in Sremski Karlovci where they condemned violence; their next meeting was held in Slavonski Brod (24 August).

(8 - 9 May) A dramatic session of the SFRJ Presidency takes place, where presidents of all SFRJ republics were present.

The generals demanded authorization for a JNA intervention, and Croatia was forced to accept the decision on the deployment of pro-Serb oriented JNA in crisis areas between the Serb rebels and Croatian police forces; JNA assumes the duty of protecting and helping Serb rebels in Croatia.

(7 - 12 May) Croats from West Herzegovina stopped a convoy of JNA tanks in Polog between Mostar and Lištica (Široki Brijeg), which was allegedly on its way for *scheduled military training*, and in fact they were on their way to Sinj

(12 May) In the so-called Krajina an illegal referendum was held to join this territory to Serbia and to remain in Yugoslavia; based on results of this “referendum” (99,80% positive), SDS reached a decision (on 16 May) on the unification of the so-called SAO Krajina with the Republic of Serbia.

The Society for Croatian-Serbian Friendship was founded in Zagreb, with the aim to advocate the co-existence of Serbs and Croats; Steering Committee of the Serb National Party (SNS) in Zagreb called on (14 May) the inhabitants of Šibenik of Serb ethnicity to join the defence of Croatia.

(15 May) The Serb-Montenegrin block refused to confirm Stjepan Mesić as President (regular procedure of rotating the President of the Presidency), which completely blocked the functioning of the SFRJ Presidency.

(17 May) Based on census results, Croatia had 4,784,265 inhabitants; 3,736,356 Croats (78.1%), 581,663 Serbs (12.2%) 104,041 “Yugoslavs” (2.2%), 22,355 Hungarians (0.5%), 21,303 Italians (0.4%) and others.

(19 May) 83.56% of the inhabitants (out of 3,652,225 with the right to vote) participated in the referendum on the future status of the Republic of Croatia; 93.24% (2,845,521) citizens that participated voted for independence and sovereignty of Croatia, and 92.18% were against remaining in Yugoslavia.

(23 May) On the basis of the report of the Republican Commission for the Implementation of the Referendum, the President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tuđman announced that the citizens of Croatia had decided as follows:

- 1) *The Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent state guaranteeing cultural autonomy and all civil rights to Serbs and members of other nationalities in Croatia, can enter into a confederation of sovereign states with other republics.*
- 2) *The Republic of Croatia will not stay in Yugoslavia as an integral federal state.*

(28 May) A review of the Croatian National Guard (ZNG) units was held at the stadium of the football club Zagreb in Kranjčevićeva street in Zagreb.

I solemnly pledge to complete loyally and honourably all duties demanded from me, a member of the Croatian National Guard, and that I will conscientiously and responsibly obey all official orders and commands. I pledge to protect and defend, even with the sacrifice of my own life, my homeland Croatia, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and all its citizens. (text of the official pledge for ZNG members)

(June) In villages of East Slavonia (Mirkovci, Markušica, Tenja, Bijelo Brdo, Borovo Selo, Bršadin, Pačetin, Trpinja, Bobota, Vera, Negoslavci) terrorist bases of Serb extremists were established for attacks on Osijek, Vinkovci and Vukovar and their surrounding villages. In Dalmatia Serb rebels (“Martić’s Militia”) occupied the villages of Bratiškovci, Plastovo, Dobrijevići and Gardijani (25 June), on Banovina they surrounded, with help of JNA, Dvor Na Uni (25 June) and attacked police stations in Glina, where they captured and tortured Croatian policemen (26 June), and Kozibrod near Dvor Na Uni (29 June). Osijek was under heavy attack from Tenja (29 June).

(6 June) BH and Macedonia proposed a “union of Yugoslavian republics” (“Platform Gligorov-Izetbegović”) which was turned down.

At this point the plan on a coordinated disassociation of three republics (Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina) was not accepted by the President of the BH Presidency, Alija Izetbegović. Furthermore, negotiations between Slobodan Milošević and Adil Zulfikarpašić (leader of the Bosnian Muslim Organisation) took place - the so-called Belgrade Initiative on BH remaining in “rump” Yugoslavia (if Croatia and Slovenia secede from it); Zulfikarpašić’s “historic” initiative was turned down by the main Muslim party, SDA lead by Alija Izetbegović.

(10 June) At a meeting of Bosnian Muslim dignitaries in Sarajevo and sponsored by the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) a Council of National Defence for the Muslim Nation was founded with the Patriotic League as its military wing.

(13 June) Croatian Football Federation became a member of FIFA (International Football Federation).

(14 June) In Zagreb Serb terrorists and criminals (Željko Ražnjatović Arkan and others) were convicted of 20 years in prison for preparing and helping the armed rebellion against the Republic of Croatia; all convicted were released from prison until the finality of the ruling, thus becoming inaccessible for Croatian authorities.

(23 June) Representatives of the 12 EU members decided not to recognise the independence of Slovenia and Croatia if these republics decide to unilaterally disassociate from Yugoslavia.

(25 June) In accordance with the will of its citizens expressed at the referendum, Sabor of the Republic of Croatia adopted the *Declaration on the Creation of a Sovereign and Independent Republic of Croatia* (with the delay of three months for its coming into force); Croatian borders became state borders. Independence and sovereignty was also declared by Slovenia.

Since no agreement on the restructuring of Yugoslavia was possible with the Serbian leadership, on the basis of the referendum of the Croatian citizens on 25 June 1991 the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia (*Sabor*) enacted:

the Constitutional Decision on the Sovereignty and the Independence of the Republic of Croatia;

the Constitutional Act on the Amendments to the Constitutional Act on the Implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia;

the Declaration on the Establishment of the Sovereign and Independent Republic of Croatia;

the Charter on the Rights of Serbs and Other Nationalities in the Republic of Croatia.

(26 June) Republic of Croatia, as an independent state was recognised by Slovenia (simultaneously Croatia recognised Slovenia).

(27 June) A JNA aggression begins in Slovenia; cease-fire was concluded after 5 days.

In conflicts in Slovenia 67 people died; 37 JNA soldiers, 12 members of the Slovenian Territorial Defence and police, and 16 civilians (of which 10 foreigners, truck drivers who were blocked on roads), and 330 people were wounded.

JNA tanks are out of control in the streets of Osijek.

(28 - 30 June) EU representatives and the US Secretary of State imposed a solution for preventing the crisis in SFRJ and the war in Slovenia.

1. JNA must withdraw initially into its barracks, and then leave the Slovene territory;
2. Slovenia and Croatia must delay for three months their *Declarations on Independence*;
3. Stjepan Mesić is to be elected as the President of the SFRJ Presidency, as the refusal to appoint him created a crisis in May.

(30 June) President of the SFRJ Presidency ordered JNA to immediately cease military operations in Slovenia; US State department stated it does not approve of the use of force and JNA actions.

(3 July) JNA tanks entered Baranja and East Slavonia; another convoy of JNA vehicles was deployed around Šid, ready to attack Croatia.

After refusing direct help from JNA, Serb terrorists began destroying Croatian cities and towns (in particular cultural and religious monuments in them); individual incidents and attacks grew into an all-

out war of Serbia, Montenegro, JNA and Serb rebels from Croatia (and BH) against the Republic of Croatia.

(4 July) A combined artillery and infantry attack from Borovo Selo and Serbia on Borovo Naselje takes place; Croatian defenders liberated Borovo Naselje from Serb terrorists and Chetniks.

(5 July) European Union (EU) imposed an embargo on importing weapons into SFRJ.

Taking into consideration the military potential of JNA and the huge military supremacy of Serb forces and JNA, this embargo was a significant help in attaining the aims of Great Serbian aggression policies.

At a meeting between Milošević, Jović and the JNA General Kadijević and Jović, military retaliation against Slovenia was agreed upon as well as the deployment of JNA units in Croatia (in areas that Serbs wanted to exclude from Croatia).

1. *Respond to Slovenes with all means, including aviation. (...) Then withdraw from Slovenia. (...) This will raise the moral in the army, scare off Croatia and appease the Serb population.*
2. *Concentrate main forces along the line: Karlovac - Plitvice on the West; Baranja, Osijek, Vinkovci - Sava on the East and Neretva on the South. In this way, cover all territories where Serbs live until a final solution. (...)*
3. *Totally eliminate Croats and Slovenes from the Army.* (conclusions of the mentioned meeting, based on minutes of one of its participants, B. Jović)

(7 July) With the Brijuni Declaration of the three EU ministers and representatives of republics, SFRJ Presidency, the Federal Executive Council and JNA, the EU Peace Plan (28 June) was accepted to end the war in Slovenia; Slovenia and Croatia accepted the three-month moratorium on activities pertaining to full independence.

Serb paramilitary forces expelled Croats from the village of Δelije in East Slavonia; the village was then plundered and put to the torch.

After Croatian police forces and ZNG pushed back Chetniks from Stara Tenja (5 - 6 July), JNA openly joined the war on the Serb side by attacking Osijek.

(9 July) First European Union monitors arrived to Croatia.

(12 July) Croatian authorities discontinued the Republic Territorial Defence.

(Second half of July) Serb units attacked the village of Jasenice (16 July) and Lišane near Benkovac (17 July), Drežnik-Grad (23 July), destroyed and burnt villages on Banovina (Hrvatski Čuntić, Struga, Jukinac, Kuljani, Kozibrod and others) and invaded the town of Glina (until 27 July). After expelling Chetnik forces in early July from the very town limits, Croatian forces pushed back Serb terrorists by a lightning action across the "Brčko railway" and established the connection towards Mirkovci (17 July); however, in the attack on Mirkovci from where the town of Vinkovci was constantly shelled, Croatian forces suffered heavy losses (Serb terrorists received decisive help from the Yugoslav army).

(23 July) Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Alois Mock warned of the need to send peace forces to Croatia.

(25 July) JNA (Serb) artillery deployed in Vojvodina (Yugoslavia) caused heavy losses to members of Croatian ZNG, located in the training centre of the Croatian forces in Erdut.

(27 July) Serb units attacked Sunja.

Heavy attacks continued during 1991; Sunja became one of legendary towns in the defence of Croatia.

(30 July) Lithuania recognised Croatia.

(30-31 July) At a session of the Supreme State Council the proposal of the ZNG commander (former defence minister) Martin Špegelj on an all-out attack on JNA barracks to seize weapons was not accepted; his plan was assessed as "unrealistic and dangerous".

(August) Serb forces occupied Dalj, Aljmaš and Erdut (1 - 3 August), Gvozdansko and Divuša near Dvor (3 August), Sarvaš (12 August), Korlat near Benkovac, Pecka and Kraljevčani (14 August), Stara Tenja, Biskupija near Knin (16 August), Okučani (17 August), villages with ethnic Serb population in

the vicinity of Daruvar (19 August), Ljubovo Pass (20 August), Beli Manastir and more or less the whole Baranja (21 August), Stara Gradiška (22 August), Kijevo (26 August), Vrlika (28 August), Skela near Glina (29 August); the listed places were, for the most part destroyed and burnt to the ground, and during the invasion Serb forces expelled Croats and committed a number of crimes.

By the end of August Croatia lost control of 11 municipalities where ethnic Serbs were a majority, and of 18 municipalities where ethnic Serbs represented 10% - 15% of the population, while fighting was going on in another 9 municipalities (fighting was going on in 38 of 115 municipalities in Croatia).

Serb terrorists, with help from JNA, committed an atrocious massacre in Dalj (1 August), and caused a mass exodus of Croats from Erdut, Dalj and Aljmaš (1 - 3 August). Together with the previous murders (in Kozibrod, Zamlača, Struga, Kuljani and other villages in Banovina) this is among the first mass executions of civilians and war crimes that Serb forces committed in Croatia. During 1991 crimes against Croats were also committed in villages of the Glina municipality - in August; in Berak, Tovarnik, Graboštani, Stublje and Majur (Kostajnica), Lovinac, Balinci, Četekovac, Čojlug (Slatina), Čorci near Vrhovina - in September; in Vaganac (Korenica), Široka Kula (Gospić), Lovas, Ivanovo Selo - October; in Saborsko, Vukovar, Škabrnja, Nadin, Grabovac, Selište, Drežnik, Klanac (Kordun) - November; in Tordinci, Joševica (Glina), Bruška (Benkovac), Voćin, Hum, Čanak - December 1991.

(2 August) Croatian Sabor gave a vote of confidence to the Government of National Unity (Prime Minister Franjo Gregurić), which symbolically confirmed the unity of Croats in those dramatic moments.

(3 August) Croatian forces pushed back Serb terrorists from the Vukovar neighbourhood of Lužac.

(7 August) Croatian President, F. Tuđman and representatives of the Serb National Party in Croatia condemned the Chetnik movement and Great Serbian plans.

The Serb National Party called on all Serbs in Croatia to distance themselves from Chetnik terrorism (2 August) and asked (30 August) that the self-proclaimed Serb leaders in Croatia are not recognised.

(10 August) HTV cameraman, Gordan Lederer was hit by a Chetnik bullet on Banovina and died; he was among the first victims of cameramen and journalists in the Homeland Defence War; his work *Daybreaks on Banovina* is a symbol of resistance of Croatian defenders in the first days of the Serb aggression.

(17 August) The Banja Luka Corps of JNA crossed the Sava River and joined the Serb rebels in their attack on Croatia.

(18 - 19 August) Members of the Yugoslav military counterintelligence service (KOS) planted explosives in front of the Jewish Community and at the Jewish cemetery in Zagreb; the aim of this terrorist act was to discredit Croatia in the eyes of the world.

(19 August) A fierce attack on Pakrac by JNA and Serb units takes place.

(25 - 26 August) A fierce attack on Vukovar and Borovo Naselje, as well as on Otočac and the Gacka valley by JNA and Serb units takes place.

(28 - 30 August) In Slavonski Brod and Vinkovci several trains with weapons and quartermaster equipment that JNA had in Slovenia were stopped; the weapons were distributed among the poorly armed Croatian forces.

(29 August) Protests were held in Zagreb in front of the headquarters building of the JNA Fifth Army District:

I love you and I am proud of you! And if I was to choose between dying with you or living with these scarecrow generals, I would choose death... If the generals had families, if the generals had children, if the generals had any kith and kin, they would not be entrenched in this building. But the generals have no children, I am positive, for whoever kills somebody else's children has no children! Whoever aggrieves somebody else's mother has no mother! Whoever destroys somebody else's home has no home! And the generals must know that there are no mothers, no children, no homes for them in this land! They will die in the wilderness of their own dead heart! Their children will be ashamed of having

such fathers! Their wives will be ashamed of them because they murdered other people's children! Their families will be ashamed of them because they destroyed other people's families!

Finally, you, the mothers and women who have assembled at this unique rally the like of which has never been held in Europe before, have demonstrated that deep in her heart Croatia, her educated and the uneducated men and women, is imbued with the sublime principle of love and dignity! And that is why I started out by telling you that I loved you, that I would rather die with you than live with the generals. And I know, I am quite certain that even once I am gone I will live in this love and with this love, in this dignity and with this dignity – and that is my joy and my strength, and the strength of all of you!

Let this love, this strength, this courage guide Croatia, whether armed or unarmed, because even unarmed we are no less brave, no less proud, no less in love with our homeland! If we have no weapons, we have the strength of what brought us here, the strength of our love, the strength of our dignity, the strength of our readiness to die if we cannot live like human beings. And that is something we are not prepared to relinquish. That is why I am not afraid! Croatia lives and will continue to live! (Speech of Vlado Gotovac in Zagreb, in front of the Headquarters of the JNA Fifth Army District)

(30 August) Serb terrorists attacked the Croatian police station in Plitvice forcing Croatian policemen out.

(31 August) JNA confiscated an airplane of the Ugandan airline containing military equipment for Croatian defenders; the organiser of this shipment, Croatian emigrant Antun Kikaš was arrested, beaten and finally exchanged for the JNA general Milan Aksentijević (25 November).

(September) Serb units (Chetniks and JNA) occupied Berak, Bokšić, Orolik and Grabovo (2 September), Mikluševci, Tompojevci, Čakovci (3 September), Bilje (by 3 September) and Sotin near Vukovar (5 September) on the East Slavonian frontline; also the wider Okučani area and cut short traffic on the Zagreb - Lipovac highway (4 September), Kruševo and Jasenica (11 - 12 September), Lovinac, Sv. Rok and other villages in Lika; Hrvatska Kostajnica (12 September) and Dubica on the Banovina frontline; Topusko (14 September), Kosovac and Gornji Bogičevci (15 September), and then Čovac, Gređani and Novi Varoš on the West Slavonian frontline (16 September); hydro-electric power plant *Peruča* and Rovanjaska (17 September) with which they reached the main road along the Adriatic; Slakovci on the East Slavonian frontline (20 September); all villages in the Petrinja area (except Mošćenica, Brest, Mala Gorica, Nebojan, Dumača and Farkašić) and the city of Petrinja (by 21 September); Tovarnik (21 - 23 September) and Svinjarevci on the East Slavonian frontline (22 September); Veliki Miletinac near Daruvar (23 September); Drniš (25 September) on the Dalmatian frontline and Ilača (25 September), Korođ and Antin (29 September) followed by Stari Jankovci (30 September) on the East Slavonian frontline; Viduševac (30 September - 1 October) and other towns; the occupied towns and villages were for the most part destroyed and put to the torch, while Croatians and other non-Serb inhabitants were either murdered or forced to leave.

(1 September) Serbian artillery attacked on Slavonski Brod.

(7 September) The Peace Conference on Yugoslavia began in the Hague, with Lord Carrington presiding (all significant politicians from the Yugoslavian territory participated); principles of impermissibility of forced border modifications and the protection of human rights for all ethnicities were emphasised.

(8 September) Macedonia voted for independence at a referendum.

(9 September) Terrorist Mile Martić, the self-declared minister in the government of the self-proclaimed Serb "Krajina" in the Croatian territory was arrested in Bosanska Krupa but was soon released, despite protests from the local population.

(10 September) Croatian Olympic Committee was established in Zagreb; Antun Vrdoljak, film and TV director was elected as its president (Vrdoljak has been a member of the International Olympic Committee since 1995).

(12 September) Admiral Sveto Letica became the commander of the Croatian Navy (HRM); he participated in the anti-Fascist struggle (since 1943 officer of the NOVJ navy) and is one of the founders of the Croatian Navy (1991).

(14 - 15 September) With the conquering of JNA barracks in Ploče (Action "Zelena Tabla - Male Bare"), blockades and conquering of JNA barracks, weapons warehouses and different military facilities began in Croatia ("War for the Barracks").

The conquering of barracks was decisive in the defence of Croatia since the seized war gains (more than 230 tanks, 150 armoured vehicles, 18 different warships, 400 large canons, 180,000 guns, a huge amount of ammunition and other military equipment) was several times bigger than the total amount of weapons Croatia had at its disposal until then (the estimated value of all equipment seized is 700,000,000 USD).

There were 5000 guns, 300 tons of ammunition, mines and explosives, about 70 canons and heavy machine guns and 120 vehicles in the Ploče barracks; the 32nd Varaždin Corps of JNA handed over (on 22 September) 79 tanks, 48 combat track vehicles, 18 combat vehicles with anti-aircraft machine guns, 6 cannons of the GVOZDIK type, 6 multiple rocket launchers type Plamen, 4 multiple rocket launchers type Oganj, 18 howitzers of 155 mm, 18 howitzers of 152 mm with adequate transport vehicles, several hundred mortars of various caliber and infantry weapons (long-range and short-range guns) for 8 - 9 brigades and several tons of ammunition and explosives; in barracks in the command zone of Bjelovar 150 tanks were seized (28 September), 60 APCs, 121 piece of cannon ordnance, 12 multiple rocket launchers, 48 self-propelled artillery pieces, 116 various vehicles and 3500 tons of mines, explosives and ammunition. JNA blew up huge weapons warehouses in Skradnik near Josipdol and Bedenik near Bjelovar, and in mid October the huge ammunition warehouse near Oštarije and two military warehouses near Rijeka.

In comparison, it is estimated that on the eve of the Homeland Defence War JNA had at its disposal 489 combat aircraft, 214 armed helicopters, about 230 different warships, 1863 tanks, about 3760 armoured vehicles and APCs, 19,029 pieces of artillery ordnance; of this 1799 anti-tank guns, 4200 recoilless cannons, 6400 mortars, 1934 pieces of heavy artillery, 250 assault gun, 4286 anti-aircraft cannons, 160 long-range multiple rocket launchers (types Oganj, Plamen and Orkan) and a huge number of personal weapons.

(15 September) The first air raid was signalled in Zagreb.

(16 September) Yugoslav navy (JRM) blocked all Croatian ports (until 23 September); ports were again blocked in October and November.

(16 - 23 September) In fierce fighting for the city of Šibenik Croatian forces succeeded in defending the city which was shelled from water, land and air (the dome of the St. James Cathedral was aimed at and damaged during the attack).

During the attack, anti-aircraft defence of Šibenik shot down two enemy aircraft (21 September); the scene was recorded with cameras on the spot, and the spontaneous cry of delight "*Both, both, they both fell!*" echoed throughout Croatia and elsewhere in the world.

(17 September) At a meeting in Igalo a cease-fire agreement was signed (Tuđman, Milošević, General Kadrijević, Lord Carrington); neither this one nor the 15 cease-fires that followed were respected.

(18 September) Gojko Šušak becomes the minister of defence.

(19 September) Croatian defenders seized JNA barracks in Gospić, thus preventing the fall of the town into the hands of Serb rebels; with help from JNA aviation and artillery Serbs destroyed most of Gospić.

(20 September) Law on the Defense (NN 49/91): Armed forces are unique ensemble and are made of Croatian Army and the National Guard. (Paragraph 38). On the 3th November 1991 National Guard units were renamed in Croatian Army (except for the professional brigades)

(20 September) Croatian defenders caused heavy losses to the Yugoslav army near Tovarnik, and later (21/22 - 23 September) at Ilača.

Croatian forces broke the siege of Vukovar (cut off from Vinkovci on 15 September) along the line Nuštar - Marinci - Bogdanovci - Vukovar.

(21 September) Headquarters of the Croatian Army are formed; its first chief of staff was General Anton Tus, participant of the anti-Fascist struggle in Croatia in World War II. Croatian National Guard defeated Serb units in the battle for Ivanovo Selo (between Daruvar and Grubišno Polje).

During his appearance in the media, General Kadijević accused the SFRJ President, S. Mesić and Prime Minister of the SFRJ Government, A. Marković for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the “chaos created”, announcing in particular the war on Croatia.

(25 September) UN Security Council adopted a Resolution (713) on introducing *absolute embargo on the export of weapons and military equipment to the territory of Yugoslavia*; this enabled easy invasion of territories in Croatia and later in BH by the Serb aggressor.

(28 September) JNA units left the island of Korčula.

Croatian defenders liberated Vezmarova Kula, an important strategic point for controlling the eastern part of Daruvar and its wider vicinity, and then the village of Miljanovac (29 September).

(29 September) Located on the island of Vis, rear admiral of the Yugoslav Navy (JRM), Vladimir Barović committed suicide.

In the letter he left behind he indicated that the reason for his suicide was the JNA aggression on Croatia, which he considered to be contradictory to Montenegrin honour - *as Montenegrins can not fight and destroy the people who have done them no wrong* - and his inability to prevent Yugoslav Navy from attacking Croatia and his disagreeing with the JNA command.

(30 September) Albanians voted for a *sovereign and independent state of Kosovo* at a referendum.

(October) After fierce fighting Serb units invaded Gornji Bogičevci for the third time (1 October); Đeletovci, Petrovci and Marinci (1 October) and Cerić - strategically important points for the defence of Vukovar (2 October), Slano near Dubrovnik (4 October), a part of the Karlovac municipality (around 5 October), Medari (5 October) and Dragalić near Nova Gradiška (6 October), Jasenovac (8 October), Vaganac on Kordun (8 - 9 October), south part of Lipik (12 October), Cavtat (15 October), the neighbouring villages of Ilok – Lovas (10. October), Šarengrad, Mohovo, Opatovac and Bapska (14 October), Ilok (17. October), Hrvatski Blagaj on Kordun (24 October), Tordinci in East Slavonia (25 October) and the area south of the Kupa River to Turanj (suburb of Karlovac); from the invaded factory of *Jamnička Kiselica* (9 October) the enemy withdrew destroying the bridge Jamnica - Lasinja.

(1 October) A fierce attack on Dubrovnik and its vicinity began by JNA and Chetniks from Montenegro and Herzegovina; Croatian defenders caused heavy losses to the aggressor near the village of Čepikuće.

Dubrovnik was under constant attack and shelling although the old town is protected by the UNESCO charter (the heaviest attacks occurred on 11 November and 6 December).

(3 October) After ravaging the Croatian villages (the largest of which was Ravno) in the municipality of Trebinje in East Herzegovina (1 October), Chetniks and JNA expelled the inhabitants and set their homes on fire; this marks the beginning of the Serb aggression on BH.

The Serb block (3 Serb members and 1 Montenegrin) carried out a coup and seized the joint Presidency of SFRJ; the position of the president was assumed by a Montenegrin, Branko Kostić.

(4 October) A fierce attack on Karlovac and its vicinity began by JNA and Serb units.

(4 - 6 October) These are the critical days for the defence of Zadar.

After breaking lines of Croatian defence, conquering of Murvica and Crno and reaching Musapstan, JNA and Serb units initiated an attack on Zadar (5 October) and conquered Mount Križ, Briševo and part of Bokanjac; heavy destruction of Zadar, and particularly of the city centre, began.

(4 - 10 October) Attacks on Marinci by Croatian forces in order to break the siege of Vukovar were unsuccessful. After heavy fighting Croatian forces managed to retain control of the village of Nuštar (5 and 6 October).

(5 October) Serb units (JNA and Chetniks) initiated an all-out offensive on all Croatian frontlines with the aim to break the Croatian defence in 20 days; NATO estimated that Croatian defenders would not be able to resist *longer than two weeks*.

(6 October) In his Message to BH citizens at the state television in Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegović declared BH neutral in the war *in which Serbia and JNA are conducting an aggression against Croatia*, and called on BH citizens not to respond to the recruitment call for the mandatory military duty in JNA or to mobilisation.

What we can do is to refuse to participate in this madness. (...) It is your right and duty as a BH citizen not to respond to mobilisation. I hereby ask of you to find the courage and refuse to participate in this crime. Remember, this is not your war. Let those who want to lead this war participate in it. We do not want this war. (from Alija Izetbegović's Message to the citizens)

(7 October) JNA aircraft (Yugoslav Air Force) bombarded Banski Dvori (presidential offices) in downtown Zagreb, where the Croatian President, F. Tuđman, President of the SFRJ Presidency, S. Mesić and Yugoslav Government Prime Minister, A. Marković had a meeting.

(8 October) Croatia declares independence.

Due to an "air raid warning" the session of the Croatian Sabor was held in the basement of the INA company building; Sabor established that the three-month delay of the Constitutional decision dated 25 June 1991 had passed, and reached a decision on secession from SFRJ and full independence: *Republic of Croatia hereby cuts all state and legal ties based on which it had until the present, together with other republics and provinces, created the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia...*

In a counter-attack on the Šibenik frontline, after three days of fighting Croatian forces pushed back the enemy from Gačelez, Prokljan, Pamučar and Bribirske Mostine.

(10 October) The Jewish community in Croatia issued an appeal stating that Croatia was being attacked and destroyed.

(11 October) With the intention to bring help to surrounded Vukovar, its defence commander, Mile Dedaković Jastreb (*Hawk*) broke through the siege of Vukovar, and reached Vinkovci with a small group of defenders.

(13 October) The attempt of the Croatian Army to break the siege of Vukovar was unsuccessful; Croatian forces had to stop, with heavy losses, in Marinci.

EU demanded the action to halt as it was sending a convoy of the humanitarian organization *Doctors Without Borders* to Vukovar; In the second attempt convoy (19.X.) pulled out 113 defenders from the Vukovar hospital, but its arrival to the city was used by Serb forces to improve and strengthen their positions and strongholds on the Vukovar battlefield.

(14 October) Croatian forces liberated Bujovica (West Slavonian frontline).

(14 - 15 October) Upon proposal of SDA and with support of HDZ, the BH Assembly (Muslims and Croats but not the Serbs) accepted the *Memorandum on Sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina* and the *Platform of the BH Presidency on the Position of BH*.

It is emphasised that BH is a *sovereign and indivisible state*, which has an equal relationship with Croatia and Serbia, and concluded that BH will not remain in rump Yugoslavia (without Slovenia, and in particular without Croatia) and accept decisions of incomplete federal authorities. Right before the vote on the adoption of this *Memorandum*, Serb representatives left the BH Assembly threatening that the "Muslim" nation will disappear if it goes through with independence of BH.

(16 October) Blago Zadro, a legendary commander of defence of Borovo Naselje was killed in battle while defending Vukovar (he was posthumously promoted into major general), as well as Major Alfred Hill, commander of the Military Police Unit of the 204th Vukovar Brigade.

High educational institutions of HV were named after them: Supreme Command School *Blago Zadro* and Educational Centre for Military Police Training, *Major Alfred Hill*.

The commander of Vukovar defence M. Dedaković became the commander of the Operational Group Vukovar - Vinkovci - Županja with the task of breaking through the siege of Vukovar, while defence of Vukovar was assumed by Branko Borković - Mladi Jastreb (*Young Hawk*).

(17 October) Serbs expelled about 8,000 and 10,000 Croats from Ilok and its vicinity in the presence of EU monitors.

(18 October) An EU plan was presented in the Hague, proposing the transformation of Yugoslavia into a union of sovereign nations; the plan was refused by Serbia, and later Montenegro as well.

(22 October) Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) changed its name to Yugoslav Army (VJ).

(23 October) Serb forces shelled and caused a fire in the Vukovar hospital.

(24 October) Yugoslav army initiated a seaborne attack in Kupari, further endangering the defence of Dubrovnik.

(25 October) Pilot Rudolf Perišin defected with his MIG 21 from the Yugoslav Air Force (JRV), landing at the Klagenfurt airport in Austria.

I am Croatian and will not shoot at my own people! (Rudolf Perišin's statement; he died in early May 1995 in a flying mission during Operation Flash as the commander of the 1st Fighter Squadron of the Croatian Air Force, HRZ)

(25 - 26 October) The campaign of Croatian forces to liberate the village of Tordinci was unsuccessful.

(30. October – 3 January 1992.) Liberation Operation Croatian forces *Hurricane '91* takes place on the West Slavonian front.

(31 October - 4 November) In the first stage of Operation *Swath 10 (Bilogora)*, Croatian forces liberated the area of Bilogora (about 270 km²), creating conditions for advancing towards Papuk and Psunj.

The enemy suffered huge material and human losses, and the joining of the 5th Banja Luka Corps of the Yugoslav Army and Serb paramilitaries in the rear of Croatian forces was prevented.

(31 October) Humanitarian convoy *Libertas* sailed into Dubrovnik (passenger ship *Slavija* and another 30 ships and boats from all Croatian ports); the convoy was lead by the SFRJ President Stjepan Mesić and the Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Gregurić.

(2 November) The campaign of Croatian forces to liberate the village of Cerić and create conditions to break the siege of Vukovar was unsuccessful.

(4 November) Croatian defenders seized and managed to empty the weapons warehouse Jamadol in Karlovac before the enemy attack (about 2500 tons of explosives and ammunition as well as Territorial Defence weapons from the municipalities of Karlovac, Duga Resa, Ozalj, Vojnić and Vrginmost).

(5 November) Croatian defenders seized the huge weapons and ammunition warehouse in Delnice (one of the largest in the territory of the former Yugoslavia).

Montenegrin liberals sent an open letter to the Yugoslav Defence Minister, General Veljko Kadijević, opposing the attack of the Yugoslav Army on Dubrovnik, *since the Montenegrin public is well aware that the alleged direct danger for Montenegro is invented in order to drag Montenegro to war and embarrass it internationally with the Dubrovnik operation.*

(9 November) In order to relieve the defence on the frontline around Vukovar, ZNG and police forces initiated a campaign of cleansing a strong Chetnik stronghold of Karadžićevo (East Slavonian frontline, close to Vinkovci); after an initial success Croatian forces withdrew with losses.

(9 - 10 November) Ethnic Serbs in BH voted at an illegal referendum to remain in Yugoslavia.

(10 November) Serb forces occupied and destroyed Bogdanovci, thus the grip around Vukovar was tightened more firmly; at the Nova Gradiška battlefield, the Croatian Army improved its positions in the area of Medari.

(12 November) Saborsko in Lika was invaded and destroyed as well as the neighbourhood of Lužac in Vukovar; with this the defence of Vukovar was split into two parts (Vukovar and Borovo Naselje).

After he refused to participate in air-raids and the destruction of the Dubrovnik area, Yugoslav Army officers killed Enes Aletić, a pilot of the Yugoslav Air Force at Mostar airport.

(12 - 13 November) The breakthrough attempt to reach Vukovar and the opening of a corridor Nuštar - Marinci - Bogdanovci - Vukovar was unsuccessful; huge military supremacy of the enemy caused material and human losses to the Croatian Army.

(13 November) After success in defending the Farkašić Pocket and Nebojan (on the right bank of Kupa) near Petrinja in October and having pushed back Serb forces to Glinska Poljana, Croatian Army initiated an assault in the area which was partly successful.

(14/15 - 16 November) Croatian Navy defeated the Yugoslav Navy in the Split Channel, and later in the Korčula Channel (the latter was lead by the destroyer Split), thus breaking the blockade of Split at sea; Yugoslav Army shelled the city.

(Second half of November) This is a period of extremely difficult battles and losses, in particular at the East Slavonian battlefield.

Serb forces invaded Lipovac, Podgrađe and Apševci (15 - 16 November), then Donje Novo Selo, Nijemci and West Sirmium (16 - 17 November), the town of Slunj (16 November) and its vicinity, Vukovar, Škabrnja and Zemunik Gornji (18 November), Nadin (19 November), Divoš and Ernestinovo (20 November) and Lastovo in East Slavonia (23 November), Cetingrad and other villages; the places invaded were for the most part completely destroyed, while Croats and all other non-Serbs were either murdered or expelled. On the Lika front Serb forces have put the village of Čanak to the torch in November, but were unable to retain control of it; Croatian defenders were successful in this period in battles around Otočac, fighting to secure the vital communication Karlovac - Brinje - Senj, exceptionally important for connecting Dalmatia with the rest of Croatia. At the Sirmium battlefield Croatian defence forces (HOS) initiated a daring operation in the enemy rear (in the area of the just occupied village of Nijemci), and managed to prevent further advances of Serb forces.

(18 November) Active resistance of Croatian defenders stopped in Vukovar (in Borovo Naselje active defence stopped a day later); one battalion of Croatian defenders continued to resist the enemy until early morning on 20 November, while some units of defence left Borovo Naselje only on 23 November. The Battle for Vukovar (24 August - 18 November) was decisive for the defence of Croatia, and Vukovar became the symbol of Croatian resistance to the Serb aggression.

Although in the municipality and town of Vukovar the Croats were the most numerous nationality, due to the large percentage of Serbs in the total population and the huge disproportion in arms and military equipment to the advantage of the JNA, the Greater Serbian strategists expected a quick and easy victory in the Vukovar area. The defenders of Vukovar were organized through their local community offices, and the defense was founded on resistance "points" set up along the lines bordering on enemy territory. Many would emphasize Sajmište in particular as the key to the defense of the town and the village of Bogdanovci as the "most exposed fortress" in the defense of Vukovar, and they will talk of their defenders, who included HOS soldiers from all over Croatia, as incredibly courageous warriors. Most of the defenders and their commanders did not have the military training they needed nor experience of war. The defense of the town depended on their inventiveness and courage. Some of them, for example the commander of the defense of Borovo Naselje, **Blago Zadro**, who was killed on 16th October, became legends of the defense of Vukovar and Croatia. The fact that the commanders were also killed in large numbers alongside the soldiers: **Velimir Đerek** – „Hawk“ from Imotski, **Ivan Poljak** – „Falcon“ from Sinj and **Petar Kačić** – „Boiler“ – commanders in Sajmište, **Ivan Šoljić** – „Big Joe“ in Mitnica, **Alfred Hill** – commander of the military police, **Nenad Sinković** – „Legion“ – commander of the engineers units and many others, tells of the ferocity of the conflicts and the courage of the men leading the Vukovar defenders.

According to some figures, which include the entire logistics and doctors and medical staff of Vukovar Hospital, during the Serb siege, surrounded by the enemy, the town of Vukovar (including the village of Bogdanovci) was defended by about 4020 soldiers. The number of armed defenders in the town itself at no point exceeded 1800 to 2000 members of the police, and the ZNG, HOS and volunteers from various parts of Croatia, organized into the 204th CA Brigade, stretched over more than 10 km of frontlines. Alongside the Croats, the town was also defended by people of other nationalities in Croatia – Serbs, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Germans and others. Of course the defense of Vukovar was conducted with the joint support and contribution of the civilian bodies in the town: Vukovar Medical Centre, Vukovar Water works, the Borovo Combine, the Voluntary Fire Fighters, the utility company, Croatian Electrical Company (HEP), the post office. All these organizations were coordinated by the Crisis Headquarters run by the commissioner of the Government of the RoC for Vukovar, Marin Vidić-Bili. They cooperated daily with the defense command of the town, led by Mile Dedaković and then Branko Borković and the Police Administration of the town, whose commander was Stipe Pole.

At the same time the Chief Headquarters of the CA and the CA Operational Zone Osijek planned action to break the siege on the town, and all the forces in the surrounding area were engaged as military support for Vukovar, especially artillery. To that end, on 16th October the CA Operational Group Vinkovci, Vukovar and Županja was founded, which, according to the assessment of its commander, Mile Dedaković, had about 6800 men available during the final battle for the town, 15 tanks, 11 armored vehicles, 52 20-100 mm caliber guns, 32 guns of more than 100 mm caliber, 1 multiple rocket launcher and 68 mortars. It became clear that with this force it was impossible to defend the town from attack by the many times more numerous and better armed aggressor.

According to incomplete figures, in the battles for Vukovar, the Serb aggressors used more than 1000 armored vehicles, planes and boats, several hundred guns of all kinds of artillery and rocket weaponry, from which they fired hundreds of thousands of projectiles at the town, systematically and without choosing their targets (according to some assessments more than a million or even one and a half million projectiles). At first the town was constantly under attack from more than 27,000 then, according to some sources, up to more than 60,000 and even 80,000 soldiers. It is thought that Vukovar defenders hit about 300 to 400 armored vehicles, according to some sources as many as 500, of which about 200 were tanks, and they brought down more than 20 planes (some say 25). Since these figures seem to be exaggerated, they should be taken with reserve, until a scientific analysis is made of losses, based on sources from both sides.

The aggressor, in relation to the defenders, had more than ten times more shells and mortars and other ammunition available, and the defenders did not have a single military aircraft. In view of these figures, it is fascinating that the defense of Vukovar managed for almost three months to resist the attacks of an enemy who was so numerically superior and so much better equipped. This enormous disproportion between the aggressor and the defender in the quality and quantity of technical equipment and training and number of soldiers in terms of the results of the battles achieved in the fight for Vukovar, confirms that no military doctrine should neglect patriotism, that is, the soldiers' motivation.

In the most critical moments of the defense of Vukovar, logistical support, primarily drugs and sanitary materials for the hospital, were delivered by air on several occasions in small Cessna-172 and UTVA-75 planes, and larger agricultural An-2 bi-planes. They were flown by the incredibly brave Croatian pilots from the Independent Air Unit, founded at the beginning of October 1991 in the Operational Zone Osijek. Of course this was just a drop in the ocean in terms of the needs of the defenders and the staff of the hospital, but the night flights by the four-man crew of the Croatian planes meant more in a moral sense than the aid they delivered. Their courage, resourcefulness, ability to improvise and flying skills and determination, despite the strong anti-aircraft fire from the enemy, to help the defenders of Vukovar in old and slow aircraft, certainly unsuited to the conditions of war, demand equal admiration as the

super-human efforts of the defenders of Vukovar, the hospital staff, the fire fighters, and other services who took care of maintaining at least minimal conditions for life in the besieged and ruined town.

According to figures from the Ministry of Health, on 19th November 1991, in the Vukovar area there were about 14,100 civilians, about 10,000 in Vukovar, about 4,000 in Borovo Naselje and about 100 in Lužac, and there were about 900 Croatian soldiers, about 450 in Vukovar and about 450 in Borovo Naselje. In Vukovar Hospital on the day it was occupied there were about 420 wounded and sick people and in the improvised hospital in the Borovo Commerce shelter there were 250 wounded.

According to figures from the Office for Captured and Missing Persons of the Ministry of the Family, Veterans Affairs and Intergenerational Solidarity of the RoC, of November 2007, during the Serb aggression in 1991 against Vukovar, at least 1,739 people were killed, including several dozens of children, and about 22,000 citizens were expelled, mainly those of non-Serb origins, but also Serbs who did not want to stay under the occupying authorities. In the Vukovar-Srijem County, 52 mass graves and several hundred individual graves have been found, from which the remains of 1,982 victims of Serb crimes have been exhumed, up to 22nd November 2007. Of the total of bodies exhumed, the remains of 1,717 Croatian defenders and civilians have been identified. At the Office for Captured and Missing Persons in November 2007 the procedure was still going on to search for 486 missing and forcibly abducted persons from the area of the Vukovar-Srijem County; of these 315 missing and abducted people were registered in the municipality of Vukovar (including Lipovača, Sotin and Grabovo). In Serb prison camps and prisons in Serbia and Yugoslavia, controlled by the JNA, at least 2,796 persons were imprisoned and abused and subjected to horrifying torture, having been captured in 1991 in the Vukovar area, and more than 4,000 people from the Croatian Danube valley area (Podunavlje) were forcibly taken to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is Serbia, from where they were deported to the areas of the Republic of Croatia not occupied at that time. The youngest prisoner was not yet 15 years old and the oldest was 81.

According to figures collected by Croatian defenders in 1996, the 204th Brigade of the Croatian Army had 879 soldiers killed or missing and 777 wounded in the battle for Vukovar. Croatia's assessment of enemy losses on the Vukovar battlefield is from around 5,000 to 6,500, even up to as many as about 15,000 soldiers killed. In contrast, the figures from Serb literature state, "that in the battles for Vukovar a little less than 1,200 soldiers and officers were killed from the ranks of JNA units and volunteers". In view of the enormous differences in estimates these figures also require a scientific analysis, based on sources from both sides.

During the attack on the town, the JNA and Serb paramilitary formations destroyed or damaged almost all the buildings in Vukovar, not sparing even the hospital, religious, cultural or historical monuments, commercial or housing accommodation. Precisely the example of the deliberate destruction of Vukovar, and especially Vukovar Hospital, testifies to the callousness of the aggressor and the commanders of the JNA, who with their irrational, destructive tactics endeavored to achieve the goal of Greater Serbian ideology – an ethnically clean, Greater Serbian state, known as Greater Serbia. Due to the unexpectedly strong and successful resistance by the Vukovar defenders against the much more powerful Serb aggressor and due to destruction not seen in Europe since the Second World War, in August, September, October and November 1991 Vukovar became a symbol of Croatia's resistance to Serbian aggression in the Homeland War, and its people, especially the defenders, an example of incredible self-sacrifice, resourcefulness and courage. Alongside the famous, prehistoric Vučedol dove, the house of the Nobel Prize winner Lavoslav Ružička, the old water tower, the Bečarski križ cross, the Church of St. Philip and St. James, the Eltz Castle and other buildings, the large water tower, broken and full of holes, with a Croatian flag and the demolished hospital became symbols of Vukovar at that time.

Of course the mass execution site at Ovčara too, as a symbol of the suffering and sacrifice borne by the people and defenders of Vukovar for the freedom and independence of the Republic of Croatia. Ovčara

is agricultural land, five kilometers south east of Vukovar. Its warehouse was transformed by the JNA and Serb paramilitary formations into a concentration camp for Vukovar defenders, civilians, wounded and medical staff taken from Vukovar Hospital. In the camp, wild and drunk uniformed members of the Yugoslav National Army and paramilitary, Chetnik groups, but also the Serb mayor of Vukovar, S. Dokmanović in person, beat the prisoners with baseball bats, hoes, chains, truncheons and other objects. Four prisoners immediately died from the abuse, and the remaining prisoners were taken in groups of 10 to 20 to a pit about 900 meters from the Ovčara-Grabovo road. On 20th November 1991 they were killed there and thrown into a mass grave. In September and October 1996 200 bodies were exhumed from the grave, and by July 2006 193 had been identified, killed at ages between 16 and 72 years.

The crime at Ovčara is only one in a series of mass crimes committed by the Serb aggressors in the attack on Vukovar. Over time, Ovčara has become a symbol of remembrance for all the execution sites and graves left behind by the JNA and the Serb paramilitary units in the broader Vukovar area: Antin, Berak, Bogdanovci, Borovo Selo, Bršadin, Čelije, Čakovci, Dalj, Daljski Atar – Globovac, Ilok, Lovas, Marinci, Mikluševci, Mohovo, Negoslavci, Novi Jankovci, Petrovci, Slakovci, Stari Jankovci, Svinjarevci, Sotin, Tordinci, Tovarnik, Vukovar – New Cemetery, Nova ulica, the Velepromet warehouse and many other places of mass or individual Serb crimes.

During the occupation of the villages of Škabrnja (18 November) and Nadin (19 November) in Ravni Kotari, Serb terrorists murdered and massacred 56 of their inhabitants; in the first weeks of occupation another 30 inhabitants were murdered.

The Croatian Community of Herzeg Bosnia (HZ HB) was declared in Grude, *as a political, cultural, economic and territorial entity*, founded to protect the interests of Croats in BH.

The Community was to encompass the municipalities of Jajce, Kreševo, Busovača, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Travnik, Kiseljak, Fojnica, Skender Vakuf (Dobrotići), Kakanj, Vareš, Kotor Varoš, Tomislavgrad, Livno, Kupres, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf, Prozor, Konjic, Jablanica, Posušje, Mostar, Široki Brijeg, Grude, Ljubuški, Čitluk, Čapljina, Neum, Stolac, Trebinje (Ravno); Mostar was declared as its seat.

Croatian Community of Herzeg Bosnia will respect the democratically elected authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while independence of BH from the former or any future Yugoslavia exists.

(20 November) Croatian authorities, on charges of high treason, arbitrary abandonment of the battlefield, non-submission of reports, embezzlement and other charges, imprisoned and tortured the commander of Vukovar defence, Mile Dedaković Jastrebović, and the last commander of Vukovar defence, Branko Borković; ultimately both commanders were acquitted from all charges.

(21 November) The Maslenica Bridge was blown up.

The club of SDS representatives in the BH parliament was renamed to the so-called Assembly of the Serb Nation in BH.

(23 November) An agreement was signed in Geneva on discontinuing the siege of JNA military barracks and JNA withdrawal from Croatia.

In accordance with this agreement (dated 18 October), JNA had already abandoned Jastrebarsko (13 November), Pula (6 December), Rijeka (9 December), naval port of Divulje near Split (22 December), Dugo Selo (23 December), Pleso - as the last military barracks in the area of Zagreb (25 December 1991) and the military complex of Lora in Split (4 January 1992) as well as other military barracks in the Croatian territory under control of the legal Croatian authorities.

(24 November) Serb and Montenegrin forces occupied Mokošica, a suburb of Dubrovnik.

(27 November) UN Security Council reached a decision (Resolution 721) on sending peace forces (UNPROFOR) to Croatia.

(28 November) Croatian forces left Lipik.

The main square in the French city of Nice was renamed to Square of the Vukovar Martyrs.

(29 November) Arbitration Commission of the EU Peace Conference under presiding of Robert Badinter (Badinter Commission) stated its opinion (Number 1) that SFRJ is in the process of disintegration and that federal authorities do not function any longer.

(December) After preventing further advances of the Banja Luka Corps towards Virovitica (30 November), Croatian defenders became active on the West Slavonian front (municipalities of Podravska Slatina, Virovitica, Grubišno Polje, Daruvar, Pakrac, Požega).

From 7 December (liberation of Lipik) to 26 December (taking control of the major Chetnik stronghold of Bučje), the Croatian Army pushed back Serb forces towards Okučani and liberated 2/3 of the occupied territory of West Slavonia (21 enemy strongholds were destroyed and 21 inhabited places liberated); during the action and while fleeing from the Croatian Army, Serb terrorists massacred more than 50 civilians in the villages of Voćin and Hum (West Slavonia), and 20 people went missing. Possible further liberation activities of the Croatian Army in the area were prevented by the cease-fire concluded on 2 January 1992; about 600 km² remained under Serb occupation in West Slavonia.

During December battles were fought on other frontlines as well; Serb forces suffered heavy losses near Komletinci (3 - 5 December), then on the Sisak battlefield (19 December) and in the area of Šibenik (26 December - Croatian Army had liberated the village of Čista Mala a day earlier); in Baranja, Croatian Army liberated about 30 km² of occupied territory, creating a bridgehead for further liberation operations. However, in Kričke (near Novska) Croatian Army suffered heavy losses (9 and 10 December); on the frontline along the Kupa River, Croatian Army *initiated an attack with mobile troops by crossing the Kupa River* from the village of Šišinec (Military Campaign Tornado), but suffered significant losses under an artillery attack of the enemy, and withdrew to starting positions (12 - 13 December); after fierce fighting Serb forces occupied Antunovac (5 December), Čanak (10 December) and Paulin Dvor (16 December) near Osijek.

(2 December) The EU Council of Ministers stated that it holds Serbia and Montenegro responsible for the war in Croatia.

(3 December) An opposition party, Liberal Union of Montenegro organised a protest in Cetinje; more than 10,000 Montenegrins expressed their regret for the attack on Dubrovnik, and asked for forgiveness.

(4 December) Croatian Sabor adopted the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities in Croatia.

(5 December) Croatian Sabor established that on 8 October 1991, the position of a member and President of the SFRJ Presidency of Stjepan Mesić ceased to exist.

(7 December) The Badinter Commission reached a conclusion that SFRJ no longer existed.

Based on the opinion of this Commission *the modification of existing borders and the demarcation line obtained by force are not legally valid*; these conclusions were crucial for the final EU decision to recognise Croatia and other republics of the former SFRJ.

(11 December) Ukraine recognised Croatia.

(14 December) Latvia recognised Croatia.

(16 December) Based on the report of the "Badinter Commission", the EU Council of Ministers in Brussels decided to recognise, by 15 January 1992, republics of the former SFRJ as independent and sovereign states, if they submit a request for recognition and fulfil the set conditions (minority and human rights).

Austria decided to recognise Croatia and Slovenia, as well as any other republic of the former SFRJ requesting recognition; this decision of the Austrian parliament became valid on 15 January 1992.

(19 December) With the decision of its government in Reykjavik, Iceland unconditionally recognised the Republic of Croatia as an independent state.

Some European countries reached decisions on recognising Croatia (Germany, Italy, Hungary, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ireland), but postponed their entering into force until 15 January 1992.

On the Nova Gradiška frontline, Croatian Army took control of Mašička Šagovina, a particularly strong Chetnik base.

In the occupied territory, on 19 December 1991 the insurgent Serbs proclaimed in Knin the “Republic of Serbian Krajina” (RSK) and adopted the “Constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina”. Among other things, it explicitly stipulated that the RSK “will continue to build strong state ties with other parts of the Serbian people in the territory of Yugoslavia and its states in order to create a common state of the Serbian people” (Art. 123). Amendment I to the “RSK Constitution”, proclaimed on 26 February 1992 in Borovo Selo, stipulated that “the territory of the SRK comprises the Serbian regions of Krajina, Slavonia, Baranja, Western Sirmium and Western Slavonia”. That marked the climax of the anti-constitutional actions of the Serbs in Croatia in the process of separation of part of Croatia’s territory and proclamation of the Serbian para-state in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. Non-Serbian residents in the areas under Serbian control was almost completely killed or expelled; the same fate befell even the Serbs who did not support the Greater Serbian policy. The Croatian cultural and church heritage was looted and destroyed.

(21 December) The so-called Assembly of the Serb Nation in BH reached a decision of establishing the so-called Republic of Srpska of BH (which was, according to demands of Serb politicians supposed to extend on at least 66% of the BH territory); Radovan Karadžić was elected as its president.

(23 December) Republic of Croatia introduced its own currency - Croatian Dinar (55 HRD = 1 DEM).

(24 December) Croatian President, Franjo Tuđman reached a decision on the formation of Home Guard, “based on the territorial principle”.

(25 December) After the dissolution of USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned, transferring his authority to Boris Yeltsin.

(27 December) After unsuccessful attempts and losses (16 December and 20 December), Croatian Army liberated a strong Chetnik base of Grahovljani near Daruvar.

(20 December) Croatian army took control of Pirinci, a strategically important stronghold from where Chetniks shelled Nova Gradiška.

(31 December) Estonia recognised Croatia.

The midnight *Concert of Peace* was held in the Franciscan church in besieged and destroyed Dubrovnik (National Orchestra from Toulouse, soprano Barbara Hendricks and violinist Jean Stanienda); before this (on 14 December) *Concert to the Wounded City* was held with the prima donna of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb, Ruža Pospíš-Baldani and the Dubrovnik Symphonic Orchestra.

During the Serb aggression in 1991 battles were fought on the East Slavonian front (municipalities at the time of Beli Manastir, Osijek, Vinkovci and Vukovar), Posavina front (municipalities of Slavonski Brod and Županja), West Slavonian front (municipalities of Novska, Nova Gradiška, Pakrac, Grubišno Polje and Daruvar, and partially the municipality of Virovitica, Slatina, Orahovica and Požega), Banovina front (municipalities of Hrvatska Kostajnica, Sisak, Petrinja, Glina and Dvor), Kordun front (municipalities of Vrginmost, Vojnić, Karlovac, Duga Resa, Ogulin and Slunj), Lika front (municipalities of Gračac, Korenica, Donji Lapac, Gospić and Otočac), North Dalmatian front (Zadar, Šibenik and Split areas and their hinterland) and South Dalmatian front (municipalities of Ploče, Metković and Dubrovnik); on top of this battles were fought to defend the Adriatic. By the end of 1991 there were 500,000 displaced persons and refugees in Croatia.

By combined artillery attacks and air raids the Yugoslav army and Serb forces systematically destroyed 45% of Croatia; out of all targets 95% were civilian.

1992.

(1 - 3 January) Serb units occupied Novigrad, Paljув and Podgradina near Zadar.

In the attempt to conquer other parts in the Zadar area Serb units were defeated and pushed back; Croatian army succeeded in retaining control of the important road between Zadar and Karlovac.

(2 January) The agreement on general cease-fire was signed in Sarajevo (the Vance Plan) and the deployment of the United Nations forces (Sarajevo Agreement); it came into force on 3 January at 6 p.m.

Despite the signed cease-fire, Serb artillery continued to destroy Croatian cities and towns, furthermore unsuccessful infantry assaults were initiated on some of them - Perušić (19 January), Nova Gradiška (6 February), Vinkovci (10 February) and other places.

At the moment when the Sarajevo Agreement was signed, Croatian Army had about 200.000 - 230,000 soldiers in 65 brigades and several independent battalions and regiments in all three branches of the army; Interior Ministry (MUP) forces amounted to about 40,000 members, of which 1/3 was deployed in war zones. The officers' ranks of the Croatian Army consisted of: Croats who were members of the French Foreign Legion and armed forces of other countries who have returned to defend their homeland; officers and non-commissioned officers arriving from JNA and the new generation of officers who participated in battles and needed special military training (in 1992 they become the most numerous group among officers).

On 1 January 1990 the JNA had 46,293 persons on active duty: 25,101 officers, 19,165 non-commissioned officers and 2,027 professional contract soldiers, Altogether 3,000 of them (about 1,700 officers and 1,300 non-commissioned officers) left the JNA and joined the HV after 31 December 1991. Of course, most of them were Croats (2,648 or about 88%). This means that the Croatian Armed Forces were joined by somewhat less than 50% of the Croats on active duty in the JNA in early 1991 (the percentage is based on the number of 5,362 persons of Croatian nationality on active duty in the JNA in 1991).

The number of generals and admirals active in the 1990-1992 period who left the JNA and joined the HV was much lower – only 26%. Among the 235 generals and admirals active in the JNA in the period under consideration there were only 27 Croats (11.5%). Out of that number, 7 joined the HV (3 active and 2 retired generals, and 2 active admirals). Three more generals who had retired before 1990 also returned to active duty in the HV. The fighting during 1991 showed that the number of officers and non-commissioned officers was still too low for the efficient structuring and leading of the still nascent Croatian Army. The shortage of good non-commissioned officers was felt in particular, and the Croatian Military Academy was founded accordingly.

(7 January) With an air-to-air missile, aircraft MIG 21 of the Yugoslav Army shot down a helicopter of the EU Monitoring Mission above the village of Podrute near Varaždin (all members of the mission were killed - 4 Italians and a Frenchman); missile shot at the other helicopter missed the target.

(9 January) Bosnian Serbs declared an “independent Republic of Srpska of BH” on Pale, with the aim of joining it to rump Yugoslavia.

In accordance with the Serb plan to conquer 66% of the BH territory, the so-called Republic of Srpska of BH encompassed 5 “Serb Autonomous Provinces” self-declared by this time - “SAO East Herzegovina” (12 September 1991), “SAO Bosnian Krajina” (16 September 1991), “SAO Romanija” (19 September 1991), “SAO Semberija” and “SAO Ozren”.

(13 January) The Holy See (Vatican) recognised the Republic of Croatia.

(14 January) *New York Times* published an appeal entitled For Peace in Croatia, signed by 104 winners of the Nobel Prize.

Vjesnik published an open letter of five Croats from BH (four writers and a professor), who declared the statement of the Croatian President on the demarcation in Bosnia *incomprehensively short-sighted and irresponsible to the real interests of the Croatian and all other ethnicities in BH, and equally against the real interests of the Republic of Croatia, while being impolite to the Muslim population.*

Discussing the events in BH and their repercussions on Croatia, as well as the possible peaceful solution to this problem, Croatian President F. Tuđman stated, at a reception for journalists (31 December 1991) *that the readiness for demarcation would mean that the war in BH could be avoided*, emphasising that proposals for the division of BH come from BH itself, from Serbs, Muslims and Croats and that such discussions were supported also by A. Izetbegović: *It is a fact that two million Serbs live West of the Drina River today. A much bigger danger is the continuation of relations of hate and intolerance (...) than eliminating the reasons of the endless rivalry and slaughter. This can be achieved by Serbia attaining its national goals so that it has no more need for expansion, and simultaneously Croatia would annex its regions because the present Croatian form of a croissant is unnatural. (...) It is in the Croatian interest to find a natural solution to this problem, like the problem of Banovina (in 1939) was solved. With this, a part of the "small piece of Bosnia" would remain, where Muslims would be a majority and this state of Bosnia would be a buffer zone between Croatia and Serbia. With this the colonial creation of BH would automatically disappear.* (Statement of the Croatian President, F. Tuđman, *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 31 December '91 and 1 January '92)

(15 January) Republic of Croatia (and Slovenia) was recognised as an independent and sovereign state by countries of the European Union: Austria, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Spain and Great Britain.

The recognition of Macedonia was delayed due to objections of Greece, recognition of BH was conditioned with a referendum, while Serbia and Montenegro did not request recognition.

(17 January) President of the Republic of Italy, Francesco Cossiga visited the Republic of Croatia; he was the first foreign president to visit the internationally recognised Republic of Croatia.

(31 January) Since the Serb side did not respect the cease-fire, members of the Independent Uskok Company of the Croatian Army initiated a daring sabotage campaign in the occupied Croatian territory, with the intention of blowing up the bridge in Batina and cutting off the road communication between Baranja and Vojvodina, through which Serb forces in occupied Baranja received support from Yugoslavia.

The saboteurs entered deep into the enemy rear through Kopački Rit, but due to a malfunction of their vehicle (amphibian) they were discovered; dispersed into small groups and after the battle (from 2 - 7 February), 7 saboteurs were captured (and another one later), three were killed while 9 survived. Based on a bilateral agreement, captured Croatian saboteurs (the so-called "Sombor Group") were exchanged after two years in prison at the UNPROFOR control point near Lipovac (12 January 1994) for members of the Serb terrorist group Štit.

(2 February) The annual report of State Department indicated a number of 30,000 missing persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

On top of a large number of Croatians the report mentions also 24 persons of Serb ethnicity from Gospić; Croatian press (weekly *Danas*, 10 December 1991) had already published the story of the killed Serbs in Gospić and on Banovina. Furthermore, either in revenge or for gain several Croatian citizens of Serb ethnicity were killed in Osijek, Sisak and Zagreb (crime on the Zec family), and the places where the revenge was conducted against a group of ethnic Serbs were Pakračka Poljana and Paulin Dvor (19 people killed).

Stjepan Kljuić was dismissed from the position of the President of HDZ BH and replaced by Mate Boban; S. Kljuić was one of the Party founders.

(4 February) Pilot Danijel Borović fled with a MIG 21 of the Yugoslav Army from the Bihać airport to the Croatian Army; two more Croatians (pilots Ivan Selak and Ivica Ivandić) also fled to the Croatian side with two aircraft of the same type (on 15 May).

(8 February) Croatian flag was flown at the official opening ceremony of the 16th Winter Olympic Games in Albertville (France).

(21 February) UN Security Council adopted a Resolution (743) on initiating a peace operation and the deployment of international protection forces to Croatia for a period of 12 months (within the so-called

Vance Plan for Croatia); UN Forces were to assume control of 4 protection areas (UNPA) in Croatia - *the territory of 18 municipalities where Serbs were a majority or a significant minority and where mutual tensions recently resulted in armed conflicts.*

The aim of this operation was fulfilled only partially: JNA left Croatia, while heavy weaponry of Serb rebels was placed in warehouses under joint control of UNPROFOR and the Serbs, but the return of refugees, protection of the remaining Croatian population in UNPA zones, reopening of traffic communications and the return under Croatian rule of the so-called "Pink Zones" (territories that Serbs invaded but did not live in) were not fulfilled. From the remaining Croatian population in UNPA zones, an exodus of several thousands occurred and several hundreds were killed.

UNPA zones encompassed 12,554 km² (22% of the Croatian territory); in this area 536,370 inhabitants lived in 1991, of which 258,298 Serbs (48.2%), 205,075 Croats (38.2%) and 72,997 (13.6%) others:

Sector East with its seat in Erdut ("East Slavonia" with Baranja and Western Sirmium - 2153 km², 188,184 inhabitants - of which 49.1% Croats, 30.4% Serbs, 20.5% others based on the census from 1991) - 4 municipalities: Vukovar and Beli Manastir and partially Osijek and Vinkovci;

Sector West with its seat in Daruvar ("West Slavonia - 2112 km², 99,452 inhabitants - of which 43.3% Croats, 21.3% Serbs, 21.2% others) - 5 municipalities: Pakrac, Daruvar, Grubišno Polje and partly Novska (its eastern part) and Nova Gradiška (its western part);

Sector North with its seat in Topusko (Banovina and Kordun) - 6 municipalities: Dvor Na Uni, Kostajnica, Petrinja, Glina, Vrginmost, Vojnić and Slunj;

Sector South with its seat in Knin (North Dalmatia and Lika) - 5 municipalities: Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gračac, Korenica and Donji Lapac. In Sectors North and South (UNPA "Krajina") 248,734 people lived on 8289 km² in 1991 (of this number 66.7% Serbs, 28% Croats and 5.3 others).

(22 February) German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, one of the most meritorious persons for the recognition of Croatia officially visited the Republic of Croatia.

(25 February) The main command of the Bosnian Muslim Patriotic League adopted the Directive for the defence of BH.

(29 February) 63.7% of the registered voters participated in the referendum on independence of BH, for the most part Muslims and Croats; 99.4% of them voted for an independent BH.

(2 March) Serbs set up barricades in Sarajevo.

(18 March) Sponsored by Portugal, the proposal on the organisation of BH was presented in Lisbon (Cutillero Plan for the Canonisation of BH or the Lisbon Agreement) according to which Muslims were to obtain 52 municipalities (44% of the territory), Serbs 32 municipalities (44% of the territory) and Croats 20 municipalities (12% of the territory).

Croats were to obtain the municipalities of Neum, Čapljina, Čitluk, Ljubuški, Grude, Široki Brijeg (Lištica), Posušje, Prozor, Tomislavgrad, Livno, Kreševo, Kiseljak, Busovača, Vitez, Travnik, Vareš, Orašje, Bosanski Šamac, Odžak and Bosanski Brod; according to this plan 59% of the Croats would live in non-Croat cantons; Bosnian Croats signed the agreement, but it was never implemented.

(23 March) Croatia was admitted to CSCE (today OSCE).

(27 March) In the building of the BH Assembly in Sarajevo, the self-declared "Assembly of the Serb Nation in BH" declared the Constitution of the "Republic of Srpska of BH".

(April - May) After conflicts over Čapljina (7 March) and the Serb attack on Neum (22 March) and Bosanski Brod (25 March) all-out Serb aggression on BH began (practically all municipalities or towns in BH were attacked where Muslims and Croats lived): Serb paramilitaries massacred Muslims in Bijeljina (1 - 3 April), Zvornik (10 April), Foča, Prijedor, Višegrad (13 April); with help from the Yugoslav Army Serb forces occupied East Mostar (3 April), Kupres (9-10 April), Stolac (10 April), Doboj (3 May), Bosanski Šamac and Brčko (4 - 7 May), Bosanski Novi and Kalesija (12 May), Sanski Most (31 May) and besieged Sarajevo (5 April). In territories under the Serb control camps for non-Serbs were formed (Omarska and Keraterm near Prijedor, Brčko, Bijeljina and many more).

(3 April) The military campaign for the liberation of Baranja was not successful; after an initial success Croatian soldiers suffered losses and withdrew to starting positions.

(6 April) EU recognised BH.

(7 April) USA recognised Croatia, Slovenia and BH; Croatia recognised BH.

In the name of the BH Presidency, A. Izetbegović sent the sharpest protest to the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army Headquarters, Blagoje Adžić for the attacks of the Yugoslav army on the Croatian people, i.e. on Široki Brijeg, Čitluk and Međugorje - one of the biggest Catholic shrines.

(8 April) BH Presidency declared the immediate danger of war and established the Main Headquarters of the BH Territorial Defence; by decision of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia Presidency in Grude, Croatian Defence Council (HVO) was founded as the only institutional defence formation of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

HVO is established as the supreme defence authority of the Croatian nation in the Croatian Community of BH (HZ HB) (Art. 1), with the aim of defending sovereignty of territories in HZ HB and protecting the Croatian nation as well as all other ethnicities in this community, attacked by any aggressor (Art. 2).

The role of the Croatian formations in resisting the Serb aggression in BH was exceptionally significant in initial stages of the war in BH. Croatian Defence Forces (HOS) formed by the Croatian Party of Rights were active in BH (after 15 December 1991), and a significant number of Bosnian Muslims participated in these units; HOS was disbanded after HVO members killed the commander of HOS BH "Major General" Blaž Kraljević in Kruševo near Mostar in early August 1992.

(9 April) BH Presidency reached a decision on the unification of all armed forces in the BH territory under Armed Forces of BH (OSBH); the Muslim Patriotic League, Green Berets (SDA party police), BH Territorial Defence, HVO, HOS and other resistance groups were supposed to unite under the command of OSBH.

(10 April) General Janko Bobetko, participant of the anti-Fascist struggle in Croatia in World War II, was appointed as a commander of the South Front.

(11 April) Murat Šabanović seized control of the dam at Višegrad (on the Drina River), demanding from JNA to stop slaughtering the non-Serb population in the Drina River Valley.

With a curse transmitted live by radio he was responding to lies of the Yugoslav Army General Kukanjac that JNA forces do not shoot at civilians, and resignedly threatened to blow up the dam and cause a disaster: *Either we (muslims) will be drowned by Drina or the Chetniks will slaughter us - there is no difference!*

(21 April) Serb forces completely surrounded Sarajevo.

Sarajevo was under siege until 29 February 1996. In this period of practically incessant shelling by Serbs about 11,000 of its inhabitants died (about 1600 children), while 50,000 were wounded; the international public was particularly shaken with images of mass slaughters of Sarajevo inhabitants waiting in lines for bread in the street of V. Miškina (27 May 1992) and at the Markale Market (5 February 1994).

(24 - 28 April) Strong Serb forces initiated an attack along the line Neum, Metković and Ploče with the aim of finally conquering the Neretva Valley and cutting the Croatian territory in two (separation and conquering of the southern parts of Croatia); after fierce fighting lasting for almost 3 days and 3 nights, Croatian defenders withstood the impossible, crushing the superior enemy and cutting its strength by half.

(27 April) China recognised Croatia and Slovenia as independent and sovereign states; by 31 December 1995, Croatia was recognised by 124 countries.

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was declared in Belgrade (consisting of Serbia and Montenegro).

(28 April) The Croatian Army campaign to liberate the village of Podgradine in the Zadar hinterland was unsuccessful.

(May) JNA was renamed in Yugoslav Army

(May - June) Fierce fighting takes place in Bosanska Posavina; Croatian forces liberated Modriča (by 20 May) in a counterattack and a huge part of Posavina, reaching Kotorsko and Rudanke close to Doboj (June).

(2 May) Yugoslav Army captured and later released the BH President, Alija Izetbegović.

(4 May) BH declared Yugoslavia as the aggressor and demanded international intervention.

(6 May) *Representative of the Croatian national community*, M. Boban and *representative of the Serb state*, R. Karadžić met in Graz; issues of demarcation between Croats and Serbs in BH were discussed, so that reasons for armed conflicts between Serbs and Croats cease in the whole BH territory; nevertheless armed conflict between Croats and Serbs continued.

(15 May) UN Security Council (Resolution 752) demanded that *JNA forces and Croatian Army units* either withdraw from BH or submit to the authority of the command in Sarajevo.

(17 - 23 May) In the Military Campaign Jaguar, Croatian Army liberated the mountain of Križ in the Bibinje hinterland near Zadar, from where Serb extremists endangered traffic on the main road along the Adriatic.

(18 May - 30 June) With the military campaign Scorched Earth, Croatian Army began breaking the siege of Dubrovnik on the South Front.

Pelješac (20 May), Čepikuće (21 May), Slano (25 May), and the entire Dubrovnik coast - Mokošica, Brgat, Bosanka, Rijeka Dubrovačka and Župa Dubrovačka (by 26 May) were liberated, which secured the road to Dubrovnik. Simultaneously Croatian forces liberated a part of East Herzegovina (by 20 May) and the village of Ravno (30 May).

(22 May) Croatia was admitted to the UN as the 178th member (Slovenia and BH were admitted as well); Croatian President, F. Tuđman spoke in the UN General Assembly.

The Croatian nation is among the oldest nations of contemporary Europe. It is in possession of written documents it is proud of, and marks of its national and state independence, as well as about its affiliation with the West European culture since the 7th century, and later, both in stone and on paper, in literature and in art, and what is most important in its spirit. Croatian nation has reason to be proud of its share in the spiritual and material cultural heritage of mankind. It is not surprising that a small part of it is present here as well. The entrance to the UN General Assembly hall has been made of marble from the Croatian island of Brač. In my country, this stone is considered as a symbol of Croatian perseverance. It was used throughout the centuries to create works of art by the greatest Croatian sculptors like Antun Augustinčić, whose sculpture of a horse entitled Monument of Peace is located in the park behind this UN building. (F. Tuđman's speech in the UN, 22 May 1992)

(30 May) Resolution (757) of the UN Security Council introduced strict sanctions (economic, political, scientific, sports) against Serbia and Montenegro; Croatian Army was located in BH in agreement with the authorities in Sarajevo.

(by 30 May) Yugoslav Navy abandoned the last occupied islands in Croatia - Vis, Lastovo and Mljet.

(3 June) The working group of Bosnian humanitarian organisations submitted to international institutions a detailed list of 94 camps in BH, in the territory under Serb control, where 105,348 non-Serbs were detained, and 11 camps in Serbia and Montenegro with 22,710 prisoners.

(6 - 8 June) In the military campaign Jackal western part of Mostar and a large part of Herzegovina were liberated.

Croatian forces (HV and HVO) pushed the enemy back from the Neretva Valley around Čapljina and liberated the plateau of Dubrave, then Stolac and surrounding villages (12-13 June), the left bank of Neretva and entire Mostar (by 21 June); Bosnian Muslims participated in the battles for the liberation of Mostar and other places within HVO and HOS.

(15 June) The BH Foreign Minister, Haris Silajdžić stated, in his letter to the Presidency of the UN Security Council that the Croatian Defence Council was fighting for the freedom and independence of BH, encompassed by the BH military forces.

(20 June) BH Presidency declared the state of war, general mobilisation and compulsory work order; Serbia, Montenegro, former JNA and extremists in the Serb Democratic Party were listed as aggressors.

(21 June) In a lightning operation Croatian Army liberated the Miljevac plateau (7 villages, about 150 km²) in the municipality of Drniš (Campaign Miljevci).

Croatian Army successfully resisted the Serb counterattack (23 June) following which Serb artillery shelled Dalmatian cities and towns in revenge, and Knin was shelled by the Croatian Army in response. The UN Security Council condemned the action demanding withdrawal of the Croatian Army to starting positions (Resolution 762) which Croatia refused.

(28 June) French President F. Mitterand went to Sarajevo on a “mediation mission”.

After his mediation the Serbs left Sarajevo Airport and avoided the threat of possible air strikes of the West (“air lift” for Sarajevo started on 2 July).

(1 July) Serbs from Gorski Kotar (villages of Drežnica, Gomirje, Jasenka and Moravice) confirmed their loyalty to Croatia and promised to surrender their weapons to the Croatian police that they received a year earlier from JNA; an armed conflict in this area was avoided.

(1 - 13 July) Croatian Army broke the siege of Dubrovnik (Campaign Tiger).

Croatian Army succeeded in driving the enemy out of the strategically exceptionally significant Ivanjica and Uskoplje, taking control of the crucial controlling points above Dubrovnik (Osojnik, Golubov Kamen, Debela Glava) and pushed back the enemy towards Trebinje; Dubrovnik was completely unblocked from the West (traffic communication Ploče - Dubrovnik reopened), and conditions were created to connect the power-transmission line in Rijeka Dubrovačka to the BH electricity system, which solved the acute electricity crisis of Dalmatia and its islands. The enemy was prevented from shelling the city directly and without obstacles, and conditions for a breakthrough towards Konavli were created (through the mountainous hinterland of Dubrovnik above Župa Dubrovačka and Gornji Konavli).

(3 July) Croatian Community of Herzeg Bosnia announced that *due to disintegration of the state administration it is creating a temporary executive authority on the liberated and defence area*, emphasising that *it does not question in any way the sovereignty and territorial integrity of BH*, and that *the Croatian Defence Council is a part of the joint defence forces under authority of the BH Presidency*.

(4 July) The “Badinter Commission” confirmed the *dissolution of SFRJ was completed* and that this state *no longer existed*.

Territorial Defence (TO) of BH was renamed BH Army.

(7 July) Andrija Andabak, the legendary defender of the Nuštar and Vinkovci frontline, was killed in a battle with the Serb aggressors in Posavina.

A. Andabak, nicknamed after “Maljutka”, an antiarmour missile, whose fighters destroyed 32 enemy armoured vehicles (30 tanks and 2 transporters), was posthumously promoted to a rank of major, and the acknowledgement granted by the Croatian Army for three or more enemy armoured vehicles bears his name.

(21 July) Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation of Croatia and BH in Zagreb; the annex to this Agreement, establishing joint military defence activities of Croatia and BH against the Serb aggressor (Croatian Defence Council as part of the BH defence forces) was signed (on 23 September) in New York.

(23 July - 13 August) In the Military Campaign Liberated Land Croatian forces “cleansed” enemy “pockets” in the hinterland of Dubrovnik (from Zavala to Modroglavina) and established new defence positions on the mountain chain above the south side of the Popovo valley.

(25 July - 9 August) Croatian sportsmen participated at the Olympic Games in Barcelona.

Croatia won a silver medal in basketball (the gold was won by USA’s Dream Team) and two bronze medals in tennis (Goran Ivanišević - in singles and with Goran Prpić in pairs).

(2 August) The second multi-party elections were held for Sabor and for the president of the Republic of Croatia.

In the presidential elections Franjo Tuđman won in the first round (56.69% of the votes), over Dražen Budiša (21.91%); at the elections for Sabor HDZ won most of the votes (43.72%), then HSLs (17.33%), HSP (6.91%), HNS (6.55%), SDP (about 5%) and HSS (about 4%).

(7 August) UN Security Council expanded the UN mandate in Croatia (Resolution 769); apart from monitoring the UNPA zones, peace forces also monitored the international borders of Croatia.

(12 August) The so-called “Republic of Srpska of BH” changed its name to “Republic of Srpska”.

(26 - 27 August) At the London Conference it was concluded that all former Yugoslav republics must recognise BH, that borders can not be modified by force, that all rights must be guaranteed to minorities and that all refugees have the right to return home.

(3 September) An International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia began in Geneva, co-chaired by David Owen (EU) and Cyrus Vance (UN).

Croatian Sabor adopted the *Law on Absolution from Criminal Proceedings for Perpetrators of Crimes in the War Against Croatia* (beginning with 17 August 1990).

(15 September) Constitutional court of BH reached a decision on *unconstitutionality of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia*.

(6 October) Serb forces entered Bosanski Brod; with this most of Bosanska Posavina was under Serb occupation.

It is considered that the crucial event decisive for the fighting in Bosanska Posavina (and elsewhere) was the establishment of the “Serb corridor” (26 June) which connected Serbia with the occupied Croatian territories. Following this, Serb forces (Yugoslav Army and Chetniks) invaded Bosanski Šamac, Brčko, Derventa, Modriča and Odžak (4 - 15 July), and in early October Croatian forces abandoned Bosanski Brod and its vicinity (Croatian defenders left the impression that most of Bosanska Posavina was occupied without obvious resistance); the bridgehead near Orašje remained under Croatian control. Mass exodus of Bosnian Croats and Muslims occurred from towns invaded by Serbs in BH (Prijeđor, Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most, Ključ, Kotor Varoš, Banja Luka, Brčko, Bijeljina, Bosanski Šamac and other towns and villages).

(9 October) Due to frequent air raids of the Serb aviation on civilian targets, UN Security Council adopted a resolution determining a no-fly zone over BH (NATO began implementing the Deny Flight Operation after 12 April 1993).

(12 October) Defenders of Brčko managed to shortly cut through the “Serb corridor” near the village of Gorice in Bosanska Posavina.

In order to cut through the “corridor” on a longer term, a joint action of Croatian forces and the BH Army was needed, but did not occur; however, bloody conflicts between Croats and Muslims were not recorded in Bosanska Posavina. Croatian Defence Council held the area of the Croat municipality Ravne-Brčko with the legendary village of Boderište, which was incessantly and fiercely attacked by Serb forces in attempts to widen the “corridor”.

(19/20 October) Occupational Yugoslav Army withdrew from Cavtat and Konavli.

An agreement on the British frigate *Avenger* preceded this withdrawal (24 September), signed by the Yugoslav Army General, Pavle Strugar, General David Chranston (on behalf of the European Mission) and Croatian Army General Janko Bobetko, as well as the Tuđman - Đosić agreement in Geneva (30 September).

(20/21 October) Croatian Army initiated an assault on Cavtat, thus preventing Serb forces from Herzegovina to capture surrounding dominant positions abandoned by the Yugoslav Army.

(22 - 26 October) Croatian Army reached the Croatian border with Herzegovina and Montenegro, with which the southernmost part of Croatia was liberated (Campaign Liberating Konavli).

Status of the Croatian Prevlaka, where UN monitors have been deployed has not been solved; Croatian side considers the problem of demarcation with Montenegro (i.e. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) as a safety, not a territorial issue.

(22 - 27 October) With the successful Military Campaign Vlačica, Croatian forces established new defence lines in the Dubrovnik hinterland.

Units of the South Front have completed their task of 10 April 1992. (report of General J. Bobetko to Croatian President F. Tuđman, on 29 October at a review of Croatian forces after victory on the South Front)

Since Croatian forces held controlling points towards Trebinje (5 km of air distance from Trebinje), taking the town of Trebinje was only a matter of a political decision. From 27 April 1992 to 26 October 1992, during which period Croatian Army lead liberating operations on the South Front, 1210 km² of Croatian territory on land (+ 1080 km² of territory at sea) were liberated.

(24 October) At a session in Posušje the decision on joining the Croatian Community of Bosanska Posavina to the integral Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia was accepted.

(29 - 30 October) Serbs conquered Jajce.

Croatian Defence Council accused Muslim extremists for preventing reinforcement to arrive to town, and Muslim representatives accused the Croatian Defence Council for murders and exodus of Muslims from Prozor (25 October). Already in August 1992 a conflict between the BH Army and the Croatian Defence Council had been recorded in Sarajevo neighbourhoods of Otes and Stup (mainly inhabited by Croats), and in October incidents and conflicts began in Travnik, Vitez, Novi Travnik, Gornji Vakuf (Uskoplje), Prozor; conflicts between Croats and Muslims facilitated the Serb conquering in BH. During October the 7th Muslim Brigade within the 3rd Corps of the BH Army was founded in Zenica, consisting of “fighters for religion” (among who was a large number of Muslim volunteers and foreign fanatics).

(31 October) Serbs in Prijedor adopted a *Declaration on Cooperation and Aspirations to Unite the Republic of Srpska Krajina and the Republic of Srpska*.

Serb forces held about 70% of the BH territory in their control. The biggest number of refugees from BH was accepted by Croatia - over 400,000 people, and the total number of displaced persons and refugees in Croatia was about 700,000 people.

(1 November) A Tuđman-Izetbegović meeting took place in Zagreb on the implementation of the Agreement on Cooperation and Friendship between Croatia and BH, and on the cessation of hostilities between the Croatian Defence Council and the BH Army.

(2 November) Croatia granted a large military hospital to Tuzla and its defenders (the largest one in BH at the time).

(20 November) General Janko Bobetko was appointed to the position of the Chief of Staff of the Croatian Army (he remained in this position until 15 July 1995).

(7 December) Croatian Defence Council and BH Army forces caused heavy losses to Serb units near Teslić.

(20 December) Taking the state of war as an excuse SDA refused to replace Alija Izetbegović from the position of the President of the BH Presidency; according to the BH Constitution the following BH President was supposed to have been a Croat, but Izetbegović remained in the presidential position until the end of war.

(29 December) Sabor adopted the Law on Territories of Counties, Cities and Municipalities; Croatia was divided into 20 counties and the City of Zagreb with the county status, and 69 cities, 418 municipalities and 2 districts.

By the end of 1992 General A. Tus proposed a military operation against Serb forces in Bosanska Posavina and West Bosnia (in agreement with the Bosnian leadership), but Croatian political leaders did not approve of this plan.

1993.

(2 - 4 January) Inner division of BH to 9 provinces (cantons) + special area of Sarajevo (as the 10th province) which would not be international subjects was proposed in Geneva with the Vance-Owen Peace Plan.

Centres of Croatian provinces (of Posavina, Mostar and Travnik-Livno) were planned in Odžak, Mostar and Travnik, where 513,433 (68.27%) of BH Croats would live. Croatian provinces would encompass 25.4% of the BH territory; 3 Serb provinces would encompass 42.3%, 3 Muslim provinces 28.8%, while the area of Sarajevo would encompass 3.5% of the BH territory. The plan was signed by the Croatian and Muslim representatives (in New York on 25 February and in Geneva on 25 March), while Serbs turned it down without consequences (3 April). The plan was doomed to failure by the nonexistence of mechanisms (and political will) to force the Serbs to return 20% of the occupied BH territory and the eruption of conflicts between Croats and Muslims in BH; according to one theory conflicts between Croats and Muslims were provoked by this particular plan.

Ethnic structure in the planned Croatian provinces:

Provinces	Posavina	Mostar	Travnik-Livno
Croats (45,8%)	142,384 (56%)		193,016 (54,3%) 178,033
Serbs (11,7%)	41,025 (16,2%)		39,695 (11,1%) 45,498
Muslims (37,4%)	47,260 (18,6%)		102,035 (28,7%) 145,424
Others (5,1%)	23,465 (9,2%)		20,877 (5,9%) 19,602

The Province of Posavina (2103 km²) would encompass municipalities of Bosanski Brod, Odžak, Bosanski Šamac, Orašje, Derventa, Modriča and Gradačac; the Province of Travnik - Livno (5735 km²) municipalities of Jajce, Travnik, Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovača, Fojnica, Uskoplje, Bugojno, Donji Vakuf, Kupres, Livno and Tomislavgrad; while the Province of Mostar (6135 km²) would encompass municipalities of Prozor, Konjic, Jablanica, Mostar, Posušje, Grude, Ljubuški, Siroki Brijeg, Čitluk, Stolac and Neum.

(15 January) The BH minister of defence and a HDZ politician, Božo Rajić ordered all units of the BH Army in planned Croatian provinces to accept the authority of the Croatian Defence Council, and all Croatian Defence Council units in Muslim provinces to accept the authority of the BH Army; the Bosnian Muslim side did not accept this.

(22 January) Assault Campaign Pirate of the Croatian Army began (Maslenica).

The aim of the Croatian Army was to push back the enemy from the road Karlobag-Maslenica-Zadar and secure the Maslenica Gulf in order to construct a bridge and push back the enemy from Zadar, liberate the Zadar hinterland and the airport base of Zemunik; Croatian forces have liberated the Maslenica Gulf in 72 hours, and after fierce fighting kept control of it and the Zadar hinterland, as well as of a strategic point on Velebit (Tulova Greda). UN Security Council demanded (Resolution 802) Croatian Army withdrawal to positions before the operation. Particularly fierce battles were fought in early February for the village of Krašić and Novigrad, but Croatian defenders managed, with rare devotion and despite numerous losses, to repulse decisive counterattacks of the more numerous enemy and cause heavy losses to it. With the construction of a pontoon bridge Dalmatia was again connected by road Zadar-Maslenica-Karlobag with the rest of Croatia.

(27-28 January) Croatian Army liberated some villages in the vicinity of Sinj (Satrić and Potravlje) as well as the hydro-electric power plant Peruča (Campaign Peruča).

Serb forces were pushed back 7 km towards Knin. Before their withdrawal Chetniks mined the dam of the plant with 30 tons of explosives, with the aim of causing a huge ecological and human disaster (numerous human victims in the lower Cetina area); blowing up of the Peruča hydro-electric power plant was prevented by an English officer, Mark Nicholas Gray, who constructed an extra canal (in august

1992) and lowered the level of water in the lake. In operations from 22 - 28 January, Croatian forces liberated about 850 km².

(18 February) At negotiations in Daruvar between Croatian authorities and local Serb leaders from West Slavonia (without knowledge of the so-called Krajina leadership) some everyday issues have been regulated ("Daruvar Agreement"); further progress of negotiations was prevented by the authorities of the so-called Krajina from Knin, which arrested Serb initiators of the Agreement.

(22 March) The Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Sabor was established, with which Sabor becomes bicameral.

The UN Security Council adopted a Resolution (808) on the founding of the International Tribunal for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia.

(March-April) Bosnian Muslims accused the Croatian Defence Council in Herzegovina of retaining trucks with weapons intended for the BH Army (despite receiving their share); at the time BH Army was under fierce attacks of the Serb forces.

(6 April) Croatian authorities and Serb rebels signed an agreement in Geneva on implementing Resolution 802 of the UN Security Council, according to which the Croatian Army must withdraw to positions before the Maslenica Operation, while Serb forces would not be allowed to take control of this area, it would be under control of the UN Forces.

(April-May) Meetings between A. Izetbegović and M. Boban in Zagreb (18 April) and the Croatian-Muslim coordination body in Međugorje (18 May) did not result in the cessation of hostilities between Muslims and Croats.

In January of 1993 conflicts between the BH Army and the Croatian Defence Council continued in Gornji Vakuf (Uskoplje), Busovača, Kiseljak, Prozor, Zenica; in March in Konjic, Jablanica; in April in Mostar and Central Bosnia.

(19 - 24 April) The 59th Congress of PEN was held in Dubrovnik and in Hvar.

(3 May) The State Committee for the Normalisation of Croatian-Serb Relations was established; Josip Manolić was elected as the Committee chairman.

(4 May) Zadar, Biograd and Šibenik were shelled; Croatian delegation discontinued talks with the EU and UN in the implementation of Resolution 802.

(8 May) An agreement was signed at Sarajevo airport between Serbs and Muslims on mutual cessation of hostilities in BH.

(19 May) A. Izetbegović and Cardinal F. Kuharić met in Zagreb.

(22 May) In Washington, foreign ministers of USA, Great Britain, Russia, France and Spain proposed a new plan for BH with 13 points.

(25 May) With Resolution 827 of the UN Security Council the International Tribunal for War Crimes in the territory of the Former SFRJ was founded with its seat in the Hague.

(4 June) The UN Security Council adopted a resolution on "protection areas" in BH; the UN mandate expanded to Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Srebrenica, Goražde and Bihać.

(7 June) Dražen Petrović, the captain and leader of the Croatian basketball team died in a traffic accident in Germany; he was among the best basketball players in the history of European basketball; with his actions he contributed to public recognition of Croatia and its struggle for independence.

The monument erected (1995) in the seat of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne and his name in the basketball Hall of Fame in USA (2002) testifies to his basketball brilliance and human greatness.

(7 - 10 June) BH Army took control of Travnik, which was planned as the centre of the Croatian province according to the Vance-Owen plan; Croatian Defence Council soldiers surrendered to Serbs in this area.

(25 June) Croatia refused to extend the mandate of the Blue Helmets in its territory under the same inefficient conditions.

(26 July) BH Army defeated the Croatian Defence Council, taking control of Bugojno; Croats were expelled from the town.

(30 July) An agreement between Tuđman, Milošević, Boban and Karadžić on the “union of BH republics” was reached in Geneva (confederate state consisting of three nations); this proposal was already refused (on 16 June) by President Izetbegović.

(20 August) The so-called Owen-Stoltenberg Peace Plan for BH was presented, which marked the removal from initial principles (unity, non-acceptance of ethnic cleansing and military conquering).

A weak three-way Union of BH Republics (3 autonomous ethnic republics) was planned according to which the Serbs would keep most of the occupied territory (49.1%), Muslims would get 33.3% and Croats 17.6% of the territory; the plan was refused.

(21 - 22 August) The Main Command of the BH Army presented its plan of the Military Campaign Neretva '93, with the aim of penetrating down the Neretva River Valley and destroying the Croatian Defence Council in Herzegovina.

(28 August) The decision on forming the Croatian Republic of Herzeg Bosnia (HR HB) was reached in Grude; Mate Boban was elected as its president (until he left this position on 8 February 1994).

(7 September) Croatian Sabor adopted an amendment emphasising that interests of Croats in BH can not be achieved only in Herzeg Bosnia, but also in other parts of BH; according to the census from 1991, from the total number of Croats in BH (755,895) more than 2/3 lived outside of West Herzegovina.

(9 September) In a military campaign the so-called Medak Pocket Southeast of Gospić was liberated (Divoselo, Čitluk, Počitelj).

Serbs shelled Karlovac, Lučko (suburb of Zagreb), Samobor, Jastrebarsko, Ivanić Grad, Kutina, Popovača, Gospić and other Croatian cities and towns, where numerous civilians were killed on top of huge material damage. A part of the international public and politicians accused the Croatian Army for using the scorched-earth tactics and for civilian victims in the Medak Pocket campaign, and the UN Security Council demanded (on 14 September) from the Croatian Army to withdraw to positions held before this campaign.

(12 - 14 September) Croatian Army liberated some territory in the Petrinja area.

(14 September) Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović signed an agreement in Geneva on ending hostilities, liberation of all prisoners and free passage for humanitarian convoys.

(16 September) An agreement was signed between Izetbegović and Krajišnik (Bosnian Serb representative) in Geneva, which established the creation of a BH union as a state of three nations.

Based on the content of the joint Declaration, in two years time every nation would be entitled to a referendum on possible secession, and in case the union fell apart, Muslims (as the most numerous nation) would be entitled to all rights of the union, including membership in the UN. Witnesses (countersignatories) of the Declaration were international representatives Owen and Stoltenberg.

(20 September) On the British aircraft carrier *Invincible* international mediators presented the peace plan for BH.

According to the plan Serbs would get 53%, Bosnian Muslims 30% and Croats 17% of the BH territory; BH Assembly turned this proposal down (29 September), and HDZ previously stated it will accept the plan only if the other two parties do so. On this occasion Izetbegović demanded access to the sea (in the area of Neum) for the Muslim entity in BH.

(27 September) The Autonomous Province of West Bosnia was declared in Velika Kladuša; this marks the beginning of conflicts among Muslims in West Bosnia (the BH army controlled Bihać and Cazin).

President of “West Bosnia” was Fikret Abdić, member of the first BH Presidency, and the person obtaining the most votes among presidential candidates at the first BH presidential elections (1990).

(5 October) UN Security Council explicitly confirmed (Resolution 871) that UN Protection Areas were an integral part of the Republic of Croatia.

(3 - 4 November) BH Army defeated the Croatian Defence Council and took control of Vareš and (by 15 November) Fojnica; Croats were expelled from these towns.

(18 November) At the temporary “Parliament of Bosnian Croats” in Slavonski Brod the decision was reached to establish “the Region of Bosanska Posavina” with the cities and towns of Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, Derвента, Modriča, Odžak, Orašje and parts of the Doboj, Brčko and Gradačac municipalities.

(10 - 22 December) Croatia delivered help for Croats in the Lašva Valley surrounded by the BH Army with the humanitarian convoy *White Road* for the improvised hospital in Nova Bila.

During its return the convoy was attacked and robbed by Muslim forces near Gornji Vakuf, while truck driver Anto Vlajić was killed; plunder of humanitarian convoys was common practice by all three parties in the BH war.

(21 December) Presidents Tuđman and Milošević proposed a demarcation of BH in Geneva; Muslims would get 33.3%, Croats 17.5% and Serbs 49.2% of the territory; Muslim delegation turned this proposal down.

The book *My Serb Ethnicity - My Croatian Home* by Olga Carević was published in Zagreb; the author advocates co-existence of Croats and Serbs, peace and democracy and condemns crimes and Great Serbian policies.

1994.

(19 January) Delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia signed a Declaration on Normalisation of Relations in Geneva; the opening of diplomatic offices in Zagreb and Belgrade was planned.

(24 January) In the previous year (since 24 January 1993) inflation rate in Yugoslavia amounted to 62% a day.

(31 January) UN Security Council demanded withdrawal of Croatian Army from BH.

(6 February) An Assembly of BH Croats was held in Sarajevo.

More than 400 people were present; in the Declaration adopted it was emphasised that BH was also homeland to Croats who wished to participate in the political rule and in the decentralisation of BH.

(9 February) An agreement was signed in Sarajevo between Serbs and Bosnian Muslims on cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of Serb artillery 20 km from the city (under control of the UN).

(17 February) Damir Tomljanović - Gavran, legendary commander of the Second Infantry Battalion of the First National Guard Brigade (popular "Tigers") died on Velebit (near Tulove Grede); the Centre for Training of the National Guard Assault Infantry was named after him; it was opened on 26 July 1994 in Šepurine near Zadar.

(23 February) Generals Ante Roso (Croatian Defence Council) and Rasim Delić (BH Army) signed an agreement in Sarajevo on cessation of hostilities on both sides.

(18 March) In Washington, in the presence of the American President Bill Clinton, representatives of the Croatian and Muslim people of BH, Krešimir Zubak and Haris Silajdžić respectively, signed an agreement on establishing the Croat-Bosniac Federation (BH Federation), and Presidents Tuđman and Izetbegović on the confederation between the BH Federation and the Republic of Croatia, which created conditions for ending the tragic conflict between the Croatian Defence Council and the BH Army.

Among the most fierce and bloodiest conflicts between Croats and Muslims were those in Central Bosnia (Žepče, Busovača, Vitez, Travnik) from where the stronger forces of the BH Army tried to expel Croats, and the conflicts in Mostar where Croatian Defence Council shelled East Mostar, already devastated by JNA. UN Security Council mainly accused the Croatian side for the attacks (for instance on 10 May and 19 July 1993) due to which the possibility of introducing sanctions against Croatia was considered (13 July 1993).

During Croat - Muslim conflicts Croats were expelled for the most part from areas under control of the BH Army (from Konjic, Jablanica, Travnik, Kakanj, Fojnica, Bugojno, Vareš, numerous villages in the municipalities of Zenica, Kakanj, Travnik, Novi Travnik, Visoko, Busovača, Konjic, Kiseljak, Kreševo and Fojnica), while Muslims were for the most part expelled from areas under control of the Croatian Defence Council (Stolac, Prozor, Kiseljak, West Mostar). Both sides had internment camps, where they imprisoned civilians as well; for instance camps Heliodrom in Mostar, Dretelj near Čapljina, Gabela, Ljubuški for Muslims, while camps on the stadium of the football team *Iskra* in Bugojno, museum in Jablanica, music school in Zenica were used as camps for Croats.

War crimes were committed as well: by members of the BH Army over Croats in the villages of Gusti Grab and around Zenica (late January 1993), Orlište (23 March), Bušćak (14 April) and Trusina near Konjic (16 April), Šušanj near Zenica (5 June), Maljine near Travnik (8 June), Drenovnik near Kakanj (13 June), Busovačke Staje (16 June), "North Camp" in Mostar (5 July), Doljani near Jablanica (28 July), Bugojno, Kiseljak near Žepče (16 August), Brdo-Zabilje near Vitez (5 September), Grabovica (9 September), Uzdol near Prozor (14 September), Bobaši near Vitez (18 September) and Križančevo Selo near Vitez (22 December), and by Buhine Kuće (9 January 1994); by December 1997 data was compiled on 996 murdered Croats (of which 120 children) and 506 Croatian Defence Council soldiers who were victims of the BH Army.

According to the new data there was 1.051 murdered civilian of Croatian nationality. Among them there were 121 children. Beside that, 14 444 Croatians were imprisoned in the one of the 331 prison camps or

prisons of the BH Army (I. Mlivočić, Mostar, 2008., 249.). Of this number, 632 Croats were killed (50 were ritually executed). At the same time about 170 000 Croats were banished or had fled from the area controlled by BH Army. Of course, these crimes do not diminish the horrors of the crimes committed on the Bosniacs – Muslims, but disregard to the Croatian victims is incomprehensible.

Members of the Croatian Defence Council committed their worst crimes on Muslims in the village of Ahmići - 117 Muslims were murdered (16 April 1993) and Stupni Dol (23 October 1993).

Simultaneously with the Croat - Muslim conflicts in BH numerous refugees from BH fled to Croatia; in early 1994 there were more than 280,000 refugees (Croats and Muslims) from BH.

Armed conflicts between the BH Army and the Croatian Defence Council, which lasted from October 1992 till March 1994 with occasional cease-fires are referred to as “war in war”; Croats saw this war as an attempt of Bosnian Muslims to take from Croats, as the smallest ethnicity in BH, what they lost to the Serbs, and as a betrayal of the nation they have “defended” and provided for (a large number of Muslim refugees was taken by the Republic of Croatia), while Bosnian Muslims saw the war as a betrayal of a war ally and an attempt to carry out the Great Croatian idea and annex parts of the BH territory to Croatia.

(29 March) Croatian authorities and Serb rebels signed an agreement on permanent peace in the Russian embassy in Zagreb (cessation of armed conflicts and disengagement between the Croatian Army and armed Serb rebels in Croatia), establishment of economic relations and a political solution (“Zagreb Agreement”).

Serbs initiated an attack on the towns of Goražde and Srebrenica, both under UN protection.

(10 April) NATO Air Force bombarded Serb positions around Goražde, as Serbs refused to withdraw their artillery; as a result Serb artillery withdrew 20 km from the town.

(11 April) Croatian - Bosniac negotiations take place in Vienna (Vienna Agreement); the agreement was signed in the American Mission (14 May) in Geneva.

(30 April) A new political party was founded in Zagreb by dissatisfied HDZ members (lead by S. Mesić and J. Manolić) - Croatian Independent Democrats (HND); Stjepan Mesić was elected as the party president.

(30 May) The new Croatian currency - Kuna was introduced (Lipa - as a hundredth part of a Kuna).

(14 June) Croatian President Franjo Tuđman visited Sarajevo.

(5 July) Although the BH Federation was supposed to obtain 60% of the BH territory according to the Washington Agreement, the Contact Group for BH (Great Britain, France, Germany, USA and Russia) proposed the division of its territory in the ratio of 51% - 49% in favour of the BH Federation, as opposed to the Serb entity (which was supposed to give up 20% of the territory); Assembly of the BH Republic/Federation adopted the plan (18 July), while the assembly of the “Republic of Srpska” turned it down (28 August).

(3 August) The Serb government in Belgrade sent an “ultimatum” to Pale (seat of the “Republic of Srpska”) to accept this peace plan of the Contact Group.

After Bosnian Serbs refused the peace plan, Yugoslavian government “discontinued political and economic relations” (4 March) with the “Republic of Srpska” and introduced a border blockade.

(by 21 August) After Operation Tiger and victory over forces of the People’s Defence (supporters of Fikret Abdić), the 5th Corps of the BH Army entered Velika Kladuša.

More than 30.000 refugees (Muslims) from West Bosnia fled from the BH Army to Croatia, and a new dramatic refugee crisis which lasted several days occurred on the road towards Karlovac.

(10 - 11 September) Pope John Paul II (1978 - 2005) arrived to Zagreb in a visit to the Church in Croatia and the Republic of Croatia; apart from huge crowds the Pope was welcomed by the cardinal and archbishop of Zagreb, Franjo Kuharić and Croatian President Franjo Tuđman.

(17 September) UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali confirmed, in his report to the Security Council, that the Vance Plan and all resolutions (except the decision on cessation of armed conflicts) were not implemented due to resistance of Serb rebels in the UNPA zones.

(23 September) Croatian Sabor took a determined stand to cancel the mandate of the UN Peace Forces in Croatia, unless they enable the return of occupied areas.

(30 September) Resolution (347) of the UN Security Council which encompassed and confirmed all previous resolutions, emphasised that all countries in the territory of the former Yugoslavia were sovereign both politically and territorially; the mandate of UNPROFOR was extended until 31 March 1995, on the condition that the UN General Secretary submits a report at the latest by 20 January 1995 about the progress achieved, which comprised the beginning of return of displaced persons.

(21 October) Fourth Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly in New York adopted (with 111 votes for and 20 abstained) the Resolution on the conditions in the occupied territories of Croatia.

The mentioned Resolution, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1994 (with 42 votes for, 18 abstained and no one against), confirmed territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia. Other UN resolutions also confirmed that the areas under UN control were a part of Croatia; in documents these areas were mostly referred to as "UNPAs" and although occupied, integral parts of the Republic of Croatia.

(26 October) BH Army initiated a large-scale military campaign in West Bosnia.

(31 October - 3 November) Croatian forces liberated Kupres (Campaign Tzintzar) the action was coordinated with military activities of the BH Army.

Liberation of Kupres had an exceptional strategic and psychological significance, and it was a precondition for an military advance to Kupres and Bosansko Grahovo.

(29 November) Croatian (Gojko Šušak) and USA (William Perry) defence ministers signed a Memorandum on Defence and Military Cooperation in the Pentagon.

(29 November - 24 December) Croatian forces (HV and HVO) took control of almost all of Livno Valley (Assault Operation Winter '94).

The aim of this action was to weaken the Serb offensive on Bihać and ensure a favourable strategic position for the liberation of parts of Croatia and BH under Serb control - an area 10 km wide and 20 km long - in total 200 km². However, the enemy continued to monitor activities in the Livno Valley from elevated positions on the mountains of Dinara and Staretina and endanger the liberated areas by attacks from the side.

(December) Serb attacks in the area of West Bosnia and Bihać were intensified; the area was defended by the 5th Corps of the BH Army and the 101 Regiment of the Croatian Defence Council.

An exodus of more than 3000 people occurred from the occupied Croatian villages in the Bihać area (Veliki Skočaj, Mali Skočaj, Međudražje, Zavala, Golubić, Dobrenica, Žegar, Vedro Polje), after being expelled by Serb extremists (8 December); Croatian villages of Kralje and Vrkašić were not occupied.

(17 December) Serb rebels from Croatia and supporters of F. Abdić pushed back the 5th Corps of the BH Army and entered Velika Kladuša.

(19 December) With the agreement on the normalisation of economic relations between Serb rebels and Croatian authorities, highway Zagreb - Lipovac reopened for traffic through occupied Okučani (UNPA Sector West).

1995

The “Z-4 Plan” was presented (USA, Russia, Germany, Great Britain) on the political solution to the crisis in Croatia.

The Plan emphasised sovereignty and territorial integrity of Croatia, but offered an exceptionally extensive autonomy for Serbs in the UNPA Zones North and South (autonomous legislation and government, autonomous police, currency, coats-of-arms, flags and insignia as well as the judicial system, tax regulations etc.); Croatian side had serious objections to the Plan, while Serbs in Knin refused to even debate on it. Around 20% of the Croatian territory on land was under Serb occupation.

(14 February) Croatian Defence Council forces in Bihać liberated Croatian villages of Vučjak, Zavalje, Mali Skočaj, Veliki Skočaj, Međudražje and Dobranica.

(9 March) Muslim authorities arrested the commander of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) in Bihać, General Vlado Šantić, he was probably killed.

(14 - 18 March) Croatian Army made small tactical moves on the mountains of Dinara and Staretina.

(20 - 28 March) BH Army liberated the strategically important mountain of Vlašić.

(1 April) By the decision of the UN Security Council (Resolution 981) UNPROFOR became UNCRO in Croatia and assumed the obligation of monitoring the internationally recognised borders of the Republic of Croatia.

According to the report of the UN Expert Committee submitted to the UN Security Council by early April 1995 some 200,000 people were killed in the former Yugoslavia, 800 concentration camps were formed with 500,000 prisoners (of which 50,000 were tortured, and 20,000 women and girls raped); Serb extremists and their forces committed by far the most crimes.

According to the report from April 1994, in the territory of the former Yugoslavia there were 715 concentration camps; the most of these camps were under the control of Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia (237); under the control of government in Sarajevo and BH Army there were 89 concentration camps, and under the control of Bosnian Croats, HVO and HV 77; four concentration camps were under the common control of Bosnian government and Bosnian Croats; under whose control were additional 308 concentration camps cannot be stated with certainty.

(7 April) At the Dinara Mountain above Knin Croatian forces liberated an area 15 km wide and 5 km long (Assault Battle Jump 1).

Croatian Army had under reach of its artillery enemy strongholds in the areas of Unište and Cetina; attempts of the enemy to return lost areas under its control by an artillery counter-attack from the vicinity of the village of Cetina (Croatian territory) was unsuccessful, it also violated the Zagreb Agreement.

(1 – 2, i.e. 4 May) With the military and police Operation *Flash* West Slavonia and Posavina were liberated, the UN Sector West (about 600 km²).

In early 1995 the leadership of the insurgent Serbs turned down another proposal of the international community – the so-called Z-4 Plan on the political resolution of the crisis in Croatia. The plan envisioned an exceptionally wide-ranging autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia, almost a “state within a state”, in the areas of the districts of Knin and Glina, which would comprise all the municipalities with a majority Serbian population. With their refusal the Serbian politicians clearly showed that they would not under any condition accept peaceful reintegration into the constitutional system of the Republic of Croatia, or coexistence with the Croats. Since all later attempts of the Croatian government and the international community to deal with the issue of occupied territory also failed, in early May 1995 Croatia launched another liberation military&police action, *Flash*, in which about 600 sq. km. of the remaining occupied territory of Western Slavonia were liberated. In only two days, on 1 and 2 May – the resistance of Serbian units was crushed, and Okučani, Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška liberated. The remnants of defeated 18th Corps of the “Serbian Army of Krajina” surrendered at Pakrac in the afternoon

hours on 4 May. Organized resistance of the special forces of the insurgent Serbs ceased the next morning at 06.00 hours at Omanovac. Croatian casualties included 42 killed and 162 wounded. Enemy losses were higher several times over. In retaliation, the Serbian leadership ordered the rocketing of Croatian towns. One of the cities attacked was Zagreb, the Croatian capital: the Children's Hospital, the Academy of Dramatic Arts and a secondary school were among the many buildings hit; seven civilians were killed and 176 wounded. During and after *Flash* Croatian authorities ensured humane treatment and all civil rights to the Serbian population, and members of Serbian units were guaranteed protection under the Amnesty Act. In spite of that, the majority of the Serbian population in the occupied part of Western Slavonia left the area on the eve of and during Operation Flash. Under the great pressure of the Serbian leadership and faced with the threat of the resumed shelling of Zagreb the UN organized the *Safe Passage* operation in which most of the remaining Serbian population left Western Slavonia.

(25 May) In an artillery attack on Tuzla the Serbs forces killed 71 and wounded 150 people. Krešimir (Krešo) Ćosić died; he was one of the best Croatian and European basketball players; his name is in the basketball Hall of Fame in USA.

Krešimir Ćosić founded Mormon communities in Croatia, and with his diplomatic activities in USA he contributed to public recognition of Croatia.

(30 May) The new building of the National and University Library was opened in Zagreb.

(4 - 11 June) Croatian forces pushed the Serb forces back towards Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoč (Assault Battle *Jump 2*).

Croatian Army took control of a strong Serb base of Crni Lug and surrounding villages as well as of Veliki Šator and Mali Šator; the area liberated was 30 km wide and 14 km long - in total about 420 km². With this the Livno Valley was entirely secured for manoeuvring of Croatian forces which were connected from Dinara, over the mountains of Šator and Staretina all the way to Kupres itself, and the important traffic communication between Glamoč and Bosansko Grahovo in BH was under control of the Croatian artillery, as well as the Cetina and Vrlika Valleys in Croatia.

(2 July) Pope John Paul II beatified Mark of Križevci.

(11 July) Serb forces conquered Srebrenica, and later Žepa (25 July), towns under "protection" of the UN.

Serbs committed monstrous war crimes on civilians of these towns; in Srebrenica about 8000 Muslims were killed, and all others expelled.

(15 July) General Zvonimir Červenko became the Chief of Staff of the Croatian Army; he participated in the anti-Fascist struggle in World War II.

(19 July) A strong offensive of Serbs from Croatia and Abdić's forces was initiated on Bihać, "protected" by a UN resolution.

(22 July) In Split Croatian President (F. Tuđman) and President of the BH Presidency (A. Izetbegović) together with President of the BH Federation (K. Zubak) and BH Prime Minister (H. Silajdžić) signed a *Declaration on implementing the Washington Agreement, on joint defence from Serb aggression and on finding a political solution in accordance with efforts of the international community* (Split Declaration); the agreement on military cooperation was particularly significant.

(25 - 30 July) Croatian forces liberated about 1600 km² of BH territory (Operation Summer '95).

The aim of the Croatian forces was to increase security of Livno and Kupres, stop the Serb offensive on Bihać and create preconditions to liberate Knin and other occupied parts of Croatia. With the liberation of Bosansko Grahovo (28 July) and Glamoč (29 July), Croatian forces had the Serb rebels in North Dalmatia in a semicircle, and preconditions for conquering Banja Luka were created as well.

(1 August) Talks were held on Brijuni between President Tuđman and foreign ambassadors in Croatia about ways to solve the crisis; due to noncooperation of Serb rebels the President announced the

possibility of a military operation, and the US Ambassador, Peter Galbraith advised him to think well before such a move.

If you do this, and I do not suggest that you should do it, be careful. You will be completely alone in this matter. Take into consideration the UN soldiers and protect the Croatian ethnic Serb civilians.
(American Ambassador Peter Galbraith)

(3 August) Negotiations between Croatian authorities and Serb rebels in Genthod near Geneva were unsuccessful; the Serbs turned down the proposal of a “peaceful reintegration”.

(4 - 7 August) In Operation *Storm '95* Croatian military and police forces liberated the occupied territory in North Dalmatia, Lika, Banovina and Kordun (7940 km²) and created possibilities for the BH Army to break the siege of Bihać.

Mission:

- free the occupied Croatian territory;
- refugee return;
- help the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ABH) to break the blockade of Bihać and prevent a humanitarian disaster;
- advance to the internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia.

Basic strategic plan:

- break through hostile defences by concurrent action from several directions (31) and free the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia;
- switch to offensive action in the central part of Croatia and free the towns of Knin, Gračac, Korenica, Slunj, Glina, Petrinja, Hrvatska Kostajnica and Hrvatska Dubica;
- organize determined defence in the eastern and southern parts of the country;
- the attack will be spearheaded by guards brigades;
- reserve units, and special units of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Croatia (MUP HR) will be used to exploit success and sustain the rate of combat action.

4 August (Friday) 1995:

The military&police operation *Storm* started at 05.00 hours.

At the start of the operation the Croatian Air Force knocked out the enemy Čelavac radio-relay node and communications centres on mounts Petrova Gora and Zrinska Gora. On the same day, Croatian forces freed Sveti Rok, Čista Mala, Čista Velika, Uništa, Gornji Baljci, Davar, Novoselija, Sibić, Goda, Strašnik, Graberje, Višnjica, Predore, Uštica, Tanac, the Mali Alan pass and the Dulibe – Tulove Grede area on Mount Velebit.

In the morning hours Serbian forces shelled Dubrovnik, Biograd na Moru, Gospić, Otočac, Sisak and Sunja (Karlovac, Nuštar and other places were targeted next), with loss of civilian life and destruction of civilian facilities.

5 August (Saturday) 1995:

The Croatian forces freed Knin (the “royal Croatian town”) and its surroundings, Ljubovo, Žitnić, Lovinac, Gračac, Novi Lički Osik, Ostrovica, Primišlje, Plaški, Dubica, Vrlika, Kijevo, Drniš and its surroundings, Obrovac, Benkovac, Zemunik Gornji, Biljane Gornje, Biljane Donje, Škabrnja, Nadin, Smilčić, Karin, Saborsko, Lička Jesenica, Vaganac, Ličko Petrovo Selo, Rakovica, Drežnik Grad, Željava, Medak, Petrinić Polje, Trnavec, Lički Ribnik, Gornji Poloj, Glinsko Novo Selo, Župić, Župić brdo, Šanja, Vilusi, Pecki, Luščani, Križ, Cepeliš, Strmen, etc.

6 August (Sunday) 1995

Freed places: Petrinja, Kistanje, Muškovac, Kaštel Žegarski, Vrhovine, Kostajnica, Udbina, Krbava,

Korenica, Bunić, Slunj, Broćanac, Plitvice, Glina, Otrić, Bruvno, Malovan, Rudopolje, Stražbenica, Blinja, Umetić, Slabinje, Čaire, Utolica, Rausovac, Gornja i Donja Bačuga, Jabukovac, Banski Grabovac, Šaš, Veliki Šušnjar, Majski Trtnik, Barlete, Vrebac, Mogorić, Ploča etc. On the same day, at Tržačka Raštela on the river Korana, close to the border, Croatian Army units (major general Marijan Mareković) linked up with the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina (general Atif Dudaković).

7 August (Monday) 1995.:

Freed places: Gornji Lapac and Donji Lapac, Mazin, Dobroselo, Boričevac, Kulen Vakuf, Cetingrad, Veljun, Krnjak, Vojnić, Gornje Mekušje, Kamensko, Tušilović, Turanj, Šanac, Jelaši etc. In his statement the Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Šušak confirmed that the operation was over by 18.00 hours and that the victory of the Croatian forces was not disputable. Of course, some resistance pockets still had to be dealt with.

8 August (Tuesday) 1995:

The surrender of colonel Čedomir Bulat, commander of the 21st “SVK” corps in Topusko at 14.00 hours marked the end of the operational part of *Storm* and the cessation of hostilities in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, although certain military actions were still under way, e.g., crushing the remaining hostile units and mopping up. Thus, on 8 August Croatian forces entered Srb, and on 9 August it was the turn of Vrginmost and Dvor na Uni. Having defeated the enemy, Croatian units reached the internationally recognized border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Tanks	385-450	350	1.1:1
APCs	195-210	150	1.35:1
Aircraft	20-25	7	3.18:1
Helicopters	10-13	13	1:1
Motor vehicles	1100-1500	2500	1:1.9
Artillery	515-570	200	2.55:1
AA guns	295-340	200	1.55:1
Troops, NCOs, officers, policemen	37,000-50,000	127,000-200,000	1:2,5 – 1:5.4

The final military&police operation for the liberation of the occupied areas, called *Storm*, was launched by Croatia between 4 and 7, i. e. 10 August 1995. The Croatian Army and special police units attacked on 4 August at 05.00 hours along a front line long more than 630 kilometres, from Bosansko Grahovo in the south to Jasenovac in the east. Croatian forces in Eastern Slavonia and southern Dalmatia were put on alert because of possible attacks by the Yugoslav Army and the Army of Republika Srpska from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The greatest success during the operation was achieved in the morning hours on 5 August, when the

4th and 7th Croatian guard brigades (whose members originated from Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zagorje and other areas) liberated Knin. Because of its strategic and symbolic significance, the day on which Knin was liberated is marked in Croatia as the Day of Victory and Homeland Gratitude, and the Day of Croatian Defenders. Over the next few days the Croatian forces reached and secured the state borders, and then started to clear the liberated areas of northern Dalmatia, Lika, Banovina and Kordun (about 10,500 sq.km.). Croatian casualties in the operation amounted to 196 soldiers killed, more than 1100 wounded, and 15 reported as missing. Enemy losses were several times higher.

At the same time, by launching Operation *Storm* Croatian forces enabled the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina to crush the Serbian siege of Bihać. This prevented a new humanitarian disaster in Bosnia and Herzegovina and a crime like the massacre at Srebrenica, where members of Serbian units under the command of general Ratko Mladić killed thousands of Bosniaks-Muslims in July 1995 (the number of 8,000 is being reported).

The victory of Croatian forces in *Storm* is one of the most important events in Croatian history because it ensured the territorial integrity and development of the Republic of Croatia, the freedom of its citizens and its survival within internationally recognized borders. The unity of most Croatian citizen who opposed Serbian aggression and the successful state policy led by President Franjo Tuđman are to be given credit for the success of *Storm*, achieved by the Croatian Army and police led by the Chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army general Zvonimir Červenko, the Chief of the Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff rear-admiral Davor Domazet, the commanders of corps districts (generals Miljenko Crnjac, Luka Džanko, Ante Gotovina, Mirko Norac, Petar Stipetić) and police forces (general Mladen Markač), and other military and intelligence officers. Foreign statesmen, in particular US officials, mainly showed understanding fro the operation. Among other things, they stated that “Croatia had given the international community sufficient time for resolving the conflict by negotiation, which failed because of the intransigent position of the Krajina Serbs”.

Before the Operation began Croatian soldiers were given strict orders to protect civilians and civilian, and in particular religious (Orthodox) buildings, and during the Operation the call of President Tuđman to Croatian citizens of Serb ethnicity to remain in Croatia was constantly repeated in the media, as all civil rights were guaranteed to them based on the Constitution and the Constitutional Law on Minorities. However, most of the Serbs from the self-declared “Krajina” in Croatia left, following a demand of their political and military leadership. Command (no. 12-3113-1195) on the evacuation of Serbs from the so-called Krajina was signed by the Serb General Mile Mrkšić (4 August); the same was signed by Milan Martić, the President of “Krajina”. UN representatives and the US Ambassador in Croatia, Peter Galbraith confirmed that ethnic Serb civilians left the territory of the so-called Krajina before the arrival of the Croatian Army; their number is estimated to be around 90,000 people (Croatian sources), i.e. 150,000 people (UN sources) and even 200,000 - 250,000 people (Serb sources). That was the final act of the tragedy of the Serbian people in Croatia caused by the intransigent policy of the insurgent Serbs since 1990.

During the Operation *Storm* '95 none of Serb Orthodox sacral objects was not destroyed by Croatian soldiers; immediately after Operation *Storm* '95 criminal acts of revenge or murders for gain against certain ethnic Serbs who remained, and the burning down of abandoned houses of ethnic Serbs from Croatia were recorded. Croatian authorities pressed 3978 charges against these perpetrators, and 1949 perpetrators of Croatian ethnicity were condemned in Croatian courts, and of this number 1492 people were sentenced to appropriate penalties (27 people were sentenced for murder, and 13 were sentenced to maximum security prisons from 1 - 15 years). (Data from the “White Book” in September 1999 that Croatian authorities sent to the International Crimes Tribunal in the Hague).

(12 August) Serb forces caused losses to Croatian Army in a counter-attack in the area of Bosansko Grahovo and took control of some positions, but Croatian Army was again successful in pushing back the enemy towards Drvar.

(30 August) After another hideous crime (41 killed and about 100 wounded Sarajevo inhabitants at the Markale Market) that Serbs committed while shelling Sarajevo (28 August), NATO attacks were initiated against Serb anti-aircraft defence, transmitters, warehouses, communications and other military infrastructure (until 13 September).

(8 - 15 September) In the Military Operation Breeze Croatian forces liberated Jajce and about 2500 km² of the BH territory (100 km wide and 25 km long).

The aim of Croatian forces (HV and HVO) was to advance closer to Šipovo and Jajce, as well as Drvar and Oštrej, push back the enemy from the areas of Kupres, Glamoč and Bosansko Grahovo and secure Livno from reach of the Serb long-range artillery and shells in order to create conditions for the return of refugees, and simultaneously enable the BH Army (5th and 7th Corps) to advance to the Sana River and the Ugar River Valley.

Croatian forces took control of Vitorog and Demirovec (11 September), Šipovo (12 September - later ceded to the Serbs with the Dayton Peace Agreement), Jajce (13 September), Drvar and the Oštrej Pass (14 September).

BH Army liberated Donji Vakuf, Bosanski Petrovac and Ključ, and later Sanski Most and Bosanska Krupa (17 September).

(18 - 19 September) Croatian army crossed the Una River in several places between Dvor and Dubica (Operation Una), but suffered heavy losses after an initial success and withdrew to previous positions.

(9 - 11 October) Croatian forces (HV and HVO) liberated 800 km² of BH territory (Operation South Move); about 50% of the BH territory remained under control of the Serb forces facing total collapse.

The aim of Croatian forces was to defeat the enemy in the wider area of Mrkonjić Grad, Podrašnica Valley and the hydro-electric power plant Jajce-3 (Bočac), take control of positions from which Banja Luka could be shelled and weaken the enemy pressure on the 5th and 7th Corps of the BH Army, which began to lose territory in the areas of Bosanski Novi and Ključ.

Croatian forces advanced into enemy territory 40 km wide and 20 km long and took control of Mrkonjić Grad (10 October) and the hydro-electric power plant Bočac (later ceded to the Serbs with the Dayton Peace Agreement), with which they gained control of the entire electric power system on the Vrbas River and created preconditions to enter Banja Luka (23 km away from the Croatian forces), where panic erupted as there were not enough forces to defend the town; BH Army forces were able to advance towards Skender Vakuf and reinforce in Sanski Most (liberated again, 12 October). "Republic of Srpska Army" was facing total defeat.

(9 October) In battles for Mrkonjić Grad Major General Andrija Matijaš - Pauk was killed as a deputy commander of the 4th National Guard Brigade, a legendary fighter of the Homeland Defence War.

(29 October) HDZ won again at the third multi-party elections for the House of Representatives of Sabor.

HDZ won 1,093,403 votes (45.2%), and the Coalition HSS-IDS-HNS-HKDU-SBHS 441,390 (18.3%), HSLs 279,245 (11.6%), SDP 215,839 (8.9%), HSP 121,095 (5%) of the votes. At the local elections in the City of Zagreb and the county the coalition of opposition parties won most of the seats (33 of 50), however Croatian President F. Tuđman refused to confirm these candidates ("Zagreb Crisis").

(12 November) Republic of Croatia signed an agreement with Serb rebels from Baranja, East Slavonia and West Sirmium (UN Sector East, about 4.6% of the entire Croatian territory) on peaceful reintegration of these areas into the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia ("Erduť Agreement").

(21 November) In Dayton (Ohio, USA) delegations from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, lead by Presidents F. Tuđman, A. Izetbegović and S. Milošević were forced to sign an agreement for peace in BH, after long and difficult negotiations (1 - 21 November).

On the American side talks were lead by Richard Holbrooke and occasionally Secretary of State, Warren Christopher. BH was divided according to the principle 1 state - 2 entities - 3 nations. The Serb entity obtained no less than 49% of the BH territory (the BH Federation only 51%) despite the fact that the “Republic of Srpska” was created by genocide over the non-Serb population and that its leadership and Serb policies were declared as main culprits for the conflict and terrible bloodshed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and in spite of the fact that the percentage of ethnic Serbs in the BH ethnic structure was far below 49% according to the census from 1991; in 1991 BH had 4,364,574 inhabitants - 1,905,829 (43.7%) Muslims; 1,369,258 (31.1%) Serbs; 755,895 (17.3%) Croats; (5.5%) Yugoslavs and (2.4%) others.

The right of all displaced persons and refugees to return home was guaranteed with the Dayton Peace Agreement, and international forces supervised the cease-fire; with this the basic aim was achieved - to stop the war in BH: however, the public was of the opinion that the Agreement was unjust and that the aggressors (Serbs) were awarded.

(23 November) UN Security Council (Resolution 1023) confirmed the basic agreement on peaceful reintegration of East Slavonia, Baranja and West Sirmium to the Republic of Croatia; sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were withdrawn.

(14 December) Based on the results of negotiations in Dayton, Presidents Tuđman, Izetbegović and Milošević signed a peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Paris.

Countersignatories and “guarantors” of its implementation were: USA (President Bill Clinton), Russia (Viktor Chernomyrdin), France (President Jacques Chirac), Germany (Chancellor Helmut Kohl) and Great Britain (Prime Minister John Major) and the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales in the function of the country holding the European Union Presidency.

Croats from Bosanska Posavina protested against the Dayton Peace Agreement as their homes remained for the most part within the Republic of Srpska; according to the census from 1991 there were only 27.12% of Serbs in Bosanska Posavina, and after expelling Croats and Muslims from this area they acquired more than 55% of Bosanska Posavina.

(29 December) Commander of the UN Transitional Administration for East Slavonia, Baranja and West Sirmium, retired Major General Jacques Klein confirmed in Zagreb during talks with President Tuđman that Croatian sovereignty and territorial integrity were unquestionable.

The period of the so-called “Peaceful Reintegration”, for the implementation of which the UN Security Council founded UNTAES (Resolution 1037 of 15 January 1996) ended on 15 January 1998 when the Croatian Dunav Valley (i.e. East Slavonia, Baranja and West Sirmium) were repatriated to Croatia.

During the war in Croatia, between 1991 and 1995, 360,070 military conscripts were encompassed with mobilisation (apart from Croats there was a significant number of conscripts of other minorities in the Croatian Army, among them 9000 Serbs).

At least 19,500 Croatian citizens were killed or went missing in the Homeland War (estimates).

According to incomplete data collected by the end of 2009, on the Croatian side (the free territory of the Republic of Croatia) about 12,500 citizens were killed (direct demographic losses), out of which about 50% were civilians, while 1,030 are on record as missing.

Data from the report of the President of the Republic of Croatia, F. Tuđman at a joint session of both parliament houses in the Croatian Sabor, on 15 January 1996.: Losses on the Croatian side were 10,668 killed and 2915 “missing” (in total 13,583), and 37,180 wounded in the Republic of Croatia.

The number of killed civilians includes 323 children (the figure is not final): more than 70% were killed by direct hostile action (shells or mines, plane rockets, snipers etc.) and less than 30% by indirect

hostile action (playing with firearms, hand grenades and the like).

Altogether 30,578 persons were wounded (the figure does not include the area occupied during the war): 7,179 civilians, 21,959 Croatian defenders, 58 UN force members and 613 enemy soldiers; no data are available for 779 persons of unknown affiliation, although the majority most probably belonged to hostile units. The number of wounded civilians includes 1,044 children; 188 children remained disabled because of wounds sustained in the war (in 56 cases the bodily disability was severe, in 92 heavy and in 40 moderate). 5,497 children lost one parent, and 74 lost both.

In the same period about 5,100 persons, largely of Serb nationality, were killed in the occupied parts of the Republic of Croatia (about 70% were “soldiers”, about 20% civilians, while the status of about 10% is not known), and 797 persons went missing. According to the figures of Milislav Sekulić, general of the “Serb Army of Krajina”, between June 1991 and August 1995 Serb casualties amounted to 3,496 persons killed and 1,857 missing (the source notes that “the actual number is probably higher”). The number of persons killed (the figures are probably incomplete) includes 54 children (below 18): 25 were killed in accidents, 10 committed suicide, the cause of death in 5 cases is unknown, 8 were killed by shelling, 3 “were killed in action” (on record as “fighters”), 1 was killed and 2 died “of wounds”.

These figures (which are still being updated) have been taken over from the Office for Detained and Missing Persons (of the Ministry of the Family, Veterans’ Affairs and Intergenerational Solidarity of the Republic of Croatia), the Office for the Protection of the Victims and Participants in the Homeland War (of the Ministry of Health and Welfare of the Republic of Croatia), the Medical Corps Headquarters of the Ministry of Health, the Croatian Memorial&Documentation Centre of the Homeland War, and Milisav Sekulić’s book *Knin je pao u Beogradu* (Knin fell in Belgrade; Belgrade, 2000).

The war had a disastrous influence on the demographic effect of BH Croats, as more than 400,000 Croats were forced to leave their homes in BH since the beginning of the Serb aggression (Serbs expelled about 210,000 Croats, and Bosnian Muslims expelled about 190,000 Croats).

Data from the report of the President of the Republic of Croatia, F. Tuđman at a joint session of both parliament houses in the Croatian Sabor, on 15 January 1996.: In Bosnia-Herzegovina 9909 Croats were killed or went missing, and 20,649 Croats were wounded.

Over time Ovčara has become the symbol of remembrance of the victims of Serbian crimes committed throughout Croatia during the Homeland War, in towns and villages such as Antin, Antunovac, Baćin, Balinci, Beli Manastir, Berak, Bilje, Bogdanovci, Bruška, Bučje, Cerić, Cetingrad, Čakovci, Čanak, Četekovac, Čelije, Dalj, Donji Čaglić, Drežnik, Drniš, Erdut, Ernestinovo, Ervenik, Glina, Glinsko Novo Selo, Glinska Poljana, Grabovac, Gređane, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Hum, Ilok, Ivanovo Selo, Jankovci (Novi and Stari Jankovci), Jasenice, Joševica, Kijevo, Korlat, Kostrići, Kralječani, Kusonje, Lipik, Lisičić, Lovas, Lovinac, Maja, Marinci, Medviđa, Mikluševci, Mohovo, Nadin, Negoslavci, Okučani, Pakrac, Pakrački Vinogradi, Petrinja, Pecki, Petrovci, Plavićevac, Poljanak, Saborsko, Selište, Skela, Smilčić, Smoljanac, Slunj, Sonković, Sotin, Struga, Svinjarevci, Široka Kula, Škabrnja, Šopot, Tenja, Tordinici, Tovarnik, Vaganac, Viduševac, Voćin, Zemunik Donji, and other sites on which Croatian defenders and civilians were maltreated and killed. The Croatian public knows very little about these execution sites and about the committed crimes.

At least 145 mass graves and more than 1200 single graves of the victims of Serbian crimes, mainly Croats but also members of other ethnic groups that did not support Greater Serbian policies and aggression against Croatia, suggest the conclusion that the killings were planned. Mortal remains of 3,782 victims have been exhumed from these graves, and 3,217 Croatian defenders and civilians positively identified (Ivan Grujić, *Detainees and missing persons in the Homeland War, Zatočeni i nestali u Domovinskom ratu, Pravo na dom*, Osijek, 2001, 289).

In order to avoid generalization, it should be noted that many Serbs in Serbia refused mobilization because they did not want to participate in a war of conquest, and that many found themselves in the

JNA and Serbian-Montenegrin units that attacked Croatia owing to a variety of circumstances, i.e., inertia of service or mobilization, or absence of information due to strong anti-Croatian propaganda in the media. Many of them behaved like soldiers and not like criminals. Some even succeeded in saving the lives of Croats mortally threatened by extremist members of Serbian units; some Serbs were even killed while trying to prevent their fellow countrymen from committing crimes against Croats. Unfortunately, there were also many who went on the rampage against Croatia driven by Greater Serbian ideas and hate, and they were largely those who committed crimes in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Crimes against Croats also provoked outrageous individual reactions on the Croatian side. By the start of Operation *Storm*, citizens of Serbian nationality were killed in places under the control of Croatian authorities such as Gospić, Osijek, Sisak and Paulin Dvor. Other places of retaliation against Serbian civilians include Pakračka Poljana and the Medak “Pocket”; murders of Serbian civilians were also reported in some other places. The Croatian public is informed about all these cases, as well as about the murders of citizens of Serbian nationality committed after *Storm* in the hamlets of Grubori, Varivode and Gošić, where a total of 21 persons were killed.

From 1991 about 8500 Croatian citizens were kept in Serb camps in Yugoslavia and Croatia (Begejci, Beograd, Bileća, Glina, Knin, Manjača, Morinje, Niš, Sremska Mitrovica, Stara Gradiška, Stojicevo); 300 of those captured were killed in camps in Serbia). (Data of the Croatian Government Office for Imprisoned and Missing Persons).

Losses of the “Territorial Defence of Krajina” (in 1992 renamed “Army of Srpska Krajina”) in the territory of the so-called Republic of Srpska Krajina in the period from June 1991 to August 1995 were 13,161 killed, wounded, missing and captured soldiers, *including deserters*, of this number there were 3496 killed and 1857 people missing (with the remark that the *actual number is positively higher*). (incomplete data from the book *Knin fell in Belgrade*, Belgrade 2000, author Milislav Sekulić, a general of the former “Army of Srpska Krajina”)

In war destruction in Croatia 217,009 homes were destroyed or damaged and about 120 commercial facilities and 1423 cultural monuments (of this 495 religious buildings, mainly Catholic churches in areas occupied by the Serbs); the total amount of war damage in the Republic of Croatia is estimated to 37.1 billion US Dollars. (Government of the Republic of Croatia, State Commission for Compiling and Estimating War Damages - “War Damage of the Republic of Croatia”, Final Report, Zagreb, September 1999)